iv) the most prominent instruments of pressure available to the international community are external debt (or debt relief) and international development assistance (IDA). Although some major (and possibly excessive) military spending states are neither heavily indebted nor dependent on IDA, the majority of states highlighted in this study are open to some pressure on one or both of these scores. Care must be taken, however, not to single out especially vulnerable states whose equally problematic neighbours may not also be engaged in a dialogue for change.

Policy-relevant Conclusions

- v) attempts to identify the possibly negative consequences of an excessive military burden should adopt a broad definition of security that incorporates societal, human and economic aspects, in addition to the traditional focus on regional inter-state security.
- vi) the appropriate measures for the international community should be cooperative inducements, rather than coercive punishments, and they should be pursued in conjunction with regional and like-minded partners to maximize their effectiveness.
- vii) efforts to improve the transparency of military expenditures, the comparability of government spending, and the utility of national and international data bases are an urgent priority. Increased transparency can act as a regional confidence-building measure (or exercise), can have a positive impact on the domestic political debate, and should be incorporated (where it has not been so far) as a goal of regional and multilateral security dialogues.
- viii) the regional context for reductions in military spending is all-important. Reductions in military expenditures that are urged upon states without due consideration of their regional or domestic security context risk having negative consequences (regional instability or increased ungovernability) that outweigh any potential gains. Hence the security and development sides of the equation must both be present.