works closely with the defence establishment.

- Defence Management Programme, University of the Witwatersrand, concerned mainly with training and educating senior officers and defence officials from SADC states.
- Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.

Religious Groups

Some of the major Southern African churches have come out unequivocally in support of military cuts and have opposed purchases of new weapons systems. The Anglican church in South Africa, for example, has declared itself a 'peace church' and Bishop Tutu has spoken out against the proposed purchase of naval corvettes.⁴ In Zimbabwe, the Council of Churches held a national seminar in April, where it called for further reductions in defence expenditure.⁵

B. How Should Military Spending and Excessive Military Spending be Defined?

It is notoriously difficult to quantify total military spending as expenditure because expenditure is often hidden in other government departments. For example, military bases may be constructed through departments of public works or similarly, military transport may be arranged by departments of transport; military pensions, training and education costs may be accommodated in other government line items. The picture is even more complex if the defence industry is taken into account—government subsidies including R&D, export facilitation, tax exemptions, etc. are seldom factored in.⁶

Many of these factors have relevance for developing countries. In addition, it is not unusual for paramilitary forces, such as presidential guards or elite counter-insurgency units, to be funded from police, law-and-order, intelligence, presidential or other budgets, although these

⁴Information provided by Terry Crawford-Brown, Archbishop Tutu's Representative.

⁵Interview with SAPEM staff, May 1996.

⁶See R. Smith, A. Humm and J. Fontanel, "The Economics of Exporting Arms," *Journal of Peace Research*, 22 (3), 1985.