

which their aid is intended.¹¹ The old saying that you cannot have your cake and eat it too, rings true for military conditionalities and development assistance.

A recent development in Kenya with respect to military spending is the reported construction of an ammunition factory in Eldoret in which a Belgian company is implicated. Its location is significant if only because the Rift Valley, where Eldoret is situated, was the major scene of the horrendous ethnic classes of 1991-92 and which have not totally ceased. The factory, whose true cost remains a secret, is believed to cost somewhere between US\$9-258 million. The financial question that now arises is why such a massive ammunition factory can progress with no donor dissent while the Eldoret International Airport was targeted by donors as a misallocation of resources.

The debate in Kenya over the ammunition factory has implications for linking military expenditure to development assistance. First, citizens in recipient countries do expect donors to intervene where military spending seems unreasonable. Second, the juxtaposition of the debate on the ammunition factory with the debate on the Eldoret Airport implies that citizens in recipient countries are also interested in the donor rationale for financing projects. Last, the debate shows that legislation restricting the destination of military technology is not enough to deter crude commercial interests. Significant change will require a commitment stronger than legislation.

NGO Reflections on Military Expenditure and Development Assistance¹²

Most of the NGOs in the Greater Horn of Africa are mainly engaged in relief and humanitarian

¹¹Randall Forsberg, "Security through Military Defence?" in Elise Boulding, ed., *New Agendas for Peace Research: Conflict and Security Re-examined* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), pp. 62-78. Forsberg offers some proposals for non-offensive defence for the major powers but which are interesting for reductions in military expenditure. See particularly her proposals for reductions in arms exports.

¹²Some of the views expressed in this section come from a survey conducted in May 1996.