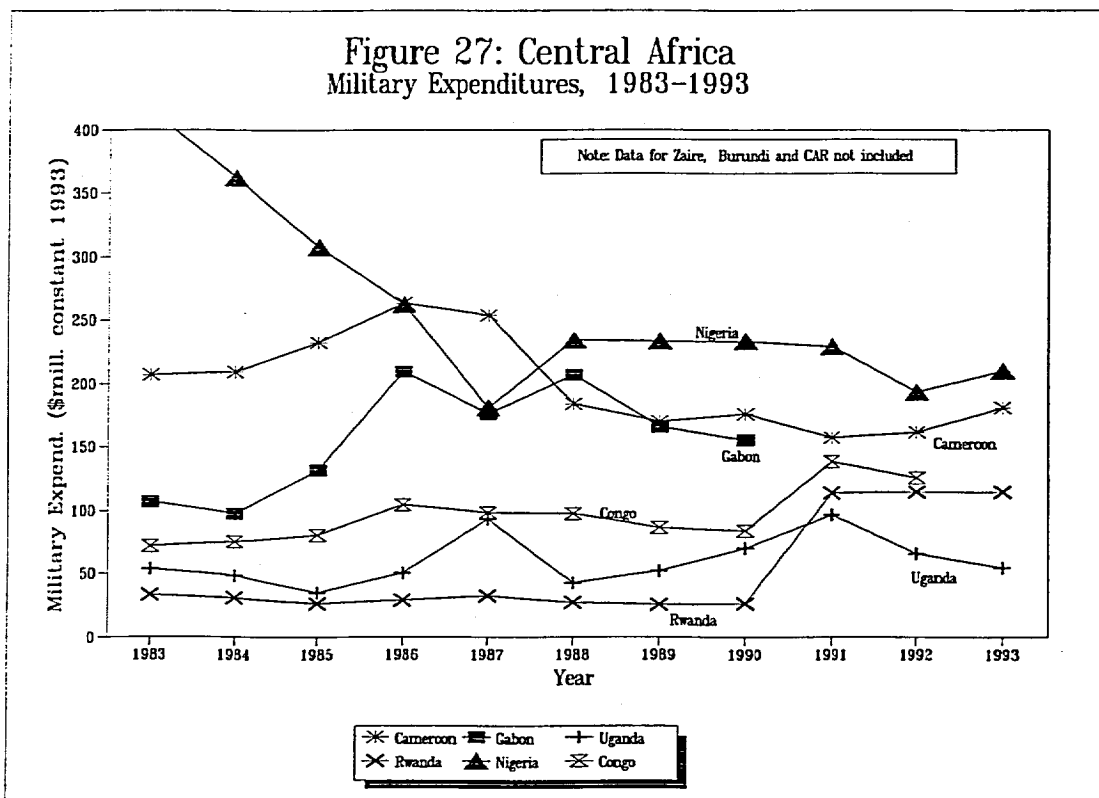


Not surprisingly in light of this, Central Africa has not experienced a post-Cold War peace dividend. Figure 27 charts the last decade's military spending pattern, and reveals that with one exception (Gabon), military spending levels are as high or higher than they were in 1988. Data for Zaire is not available (and appears to have declined recently), but the figures for Burundi and the Central African Republic show little decline either.<sup>3</sup> The only significant declines occurred in the early and mid-1980s, and appear more to have



been driven by the economic crisis in the region, and the impact of the oil price drop on Nigerian state revenues. In any case, defence spending fluctuations are more likely driven by a complex and shifting pattern of external, regional and domestic conflicts and pressures. Examples of this are provided by the upsurge in Rwandan spending in the early 1990s, before the genocide, the brief decline in Ugandan spending after the coming to power of Yoweri Museveni in 1986, the second decline as demobilization programs took effect in the early 1990s, and the reported increase in the mid-1990s to deal with cross-

<sup>3</sup> Zaire's military spending in 1993 was as high as in 1988 (about 245 million 1993 dollars), but it apparently dropped in 1994 and subsequently. High inflation makes comparisons extremely uncertain. Nigeria's spending also was apparently rose in 1994 from 1993, and was above the 1988 levels. Details from ACDA, *WMEAT 1995*.