

Thus, it is obvious that the military occupies a privileged position with respect to resource allocation. Clearly, assistance should be directed at the peaceful resolution of conflict, thus freeing up for development resources currently tied up in defence. The statement that in the developing world, "the chances of dying from social neglect (malnutrition and preventable diseases) are 33 times greater than the chances of dying in a war from external aggression"¹⁰ poses a serious challenge to security perspectives of poor countries with high military expenditure. Broader considerations of human security need to be integrated into national security definitions. Recent conflicts in the Horn region are a compelling force for reviewing defence expenditure in the light of human security.

The threat of external attack in the region seems to exist only between Uganda and Sudan. But neither of these countries will risk an external war given the political and security constellations in the region and within their own countries. Why, therefore, do countries in this region feel a need to spend so much on defence or maintain armies that are not socially productive? It is difficult to justify the social function of the army to the poverty-stricken masses. Their quality of life is not improved by the mere knowledge that they have a sophisticated army. Their quality of life will be improved when poverty levels decline; when they have food, shelter, and access to clean water; when their children can go to school and receive medical care whenever necessary; when their basic needs are met. Tying aid to a reduction in military expenditure seems a valid starting point as it compels both the recipient and the donor countries to observe reduced allocations to the military.

None of the countries in the Horn can be considered significant arms producers but many of the OECD countries are among the biggest arms suppliers to the region. The proposal that official development assistance be conditioned on reductions in military spending should compel donor countries to rationalize military commercial interests and development objectives for

¹⁰UNDP Human Development Report 1994, p. 50 on the various aspects of human security.