

from the multilateral institutions and the donor community.” Of course, Northern donor countries have not set a high standard for meeting public targets (given the rather wide gulf between the ODA target and practice).

3. Southern states should also be encouraged to become parties to or ratify relevant international arms control and disarmament treaties and agreements.

4. Northern states interested in curbing military spending in the South obviously need to control and restrict their military exports and export promotion to the South. Northern military export policies must generally be developed to place recipient human security interests ahead of the interests of particular regimes anxious to acquire new military equipment and ahead of the commercial interests of Northern manufacturing firms anxious to sell as much equipment to as many customers as possible.

5. As one writer put it, Northern political behaviour and standards have an impact on the South. To that end, Northern governments have a primary responsibility to put their own houses in order. “The promotion of economically, socially and environmentally sustainable patterns of development would first and foremost entail major changes in the patterns of production, distribution and consumption in countries of the North. By the same token the promotion of peace and democratic governance in the South would also entail the reduction of defence expenditures and certain foreign policies in the North.”

#### **F. Conditionality**

Uvin and Biagiotti distinguish “political conditionality” from “economic conditionality.” Political conditionality involves a “set of specific state behaviours...that are internationally upheld as conducive to development...” (see Note #7). These behavioural norms include respect for human rights, multiparty elections, and cuts to military spending and are encouraged through the conditionality instrument which threatens the withholding of development assistance. Such a set of state behaviours can be regarded as a “regime” once such norms have matured to the point that they are “sets of internationally dominant principals and norms around which expectations