



The states in the middle economically, however, are, with two exceptions, clustered near the 1:2.0 norm. Malaysia (1:1.7), Thailand (1:1.8), Indonesia (1:2.1) and the Philippines (1:1.7) all have similar scores, although consistent underreporting of military spending might make these figures misleading. Papua New Guinea (1:4.1) obviously scores well, but it enjoys a somewhat unique status in the region. On the other hand, the greatest concern should probably be with Myanmar, where the military burden is coupled with low levels of social spending (a ratio of 1:0.7), extremely high levels of repression, and negative economic growth, all signals that might point to a military burden that, in regional terms, could be deemed excessive, relative to the security and development needs of the state and its citizens.

Figure 35, which charts economic growth against military spending, provides a stark contrast with the African cases, and clear evidence of the high levels of economic growth enjoyed in recent years in the region. Only two states, the Philippines and Myanmar, have experienced negative growth in GNP per capita, while several states in the region are among the most rapidly expanding economies in the world. Consistent with previous tables of this sort, there is no *prima facie* visual evidence of a relationship between military spending and economic growth, since low and high defence spenders are scattered