

CFA franc in 1995, which will result in lower estimates for military spending in Chad, Niger and Mali, but not in Mauritania (which does not use the CFA franc).⁷ In North Africa, Libya clearly scores high on all indices, even in light of the dramatic declines in military spending of the past decade. Sudan is also an outlier on most indices (highest percentage of GNP on the armed forces, worst ratio of military to social spending, worst human rights record), but its situation is complicated by the ongoing civil war. International efforts to resolve this conflict have so far failed, and perhaps should be stepped up.

⁷ Obviously, I am not suggesting that this implies a reduction in the military burden of CFA states, only that their overvalued currencies may have created the appearance of greater resources being devoted to the military than was warranted.