

reduction in military expenditure may be helped by related conditionalities.

- The ban on anti-personnel landmines championed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is widely supported by other NGOs. It is estimated that Horn countries Somalia, Sudan, and Eritrea each have about one million planted landmines, while Ethiopia has half a million.¹⁸ The exact numbers in Uganda are unknown. Assistance in training local personnel for demining and supporting legislation to ban antipersonnel landmines have implications for both donor and recipient countries. Rather than increasing defence expenditure, assistance should aim at providing long-term, secure environments.
- Aid-receiving countries should have a set level for military expenditure. In 1974, donor countries were asked to increase their official development assistance to 0.7 per cent of their GNP. It may now be appropriate to seek a realization of this target and demand that military expenditure levels in recipient countries remain below 1 per cent of GNP. As McNamara states:

The application of such conditionality will be difficult and contentious...[but] it is part of the solution to the waste represented by excessive military spending in poor countries.¹⁹

In general, the tying of military expenditure reduction to official development assistance must genuinely proceed from a desire to make aid more effective²⁰ and people-friendly. It must aim to make African economies stronger and increasingly self-reliant. Increased military expenditure has done none of these.

¹⁸ICRC, "Landmines Must Be Stopped," 1995.

¹⁹Reproduced in the article by Simon Rayham, "Geopolitics, glasnost and Africa's second liberation: Political and security implications for the continent," *Africa Insight*, 21:4 (1993): 264.

²⁰See the discussion on progressive demands by Peter Anyang Nyong'o in his article, "The One-Party State and its Apologists: The Democratic Alternative," in Anyang Nyong, ed., *30 Years of Independence in Africa: the lost decades?* (Nairobi: African Academy of Sciences, 1992).