

- **Civil conflicts** inevitably lead to high expenditures on defence. While Mozambique has very rapidly demilitarized, Angola continues to reflect one of the world's highest rates of military expenditure—and the official figures themselves do not include all, or even most, military expenditure incurred by UNITA or the Government. Angola's defence budget has shown huge fluctuations over recent years: it is clear, however, that a sustained downturn will depend on firm peace and demobilization and that a target of 2 per cent of GDP for defence expenditure will be extremely difficult to achieve (given the estimated figure of 35.5 per cent in 1991).¹⁰ Angola's future after UNAVEM III remains very tenuous; a resurgence of war and civil conflict will undoubtedly lead to additional insecurity in Southern Africa as a whole.
- **Asymmetry:** The overwhelming military and economic domination of South Africa causes a number of problems for the harmonization of defence expenditures at a low level; whatever South AFRICA's declared intentions, its capabilities remain overwhelming. Some of the implications of this are discussed later in this paper. It should also be noted that tiny, poor countries such as Lesotho may have to spend more than 2 per cent of GDP on defence simply to maintain a minimum viable defence or internal security capability.
- **Growth:** It may be easier to peg military expenditure than to reduce it—in a situation of rising GDP this will lead to an inevitable reduction in military spending as a proportion of state spending. On the other hand, reducing military expenditure may be more difficult under precisely those conditions where it is more needed: in times of negative or zero growth.

¹⁰See G. Mills, "South Africa and Africa: Regional Integration and Security Co-operation," *African Security Review*, 4 (2), 1995, p. 13.