

in addition to taking into account traditional military threats, security policy must include recognition of threats to stability, democracy and sustainable development as well as the threats posed by such factors as environmental degradation, overpopulation, involuntary population movements and organized international crime.²

Second, the end of the global East-West confrontation has seen the launching of a wide range of cooperative or mutual security dialogues (and concrete arms control, disarmament or non-proliferation measures) that attempt to ameliorate the inter-state "security dilemma," by which the unilateral pursuit of security by states almost inevitably increased the insecurity of other states. Although severe conflicts and tensions remain in many areas of the world, purely unilateral or national security policies are increasingly seen as anachronistic, as greater security can often be obtained via cooperative measures with potentially threatening neighbours than through unilateral steps that can lead to an increasingly burdensome spiral of arms acquisitions and military spending. As a recent IMF report notes, excessive military spending "imposes burdens on both the spending country and on other countries that believe their own security may be jeopardized by such expenditure."³ This has been captured well in the concept of "cooperative security," by which states would make "a commitment to regulate the size, technical composition, investment patterns, and operational practices of all military forces by mutual consent for mutual benefit."⁴ In other words, regional conflict resolution or confidence and security-building measures can facilitate reductions of military and armaments expenditures that would free up resources to address pressing human and social development needs. Perhaps more importantly, appropriate and legitimate military expenditures and arms acquisitions are determined in a *dialogue* with concerned states. This points the way out from the often-fruitless attempts to specify "objectively" such subjective factors as "threats" and "security."

Third, a focus on the *human dimension of security* has highlighted the tradeoffs and choices that are entailed in the pursuit of military security. Although the legitimate security concerns of states still command attention, excessive military expenditures (including those on armaments) are increasingly perceived to impede economic, political and social development, and to represent a pool of resources that could be redirected to other purposes. Seen through the eyes of an economist, *security* is a public good purchased via government spending, which should be evaluated in terms of its "productivity" or

² Government of Canada, *Response to the Recommendations of the Special Joint Parliamentary Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy* (February 1995), 8.

³ International Monetary Fund, *Unproductive Public Expenditures: A Pragmatic Approach to Policy Analysis* (Washington: IMF, 1995), 22.

⁴ Ashton Carter, William Perry and John Steinbrunner's, *A New Concept of Cooperative Security*, (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1992). 6.