

island states with no land borders, but that only represents 40% of the 37 sovereign states that have no land borders¹⁴. The inconsistency goes further with countries that are small island states and neighbouring each other choosing different paths, such as Antigua and Barbuda which has a small military¹⁵ and sits next to Dominica that does not¹⁶, or Tonga that maintains multiple military units¹⁷ and sits alongside Samoa that only has a largely unarmed police force¹⁸.

The second area of diversity between these states is that of population. While 16 of the 20 states have less than one million people a small population does not in and of itself rule out having a military. Using the examples above of Dominica and Antigua and Barbuda, both have similar populations of around 80,000 but one has a military and one does not. The example of Tonga and Samoa is more striking where at 200,000 Samoa has nearly twice the population of Tonga but remains unarmed. There is considerable difference between the smallest being again Nauru at 10,000¹⁹ and the largest being Haiti at 10.8 million people²⁰. Once again there are states smaller in population than Haiti that have significant military forces including Sweden, Singapore, Israel, and Jordan²¹. Along with having the smallest land area, the Vatican City has the smallest population in the world but does maintain the military Swiss Guard. As with physical area the issue of population seems influential but not absolute.

Military forces are expensive and wealth can be a factor in deciding whether a military is in the national interest. Like the other factors though there is significant diversity in the 20 countries without armed forces. There is a mixture of high, medium and low income countries in the group of 20 with 15% being high income, 55% being upper middle income, 25% being lower middle income and 5% being low income. This has 25% of the unarmed states above the world average for income²². In Human Development terms 15% have Very High Human Development, 45% have High, 30% have Medium and 10% have Low. This means 55% of the states are above the world average for Human Development²³. Just as with land area and

¹⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, 941.

¹⁵ Ibid, 33.

¹⁶ Ibid, 248.

¹⁷ Ibid, 856.

¹⁸ Ibid, 731.

¹⁹ Ibid, 601.

²⁰ Ibid, 374.

²¹ International Institute for Strategic Studies, 143-145, 286-290, 333-336, 336-338.

²² http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.CD?order=wbapi_data_value_2014+wbapi_data_value+wbapi_data_value-last&sort=desc, retrieved 2 July 2017.

²³ http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr_2016_statistical_annex.pdf. Entries for Tuvalu, Nauru and the Marshall Islands are estimates drawn from David Hastings, **Filling Gaps in the Human Development Index: Findings for Asia and the Pacific**, (Bangkok: UNESCAP