

Second, there is a growing realization that supplier restrictions can only work with the cooperation of potential recipients. To win such cooperation, attention must be paid to the broader range of regional security concerns voiced by arms recipients, in which arms transfers play a major part. There could be, for example, a tacit Soviet-American deal on Afghanistan that would curtail American support for Pakistan (and the Afghan rebels) and Soviet deliveries to the Afghan government in the interests of regional stability. A similar agreement could take shape in Southern Africa, as Cuban troops in Angola may be withdrawn in return for a reduction in American support to the UNITA rebel movement and negotiations between the Angolan government and the rebels. Finally, one can imagine a multilateral agreement concerning the Persian Gulf coming out of the Iran-Iraq peace negotiations in which all parties undertake to avoid building Iran up into the sort of threat to its neighbours (both American and Soviet clients), that Iran under the Shah became. Such a goal, however, will be very difficult to reach.

### CONCLUSION

Whatever specific developments may emerge in the future, one can be certain that arms transfer relationships will not lose their importance in the political, military or economic dimensions of international relations. The arms trade cannot be understood in isolation, and as long as international politics is a "self-help" system where every state ultimately guarantees its own security, the potential for eliminating or curtailing the arms trade will be limited. The pattern followed by the arms trade is also a reflection of prevailing international realities, of the hierarchy of states and of relations between the strong and the weak. But this pattern of relations is neither static, nor entirely outside of human control. Changes to it brought about through "natural evolution" or conscious efforts can change the underlying nature of relations between states, and it is this broader focus that must be kept in mind by students of the arms trade.

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Keith Krause is a professor of political science at York University.

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