

included in a transparency mechanism such as the Register. In the words of Ambassador Wagenmakers:

An effective transparency regime can, over time, prove to be the key to a transition from the 'denial approach' to 'conditioned access' to necessary armaments for self-defence. ...It is this notion of 'conditioned access,' coupled with self-restraint, that ultimately provides the best model in the long run if we are to achieve freedom of access to all states to technology which enhances their development, while taking into account the often competing impulses of respect for commercial enterprise and proprietary rights on one hand, and respect for the principles of non-proliferation on the other.⁴¹

Developing the Register Into a Useful Instrument of Cooperative Security. Resolution 46/36L, the 1992 report establishing the procedures for the Register, and the subsequent resolutions urging the continuation of the Register effort, speak almost entirely to the question of establishing openness and transparency in the field of conventional armaments. The only reference or mandate for how this newly transparent information is to be used to achieve the overall goals of the Register, e.g., preventing excessive and destabilizing accumulations of conventional armaments, is in paragraph 4 of the Annex to 46/36L: 'The Register shall be open for consultation by representatives of Member States at any time.' On the one hand this is testimony to the philosophy of the architects of the Register, that progress must be incremental. First we must create transparency and then deal with the question of how to utilize the information. But from the beginning of the exercise it became clear that how the data were to be used was a question that many states wanted answered prior to, or at least concurrent with, submitting data on their exports and imports. This may also be the approach of those states which did submit data during the first year but did so at a minimal level of transparency. So it may not be possible to totally avoid the question of using the data, and transforming the Register from a database on conventional arms to an instrument of cooperative security must be dealt with as the Register itself develops.

Regional registers as a supplement to the global Register

One approach is to apply or adapt the Register approach to specific regions. The 'regionalization' of the Register has been a part of the exercise from the beginning. Paragraph 17 of 46/3L 'Calls upon all Member States to cooperate at a regional and subregional level, taking fully into account the specific conditions prevailing in the region or sub region, with a view to enhancing and coordinating international efforts aimed at increased openness and transparency in armaments.'

⁴¹ Wagenmakers, *op. cit.*, 20-21.