

also participate in these discussions to ensure their cooperation and help prevent cheating. Fifth, stronger internal administrative controls should be established (especially in the United States) in order to avoid contradictory actions on the part of various government agencies involved in strategic exports. Sixth, methods of monitoring the controls on conventional arms exports need to be considered. Seventh, a compensation and penalty system should be established. Japan's recent initiative linking foreign aid to the extent of military activity is a step in the right direction. Eighth, a regional approach should be preferred to a more global approach in the area of export controls. Finally, an effort should be made to promote openness in the arms trade.

Ernie Regehr of Project Ploughshares commented first on Ms. Neuman's address, stating he was surprised to find himself in agreement with almost everything she said, except with the idea of reducing public expectations in regard to disarmament. He believed that the recent Canadian initiatives were, to the contrary, aimed at bolstering public expectations about disarmament and at enhancing security at reduced levels of armaments. An arms control "culture" needed to be fostered and maintained. Mr. Regehr drew a parallel between Poland and Canada, two secondary exporters which found their traditional markets drying up. The governments of these countries include in their arms purchasing agreements economic benefit clauses which require the supplier to carry out part of production in the purchasing country. This creates additional impediments to export restrictions. Countries should develop bilateral formulas for regulating transfers, creating more openness, and even controlling the acquisition of arms.

Discussion: Ms. Neuman's presentation prompted a number of questions. She was asked if the victory over Iraq would not stimulate the demand for ultra-modern weapons and endanger efforts to reduce transfers. She replied that these weapons were too expensive for the vast majority of countries, except those in western Europe. Second, the United States was reluctant to export its most sophisticated technologies, except again to Western Europe. Audience members said they thought the equation which Ms. Neuman drew between arms and security was too facile; genuine security did not flow, they said, from ensured American military superiority but rather from solving economic and social