

suppliers export arms for foreign policy influence, to maintain military alliance relationships, to maintain domestic skills, expertise and production lines which they believe fundamental to their ability to produce arms for their own defence, or to develop new technologies which may have spin-off benefits for other industries.<sup>1</sup> Many importing states, especially those which are in frequent conflict, or which have special geo-strategic vulnerabilities, place great emphasis on assured sources of supply or on internal stockpiles of arms. Initial stocks provide time for acquisition or resupply from allies - which may be essential for survival. At the same time attempts are made to increase or establish domestic production for essential items. Israel, with its geographical vulnerability, has combined indigenous production (and an ability to modify imported arms), with a reliance on American weapons, to ensure that it has domestic capability to meet its defence needs. The French approach to preserving their defence industrial base involves strong export promotion.

The third consideration affecting the global political context is the changed foreign policy context for the "problem" of conventional proliferation. With the end of the East-West confrontation, and the achievement of significant reductions in nuclear arsenals, conventional weapons have moved higher on the agenda of foreign policy concerns. At the level of public opinion, issues such as the land mines crisis that has appeared after the ending of wars in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola and elsewhere has mobilized several non-governmental and governmental efforts.<sup>2</sup> A related issue, which has been implicated in conflict resolution and post-conflict peace-building efforts, is the question of controlling the trade in light weapons and small arms. Here research and action projects have been sponsored by NGOs as diverse as the Federation of American Scientists, the Ford Foundation, Human Rights Watch, International Alert, and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).<sup>3</sup> Concern with major weapons exports and military expenditures inform some of the work of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS), the British-American Security Information Council (BASIC), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the Monterey Institute, the Center for Defense Information (CDI), the European Network Against the Arms Trade, and the Saferworld Foundation. In Canada, lobbying efforts have mostly come from Project Ploughshares and the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT).

There are obviously many reasons for this changed public salience of conventional weapons. One is the increased public profile of United Nations operations in conflict zones, which has regularly put regional wars on the nightly news. A second is the experience of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, which catalyzed a range of efforts in this domain, as a result of the perception that the major Western industrialized states had contributed to creating the threat that Iraq posed to its neighbours.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the weakening of the foreign policy justifications for arms exports (gaining influence in the East-West struggle) has meant that considerations such as respect for human rights have moved towards the forefront.

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<sup>1</sup> Keith Krause, "Military Statecraft: Power and Influence in Soviet and American Arms Transfer Relationships," *International Studies Quarterly*, 35:3 (September 1991), 313-336.

<sup>2</sup> The umbrella International Campaign to Ban Landmines includes such groups as the Physicians for Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, Handicap International, Medico International and the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation. See also *Hidden Killers: The Global Landmine Crisis*, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, United States Department of State (1994 report to Congress).

<sup>3</sup> Most of these projects, in particular the Ford Foundation's and Human Rights Watch, are devoted to improving our knowledge base in this area.

<sup>4</sup> Keith Krause, "Arms Transfers and International Security: The Evolution of Canadian Policy," in Fen Hampson and Christopher Maule, editors, *Canada among Nations 1992-93: A New World Order?* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992), 283-301.