

arms production capacity was utilized and this proportion would diminish due to the technological obsolescence of this sector. Polish production traditionally served the needs of the Warsaw Pact, but now that it had dissolved, the industry would have to throw itself on the free market where its success was far from guaranteed.

The end of communism highlighted the need for policies, legislation and controls in the area of arms exports, and Poland had begun this process. In 1989, it revealed the details of its weapons exports for the first time and then developed new guidelines. The Polish government now keeps a secret "black list" of countries to which arms exports are temporarily suspended. It also now requires the border inspection of exports and insists on a clause governing the final use and requiring the purchaser not to re-export Polish deliveries.

The future of the production and the purchasing of arms in Poland is uncertain. Some would like to see its ties in this sector to the USSR continued and some export activities maintained. Others would like to eliminate the production of arms in Poland and to purchase arms in the West, especially in Germany. Still others think that Poland should preserve its national industry so that it will not find itself some day bereft of a defensive capability as in 1939. Defence cooperation agreements could be signed with other countries in Central Europe. The outcome of this debate will have a strong influence on Poland's place in world arms markets.

Stephanie Neuman of Columbia University spoke about controlling the supply of arms from an American perspective. Ms. Neuman, an acknowledged expert on the arms trade, said that she was not equally well informed about controlling arms but that she wanted to rise to the challenge set by the conference organizers when they asked her to discuss this aspect. She summarized her written text, putting the emphasis on the last two of its five sections.

First she noted that the war with Iraq had created a tendency in public opinion to favour tighter controls on arms exports. There were of course numerous impediments to this, including geopolitical and economic interests. It was important to point out, however,