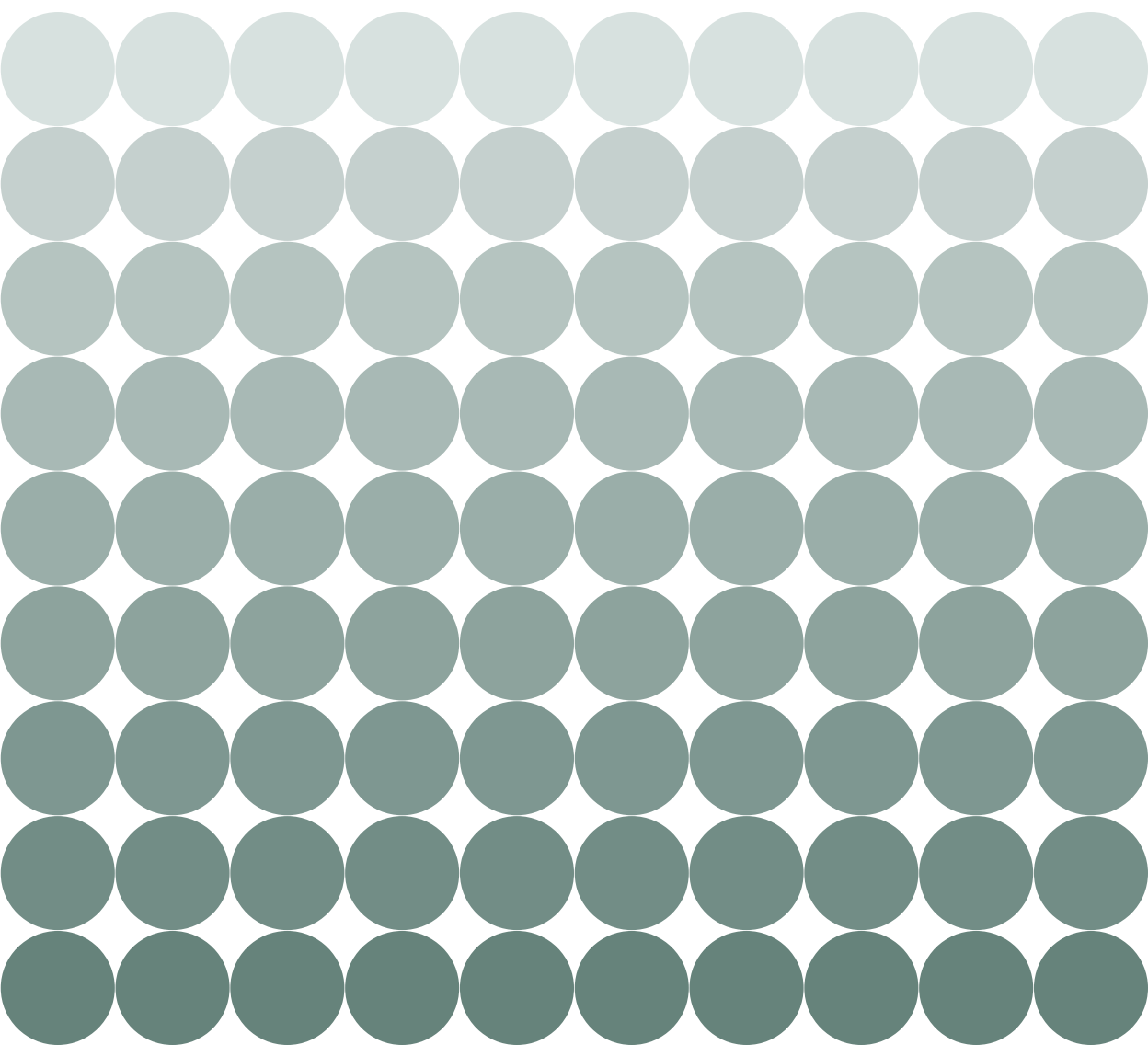


ARMS FLOWS TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PIETER D. WEZEMAN,
SIEMON T. WEZEMAN AND
LUCIE BÉRAUD-SUDREAU



STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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Arms Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa

SIPRI Policy Paper No. 30

PIETER D. WEZEMAN,
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Preface

Arms procured from abroad play an important yet ambiguous role in the peace and security of sub-Saharan Africa. In some cases they fuel the many conflicts that afflict the region; in others they are used for legitimate defence or by multi-lateral peace operations. The widespread concerns about the risks of arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere has resulted in regional and global discussions about the need for regulation; of these, the efforts to agree an international arms trade treaty (ATT) are the most prominent. At the national level, civil society groups—in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere—try to engage in debates about the economic and security wisdom of arms procurement and export decisions.

To promote and inform these discussions between governments and within civil society in both sub-Saharan Africa and supplier countries, this Policy Paper provides an overview of arms procurement, arms supplies and the use of arms in the region. It is an element of SIPRI's long-standing efforts to monitor international arms transfers—efforts which remain essential, given the continuing secrecy surrounding arms procurement and transfers. A single report like this cannot completely cover the issue. However, it is rich in detail and will support future debate by pointing the reader at key open sources of relevant information and by underlining the need for greater transparency. Monitoring and analysing arms transfers will continue to be of importance for both sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the world and SIPRI will maintain its efforts to support relevant debate, policymaking and policy implementation with objective and verifiable data.

Thanks are due to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs for its generous financial support for the research that led to this publication and for the maintenance of the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. The authors are grateful for the comments received from Guy Lamb of the Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, and from SIPRI colleagues Mark Bromley, Hugh Griffiths, Dr Paul Holtom and Sharon Wiharta. Special mention should also be given for the invaluable advice and support provided by Dr David Cruickshank of the SIPRI Editorial and Publications Department. Finally, thanks are due to Noel Kelly, who has played an important role by maintaining the archives of the SIPRI Arms Transfers Programme.

Dr Bates Gill
Director, SIPRI
December 2011

Summary

Concerns regarding arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa are widespread and have motivated worldwide efforts to control arms flows. Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) accounted for 1.5 per cent of the volume of world imports of major arms in 2006–10. Although this is low by global standards, with little indigenous arms-production capacity in the region, most countries are fully dependent on arms imports.

States in sub-Saharan Africa have received major arms from a wide variety of countries all over the world. China, Russia and Ukraine are consistently among the largest suppliers. Other countries that play a relatively modest role as arms exporters globally are significant arms suppliers to individual countries in sub-Saharan Africa or provide a significant proportion of the major arms supplied to the region as a whole. Due to a lack of accurate information, no comprehensive picture of transfers of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and other military equipment to the region can be given, but available open source information shows that transfers of such equipment to the region in 2006–10 was common.

The motives for arms transfers to sub-Saharan African destinations are diverse, including direct financial revenues—even if they are small compared to revenues from sales to other regions—and strengthening political influence in sub-Saharan Africa in order to gain access to natural resources and to further the security interest of the supplier.

Intergovernmental transparency is necessary for an informed debate about how the military needs of sub-Saharan Africa states should be taken into account in discussions on arms control in the region. While countries in the region regularly express support for conventional arms control initiatives, their low level of participation in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA)—the key intergovernmental reporting instrument on conventional arms—casts doubts on their willingness to actively control arms. Public debate about arms procurement is often based on incomplete and confusing information which emerges only after key decisions have been made. Even those governments that have been more forthcoming with public information about their arms procurements tend to remain reluctant to discuss the rationale and underlying threat assessments in public or in the parliament.

Case studies show that supplies of SALW and major arms play a role in armed conflict in sub-Saharan Africa; even supplies of relatively small quantities of older weapons can have a notable impact on conflicts. The uncertainty about the impact of arms transfers to conflict areas in sub-Saharan Africa is reflected in the experience of 2006–10. In several cases it could be argued that arms supplies have contributed to a government's ability to legitimately maintain or restore stability in its country, including with the use of force against rebel groups. In a number of cases, exporting countries have supplied arms to governments in the region which supported efforts to achieve these objectives and in line with UN statements or actions. The least controversial arms supplies are those aimed at

improving African states' capabilities to participate in peace operations, even though these supplies remain insufficient to fulfil the needs of regional peace-keepers.

However, in many cases arms supplied to sub-Saharan Africa have had clearly undesirable effects.

1. The supply of arms can be argued to have been an incentive for the recipients to try to achieve their goals via violence instead of dialogue.
2. Arms have been used in human rights violations.
3. Arms recipients often do not have the capability to secure their stockpiles and weapons have been lost or stolen, including by rebel groups.
4. Arms recipients have deliberately diverted weapons to targets of UN arms embargoes or rebel groups in neighbouring countries.
5. Arms supplied to governments have been turned against those governments in military coups d'état.

As a result of ambiguity about the impact and desirability of arms transfers, arms export policies by individual supplier countries vary widely. Some suppliers appear reluctant to supply arms to most countries in the region; others seem to consider only UN arms embargoes as a reason not to supply arms. The ambiguity is also reflected in the inconsistent approach of the international community to conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa: whereas arms embargoes have been agreed in relation to some conflicts, in other cases no embargo has been imposed.

Weapons used in conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa by government forces have in general been delivered with the consent of the governments both in the supplier and recipient countries. Nonetheless, it appears that the illegal arms trade continues to play a role in the procurement of arms by both government and rebel groups in the region even though there is no hard evidence of widespread large illegal supplies from outside the region into sub-Saharan Africa in 2006–10. However, there have been regular instances of weapons flows within the region to, in particular, rebel groups in violation of UN embargoes. To better understand the nature of the illegal arms trade in sub-Saharan Africa, information about interceptions by government authorities of illegal arms transfers and related legal activity should be centrally collected, for example in the annual national reports on the UN Programme of Action on SALW.

The lack of transparency in arms flows to sub-Saharan Africa obstructs an informed debate on the proposed arms trade treaty (ATT) and would be a serious obstacle to its verification. A starting point for improving transparency would be to support initiatives on corruption in the arms trade. Interest in the corruption issue and increasing willingness by governments to discuss it could be a stepping stone towards more transparency in arms procurement. If sub-Saharan African states want to persuade arms suppliers—which regularly hinder arms exports by refusing export licences—that they have legitimate reasons to procure arms, they should be more forthcoming about their motives.

Abbreviations

AAD2010	Africa Aerospace and Defence 2010
AMISOM	AU Mission in Somalia
APC	Armoured personnel carrier
ATT	Arms trade treaty
AU	African Union
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DICON	Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
GOSS	Government of Southern Sudan
MIC	Military Industry Corporation
SALW	Small arms and light weapons
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNOCI	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNROCA	UN Register of Conventional Arms

Background papers

A series of background papers accompanies this Policy Paper:

'Arms flows and the conflict in Somalia', Pieter D. Wezeman, October 2010;

'South African arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa', Pieter D. Wezeman, January 2011;

'Ukrainian arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa', Paul Holtom, February 2011;

'Arms transfers to Zimbabwe: implications for an arms trade treaty', Lukas Jeuck, March 2011;

'Israeli arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa', Siemon T. Wezeman, October 2011.

All are available at <<http://www.sipri.org/publications/>>.

1. Introduction

Armed conflict and military regimes are perceived to be prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa.¹ A consequence of this perception is that any transfer of arms to the region tends to raise questions about whether they will help to provoke or prolong armed conflicts, aggravate inter- and intrastate tensions, or weaken civilian-led governments. These questions are fuelled by the failure of many governments in the region—regardless of whether the state is in armed conflict or has poor relations with its neighbours—to share information on their arms acquisition plans and motives.

Answering these questions requires a broad overview of recent developments in arms flows to sub-Saharan Africa, including objective and verifiable information and analysis. To date, no such overview has been published. Relevant research has consisted of ad hoc studies on specific countries or regions conducted by, for example, United Nations panels monitoring arms embargoes, research institutes and advocacy groups. This lack is not surprising because collecting information about arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa, as for other regions of the world, poses a series of challenges and is a time-consuming process. The most serious challenge is the habit of secrecy that surrounds arms acquisitions in most states in the region.

Many of the concerns regarding arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa are reflected at the global level, where they have fuelled a worldwide debate and policymaking efforts aimed at controlling arms flows. In efforts to prevent and end conflicts, the control of arms flows has often been used as a tool in the form of national export and import regulations, multilateral arms export and import regimes, UN arms embargoes, and initiatives to stem the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). The widely recognized need to control international arms flows has also led to the worldwide intergovernmental debate about the feasibility of an arms trade treaty (ATT), which would establish common international standards for the import, export and transfer of conventional arms.²

This Policy Paper helps to fill the gap in reporting on and analysis of the supply of conventional arms to sub-Saharan Africa by providing a tour d'horizon of recent developments in arms transfers to both governments and rebel groups in the region. To provide general context, chapter 2 gives an overview of transfers of major arms, SALW, and other arms and military equipment to states in the region in 2006–10.

¹ E.g. 9 of the 29 major armed conflicts that were active in 2001–10 were in sub-Saharan Africa. Themnér, L. and Wallensteen, P., 'Patterns of major armed conflicts, 2001–10', *SIPRI Yearbook 2011: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011), pp. 62–63.

Sub-Saharan Africa is defined here as including the 48 African countries other than Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia. In chapter 2 below, South Africa is treated separately from the rest of the region.

² On how an ATT would work in practice see Holtom, P. and Bromley, M., *Implementing an Arms Trade Treaty: Lessons on Reporting and Monitoring from Existing Mechanisms*, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 28 (SIPRI: Stockholm, July 2011).

Chapter 3 examines the steps that governments in sub-Saharan Africa have taken to publicly discuss arms acquisition in advance of delivery and to declare details of acquired arms. It highlights the lack of both intergovernmental and public transparency, which hinders assessments of whether arms that are procured actually do contribute to peace and security.

The impact of arms transfers on conflict has long been the topic of debate.³ While this Policy Paper does not attempt to provide a definitive answer as to whether and which arms transfers support peace and stability, it illustrates the dilemmas related to arms transfers and conflict with a series of cases. Chapter 4 presents cases in which arms have been transferred to government and rebel forces in countries in conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, and where possible assesses their impact on the conflict. It also discusses the role of illegal arms flows in conflicts in the region and the conundrum of how to supply arms to multilateral peace operations.

Chapter 5 presents conclusions, policy recommendations and suggestions for further research.

Much of the evidence presented in this Policy Paper is from the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, which is a cornerstone of SIPRI's continuous monitoring of international arms transfers aimed at promoting transparency in arms transfers and arms procurement.⁴ Because the database is freely accessible online, many details are not included in this report. Instead, the reader is encouraged to consult the database, which is updated annually, for information on individual importing or exporting countries.⁵

³ Although SALW are widely used in crime and other non-political violence in the region, this problem is not addressed here.

⁴ SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/>>.

⁵ At the time of writing, the most recent year for which details of arms transfers were available in the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database was 2010.

2. Arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa, 2006–10

To provide a general context for discussions on the causes and impact of arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa, this chapter gives an overview of international transfers—including sales, loans and gifts—of arms and other military equipment to the region. It shows that arms transfers by a wide variety of suppliers worldwide are crucial to arms procurement in sub-Saharan Africa and gives an insight into how government policies have resulted in actual arms procurement and arms transfers. For the reasons given in box 2.1, South Africa is excluded from the general discussion here.

The statistics on volumes, trends, recipients and suppliers of major conventional weapons are based on the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database.⁶ Because of a lack of information from open source on transfers of small arms and light weapons, other military equipment, and technology for local production of arms, no useful statistics can be compiled for these categories of transfer. Instead, they are discussed here in general terms using illustrative examples. Similarly, although there were several reports during 2006–10 of rebels acquiring substantial volumes of SALW from abroad, no accurate assessment of the total volumes involved can be made. Examples of where and how rebels groups obtain arms appear in chapter 4.

The recipient states

The lack of indigenous arms-production capacities means that most African countries are fully dependent on arms imports. Thus, an overview of arms acquisitions by governments in the region can be based on information on international transfers of major conventional arms, small arms and light weapons, and other military equipment, and on official data on arms export licences.

Imports of major conventional arms

Imports of major arms by states in sub-Saharan Africa decreased rapidly after the end of the cold war (see figure 2.1).⁷ Although imports have increased somewhat from their low point in the mid-1990s, they remain far below the level of the 1980s.

⁶ SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4).

⁷ Details of the numbers and types of major arms supplied to sub-Saharan Africa can be found in the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4). SIPRI data on arms transfers refers to actual deliveries of major conventional arms. SIPRI uses a trend-indicator value (TIV) to compare the data on deliveries of different weapons and to identify general trends. TIVs give an indication only of the volume of international arms transfers and not of their financial values. For a description of the TIV and its calculation see 'Background information and explanations', <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/background>>.

Box 2.1. South Africa: a special case

As in many other areas, South Africa stands apart from the rest of sub-Saharan Africa with regard to its arms acquisitions, both from imports and domestic procurement.^a Including South Africa, in 2006–10 the region accounted for 3.4 per cent of the global volume of imports of major weapons, compared to 1.5 per cent for sub-Saharan Africa excluding South Africa. (See also figure 2.1.)

During 2006–10 South Africa received 15 JAS-39 combat aircraft (as part of a total order of 26), 24 Hawk-100 trainer combat aircraft, 2 Type-209 submarines (of a total order of 3) and 4 MEKO-A200 frigates. Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom accounted for, respectively, 63, 18 and 11 per cent of South African imports of major arms during this period. When including South Africa in sub-Saharan Africa, Germany was the largest supplier and Sweden the third largest during 2006–10. However, neither Germany nor Sweden supplied major arms to any other country in the region.

South Africa is the only country in sub-Saharan Africa that has developed a sizeable arms industry capable of producing relatively advanced military products that can compete on the global market. In 2007 it was reported that 13 646 people worked in the South African arms industry, producing a wide range of military equipment.^b South Africa is the only country in sub-Saharan Africa that plays a discernible role as a supplier of arms to other countries in the region.

^a See e.g. Wezeman, P. D., 'South African arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa', SIPRI Background Paper, Jan. 2011, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=419>; and Feinstein, A., Holden, P. and Pace, B., 'Corruption and the arms trade: sins of commission', *SIPRI Yearbook 2011: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011), pp. 20–25.

^b Wezeman (note a).

Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) accounted for 1.5 per cent of the volume of world imports of major arms in 2006–10.⁸ Not only did states in the region procure few major arms (see table 2.1), many of those acquired were generally less capable and less advanced than those acquired in other regions and many were second hand.⁹ For example, 27 of the 91 combat aircraft imported by sub-Saharan African states during 2006–10 were new F-7MG aircraft from China, one of the least advanced new combat aircraft available on the market. A further 18 were K-8 trainer/light combat aircraft from China and the other 46 were second-hand and relatively basic. All 8 ships delivered to the region were small and simple vessels. The 160 imported tanks were all second-hand T-55 and T-72 tanks and were at least 20 years old.

The relative importance of recipient states changes significantly, even over short periods (see table 2.2). For example, Angola was by far the largest importer in 1996–2000, was still a significant recipient in 2001–2005 but was only a minor importer in 2006–10. Similarly, Ethiopia and Eritrea were large importers in 1996–2000 and 2001–2005, but were not significant importers in 2006–10. In contrast, Nigeria jumped from being a minor importer to become the largest importer in sub-Saharan Africa in 2006–10. Because the volume of transfers of major arms to sub-Saharan Africa is very low, a single transfer that in other regions would be insignificant may change the position of a sub-Saharan state

⁸ This low figure, based on the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4), is confirmed by official data provided by states on arms exports (see below).

⁹ The SIPRI TIV system (see note 4) values a second-hand weapon at 40% of the value of the weapon when new.

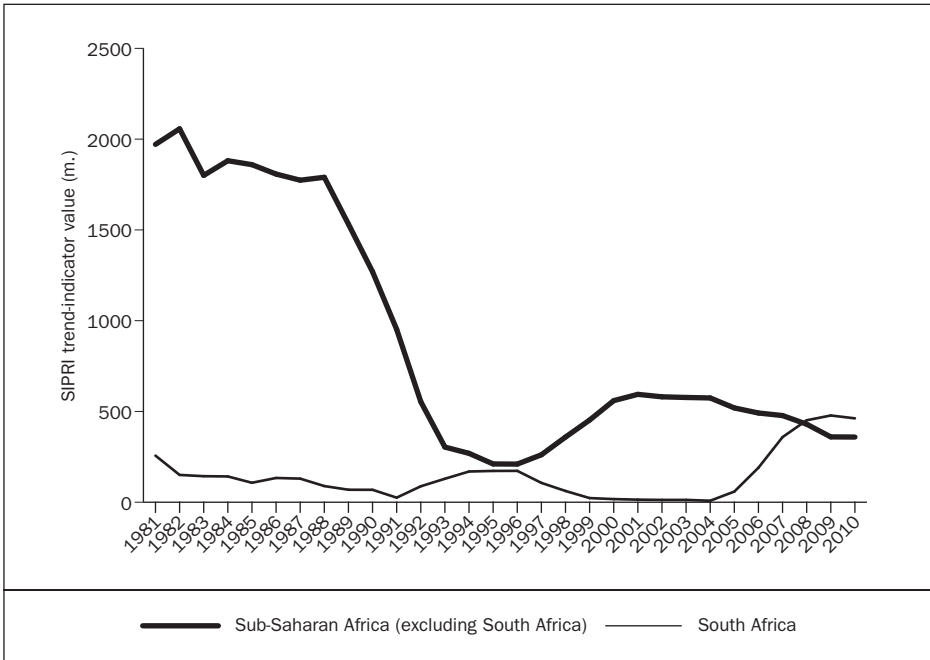


Figure 2.1. The trend in international transfers of major conventional arms to sub-Saharan Africa, 1981–2010

The line graphs show 5-year moving averages, plotted at the last year of each 5-year period.

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/>>.

dramatically. For example, Namibia's sudden rise to become the fourth largest importer in sub-Saharan Africa in 2006–10 is almost entirely due to the delivery of 12 F-7 combat aircraft in 2006 and 2008.

Imports of small arms and light weapons

Because there are generally only small numbers of functioning major arms in service in sub-Saharan Africa, SALW play an important role in the arsenals of governments and in the violent conflicts in the region. A lack of accurate information means that no comprehensive picture of transfers of SALW to the region can be given. Instead, an overview of the available open source information on such transfers in 2006–10 is presented in appendix A.

Transfers of SALW to sub-Saharan Africa were common, with at least 34 of the 48 countries in the region importing SALW for their armed forces (see table A.1). These included transfers of at least an estimated 220 000 assault rifles and sub-machine guns, with Nigeria procuring 72 000 rifles, Kenya 51 500, Uganda 38 000 and Chad 31 000. Many of the rifles transferred to Kenya were probably redirected by Kenya to the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS).

Most of the available detailed information on SALW transfers comes from suppliers that have chosen to report publicly on their exports. It is likely that more

Table 2.1. Imports of selected major arms by states in sub-Saharan Africa as a share of global imports, 2006–10

Figures are numbers of units.

	Artillery	Combat aircraft	Heli-copters	Missiles	Ships	Tanks	Transport aircraft
Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa)	127	91	79	70	8	160	37
South Africa	–	39	30	325	6	–	–
World total	3 817	1 390	1 559	121 535	245	3 221	227
Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) as a share of total (%)	3.3	6.5	5.1	0.1	3.3	4	16.3

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/>>.

weapons and ammunition have been imported into the region from countries that do not report on their arms exports in sufficient detail or at all. For example, there are strong indications that during 2006–10 Sudan received substantial numbers of SALW from China, which does not report on its exports of SALW.¹⁰

Imports of other military equipment

Monitoring transfers of major arms and SALW provides only a partial picture of the supply of arms and military equipment to Africa. There are other transfers of military equipment—such as communications and intelligence-gathering equipment and transport vehicles—that are more difficult to obtain detailed information about than is the case for major weapons.¹¹ However, the import of such equipment can have a significant impact in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in what may have been Nigeria's largest military procurement in 2006–10, in 2006 it reportedly ordered from Israel an integrated coastal surveillance system including command-and-control centres and a communications network worth \$260 million.¹² The surveillance system may have been used in the Nigerian armed forces' successful operations against the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) during 2007–10.

In addition to transfers of military equipment other than major arms and SALW, modernization of existing weapons in African inventories can be just as important as the procurement of complete new weapons. For example, during 2006–10 the modernization by Nigeria of 5 G-222 transport aircraft and 12 MB-339 and 21 L-39 trainer/combat aircraft by foreign companies was arguably as important in military capability terms as the country's import of new

¹⁰ Lewis, M., *Skirting the Law: Sudan's Post-CPA Arms Flows*, Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) Working Paper no. 18 (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, Sep. 2009), pp. 24–28.

¹¹ For these reasons, such equipment is not covered by the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4).

¹² Aeronautics, 'Nigeria develops unmanned coastal capability', Press release, 12 Apr. 2006, <<http://www.aeronautics-sys.com/?CategoryID=264&ArticleID=201>>. See also Wezeman, S. T., 'Israeli arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa', SIPRI Background Paper, Oct. 2011, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=432>, pp. 3, 13.

Table 2.2. The top 10 importers of major arms in sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa), 1996–2000, 2001–2005 and 2006–10

Figures are the percentage shares of the total volume of imports of major conventional arms by countries in sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa).

Rank	1996–2000		2001–2005		2006–10	
	Importer	Share	Importer	Share	Importer	Share
1	Angola	25	Sudan ^a	29	Nigeria	20
2	Ethiopia	20	Ethiopia	17	Sudan ^a	16
3	Eritrea	12	Angola	16	Chad	9
4	DRC	9	Eritrea	9	Namibia	9
5	Botswana	6	Côte d'Ivoire	4	DRC	6
6	Sudan ^a	4	Nigeria	3	Equatorial Guinea	5
7	Uganda	4	Tanzania	3	South Sudan ^a	5
8	Kenya	3	Uganda	2	Kenya	5
9	Nigeria	2	Ghana	2	Angola	4
10	Rwanda	2	Zimbabwe	2	Gabon	3
	Others	13	Others	13	Others	18

DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo.

^a Although South Sudan did not become independent until July 2011, Sudan and the Government of Southern Sudan are treated as separate importers from the establishment of the latter in July 2005.

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/>>.

aircraft.¹³ In another example, Kenya's main naval procurement in 1996–2010 was a contract signed in 2008 to modernize its two Nyayo fast-attack craft.¹⁴

Available national reports on arms exports can be used to complement assessments of arms flows to sub-Saharan Africa, even though there remain problems with the validity and reliability of the reporting.¹⁵ The most useful are the annual reports published by the European Union (EU) on exports of major arms, SALW and other military equipment by EU member states. Information extracted from these reports on exports to sub-Saharan Africa in 2005–2009 are summarized in appendix B.¹⁶ Many of the supplier recipient relationships that are documented in these reports on the broad category of arms and military equipment would be unlikely to have been publicly known otherwise. For example, the EU report is the only public source that indicates that Ethiopia imported or sought to import arms or military equipment from nine EU member states during 2005–2009.

¹³ 'Czech aircraft maker to refurbish Nigeria's fleet', *Punch* (Lagos), 7 July, 2007; and Gianvanni, P., 'The MB-339 still going strong', *Aermacchi World*, no. 2 (Sep. 2006), p. 43.

¹⁴ Fincantieri, 'Fincantieri to upgrade two vessels for Kenya navy', Press release, 30 Oct. 2008, <<http://www.fincantieri.it/cms/data/browse/news/000254.aspx>>.

¹⁵ Several major arms exporters, including China, Israel and Russia, do not publish detailed arms export reports. On government reporting of arms exports see Weber, H. and Bromley, M., 'National reports on arms exports', SIPRI Fact Sheet, Mar. 2011, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=423>.

¹⁶ Only partial data for 2010 was available at the time of writing, so the 5-year period 2005–2009 is considered here. For similar official data on South African exports to the region see Wezeman, P. D., 'South African arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa', SIPRI Background Paper, Jan. 2011, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=419>.

The relation between arms production and arms import

Over the past 60 years several sub-Saharan African countries have tried to establish indigenous military production capabilities in order to reduce their dependence on arms imports. However, the region's arms industry does not provide a substitute for arms imports. Not only is it limited in scale and on a low level of technology, it also remains heavily dependent on foreign supply of designs, production equipment and components. Furthermore, its development has been almost stagnant over the years and it remains focused on weapon maintenance and the licensed production of small arms and related ammunition. The Sudanese arms industry is probably the largest in sub-Saharan Africa, followed by those of Ethiopia and Nigeria.

Arms production in Sudan started in 1959 in a rifle ammunition plant supplied by British and West German companies.¹⁷ The current Sudanese arms industry is concentrated in the Military Industry Corporation (MIC), which was established in the early 1990s.¹⁸ Several reports suggest that MIC rebuilt or refurbished its ammunition-production facility in 1996–97, possibly with the involvement of Bulgarian, Pakistani and Ukrainian firms.¹⁹ Currently, the small arms that MIC claims to produce are copies of the Soviet-designed Kalashnikov assault rifle, the US-designed M-16 assault rifle, and the German-designed MG-3 machine gun, G-3 assault rifle and MP-5 sub-machine gun.²⁰ The technology or components for these weapons are likely to come from China, Iran or Pakistan, which produce these weapons themselves and have had arms supply relations with Sudan in recent years.²¹ On its website, MIC advertises that it is involved in the upgrading of T-55 tanks and in the production of Chinese-designed WZ-501 armoured personnel carriers (APCs) and Type-85-2 tanks and several Soviet-designed artillery pieces.²² The T-55 upgrade package was imported from Iran around 2006 and the artillery production is probably related to an import of materials and production equipment from Bulgaria in 1995–2002.²³ MIC advertises that it assembles a light aircraft with Russian and Chinese assistance, AK1-3 light

¹⁷ Deckert, R., 'Deutsches Kriegsgerät im Sudan' [German military equipment in Sudan], Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft–Vereinigte KriegsdienstgegnerInnen, 30 June 2008, <<http://www.dfg-vk.de/thematisches/kleinwaffen-aechten/2008/288>>.

¹⁸ Military Industry Corporation, <<http://mic.sd/>>.

¹⁹ Lewis (note 10), pp. 34–35; and Bevan, J., *Blowback: Kenya's Illicit Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District*, Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper no. 22 (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, June 2008), pp. 90–91.

²⁰ Assessment based on images shown on MIC's website, <<http://mic.sd/images/products/wepons/ar/rsh.html>>, compared with information from *Jane's Infantry Weapons*.

²¹ Jones, R. D. and Ness, L. S. (eds), *Jane's Infantry Weapons 2008–2009* (Jane's Information Group: Coulsdon, 2008).

²² These items are shown on the MIC website without reference to their origin. MIC, 'Products', <<http://mic.sd/english/products.htm>>.

²³ SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4); and 'Bulgaria court suspends judgement on arms embargo violation case', Sofia News Agency, 28 Feb. 2008, <http://www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=90813>.

helicopters from Ukraine and UTVA-75 light aircraft from Serbia.²⁴ MIC also has a maintenance centre for combat and transport aircraft and helicopters.²⁵

In Ethiopia, several companies under the Ministry of National Defence produce 60-mm and 82-mm mortars, small arms ammunition, a version of the Kalashnikov rifle (called the ET-97/1), and grenade launchers and overhaul armoured vehicles and military aircraft.²⁶ Production of the ET-97/1 rifle started in the late 1990s with help from North Korea, which in 2006 delivered further spare parts for machinery and engineering equipment and raw material for making ammunition for small arms.²⁷

The Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria (DICON) was established in 1964, when Nigeria obtained production equipment for Italian-designed rifles and small arms ammunition from West Germany. In 1983 DICON started production of rifles, pistols and machine guns with technology imported from Belgium.²⁸ After a period of decline, in 2007 the Nigerian Government financed a project to revive DICON, which reportedly managed to restore a substantial part of its production capability.²⁹ The project included the procurement from China of a production line for 7.62-mm ammunition.³⁰ DICON also claims to have designed its own version of the Kalashnikov assault rifle (called the OBJ-006) and to have procured machinery from China to produce it.³¹ On several occasions in 2006–2009 DICON announced the start of production of the OBJ-006 rifle.³² It currently claims it can produce or assemble 81-mm mortars, Belgian-designed FAL and Soviet-designed Kalashnikov assault rifles, Soviet-designed RPG-7 grenade launchers, Belgian-designed MAG light machine guns, Italian-designed M-12 sub-machine guns as well as hand grenades and small arms ammunition.³³ During the 1990s, 60 Air Beetle basic trainer aircraft from the USA were assembled in Nigeria, but an attempt around 1990 to set up an assembly plant for 4K7FA APCs from Austria failed.³⁴

Several other countries in sub-Saharan Africa have small military production capabilities. The Kenya Ordnance Factories Corporation started production in

²⁴ Jackson, P., *Jane's All the World's Aircraft 2010–2011* (Jane's Information Group: Coulsdon, 2010), p. 581.

²⁵ Safat Aviation Complex, <<http://www.safatavia.com/english/>>; and 'Russian firm to maintain Sudanese helicopters', *Sudan Tribune*, 25 Aug. 2009.

²⁶ Girma, B., 'Country showcases home-made armament', *Africa Monitor* (Addis Ababa), 5 June 2008.

²⁷ Rufael, T. G., 'Design of Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) frame work and its implementation (with special reference to Gafat Engineering Factory)', Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies, Master's thesis, Nov. 2007, <<http://etd.aau.edu.et/dspace/handle/123456789/1556>>; and Gordon, M. R., 'Ethiopia denies shipment from Korea violated ban', *New York Times*, 15 Apr. 2007.

²⁸ Adewoye, O. O., 'Military technology and industrial base: key elements of national power', Paper presented to Course 15, National War College, Abuja, 14 Nov. 2006; and Deckert, R., 'Deutsche Kleinwaffen: die Nigeria-Connection' [German small arms: the Nigeria connection], Berlin Information-center for Transatlantic Security, <http://www.bits.de/public/articles/kw_nl/kleinwaffen-nl02-08.htm>, Feb. 2008.

²⁹ Obateru, T., 'Obasanjo tasks DICON on arms production', *Vanguard* (Lagos), 11 May 2007.

³⁰ Mamah, E., 'TRADOC, DICON to produce armoured personnel carrier', *Vanguard* (Lagos), 15 Jan. 2009.

³¹ 'Nigeria to mass-produce Nigerian version of AK-47 rifles', Xinhua, 2 Oct. 2006.

³² Mamah (note 30); and 'Nigeria to mass-produce Nigerian version of AK-47 rifles' (note 31).

³³ Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria (DICON), <<http://www.dicon.gov.ng/aboutus.html>>.

³⁴ Adewoye (note 28).

Table 2.3. The top 10 suppliers of major arms to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa), 1996–2000, 2001–2005 and 2006–10

Figures are the percentage shares of the total volume of exports of major conventional arms to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa).

Rank	1996–2000		2001–2005		2006–10	
	Exporter	Share	Exporter	Share	Exporter	Share
1	Russia	31	Russia	51	China	25
2	Belarus	12	China	9	Ukraine	20
3	Ukraine	8	Ukraine	7	Russia	11
4	China	6	Moldova	5	Italy	6
5	Slovakia	6	Bulgaria	5	South Africa	5
6	Bulgaria	5	Belarus	4	Belarus	4
7	Canada	4	Israel	2	Moldova	4
8	United States	3	United States	2	Jordan	3
9	Italy	2	Italy	1	United States	3
10	Spain	2	Slovakia	1	Singapore	3
	Others	21	Others	13	Others	16

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/>>.

1997 of small arms ammunition on a Belgian-supplied production line with an annual capacity of 20 million rounds ordered in 1988.³⁵ In Tanzania, Mzinga Corporation reportedly had an annual production capacity of 7 million rounds in 2005, using Chinese production equipment supplied in 1972. A 2005 effort to increase production capacity with Belgian equipment failed because the Belgian authorities did not authorize the deal.³⁶ In Uganda, Luwero Industries refurbishes Kalashnikov-type rifles and uses South African equipment and cartridge cases, propellant, primer caps and bullets imported from China to produce ammunition.³⁷ Zimbabwe Defence Industry (ZDI) started to produce ammunition for small arms, mortars and artillery in the early 1990s using equipment imported from France and China.³⁸ Some key components for the ammunition had to be imported, including casings from Bulgaria and fuses from Israel.³⁹ ZDI is reported to have gone bankrupt and closed down in late 2009.⁴⁰ In Namibia,

³⁵ Herssens, H., 'Handel in kennis en technologie' [Trade in knowledge and technology], *MO Mondiaal Nieuws*, 1 June 2004; and Kenya Ordnance Factories Corporation, <http://www.kofc.co.ke/about_us.htm>.

³⁶ Verbruggen, D. et al., *Wapentrafieken in de regio van de grote meren: Tanzania* [Arms trafficking in the Great Lakes region: Tanzania], International Peace Information Service (IPIS) Dossier no. 145 (IPIS: Antwerp, 16 June 2005); and Berghazan, G., 'Le Gouvernement wallon suspend la licence d'exportation vers la Tanzanie' [The Walloon Government suspends licence for export to Tanzania], Groupe de recherche et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité (GRIP), 25 Mar. 2005, <<http://www.grip.org/bdg/g4569.html>>.

³⁷ Ugandan National Enterprise Corporation, 'Luwero Industries Ltd', 2008, <<http://nec.ug/services.php>>; Matsiko, G., 'UPDF ammunition factory goes commercial', *New Vision* (Kampala), 30 Sep. 2003; Rubin, C., 'SA troops may face "local" ammo in DRC', *Sunday Independent* (Cape Town), 17 June 2000; and Bevan (note 19), p. 37.

³⁸ Mlambo, N., *The Zimbabwe Defence Industry, 1980–1995*, Defence Digest Working Paper no. 2 (Southern African Centre for Defence Information: Cape Town, [1999]).

³⁹ Athas, I., 'Mortar mystery explodes', *Sunday Times* (Colombo), 5 Oct. 1997.

⁴⁰ Mandizvidza, S., 'ZDI broke, sends staff on forced leave', *The Standard* (Harare), 24 Oct. 2009.

Windhoeker MaschinenFabrik (WMF) has manufactured small numbers of wheeled light-armoured vehicles since 1977, including some for export.⁴¹

The supplier states

Supplies of major conventional arms

States in sub-Saharan Africa have received major arms from a wide variety of countries. China, Russia and Ukraine are consistently among the largest suppliers, although their shares of total imports vary widely (see table 2.3). In 2006–10 many of the world's leading arms exporters were among the main suppliers to sub-Saharan African states—including China, Italy, Russia, Ukraine and the United States. However, other leading arms exporters—such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom—transferred only small volumes of major arms to the region.⁴² Conversely, countries that play a relatively modest role as arms exporters globally—such as Belarus, Jordan and Moldova—are significant arms suppliers to individual countries in sub-Saharan Africa or provide a significant proportion of the major arms supplied to the region as a whole. For most suppliers, sub-Saharan Africa accounts for only a very small share of their arms exports. However, in 2006–10 it accounted for 11 per cent of Chinese exports of major arms and for 17 per cent of Ukrainian exports. While some suppliers—such as China, South Africa and Ukraine—have exported arms to many countries in the region, others have supplied to few or only one (see table 2.4).

There are indications that in the coming years there might again be significant shifts in the ranking of the suppliers. For example, deliveries of 6 new Su-30MK2 combat aircraft to Uganda (ordered in 2010) and of 32 Mi-24 combat helicopters to Sudan (ordered in 2009) are likely to increase Russia's share of arms supplies to the region substantially.⁴³ Ukraine may also account for a larger share in the future because it is to deliver 10 modernized S-125-2D surface-to-air missile systems to two as-yet-unidentified recipients in Africa and 200 T-72 tanks to Ethiopia.⁴⁴ China is also trying to increase its arms sales to sub-Saharan Africa. It was the largest exhibitor at the Africa Aerospace and Defence 2010 (AAD2010) arms fair held in Cape Town, South Africa, but the secrecy that surrounds contracts for Chinese arms export means that it is hard to predict future Chinese deliveries.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Windhoeker MaschinenFabrik, <<http://www.wmf.com.na/>>.

⁴² The top 10 exporters in 1996–2010 were the USA, Russia, France, Germany, the UK, China, the Netherlands, Ukraine, Italy and Sweden. SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4).

⁴³ Eriku, J. and Makumbi, C., 'Fighter jets: Museveni says no more war hurdles', 16 Aug. 2011, *The Monitor* (Kampala); and United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Panel of Experts on the Sudan established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), 10 Sep. 2010, annex to S/2011/111, 8 Mar. 2011, p. 31.

⁴⁴ [Ukraine to deliver 10 missile systems to Africa by end of 2011], Interfax-Ukraine, 24 Nov. 2010 (in Ukrainian); and 'Ethiopia to acquire Ukrainian MBTs', *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 22 June 2011, p. 20.

⁴⁵ 'China to be biggest exhibitor at "AAD 2010" expo', Brahmand.com, 3 Sep. 2010, <<http://www.brahmand.com/news/China-to-be-biggest-exhibitor-at-AAD-2010-expo/4816/1/10.html>>.

Table 2.4. The suppliers of major conventional arms to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) and their recipients, 2006–10

The share of exports of the largest recipient is that recipient's share of the total volume of the supplier's exports of major arms to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa).

Rank	Supplier	Largest recipient (share of exports)	Other recipients	No. of recipients
1	China	Nigeria (35%)	Benin, Chad, Congo (Republic of), Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan ^a , Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	16
2	Ukraine	Chad (28%)	Comoros, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, South Sudan ^a , Sudan ^a , Uganda, Zimbabwe	9
3	Russia	Sudan ^a (77%)	Chad, Niger, Senegal, Uganda	5
4	Italy	Nigeria (77%)	Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia	4
5	South Africa ^b	Gabon (58%)	Burkina Faso, Burundi, Malawi, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda	8
6	Belarus	Sudan ^a (94%)	Eritrea	2
7	Moldova	Angola (100%)	–	1
8	Jordan	Kenya (100%)	–	1
9	United States	Congo, Dem. Rep. (56%)	Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Ghana	6
10	Singapore	Nigeria (96%)	Chad	2
11	Spain	Botswana (44%)	Cape Verde, Mauretania, Rwanda, Senegal	5
12	Israel	Nigeria (46%)	Cameroon, Chad, Lesotho, Rwanda, Uganda	6
13	Iran	Sudan ^a (100%)	–	1
14	Belgium	Chad (86%)	Benin	2
15	Bulgaria	Mali (86%)	Chad	2
16	Czech Republic	Equatorial Guinea (58%)	Angola	2
17	Brazil	Namibia (100%)	–	1
18	France	Senegal (50%)	Chad, Mauretania, Togo	4
19	Slovakia	Sudan ^a (60%)	Angola, Central African Republic	3
20	Turkey	Nigeria (100%)	–	1
21	Canada	Zambia (80%)	Chad	2
22	Philippines	Burkina Faso (100%)	–	1
23	Libya	Chad (100%)	–	1
24	Austria	Uganda (100%)	–	1
25	Romania	Burkina Faso (100%)	–	1
26	Serbia	Sudan ^a (100%)	–	1
27	Switzerland	Chad (100%)	–	1
28	United Arab Emirates	Tanzania (100%)	–	1

Note: One or more unidentified suppliers (possibly including suppliers listed above) delivered major arms to Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Guinea.

^a Although South Sudan did not become independent until July 2011, Sudan and the Government of Southern Sudan are treated as separate recipients from the establishment of the latter in July 2005.

^b South Africa also delivered major arms to the African Union.

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/>>.

Supplies of small arms and light weapons and other military equipment

At least 22 countries supplied SALW to sub-Saharan Africa in 2006–10 (see appendix A). Several countries are known to be significant suppliers of SALW to the region. For example, in 2006–10 China exported SALW to at least six countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including over 40 000 assault rifles, and Ukraine is known to have exported SALW to five countries, including at least 126 000 assault rifles. Ukraine still has large numbers of surplus major arms and SALW for sale, and many of those may reach sub-Saharan Africa in coming years.⁴⁶ Some minor suppliers of major arms are also significant suppliers of SALW. In 2006–10 Serbia supplied SALW to at least nine countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Bulgaria to at least eight and Romania to at least five, including over 6000 rifles. Although they are not prominent in appendix A, it is probable that countries such as Belgium, China, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and Russia that have an SALW industry or stocks but do not publish detailed information on their exports of SALW and related ammunition play a significantly bigger role than suggested.⁴⁷

Some countries that supply other military equipment may play a more important role in the region than the data on transfers of major arms or SALW suggest. The EU, which publishes extensive information on arms exports, can be used to illustrate this: whereas 15 EU members exported major arms to sub-Saharan Africa, 7 more exported or licensed the export of the broader category of arms and military equipment, including major arms and SALW (see table B.1). Some of these exporters which supply major arms to only a few countries in the region have many more clients for other military equipment. For example, during 2005–2009 the Czech Republic supplied major arms to three countries in the region but exported other military equipment to an additional five countries. Such exports might involve significant volumes by regional standards. For example, France did not supply major arms to Angola during 2005–2009, but in 2008 a French company won a contract for the supply of a combined military–civilian telecommunications network to the Angolan Government, worth \$221 million.⁴⁸ Other sources indicate that countries which do not report on their arms export in detail are also significant suppliers of military equipment other than major arms. For example, Israel is known to have supplied military command, control and intelligence equipment to a number of countries in the region.⁴⁹

Governments reports about the financial value of arms exports, including major arms, SALW and other equipment, reinforce the conclusion that total arms exports to states in sub-Saharan Africa account for a small share of world arms transfers. According to official reports, arms exports by EU member states to the region were worth \$381 million in 2005–2009, accounting for 0.8 per cent of

⁴⁶ Holtom, P., 'Ukrainian arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa', SIPRI Background Paper, Feb. 2011, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=420>, p. 5.

⁴⁷ See e.g. eds Jones and Ness (note 21).

⁴⁸ Thales, 'Thales to deploy a national communication network in Angola', Press release, 9 Apr. 2009, <<http://www.thalesgroup.com/Pages/PressRelease.aspx?id=7135>>; and de Beaupuy, F., 'Thales wins contract with Angola during Sarkozy visit', Bloomberg, 23 May 2008.

⁴⁹ Wezeman (note 12).

arms exports by EU member states.⁵⁰ The USA reported that in 2005–2009 military equipment worth \$95 million was delivered to sub-Saharan Africa (including \$6.8 million for South Africa) under its Foreign Military Sales (FMS) programme, one of the two main administrative channels through which the USA exports arms. This accounted for 0.2 per cent of worldwide FMS deliveries.⁵¹

Motives

Suppliers' motives for supplying arms to sub-Saharan Africa are diverse, including short- and long-term economic aims, political influence and security aims. The relative importance of each of these considerations is difficult to assess.

During the cold war China, France, the Soviet Union, the UK and the USA supported various states in the region with the supply of arms as part of their efforts to gain or maintain political influence.⁵² In more recent years it has been argued that, because the prospects for sizeable revenues from arms sales to most African countries are low, arms transfers to Africa are likely to be part of broader policies for gaining access to natural resources in the recipient countries. This is particular true for China, the largest arms supplier to the region.⁵³ For example, some observers have argued that Chinese arms transfers to Nigeria, Rwanda and Zambia have been an instrument to improve relations in order to ensure China's access to oil, tin and tantalum in these countries.⁵⁴ One of China's leading arms-exporting companies, NORINCO (China North Industries Corporation), has cited the 'spillover effect' of military trade in its efforts to get contracts for its subsidiary Zhenhua Oil Co. in several countries worldwide including Angola.⁵⁵ However, it is hard to gauge the importance of access to natural resources as a motive for any of the suppliers. For example, China's arms transfers to Sudan and Zimbabwe may be better explained by a desire to strengthen or maintain long-standing military ties than by access to resources.⁵⁶ Moreover, China's delivery of

⁵⁰ Council of the European Union, 8th–10th annual reports according to Operative Provision 8 of the European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports, 2006–2008, and 11th–12th annual reports according to Article 8(2) of Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP defining common rules governing control of exports of military technology and equipment, 2009–10, available at <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1484>>.

⁵¹ US Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), *Historical Facts Book* (DSCA: Washington, DC, 30 Sep. 2010), pp. 30–33.

⁵² On arms transfers during the cold war see e.g. Brzoska, M. and Ohlson, T., SIPRI, *Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1971–85* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987), p. 83.

⁵³ Taylor, I., 'China's oil diplomacy in Africa', *International Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 5 (Sep. 2006), p. 949; and US Department of Defense (DOD), *Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009*, Report to Congress (DOD: Washington, DC, Mar. 2009), p. 3.

⁵⁴ Mahtani D., 'Nigeria shifts to China arms', *Financial Times*, 26 Feb. 2008; Gelfand, L., 'China cultivates Africa ties', *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 3 Nov. 2010; and Chang, A., 'China expanding African arms sales', UPI Asia, 26 Jan. 2009, <http://www.upiasia.com/Security/2009/01/26/china_expanding_african_arms_sales/1148/>.

⁵⁵ NORINCO (China North Industries Corp.), 'Zhenhua oil exceeds RMB 20 billion in sales revenue', [n.d.], <http://www.norinco.com/c1024/english/newscenter/content_92.html>.

⁵⁶ Large, D., 'China and the contradictions of "non-interference" in Sudan', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 35, no. 115 (Mar. 2008); and Shinn, D. H., 'Military and security relations: China, Africa, and the rest of the world', ed. R. I. Rotberg, *China into Africa: Trade, Aid and Influence* (Brookings Institution Press: Washington, DC, 2008), p. 173.

arms and military assistance to Tanzania, from which it imports few natural resources, shows that access to resources cannot be China's only motive for supplying arms to Africa.⁵⁷

Even if revenues from arms sales to sub-Saharan Africa are low in absolute terms, the arms industry's straightforward desire for profits can still drive arms exports. Statements by politicians and officials in Ukraine indicate that its arms supplies to Africa are primarily seen as a source of direct revenue for the Ukrainian arms industry, which depends on exports for its survival.⁵⁸ According to Ukrainian Government data, in 2010 Ukrainian arms exports to Africa amounted to 18 per cent of total arms exports worth \$956.7 million.⁵⁹ In the case of China, since sub-Saharan Africa accounts for an estimated 11 per cent of Chinese exports of major arms, profit is likely to be a motive; this is backed up by the fact that at the AAD2010 arms fair several Chinese arms companies were competing to sell similar products.⁶⁰ Russian officials have stated that low military budgets in Africa are an obstacle to arms exports to the region.⁶¹ To overcome this problem and earn income from arms exports, Russia has offered African countries flexible terms for paying for military equipment, including the possibility to barter arms for raw commodities or Russian involvement in the exploitation of natural resources.⁶²

The desire for political and military influence as a motive for supplying arms—which was common during the cold war—appears to have been of limited importance in transfers in 2006–10. The supply of arms does not appear to have played a prominent role for France, the UK and the USA in their security-related policies on sub-Saharan Africa, even though they are important external actors in security issues in sub-Saharan Africa. British military aid to the region in 2006–10 included only one delivery of arms: 450 assault rifles for Somaliland in 2010.⁶³ While the USA provides military aid to states in the region as part of a variety of programmes to strengthen counterterrorism, peacekeeping and border security capabilities, in financial year 2010 the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) programme—the main US aid programme related to military equipment—provided only \$18 million in aid to sub-Saharan Africa compared to \$5 billion world-

⁵⁷ Shinn (note 56), p. 161.

⁵⁸ Holtom (note 46), p. 3.

⁵⁹ 'Arms exports generate nearly \$1 billion for state', *Kyiv Post*, 20 Jan. 2011. See also Holtom (note 46), p. 3.

⁶⁰ Endres, G., 'China takes centre stage', Africa Aerospace and Defence 2010, Exhibition News, Jane's, 20 Sep. 2010, <<http://home.janes.com/events/exhibitions/aad2010/sections/daily/day1/china-takes-centre-stage.shtml>>.

⁶¹ Litovkin, D., 'We are exchanging grenade launchers for diamonds', *Izvestia*, 20 May 2009, Translation from Russian, World News Connection; and Rosoboronexport, 'Rosoboronexport State Corporation at Africa Aerospace and Defence 2004 Exhibition', Press release, 21 Sep. 2004.

⁶² These options have been promoted by officials of Rosoboronexport—the Russian state arms export agency—in sub-Saharan Africa, including in Rosoboronexport (note 61); Rosoboronexport, 'Rosoboronexport State Corporation at Africa Aerospace and Defence 2006', Press release, 19 Sep. 2006; and 'Russian arms trade official upbeat on prospects for cooperation with SAfrica', ITAR-TASS, 22 Sep. 2010, Translation from Russian, World News Connection.

⁶³ British Foreign and Commonwealth Office and departments for Business, Innovation and Skills, International Development, and Defence, *United Kingdom Strategic Export Controls Annual Report, 2006–10* edns (The Stationery Office: London, 2007–11).

wide.⁶⁴ Whereas in the 1990s, it was suggested that South Africa should position itself as a key supplier of arms to African countries in order to gain influence and strengthen its African identity, economic reasons have now clearly become the prime motive.⁶⁵ In contrast, some of Israel's arms exports to the region are probably related to its efforts to develop military ties, particularly with states strategically located to counter what Israel perceives as Iran-supported anti-Israel policies.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ US Defense Security Cooperation Agency (note 51), pp. 46, 65. For an overview of US military aid see US Department of State, 'Security assistance in Africa', [n.d.] <<http://www.state.gov/t/pm/c17671.htm>>.

⁶⁵ Wezeman (note 16).

⁶⁶ Wezeman (note 12), p. 14.

3. Recipient states' transparency in arms procurement

To understand the potential impact of arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa on peace and security and to argue for and contribute to the better control of arms flows to Africa, it is necessary to know what arms states in the region procure and why. Arms should be acquired for genuine security purposes, such as self-defence, to maintain internal security or to be able to participate in international peace operations. The decision to buy arms should be based on an adequate threat assessment; they should not contribute to destabilizing build-ups of arms; they must be suited for the envisaged tasks; and they must represent value for money. A key challenge to understanding the motives for and impact of arms procurement in sub-Saharan Africa is the recipient states' lack of transparency, which presents an obstacle to meaningful debate about how the states' military needs should be taken into account in discussions about arms control in the region.

The following sections study transparency at the national and international levels.¹ At the international level, transparency is the exchange of information by states as a means of building mutual confidence; the key global instrument in this area is the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA); a sub-regional example is provided by the ECOWAS Convention on SALW (see box 3.1).⁶⁷ At the national level, transparency refers to a government informing its citizens or their representatives (e.g. parliament) of its defence policy, including its procurement of arms and the underlying motives. National transparency improves accountability and can help ensure that resources are actually used to accomplish policy objectives. As the following sections show, levels of participation in UNROCA by sub-Saharan African countries (including South Africa) are low, while examples of arms procurement by sub-Saharan African countries show that levels of domestic transparency are also low but highlight attempts to place arms procurement on the parliamentary or public agenda in the region.

International transparency: the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms

Each year the UN requests all member states to report information on imports and exports of seven categories of major conventional arms to UNROCA in the preceding year. States are also invited to submit information on their holdings and procurement from domestic production of major conventional arms and, beginning in 2003, on their imports and exports of small arms and light weapons. The information provided by states to UNROCA can be used in analyses of states'

⁶⁷ See e.g. Holtom, P., *Transparency in Transfers of Small Arms and Light Weapons: Reports to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, 2003–2006*, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 22 (SIPRI: Stockholm, July 2008), pp. 3–5.

Box 3.1. Transparency in small arms and light weapons in West Africa

Transparency in transfers of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is a key element in the 2006 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials.^a The convention requires the parties to provide detailed information to the ECOWAS Commission on any import or production of SALW, including an annual report detailing orders and purchases.

By the end of 2010, 11 of the 15 ECOWAS member states had ratified the convention: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.^b There is no public information on the reporting under the convention. At least 6 ECOWAS member states—Burkina Faso, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal—imported SALW in 2006–10 (see appendix A). It is not known if these imports have been reported to the ECOWAS Commission. For the period 2006–2009, of the imports of SALW identified in appendix A, only Senegal reported the import of 150 machine guns in 2006 to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA).

^a ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials, adopted 14 June 2006, entered into force 29 Sep. 2009, <<http://www.ecosap.ecowas.int/index.php?Itemid=84>>. The convention was preceded by the ECOWAS Declaration of a Moratorium on Importation, Exportation, and Manufacture of Light Weapons in West Africa, Abuja, 31 Oct. 1998. However, the moratorium allowed exemptions.

^b ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme (ECOSAP), ‘Ministers adopt plan for implementation of the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms, call for ratification by member states’, 17 Mar. 2010, <<http://www.ecosap.ecowas.int/index.php?view=article&id=75>>; and Bodell, N., ‘Arms control and disarmament agreements’, *SIPRI Yearbook 2011: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011), p. 485.

military intentions and capabilities and in bilateral or regional consultations to help avoid misinterpretations, miscalculations and the exaggeration of threats that can influence arms races and armed conflicts. Since it was established in 1991, UNROCA has played a crucial role in promoting the norm of transparency in arms transfers and a state’s participation in it can be seen as a measure of its transparency in arms exports and imports.⁶⁸

Sub-Saharan Africa has a poor record in reporting to UNROCA (see figure 3.1). While all UN member states in the region voted in favour of the UN General Assembly resolution establishing the register in 1991, 11 did not report for any of the 18 years between 1992 and 2009. Most of those that have reported did so only for a few years. On average only 9 states—just under one-fifth of all sub-Saharan African states—responded each year to the request for data.⁶⁹

While it is certainly true that most African states probably have fewer imports to report than many countries in other regions, the reports of exporting countries show that most transfers to sub-Saharan African recipients are not being reported by the importers: the importing state either submits incomplete or inaccurate information or does not report at all. For 2005–2009 most deliveries to sub-Saharan African states reported by exporters went to states that did not

⁶⁸ UN General Assembly Resolution 46/36L, 6 Dec. 1991. See also Holtom, P., Béraud-Sudreau, L. and Weber, H., ‘Reporting to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms’, SIPRI Fact Sheet, May 2011, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=424>.

⁶⁹ UNROCA database, <<http://www.un-register.org>>. These figures are based on reporting for the years 1992–2009. By early Nov. 2011 the 78 states that had reported to UNROCA on arms imports and exports in 2010 included none from sub-Saharan Africa, but additional reports are likely to be submitted.

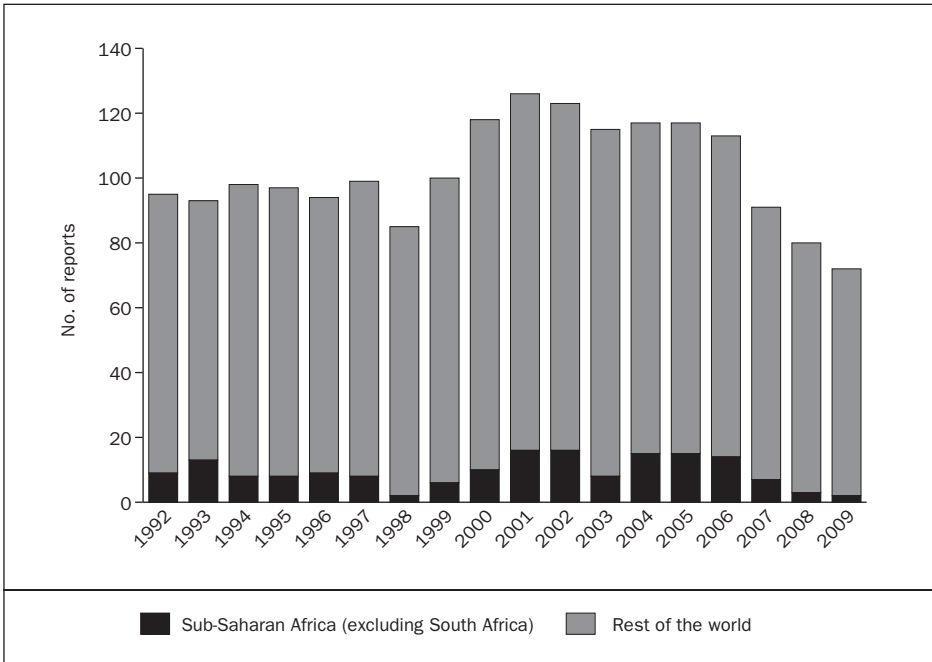


Figure 3.1. Reports to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, sub-Saharan Africa and rest of the world, 1992–2009

Note: Years are years for which data on transfers is reported.

Source: UNROCA database, <<http://www.un-register.org/>>.

report to UNROCA. For example, none of the 296 tanks reported by exporters as delivered to the region in 2005–2009 was reported by a recipient. In 16 of the 30 cases where both exporters and importers submitted a report, the importer reported nil imports while the exporter reported deliveries. In another 7 of the cases the data provided by the importer did not match the data provided by the exporter. For 2009 alone, exporters reported deliveries of 330 weapons to 18 states in sub-Saharan Africa (including South Africa). However, South Africa was the only one of the cited recipients that reported. Even in this relatively positive case, South Africa only reported on imports from one of three suppliers and in that case the number of deliveries reported did not match the number given by the exporter.⁷⁰

SALW are considered to have a significant role in destabilization and conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. Before the UN request for information for UNROCA was extended to include SALW in 2003, several states maintained that the lack of coverage of SALW meant that UNROCA was not a useful mechanism for the region. This perception was cited as one of the factors behind the low level of

⁷⁰ UNROCA database (note 69). Reported exports or imports of weapons clearly not covered by UNROCA or delivered to non-military users are excluded.

UNROCA reporting in the region.⁷¹ However, even prior to 2003 reporting on SALW was possible: states have always been invited to submit unformatted background information on their arms transfers beyond the seven main categories; and since 2003 few states have responded to the request to report on SALW, even after the introduction of a specific format for SALW reporting in 2006. Indeed, UNROCA reporting from sub-Saharan Africa continued to decrease (see figure 3.1).

Furthermore, the claim that major weapons do not play an important role in security thinking in sub-Saharan Africa is contradicted by the known imports of major arms, with exporters continuously reporting major arms transfers to UNROCA. For example, of all the weapons reported to UNROCA by exporters as delivered in 2009, 15 per cent of all of tanks, other armoured vehicles and attack helicopters and 20 per cent of all combat aircraft went to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa).

National transparency

Previous research suggests that in many cases arms procurement decisions in sub-Saharan Africa are not based on well-established procurement processes.⁷² Efforts to assess arms procurement policies are hindered by the fact that the governments of almost all sub-Saharan African countries show little or no public transparency about military matters and arms procurement decision making. This is true even for those few countries in the region which have formal structures and institutions that should provide some form of government accountability. In the period 2006–10 it seems that South Africa was the only country in the region to regularly publish documents describing in detail its defence policy.⁷³

Such secretiveness undermines claims by governments that weapons are procured for legitimate reasons. In 2006–10 many of the arms procurement projects that were large in the regional context were not subject to public scrutiny regarding their purpose and utility. For example, the purchases of 15 F-7M combat aircraft by Nigeria, 12 F-7Ms by Namibia, 6 Mirage F-1A combat aircraft by Gabon, 14 Su-25 combat aircraft by Sudan, 6 Su-25s by Chad and 4 Su-25s by Equatorial Guinea were not discussed publicly in any detail by the respective governments.

To illustrate the contrast between high public interest in arms procurement and low government transparency in the region, three countries are discussed

⁷¹ Holtom, Béraud-Sudreau and Weber (note 68), p. 6.

⁷² Omitoogun, W. and Hutchful, E. (eds), SIPRI, *Budgeting for the Military Sector in Africa: The Processes and Mechanisms of Control* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006). Only in South Africa has transparency in arms procurement reached a high level, even though the arms procurement process has been criticized. See e.g. Feinstein, A., Holden, P. and Pace, B., 'Corruption and the arms trade: sins of commission', *SIPRI Yearbook 2011* (note 1), pp. 13–35.

⁷³ US National Defense University, 'White papers on defense', <<http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers.html>>. South Africa's defence policy documents are available on the website of the South African Department of Defence, <<http://www.dod.mil.za/documents/documents.htm>>.

below: Ghana, Uganda and Kenya. The Ghanaian experience provides an example of one of the more transparent discussions in the region. The example of Uganda shows how a once relatively transparent government has fallen back to habits of secrecy at a time when its arms procurement has drastically increased. Kenya is a case of a country where parliamentary pressure has led to promising signs that transparency in arms procurement is developing.

Ghana

The Ghanaian Government is, by regional standards, relatively open about the official motives for its arms procurements, even though it has reported to UNROCA only for 2002 and 2007. Ghana's annual budget statements include reasoning for its procurement decisions. For example, the budget statement for 2010 stressed the need for a credible deterrent to defend Ghana's national interests, including new oil finds in its coastal waters.⁷⁴ The 2009 statement reported that the government had obtained a \$60 million loan facility in order to procure unidentified equipment to enhance the operational effectiveness of Ghanaian troops on UN peacekeeping operations.⁷⁵

Arms procurement also appears on the agenda of the Ghanaian Parliament. In 2008 a parliamentary committee prepared several reports about the planned procurement of arms, transport aircraft, patrol boats and a range of other support equipment for the Ghanaian armed forces. It concluded that the procurements were made necessary by a deterioration of the armed forces combined with the 'security implications' of the discovery of oil off the coast of Ghana.⁷⁶ Subsequently, in a closed-doors session in July 2010, the parliament approved the procurement of two patrol craft from Germany for \$38 million and equipment for the army and air force worth \$100 million from China.⁷⁷

Despite this degree of transparency, Ghanaian arms procurement can still be opaque and marred by confusion. This was shown in September 2009 when the US Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) reported that Ghana was interested in buying four C-27J transport aircraft for an estimated \$680 million.⁷⁸ The high cost estimate gave rise to criticism in the Ghanaian press, followed by contradictory reactions from government sources. Whereas a spokesperson for President John Atta Mills and a deputy information minister, Samuel Okudzeto, both denied that Ghana was negotiating the procurement of the aircraft, the defence minister, Joseph Henry Smith, confirmed that the purchase was under

⁷⁴ Ghanaian Government, *The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 2010 Financial Year* (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning: Accra, 18 Nov. 2009), p. 269.

⁷⁵ Ghanaian Government, *The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 2009 Financial Year* (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning: Accra, 5 Mar. 2009), p. 214.

⁷⁶ Hanson, E., 'Parliament leads the quest to re-equip the military before oil exploitation', *Public Agenda* (Accra), 17 Mar. 2008.

⁷⁷ Ghanaian Parliament, Business statement for the week ending 30 July 2010, <http://www.parliament.gh/egov/documents/business_statement>, p. 1; and 'Parliament goes into close door sitting', *Ghana Reporter*, 27 July 2010.

⁷⁸ US Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), 'The Government of Ghana: C-27J aircraft and related support', 9 Sep. 2009, <http://www.dscamilitary.com/pressreleases/36-b/36b_index.htm>.

negotiation but said that the cost would be nowhere near the reported estimate.⁷⁹ The minister for information, Zita Okaikoi, added that a final proposal for the procurement would be sent to the parliament for assessment.⁸⁰ In 2011, instead of four C-27Js, the Ghanaian Parliament approved the procurement from Spain of two C-295 transport aircraft for the air force.⁸¹

Uganda

In general, the Ugandan Government has been secretive about its arms procurement, both regarding the arms procured and its motives for the procurement. For example, it has never reported to UNROCA. However, the Ugandan Parliament has actively scrutinized several dubious arms procurement cases in the past 15 years. In 2000 a parliamentary select committee probed allegations of corrupt practices in the late 1990s in the Ugandan Ministry of Defence that resulted in the import of faulty and overpriced weapons.⁸² In 2004 the Ugandan Government published its first and only white paper on its overall military policies, which listed the perceived security threats to Uganda in general and abstract terms and provided some details of the costs and types of equipment that were to be acquired in 2004–2007.⁸³

Developments in 2010–11 showed that the gains made in transparency in the early 2000s had been reversed. In April 2010 Russian newspapers claimed that Uganda had signed a contract for six Su-30MK2 combat aircraft in a deal estimated to be worth \$200 million.⁸⁴ The claims were remarkable because, even with this small number of aircraft, Uganda would leap from having an outdated air force to having the most advanced combat aircraft in Central and East Africa. A Ugandan Army spokesperson admitted that negotiations had taken place but said that no contract had been signed.⁸⁵ The defence minister, Crispus Kiyonga, only stated that Ugandan arms procurement was classified, and that classified purchases were regularly audited by the auditor general to ensure appropriate accountability.⁸⁶ Even though it remained unclear to what extent the government had actually been negotiating the procurement of the aircraft and if it still planned the procurement, Ugandan parliamentarians questioned the need for

⁷⁹ Akuaku, B., 'Ayariga exposed over Mills jet', *Daily Guide* (Accra), 18 Sep. 2009.

⁸⁰ Ofei, A., 'Armed forces council is discussing proposals for new jets', Peace FM Online, 17 Sep. 2009, <<http://elections.peacefmonline.com/politics/200909/26981.php>>.

⁸¹ Adu-Gyamrah, E., 'Minority, majority clash in parliament—over purchase of aircraft', *Modern Ghana*, 21 July 2011, <<http://www.modernghana.com/news/341094/1/minority-majority-clash-in-parliament-over-purchas.html>>.

⁸² Tangri, R. and Mwenda, A. M., 'Military corruption and Ugandan politics since the late 1990s', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 98 (Dec. 2003), pp. 547–48.

⁸³ Uganda Ministry of Defence (MOD), *White Paper on Defence Transformation* (MOD: Kampala, June 2004).

⁸⁴ Nikol'skii, A., [Africa chooses 'Sukhoi'], *Vedomosti*, 5 Apr. 2010; and 'Russia to supply 16 Su-30 fighters to Algeria', *Voice of Russia*, 5 Apr. 2010, <<http://english.ruvr.ru/2010/04/05/6005964.html>>.

⁸⁵ Bwambale, T., 'Uganda denies buying Russian jets', *New Vision* (Kampala), 5 Apr. 2010.

⁸⁶ Musoke, C., 'No oil-jet swap with Russia: Kiyonga', *New Vision* (Kampala), 6 Apr. 2010; and Naturinda, S., 'Government asks Russia to explain jet story', *The Monitor* (Kampala), 8 Apr. 2010.

such advanced and expensive aircraft and raised concerns that they could fuel a regional arms race.⁸⁷

Despite the clear interest from the parliament in the issue, no further information was published until March 2011, when leaked information indicated that the Ugandan Government had secretly ordered combat aircraft and other military equipment worth \$740 million from an unidentified supplier and first payments worth \$400 million had been made. Officials from the Ministry of Defence responded to parliamentary questions by indicating that details of the deal were secret. An army spokesman provided a vague justification for the project, stating that the equipment was needed for 'strategic management of Uganda's security'.⁸⁸ Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni had earlier announced the deal at a closed meeting of members of his party, but withheld information about numbers and the delivery schedule. Museveni argued that the procurement of combat aircraft and tanks was necessary for use in the conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel group and in anticipation of future conflict with Egypt over claims to the water of the White Nile.⁸⁹ Parliamentarians from all parties questioned the acquisitions mainly on costs grounds and the deal contributed to anti-government protests related to high food and fuel prices.⁹⁰ Finally, the deal was confirmed in the summer of 2011, when the first two of six Su-30MK2 were shown publicly shortly after delivery.⁹¹

Kenya

On the international stage, Kenya has been a prominent supporter of the proposed arms trade treaty. It was among the seven co-authors of the original UN General Assembly resolution proposing an ATT and was represented in the group of governmental experts on its scope, draft parameters and feasibility.⁹² Domestically, arms procurement received little attention from the parliament and the general public until September 2008, when Somali pirates hijacked the MV *Faina*, which was transporting 33 T-72 tanks from Ukraine. Shipping documents gave rise to speculation that the tanks were to be supplied to the armed forces of the Government of Southern Sudan via Kenya.⁹³ In reaction, the Kenyan Government stated that the weapons were for the Kenyan Army but refused to discuss arms procurement any further.⁹⁴ In June 2008 Ukraine had already reported to UNROCA the export of 77 T-72 tanks to Kenya in 2007, whereas

⁸⁷ Olupot, M. and Bekunda, C., 'Parliament queries Russian jet deal', *New Vision* (Kampala), 7 Apr. 2010.

⁸⁸ Barigaba, J., '\$740m fighter jets scam sneaks under the radar', *East African*, 4 Apr. 2011.

⁸⁹ Byarabaha, B. and Mulindwa, H., 'M7's Shs1.7trn fighter jets: the inside story', *Red Pepper* (Kampala), 1 Apr. 2011.

⁹⁰ Mugerwa, Y., 'Uganda government takes Shs1.7 trillion for jet fighters', *Daily Monitor* (Kampala), 27 Mar. 2011; and Doornebal, A., 'Fighter jet deal contributes to Ugandan anger', *Radio Netherlands World-wide*, 20 Apr. 2011, <<http://www.rnw.nl/africa/article/fighter-jet-deal-contributes-ugandan-anger>>.

⁹¹ Ssebuyira, M., 'You don't wait for war to buy fighter jets, says Gen. Museveni', *Daily Monitor* (Kampala), 26 July 2011.

⁹² UN General Assembly Resolution 61/89, 6 Dec. 2006; and United Nations, General Assembly, 'Towards an arms trade treaty: establishing common international standards for the import, export and transfer of conventional arms', Note by the Secretary-General, A/63/334, 26 Aug. 2008.

⁹³ 'Hijacked tanks "for South Sudan"', BBC News, 7 Oct. 2008, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7656662.stm>>

⁹⁴ Shiundu, A., 'No more discussion on arms destination', *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 9 Oct. 2008.

Kenya submitted a nil report for 2007.⁹⁵ A Kenyan Government spokesman, replying to the question of why Kenya had not reported the tanks to UNROCA, said that ‘The government is not going to discuss its defence strategy, weapons acquisitions and deployment and its military plans with the media or anybody else for that matter’, but that ‘Any purchases will be reflected in the government’s report to the UN next year’.⁹⁶ However, Kenya did not report to UNROCA for 2008 or 2009.

A Kenyan parliamentary committee started an investigation in October 2008 to establish if the weapons were intended for Kenya or South Sudan.⁹⁷ In its final report in November 2009, the committee concluded that the status and ownership of the 33 T-72 tanks could not be established with certainty and that the investigation had been hindered by government secrecy. The committee recommended that the law be changed to allow public officers to disclose information to parliamentary committees in order to introduce accountability and checks and balances in the armed forces.⁹⁸

In late 2010 strong evidence surfaced that most or all of the T-72s had been delivered to the armed forces of the GOSS with the full knowledge of the highest levels in the Kenyan Government.⁹⁹ However, the revelations did not lead to any significant renewed debate about the Kenyan Government’s secretive support of the GOSS.

In August 2010 a new Kenyan constitution was adopted which increased the government’s accountability to the parliament. As a result, in mid-November 2010 a parliamentary committee was able to question high-level military officers and the defence minister about reports that 15 second-hand F-5 combat aircraft bought from Jordan were delivered in unserviceable condition in 2010.¹⁰⁰ In the same month questions were raised in the Kenyan press about possible corruption in the procurement of upgrade packages for armoured vehicles from Israel and a contract for the purchase of armoured vehicles from South Africa.¹⁰¹

As in the debate about the T-72 tanks in 2008–2009, in the 2010 debates the parliamentary and public interest did not appear to be driven by questions about the purpose of the weapons acquired and their relation to actual security threats and the regional military balance. The issues of concern were claims that the equipment in question was overpriced or not functioning properly and suspicions of corruption in the procurement process.

⁹⁵ UNROCA database (note 69).

⁹⁶ ‘Report reveals arms imports’, *Sunday Nation* (Nairobi), 4 Oct. 2008.

⁹⁷ Mutua, M., Oketch, W. and Mwakio, P., ‘Parliament to address ship mystery’, *The Standard* (Nairobi), 6 Oct. 2008.

⁹⁸ Kenyan National Assembly, Departmental Committee on Defence and Foreign Relations, ‘Report on the status and ownership of the military cargo aboard MV *Faina*’, Tenth Parliament, Nov. 2009.

⁹⁹ US Embassy in Nairobi, ‘Whither M/V *Faina*’s tanks’, Cable to US Department of State, no. 08NAIROBI2290, 2 Oct. 2008, <<http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2008/10/08NAIROBI2290.html>>.

¹⁰⁰ ‘MPs likely to question jets deal’, *The Nation* (Nairobi), 17 Nov. 2010; Kwayera, J., ‘Kenya’s new fighter jets cannot take off’, *The Standard* (Nairobi), 31 Oct. 2010; and ‘Transparency vital in financial transactions’, *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 18 Nov. 2010.

¹⁰¹ ‘Kenya’s military in new Sh800m row over vehicles’, *The Nation* (Nairobi), 18 Nov. 2010; and Agina, B., ‘Sh1.6 billion tender scandal rocks DoD’, *The Standard* (Nairobi), 25 Oct. 2010.

4. Arms transfers and conflict

In 2006–10, 22 of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa experienced armed conflict of some type.¹⁰² If providing an accurate overview of arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa is a difficult task, understanding the impact of those transfers on armed conflicts in the region is even harder.¹⁰³ On the one hand, there is limited empirical evidence to suggest a direct causal link between arms supplies and the outbreak or increase in intensity of a conflict. On the other hand, arms are widely believed to help states maintain or restore order and to be needed for legitimate defence purposes. Nonetheless, it is widely assumed that under certain circumstances there is a risk that arms supplies may provoke, prolong or exacerbate violent conflict. This assumption is reflected in the use of arms embargoes and other restrictions on arms exports as a conflict management tool by the United Nations, other multilateral organizations and individual countries (see box 4.1 and table 4.1).

To illustrate the complexities of assessing the impact of arms supplies on violent conflict, this chapter provides examples of how arms transfers played an actual or perceived role in violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa in 2006–10. Focusing on intrastate armed conflict, the predominant form of conflict in the region in this period, the first section discusses the role of arms exports to governments and rebel groups in a selection of countries involved in armed conflicts or where militaries have been involved in the overthrowing of governments. The following section assesses the occurrence of illegal arms transfers to both governments and rebel groups. Such illegal transfers are widely considered as playing a prominent role in fuelling armed conflicts. The chapter ends with a discussion of the contrast between the widely accepted need for well-equipped peacekeepers and the restrictions on arms supplies to sub-Saharan Africa.

Arms supplies to countries in conflict

Governments involved in armed conflict, unless subject to an embargo, can legally import arms. Rebel groups have two main sources of arms: capture (usually of small arms and light weapons) from government arsenals or on the

¹⁰² This includes inter- or intrastate armed conflict, one-sided armed violence involving government forces, or non-state armed conflict. Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia, <<http://www.ucdp.uu.se/>>.

¹⁰³ For general discussions of the impact of arms transfers in conflict see e.g. Sislin, J. and Pearson, F. S., *Arms and Ethnic Conflict* (Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham, MD, 2001); Brzoska, M., Pearson, F. S., *Arms and Warfare, Escalation, De-escalation and Negotiation* (University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, SC, 1994); Clarke J. N., 'Early warning analysis for humanitarian preparedness and conflict prevention', *Civil Wars*, vol. 7, no. 1 (spring 2005); Craft, C. and Smaldone, J. P., 'The arms trade and the incidence of political violence in sub-Saharan Africa, 1967–97', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 39, no. 6 (Nov. 2002), p. 704; Herbst, J., 'African militaries and rebellion: the political economy of threat and combat effectiveness', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 41, no. 3 (May 2004); and Wang, T. Y., 'Arms transfers and coups d'état: a study on sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 6 (Nov. 1998).

Box 4.1. Arms embargoes

Of the 13 mandatory UN arms embargoes in force in 2006–10, 8 were directly related to sub-Saharan Africa (see table 4.1). However, although armed conflict was threatened or occurred in several parts of the region, only one new UN arms embargo related to a sub-Saharan African destination was imposed in this period: the embargo imposed on Eritrea in December 2009.^a In addition, in July 2008 a majority of UN Security Council members voted in favour of an arms embargo on Zimbabwe, but the resolution was vetoed by China and Russia.

During 2006–10, in addition to the UN sanctions, the European Union (EU) embargoed arms exports to Sudan, Zimbabwe and, starting in 2009, Guinea.^b As well as applying these outright bans, the EU member states must apply common rules governing the control of exports of military technology and equipment. These spell out eight criteria against which arms export licence applications must be assessed.^c Implementation of the criteria regularly led to denials of arms export licences to sub-Saharan Africa in 2005–2009 (see e.g. tables 4.3 and B.1). ECOWAS imposed an embargo on Guinea in October 2009 while the USA had unilateral arms embargoes in place on Eritrea, Sudan and Zimbabwe during 2006–10.^d

^a UN Security Council Resolution 1907, 23 Dec. 2009; and United Nations, Security Council, Draft resolution, S/2008/447, 11 July 2008.

^b For details of these and other embargoes see the SIPRI Arms Embargoes Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/embargoes/>>.

^c See e.g. Bromley, M., *The Impact on Domestic Policy of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports: The Czech Republic, the Netherlands and Spain*, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 21 (SIPRI: Stockholm, May 2008).

^d ECOWAS, Extraordinary Summit of ECOWAS heads of state and government, Final communiqué, Abuja, 17 Oct. 2009; and US Department of State, 'Country policies and embargoes', 4 Nov. 2011, <http://www.pmdtc.state.gov/embargoed_countries/>.

battlefield and international arms transfers.¹⁰⁴ Rebel groups may acquire weapons from foreign dealers, acting without state authorization, or from foreign governments supportive of the rebel's cause.¹⁰⁵ In particular, several states in sub-Saharan Africa are suspected of supplying arms to rebel groups in the region in 2006–10.

Rebels in one conflict area may also obtain weapons from other conflict areas. During the Libyan conflict in 2011, the country's well-stocked arsenals were plundered and the whereabouts of many weapons is now unknown. Large numbers of these weapons may have been stolen and supplied to rebel groups in neighbouring countries and beyond. Weapons known to have been taken from Libyan arsenals include large numbers of basic arms, such as rifles, and smaller numbers of more advanced light weapons, such as portable or light truck-mounted anti-aircraft missiles and portable guided anti-tank missiles, which could significantly boost rebel forces' capability to fight aircraft and armour deployed by governments.¹⁰⁶ The concerns raised by these developments led the

¹⁰⁴ On craft production of crude firearms, another source of weapons for armed opposition groups in sub-Saharan Africa, see e.g. Aning, E. K., 'The anatomy of Ghana's secret arms industry', eds N. Florquin and E. G. Berman, *Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns, and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region* (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, May 2005); and Wakil, B., 'National arms production capacity of Nigeria', 2005, <http://www.un-casa.org/CASACountryProfile/OtherDocument/61@InvRpt_Nigeria.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. Mathiak, L. and Lumpe, L., 'Government gun-running to guerrillas', ed. L. Lumpe, *Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms* (Zed Books: London, 2000).

¹⁰⁶ Human Rights Watch, 'Libya: secure unguarded arms depots', 9 Sep. 2011 <<http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/09/09/libya-secure-unguarded-arms-depots>>; and Schroeder, M., 'Holy grails: Libya loses control of its MANPADS', *Jane's Intelligence Review*, May 2011, pp. 18–22.

Table 4.1. United Nations arms embargoes on targets in sub-Saharan Africa, 2006–10

Target	Entry into force	Lifted
Côte d'Ivoire	15 Nov. 2004	–
Congo, Democratic Republic of (NGF)	28 July 2003	–
Eritrea	23 Dec. 2009	–
Liberia (NGF)	19 Nov. 1992	–
Rwanda (NGF)	16 Aug. 1995	10 July 2008
Sierra Leone (NGF)	5 June 1998	29 Sep. 2010
Somalia (NGF)	23 Jan. 1992	–
Sudan (Darfur region)	30 July 2004	–

NGF = non-governmental forces; in all other cases the target of the sanctions is the entire country or region.

Source: SIPRI Arms Embargoes Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/embargoes/>>.

UN Security Council to adopt a resolution that aims to prevent the spread of Libyan arms.¹⁰⁷

Sudan

The Sudanese Government, along with the government-aligned Janjaweed militias, fought a conflict with rebels in the Darfur region of Sudan, including the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A), throughout the period 2006–10. The UN Security Council, stressing that there could not be a military solution to the conflict, prohibited any movement of military equipment into Darfur by all of the belligerents, including Sudanese government forces, in March 2005.¹⁰⁸

The Sudanese Government, ignoring the UN sanctions, continuously moved military equipment into Darfur in 2006–10.¹⁰⁹ During the same period Sudan imported arms from several countries, in particular Belarus, China, Russia and Ukraine.¹¹⁰ While there is no evidence that these arms were supplied directly to Sudanese Government forces in Darfur in violation of the UN embargo, there was good reason to believe that, soon after delivery, they were moved to and used in Darfur in violation of the UN sanctions. For example, in 2010 several Su-25 combat aircraft were observed in Darfur. The Sudanese Government had acquired these aircraft, part of a batch of about 15, from Belarus since 2008 under a letter of guarantee that they would not be used in violation of the UN sanc-

¹⁰⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 2017, 31 Oct. 2011.

¹⁰⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 1591, 29 Mar. 2005. An arms embargo on non-governmental entities and individuals, including the Janjaweed, had applied since July 2004.

¹⁰⁹ United Nations (note 43), p. 31.

¹¹⁰ Holtom, P. and Wezeman, P., 'Arms exports to Sudan', Memorandum, British House of Lords, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Development Policy Sub-committee, *The EU's Conflict Prevention and Peace-keeping Role in Sudan: Written Evidence* (House of Lords: London, 11 Mar. 2011). Ukraine reported in July 2011 that it had exported 60 T-72 and 55 T-55 tanks to Sudan in 2010. Ukrainian State Export Control Service, [Information about the volume of international transfers of specific categories of conventional weapons made by Ukraine in 2010], July 2011, <http://www.dsecu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=45021&cat_id=45020> (in Ukrainian).

tions.¹¹¹ In response to these findings, in October 2010 the UN Security Council decided that states must ensure that any sale or supply of arms and related materiel to Sudan is conditional on end-user documentation stating that the arms will not be used in Darfur.¹¹²

Until about 2009, when relations between Chad and Sudan improved, weapons from Chadian Government stocks ended up in the hands of rebels in Darfur. Elements in the Chadian Government had been involved in arms supplies to Sudanese rebels, possibly with support from actors in Eritrea.¹¹³ The UN panel of experts on Darfur also found SALW in the hands of rebels in Darfur that could be traced back to Libya. Although it could not be established when and how these arms had arrived in Darfur, the panel suspected that the weapons had been supplied directly by the Libyan Government of Mu'ammar Gaddafi.¹¹⁴

Arms acquisitions by the Sudanese Government in 2006–10 should also be assessed in connection to its hostile relations with the Government of Southern Sudan. Both the Sudanese Government and the GOSS upgraded their armed forces during that period. Until its independence in July 2011, South Sudan was part of Sudan but was governed by the GOSS following the signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the Sudanese Government.¹¹⁵ Despite the fact that the CPA did not allow arms procurement by the GOSS without the consent of the Sudanese Government, the GOSS did so without consent, including an estimated 110 T-72 tanks from Ukraine (via Kenya) and 9 Mi-17V-5 military transport helicopters from Russia.¹¹⁶ As a result, Russia and Ukraine have become suppliers to both sides. At the same time, the EU and the USA maintained arms embargoes on the whole of Sudan, although the UK and the USA have been heavily involved in the transformation of the SPLA into a national army.¹¹⁷ The USA actively tried to convince both Kenya and Ukraine to stop the transfer of the T-72 tanks to South Sudan.¹¹⁸

*Chad*¹¹⁹

During 2006–10 the Chadian Government fought various rebel factions, some of which were supported by Sudan. In the same period, increased oil revenues pro-

¹¹¹ United Nations (note 43), pp. 30–31.

¹¹² UN Security Council Resolution 1945, 14 Oct. 2010, para. 10.

¹¹³ Wezeman, P. D., 'Arms flows to the conflict in Chad', SIPRI Background Paper, Aug. 2009, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=389>.

¹¹⁴ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the panel of experts established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) concerning the Sudan, 1 Oct. 2008, annex to S/2008/647, 11 Nov. 2008, p. 19.

¹¹⁵ Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army, Nairobi, 9 Jan. 2005, annex to United Nations, Security Council, S/2005/78, 10 Feb. 2005.

¹¹⁶ On the CPA restrictions see Lewis (note 10), pp. 19–20.

¹¹⁷ Rands, R., *In Need of Review: SPLA Transformation in 2006–10 and Beyond*, Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) Working Paper no. 23 (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, Nov. 2010), pp. 32–38.

¹¹⁸ US Embassy in Nairobi, 'Kenya responds to Sudan tank demarche', 16 Dec. 2009, Cable to US Department of State, no. 09NAIROBI2497, <<http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2009/12/09NAIROBI2497.html>>.

¹¹⁹ This section is based on Wezeman (note 113).

vided the means to sharply increase arms imports.¹²⁰ Some suppliers provided Chad with arms in order to bring the conflict to an end more quickly.

In February 2008 the UN Security Council called on member states to support the Chadian Government in its fight against the rebels, which was interpreted by some as legitimizing arms supplies to Chad. By far the largest supplier of arms was Ukraine, followed by a variety of other suppliers of major arms and other weapons including Belgium, Bulgaria, China, France, Israel, Libya, Russia and Singapore. The supplied arms were a major boost to Chad's military strength and were quickly deployed in the fight against the rebel forces. For example, six Ukrainian-supplied Su-25 combat aircraft were Chad's first jet combat aircraft; they played a significant role in offensives against the rebels and provided Chad with the means to attack rebel camps in Sudan.¹²¹ As in Somalia (see below), arms supplies were not universally seen as part of a solution to the conflict. This division of views was reflected in the widely differing policies of EU member states—which apply the same criteria for their arms export licensing decisions—regarding Chad. Whereas France actively supported Chad with arms, Romania and Germany refused licences for the export of military or combat equipment to the Chadian Government, referring to the conflict and human rights violations in the country.¹²²

Different rebel forces in Chad sustained their military activities with weapons received from the Sudanese Government. Despite denials from Sudan, the available evidence indicates that the Sudanese authorities hosted Chadian rebel groups and supplied them with SALW and multiple rocket launchers.¹²³

Whereas in February 2008 rebel forces managed to push unhindered through Chad and attack the capital, N'Djamena, by 2010 the Chadian Government had once more gained control over most of the country. It is unclear whether this change in fortunes was due to the government forces' major increases in firepower or to Sudan normalizing its relations with Chad and ending its support for Chadian rebel groups. However, access to many arms suppliers may have been a significant incentive for the Chadian Government to pursue a military solution to its dispute with the various rebel groups.

Côte d'Ivoire

In 2002 a rebellion broke out in Côte d'Ivoire that divided the country into a northern zone controlled by the rebel Forces Nouvelles (New Forces) and a southern zone controlled by the Ivoirian Government, led by President Laurent Gbagbo. The two sides were kept apart by the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), supported by French troops. After nine French soldiers were killed in a government air attack on rebels in November 2004, French forces destroyed the

¹²⁰ Perlo-Freeman, S., Ismail, O. and Solmirano, C., 'Military expenditure', *SIPRI Yearbook 2010: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010), pp. 179–80.

¹²¹ Cooper, T. and Weinert, P., *African MiGs*, vol. 1, *Angola to Ivory Coast* (Harpia Publishing: Houston, TX, 2010).

¹²² Wezeman (note 113), p. 3. Germany has reported supplies of arms to UN peacekeepers in Chad as exports of arms to Chad.

¹²³ Wezeman (note 113), p. 8.

Ivorian Air Force.¹²⁴ In the same month the UN imposed an arms embargo. The presence of UNOCI and the generally successful implementation of the arms embargo prevented the Ivorian Government from rebuilding its air force, stopped it from resorting to force to regain control of the whole country, and finally hindered it from fighting off an opposition offensive in early 2011.¹²⁵

From the outbreak of conflict, Burkina Faso was accused of backing the Forces Nouvelles with training, funding and arms supplies, in contravention of the UN arms embargo. Evidence for the accusations of arms supplies from Burkina Faso increased in 2010, when small arms formerly belonging to the Burkinan armed forces were seen in the possession of the Forces Nouvelles.¹²⁶ Burkina Faso denied the allegations and claimed that Burkinan Army and Police ammunition found in Côte d'Ivoire came from stocks looted during unrest in Burkina Faso in 2006, illustrating the difficulty of proving allegations of government support to rebel forces.¹²⁷ There were also indications that the Forces Nouvelles bought weapons from sources in neighbouring countries.¹²⁸

Gbagbo was removed from power in April 2011 having been denounced by the international community for refusing to step down after losing presidential elections in November 2010. UN forces destroyed heavy arms and arms stockpiles of the Gbagbo forces, but the illegitimate supplies of arms to the Force Nouvelles in 2010 in combination with the successful arms embargo on the Ivorian Government are likely to have contributed significantly to the victory of the Forces Nouvelles and the instalment of the internationally recognized president, Alassane Ouattara.¹²⁹

*Somalia*¹³⁰

Somalia is a clear case in which the assumption that arms supplies can contribute to stability has played an important role in international efforts to address a violent conflict. During 2006–10 Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) depended for survival mainly on an Ethiopian intervention force (in 2006–2009) and protection from the African Union (AU) Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

Ethiopia and Yemen supplied arms to the TFG in 2005 and 2006. Once the UN arms embargo on Somalia was amended in 2007 to exclude the TFG, the UN urged the international community to supply arms to the TFG. From 2009 the TFG received SALW from or via Uganda, for which the USA reimbursed

¹²⁴ Balint-Kurti, D., *Côte d'Ivoire's Forces Nouvelles*, Programme Paper, Africa Programme Armed Non-state Actors Series (Chatham House: London, Sep. 2007), pp. 19, 32.

¹²⁵ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Group of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire pursuant to paragraph 12 of Security Council resolution 1893 (2009), 18 Mar. 2010, annex to S/2010/179, 12 Apr. 2010.

¹²⁶ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Group of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire pursuant to paragraph 11 of Security Council resolution 1946 (2010), 17 Mar. 2011, annex to S/2011/272, 27 Apr. 2011, pp. 28, 32.

¹²⁷ United Nations (note 126), pp. 28, 32.

¹²⁸ United Nations, Security Council, Final report of the Group of Experts on Côte d'Ivoire, 15 Sep. 2008, annex to S/2008/598, 9 Oct. 2008, p. 26.

¹²⁹ Aboa, A., 'UN says carried out attack on Gbagbo weapons', Reuters, 10 Apr. 2011.

¹³⁰ This section is based on Wezeman, P. D., 'Arms flows and the conflict in Somalia', SIPRI Background Paper, Oct. 2010, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=416>.

Uganda.¹³¹ Although the military aid may have helped to prevent the demise of the TFG, there have also been several negative consequences of the supply of arms. First, the TFG forces have been involved in disproportionate and indiscriminate attacks resulting in civilian casualties.¹³² Second, the TFG forces have lost many weapons through theft and desertion, representing a significant source of arms for the armed groups they are fighting against. These risks of supplying arms to the TFG may be the reason for the apparent reluctance of EU member states to arm the TFG, despite providing military training to approximately 2000 members of the TFG forces.¹³³ However, elsewhere in Somalia, the UK supplied 450 AK-47 assault rifles in 2010 to the Ministry of Interior of the nominally independent Somaliland.¹³⁴

The UN monitoring group on Somalia has assessed that commercial supplies from or via Yemen are the most consistent source of arms for non-governmental armed groups in Somalia. Since June 2008 curbs on domestic arms sales in Yemen have apparently reduced the volume of exports to Somalia and driven up prices in Somali markets.¹³⁵ In addition, there is substantial evidence that armed groups fighting the TFG received arms from Eritrea in 2006–10.¹³⁶ In general, these acquisitions involved small volumes of ammunition and SALW. Despite denials, this was one of the key reasons for the UN Security Council's decision to impose sanctions, including an arms embargo, on Eritrea in December 2009.¹³⁷

The importance of arms imports for facilitating military responses to threats to security was clearly illustrated when in October 2011 Kenya launched an offensive against armed Somali groups inside Somalia, deploying arms such as armoured vehicles, Z-9 helicopters and F-5E combat aircraft that had been acquired in 2006–10.¹³⁸

Democratic Republic of the Congo

There has been continuous war and violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) since 1996. During 2006–10 violence between government forces and several rebel groups was concentrated in the east of the country. In response to the violence, in 2003 the UN Security Council imposed an arms embargo on rebel groups in eastern DRC, but allowed exemptions for arms supplies to the Congolese Government.¹³⁹

¹³¹ Wezeman (note 130), pp. 5–6

¹³² Wezeman (note 130), pp. 6–7.

¹³³ Wezeman (note 130), p. 7.

¹³⁴ British Foreign and Commonwealth Office and departments for Business, Innovation and Skills, International Development and Defence, *United Kingdom Strategic Export Controls Annual Report 2010* (The Stationery Office: London, 2011), p. 20.

¹³⁵ Wezeman (note 130), pp. 2–3.

¹³⁶ Wezeman (note 130), p. 3

¹³⁷ Wezeman (note 130), p. 4.

¹³⁸ 'Your questions: Kenya's campaign against Al-Shabab', Voice of America, 8 Nov. 2011, <<http://www.voanews.com/english/news/africa/Your-Questions-Kenyas-Campaign-Against-al-Shabab-133487408.html>>.

¹³⁹ Arms supplies to the government were allowed if notified in advance to the relevant UN sanctions committee. Bromley, M. and Holtom, P., 'Arms transfers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo: assessing the system of arms transfer notifications, 2008–10', SIPRI Background Paper, Oct. 2010, <http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=415>.

During this phase of the conflict, Ukraine became an important supplier of arms to the Congolese Government, for example delivering 20 T-55 tanks and 20 BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicles in 2006 and 100 T-72 tanks, 30 T-55 tanks, 4 Mi-24 combat helicopters and 13 000 rifles in 2010.¹⁴⁰ In 2010 the UK and the USA funded the supply of British military radios for a Congolese armed forces 'rapid reaction force' of up to 12 battalions for 'stabilization projects' in northern and eastern DRC.¹⁴¹ The newly acquired weapons were soon used in military operations. For example, the T-55 tanks and BMP-1 vehicles were used against rebel groups in eastern DRC in 2008, in a government offensive supported by UN combat helicopters, and in 2009.¹⁴²

Elements within the Congolese armed forces have been identified as one of the main sources of arms and military equipment for the rebel groups, which are a main cause of instability in the DRC.¹⁴³ The rebels are also suspected of having bought SALW in contravention of the UN arms embargo from or via Tanzania through networks linked to high-level government officials in Tanzania and Burundi.¹⁴⁴

The arms supplies to the Congolese Government may have contributed to the government's efforts to consolidate its authority in the country during 2006–10. However, the government forces have been involved in human rights abuses and the supply of weapons to a government that has shown signs of authoritarian behaviour can be questioned.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, due to a lack of stockpile management, arms supplied to the Congolese Government may have fuelled the conflict by arming both sides.

Mali and Niger

Both Mali and Niger have experienced recurrent insurgencies by Tuareg rebels since the 1990s. The supply of combat helicopters to the governments of both countries provides an interesting example of how transfers of small volumes of major arms can play a key role in violent conflict.

In late 2007 Mali imported two second-hand Mi-24 combat helicopters from Bulgaria, the first combat helicopters in Malian service. Shortly after delivery, in April 2008 these helicopters played a major role in a government offensive against the rebels that reportedly killed dozens of rebels.¹⁴⁶ Whereas the attack can be described as an escalation in the conflict, with increased use of firepower

¹⁴⁰ Ukrainian State Export Control Service (note 110).

¹⁴¹ Thales, 'Thales to provide tactical radios to the Democratic Republic of the Congo on behalf of US and UK government', Press release, 15 July 2010, <http://www.thalesgroup.com/Press_Releases/Countries/United_Kingdom/2010/100715_Thales_to_provide_tactical_radios/>.

¹⁴² Holtom (note 46), p. 3; and United Nations, Security Council, Final report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 21 Nov. 2008, annex to S/2008/773, 12 Dec. 2008, p. 17.

¹⁴³ Bromley and Holtom (note 139), p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ United Nations, Security Council, Final report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 9 Nov. 2009, annex to S/2009/603, 23 Nov. 2009, pp. 18–23; and Bromley and Holtom (note 139), p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ Bromley and Holtom (note 139), p. 5; and Human Rights Watch (HRW), *We Will Crush You: The Restriction of Political Space in the Democratic Republic of Congo* (HRW: New York, 2008).

¹⁴⁶ Sarrar, S., 'Mali, rebels agree truce after bloody air strike', Reuters, 3 Apr. 2008.

creating increased numbers of casualties, it could also be argued that the two helicopters were 'game changers' which ensured the success of the government's military campaign and, in turn, forced the rebels to accept a ceasefire.

Niger acquired two Mi-24 combat helicopters from Russia in 2007 that were also used soon after delivery, in 2008, against the rebels.¹⁴⁷ However, the rebels claimed to have shot down one of the helicopters and, unlike in Mali, there is no indication that their use had an immediate effect on the willingness of the rebels to continue fighting.¹⁴⁸

Arms supplies and military coups d'état

Arms supplies to government forces in Africa risk being used in the overthrow of African governments. In sub-Saharan Africa during 2006–10 armed forces in Guinea (2008), Madagascar (2009), Mauritania (2008) and Niger (2010) were directly involved in overthrowing their governments. Little is known about the arms imports of these countries and the relations between arms supplies and coups d'état is therefore hard to assess.¹⁴⁹ However certain arms supplies to Mauritania and Guinea illustrate how arms exports have been directly linked to putschists.

In 2006, a year after an earlier military coup in Mauritania, the Belgian authorities licensed the export of arms worth €5.9 million (\$7.8 million) to Mauritania in support of the modernization of the Mauritanian military after the establishment of a democratic process with international support.¹⁵⁰ There are strong indications that these arms were modern P-90 and F-2000 rifles for the Presidential Guard.¹⁵¹ In 2008, Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, commander of the Presidential Guard, overthrew the government of President Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi.

In Guinea the military junta used recently delivered weapons in the violent suppression of demonstrations against the regime in September 2009, in which over 150 people were killed. Mamba armoured vehicles supplied by South Africa in 2003 and French tear gas grenade launchers delivered between 2002 and 2008

¹⁴⁷ Massalatchi, A., 'Niger rebels say air raids threaten French hostage', Reuters, 24 June 2008; and Polgreen, L., 'Fighting over what lies beneath the desert, nomads battle Niger for uranium riches', *International Herald Tribune*, 16 Dec. 2008, p. 16.

¹⁴⁸ Paschen, U., 'Niger! MNJ shot down government new assault helicopter!', 29 June 2008, <<http://www.nowpublic.com/world/niger-mnj-shot-down-government-new-assault-helicopter>>; and 'Seventeen said killed as Niger rebels, government troops clash', BBC Monitoring Africa, 28 June 2008.

¹⁴⁹ For more on how arms supplies may lead to or be used to prevent military coups see Wang (note 103).

¹⁵⁰ Walloon Government, *Rapport au Parlement Wallon sur l'application de la loi du 05 aout 1991, modifiée par les lois du 25 et du 26 mars 2003 relatives à l'importation, à l'exportation et au transit d'armes, de munitions et de matériel devant servir spécialement à un usage militaire et de la technologie y afferente: Rapport annuel 2006* [Report to the Walloon Parliament on the implementation of the act of 5 Aug. 1991, as amended by acts of 25 and 26 Mar. 2003 on the import, export and transit of weapons, ammunition and equipment with a military use and related technology: annual report 2006] (Walloon Government: Namur, 2007), p. 53.

¹⁵¹ The P-90s and F-2000s were first observed in Mauritania around 2007. Pézard, S. with Glatz, A.-K., *Armes légères et sécurité en Mauritanie: une perspective nationale et régionale* [Small arms and security in Mauritania: a national and regional perspective], Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper no. 24 (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, June 2010), p. 16; and Gobet, G., Agence France-Presse/Getty images, image 73925214, 19 Apr. 2007.

were seen in use during the crackdown.¹⁵² In response to the violence, ECOWAS and the EU imposed arms embargoes on Guinea in October 2009.¹⁵³

Illegal arms flows to sub-Saharan Africa

United Nations, multilateral and national arms embargoes and export regulations intended to prevent arms supplies from fuelling conflict in sub-Saharan Africa are regularly breached. During the 1990s in particular, several cases were uncovered of large-scale arms smuggling to sub-Saharan Africa in violation of international or national laws.¹⁵⁴ As a result, illegal arms flows—defined as international transfers of arms contrary to the laws of one or more of the states involved—are widely thought to be a significant source of arms fuelling conflict in sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁵⁵

By their very nature, it is extremely difficult to assess the occurrence, volume of, trends in and effects of illegal arms flows to sub-Saharan Africa. There is no region-wide assessment of illegal cross-border arms flows to or within the region, based on, for example, government reports on arms seized from smugglers.¹⁵⁶ However, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that illegal arms supplies occurred regularly in 2006–10.

As described above, UN panels have concluded that several serious violations of UN arms embargoes took place in 2006–10, involving arms being supplied to embargo targets in sub-Saharan Africa, in particular rebel groups, from within the region. Considering that the panels have in general limited resources and investigative powers, it is likely that other violations have gone undetected. Several detailed case studies also provide evidence that small arms and light weapons are regularly smuggled in small batches between sub-Saharan African states or from elsewhere for supply to both organized rebel groups and individuals.¹⁵⁷ It has been argued that together such small cases of arms smuggling,

¹⁵² Amnesty International (AI), *Guinea: 'You did not want the military, so now we are going to teach you a lesson'—the Events of 28 September 2009 and their Aftermath*, AI report AFR 29/001/2010 (AI: London, Feb. 2010), pp. 26–28.

¹⁵³ Council of the European Union, Council Common Position 2009/788/CFSP of 27 Oct. 2009 concerning restrictive measures against the Republic of Guinea, *Official Journal of the European Union*, L281, 28 Oct. 2009; and ECOWAS, Extraordinary Summit of ECOWAS heads of state and government, Final communiqué, Abuja, 17 Oct. 2009.

¹⁵⁴ For an overview see Phythian, M., 'The illicit arms trade: cold war and post-cold war', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, vol. 33, nos 1–2 (Mar. 2000).

¹⁵⁵ See e.g. United Nations, Security Council, 'Small arms', Report of the Secretary-General, S/2011/255, 5 Apr. 2011; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *The Globalization of Crime: A Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment* (UNODC: Vienna, 2010), chapter 6; 'Nigeria wants G8 to tackle small arms menace', Agence France-Presse, 25 June 2010; and United Nations, Security Council, 'Central African region: impact of illicit arms trafficking on peace and security', 6288th meeting, S/PV.6288, 19 Mar. 2010. The definition of illegal arms flows is based on United Nations, General Assembly, Report of the Disarmament Commission, A/51/42, 22 May 1996, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Worldwide illegal transfers of SALW alone have been very roughly estimated to be worth billions of dollars. United Nations, S/2011/255 (note 155), p. 2; and Stohl, R. and Grillot, S., *The International Arms Trade* (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2009), p. 95.

¹⁵⁷ See e.g. eds Florquin and Berman (note 104); Mthembu-Salter, G., *Trading Life, Trading Death: The Flow of Small Arms from Mozambique to Malawi*, Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper no. 6 (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, Jan. 2009); Hazen, J. M. with Horner, J., *Small Arms, Armed Violence and Insecurity in*

sometimes referred to as ‘the ant trade’, are of much greater importance than the bulk transfers of arms from outside the region, which have received widespread attention.¹⁵⁸

Evidence from judicial investigations and prosecutions during 2006–10 into illegal international arms supplies to governments and rebel groups in sub-Saharan Africa provides a starting point for assessing illegal arms flows from outside the region, albeit with limitations. Fourteen cases have been identified based on a survey of reporting by governments and press on the Internet (see table 4.2). In three of the cases (cases 1, 5 and 8), investigations were dropped when allegations were proven false or could not be proved. Four of the remaining 10 cases (cases 10, 11, 12 and 14) involved substantial numbers of arms. In one of these cases, weapons reached the client; in one case, weapons were intercepted in the region before delivery to the client; and in two cases, the weapons were stopped before they could be shipped to the region.

The comprehensiveness of the list is difficult to assess due to the difficulty of obtaining information, in particular in cases involving small batches of arms. In addition, accusations of illegal international arms transfers may only lead to legal action years later or may never be the subject of public judicial investigation. For example, a trial in France related to illegal activities surrounding arms sales to Angola in 1993–98 only led to convictions in 2010.¹⁵⁹ Another case concerns the immediate re-export to South Sudan of 77 T-72 tanks supplied by Ukraine to Kenya in 2007–2008. Although Ukrainian officials are reported to have stated that the re-export was not authorized by Ukraine and that Kenya had signed an end-user certificate prohibiting re-export, there does not appear to have been a legal investigation into the case in Ukraine.¹⁶⁰

The cases underline that there is no international agreement on the circumstances under which arms transfers should be prohibited—other than in violation of a UN arms embargo. Transactions similar to those in table 4.2 can take place without being considered illegal. For example, in the case involving the largest volume of weapons (case 14), the illegal activity was a British dealer brokering a deal without permission from the British authorities; there is no indication that the deal was illegal in the recipient country, Nigeria, or in the countries from which the weapons originated. Indeed, according to the Nigerian Police, the thousands of rifles and pistols were acquired because the Nigerian Government decided that the police needed adequate equipment ‘to face the challenges of electioneering—before, during and after the [2007] election.’¹⁶¹ In the next largest

Nigeria: The Niger Delta in Perspective, Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper no. 20 (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, Dec. 2007); and Duquet, N., ‘Arms acquisition patterns and the dynamics of armed conflict: lessons from the Niger Delta’, *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 10, no. 2 (May 2009), p. 17.

¹⁵⁸ Bevan J., ‘Where have all the Antonovs gone?’, *Public Interest Report*, vol. 60, no. 1 (winter 2007).

¹⁵⁹ Tribunal de grande instance de Paris, 11eme chamber, 3eme section, Jugement 27 Oct. 2009.

¹⁶⁰ Holtom (note 46), pp. 10–12; and US Department of State, ‘Kenya’s conventional arms end-user certificate violation’, Cable to US Embassy in Nairobi, no. 27 Nov. 2009, 09STATE122115, <<http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/11/09STATE122115.html>>. See also chapter 3 above.

¹⁶¹ ‘Nigeria police to get arms boost’, BBC News, 1 Sep. 2006, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/5304896.stm>>.

Table 4.2. Judicial investigations and prosecutions related to arms exports to sub-Saharan African destinations, 2006–10

Start refers to the start of the prosecution or investigation.

	Investigating country	Start	Case
1	France	2008	The arrangement by a French company of the supply of a small number of armed light aircraft and helicopters to Chad without a French export licence. Investigation appears to have ended without prosecution in 2008. ^a
2	United Kingdom	2008	The attempted export of 5 military vehicles from the UK to Sierra Leone in 2008 without export permit. Company fined in 2009. ^b
3	United States	2008	The attempted export of components for assault rifles to Sudan in violation of US export laws. One person sentenced to prison in 2008. ^c
4	Israel	2009	The training of Guinean special forces and supplying them with weapons by an Israeli company without prior approval of the Israeli authorities. Company fined in 2010. ^d
5	Nigeria	2009	The suspected supply to Nigerian rebel forces of a small batch of mortars and machine guns on board a Ukrainian aircraft that had landed at Kano airport, northern Nigeria. Confirmed as a legal supply to Equatorial Guinea in 2009. ^e
6	United Kingdom	2009	The supply to Sudan by a British company in 2005–2006 of 30 BV-206 military vehicles from the UK via Norway in violation of British export laws. Two people sentenced to prison in 2009. ^f
7	United Kingdom	2010	The arrangement of the supply without licence of arms from the UK to countries worldwide including small quantities of sub-machine guns and ammunition to Nigeria and other arms to Burkina Faso, Gabon and Senegal in 2005–2007. Two people sentenced to prison in 2010. ^g
8	Taiwan	2010	The supply of part of 1884 tonnes of ammunition intended for destruction to rebels in the Angolan region of Cabinda via Bulgaria and Romania. Investigation ended in 2010 due to lack of evidence. ^h
9	South Africa	2010	The suspected illegal supply of small arms ammunition to the Democratic Republic of the Congo by a South African company. Investigation appears to have been dropped in 2010 after the UN confirmed the ammunition was for UN security personnel in West Africa. ⁱ
10	United States	2010	The attempted supply of 4000 handguns, 200 000 rounds of ammunition and 50 000 tear gas grenades from the USA to the Government of Côte d'Ivoire in violation of the UN arms embargo. Prosecution ongoing as of 2011. ^j
11	Nigeria	2010	The shipment of 13 containers with ammunition for mortars and light guns and artillery rockets to Gambia through port of Lagos in violation of Nigerian import laws. Also reported to UN sanction committee as violation of UN arms embargo on arms exports from Iran. Prosecution ongoing as of 2011. ^k
12	United States	2010	The planned delivery from the USA of 700 Kalashnikov rifles and arrangement of the transport of 6000 Kalashnikov rifles from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Somalia in violation of US laws. Two people sentenced to prison in 2010–11. ^l

	Investigating country	Start	Case
13	Somalia (Somaliland)	2010	The attempted supply to the authorities in Puntland of a planeload of weapons and military uniforms in violation of the UN arms embargo on Somalia. Goods seized by Somaliland authorities and six people sentenced to prison in 2010. ^m
14	United Kingdom	2011	The arrangement of the supply from the UK of 70 000 rifles, 10 000 pistols and 32 million rounds of ammunition from China and other countries to the Nigerian Police in 2006–2007 in contravention of British law. Trial ongoing as of 2011. ⁿ

^a Dumarquis, S., 'Griffon Aerospace: quand la main droite ignore ce que fait la main gauche' [Griffon Aerospace: when the right hand ignores what the left hand is doing], *Le Manifeste du Sous-Réalisme 2.0*, 3 July 2009, <<http://www.sousrealisme.org/v2/index.php?sv=54&aid=199>>.

^b British Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, 'Mining company fined for attempted export of military vehicles without a licence', Press notice, 2 Mar. 2009, <<http://berr.gov.uk/whatwedo/europeandtrade/strategic-export-control/latest-news/ecopressarticles/page50316.html>>.

^c US Department of Justice, 'Major U.S. export enforcement prosecutions during the past two years', Fact sheet, 28 Oct. 2008, <<http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2008/October/08-nsd-959.html>>.

^d Heller, A., Associated Press, 'Israel fines firm for dealing with Guinean junta', *The Guardian*, 18 May 2010.

^e Ibulubo, I. G., 'Nigeria: Gov't releases impounded plane', *Africa News*, 6 Aug. 2009, <http://www.africa-news.com/site/list_messages/26312>.

^f British Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 'Jail sentence for selling military "troop transporters" to Sudan', Notice to Exporters 2009/24, 6 Nov. 2009, <<http://berr.gov.uk/whatwedo/europeandtrade/strategic-export-control/latest-news/notice-to-exporters/page53528.html>>.

^g Bentham, M., 'London businessman "sent weapons to world's war zones"', *London Evening Standard*, 15 Jan. 2010; and British Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 'Two arms dealers convicted for trading illegally in military goods without trade control licences', Notice to Exporters 2010/08, 28 Feb. 2010, <<http://www.bis.gov.uk/policies/export-control-organisation/eco-press-prosecutions>>.

^h Chao, V. Y., 'MND censured over munitions sales', *Taipei Times*, 24 Sep. 2010.

ⁱ Engelbrecht, L., 'UN confirms NGA ammo order', *DefenceWeb*, 9 Feb. 2010, <http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6532>.

^j US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 'Ivory Coast citizen arrested in plot to illegally export weapons from the U.S.', News release, 10 Sep. 2010, <<http://www.ice.gov/news/releases/1009/100910sanfrancisco.htm>>.

^k Tattersall, N., 'Nigeria reports Iran arms seizure to U.N.', *Reuters*, 15 Nov. 2010; and Emakpe, G., 'FG charges Iranian, three others for arms importation', *Next (Lagos)*, 26 Nov. 2010.

^l US Attorney's Office, Southern District of Florida, 'Two individuals plead guilty to illegal arms trafficking', Press release, 6 Oct. 2010, <<http://www.justice.gov/usao/fls/PressReleases/101006-01.html>>; and US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 'Counter-proliferation investigations', Fact sheet, 14 Jan. 2011 <<http://www.ice.gov/news/library/factsheets/counter-proliferations.htm>>.

^m Noor, H. A., 'Somaliland jails Russians for illegal plane landing', *Reuters*, 30 Dec. 2010.

ⁿ Laycock, M., 'York arms dealer, Gary Hyde, in court on new charges', *The Press (York)*, 7 Apr. 2011, <http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/8959902.York_arms_dealer_in_court_on_new_charges/>

case (case 11), the charges did not relate to concerns about the claimed final destination of the arms, Gambia. Instead, the charges related to the weapons having entered Nigeria without Nigerian permission and under a false declaration of goods.¹⁶²

¹⁶² This case involved a violation of a UN arms embargo prohibiting the export of arms from Iran; however, this embargo is not aimed at a target in sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 4.3. European Union member states' denials of arms export licences to the largest sub-Saharan African contributors to peace operations in Africa, 2005–2009

Countries are those sub-Saharan African countries that deployed more than 1000 personnel on AU and UN peace operations in Africa as of 31 Dec. 2010.

Country	Personnel contributed to peace operations in Africa, Dec. 2010	No. of denials of arms exports licences by EU members, 2005–2009	Criteria on which the denials were based ^a
Burundi	3 575	1	4
Ethiopia	2 304	13	2, 3, 4, 7
Ghana	2 105	3	7
Nigeria	5 663	14	2, 3, 4, 7, 8
Rwanda	3 771	7	1, 2, 3, 4, 7
Senegal	2 181	3	2, 3
South Africa	2 187	11	5, 7, 8
Uganda	4 584	21	2, 3, 4, 7, 8
Tanzania	1 073	5	1, 4, 7

AU = African Union; EU = European Union; UN = United Nations.

^a The 8 EU criteria governing control of exports of military equipment and technology relate to (1) the recipient's respect for the international obligations and commitments of member states, including UN arms embargoes; (2) the recipient's respect for human rights and international humanitarian law; (3) the existence of tensions or armed conflicts in the recipient country; (4) preservation of regional peace, security and stability; (5) the national security of the member states and friendly and allied countries; (6) the behaviour of the buyer country with regard to the international community, in particular its attitude to terrorism, the nature of its alliances and respect for international law; (7) the risk of diversion; and (8) the compatibility of the export with the technical and economic capacity of the recipient country.

Sources: SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/pko/>>; and Council of the European Union, 8th–10th annual reports according to Operative Provision 8 of the European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports, 2006–2008, and 11th–12th annual reports according to Article 8(2) of Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP defining common rules governing control of exports of military technology and equipment, 2009–10, available at <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1484>>.

Arms supplies to African peacekeepers

The clearest cases in which arms exported to sub-Saharan African destinations have been used in what is widely considered legitimate military action have been in the AU and UN peace operations mandated to manage and resolve conflicts in the region. African countries play an essential role in these operations and their peacekeepers are regularly involved in combat, for example in the DRC, Côte d'Ivoire, Darfur and Somalia.¹⁶³

In general, multilateral peace operations in Africa tend to suffer from a shortage of equipment, including weapons, to defend against or engage armed opponents. For example, in March 2009 Burundi appealed for armoured personnel carriers for its AMISOM troops in Somalia and in July 2010 AMISOM was in

¹⁶³ For details of these operations and sub-Saharan African participation see the SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/pko/>>.

dire need of armed helicopters.¹⁶⁴ From at least late 2007, the commander of the AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) had requested 12 combat helicopters and 18 military transport helicopters.¹⁶⁵ At the request of the Sudanese Government, UNAMID consists mainly of African personnel, and so these helicopters had to be sourced from African countries.¹⁶⁶ It took until February 2010 before Ethiopia filled part of the equipment gap by contributing 5 combat helicopters to UNAMID.¹⁶⁷

Recognizing the need for improvement of African peacekeeping capabilities, multilateral organizations and individual countries have established several aid programmes.¹⁶⁸ Despite this, the intention to strengthen African peacekeeping capabilities can collide with concerns about the risk of undesired end-uses or end-users, which have been grounds for countries to deny licences for the export of arms to sub-Saharan African countries involved in peace operations.

In late 2009 the Malaysian Government denied permission for the export of 40 000 second-hand assault rifles to the Burundian Government, a major troop contributor to AMISOM, because of fears that they were intended for rebel groups in the DRC.¹⁶⁹ In 2008 Swaziland reportedly wanted to procure from a British company 3 military helicopters, an unidentified number of armoured vehicles and 925 rifles, all officially intended for use by Swazi forces in multilateral peace operations. However, the British Government halted the export, because of concerns that the weapons were intended for use quelling internal unrest or for diversion to Zimbabwe or a Middle Eastern country.¹⁷⁰ In 2010 Guinea planned to contribute troops to AMISOM while at the same time it was subject to an EU arms embargo related to political violence in Guinea.¹⁷¹ In addition, there are many other cases in which EU member states have refused licences for exports of arms to major participants in African peace operations (see table 4.3).

One possible approach to overcome reluctance to supply arms to certain states is to supply the arms directly to the multilateral organizations involved or to supply arms to individual countries that are specifically to be used for peace operations.¹⁷² In 2006–2007 Belgium loaned 15 Pandur armoured vehicles to the

¹⁶⁴ Wezeman (note 130), p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ 'Darfur peacekeeper warns of high expectations', allAfrica.com, 6. Nov. 2007, <<http://allafrica.com/stories/200711060094.html>>; and 'Military helicopters needed more than ever—force commander says', *UNAMID Bulletin*, no. 4, 2009, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ UNAMID, 'Background', <<http://unamid.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=890>>.

¹⁶⁷ UNAMID, 'UNAMID celebrates deployment of tactical helicopters', Press Release 009-2010, 25 Feb. 2010, <<http://unamid.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=899&ctl=Details&mid=1072&ItemID=7898>>.

¹⁶⁸ See e.g. G8 Summit, 'G8 report on peacekeeping/peacebuilding', L'Aquila, 8–10 July 2009, <http://www.g8italia2009.it/G8/Home/Summit/G8-G8_Layout_locale-1199882116809_Atti.htm>; and Vines, A., 'Rhetoric from Brussels and reality on the ground: the EU and security in Africa', *International Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 5 (Sep. 2010), pp. 1091–108.

¹⁶⁹ Bromley and Holtom (note 139), p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ Ball, J., 'WikiLeaks cables: UK blocked \$60m arms deal over fears of Iran link', *The Guardian*, 23 Feb. 2011.

¹⁷¹ Wezeman (note 130), p. 10.

¹⁷² On related British, French and US aid during 1995–2003 see Berman, E. G., 'The provision of lethal military equipment: French, UK, and US peacekeeping policies towards Africa', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2003).

armed forces of Benin for use in the UN peace operation in the DRC.¹⁷³ Units from Burkina Faso, Burundi, Senegal and Uganda participating in UNAMID in Darfur received up to 138 armoured vehicles supplied by South African companies in 2005–2009 funded by Canada and the USA.¹⁷⁴ Between 2005 and 2009 Canada also lent 105 wheeled armoured vehicles to a pool of African countries consisting of Nigeria, Rwanda and Senegal specifically for use by the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and UNAMID in the Darfur region.¹⁷⁵ In the framework of its Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capacities (Renforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix, RECAMP) programme, France bases VAB armoured vehicles in Senegal.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Belgian Ministry of Defence (MOD), *Defensie op het rapport: een nieuw leger voor een nieuwe wereld* [Defence report: a new army for a new world] (MOD: Brussels, Jan. 2006), p. 30; and 'Leger haalt Pandur voertuigen voor Beninse troepen in Congo terug' [Army retrieves Pandur vehicles from Benin troops in Congo], *De Morgen*, 23 July 2007.

¹⁷⁴ SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (note 4).

¹⁷⁵ Canadian Government, 'Canada supporting African Union peacekeeping in Darfur: past, present, future', Fact sheet, May 2010, <<http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/sudan-soudan/support-appui.aspx>>.

¹⁷⁶ French Embassy in Senegal, 'Le coopération militaire' [Military cooperation], *Passerelle France-Sénégal*, no. 5 (July 2007), p. 7.

5. Conclusions

Armed conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa are fought with relatively small volumes of arms. With little indigenous arms-production capacity in the region, most countries are fully dependent on foreign suppliers for arms, yet sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) accounted for only 1.5 per cent of the total volume of major arms imports in 2006–10. Restraints on the exports of arms and military technology to countries in conflict in sub-Saharan Africa can therefore have a significant impact on the military capabilities of the parties to conflicts.

In the past 15 years, Belarus, China, Russia and Ukraine accounted for the bulk of deliveries of major arms to sub-Saharan Africa. However, many more countries from all parts of the world have supplied major arms, small arms and light weapons, and other military equipment to governments in the region.

The motives for arms transfers to sub-Saharan African destinations are diverse, including direct financial revenues—even if they are small compared to revenues from sales to other regions—and strengthening political influence in sub-Saharan Africa to gain access to natural resources and to further the security interest of the supplier.

While rebel groups acquire a substantial part of their arms inventory by capture from the government forces they fight, a significant number are imported. There is evidence that during 2006–10 rebel groups in sub-Saharan Africa acquired arms from abroad, in particular from nearby countries, in some cases with the involvement of the countries' governments. Thus, even though arms production in the region is minimal, there is a need for states in the region to recognize their responsibilities not only as arms importers, but also as potential exporters of or conduits for arms to rebel groups.

Arms transfers and conflict

A key challenge for adequate arms control in sub-Saharan Africa is to understand which arms supplies provoke, prolong or aggravate violent conflicts and which supplies contribute to security and stability. The uncertainty about the impact of arms transfers to conflict areas in sub-Saharan Africa is reflected in the experience of 2006–10. In several cases it could be argued that arms supplies have contributed to governments' capabilities to legitimately maintain or restore stability in their country, including with the use of force against rebel groups. In a number of cases, exporting countries have supplied arms to governments in the region with the explicit intention to achieve these objectives and in line with United Nations statements or actions. The least controversial arms supplies are those aimed at improving African states' capabilities to participate in peace operations.

However, in many cases arms supplied to sub-Saharan Africa have had clearly undesirable effects.

1. The supply of arms can be argued to have been an incentive for the recipients to try to achieve their goals via violence instead of dialogue.
2. Arms have been used in human rights violations.
3. Arms recipients often do not have the capability to secure their stockpiles and weapons have been lost or stolen, including by rebel groups.
4. Arms recipients have deliberately diverted weapons to targets of UN arms embargoes or rebel groups in neighbouring countries.
5. Arms supplied to governments have been turned against those governments in military coups d'état.

Both SALW and major arms play a role in armed conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. Even supplies of relatively small quantities of older weapons can have a notable impact on conflicts.

As a result of ambiguity about the impact and desirability of arms transfers, arms export policies by individual supplier countries vary widely. Some suppliers appear reluctant to supply arms to most countries in the region; others seem to consider only UN arms embargoes as a reason not to supply arms. The ambiguity is also reflected in the inconsistent approach of the international community to conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa: whereas arms embargoes have been agreed in relation to some conflicts, in other cases no embargo has been imposed. There are many cases in which it remains unclear whether and how governments in supplier states have assessed the effect the arms they have licensed for export to sub-Saharan Africa could have on prolonging or aggravating violent conflict. Even within the European Union—whose member states apply a shared set of criteria guiding their arms export licencing decisions—arms export policies on sub-Saharan African destinations remain far from harmonized.

Weapons used in conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa by government forces have in general been delivered with the consent of the governments of both the supplier and recipient countries. However, based on the limited information available, it appears that the illegal arms trade continued to play a role in the procurement of arms by both governments and rebel groups in the region. Although there is no hard evidence of widespread large illegal supplies from outside the region in 2006–10, there have been regular instances of weapons flowing from within the region to, in particular, rebel groups in violation of UN embargoes. It is worrying that the international community has either been unable to help stop such violations of arms embargoes or has taken too long to sanction violators.

Better insight into the role of illegal arms supplies could be achieved if more information about interceptions by government authorities of illegal arms transfers and related legal activity were made publicly available and centrally collected, for example in the annual national reports on the UN Programme of Action on SALW.¹⁷⁷ This information, combined with the findings of UN panels

¹⁷⁷ On the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects see <<http://www.poa-iss.org/>>.

monitoring arms embargoes, could form the basis for a more in-depth study of illegal arms transfers in the region.

Transparency

While sub-Saharan African governments may have legitimate reasons for importing arms, they continue to be highly secretive about their arms procurement. In general, they remained unwilling to discuss details of their arms acquisition publicly and to share information with other states in the region.

Intergovernmental transparency is necessary for an informed debate about how the military needs of sub-Saharan Africa states should be taken into account in discussions about arms control in the region. Countries in the region regularly voice their support for regional and global conventional arms control initiatives. But their low level of participation in UNROCA, the key intergovernmental reporting instrument on conventional arms, casts doubts on their willingness to actively control arms. To demonstrate serious support for better arms controls, sub-Saharan African countries must increase current levels of transparency in arms procurement. Countries that take the lead on these issues should carefully consider their own policies. For example, the secrecy surrounding Kenya's arms procurement and its involvement in South Sudan's secret arms acquisition is in clear contradiction to its formal support of improved controls on international arms transfers, in particular its prominent backing of the proposed arms trade treaty.¹⁷⁸

The lack of transparency in arms transfers to and arms procurement in sub-Saharan Africa obstructs an informed debate on an ATT and would be a serious obstacle to verifying and measuring the effectiveness of an eventual treaty. A central element of the negotiating process on an ATT is how and to what extent states parties should be legally obliged to provide information demonstrating their implementation of the operative provisions of an ATT for consideration by peers and the public.¹⁷⁹

The cases presented here show that domestic debate is often based on incomplete and confusing information which emerges only after key procurement decisions have been made. Even those governments that have been more forthcoming with public information about their arms procurements tend to remain reluctant to discuss the rationale and underlying threat assessments in public or in the parliament. In these and many other countries there is a keen and demonstrable interest in the parliament and among the public to discuss arms procurement, in particular in relation to the quality of the weapons procured and suspicions about the risk of corruption. The lack of public transparency is also an obstacle to constructive discussions on national defence.

A starting point for improving public transparency would be to support initiatives on corruption in the arms trade. Whereas in many sub-Saharan

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. Kenyan Permanent Mission to the United Nations Office in Geneva, 'Mission statement', 2007, <http://www.kenyamission-un.ch/?Geneva_Mission>.

¹⁷⁹ Holtom and Bromley (note 2).

African countries arms procurement is not widely discussed from the perspective of its impact on peace and security, corruption in arms procurement has received public attention in a number of cases. Interest in the corruption issue and increasing willingness by governments to discuss it could be a stepping stone towards more discussion of and transparency in arms procurement in the region.

Even the strongest habits of secrecy among states in sub-Saharan Africa are often confounded by a combination of reporting by arms suppliers to UNROCA and information from open sources. Instead of letting rumours guide discussions and policymaking at home or in neighbouring countries, a more open approach would contribute to confidence building and preventing the misinterpretations and miscalculations of state intentions that can lead to a waste of resources and even interstate conflict. Moreover, if sub-Saharan African states want to persuade arms suppliers—which regularly hinder arms exports by refusing export licences—that they have legitimate reasons to procure arms, they should be more forthcoming about their motives.

Continuous and improved collection and dissemination of information from open sources about arms transfers, such as provided by the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, and analysis provided by a range of research institutes and non-governmental organizations is important to help governments and civil society engage in informed decision making about arms procurement and arms exports.

Appendix A. Transfers of small arms and light weapons to sub-Saharan Africa

Table A.1 provides an indication of the occurrence of SALW transfers to sub-Saharan Africa. It includes cases of transfers during 2006–10 of those SALW and their ammunition that are most relevant for armed conflict: military-style rifles and sub-machine guns, machine guns, and portable grenade and rocket launchers.

The information has been collected from a wide variety of open sources. Cases are only included where there is credible information that the weapons were delivered to sub-Saharan Africa based on an assessment of the reliability of the sources and the level of detail of the report. Public information on SALW transfers is far from complete and the comprehensiveness of the list is unknown.

Table A.1. Examples of transfers of small arms and light weapons and related ammunition and technology to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa), 2006–10
Unless otherwise stated, the recipient is the government.

Recipient	Supplier	Year of delivery	Details
Benin	Romania	2009	1000 7.62-mm assault rifles
Botswana	Bulgaria	2009	40 grenade launchers
Burkina Faso	Romania	2006–2008	219 grenade launchers, c. 1200 sub-machine guns, 347 assault rifles
Burundi	Albania	2009	115 510 12.7 x 108-mm ammunition delivered via Montenegro
Cameroon	Serbia	2009	12.7-mm and 7.62-mm machine guns
	Czech Republic	2009	c. 400 000 7.65-mm ammunition
Central African Republic	Serbia	2006–2009	2363 assault rifles, 70 machine guns, \$656 606 worth of small arms ammunition
	Slovakia	2010	400 assault rifles
Chad	Israel	c. 2006	Unknown number of Tavor and Galil assault rifles delivered to presidential guard
	France	2009	45 machine guns
	Serbia	2006	4 million 5.56-mm ammunition
	Slovakia	2009	50 000 VOG-17 30-mm grenades
	Ukraine	2006–2009	31 000 assault rifles, 1500 RPG-7 grenade launchers, 551 machine guns
Congo, Democratic Republic of	China	2006	10 000 magazines for assault rifles
	Serbia	2007	5000 AK-47 assault rifles, 100 M-84 machine guns
	Ukraine	2006	9 million rounds of ammunition (7.62 x 39 mm and 7.62 x 54 mm), 1000 OG15V 73-mm shells, 2000 VO-1 82-mm shells, 2000 RPG-7 grenades
	Ukraine	2010	3000 rifles, 10 000 sub-machine guns, 600 machine guns, 1780 grenade launchers
Congo, Republic of	Bulgaria	2009	12 SPG-9 73-mm recoilless gun
	Serbia	2009	100 assault rifle; recipient uncertain, possibly for the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Recipient	Supplier	Year of delivery	Details
Côte d'Ivoire (Forces Nouvelles)	Burkina Faso	c. 2010	Unknown numbers of AKMS assault rifles
Djibouti	United Kingdom	2010	141 assault rifles, 6 machine guns
Equatorial Guinea	Bulgaria	2009–10	Estimated 4800 40-mm grenades
	Croatia	2009	3 RBG-6 grenade launcher, including 1000 40-mm grenades
	Serbia	2006	2.05 million 9-mm, 30 000 7.62-mm, 1 million 5.56-mm, 30 000 7.62-mm ammunition
	Serbia	2010	1 machine gun, 2 grenade launchers
	Ukraine	2007–2008	2 light machine guns, 4 heavy machine guns
Eritrea	Bulgaria	2008	50 82-mm mortars
Ethiopia	Bulgaria	2009	41 40-mm grenade launchers
	North Korea	2006	Machinery and raw materials for production of small arms ammunition
Gabon	Romania	2006	€137 499 worth of small arms ammunition
Gambia	Iran	–	60-mm and 81-mm mortar shells and small arms ammunition; delivery halted in 2010 in Nigeria; Gambian Government denies involvement
Ghana	Serbia	2009	4 machine guns
	Switzerland	2010	737 assault rifles
	United Kingdom	2010	3 machine guns
Kenya	Ukraine	2007–10	655 grenade launchers, 44 500 assault rifles, 550 machine guns; possibly diverted by Kenya to South Sudan
	United States	2008–2009	c. 6964 M4A1 assault rifles
Lesotho	United Kingdom	2008–10	21 machine guns, 401 assault rifles
Liberia	China	2008	50 assault rifles, 200 000 7.62-mm, 100 000 9-mm ammunition
	Romania	2006–2009	1607 assault rifles, 100 sub-machine guns, 150 RPG-7 grenade launchers, 2121 RPG-7 grenades, 1 702 968 7.62-mm ammunition; partly funded by USA
	Serbia	2006–2007	Unknown numbers of light machine guns, 82-mm mortars, grenade launchers, hand grenades
	United Kingdom	2010	133 assault rifles, 58 machine guns
	United States	2008–2009	c. 340 M4 assault rifles, 335 000 9-mm, 244 000 5.56-mm ammunition
Mali	Bulgaria	2008–2009	20 assault rifles, 4 light machine guns, 1 heavy machine gun
Mauritania	Belgium	c. 2006	Unknown numbers of F-2000 assault rifles and P-90 sub-machine guns delivered to army
Mozambique	United Kingdom	2006–2007	18 light machine guns, 10 heavy machine guns, 215 assault rifles, 36 sub-machine guns
Namibia	South Korea	2007	150 rifles
Nigeria	Bulgaria	2008–2009	1200 assault rifles, 192 machine guns, 75 grenade launchers
	China	2007–2009	Machinery for production of AK-47 assault rifles and small arms ammunition
	China	2007	40 000 AK-47 assault rifles for police
	Unknown	2006	30 000 K-2 assault rifles for police; probably from South Korea

Recipient	Supplier	Year of delivery	Details
Rwanda	Romania	2007	2010 assault rifles, 50 semi-automatic rifles, €237 432 worth of small arms ammunition
	Serbia	2009	200 rifles
Sao Tome and Principe	Turkey	2010	40 sub-machine guns
Seychelles	United Kingdom	2010	45 assault rifles, 15 machine guns
Senegal	United States	2006	150 M-60 machine guns to army; aid
	China	2007	5 sniper rifles
Sierra Leone	China	–	Assault rifles; grenade launchers; aid; agreed 2010
Somalia	Uganda	2009	c. 40 tonnes small arms and ammunition worth over \$10 million delivered to Transitional Federal Government; financed by USA
	Unknown	c. 2009	Unknown quantity of 40-mm type-69 rockets; from undisclosed East African country; used by Somali pirates
Somaliland	United Kingdom	2010	450 Kalashnikov rifles
Swaziland	United Kingdom	2005–2007	9 machine guns
Sudan (Justice and Equality Movement)	Unknown	c. 2007	Galil and Tavor rifles; identified as delivered to Chad in 2006; unknown how they ended up in Sudan
Uganda	Bulgaria	2010	3 82-mm mortars, 20 machine guns, 10 grenade launchers
	Slovakia	2010	60 machine guns
	Ukraine	2007	1000 assault rifles
	Ukraine	2010	36 798 assault rifles, 25 machine guns, 50 grenade launchers
Zimbabwe	China	–	3 million small arms ammunition, 1500 rocket-propelled grenades, 3224 mortar shells; shipped in 2008 to South Africa but further transport halted; possibly delivered to Zimbabwean Government via another route
Unknown recipient	China	2008	Type-69 grenade launchers delivered to undisclosed government in East Africa

Sources: United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA) database, <<http://www.un-register.org>>; National arms exports reports, available at <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/transfers/transparency/national_reports>; Reports by UN panels of experts, available at <<http://www.un.org/sc/committees/>>; and SIPRI Arms Transfers Programme archives.

Appendix B. Arms exports from the European Union to sub-Saharan Africa

Table B.1. Official reports of European Union member states' arms exports to sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) in 2005–2009

Recipient	EU member states that licensed exports ^a or delivered arms worth over \$100 000 to the recipient in 2005–2009	No. of licence denials	Criteria cited in licence denials ^b
Angola	Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany ^a , Poland ^a , Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, UK ^a	4	4, 7, 8
Botswana	Austria ^a , Belgium ^a , Bulgaria, France, Germany ^a , Spain, UK ^a	3	5, 7
Benin	Austria, Belgium ^a , France, Romania	–	–
Burkina Faso	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France ^a , Romania, Slovakia ^a , UK ^a	3	2, 4, 7, 8
Burundi	Belgium ^a , France ^a , UK ^a	1	4
Cameroon	Belgium ^a , Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Germany ^a , Netherlands ^a , Romania, UK ^a	6	2, 3, 4
Cape Verde	Germany ^a	–	–
Central African Republic	Slovakia	12	3, 4, 7, 8
Chad	Bulgaria, France, Germany ^a , Portugal, UK ^a	14	2, 3, 4, 5, 7
Congo, Democratic Republic of	Belgium ^a , France ^a , Germany ^a , UK ^a	15	1, 4, 7
Congo, Republic of	Bulgaria, France, Lithuania, UK ^a	4	2, 3, 7
Djibouti	France, Slovakia	–	–
Equatorial Guinea	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France ^a , Portugal	5	1, 3, 5, 7
Eritrea	Bulgaria, France, Italy ^a , Slovakia ^a	1	4
Ethiopia	Belgium ^a , Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Germany ^a , Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, UK ^a	13	2, 3, 4, 7
Gabon	Austria ^a , France, Germany ^a , Portugal, Romania, Spain ^a	–	–
Ghana	Belgium ^a , Germany ^a , Italy ^a , Slovakia, Spain, UK ^a	3	7
Guinea	France ^a , Romania, UK ^a	14	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7
Guinea-Bissau	–	1	7
Kenya	Czech Republic ^a , France, Germany ^a , Greece, Italy, Slovakia, Spain, UK ^a	16	2, 3, 7
Lesotho	Spain ^a , UK ^a	–	–
Liberia	Germany ^a , Malta, Romania, UK ^a	3	1
Madagascar	France ^a , Germany ^a	1	3
Malawi	France, UK ^a	–	–
Mali	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Germany ^a	–	–
Mauritania	Belgium, France, UK ^a	1	2
Mauritius	Austria, France, Germany ^a , Romania, Sweden ^a , UK ^a	–	–
Mozambique	UK ^a	–	–
Namibia	Austria, Germany ^a , Sweden, UK ^a	9	7
Niger	Bulgaria, France, Slovakia	–	–
Nigeria	Czech Republic, Belgium ^a , Bulgaria, France, Germany ^a , Italy, Netherlands, Poland ^a , Portugal, UK ^a	14	2, 3, 4, 7, 8
Rwanda	Bulgaria, Lithuania, Netherlands, Romania, Spain	7	1, 2, 3, 4, 7
Senegal	Belgium ^a , Bulgaria, France, UK ^a	3	2, 3
Seychelles	UK ^a	–	–

Recipient	EU member states that licensed exports ^a or delivered arms worth over \$100 000 to the recipient in 2005–2009	No. of licence denials	Criteria cited in licence denials ^b
Sierra Leone	Germany ^a , UK ^a	6	1
Tanzania	Austria, France ^a , Sweden, UK ^a	5	1, 4, 7
Togo	France ^a , UK ^a	1	2
Uganda	Bulgaria ^a , Finland, Germany ^a , Netherlands ^a , Slovakia, UK ^a	21	2, 3, 4, 7, 8
Zambia	France, Germany ^a , UK ^a	7	1

Note: In some cases data on dual-use items delivered to civilian end-users or data on items exported to foreign actors operating in the recipient country, such as UN peacekeepers, are included.

^a These supplier countries licensed arms exports but it is not known if actual deliveries took place.

^b The 8 EU criteria governing control of exports of military equipment and technology relate to (1) the recipient's respect for the international obligations and commitments of member states, including UN arms embargoes; (2) the recipient's respect for human rights and international humanitarian law; (3) the existence of tensions or armed conflicts in the recipient country; (4) preservation of regional peace, security and stability; (5) the national security of the member states and friendly and allied countries; (6) the behaviour of the buyer country with regard to the international community, in particular its attitude to terrorism, the nature of its alliances and respect for international law; (7) the risk of diversion; and (8) the compatibility of the export with the technical and economic capacity of the recipient country.

Sources: Council of the European Union, 8th–10th annual reports according to Operative Provision 8 of the European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports, 2006–2008, and 11th–12th annual reports according to Article 8(2) of Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP defining common rules governing control of exports of military technology and equipment, 2009–10, available at <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1484>>.

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Arms Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa

Concerns regarding arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa are widespread and have motivated worldwide efforts to control arms flows. Although volumes of arms transferred to the region are low by global standards, even supplies of relatively small quantities of older weapons can have a notable impact on conflicts.

This detailed report provides a tour d'horizon of recent developments in arms transfers to both governments and rebel groups in sub-Saharan Africa. It highlights the secrecy that surrounds arms procurement decisions, which hinders assessments of whether arms are being acquired for legitimate reasons and will contribute to the peace and security of sub-Saharan Africa.

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