



Valued at USD 4 billion, the annual authorized trade in small arms and light weapons makes use of harbours such as Singapore's Tanjong Pagar Container Terminal Port.
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Reaching for the Big Picture: AN UPDATE ON SMALL ARMS TRANSFERS

4

INTRODUCTION

Following the format established in *Small Arms Survey 2004*, this chapter provides an annual update of the authorized trade¹ in small arms and light weapons. It looks in detail at the major reported exporters and importers, their trading partners, and the types of small arms exchanged. As in previous years, our understanding of the trade remains partial, for several reasons. Data on exports and imports is still limited for certain countries and certain types of small arms; it is at times difficult to interpret, so that many contradictions remain; and there is a time lag in reporting (for many of the calculations in this chapter, we have had to rely on data covering 2002). The Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer, introduced in *Small Arms Survey 2004*, is therefore an important tool for assessing and promoting transparency. This chapter contains an update of the Barometer, taking into account the evolution of national small arms export reporting in 2004.

The chapter also undertakes a more systematic analysis of the illicit international small arms trade, based on newly collected data on customs seizures of illicit guns. While some quite preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the data, the main finding is that most states make very little information on customs seizures of illicit small arms publicly available. This is all the more surprising as international illicit trafficking has been at the heart of intergovernmental discussions on small arms.

The main findings of the chapter include the following:

- According to available data and estimates, the top small arms exporters (exporting at least USD 100 million of small arms, including parts and ammunition, annually) in 2002—the latest year for which data is available—are the United States, Italy, Brazil, Germany, Belgium, the Russian Federation, and China.
- The top reported small arms importers by value in 2002 were the United States, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea.
- Among the major exporters of small arms and light weapons, the most transparent are the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The least transparent is Israel.
- Improved transparency is particularly needed with respect to end-users of the small arms exported and government-to-government transactions. Moreover, state reporting should distinguish more clearly small arms and light weapons (and their ammunition) from other types of weapons, and reporting should be timelier.
- Customs seizures in European and other industrialized countries during 1999–2003 indicate that the most significant small arms trafficking takes the form of small-scale transfers.
- Handguns are the type of small arm most commonly smuggled to and from these countries.

THE AUTHORIZED GLOBAL SMALL ARMS TRADE: ANNUAL UPDATE

This section provides an update on the authorized global small arms trade. It focuses on the major exporters and importers globally, their trading partners, and the main products exchanged. It includes information not only on small arms and light weapons but also on their parts and accessories² and on small arms (as opposed to light weapons) ammunition. The analysis does not include light weapons ammunition because of reporting limitations.³ The trade in military small arms and light weapons is also most likely underestimated because of limited transparency on the part of many states and unclear reporting formats for certain types of military arms.

The numbers presented here are based on customs data from UN Comtrade, which is the most comprehensive current source of comparable information on the international small arms and light weapons trade (see Box 4.1). Following established practice, to complement the picture of the trade we have used mirror statistics (that is, importers' declarations of their imports are used to calculate exporters' exports, and vice versa). Although in some instances customs data is compared with figures from national arms export reports compiled by individual governments, calculations are based on customs data from UN Comtrade only so as to ensure comparability and to avoid double counting. The calculations on which this section is based are those of the Norwegian Initiative on Small Arms Transfers (NISAT).⁴ All figures represent values rather than quantities. It is true that data on quantities of weapons shipped is more concrete and simpler to analyse; but little of it exists at present, either in customs data from UN Comtrade or in national arms export reports.

The documented value of all exports of small arms in 2002 reported in UN Comtrade customs data is approximately USD 2.1 billion. The figure has changed little from that for 2001, though the incomplete nature of the data makes any conclusions regarding growth or decline hazardous. There is therefore no reason to modify our existing estimate of the total value of the authorized trade in small arms, namely, **USD 4 billion** a year. This estimate is based on the assumption that current figures cover only around half the value of the authorized small arms trade. As noted above, this figure includes only limited information on military small arms and light weapons and none on light weapons ammunition due to problems of reporting and transparency. Moreover, the lack of transparency of some of the main producing and exporting countries, such as China and the Russian Federation, further depresses the figure based on UN Comtrade customs data.

The *top exporters* (defined as those countries exporting at least USD 100 million of small arms annually) in 2002 according to customs data and estimates were the United States, Italy, Brazil, Germany, Belgium, the Russian Federation, and China. These are the same countries as in 2001. The *top importers* (defined as those countries importing at least USD 100 million of small arms annually) for 2002 according to customs data were the United States, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea. Here as well, the top positions have remained relatively stable between 2001 and 2002. Many of the top importers of small arms produce few or no small arms of their own, and thus need to source their weapons abroad. The United States, in contrast, with its very large internal market, absorbs a large part of its domestic production (see Small Arms Survey, 2004, pp. 119–21) and at the same time imports large amounts of guns.

General trading patterns have also remained quite stable from 2001 to 2002. Few states have radically shifted suppliers, and a number of them export to and/or import from the same countries in 2002 as in 2001. Western countries trade between themselves to a large extent, although there are some noteworthy exceptions to this pattern. The small arms ammunition trade amounts to a sizeable part of the total trade in small arms and light weapons. This is all the

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more striking as the ammunition component of the trade, as noted above, is most likely underestimated given the absence of light weapons ammunition (for a more detailed discussion of ammunition, see Chapter 1).

As always, the data contained in the tables and elsewhere should be interpreted with caution. The exports and imports of less transparent states are most likely underestimated. Our attempts to circumvent this problem for states thought to be particularly important in the global small arms trade clearly cannot solve the problem of a lack of transparency.

Box 4.1 Understanding UN Comtrade customs data

Sources on the authorized trade in major conventional weapons are relatively few and far between. Sources on the small arms trade are even scarcer, as even the specialized media rarely report on small arms transactions due to their comparatively low monetary value and limited strategic importance for most states. Figures on the trade in firearms for the civilian market are seldom mentioned in the press.

National arms export reports at times provides extensive and useful information on small arms exports (see Table 4.3): however, the quantity of reported data varies greatly, and the information given is not always comparable across countries. As noted in previous editions of the *Small Arms Survey* the most comprehensive source of comparable information on the international small arms and light weapons trade is UN Comtrade, or the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs/UN Statistics Division.

On a yearly basis, between 120 and 140 countries and areas, which together account for more than 90 per cent of world trade, provide UN Comtrade with comprehensive trade data, detailed by commodity and country.⁵ This information is divided into close to 100 chapters of the so-called Harmonized System (HS), which together cover most types of commodities, from live animals to pharmaceutical products. Each individual commodity within a chapter has a special customs code (normally of six digits). 'Arms and ammunition; parts and accessories thereof' form chapter 93 within the HS. A number of commodities within chapter 93 cover different types of small arms, while others do not. Therefore, in its calculations of the yearly trade in small arms and light weapons, NISAT uses some customs codes within chapter 93 but not the chapter as a whole.⁶

The HS is regularly revised. In the most recent revision (HS2002), states provide more fine-grained data on military weapons in particular. While this improves our understanding of the small arms trade, the system is still not perfect, especially with respect to certain types of military weapons, such as mortars, as well as light weapons ammunition. A number of states continue to report using the previous system (HS1996).

Data reported to UN Comtrade is continuously updated. Some states update their trade data several times a year, others yearly. After submission, states can correct the data submitted. This means that it takes quite some time for consolidated data for a large number of countries to become available. Reporting is usually based on customs declarations, but customs data is at times complemented by other sources such as Intrastat declarations (provided by EU countries and recording intra-EU trade), invoices, and enterprise statistics. Just under half of the reporting states use such additional sources (ITC, 2003b).

Although 'compared to most other economic data ... merchandise trade statistics tend to be fairly reliable, as they are by-products of customs control', UN Comtrade statistics are not without shortcomings (ITC, 2003a). One problem that UN Comtrade shares with virtually all types of state reporting is coverage: not all states provide data. Low-income countries (and in particular least developed countries, LDCs) do not report regularly to UN Comtrade (ITC, n.d.), which limits the possibility of gaining a full and accurate picture of the commodity trade, including the small arms trade. Coverage is a more important problem for the small arms trade than for commodity trade generally, as some states that report to UN Comtrade have chosen to conceal some or all of their trade data relating to small arms. For 2002, approximately 105 states and territories provided some information on their trade in small arms to UN Comtrade. Few states provide information on all relevant customs codes; most commonly, the military weapons categories are kept confidential.⁷ Even with these limitations, UN Comtrade remains the most complete data source to date.



Visitors study weapons at a trade fair in Dortmund, Germany, in January 2005. The media rarely mention figures relating to the civilian firearms trade.

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Box 4.1 Understanding UN Comtrade customs data (cont.)

The most controversial issue is differences between importers' and exporters' reports. This lack of fit also plagues other transparency mechanisms, such as the UN Register of Conventional Arms (Wezeman, 2003, p. 11). Only some of the possible reasons for the discrepancies in UN Comtrade are mentioned here. One reason is exchange rate fluctuations (as a rule, customs authorities record the value of merchandise in local currency). Discrepancies can also stem from differences in coverage of reporting. For example, in some countries coverage includes returned goods (for repairs, refurbishing, and so on). Three out of ten reporting states include transit trade in import and export statistics. About one-third of all states do not include foreign aid in their trade statistics. Fifteen per cent of all states—among them Austria, France, Israel, and the UK—include goods consigned for their armed forces and diplomatic representatives abroad (ITC, 2003b). Some countries may record country of production rather than the exporting country in their statistics. There can also be time lags in registration. Smuggling or unrecorded trade can also lead to discrepancies (because merchandise which is legally exported might not be declared when imported and vice versa), as can under-reporting for tax or other reasons (ITC, 2003a; 2003b; see also Small Arms Survey, 2004, p.116). All this can lead to discrepancies between exporters' and importers' reports.

The International Trade Centre, a joint agency of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), attempts to assess the reliability of individual countries' trade statistics by comparing how well each country's data corresponds to the mirror reporting of partner countries (ITC, 2003a). NISAT has replicated this reliability index for the small arms trade, and it is used in all calculations of the trade values made by NISAT.⁸

Small arms exports

As noted, the top exporters of small arms, their parts, and their ammunition by value in 2002 were the United States, Italy, Brazil, Germany, Belgium, the Russian Federation, and China. In 2001 the list was identical, although the order slightly different. Table 4.1 presents top and major exporters (major exporters are defined as those with reported yearly sales of more than USD 10 million). Some countries that were on the list of major exporters for 2001 are now below the threshold for inclusion into Table 4.1. For example, Bulgaria's reported exports were worth USD 2.4 million in 2002, down from USD 17 million in 2001 (based solely on mirror data, as Bulgaria has provided no information to UN Comtrade for either year). This decline can be explained in several ways. It may simply be due to decreased exports. However, Bulgaria may increasingly trade with countries that do not report their small arms imports, such as many developing countries, or it may export more small arms and light weapons in categories that are not captured by UN Comtrade (such as light weapon ammunition). However, it seems likely that any real decrease is temporary, as Bulgaria reportedly signed and/or delivered Kalashnikov rifles to Iraq (with US payment) and India (64,000 rifles) in 2003 and 2004 (Nicholson, 2004; *The Hindu*, 2004; IndiaExpress, Bureau 2004; Center for the Study of Democracy/Saferworld, 2004, p. 26). Romania is a similar case: for 2002, reported imports from Romania fell below USD 10 million (to USD 4.6 million). Romania also does not report its exports to UN Comtrade. However, its most recent national arms export report announces that it exported small arms and light weapons to a value of USD 25.4 million in 2002 (Romania, 2004). This seems to indicate that Romania either trades mainly with other states that do not report to UN Comtrade or that it exports mainly light weapons ammunition and other small arms that are not captured by UN Comtrade.

For 2002 improved data is available on Iran and Singapore, two medium producers on which little export information was previously available (see Small Arms Survey, 2004, pp.101–02). Recorded Iranian exports amount to approximately USD 8.8 million for 2002 (which is just below the threshold for inclusion in Table 4.1). This figure is probably an underestimate, as Iran does not report to UN Comtrade on all categories of small arms and light weapons. Iran's main reported partners include Sudan, Greece, Guinea, Yemen, and Italy. Singapore (also just below the threshold) exported weapons to destinations as varied as Indonesia, Kenya, Botswana, Finland, and the United States.

The exports of Pakistan (another medium producer) remain shrouded in mystery. According to PakistaniDefence.com (2004), the US has expressed an interest in Pakistani small arms for armed forces in Afghanistan and Iraq. Pakistani exports recorded in UN Comtrade are very limited, however, as Pakistan does not report any of its exports. India, although a medium producer of small arms, reports few exports. Since 2001 it has reportedly delivered 26,000 Indian National Small Arms System rifles to Nepal. India subsidized this deal, worth approximately USD 11.7 million, to 70 per cent of its value (India News Online, 2004; Singh Khadka, 2004). The notoriously secretive North Korea reportedly produces small arms, but little is known about its exports.



Visitors look at Pakistani-made infantry weapons at a 2002 defence exhibition in Karachi. Pakistan is a medium-sized producer that does not report on small arms exports.

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Two of the three top global producers of small arms, the Russian Federation and China, lack transparency in their small arms exports, which is particularly problematic given their presumed importance in the total small arms trade. The Small Arms Survey therefore seeks information on these two states that goes beyond mirror data. For lack of better information, we maintain the same estimate of Chinese exports (for details, see *Small Arms Survey*, 2004, ch. 4, Annexe 4.1⁹). This crude estimate for 2001 comes quite close to actual Chinese exports in 1998, the latest year for which complete data is available on China. For the Russian Federation we have not been able to update our information, as Russian authorities had not made new information available at the time that the *Small Arms Survey* went to press. We have noted the 2001 figure in Table 4.1 so as to give the reader a sense of the magnitude of the Russian exports.

As was the case in the 2004 edition of the *Small Arms Survey*, the comparison between customs data and national arms export reports provided in Table 4.1 reveals important discrepancies between the two sources. Clearly, we are far from a full understanding of the authorized trade in small arms.

There are two main reasons for the discrepancies. First, national arms export reports, in contrast to UN Comtrade customs data, often do not include exports of what state authorities categorize as ‘civilian’ weapons; they typically

There are important discrepancies between customs data and national arms export reports.

focus solely on military or defence products and exclude lethal equipment used by the police or civilians. However, countries that are especially thorough in their small arms and light weapons reporting, such as for example the Czech Republic and Germany, do include civilian as well as military small arms in their national arms export report statistics. As far as transparency is concerned, including exports of both civilian and military small arms, but separating the two where possible, is clearly preferable, not least because much small arms violence occurs in non-war settings and involves 'ordinary' civilians (Small Arms Survey, 2004, ch. 6).

Second, in their export reports countries commonly categorize their national arms exports in accordance with the Wassenaar Arrangement Munitions List (ML), the EU Common Military List (which is based on the Wassenaar List), or some comparable list. Only the ML1 category of the Wassenaar Arrangement list is a 'pure' small arms category, while three other categories are mixed, containing important types of small arms as well as other items.¹⁰ For countries using one of these systems, a conservative counting method is adopted here, recording the artificially low ML1 value in Table 4.1. This value does not capture any light weapons or any small arms ammunition. Hence, while, as noted, UN Comtrade does not permit us to single out light weapons ammunition and certain types of light weapons, the ML system is even more restrictive in this respect. These and other possible reasons for discrepancies are noted in the 'Remarks' column of Table 4.1.¹¹

The upshot is that national arms export reports are not fulfilling their full potential as a source of information on the small arms trade. In principle, arms export reports could give much more in the way of details, explanations, and contextual information than pre-formatted customs data (such as that of UN Comtrade); in practice, however, arms export reports are often less useful than UN Comtrade.

Table 4.1 Annual authorized small arms exports for major reported exporters (yearly sales of more than USD 10 million), 2002

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)* / Export report ^o (2002 if not otherwise stated)	Main recipients (listed in order of importance)	Main types of small arms and light weapons exported (listed in order of importance). NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
Austria	At least 86 million*	US, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy*	Pistols/revolvers, ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons*	Reports its trade neither in military weapons nor in pistols and revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value of these categories (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated.
Belgium	At least 145 million* EUR 104.0 million (USD 98.4 million) ^o	Saudi Arabia, Portugal, US, France, Italy*	Ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns*	The discrepancy between customs and arms export report data is difficult to explain. The Comtrade figure could be inflated partly by inclusion of returns of weapons for repairs. It also includes civilian weapons. However, Belgium reports its trade neither in military weapons nor in pistols and revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value for these categories (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. Export report does not detail recipients of small arms.
Brazil ¹²	At least 164 million*	Malaysia, US, Colombia, Germany, Algeria*	Ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns*	Does not report exports of pistols to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated.
Bulgaria	<i>Medium producer, but little is reported about its exports</i>			

Table 4.1 Annual authorized small arms exports for major reported exporters (yearly sales of more than USD 10 million), 2002 (cont.)

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)* / Export report ^o (2002 if not otherwise stated)	Main recipients (listed in order of importance)	Main types of small arms and light weapons exported (listed in order of importance). NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
Canada	52 million* CAD 19.4 million (USD 12.4 million) ^o	US, Australia, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway* Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Italy, Germany ^o	Ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers*	Customs data and the national report diverge largely because the latter does not take into account exports to the US, which according to the export report are 'estimated to account for over half of Canada's exports of military goods and technology' (Canada, 2004, p.7).
China	At least 22 million* SAS estimate: USD 100 million	US, Philippines, Iran, Sudan, Namibia*	Pistols/revolvers, military weapons, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles*	Customs data is likely to underestimate actual exports, as China does not report on many of its exports, and hence figures are based on importers' reporting.
Czech Republic	At least 51 million*	US, Germany, France, Israel, Yemen*	Ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers*	Does not report trade in military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence, the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. Publishes export report that for 2002 contains numbers, not values of small arms transferred, and does not detail recipients of small arms.
Finland	26 million* EUR 2.0 million (USD 1.9 million) ^o	US, Norway, United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden* Italy, Germany, US, New Zealand, Austria ^o	Sporting/hunting rifles, ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns*	Customs and export report data diverge probably largely because civilian weapons are excluded from the export report. In the export report it is also difficult fully to distinguish small arms ammunition from other types of ammunition.
France	At least 48 million* EUR 0.4 million (USD 0.4 million) ^o	Turkey, US, Portugal, Norway, Russia* Switzerland, Belgium, Nigeria ^o	Military firearms, ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns*	Does not report trade in military weapons and pistols and revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. Customs and export report data diverge probably largely because small arms ammunition cannot be distinguished from other types of ammunition in the arms export report. In the export report, it is also difficult fully to distinguish small arms and light weapons from other items. Civilian weapons are excluded from the export report.
Germany	At least 159 million*	US, France, Austria, Switzerland, Spain*	Pistols/revolvers, ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers*	Does not report trade in military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence, the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. Publishes an export report, but it includes information on granted export licences, not actual deliveries of small arms and light weapons, which may be lower.
Israel	At least 22 million*	US, Norway, Mexico, Germany, Poland*	Pistols/revolvers, ammunition, military firearms, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons*	Does not report on its small arms trade at all to UN Comtrade. Figures are based on importers' reports. Hence the value is likely to be underestimated.

Table 4.1 Annual authorized small arms exports for major reported exporters (cont.)
(yearly sales of more than USD 10 million), 2002

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)* / Export report ^o (2002 if not otherwise stated)	Main recipients (listed in order of importance)	Main types of small arms and light weapons exported (listed in order of importance). NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
Italy	At least 250 million*	US, France, Turkey, Germany, Spain*	Sporting/hunting shotguns, ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons*	Does not report trade in military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence, the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. Publishes an export report, but it includes information on granted licences, not actual deliveries of small arms and light weapons, which may be lower.
Japan	65 million*	US, Belgium, Kenya, Canada, Australia*	Sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, shotgun barrels*	
Netherlands	20 million*	Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Ireland, Switzerland, US*	Ammunition, military weapons, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons*	Some of the recorded exports could be re-exports/transit recorded by the importer. Publishes an export report, but it includes information on granted licences, not actual deliveries of small arms and light weapons, which may be lower.
Norway	45 million* NOK 3.4 million (USD 0.4 million) ^o	Turkey, Switzerland, Sweden, US, Italy* Denmark, Finland, Italy, Sweden, US ^o	Ammunition, military weapons, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, rocket/grenade launchers, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers*	Customs and export report data diverge probably largely because small arms ammunition cannot be distinguished from other types of ammunition in the arms export report. In the export report, it is also difficult fully to distinguish small arms and light weapons from other items.
Pakistan	<i>Medium producer, but little is reported about its exports</i>			
Portugal	20 million*	Belgium, US, Spain, Germany, Canada*	Sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns, ammunition, pistols/revolvers*	Publishes an export report, but it does not detail the share of small arms and light weapons of total arms exports.
Romania	25.4 million ^o	n.a.	n.a.	The Romanian export report details the share of small arms and light weapons exports in total arms exports, but does not indicate the main recipients of the small arms or main types of small arms traded. Romania does not report on its small arms and light weapons trade at all to UN Comtrade, and figures based on importers' reports fall below the threshold.
Russian Federation	At least 41 million* Estimate for 2001 based on official information: no more than 130 million (CAST, 2003, p. 24)	US, Slovakia, Cyprus, South Korea, Lebanon* For 2001: Vietnam, Malaysia, Bhutan, Indonesia, Afghanistan (Northern Alliance), Ethiopia (CAST, 2003, p. 24).	Ammunition, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles, military firearms*	Does not report on trade in military weapons and pistols and revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. This helps explain the large discrepancy between the customs data figure and the figure for 2001 obtained in CAST (2003) through exporting companies.
South Africa	ZAR 151.8 million (USD14.6 million) ^o	UK, Oman, Colombia, Singapore, Jordan ^o	n.a.	South Africa does not report customs data to UN Comtrade and figures based on importers' reports fall below the threshold. Civilian weapons are excluded from the export report, which does not indicate main types of small arms traded.

Table 4.1 Annual authorized small arms exports for major reported exporters (yearly sales of more than USD 10 million), 2002 (cont.)

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)*/ Export report ^o (2002 if not otherwise stated)	Main recipients (listed in order of importance)	Main types of small arms and light weapons exported (listed in order of importance). NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
South Korea	14 million*	US, Australia, Israel, Indonesia, Taiwan*	Ammunition, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, pistols/revolvers, military firearms*	
Spain	At least 47 million* EUR 13.6 million (USD 12.9 million) ^o	US, Portugal, Turkey, Ghana, France*	Ammunition, sporting/hunting shotguns, pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons*	Does not report trade in military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence, the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. The discrepancy between the arms export report figure and the UN Comtrade figure is most likely due to the fact that civilian weapons are excluded from the export report. Export report does not detail recipients of small arms, nor main types of small arms traded.
Sweden	At least 24 million* SEK 6 million (USD 0.6 million) ^o	Mexico, US, Norway, Denmark, Germany*	Ammunition, military firearms, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, rocket/grenade launchers*	Does not report trade in military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence, the value (based on importers' reports) is likely to be underestimated. Customs and export report data diverge probably largely because small arms ammunition cannot be distinguished from other types of ammunition in the arms export report. In the export report, it is also difficult fully to distinguish small arms and light weapons from other items. Export report does not detail recipients of small arms.
Switzerland	54 million* CHF 16.3 million (USD 10.5 million) ^o	Germany, Italy, Singapore, US, Romania* Germany, US, Singapore, Egypt, Finland ^o	Ammunition, military firearms, pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles*	Customs and export report data diverge probably largely because small arms ammunition cannot be distinguished from other types of ammunition in the arms export report. In the export report, it is also difficult fully to distinguish small arms and light weapons from other items. Civilian weapons are excluded from the export report.
Turkey	30 million*	US, Italy, Germany, unspecified countries, France*	Sporting/hunting shotguns, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles, ammunition, shotgun barrels*	
UK	79 million*	Unspecified countries, US, Switzerland, Kenya, Canada*	Ammunition, military weapons, military firearms, sporting/hunting shotguns*	Publishes export report, but does not detail the value of small arms and light weapons exports. Instead it provides numbers of small arms and light weapons exported to certain destinations.
US	533 million*	South Korea, Japan, Canada, Turkey, Saudi Arabia*	Ammunition, rocket/grenade launchers, military firearms, pistols/revolvers*	Publishes export report, but it includes mostly information on granted export licences, not actual deliveries of small arms and light weapons, which may be lower.

*UN Comtrade DESA/UNSD, download date: 16 March 2005. Customs codes 9301 (military weapons), 930120 (rocket and grenade launchers etc), 930190 (military firearms), 9302 (revolvers and pistols), 930320 (sporting and hunting shotguns), 930330 (sporting and hunting rifles), 930510 (parts and accessories of revolvers and pistols), 930521 (shotgun barrels), 930529 (parts and accessories of shotguns or rifles), 930621 (shotgun cartridges), 930630 (small arms ammunition).

NB: 'Ammunition' in the table refers to shotgun cartridges and small arms ammunition combined.

^oExport report

Sources: NISAT (2005) (UN Comtrade calculations); Belgium (2003); Canada (2004), Finland (2003); France (2005); Norway (2003); Romania (2004); South Africa (2003); Spain (2003); Sweden (2003); Switzerland (2003).

Small arms imports

The opportunities to compare various sources of information on small arms imports are limited, simply because only one source—customs data—covers a large number of countries. National arms export reports, as their name implies, usually detail only arms exports, and not imports.

There are more changes among major importers than among major small arms exporters between 2001 and 2002.

Unsurprisingly, there are more changes from year to year among major importers (defined as those countries importing small arms worth more than USD 10 million in a given year) than exporters. For military and police weapons in particular, imports depend on procurement decisions, which can vary widely from year to year, in particular for smaller states. For 2002, among the major importers that were absent from the list for 2001 were Bahrain, the Czech Republic, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, the Philippines, Poland, and the Russian Federation. In contrast, Argentina, Brazil, Honduras, Lebanon, Taiwan, Thailand, and Venezuela reported importing less in 2002 than in 2001, and no longer appear on the list of major importers.

The top importers—that is, those countries importing small arms worth USD 100 million or more—for 2002 were, in order of importance, the US, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea. As for exporters, the top positions among importers remain relatively stable.

As in previous years, Cyprus is among the top importers. This recurrent peculiarity is a consequence of an opaque transit trade (discussed further in *Small Arms Survey, 2003*, p. 105; *Small Arms Survey, 2004*, p. 108). The un-transparent nature of Cypriot trade is underlined by the fact that much of the arms were imported from ‘unspecified’ countries. Other sources of imports, by value, were the Russian Federation, Italy, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom.

Other possibly large importers on which little data is available are those countries involved in internal or international conflict, such as (in 2002) Afghanistan, Côte d’Ivoire, Indonesia, Liberia, Nepal, the Russian Federation (Chechnya), Sri Lanka, Sudan, and the countries of the Great Lakes region. Imports to the warring parties in these conflicts are undoubtedly illicit in many cases—especially where insurgents are the recipients. As a result, they do not figure in Table 4.2. Transfers to conflict zones are discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (CONFLICT SOURCING).

Table 4.2 Annual authorized small arms imports for major reported importers, 2002

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)	Main suppliers (top five)	Main types of small arms and light weapons imported. NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
Australia	47 million	US, Italy, Canada, unspecified countries, Norway	Ammunition, rocket/grenade launchers, sporting/hunting rifles, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Austria	At least 23 million	Germany, Switzerland, Italy, US, Belgium	Ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns	Does not report on its imports of military weapons and pistols/revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Bahrain	At least 23 million	US, Switzerland, UK, Canada, France	Rocket/grenade launchers, ammunition, military firearms, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns	Reports on very few imports to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is probably underestimated.
Belgium	At least 46 million	US, Portugal, Japan, Italy, Germany	Ammunition, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles, pistols/revolvers	Does not report on its imports of military weapons and pistols/revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated. Some imports might actually be returns for repairs.

Table 4.2 Annual authorized small arms imports for major reported importers, 2002 (cont.)

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)	Main suppliers (top five)	Main types of small arms and light weapons imported. NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
Canada	59 million	US, Germany, Italy, UK, Japan	Ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Colombia	14 million	Brazil, US, Czech Republic, Israel, South Africa	Ammunition, pistols/revolvers, military firearms, rocket/grenade launchers	
Cyprus	228 million	Unspecified countries, Russian Federation, Italy, Slovakia, UK	Military weapons, military firearms, sporting/hunting shotguns, ammunition	
Czech Republic	At least 12 million	Italy, Germany, Austria, US, Hungary	Parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, ammunition	Does not report on its imports of military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Denmark	15 million	Germany, Canada, Sweden, UK, Norway	Ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Finland	14 million	Italy, Germany, US, Sweden, Singapore	Ammunition, sporting/hunting shotguns, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles	
France	At least 53 million	Italy, Germany, Belgium, US, Czech Republic	Ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons	Does not report on its imports of military weapons and pistols/revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Germany	At least 73 million	Switzerland, US, Italy, Austria, Czech Republic	Ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns, pistols/revolvers	Does not report on its imports of military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Greece	At least 16 million	US, Italy, Iran, Spain, Germany	Parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, ammunition, rocket/grenade launchers	Does not report on its imports of military weapons and pistols/revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Israel ¹³	At least 31 million	US, Czech Republic, South Korea, Spain, Brazil	Parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, ammunition, military firearms, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, rocket/grenade launchers	Does not report any imports to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is probably underestimated.
Italy	At least 55 million	US, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Turkey	Ammunition, rocket/grenade launchers, sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, pistols/revolvers	Does not report on its imports of military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Japan	77 million	US, Italy, Germany, UK, Australia	Military firearms, ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Jordan	At least 23 million	US, Switzerland, Canada, Italy, Czech Republic	Military firearms, ammunition, military weapons, pistols/revolvers	Does not report any imports to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is probably underestimated.
Kenya	11 million	UK, Japan, Singapore, Czech Republic, South Africa	Military weapons, ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting rifles	
Kuwait	At least 18 million	US, Italy, Cyprus, Germany, Poland	Ammunition, military firearms, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles	Does not report any imports to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is probably underestimated.

Table 4.2 Annual authorized small arms imports for major reported importers, 2002 (cont.)

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)	Main suppliers (top five)	Main types of small arms and light weapons imported. NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
Malaysia	72 million	Brazil, US, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Germany	Ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, military firearms, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Mexico	18 million	Sweden, US, Israel, Belgium, Czech Republic	Military firearms, pistols/revolvers, ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons	
Netherlands	At least 34 million	US, Germany, Canada, Belgium, Norway	Rocket/grenade launchers, ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, pistols/revolvers	Does not report on its imports of military weapons and pistols/revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Norway	31 million	US, Germany, Israel, Italy, Finland	Ammunition, military firearms, sporting/hunting rifles, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Philippines	12 million	China, US, Brazil, Italy, Austria	Pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting rifles, ammunition, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting shotguns	
Poland	12 million	Germany, Czech Republic, Israel, South Africa, Italy	Ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles	
Portugal	29 million	Belgium, Italy, Spain, France, Germany	Parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, shotgun barrels, sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers	
Russian Federation	At least 12 million	Germany, Italy, Austria, France, Belgium	Sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles, ammunition, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons	Does not report on its imports of military weapons and pistols/revolvers to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Saudi Arabia	132 million	Belgium, US, Netherlands, Germany, UK	Ammunition, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers, pistols/revolvers, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons	
South Korea	103 million	US, Netherlands, Russian Federation, UK, Italy	Rocket/grenade launchers, ammunition, military firearms, military weapons, parts/accessories pistols/revolvers	
Spain	At least 27 million	Italy, Germany, US, Portugal, Belgium	Sporting/hunting rifles, ammunition, sporting/hunting shotguns, pistols/revolvers	Does not report on its imports of military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Sweden	At least 16 million	Germany, Norway, Finland, US, Italy	Ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, military weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons	Does not report on its imports of military weapons to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is possibly underestimated.
Switzerland	41 million	UK, Norway, Germany, Austria, Chile	Military firearms, ammunition, pistols/revolvers, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles	
Turkey	99 million	US, France, Norway, Italy, Spain	Ammunition, rocket/grenade launchers, military firearms, pistols/revolvers	
United Arab Emirates	At least 10 million	Switzerland, US, UK, Brazil, Italy	Ammunition, military firearms, sporting/hunting shotguns, pistols/revolvers	Does not report any imports to UN Comtrade. Hence the value (based on exporters' reports) is probably underestimated.

Table 4.2 Annual authorized small arms imports for major reported importers, 2002 (cont.)

Country	USD value customs data (UN Comtrade)	Main suppliers (top five)	Main types of small arms and light weapons imported. NB: types refer to UN Comtrade customs codes (see notes)	Remarks
United Kingdom	80 million	Unspecified countries, US, Italy, Germany, Switzerland	Ammunition, military weapons, sporting/hunting shotguns, sporting/hunting rifles, military firearms	
US	571 million	Italy, Brazil, Austria, Japan, Germany	Sporting/hunting shotguns, pistols/revolvers, ammunition, sporting/hunting rifles, parts/accessories sporting/hunting weapons	

Notes: Only countries with reported or estimated yearly imports of more than USD 10 million have been included in the listing.
 *UN Comtrade DESA/UNSD, download date: 16 March 2005. Customs codes 9301 (military weapons), 930120 (rocket and grenade launchers, etc.), 930190 (military firearms), 9302 (revolvers and pistols), 930320 (sporting and hunting shotguns), 930330 (sporting and hunting rifles), 930510 (parts and accessories of revolvers and pistols), 930521 (shotgun barrels), 930529 (parts and accessories of shotguns or rifles), 930621 (shotgun cartridges), 930630 (small arms ammunition). NB: 'Ammunition' in the table refers to shotgun cartridges and small arms ammunition combined.

Source: NISAT (2005)

DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSPARENCY: ANNUAL UPDATE

The most important development in small arms transparency during 2004 arguably concerned the UN Register of Conventional Arms. In 2004, states reported for the first time under the register's newly expanded information exchange (now including some types of light weapons). This section makes a preliminary assessment of this first year of reporting on—at least some—categories of small arms and light weapons.

The section also provides an update of the Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer—first published in the *Small Arms Survey 2004*—and analyses the strong and weak points of state reporting to date.

The expansion of the UN Register: The beginnings of reporting on light weapons

As noted in the *Small Arms Survey 2004*, several international efforts were made in 2003 to improve transparency in the small arms trade. The goal, not yet achieved, is to bring it up to par with transparency on transfers of major conventional weapons. In December 2003 the Wassenaar Arrangement Participating States agreed to add small arms and light weapons, including MANPADS, to the list of strategic goods on which they exchange information (the information is not made public: this is an intergovernmental transparency device). More or less simultaneously, the UN General Assembly decided to extend the UN Register of Conventional Arms (UN Register) to include artillery pieces equal to or above 75 mm (previously, the threshold was 100 mm), to capture the very common 81 and 82 mm mortars.



A government soldier fires a mortar in Morazan Province, El Salvador. Now that the UN Register has been extended to include artillery pieces equal to or greater than 75 mm, governments should report on their trade in the common 81 and 82 mm mortars.

The missile and launcher category was also extended to include MANPADS. Moreover, a system of voluntary information sharing (which, unlike other parts of state reporting to the UN Register, is not publicly available on the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs, Web site) on all military small arms and light weapons transfers was set up within the UN Register (for further details, see Small Arms Survey, 2004, pp. 115–16). This was the first revision of the Register since its inception in 1992, and it was welcomed in particular by African states, which have found themselves especially vulnerable to reckless small arms transfers (Wezeman, 2003, p. 8).

After one year it is still too early to assess fully the implementation of these measures as well as their influence on small arms transparency. The confidential nature of the Wassenaar Arrangement information exchange prevents any attempt at analysis. However, some preliminary remarks can be made about the UN Register.

As of early 2005, some 115 states had submitted their reports for 2003 to the UN Register of Conventional Arms. Of those states, fewer than one-fifth (about 20 states) reported on their imports, exports, holdings, or procurement through national production of light artillery or MANPADS.¹⁴ For some states, it is difficult to ascertain whether the new categories are incorporated in the reporting, as they give insufficient detail about the weapons on which they report. A few states provided additional information on all military small arms and light weapons transfers. These were Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the UK.

The lack of reporting on light artillery or MANPADS by top exporters and importers is a worrying sign.

The fact that not only European countries but also states such as Israel, Jordan, and Malaysia report on light artillery or MANPADS to the UN Register seems encouraging for the future. However, no African country reported, although, as just noted, African countries lobbied hard for the inclusion of small arms and light weapons in the UN Register. Another cause for concern is the absence of all top exporters of small arms (the United States, Italy, Brazil, Germany, Belgium, the Russian Federation, and China) from the list of reporting countries. Among the top importers, the picture is similarly bleak.

The next few years will show how these short-term trends in reporting translate into more established patterns.

Update on the Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer

The contradictions and question marks that hang over the exports and imports of small arms show that increasing state transparency in the small arms and light weapons trade is as vital as ever. The Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer is a tool for comparing states for transparency and for clarifying where progress needs to be made. It assesses the transparency of the major small arms exporting states on a 20-point scale on the basis of the information states publish on their small arms exports in national arms export reports and in customs data as reported to UN Comtrade (see Table 4.3).

Both the 2004 and the 2005 Barometers show that progress is uneven. Most of the major exporters publish at least some of their information in a UN language¹⁵ and make it available on the Internet, thus obtaining high scores under the access category of the Barometer.¹⁶

As for the *clarity* of the reporting, the picture is more mixed. Here, none of the analysed states gets a full score; indeed, a number of them obtain quite low scores. Countries following the munitions classification system of the Wassenaar Arrangement (or the EU system, which is very similar) in their reporting generally achieve only half or no points on two out of four criteria. That system makes it impossible fully to single out small arms and light weapons and their ammunition from other types of conventional weapons and ammunition (see section on small arms exports, above). Another issue is that few states clarify the origins of the information provided (industry reporting, customs reporting, licensing information, and so on). Without such source information, however, the data becomes less useful, in particular for international comparison. Lastly, none of the analysed countries provides full information on types of end-users

of weapons (military, police, other security forces, civilians or civilian retailers, and so forth). Such information is of course crucial, since without it no assessment can be made of the ultimate use of the exported weapons. A few analysed countries provide some information of this kind. France, for example, distinguishes recipients according to branches of the armed forces (navy, army, air force). The Netherlands produces information on end-users of surplus defence equipment sold and on intended end-users of rejected transfer applications under the EU Code of Conduct (Netherlands, 2004, Appendices 4 and 5).

A few countries offer very *comprehensive* data, meaning that the reporting covers government-sourced as well as industry-sourced transactions, exports of civilian as well as military small arms and light weapons, information on parts, and summaries of export laws and regulations as well as international commitments. However, many states are less transparent on their own (government-to-government) transactions than on industry-negotiated deals. A common problem with national arms export reports is that they do not explicitly specify the types of arms and transactions covered, which makes it impossible to assess the comprehensiveness of the reports.

Information on *granted and denied licences* (values/quantities by weapon type and by country and weapon type) is much less common than information on values or quantities of actual deliveries of small arms and light weapons. At times, information on granted and denied licences is limited to the *number* of licenses, and does not include the numbers or value of weapons associated with these licenses (according to weapons type). Information on numbers of licences granted or denied is not awarded any points in the Barometer, as it says little about scale of the proposed transaction. Few countries provide any information on denied licences. Denial information is useful when examining how states apply their arms export laws, in particular if reasons for denials are given. However, it must be remembered that in those countries where industry and export licensing authorities are in constant communication, there are often fewer formal denials (and more ‘pre-denials’) as industry is well informed about the authorities’ views on particular export destinations.¹⁷ Hence, in the Barometer denials are weighted less than granted licences and deliveries.

Many countries offer information on values of *deliveries*, disaggregated both by weapon type and by country and weapon type, thanks to their reporting to UN Comtrade. However, information—in particular complete information—on *numbers* of weapons delivered is much scarcer, as such information is mostly lacking from both UN Comtrade and most national arms export reports. Needless to say, data on quantities of small arms and ammunition shipped is of more use than values, as it is more concrete and simpler to analyse.

It is often impossible to compare a country’s granted licences with its actual deliveries, as the format, scope, and underlying definitions of the data are different. So even for many of those countries that provide information on both licences and deliveries, it is next to impossible to see how licences have translated into actual deliveries. Here, too, much still needs to be done to improve transparency.

All this means that no country comes close to full transparency in its small arms trade, and that the states at the top of the Barometer are still quite far from optimally transparent.¹⁸ At the same time, the Barometer shows that no criterion is impossible to fulfil: none of the columns of the barometer is entirely blank. It is thus possible to achieve very high levels of transparency in the small arms trade.

Timeliness of the data provided is not dealt with directly in the Barometer at present. It is worth stressing that there are vast differences in how quickly reporting is made public, both between countries and from one year to the next. Some countries, such as the United Kingdom, now provide arms export data on a quarterly basis (United Kingdom, 2005). France, in contrast, made its arms export report for 2002–03 public only in early 2005.

The Barometer shows on the one hand that no state today comes close to full transparency, and on the other that such transparency is possible.

Table 4.3 Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer, covering major exporters, based on latest arms export report made publicly available and/or on 2002 customs data from UN Comtrade

Country and source(s) available (E = export report with year of reporting, C = customs data)	Total points (20 points max)	Access (2 points max)	Clarity (4 points max)	Comprehensive-ness (4 points max)	Information on deliveries (4 points max)	Information on licences granted (4 points max)	Information on licences refused (2 points max)
Austria	C 6.5	1.5	2	1	2	0	0
Belgium ¹⁹	C 6.5	1.5	2	1	2	0	0
Brazil	C 7.5	1.5	2	2	2	0	0
Canada ²⁰	E (02) C 12	2	3	3	4	0	0
China ²¹	C 8.5	1.5	2	1	4	0	0
Czech Republic	E (03) C 12.5	2	2.5	3	3	2	0
Finland	E (03) C 11	2	2.5	2.5	2	2	0
France ²²	E (02-03) C 12.5	2	3.5	3	4	0	0
Germany ²³	E (03) C 15.5	2	3	4	2	4	0.5
Israel	C 0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	E (03) C 12.5	2	3	2.5	3	2	0
Japan	C 7.5	1.5	2	2	2	0	0
Netherlands ²⁴	E (03) C 13	2	2.5	3.5	4	1	0
Norway	E (03) C 10.5	2	2.5	4	2	0	0
Portugal	E (02) C 8	2	2	2	2	0	0
Romania	E (02) 5	1.5	1.5	1	1	0	0
Russian Federation	C 6.5	1.5	2	1	2	0	0
South Africa	E (02) 5	2	1	0	2	0	0
South Korea	C 7.5	1.5	2	2	2	0	0
Spain ²⁵	E (03) C 11.5	2	3	3	2.5	1	0
Sweden	E (03) C 10.5	2	2	4	2	0.5	0
Switzerland	E (04) C 9	2	2.5	2	2	0	0.5
Turkey	C 7.5	1.5	2	2	2	0	0
United Kingdom ²⁶	E (03) C 15	2	3	4	4	2	0
United States ²⁷	E (03) C 16	2	3	3	4	4	0

Sources: UN Comtrade DESA/UNSD, download date: 16 March 2005. Customs reporting tabulations from NISAT (2005); Canada (2004); Czech Republic (2004); Finland (2004); France (2005); Germany (2004); Italy (2004); Netherlands (2004); Norway (2004); Portugal (2003); Romania (2004); South Africa (2003); Spain (2004); Sweden (2004); Switzerland (2005); UK (2004); US (2004).

Scoring system

- (a) Access (2 points total): Information is: available on Internet (half point); available in a UN language (1 point); free of charge (half point);
 (b) Clarity (4 points total): The reporting includes source information (1 point); small arms and light weapons distinguishable from other types of weapons (1 point); small arms and light weapons ammunition distinguishable from other types of ammunition (1 point); reporting includes information on types of end-users (military, police, other security forces, civilians, civilian retailers) (1 point).
 (c) Comprehensiveness (4 points total): The reporting covers: government-sourced as well as industry-sourced transactions (1 point); civilian as well as military small arms and light weapons (1 point); information on small arms and light weapons parts (1 point); summaries of export laws and regulations as well as international commitments (1 point).
 (d) Information on deliveries (4 points total): Data disaggregated by weapons type (value of weapons shipped (1 point), quantity of weapons shipped (1 point)), and by country and weapons type (value of weapons shipped 1 point, quantity of weapons shipped 1 point).
 (e) Information on licences granted (4 points total): Data disaggregated by weapons type (value of weapons licensed (1 point), quantity of weapons licensed (1 point)), and by country and weapons type (value of weapons licensed 1 point, quantity of weapons licensed 1 point).
 (f) Information on licences refused (2 points total): Data disaggregated by weapons type (value of licences refused 0.5 points, quantity of weapons under refused licence 0.5 points), and by country and weapons type (value of licence refused 0.5 points, quantity of weapons under refused licence 0.5 points).

NB1: Half the score is granted for a partly fulfilled criterion.

NB2: Under (d), (e), and (f), no points are granted for number of deliveries or number of licences granted or denied, as such figures give little information about the magnitude of the trade.

NB3: Under (d), (e), and (f): 'weapons type' means broader weapons categories (that is, 'small arms' as opposed to 'armoured vehicles' or 'air-to-air missiles'), not specific small arms and light weapons types ('assault rifles' as opposed to 'hunting rifles'). The data is disaggregated by weapons type if the share of arms exports of different categories of weapons (small arms and light weapons as opposed to military aircraft, missiles, electronics, and so on) is delineated. The data is disaggregated both by country and by weapon type if the report includes numbers on the quantity or value of weapons of each category transferred to individual recipients (such as, in 2003, X amount of small arms was delivered to country Y).

NB4: The fact that the Barometer is based on two sources—customs data (as reported to UN Comtrade) and national arms export reports—works to the advantage of states that publish data in both forms, since what they do not provide in one form of reporting they might provide in the other. Points achieved from each source of the two sources are added up. However, points are obviously not counted twice (for example, if a country provides both customs data and export reports in a UN language, it gets 1 point for this under access, not more).

NB5: The scores of the 2004 and 2005 Barometers are not directly comparable, due to differences in the application of criteria between the two years.

The Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer evaluates reporting, but cannot independently verify the veracity of the information given. That is to say, the Barometer assesses the quantity and level of detail of the data made public, but not its accuracy. In 2004, the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) found problems of accuracy with the main US arms export report, the so-called 655 Report. This report claimed that the State Department had approved licenses for the commercial export of Stinger missiles in five instances during fiscal years 2000 and 2002, although US government policy precluded this. It became clear that the reports were incorrect, and they had to be amended. This led GAO to inspect more closely the reliability of the 655 Report. It found ‘data reliability problems that raise additional questions about the accuracy and reliability of data in [the report]’ (GAO, 2005, p. 2). For example, it is possible to enter only one commodity and one country code into the licensing database (which is the source for 655 Report entries) per license application, regardless of how many commodities and countries appear on an application. As a result, the 655 Report omits the additional commodities or countries listed on some licence applications (GAO, 2005, p. 5). These types of accuracy problems may not be unique to the US. France follows a similar practice: contracts covering matériel from several categories is attributed to the category that is ‘the most representative of the contents of the contract’ (France 2005, p. 58, our translation). To unearth problems such as these, however, requires access and resources that are usually beyond researchers’ means. In contrast, problems of inconsistencies between national export reports and customs data from UN Comtrade are more easily revealed, and are discussed in detail in this chapter’s section on small arms exports.

Equally important, because the Barometer focuses on small arms in particular, it cannot be used as a general measure of conventional arms export transparency. Moreover, given that the Barometer includes only those countries that are major exporters of small arms and light weapons (see Table 4.1), it excludes some rather transparent countries. This also necessarily means that the focus is mainly (although not uniquely) on states in Europe and North America, which is where the major exporting countries are found.

The Barometer shows that the most transparent among the major exporting countries are states that publish export reports and report on their customs data to UN Comtrade. At the top of the list are the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. At the bottom is Israel, whose transparency has decreased since the 2004 Barometer.

UNDERSTANDING THE INTERNATIONAL ILLICIT TRADE IN SMALL ARMS: FIRST STEPS IN EUROPE

Stemming the international illicit trade²⁸ in small arms and light weapons is at the heart of the efforts to curb small arms proliferation, at both the international and the regional levels. A first step in systematically assessing the international illicit trade is to examine seizures of illicit small arms crossing national borders. This is one of the few means available to gather internationally comparable data. Border seizures should help elucidate a share of the cross-border black-market transactions.²⁹ During 2004, the Small Arms Survey thus asked approximately 35 countries considered representative of their respective regions or sub-regions for information on customs seizures of small arms and light weapons. Eight provided information on numbers and types of weapons seized in the five-year period from 1999 to 2003. All countries reporting were from Europe, except for Australia, Canada, and Chile. The following analysis therefore has a mainly European focus, and is necessarily tentative in its conclusions even about that region. It is intended in future years to increase the number of states covered, conditional on state transparency in this respect.

Since few states can provide public data on customs seizures of illicit small arms, information central to the effort to tackle the small arms problem is lacking.

Moreover, the discussion in coming years will be broadened to include police seizures. If we are interested in *international* trafficking it is logical to start with customs seizures; but customs seizures alone give a misleadingly small picture of the illicit trade. A fuller picture of the scope of trafficking (including its international ramifications) would have to include police seizures, which are generally much greater than customs seizures. An (albeit extreme) illustration of the ratio of police to customs seizures is the share of border seizures to total police seizures in Kosovo from mid-2000 to the end of 2002: only 0.8 per cent of small arms seizures by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) took place along the borders (Khakee and Florquin, 2003, p. 65). Another illustration comes from Bulgaria where, during January 2002–August 2003, customs seized a total of 107 small arms, while the police, during one year (2001), seized 604 small arms (Center for the Study of Democracy/Saferworld, 2004, p. 46). Data on police seizures is also patchy, however. It is important to stress that, while customs and police seizures together should cover the black market fairly well, neither of them captures state-sponsored grey-market transactions. In future such grey-market deals will probably have to be examined on a case-by-case basis.



Officials and police display weapons confiscated in Giessen, Germany.

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Table 4.4 suggests that border seizures of small arms were rather low overall in our sample in 1999–2003. The reasons might differ from one state to the next. Swedish customs notes that ‘[t]here is no information indicating that Sweden is subject to large-scale smuggling of [small arms and light weapons]’;³⁰ the problem of illicit trade in Sweden is of a different nature ‘since there is reason to believe that weapons that have been legally imported to Sweden end up in the illegal market’. This might well be true of other countries which, like Sweden, have recorded low numbers of customs seizures. However, such low rates of seizures may in some states reflect the quality of border control. For example, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina have seized few weapons along their borders in recent years. According to a UNDP-sponsored report, this does not mean that levels of trafficking are low; rather, it ‘shows the insufficiency of control and confiscation’ of small arms and light weapons in particular of the State Border Service (SBS) of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Paes, Risser, and Pietz, 2004, p. 31).

Table 4.4 also shows wide variations in numbers of small arms seized at border posts in Australia, Canada, and the European countries examined. Canada has had the highest absolute and per capita numbers of weapons seized:

in fact, Canada seems to be an exception within this sample of countries. The reason is that a large number of seizures 'were from US travellers carrying firearms purportedly for personal protection' (Canada Border Services Agency, 2004a, p.1). Over 80 per cent of guns were seized at highway border crossings (Canada Border Services Agency, 2004a, p.1)

Table 4.4 Reported small arms trafficking (total numbers of weapons seized by customs), respondent European and other industrialized states

Country	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total	Main origin/destination
Australia	n/a	347	622	165	121	1,255 (4 years)	Anecdotal information suggests that the most common country of origin is the US.
Canada	1,336	1,170	1,136	796	1,221	5,659	The US is main country of origin, in particular secondary US markets (gun shows, flea markets, private sales).
Germany*	218	117	121	58	63	577	Switzerland is main country of origin, followed by France.
Poland	8	251	44	25	15	346	Slovakia (country of origin of more than 70 per cent of seized guns), Ukraine (country of origin of approximately 8 per cent of guns).
Romania	17	4	14	4	5	44	n/a
Sweden	29	20	22	33	14	118	Increase in weapons from Balkans and, to a lesser extent, the former Soviet Union, especially the Baltic countries.
United Kingdom**	240	641	261	637	280	2,059	n/a
Total						10,059	

Note: Figures cover small arms and light weapons without their ammunition.

*For Germany, only border seizures have been included (German customs can act on a larger part of the national territory than the customs authorities of many other states).

**The UK financial year runs from 1 April to 31 March. Thus, the 1999 entry pertains to information from 1 April 1999 to 31 March 2000.

Sources: **Australia**, correspondence with Bill Ross, Director Assessments and Analysis, Risk Identification and Intelligence Branch, Australian Customs Service; **Canada**, Canada Border Services Agency (2004b); **Germany**, correspondence with Marcel de la Haye, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department for Disarmament and Arms Control, 19 October 2004; **Poland**, correspondence with Robert Kupiecki, Director, Department of Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland, 6 August; **Romania**, Correspondence with Radu Horumb, Director, Office for Non-proliferation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 22 September 2004; **Sweden** Correspondence with Mats Barregren, Special Advisor, Head Office of Swedish Customs, 28 September 2004; **United Kingdom**, correspondence with Barbara Bernard, Restrictions and Sanctions Team, HM Customs & Excise, 28 June and 19 July 2004.

Trafficked small arms sometimes have surprising origins. Swedish reports of increases in illicit gun trade from the Balkans, and to a lesser extent the former Soviet Union, are in line with commonly held assumptions. That the United States is the main source of non-commercial attempted illegal imports of guns seized by the Australian customs (predominantly shipped in postal parcels) during 1999–2003 is perhaps less expected, especially as Australia is much closer geographically to trafficking hubs in South-east Asia. Likewise, although Poland extensively upgraded its borders with the Russian Federation (Kaliningrad), Belarus, and Ukraine before it became a member of the European Union (EU) in 2004 (Poland Ministry of the Interior and Administration, 2000), most of the small arms that Polish customs seized came from a fellow EU applicant, Slovakia. In 1999–2003, Germany seized more guns on its borders with France and Switzerland than on its better-controlled frontiers with the Czech Republic and Poland.³¹

This is probably because customs cooperation is more developed between countries such as Poland and Slovakia, and between Germany, France, and Switzerland, than between those countries and their eastern neighbours (Busch 1998).

Trafficking of handguns has been more prevalent than that of other types of small arms. A comparison between Tables 4.4 and 4.5 shows that, overall, approximately 60 per cent of all reported seizures of firearms were handguns, ranging from approximately 45 per cent in Australia and Germany to almost 80 per cent in Romania.

Table 4.5 Reported international handgun trafficking (numbers of handguns seized by customs), respondent European and Anglo-Saxon industrialized states

Country	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total
Australia	n/a	170	232	97	55	554
Canada	1,025	874	826	590	454	3,769
Germany	73	85	37	30	31	256
Poland	1	195	17	4	5	225
Romania	15	4	9	3	4	35
Sweden	22	10	20	21	6	79
United Kingdom*	83	417	167	305	127	1,099
Total:						6,017

Note: Figures do not include air or gas pistols.

* The UK financial year runs from 1 April to 31 March. Thus, the 1999 entry pertains to information from 1 April 1999 to 31 March 2000.

Sources: **Australia**, correspondence with Bill Ross, Director Assessments and Analysis, Risk Identification and Intelligence Branch, Australian Customs Service; **Canada**, Canada Border Services Agency (2004b); **Germany**, correspondence with Marcel de la Haye, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department for Disarmament and Arms Control, 19 October 2004; **Poland**, correspondence with Robert Kupiecki, Director, Department of Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland, 6 August; **Romania**, Correspondence with Radu Horumba, Director, Office for Non-proliferation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 22 September 2004; **Sweden** Correspondence with Mats Barregren, Special Advisor, Head Office of Swedish Customs, 28 September 2004; **United Kingdom**, correspondence with Barbara Bernard, Restrictions and Sanctions Team, HM Customs & Excise, 28 June and 19 July 2004.

According to our limited sample, cross-border trafficking has mostly involved small quantities, often only one gun per seizure. This could be because the international illicit trade in small arms to European countries mostly services criminals' demand for guns, and they smuggle the guns over the borders themselves. It also suggests that the profits from trafficking small arms are low. Swedish customs notes that 'Almost all seizures have been made on one person, linked to a criminal or to a criminal organization, carrying one or two weapons. During the last five years 118 weapons have been seized on 96 occasions, which gives an average of 1.2 weapon per occasion.'³² The Canadian customs figures show a large number of small seizures and a very small number of large ones; the Canadian authorities note that, 'quantity seizures of firearms (i.e. three or more pieces) are uncommon' (Canada Border Services Agency, 2004a, p. 1). Here, the link to other types of criminal activities is weaker, as Americans who are unaware of Canadian laws carry many of the guns over the border. Over the five-year period covered, only one large seizure was reported, of 497 semi-automatic carbines smuggled from the Russian Federation in a maritime container and seized at the Port of Montreal (Canada Border Services Agency, 2004a, p. 2). A detailed study comes to a similar conclusion about the Netherlands (Spapens and Bruinsma, 2004, ch. 6). The data thus offers a first, imperfect indication of the relative importance of small-scale trafficking into Europe, Australia, and Canada.

CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to reach an accurate picture of recent trends in the trade in small arms and light weapons, including ammunition and parts. From 2001 to 2002 (the latest year for which data is available), that trade was relatively stable, in terms of both values exported and trading patterns. The major importers and exporters were, with few variations, the same in 2002 as in 2001. There were some fluctuations among major importers, presumably as some countries finalized major procurements and others started procuring small arms and light weapons for their military and police forces. The tables of major exporters and importers show that Western countries often trade between themselves, but also that

there are notable exceptions to this pattern. Non-Western exporters often export to a variety of recipient states. The tables also indicate the importance of small arms ammunition transfers in the overall small arms and light weapons trade.

The chapter provides an update of the Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer. The Barometer is based on information made publicly available by exporting states in the form of national arms export reports and customs data (as reported to UN Comtrade). Generally, improved transparency on small arms exports is essential for a better understanding of the small arms trade. A fundamental requirement is that state reporting clearly singles out small arms and light weapons, as well as their ammunition and parts, from other types of weapons. Moreover, increased transparency is needed in respect of end-users and government-to-government transactions. Reporting could also be timelier.

Lastly, the chapter sets out to examine more systematically certain segments of the illicit trade in small arms. This first attempt at a more systematic analysis focuses on customs seizures, and in view of the limited data available is geographically concentrated on Europe and a few other countries. Although some preliminary conclusions can be drawn—for example, about the importance of the small-scale illicit trade and trafficking in handguns across borders—the main finding is that states have very little publicly available information on customs seizures of illicit small arms. This is all the more surprising given that international illicit trafficking is at the heart of intergovernmental efforts to tackle the small arms problem.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAD	Canadian dollar
CHF	Swiss franc
DDA	United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
GAO	US Government Accountability Office
HS	Harmonized system
LDCs	Least developed countries
ML	Munitions List of the Wassenaar Arrangement
NISAT	Norwegian Initiative on Small Arms Transfers
NOK	Norwegian krone
RPG	Rocket-propelled grenade launcher
SAR	Special Administrative Region
SBS	State Border Service (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SEK	Swedish krona
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
USD	United States dollar
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZAR	South African rand

ENDNOTES

- ¹ In this chapter, 'trade' refers to international trade, that is, imports and exports, as opposed to intra-state (domestic) transfers.
- ² Weapon parts are at the heart of a growing controversy in which some experts claim that control over them is less rigorous than over finished weapons (see for example Control Arms, 2004).
- ³ Light weapons ammunition is reported in customs data in a category which also comprises ammunition for large conventional weapons.
- ⁴ For more details on calculation methods, see Marsh (forthcoming).
- ⁵ Customs unions, such as those between Lichtenstein and Switzerland and between Monaco and France, report jointly to UN Comtrade. In contrast, a handful of individual states are divided into several customs territories that report separately, mostly because of the legacy of colonialism (for example, China-Macao Special Administrative Region (SAR) and China-Hong Kong SAR). However, these are exceptions, and hence hardly affect our understanding the global small arms trade.
- ⁶ For the exact codes used, see the notes to Tables 4.1 and 4.2.
- ⁷ Hence our assumption that the trade in military small arms and light weapons is underestimated.
- ⁸ For further details, see Marsh (forthcoming).
- ⁹ The annexe can be accessed on the Small Arms Survey Web site, at <[http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/Yearbook%202004/04%20Transfers%20Annexes%20\(Web\).pdf](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/Yearbook%202004/04%20Transfers%20Annexes%20(Web).pdf)>
- ¹⁰ These are: ML2 (guns, howitzers, cannons, mortars, anti-tank weapons, projectile launchers, military flame-throwers, recoilless rifles, and so forth, of a caliber larger than 12.7mm); ML3 (ammunition for ML1, ML2, and ML12—ML 12 comprising high-velocity kinetic energy weapon systems and related equipment), and ML 4 (bombs, torpedoes, rockets, grenades, missiles, and so forth). As none of these categories provides for caliber upper limits, they mix small arms and light weapons with larger weapons and ammunition (for further details, see Wassenaar Arrangement, 2004).
- ¹¹ See also Small Arms Survey (2004, p. 101) for other possible explanations for divergences in reporting.
- ¹² In 2002, Brazil reported a total of USD 117.6m in arms exports to Malaysia. The anomalous size of these reported transactions, along with corroborating press reports of a sale of an advanced missile system to the Malaysian government, suggest that many of these exports were not small arms. Consequently, we have not included them in our calculations. Brazil may record its firearm exports in a somewhat unorthodox way, filing its pistols and revolvers exports under the customs category 'other sporting, hunting or target shooting rifles'. If this is correct, as some preliminary research by Dreyfus and Lessing (2003) seems to suggest, the above figures overestimate the actual trade.
- ¹³ An illustration of the difficulty in interpreting customs data is the report by Norway of shipments of weapons to Israel of a value of over NOK 6m (USD 0.8m) in 2002 (which, if correct, would have made Norway one of the top five reported exporters to that country). This report created a predictable stir in Norway, a country that has been closely involved in the Middle East peace process. In the end, it became clear that the figure referred to weapons that Norway had returned to Israel after they had been used in training exercises in Norway (Hoffmann, 2003). In a similar case, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2002 issued a licence for the temporary export of parts, which after 'outward processing' were all reimported into Austria (correspondence with Andrea Ilic-Böhm, Head of export control unit, 11 January 2005)
- ¹⁴ Holdings and procurement are referred to in the UN Register reporting as 'Background information'.
- ¹⁵ Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, or Spanish.
- ¹⁶ However, some states, such as Italy and Portugal, obtain this maximum score because they provide customs data to UN Comtrade, which is in English: their national arms exports reports are available only in Italian and Portuguese, respectively.
- ¹⁷ The role of denials in interpreting the application of strategic export laws should not be overstated. As noted by Björn Hagelin of SIPRI (to whom I am indebted for pointing this out), in most states arms deliveries are still officially regarded as exceptions to the general rule (which is to ban exports of defence products), and hence need government licenses. Rather than reporting on denials, which, in principle, is the 'normal' decision, governments should report, in each individual case, on the reasons why a delivery has been accepted.
- ¹⁸ For a critique of the UK export report, see Isbister and Kirkham (2005). A similar critique of the German report is published yearly by the Gemeinsame Konferenz Kirche und Entwicklung (GKKE, Joint Conference Church and Development).
- ¹⁹ Belgium has not published any national arms export report since 2002, because export control was regionalized in September 2003 (for details, see Wallonia, 2004, pp.3-12). This means that each Belgian region in principle reports separately on its arms exports. Reporting periods, statistics provided, etc. varied for the first quarterly reports of Wallonia and Flanders (since then, only Flanders has published additional information). Moreover, Brussels, the third region, has not so far published any export report. On the basis of these diverging reporting practices, it is impossible to evaluate Belgian transparency. The score is therefore based on customs data submissions only.
- ²⁰ Canada receives a full score on deliveries, as it is among the few countries that provide information on numbers of small arms transferred to UN Comtrade.
- ²¹ China receives a full score on deliveries, as it is among the few countries that provide information on numbers of small arms transferred to UN Comtrade. This makes the Chinese total score larger than would otherwise be warranted.
- ²² France obtains a full 4 points on deliveries, although it should be stressed that deliveries of quantities (as opposed to values) are provided for a four-year period, rather than yearly (France, 2005, p. 67). France gives details of orders ['prises de commande'], which are defined as 'contracts signed and entered into force through a first down-payment' (France, 2005, p. 54, our translation). Orders are not equivalent to licences, and therefore, no points are given in the columns pertaining to licences granted and denied.
- ²³ Germany provides more detailed information on licences granted and denied for main trading partners and so-called 'third countries', i.e. countries outside the circle of EU, NATO, and NATO-equivalent countries (Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and Switzerland). It has been awarded full points on the relevant criteria nevertheless.
- ²⁴ The Netherlands provides unusual—and useful—information on denials, including, as noted in the text, regarding intended end-user. However, it does not provide information regarding the numbers or value of weapons associated with these denied licences, and therefore gets a zero score on licences refused (it does get points for its information on end-users in the 'clarity' section). The Netherlands receives a full score on deliveries, as it is among the few countries that provide information on numbers of small arms transferred to UN Comtrade.
- ²⁵ Spain makes public its report on small arms and light weapons exports to the OSCE as an annex to its arms export report. The report contains information both on licences granted (volumes by country and weapon type) and actual deliveries (also volumes by country and weapon type). It covers only the OSCE states, and thus a very limited number of transactions. It is therefore granted only part of the points on licences and deliveries. Other states make their OSCE reports public, but separately from the arms export reports. These are not taken into account in the Barometer.
- ²⁶ The United Kingdom provides numbers of small arms licensed for export per country, but not for all types of licences. It has been awarded 2 points on granted licences nevertheless.

- ²⁷ The US receives a full score on deliveries, as it is among the few countries that provide information on numbers of small arms transferred to UN Comtrade.
- ²⁸ In this chapter, the terms 'illegal' or 'illicit' trade, 'trafficking', and 'smuggling' are used interchangeably.
- ²⁹ Black-market transactions are defined as transactions made without official government consent or control. Presumably, such transactions as a rule run the risk of being intercepted by customs authorities. In contrast, customs authorities will not normally be able to disrupt illicit grey-market transfers, whereby governments or their agents transfer weapons by exploiting loopholes or circumvent national or international laws and regulations.
- ³⁰ Correspondence with Mats Barregren, Special Advisor, Head Office of Swedish Customs, 28 September 2004.
- ³¹ On the issue of German border control density, see Andreas (2000, p. 118).
- ³² Correspondence with Mats Barregren, Special Advisor, Head Office of Swedish Customs, 28 September 2004.

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