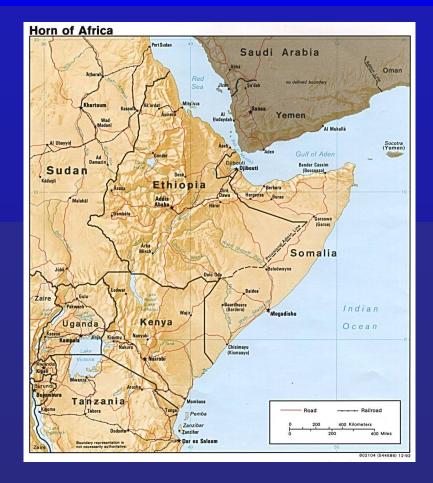
#### **Arms Trafficking:** A View from the Field



Ernst Jan "EJ" Hogendoorn Horn of Africa Project Director International Crisis Group

#### **Scale and Scope**

- Largely limited—fuels low-intensity conflict (due to lack of resources), but:
  - Arms proliferation leads to more rapid spread of violence and magnifies effects of violence.
  - Greatly complicate efforts to promote sustainable security and development.



### **Impact in Horn of Africa**

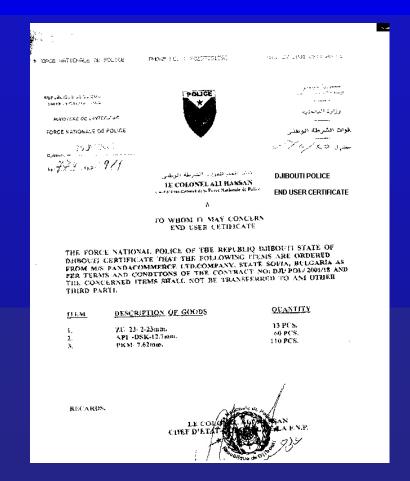
- Continued conflict in Somalia.
- Insurgencies in Eastern DRC, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan.
- In post-conflict countries can lead to large-scale conflict, e.g. South Sudan, more than 5,000 people died last year in SALW violence.
- Greatly increase the casualties from crime, e.g. cattle rusting and banditry, and tribal conflict.
- May increase crime—According to one Kenyan government report ten-fold increase in cattle rustling since the early 1990s.

#### Challenges

- Difficult to reduce demand
- Many sources: producers, governments, and private companies
- Embargoes may create additional scarcity and hence increase profit incentive
- Illicit trade is a business, brokers are businessmen—arms but one commodity
- Many transfers may not be motivated by greed
- Collective action problem

# When is a transfer legal, illegal, illegal, illegal

- What is a reasonable standard of scrutiny of documentation?
- Who is responsible for retransfer of arms, for how long?
- When does a transfer become illicit?
- If no law is it illegal?
- What if an illicit transfer is state sanctioned?



### Who trafficks in arms?



Monzer al Kassar. In 2008 convicted for agreeing to sell arms to FARC.



Gus Koewenhoven a use-car dealer, timber merchant, arms broker



Yemeni arms merchants are the "source" of many weapons circulating in Horn of Africa



Al-Shabaab





Eritrean President Isaias Afawerki and Ethiopian President Meles Zanawi have both armed warlords in Somalia

### "Internal" Arms Market

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Weapon	Before CIC	During CIC	After CIC	May 2007
ZU-23 AAA				
DshK HMG				
B-10				
PKM 12	12,000	6,000	4,000	
AK-47				
RPG-2				
Ammunition				
ZU-23				
DshK				
B-10				
PKM				
AK-47	0.75	0.5	0.35	0.30
RPG-2	150	100	25	120



#### What does an arms trafficker do? What is involved

- Broker arms deals
- Provides documents
- Shipment of arms
- Financing
- Insurance



## Governments and arms trafficking

- Lack of capacity and competence
- Corruption
- Complicity



Chad-Sudan "Border"

## Way ahead?

- International standards for licensing and documentation of industry—ideally standard documentation, especially EUCs
- Limited and transparent licensing authority
- Greater regional coordination and capacity building within UN, Interpol
- Universal jurisdiction, international crime?
- Political will—how do you sanction states?