

ATT-RELATED OUTREACH AND ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: IDENTIFYING GAPS AND IMPROVING COORDINATION*

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I. Introduction

The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) entered into force on 24 December 2014, 19 months after it opened for signature. The ATT is the first international legally binding agreement to establish standards for regulating the trade in conventional arms and preventing their illicit trade.¹ The ATT creates a range of obligations for states parties in the field of arms transfer controls. These obligations include (a) establishing and maintaining an effective transfer control system for conventional arms; (b) prohibiting certain arms transfers and not authorizing certain arms exports; (c) taking steps aimed at preventing the diversion of conventional arms, particularly small arms and light weapons (SALW) to the illicit market; and (d) complying with certain reporting requirements. During the process of negotiating the ATT, many states highlighted the need for the treaty to include provisions for financial, technical and material assistance aimed at helping states to fulfil treaty obligations.² Reflecting these calls, the final text of the ATT includes provisions on international cooperation and assistance—suggesting areas where such assistance might be focused, who might provide it and detailing the mechanisms through which it might be carried out. This need is particularly acute in sub-Saharan Africa where many states have been severely affected by the proliferation of SALW.

¹ While the 2001 United Nations Firearms Protocol is also legally binding, it only covers controls on the trade in firearms. Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UN Firearms Protocol), adopted 31 May 2001, entered into force 3 July 2005.

² Holtom, P. and Bromley, M., 'Implementing an Arms Trade Treaty: mapping assistance to strengthen arms transfer controls', SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security no. 2012/2, July 2012.

* While the authors of this paper analyse information that they collected in the implementation of a joint programme carried out by SIPRI and the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC), the information and the views expressed in this publication are not endorsed by the United Nations.

SUMMARY

● National implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) will require states to strengthen their arms transfer control systems and to implement measures for preventing and addressing the diversion of conventional arms, particularly small arms and light weapons (SALW). Many states will require financial and technical assistance to help them with this process.

In recent years, a significant number of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities involving states in sub-Saharan Africa have been carried out. This Background Paper gives an overview of such activities during 2011–15. In doing so, it provides suggestions for how states and regional, international and non-governmental organizations—as well as the ATT Secretariat itself—could help to fill the gaps in the assistance provided thus far.

The paper draws on a new online database of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities that was jointly developed by SIPRI and the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC).



It has been argued that the illicit trade in conventional arms, particularly SALW, has had a disproportionate effect on states in sub-Saharan Africa

In recent years, a range of activities have been carried out in sub-Saharan Africa aimed at building state capacity in areas relevant to ATT-implementation. In an effort to contribute to the better planning and implementation of ATT-related assistance activities, SIPRI and the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC) collected information about ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities involving states from sub-Saharan Africa that have taken place over the past five years (2011–15). This information is available in a searchable online database and forms the basis of the analysis presented in this Background Paper.³ In summarizing this information, this Background Paper highlights potential gaps in the types of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities carried out in sub-Saharan Africa up until the end of 2015 and proposes mechanisms through which states and regional, international and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)—as well the ATT Secretariat itself—could help to fill those gaps.

Section II touches on the impact of the proliferation of SALW in sub-Saharan Africa and sketches the region's role in and relationship to the ATT.⁴ Section III summarizes the range of areas in which states may require assistance with implementing the ATT and gives further information about the scope and focus of the mapping study carried out by SIPRI and UNREC. Section IV gives an overview of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance efforts in sub-Saharan Africa during 2011–15, dividing the analysis between those involving states from West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. Section V draws together some of the key conclusions and offers recommendations, focusing on (a) areas where lessons can be learned from past cooperation and activities; and (b) steps that the ATT Secretariat can put in place to facilitate the 'matching of needs and resources' in relation to ATT implementation, as called for under the treaty.

II. Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arms Trade Treaty

A number of reports have argued that the illicit trade in conventional arms, particularly SALW, has had a disproportionate effect on states in sub-Saharan Africa.⁵ Moreover, states in sub-Saharan Africa are seen to have some of the weakest arms transfer control systems and some of the most significant gaps in their related enforcement capacities.⁶ For these

³ For more information, see Mapping ATT-Relevant Cooperation and Assistance, 'About the project', <http://www.att-assistance.org/?page_id=10>. See section IV for how the authors defined 'ATT-relevant' and 'ATT related' cooperation and assistance activities.

⁴ For the purposes of this paper, sub-Saharan Africa consists of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, the Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, South Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

⁵ For a summary, see Gramizzi, C., 'Tackling illicit small arms and light weapons and ammunition in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa', Africa Peace Forum, China Arms Control and Disarmament Association and Saferworld, June 2014, pp. 6–7.

⁶ Poitevin, C., 'Arms transfer controls in sub-Saharan Africa: lessons for the implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty', Analysis note, GRIP, 24 Aug. 2015.



reasons, it was argued during the ATT negotiating process that states from sub-Saharan Africa would have the most to gain from an effective treaty as well as the greatest need for implementation assistance. States from sub-Saharan Africa also played a crucial role in the process of negotiating the ATT, not least by bringing China into the negotiations and ensuring that SALW and ammunition remained within the scope of the treaty.⁷ However, despite initial expectations to the contrary, the process of ratifying the ATT in sub-Saharan Africa has been comparatively slow. Of the 80 states that have ratified the ATT, only 18 of a possible 49 are from sub-Saharan Africa.⁸ An additional 20 states from sub-Saharan Africa have signed the ATT.⁹ By comparison, most states from Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union (EU)—the two other state groupings that played a key role in the negotiating process—have ratified the ATT.

One of the potential reasons for the ratification gaps in sub-Saharan Africa to date is the often bureaucratic nature of the ratification process in many states in the region. However, there are other reasons aside from bureaucracy why states may be reluctant to fast track the ratification of the ATT. First, arms transfer controls—where they do exist—are often shrouded in government secrecy and national security sensitivities.¹⁰ Thus, many states in the region may be unwilling to engage in open discussions about the details of these controls or how they can be improved, or agree to mechanisms that make them more transparent. Second, since most states in sub-Saharan Africa are heavily reliant on arms imports for meeting their defence acquisition needs, there may be unease about the potential impact that the ATT could have on their ability to acquire weapons from abroad—including the extent to which implementing the ATT might lead to supplying states denying sub-Saharan states requests for arms transfers.¹¹ Ratification gaps may also reflect the prioritization of other more pressing issues—such as attempting to resolve ongoing armed conflicts, promoting economic development and tackling other social challenges in the region.¹²

Out of the 49 states in sub-Saharan Africa, only 18 have ratified the ATT

There is also a sense that—even as a means of tackling the proliferation of SALW—the ATT does not necessarily touch on the tools and policy responses that are of greatest relevance for states in sub-Saharan Africa. In particular, the ATT has a strong focus on improving arms transfer controls, something that does not necessarily represent the most effective means for tackling SALW proliferation in the region. For example, several studies have argued that the majority of SALW in the hands of criminals or armed groups in sub-

⁷ Stavrianakis A. and Yun, H., 'China and the Arms Trade Treaty: prospects and challenges', Saferworld, May 2014; and German Federal Foreign Office, Memorandum of the Federal Government on the Arms Trade Treaty, 1 Mar. 2014.

⁸ The states in sub-Saharan Africa that have ratified or acceded to the ATT are Burkina Faso, CAR, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Togo.

⁹ These states are Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Cabo Verde, the Comoros, Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, São Tomé and Príncipe, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

¹⁰ Poitevin (note 6).

¹¹ See Wezeman, P. D., Wezeman, S. T. and Béraud-Sudreau, L., *Arms Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa*, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 30 (SIPRI: Stockholm, Dec. 2011).

¹² Alusala, N., Hlongwa, S. and Kasprzyk, N., 'Regulating weapons where it matters most', Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 21 July 2015.



Saharan Africa have been acquired from national stockpiles or supplied by neighbouring states.¹³ Thus, destroying surpluses and building a political consensus about the risks posed by supplies to armed groups may be more effective than improving states' arms transfer controls.

Nonetheless, the need to establish and implement effective arms transfer control systems is real and acute as such systems have the potential to contribute to preventing the illicit proliferation of SALW in sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁴ While most states in the region have limited arms exports, they all have the capacity to act as re-exporters of surplus or second-hand equipment, and some states' capacities in the field of arms production are expanding.¹⁵ Consequently, all have the potential to benefit from the implementation of more effective arms import and arms transit and trans-shipment controls. In addition, greater transparency and accountability in the acquisition of arms by national security forces would help to strengthen democratic oversight and build interstate confidence.

Although the provisions of the ATT are focused primarily on arms transfer controls, the treaty also includes a range of other steps that states should take in order to combat the illicit proliferation of SALW. These include stockpile management, and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Hence, the ATT has the potential to connect with existing international and regional instruments in the field of SALW control to create a comprehensive set of standards for states to fulfil in order to prevent the illicit proliferation of SALW. In addition, it could be used to develop mechanisms to match offers of and requests for assistance in meeting those standards.

In recent years, a significant number of cooperation and assistance activities aimed at establishing or improving national arms transfer controls and preventing the diversion of SALW have been carried out by states, international and regional organizations and NGOs in partnership with states in sub-Saharan Africa. Some of these activities have had the explicit goal of assisting states in the region with ATT implementation but most have had the aim of supporting those states with the implementation of existing international, regional and national standards in the areas of arms transfer or SALW controls. A significant proportion of these activities have focused on improving states' arms transfer controls, while the majority have attempted to build capacity in other fields relevant to preventing the illicit proliferation of SALW, such as stockpile management, DDR, marking and tracing, and destruction of surplus stocks.

The following section reviews the obligations laid down in the ATT and the mechanisms it puts in place in relation to cooperation and assistance. It then examines ATT-relevant activities in sub-Saharan Africa specifically.

III. Cooperation and assistance activities relevant to the ATT

The ATT creates a range of obligations for states parties in the field of arms transfer controls. These can be broadly divided into eight different areas:

¹³ Berman, E. G., 'Illicit trafficking of small arms in Africa: increasingly a home-grown problem', Presentation at the GTZ-OECD-UNECA Expert Consultation of the Africa Partnership Forum Support Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 14 Mar. 2007.

¹⁴ Poitevin (note 6).

¹⁵ See Wezeman, Wezeman and Béraud-Sudreau (note 11).



(a) establish and maintain an arms transfer control system; (b) prohibit certain arms transfers and not authorize certain arms exports; (c) regulate arms imports; (d) regulate arms transit and trans-shipment; (e) regulate arms brokering; (f) establish and maintain enforcement mechanisms; (g) share information with other states parties; and (h) maintain records on arms transfers. The ATT notes that assistance may be requested and provided in each of these areas. This assistance may include ‘legal or legislative assistance, institutional capacity-building, and technical, material or financial assistance’ (Article 16(1)). States parties in a position to do so are required to provide the types of assistance outlined in Article 16(1) on request. States parties may request, offer or receive such assistance through, among others, ‘the United Nations, international, regional, sub-regional or national organizations, non-governmental organizations, or on a bilateral basis’ (Article 16(2)). The preamble to the ATT also states that regional organizations can assist states parties in implementing the treaty, and civil society and industry can also support treaty implementation. In addition, the ATT provides that a voluntary trust fund will be set up to assist states with treaty implementation.

The ATT establishes a clear role for the ATT Secretariat in the field of cooperation and assistance

The ATT also establishes a clear role for the ATT Secretariat in the field of cooperation and assistance. In particular, the ATT notes that the Secretariat charged with assisting states parties in the effective implementation of the treaty will facilitate ‘the matching of offers of and requests for assistance for Treaty implementation’ (Article 18(3)).¹⁶ A number of key actions and decisions shaping the ATT Secretariat were made at the First Conference of States Parties in August 2015. A management committee was formed and a directive outlining states parties’ expectations on the operation of the ATT Secretariat was adopted. The states parties selected the South African official Dumisani Dladla as the head of the ATT Secretariat and Geneva, Switzerland, as its location.¹⁷ The ATT Secretariat will likely be a lean organization with limited resources. As such, it will need to draw on existing resources from organizations already active in the field of arms transfer controls in order to carry out its tasks effectively.

The ATT makes reference to the need for states to build and maintain capacities in areas that are not directly connected to arms transfer controls but which can play a role in preventing the diversion of conventional arms, especially SALW, to the illicit arms market. Specifically, the ATT notes that assistance provided in connection with the implementation of the treaty may include ‘stockpile management, disarmament [and] demobilization and reintegration [DDR] programmes’ (Article 16(1)). However, other issues that are of direct relevance to preventing diversion—particularly creating systems for marking and tracing SALW, destroying surplus weapons, and maintaining effective systems for regulating civilian ownership of arms—are not referenced in the ATT.

Detailed guidelines on the areas not explicitly covered in the ATT are included in a range of other existing instruments in the field of SALW con-

¹⁶ Bauer, S. and Bromley, M., ‘Implementing the Arms Trade Treaty: building on available guidelines and assistance activities’, SIPRI Background Paper, May 2015.

¹⁷ ATT Secretariat, ‘Arms Trade Treaty, First Conference of States Parties, Cancun, Mexico, 24–27 Aug. 2015: Final report’, ATT/CSP1/2015/6, 27 Aug. 2015.



Detailed guidelines on the areas not explicitly covered in the ATT are included in a range of other existing instruments in the field of SALW controls

trols, particularly the UN Programme of Action on SALW (POA), which outlines international, regional and national measures aimed at countering the illicit trade in SALW. These include (a) creating legislation, regulations and administrative procedures to control the production and transfer of SALW; (b) criminalizing the illegal manufacture, possession, stockpiling and trade of SALW; (c) marking of SALW; (d) improving the tracing of SALW; (e) seizing and collecting illegally possessed SALW; (f) destroying surplus SALW; and (g) implementing effective DDR programmes.¹⁸ In addition, states in sub-Saharan Africa have developed a range of regional mechanisms aimed at improving controls on SALW. These instruments include (a) the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol, (b) the Nairobi Protocol, (c) the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Convention, and (d) the Kinshasa Convention.¹⁹ These instruments contain provisions for arms transfer controls but are more broadly focused on curbing the supply and misuse of SALW by way of provisions for marking weapons, managing stockpiles and disposing of surplus weapons.

Pre-ATT cooperation and assistance activities

Efforts have been made to develop mechanisms for mobilizing and coordinating cooperation and assistance activities aimed at supporting states with the implementation of existing SALW instruments. For example, the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) is tasked with assisting states' implementation of the POA. In carrying out this work, UNODA is aided by its three regional centres: UNREC, the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD) and the UN Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNLIREC). As part of its work, UNODA identifies requests for assistance contained in states' national reports on POA implementation and makes this information more widely available online via the POA's Implementation Support System (POA-ISS).²⁰ UNODA also maintains a list of 'project proposals to be funded' on the POA-ISS.²¹

Within sub-Saharan Africa, the different regional economic communities (RECs) play a crucial role in assisting states with the implementation of the various regional agreements on SALW controls. The RECs—which include ECOWAS, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the

¹⁸ United Nations, General Assembly, Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, A/CONF.192/15, 20 July 2001.

¹⁹ These are the Protocol on the Control of Firearms, Ammunition and Other Related Materials in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Region, signed 14 Aug. 2001, entered into force 8 Nov. 2004; Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa (Nairobi Protocol), signed 21 Apr. 2004, entered into force 2006; ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms, Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials (ECOWAS Convention), adopted 14 June 2006, entered into force 29 Sep. 2009; and Central African Convention for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and All Parts and Components that can be used for their Manufacture, Repair and Assembly (Kinshasa Convention), adopted 30 Apr. 2010, not yet in force.

²⁰ UN Programme of Action Implementation Support System (POA-ISS), 'International Assistance', <<http://www.poa-iss.org/Poa13/InternationalAssistance/InternationalAssistance.aspx/>>.

²¹ UN POA-ISS (note 20).



Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the SADC—were established in the 1980s and 1990s to promote African integration. They are formally recognized by the African Union (AU) and are meant to have a formal role in all AU programme areas.²²

ECOWAS plays a key role in assisting states with the implementation of the ECOWAS Convention. The ECCAS Secretariat performs similar tasks with regard to the Kinshasa Convention. Both ECOWAS and ECCAS help to coordinate implementation efforts and have a mandate to mobilize funds and implement cooperation and assistance activities. The SADC and IGAD also actively support states with SALW controls. Other relevant regional organizations include the AU Regions Steering Committee on SALW and DDR and the Regional Centre on Small Arms in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States (RECSA).

IV. Regional overview of cooperation and assistance activities relevant to the ATT

SIPRI and UNREC collected information on ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities carried out during 2011–15 involving states from sub-Saharan Africa. In order to be as comprehensive as possible, SIPRI and UNREC adopted a wide definition of what constituted an ‘ATT-relevant’ cooperation and assistance activity.²³ This included activities focused on the core concerns of the treaty, particularly transfer controls, brokering controls, import controls, transit and trans-shipment controls, risk assessments, reporting on arms transfers and reporting on arms transfer controls. It also encompassed activities focused on areas of wider relevance to preventing the illicit proliferation of SALW and which are covered by the POA and the different regional instruments on SALW controls, such as border controls, DDR, civilian ownership, inventory and stockpile management, marking and tracing. Additionally, the definition included cooperation and activities focused on dual-use transfer controls since, in many states, the laws and regulations that control transfers of dual-use goods are the same as those for conventional arms.²⁴ As well as being categorized according to their focus, activities were categorized according to their type. The four types identified were ‘technical, material or financial assistance’, ‘sensitization and outreach’, ‘legal or legislative assistance’ and ‘institutional capacity building’.

Each of these focus areas and activity types has been the subject of past and ongoing cooperation and assistance activities involving states in sub-

²² The AU formally recognizes 8 RECs: Arab Maghreb Union (UMA); the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD); the East African Community (EAC); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Certain African states are members of more than one REC, which creates duplication of programme work and competition for resources. ‘The role of the regional economic communities (RECs) as the building blocks of the African Union’, South African Department of Foreign Affairs, 21 July 2004.

²³ See the Mapping ATT-Relevant Cooperation and Assistance website, <<http://www.att-assistance.org/>>.

²⁴ Dual-use goods—including software and technology—can be used for both civil and military purposes and include any item which can play a role in the development of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.



Saharan Africa. The following sections give examples of activities carried out in West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa during 2011–15.²⁵ In each case, the paper highlights the main focus and type of activities undertaken, noting the organizations that have been most active in their implementation and summarizing key points regarding the needs in each region and the difficulties encountered. The paper also distinguishes between ATT-relevant activities (which include the broad spectrum of arms control and arms transfer control issues listed above) and ATT-related activities (which have focused in whole, or in part, on areas covered by the treaty itself).

West Africa²⁶

Of the 16 states in West Africa, 12 have ratified the ATT and 3 have signed it.²⁷ West African states' experience with negotiating and implementing the ECOWAS Convention on SALW, as well as ECOWAS's efforts to support the implementation of the convention and awareness of the ATT has likely influenced the region's high level of engagement with the ATT. As of the end of 2015, 14 of the 15 ECOWAS states have ratified the ECOWAS Convention and the one remaining non-ratifying state has signed it.²⁸ Many of the convention's provisions overlap with those of the ATT.²⁹ Notably, the ECOWAS Convention contains provisions relating to arms transfer controls—including import controls—and regional information sharing that do not appear in the other subregional agreements on SALW controls in place in sub-Saharan Africa. Under the ECOWAS Convention states are only allowed to import SALW if they first demonstrate that the SALW are for legitimate defence and security needs, law enforcement, or participation in peace-support operations.³⁰

During 2011–15, at least 100 ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities were carried out involving states from West Africa. The main areas of focus of these activities were inventory and stockpile management and regional cooperation, with a strong emphasis on SALW. A smaller number of activities were carried out with a focus on 'transfer controls'. The most common types of activities carried out were 'sensitization and outreach' and 'institutional capacity building'. Most of these activities involved Mali, Togo, Niger, Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Senegal and were implemented by UNREC, the Mines Advisory Group (MAG), ECOWAS and/or the German Federal Office for Economic Affairs and Export Control (BAFA).

²⁵ Each section outlines the states comprising the respective subregion.

²⁶ West Africa comprises 16 states: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

²⁷ Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo have ratified the ATT. Benin, Cabo Verde and Guinea-Bissau have signed it.

²⁸ The 14 states are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo have ratified the ECOWAS Convention; Gambia has signed it. Of the 16 West African states, Mauritania is the only state not member to ECOWAS.

²⁹ ECOWAS official, Interview with author, 16 Oct. 2015.

³⁰ ECOWAS Convention (note 19).



UNREC has carried out several sensitization seminars for government representatives, parliamentarians and civil society organizations in West Africa focused on the ATT and its synergies with the ECOWAS Convention on SALW. Furthermore, UNREC has provided a range of technical assistance to states in West Africa, including support for drafting SALW national action plans (NAPs), managing stockpiles, marking and registering arms, making needs assessments and providing legislative assistance.³¹ MAG is supporting a number of West African states with physical security and stockpile management (PSSM) and weapons destruction through its Sahel–West Africa project.³² ECOWAS is working with states in West Africa on the development of a regional database for SALW transfers and has developed a roadmap for PSSM that is specific to the ECOWAS region. However, more work is required to align the roadmap with the demands of the ATT.³³ BAFA has worked with a number of West African states to strengthen their arms transfer control systems as part of its EU-ATT Outreach Programme.³⁴ Indeed, most of the African states that have received initial country visits and hosted sensitization seminars under the EU-ATT Outreach Programme have been located in West Africa.³⁵

The majority of ATT-relevant activities carried out up until the end of 2015 have focused on inventory and stockpile management. Almost all of the SALW stockpiles in West Africa are in a dilapidated state so there is an obvious need for ongoing assistance in this area.³⁶ Nonetheless, states in West Africa have a strong record of engaging with a fairly broad range of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities, including those focused on transfer controls. However, regional improvements are necessary in numerous areas.

Developing systems of electronic record keeping for SALW is a key priority for a region where most work in this field is still performed manually.³⁷ West African states also need to develop SALW NAPs that accurately reflect the needs and resources in each state.³⁸ As it stands, many SALW NAPs are not regularly updated and are based on desktop research rather than a concrete needs assessment involving visits to storage facilities to assess the risks.³⁹

States in West Africa also need to overcome significant hurdles in order to expand the number and focus of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities, largely due to limited human and technical resources. For example, sustainable work on stockpile management and other ATT-relevant

During 2011–15, at least 100 ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities were carried out involving states from West Africa

³¹ For details, see UNREC, 'UNREC focus', <<http://unrec.org/default/index.php/en/2015-03-01-10-56-47>>.

³² MAG, 'Sahel & West Africa Programme', 28 Nov. 2014, <<http://www.maginternational.org/mag/en/where-mag-works/sahel--west-africa/#.VieBLLThtUQ>>.

³³ ECOWAS official (note 30).

³⁴ BAFA, 'EU-ATT outreach project: EU activities in support of the implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty', 1 Aug. 2014; and BAFA, 'Newsletter 2015', various editions, <http://www.bafa.de/bafa/en/export_control/eu-outreach/publications/newsletter_archives/2015/index.html>.

³⁵ These are Burkina Faso, Ghana, Senegal and Togo. The EU-ATT Regional Seminar in Pretoria for non-ECOWAS states is the exception.

³⁶ ECOWAS official (note 29); and MAG Sahel-West Africa Office representative, Interview with author, 9 Nov. 2015.

³⁷ ECOWAS official (note 29).

³⁸ MAG Sahel-West Africa Office representative (note 36).

³⁹ MAG Sahel-West Africa Office representative (note 36).



areas requires the active engagement of national governments.⁴⁰ However, national governments in the region face competing priorities and are often unwilling or unable to devote resources to the SALW national commissions, and instead look to the international community for material and financial support.⁴¹

East Africa⁴²

Of the 13 states in East Africa, only 1 has ratified the ATT and a further 5 have signed it.⁴³ Most states in East Africa have already agreed on the Nairobi Protocol and many of its provisions overlap with those of the ATT. At the end of 2015, 6 states have ratified the Nairobi Protocol and a further 9 have signed it.⁴⁴ However, despite the overlaps between the two instruments, the level of engagement with the Nairobi Protocol has yet to be matched by support for the ATT. One challenge to achieving wider adoption of the ATT in East Africa is a perceived connection between the ATT and the International Criminal Court (ICC). There is a concern that the ICC has targeted African states and this has affected regional attitudes towards new international conventions—including the ATT. In East Africa, the ICC has indicted members of the Kenyan and Sudanese governments. Both Kenya and Sudan have yet to sign the ATT.⁴⁵ In the case of Kenya, this is particularly striking since it was one of the seven states that co-sponsored the 2006 UN General Assembly resolution that initiated the UN-level negotiating process sparking the ATT.⁴⁶ Another challenge to marshalling support for the ATT in East Africa is that in many states it is unclear how responsibility for implementing the provisions of the ATT will be divided and coordinated among the various national institutions and ministries.⁴⁷

During 2011–15, at least 80 ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities were undertaken involving states from East Africa. The main areas of focus for these activities were inventory and stockpile management and regional cooperation, most of which had a strong emphasis on SALW. A smaller number of activities were carried out with a focus on transfer controls. The most common types of activities undertaken were sensitization and outreach followed by institutional capacity building. Most of these activities involved Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Somalia. The majority of them were implemented by the East African Community (EAC), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ, a German corporation that assists the German Government with its international cooperation efforts), RECSA and the United States.

⁴⁰ MAG Sahel-West Africa Office representative (note 36).

⁴¹ ECOWAS official (note 29).

⁴² East Africa comprises 13 states: Burundi, the Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.

⁴³ Seychelles has ratified the ATT; Burundi, the Comoros, Djibouti, Rwanda and Tanzania have signed it.

⁴⁴ Burundi, DRC, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan and Uganda have ratified the Nairobi Protocol; CAR, Republic of the Congo, Seychelles, South Sudan and Tanzania have signed it.

⁴⁵ APFO Representative, Interview with author, 17 Nov. 2015.

⁴⁶ UN General Assembly Resolution 61/89, 6 Dec. 2006.

⁴⁷ APFO Representative (note 45).



RECSA has provided a variety of technical and material assistance to states in East Africa in areas such as marking arms, keeping electronic records, establishing SALW national focal points and national commissions, developing SALW NAPs and drafting national legislation. RECSA has recently held sensitization workshops on a study on the synergies between the ATT, the POA, the Nairobi Protocol and the Kinshasa Convention. Between 2006 and 2012, GIZ provided technical and political advisory services to the EAC states.⁴⁸ GIZ also worked with the EAC to provide marking machines and relevant training to its member states, and to support East African states to implement their commitments under the Nairobi Protocol and the POA. The US Department of State's Export Control and Related Border Security Program (EXBS) has been operating in Kenya since 2004 with the aim of assisting the Kenyan authorities to develop effective strategic trade controls. In August 2015, the EXBS sponsored a two-day workshop in Kenya focused on creating 'comprehensive trade management legislation' for both dual-use goods and conventional arms.⁴⁹ During 2008–10, UNREC carried out a project aimed at improving East African states' controls on arms brokering.⁵⁰ The final phase of this project took place in 2011 when UNREC handed over a standardized electronic register of brokers to Tanzania and related hardware to Uganda.

Many ATT-relevant activities have focused on inventory and stockpile management and regional cooperation. Key needs in the region are managing both the circulation of licit and illicit arms and preventing the diversion of SALW from state-owned stockpiles. A high number of ATT-related activities have focused on sensitization and outreach. While the activities carried out up until the end of 2015 have contributed to building state capacity, further awareness raising and technical training schemes are necessary in order to increase knowledge and understanding of states' obligations under the ATT.

The implementation of ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities in East Africa faces a number of challenges. Many of the activities have placed a focus on marking, tracing and record keeping. However, such actions can be difficult to implement due to a general lack of reliable data on weapon holdings. More specifically, in some East African states, several different institutions are authorized to carry SALW and detailed records are lacking.⁵¹ At the same time, the range of challenges facing states in East Africa varies significantly, making it problematic to develop regional standards in arms controls. Kenya is home to Mombasa, Africa's third largest port, but it lacks the equipment it needs to scan containers effectively.⁵² Kenya is working with the USA to develop more effective strategic trade controls, work that could benefit from ATT-related cooperation and assistance—if and when it

The main areas of focus for ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities in East Africa related to inventory and stockpile management and regional cooperation

⁴⁸ 'Small arms and light weapons in the East African Community (EAC): impact assessment of control of small arms between 2006–2012 contributions by the GIZ Programme "Promotion of Peace and Security in the EAC"', Summary report, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Nov. 2012.

⁴⁹ For details, see US Embassy in Kenya, 'Workshop on developing effective strategic trade controls in Kenya', Press release, 27 Aug. 2015.

⁵⁰ 'Activity Report UNREC 2010', UNREC, 2011, p. 8.

⁵¹ In Kenya the army, police and wildlife service are permitted to carry SALW, while in Uganda private security companies are licensed to carry SALW. APFO Representative (note 45).

⁵² APFO Representative (note 45).



joins the ATT. Meanwhile, Somalia and South Sudan face ongoing conflicts and armed violence, and the need for effective stockpile management is acute in both states. However, the unstable political and security situation in those states makes it difficult to perform effective stockpile management work at present.⁵³

Central Africa⁵⁴

Of the 9 states in Central Africa, 2 have ratified the ATT and a further 5 have signed it.⁵⁵ Many states in the region have already agreed to the Kinshasa Convention and many of its provisions overlap with those of the ATT. As of the end of 2015, 5 states have ratified the convention and a further 7 have signed it.⁵⁶ The Kinshasa Convention will enter into force 30 days after the deposit of its sixth instrument of ratification. During the ATT negotiations, states in Central Africa adopted the São Tomé Declaration on a Central African Common Position on the Arms Trade Treaty demonstrating high-level political support for the negotiating process within the region.⁵⁷ However, the fact that the Kinshasa Convention has yet to enter into force nearly five years after its adoption points to the challenges facing ATT signature and ratification in the region.

States in Central Africa must overcome significant obstacles in order to expand the number of ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities

During 2011–15, at least 70 ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities were carried out involving states from Central Africa. The main areas of focus of these activities were regional cooperation and international instruments, most of which had a strong emphasis on SALW. None of the identified activities had a focus on transfer controls. The most common types of activities carried out were sensitization and outreach and to a lesser extent institutional capacity building. Most of these activities involved Chad, the Central African Republic (CAR) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and were implemented by the ECCAS, RECSA and various UN agencies.⁵⁸

RECSA has provided a variety of technical and material assistance to states in Central Africa, covering the same areas as their work involving states from East Africa (see above). The ECCAS Secretariat has provided technical assistance to member states for establishing and operationalizing national commissions to combat the proliferation of arms in the region as well as

⁵³ See e.g. Bevan, J., Leff, J. and Ruddock, I., 'Weapons and ammunition management in the Federal Republic of Somalia', UNIDIR, 13 June 2014; and Gramizzi (note 5), p. 16.

⁵⁴ Central Africa comprises 9 states: Angola, Cameroon, Chad, CAR, DRC, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

⁵⁵ Chad and CAR have ratified the ATT; Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe have signed it.

⁵⁶ Cameroon, CAR, Chad, Republic of the Congo and Gabon have ratified the Kinshasa Convention; Angola, Burundi, DRC, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, and São Tomé and Príncipe have signed it.

⁵⁷ United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa (UNSAC), São Tomé Declaration on a Central African Common Position on the Arms Trade Treaty, 32nd Ministerial Meeting of UNSAC, São Tomé and Príncipe, 16 Mar. 2011.

⁵⁸ Although geographically part of Central Africa, Chad is often included in cooperation and assistance activities involving states from the Sahel or West Africa.



for organizing national sensitization forums.⁵⁹ The UN Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA) and the UN Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa (UNSAC) have held numerous meetings promoting regional cooperation on disarmament, arms limitations, cross-border criminality and counterterrorism. Both MAG and RECSA have implemented a number of weapons destruction and PSSM activities in the region.⁶⁰ The Transitional Demobilization and Reintegration Program (TDRP) has been providing technical assistance to CAR, the DRC and the Republic of the Congo on DDR activities.⁶¹

Many ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities involving states from Central Africa have focused on regional cooperation and international instruments as there is a particular need for these states to grasp the scope and implications of existing arms control and arms transfer control agreements. States in the region must also develop more comprehensive and coordinated arms control strategies in order to effectively manage the arms already in their possession. Moreover, several states in Central Africa require assistance with amending and updating their laws for regulating arms possession, many of which date back to the 1960s and 1970s.⁶² Finally, states in the region should continue to build technical capacity to enable them to keep track of the changing dynamics in small arms proliferation and produce updated SALW NAPs.⁶³ A high number of ATT-related activities are focused on sensitization and outreach reflecting the fact that the current challenge in the region is not in implementing but in signing the ATT and building implementation capacity.

States in Central Africa must overcome significant obstacles in order to expand the number of ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities. A great deal of support to Central Africa has centred on training and the procurement of marking equipment but these only address one aspect of states' needs in this area. Without follow-up assistance—and particularly the development of comprehensive and coordinated national approaches to PSSM—it is difficult for states to implement relevant international requirements. The AU and UNREC have carried out only one activity on identification and tracing for the ECCAS states, indicating that this is an area requiring further attention. Additional support is necessary in the areas of sensitization and outreach and institutional capacity building. At the same time, there are also very limited financial and human resources at the national level for states to pursue accession, ratification and implementation of the ATT. Moreover,

⁵⁹ United Nations, Report of Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa to the Secretary General, A/69/768, 9 Feb. 2015, paras. 97–100.

⁶⁰ Bevan, J. and King, B. 'Making a mark: reporting on firearms marking in the RECSA region', Special report, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, 2013. See also MAG, 'Countries', <<http://www.maginternational.org/mag/en/where-mag-works/countries/#.Vo0BS0Qu9UQ>>.

⁶¹ The TDRP is a multi-donor initiative comprising the African Development Bank, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, and Sweden. Its activities are implemented by a World Bank technical team under the Social, Urban, Rural & Resilience Global Practice (GSURR). See the Transitional Demobilization and Reintegration Program website, <<http://www.tdrp.net/index.php>>.

⁶² 'Information brief Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States (RECSA)', RECSA, Sep. 2014.

⁶³ Mutsindashyaka, T., 'FECCLAHA church leaders' regional workshop on small arms and light weapons', Keynote address, RECSA, 19 Feb. 2015.



the fragile security situation in parts of CAR and the DRC and the porosity of borders in the region threaten any efforts made towards building regional and national capacities to implement the ATT.

Southern Africa⁶⁴

Of the 11 states in Southern Africa, 3 have ratified the ATT and a further 7 have signed it.⁶⁵ Most states in the region have already agreed to the SADC Protocol: 9 states have ratified the protocol and a further 4 have signed it.⁶⁶ The SADC Protocol aims to standardize controls on the manufacture, transfer and disposal of firearms. Unlike other regional instruments, it uses the term 'firearms' rather than SALW. However, it defines 'firearms' in a way that encompasses SALW.⁶⁷

During 2011–15, at least 30 ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities were carried out involving states from Southern Africa. The main areas of focus of these activities were regional cooperation and international instruments. A smaller number of activities were undertaken with a focus on marking and inventory and stockpile management. Only one activity has taken place that had a focus on transfer controls. The most common types of activities undertaken mainly related to sensitization and outreach and, to a lesser degree, institutional capacity building. The majority of these activities involved Mozambique and Malawi and were implemented by the USA or a handful of organizations, which include the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), MAG and the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organisation (SARPCCO) with assistance from Interpol (the International Criminal Police Organization).

Only one activity has taken place in Southern Africa that had a focus on transfer controls

Since 2014, ISS has been engaged in the ATT and POA Implementation and Compliance Support project, which provides technical and capacity-building assistance to all governmental and inter-governmental organizations and NGOs involved in the ratification of the ATT in Swaziland, Tanzania, Malawi and Lesotho.⁶⁸ Between 2010 and 2012, ISS, in cooperation with MAG, provided marking and tracing equipment to 10 states in Southern Africa and trained police personnel in its correct use.⁶⁹ In 2013 and 2014 the US Africa Command (AFRICOM) implemented conventional weapons disposal training, conventional munitions stockpile assessments and training, and programme assessments in Mozambique. SARPCCO has played a key role in arms control in the region through sensitization seminars and training workshops focused on database management, brokering, marking,

⁶⁴ Southern Africa comprises 11 states: Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

⁶⁵ Lesotho, Mauritius and South Africa have ratified the ATT; Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe have signed it.

⁶⁶ Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia have ratified the SADC Protocol; DRC, Seychelles, Swaziland and Zimbabwe have signed it.

⁶⁷ See Stott, N., 'Implementing the Southern Africa Firearms Protocol: identifying challenges and priorities', ISS Paper 83, Nov. 2003.

⁶⁸ See UNODA, 'ATT and UNPOA implementation and compliance support', <<http://www.un.org/disarmament/unscar/2013/ISS/>>.

⁶⁹ See MAG, 'Firearms management and tracing in Southern Africa', <<http://archive.maginternational.org/MAG/en/where-we-work/where-mag-works/southern-african-development-community-firearms-control/>>.



weapons collection and destruction of small arms and ammunition. SARPCCO has also assisted states to reform and harmonize firearms legislation and has initiated regional dialogues, developed best practice guidelines and coordinated cross-border operations.⁷⁰

A large number of ATT-relevant activities focused on international instruments and regional cooperation. Key needs in the region include greater sensitization to state obligations under existing arms control and arms transfer control instruments, and many ATT-related activities focused on sensitization and outreach. With limited institutional support and coordination among ministries, ATT signatory states in Southern Africa face major challenges in their respective parliaments or cabinets when pushing for a decision to ratify the ATT.⁷¹

Obstacles to the implementation of ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities by states in Southern Africa mainly stem from limited human, technical and financial resources. For instance, the weak capacity to oversee porous borders is aggravated by institutional limitations or insufficient infrastructure to detect and manage the movement of arms. In addition, as in East Africa, the challenges facing states in Southern Africa vary significantly, making it difficult to develop regional approaches. When it comes to ATT implementation, the differences within the region are particularly wide. South Africa, for example, is a member of the Wassenaar Arrangement and already has a well-developed arms transfer control system in place.⁷² It has also been working with the US Government on developing its strategic trade controls for several years, though mostly in the area of dual-use goods and technologies.⁷³ However, other states in the region have very limited arms transfer controls and would require assistance in building capacity to be able to implement the provisions of the ATT. For example, Madagascar, like the other African small island developing states (SIDS), faces unique challenges in monitoring shorelines and vast ocean territory and must take several additional steps before it can implement the ATT effectively.⁷⁴ Such steps include awareness raising on current international arms regulations and relevant standards for firearms possession and arms control systems.⁷⁵

Obstacles to the implementation of ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities by states in Southern Africa mainly stem from limited human, technical and financial resources

V. Conclusions and recommendations

In total, at least 250 ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities have been carried out during 2011–15 involving states from sub-Saharan Africa.

⁷⁰ See Small Arms Survey, 'Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO)', <<http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/tools/ro-poa/profiles-of-regional-organizations/africa/sarpcco.html>>.

⁷¹ Representative of Government of Zambia, Presentation at EU-ATT OP Regional Seminar, Pretoria, 23 Sep. 2015.

⁷² Wassenaar Arrangement website, <<http://www.wassenaar.org>>.

⁷³ US National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA), 'Ongoing collaboration between the US National Nuclear Security Administration and South Africa', 7 May 2015, <<http://nnsa.energy.gov/blog/ongoing-collaboration-between-u.s.-national-nuclear-security-administration-and-south-africa>>.

⁷⁴ SIDS include Cabo Verde, the Comoros, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritius, São Tomé and Príncipe and Seychelles.

⁷⁵ Government of Madagascar Representative, Communication with authors, 12 Oct. 2015.



Most of these activities have involved states from West Africa. East African and Central African states have been involved in fewer activities but still substantially more than states from Southern Africa (see table 1). The significant majority of these activities have focused on the broader range of issues relevant to preventing the illicit proliferation of SALW rather than the core issues covered by the ATT. Hence, while 49 activities were identified with a focus on inventory and stockpile management, only 8 were identified with a focus on transfer controls and 2 with a focus on brokering controls. Other

areas of central concern to the ATT, such as import controls and transit and trans-shipment controls were not the main focus of any cooperation and assistance activities identified during the study. The focus of ATT-related cooperation and assistance activities in sub-Saharan Africa has instead been on sensitization and outreach in order to increase political support and to spur signature and ratification. As the ATT process moves forward, the types of cooperation and assistance activities will need to shift towards capacity building

through technical assistance.

Overall, the study reflects the fact that—for the majority of states in sub-Saharan Africa—the core concern remains the broader issue of SALW controls rather than the more specific issue of arms transfer controls, which is the main focus of the ATT. Of the 21 ‘project proposals to be funded’ submitted by states from sub-Saharan Africa and listed on the POA-ISS website, none relate to arms transfer controls. Other studies of the priorities for states in sub-Saharan Africa note that marking, stockpile management and border controls are the most important issues.⁷⁶ In general, there is a clear sense that arms transfer controls are not a major priority for states in sub-Saharan Africa and that elements of implementing effective and transparent arms transfer control systems are likely to be challenging for many states in the region—both in terms of human and technical resources and political will. A key fact supporting this prognosis is that during 2015 no state from sub-Saharan Africa made a submission to the UN Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA)—and reporting on arms transfers is one of the main requirements of the ATT. If states in sub-Saharan Africa are unwilling or unable to report transfers to the UNROCA, it seems unlikely that they will be willing and able to do so for the ATT.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, there are signs that the process of signing and ratifying the ATT is encouraging states to engage in cooperation and assistance projects in the field of arms transfer controls. As noted in this paper, states in West Africa are actively participating in the EU-ATT Outreach Programme and have been involved in discussions on improving their arms transfer controls in order to meet the requirements of the ATT. Indeed, the regional trend suggests that states in West Africa appear to be showing the greatest willingness to engage on these issues, which is likely a product of their long-

⁷⁶ Poitevin (note 6).

⁷⁷ Unlike the UNROCA, states will likely have the option of making their annual reports on arms imports and exports under the ATT only available to other states parties. This may induce more states to produce reports, but it will not contribute to the overall transparency of arms transfers in the region. See ATT Secretariat, ‘Reporting and deadlines’, <<http://www.thearmstradetreaty.org/index.php/en/resources/reporting>>.

Overall, the study reflects the fact that—for the majority of states in sub-Saharan Africa—the core concern remains the broader issue of SALW controls rather than the more specific issue of arms transfer controls



standing commitment to and implementation of the ECOWAS Convention. The region has also benefited from strong support from a large number of donor countries. At the same time, West Africa suffers from a severe lack of human and technical resources, which negatively impacts on its potential for long-term and effective capacity building. Other regions face similar issues but also struggle to generate enough political will to make ATT ratification and implementation a priority.

International assistance can help to build capacity but national ownership and accountability are required for such assistance to be sustainable. National ownership is dependent on a strong political commitment to the process at all levels, the dedication of human and financial resources and an inclusive and coordinated approach.⁷⁸ Furthermore, achieving national ownership is intrinsically related to strengthening the role and capacity of regional and subregional organizations in providing ATT-related cooperation and assistance. In this regard, the establishment of an information exchange network for parliamentarians on successful ways to promote the ATT and its benefits would be a valuable starting point. Indeed, the Parliamentary Forum on SALW—a global network of parliamentarians focused on arms control and violence prevention—is already engaged in work aimed at creating such a network. It has undertaken ATT-related sensitization and outreach workshops in a number of sub-Saharan African states, including Benin, Burkina Faso and Togo.⁷⁹

Building links between the ATT and the POA

A key priority for those seeking to expand ATT adoption and implementation in sub-Saharan Africa is to ensure that the ATT, the POA and existing regional SALW control instruments work in harmony with each other. Taken together, these instruments can be used to develop focused national strategies for improving control systems in ways that effectively cover all stages of the weapons lifecycle. This approach is already gaining traction in sub-Saharan Africa, with a number of past and ongoing cooperation and assistance activities aimed at optimizing the synergies between these instruments.

Crucial to the success of these efforts will be the work undertaken by the ATT Secretariat. Given the likelihood of limits on its resources and the constraints of its mandate, the ATT Secretariat is unlikely to be able to organize activities independently, but should be able to identify international and regional partners, jointly plan and organize events, and play a coordinating role in matching offers and requests for assistance. Indeed, the ATT Secretariat is specifically charged with carrying out ‘the matching of offers of and requests for assistance for Treaty implementation’ (Article 18). As the ATT Secretariat seeks to perform this task, the range of ATT-relevant cooperation

⁷⁸ African Union Official, Presentation at Workshop on the Implementation of the ATT for African Small Island States, Lomé, 30 May 2015; and Bauer, S., ‘Arms trade control capacity building: lessons from dual-use trade controls’, SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security no. 2013/2, Mar. 2013.

⁷⁹ For further details, see Parliamentary Forum on SALW, ‘MPs in Burkina Faso discuss parliamentary oversight of the implementation of the ATT’, 17 Oct. 2014; Parliamentary Forum on SALW, ‘ATT seminar for legislators in Benin, West Africa’, 13 Mar. 2015; and Parliamentary Forum on SALW, ‘Enhance ATT and UNPOA implementation by South–South Parliamentary Exchange and Cooperation’, 4 June 2014.

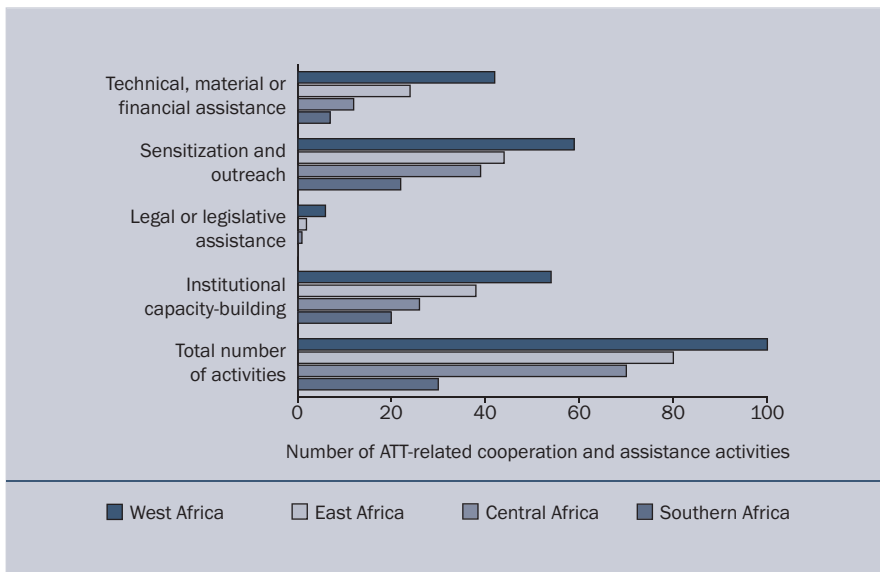


Figure 1. The number and type of ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities in sub-Saharan Africa by subregion, 2011–15

and assistance activities that have been carried out involving states from sub-Saharan Africa presents both an opportunity and a challenge. There is a clear opportunity since there already exists a solid foundation on which to build and a wealth of experience from which to draw.

However, the operational reality of the POA-ISS demonstrates that the creation of a central location for coordinating the planning and administering of all ATT-relevant cooperation and assistance activities related to implementation will likely be problematic.⁸⁰ The ATT touches on many different areas of government activity hindering attempts to establish a single

centralized location for channelling all relevant efforts. In addition, many donor states have traditionally been unwilling to abandon their own bilateral mechanisms for coordinating and providing assistance in these areas.⁸¹ Maintaining a database similar to the one that SIPRI and UNREC have put together would help to build a more comprehensive picture of the work that has already been undertaken and could act as a first step towards the more effective coordination of future efforts.

There is also a risk of duplication—particularly if a limited awareness of existing projects is coupled with an expansion of the scope of the matching work beyond core ATT-related activities to also include those that are ATT-relevant. This has the potential to put further strain on already stretched national resources. As such, the ATT Secretariat must look to quickly establish working relationships with UNODA, the AU and the RECs in order to build on existing coordination work and maximize the impact of cooperation and assistance activities. If the ATT Secretariat, POA-ISS and RECs all run parallel efforts to match offers and requests for assistance, they risk creating overlapping mechanisms that will further drain national capacities and increase confusion. Within sub-Saharan Africa, the ATT Secretariat can work through RECs to assist states within each subregion in developing new arms regulations that are in line with the ATT, the POA and regional agreements on SALW controls. Working through RECs not only builds the capacity of the RECs, but it also ensures the sustainability of assistance programmes.

⁸⁰ Holtom and Bromley (note 2).

⁸¹ Bauer and Bromley (note 16).



Abbreviations

AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
AU	African Union
BAFA	German Federal Office for Economic Affairs and Export Control
CAR	Central African Republic
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
EXBS	US Export Control and Related Border Security Program
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
ICC	International Criminal Court
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ISS	Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)
MAG	Mines Advisory Group
NAP	National action plan
NGO	Non-governmental organization
POA	United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects
POA-ISS	United Nations Programme of Action-Implementation Support System
PSSM	Physical security and stockpile management
RECs	Regional economic communities
RECSA	Regional Centre on Small Arms in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States
SARPPCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organisation
SALW	Small arms and light weapons
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SIDS	African Small Island Developing States
UNLIREC	United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean
UNOCA	United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa
UNODA	United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs
UNRCPD	United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific
UNREC	United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa
UNROCA	United Nations Register of Conventional Arms
UNSAC	United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa

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SIPRI BACKGROUND PAPER

ATT-RELATED OUTREACH AND ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CHRISTINA ARABIA AND MARK BROMLEY

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