

Making a Killing: *An Arms Deal Simulation and training*

Developed by: Mona Cadena for Amnesty International USA

Goal of simulation:

Help participants understand the role of the arms trade in facilitating human rights abuses and the multidimensional complexity of bringing the trade under control.

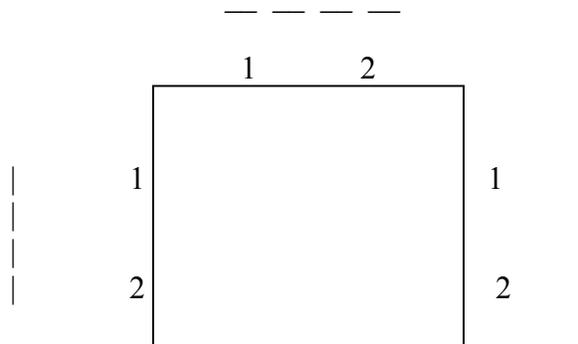
Player information: There is some flexibility on the maximum number, use your judgment about the group, the game can also be done with 15 (one team will have one player), again, use your judgment about the group.

Minimum number of players: 16

Maximum number of players: 52

Set-up and preparation:

A table, large enough for a minimum 3-person and maximum 8-person negotiation, with enough chairs for the remaining team members with table tents identifying teams at the table:



Chairs, or an end of a table, for teams who will not be represented at the table.

Flip chart with the rules of the negotiation displayed.

Prepare envelopes for each team. Label each teams envelope. In each envelope is the unique information for each team (attached at the end) and a copy of the rules of the game and negotiation. It is helpful for each team to have a table tent for identification. You can have different colors for negotiating teams and non-negotiating teams.

Slips of paper for note passing

Pens

Getting started:

We recommend 3 process suggestions for the training to ensure a smooth transition into the game:

1. Shuffle the group into their teams at the beginning of the workshop (if you decide to do an introduction to the arms trade, divide teams before you begin).
2. Do not reveal any team names or info until the intro is finished.
3. Begin with some kind of basic introduction about the arms trade (two suggestions are provided below)

Depending on the number of players, one option is to divide group into 5 about equal size groups and then shuffle players to make the groups optimum size:

4 groups need of minimum of 3 players maximum of 8 players

2 groups of minimum 2 and maximum 6 players (if playing with 15 players, one of these teams will be 1 person).

Intro to the arms trade 10 minutes:

1. Less interactive – See appendix 2 for background information on the arms trade.
2. More interactive true-false fact activity. See Appendix 3 for instructions.

Are there any questions?

Beginning the Game:**Introduce the simulation: Verbal Instructions for teams (5 - 10 mins):**

Welcome to Making a Killing: An Arms Deal Simulation. Today we will explore one small piece of a very complex issue: arms trade and lack of controls. You have been divided into teams and have been assigned your role (either a government, company or non-state actor). Once we set up the scenario, you will receive specific information about what type of actor you represent within the arms trade and your role in the simulation. This is a simulation of a negotiation between governments and arms manufacturers that reflects one aspect of the illegitimate trade in arms.

Pass out the envelopes with instructions for each team.

Ask the group not to open envelopes until you finish the verbal instructions.

Team set-up:**4 teams with minimum 3 maximum 8:**

1. OURLANDIA
2. YOURLANDIA
3. Go Guns!, Arms Manufacturer located in OURLANDIA
4. THEIRLANDIA

2 teams with minimum 3 maximum 8:

5. Human Rights Matter, NGO concerned about transfer
6. Arms Traffickers (if playing with 15 players, this team can be a single player)]

Here's the scenario: Verbal Instructions for teams (10 – 15 mins):

it is useful to ask teams to raise their hands as you go through the scenario for identification purposes.

Two governments (OURLANDIA and YOURLANDIA) and Go Guns!, an arms manufacturer, have engaged in negotiations for 6 months for the purpose of securing an arms transfer from OURLANDIA to YOURLANDIA. Political pressure to either close or abandon the sale is mounting. Human Rights Matter is working hard to pass national legislation in OURLANDIA preventing arms manufacturers from making sales to countries suspected of collusion with pariah states. Time and patience are running thin, if a deal is not agreed upon soon, negotiations will fail. OURLANDIA is at the table because they must approve this sale before Go Guns! Can transfer the weapons to YOURLANDIA.

THEIRLANDIA shares a border with YOURLANDIA. THEIRLANDIA is under a UN Arms Embargo. Additionally, THERLANDIA was recently visited by a Kimberley Process Review Mission, deemed non-compliant and therefore removed from participating in the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme. The Kimberley Process, an international diamond certification scheme to ban trade in conflict diamonds, was launched on 1 January 2003. Armed opposition groups have used conflict diamonds to purchase arms and perpetrate violent acts against civilians. NGOs called for effective action to be taken at this meeting to strengthen four critical elements of the KPCS: monitoring; membership criteria; participant coordination; and accurate collection of trade and production statistics. NGOs are encouraged by governments agreeing to establish rules of procedure, review countries' ability to implement the scheme and report statistics. This means that it is illegal under international law for any government or private person to provide THEIRLANDIA with weapons or purchase their diamonds.

You'll notice that only three teams are represented at the official negotiating table – OURLANDIA, Go Guns!, and YOURLANDIA. In a real arms deal, negotiations happen on and off the table, meaning that arms transfers flow through legitimate and illegitimate channels. Today we will be exploring different ways that arms can pass from country to country, business to country, arms trafficker to pariah country, etc.

To represent this, we have an NGO, Human Rights Matter, an international NGO located in OURLANDIA, and the friendly neighborhood Arms Traffickers.

If you do not have a seat at the negotiating team, you are free agents with few restrictions.

To all teams, remember the following:

Jack Anderson said, "The incestuous relationship between government and big business thrives in the dark." Jack Anderson

And, Elaine Heffner also said, "But politics make strange bedfellows..."

Be creative with your strategies as you seek to accomplish your goals, you never know who might have access or influence to help your team get what it needs.

The format for the game – (include this section and the scenario above in team envelopes):

1. When we finish briefing you on how the game will work, including the rules, each team will have an opportunity to read their individual material, make any decisions requested of you, and identify a strategy and game plan for the game.
2. The envelope includes: 3 – 4 unique objectives, known only to you that your team must accomplish during the game, in addition to resources (if any) available to you.
3. This game is played on 2 levels, think about concentric circles: the first is the official negotiation - negotiating teams that are working to secure a, "legitimate" and public, arms transfer between governments and industry. The second is the unofficial circle – free agents working hard to also transfer weapons between governments and industry despite, or possibly because of, what the official negotiators and the international community are doing. Both circles will be in motion at the same time.
4. If your team is participating in the official negotiation, you must choose 2 negotiators to represent the team, the rest of the team will act as representatives. *Ask negotiating teams to raise their hands – OURLANDIA, YOURLANDIA, Go Guns!*
5. The remaining teams are considered "free agents." *Ask free agents to raise their hands – Arms Traffickers, Human Rights Matter - NGO, and THEIRLANDIA.*

Rules of the game:

1. The game will take place in 2 rounds, the first lasting 10 minutes, the second lasting 15 minutes.
2. You will have 5 minutes between rounds to re-group, change negotiators (if applicable) and/or your strategy.
3. We (the facilitators) will moderate the negotiation, as needed.

For negotiating teams only:

- Only negotiators (2 people) are allowed to speak out loud during the negotiation.
- Negotiators may communicate with representative on the same team by passing notes or speaking in low whispers.
- Negotiators may not contact representatives of any other team (including free agents).
- Representatives of one team may communicate with representatives of any other team using the note system
- Representatives may communicate with negotiators on the same team by passing slips of paper or whispering.

- Negotiators have the option to make a short opening statement when the negotiation begins.

For Free Agents only:

- Free agents may communicate with any team using whispers.
- Free agents may not communicate with negotiators.

Goals:

- Your goal as a group is to cut a legitimate deal and sell as many of the available weapons as possible.
- Your goal as a team is to accomplish as many of your objectives as possible. Be prepared to make choices and feel free to create compromises.

Tips for teams:

- For negotiating teams: we recommend that you choose one negotiator who will be the primary spokesperson and the other negotiator will send and receive notes and information from their representatives.

Are there questions?

You have 5 minutes to organize yourselves. **(5 -10 minutes)**

Start Round 1 of the negotiations by calling negotiating teams to the table (10 minutes)

Are there any questions before we start?

The first round of negotiation is 10 minutes. We will give you warnings as time runs out. You may start now.

End Round 1 of the negotiations (10 minutes)

Groups may now regroup. OURLANDIA and GO Guns! Are allowed to discuss strategy for the last round of negotiations, if needed. No other groups may communicate during the re-group.

Remind negotiating teams that they are allowed to change negotiators.

Start Round 2 of the negotiations by calling negotiating teams to the table (15 minutes)

Are there any questions before we start?

The second and final will last no more than 15 minutes. We will give you time warnings as time runs out. You may start now.

Stop Round 2 of the Negotiation.

Ask negotiating teams if they made a deal.

If no, you can tell them that the deal fell through and four months from now, Human Rights Matters, will succeed in passing their legislation. Go Guns!, did not have to lay off workers because they collected a check from the (government/insurance) because they found (add amount of weapons here) stolen when one of their storage facilities was damaged in a snow storm. OURLANDIA purchased (insert amount of weapons here) from the arms traffickers at three times their market value, but gave some to THEIRLANDIA because they allowed the government use of 2 planes to transfer weapons from OURLANDIA and then eventually (insert number of weapons here) to THEIRLANDIA.

If yes, you can tell them congratulations.

Debrief and discussion (20 – 30 minutes):

Begin the debrief by focusing on the simulation asking key questions:

1. Negotiating teams: Do you think you made a good deal? Why?
2. Free Agents: did you move some weapons or influence the sale? Tell us what you accomplished.
3. Negotiating teams: What challenges did you have individually and in finally making a deal? OR what were the deal breakers?
4. Corrupt official – did you find yourself the recipient of personal incentives? Please share.
5. Both teams: What surprises did you have?
6. How did the free agents make it easy/hard to accomplish your objectives?

If there are questions about whether or not an arms deal would happen like this in real life: the table in this scenario is the mechanism for the game. In real life these negotiations typically do not happen this formally.

Possible results of deal – can be used for discussion:

1. If no deal was struck then it's possible that the gun-seeking government will go to another government. However, if the exporting government upheld its responsibilities then it prevented their arms from a possible dangerous misuse.
2. If a deal was struck, but with effective control measures or on the condition that the recipient government do something before they receive the weapons than it could be positive.
3. If no extra restrictions were placed on type of arms or in what circumstance they receive the weapons than the report someone will read this news flash: arms reached abusers and were used to commit human rights violations. Explain also how they received the weapons.

Transition to real life:

1. Here is an example of a real arms deal and what happened....
2. Why do you think it is so difficult to combat arms trafficking?

3. Do you know what AI us doing?? This is the segue to the campaign.

Appendix 1: Unique team information:**GO GUNS! WEAPONS MANUFACTURER:**

Your team represents a weapons manufacturer. Under the law of the land where you are based, OURLANDIA, you may sell to governments as long as it is not under UN or national embargo. You have spread the production of weapons strategically all over your country to gain the widest possible support for its production for export (ie, for jobs). In part because of over production, you are requesting to sell these defense-related articles:

- 5,000 fully automatic assault rifles, 800 with grenade launchers.
- 3 million rounds of ammunition, mostly bullets and some grenades, for the rifles.
- 50 night-vision goggles.
- 5 armored personnel carriers.

Your objectives for this sale are:

1. You want YOURLANDIA to guarantee the sale of all of these arms and equipment purchased at the highest possible price.
2. You want the OURLANDIA to approve the deal. (You can't export the weapons legally without the consent of OURLANDIA's government)
3. You want the OURLANDIA to provide financing incentives to YOURLANDIA in addition to marketing assistance to help you get the deal.

Negotiating Points:

- 100 people will lose their jobs without the sale of all of these items.
- You also have the option of selling non-lethal weapons, but it will be significantly less profitable.

Things to consider:

- There is a corrupt official on one of the negotiating teams. Find this person and you may have an opportunity to unload some of those surplus weapons and make it easier for OURLANDIA to agree to a deal. You may have to report some weapons stolen or damages in production to flout national and international regulations.

OURLANDIA

The weapons manufacturer is based in your country. Go Guns! wants to make a sale of weapons to YOURLANDIA, a country at peace, with no severe human rights record and is currently under no national or international arms embargo. YOURLANDIA is however a well-known conduit for smuggling guns to neighboring countries. Go Guns! says that 100 people will lose their jobs if you do not let it sell the new guns, and that this sell helps makes the domestic defense industry strong. Go Guns! Has a strong political lobby in your country and could be crucial to your re-election. Because Go Guns! Is located in OURLANDIA, this sale cannot be completed without your approval. Human Rights Matter, an international NGO is located in your country as well. They don't have a

significant lobby in the government, but they are known for their accurate research. They are more of a nuisance than anything, but you have found that if you grant small them small requests now and then, you can minimize their impact on your administration.

Your objectives for this deal are:

1. Do your best to approve the sale of guns from the company.
2. Make sure not to lose the jobs.

Negotiating Points:

- Seek reasonable conditions to ensure your weapons are not misused to commit gross violations of human rights. This could include: conduct the minimum necessary analysis through inspections or required documentation (such as end user certificates) to ensure that the weapons are going to a legitimate end-user. You may ask for irrefutable evidence that the arms will not get into the hands of criminals or gross human rights violators.

YOURLANDIA

Your peaceful country has no major human rights issues; however, it is a well-known conduit for smuggled guns into neighboring countries—some of which do have on-going armed conflict and human rights abuses by armed police, militaries and insurgents/gangs. You have been struggling to control a group of insurgents who have begun to organize deep in the mountains, however, you consider them to be thugs who only want to extort money from the government and believe they have little support from those living in the region. Corrupt government officials* in this country have profited handsomely from providing forged end user certificates and other documentation to provide a veneer of legitimacy for its arms purchases.

*One member of your delegation is corrupt. Among your group, please identify who the corrupt official is, this person may only reveal themselves if approached for corrupt services.

Option for bigger groups: Include the info for the corrupt official in a sealed envelope to that officials eyes only:

- You have used your influence in the past to forge end-use certificates, secure passage across the border to THEIRLANDIA and other states.
- You also have connections to the resistance movement, Justice for YOURLANDIA (JFY). JFY is in need of timber to build houses and barracks. THEIRLANDIA has timber to sell or trade. Consider approaching the traffickers to help arrange a trade.
- Being corrupt can be lucrative, see what kinds of personal incentives the Arms Traffickers have to offer.

Your objectives for this deal are:

1. Persuade the Government OURLANDIA to approve the export of the greatest possible quantity of assault rifles, ammunition, and night vision goggles.
2. Sell these guns to various actors in your neighboring countries, hopefully involving a bidding war between warring sides!

Negotiating points:

- Lie, if you must, about your intended use of the weapons.

Things to consider:

- You have diamond mines, but they have not been as lucrative as THEIRLANDIA's mines, consider trading any extra guns you purchase for diamonds and then selling on the legitimate market as your own. THEIRLANDIA cannot sell diamonds on the legitimate market and they need weapons. Ask your Arms traffickers for help.

THEIRLANDIA

You share a border with YOURLANDIA. Your government is under UN arms embargo. Additionally, THERLANDIA was recently visited by a Kimberley Process Review Mission, deemed non-compliant and therefore removed from participating in the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme. The Kimberley Process, an international diamond certification scheme to ban trade in conflict diamonds, was launched on 1 January 2003. Armed opposition groups have used conflict diamonds to purchase arms and perpetrate violent acts against civilians. NGOs called for effective action to be taken at this meeting to strengthen four critical elements of the KPCS: monitoring; membership criteria; participant coordination; and accurate collection of trade and production statistics. NGOs are encouraged by governments agreeing to establish rules of procedure, review countries' ability to implement the scheme and report statistics. This means that it is illegal under international law for any government or private person to provide you with weapons. You do not have a seat at the negotiations table, but you are very interested in opportunities that might arise from the negotiations happening next door. In the past, you have worked with the YOURLANDIA Government on forging end-use certificates and other documentation (usually for a very high price).

Your objectives in this deal are:

1. Get guns.
2. Get guns.
3. Get guns.

Your resources are:

- 2 planes. You can trade use of the planes for goods or services.
- 4 trucks.
- \$3 million in blood diamonds and timber. These commodities are not easy for you to unload on the legitimate market because the world community is increasingly making

it difficult to sell natural resources extracted by illegitimate extractors (rebels, war profiteers...). You can trade natural resources for money or guns.

For your consideration:

- The traffickers are your only hope of securing much-needed guns and other arms. Without them, your government is at risk of toppling if you cannot control the growing numbers of insurgents and rebel groups.
- The traffickers have information about stolen weapons in YOURLANDIA, but are in need of a plane to get the guns out of the country. Be sure to tell them what you want and ask for their assistance in acquiring as many weapons as possible.
- You have an existing relationship with the traffickers and in the past have loaned your plane for the purpose of transporting weapons and other illicit materials.
- YOURLANDIA has an official who is connected to the Justice for YOURLANDIA resistance movement (JFY). JFY is in need of timber to build barracks, training camps, and houses in the remote mountains where they are located. Winter is coming, and JFY needs homes for families and plans to use the winter to prepare the movement for a Coup D'état in the summer.

NGO, HUMAN RIGHTS MATTER, Concerned about YOURLANDIA

You are non-governmental organization and are not granted a seat at the table. You do however possess knowledge about the many dangerous aspects of the arms trade and easy manner in which governments and arms traffickers can flout national and international law to obtain all sorts of weapons. You are an international NGO, based in OURLANDIA. You are particularly concerned about the record of YOURLANDIA and several cases in which government officials have allegedly supported arms transfers to illegitimate governments and abusive armed groups, which is why you put out a report just before the beginning of this negotiation. Your government lobby isn't particularly strong, but you are known for having accurate research and OURLANDIA has made small policy changes because of it.

Your objectives for this scenario are:

1. Stop the arms transfer to YOURLANDIA. Use your recently released report about the poor record of illegal arms as a diversion or stall tactic to educating the government about the potential dangers of this transfer. Remember, you are working on passing national legislation in OURLANDIA to restrict the transfer of arms, if you can stall this deal long enough, it may ultimately fall through.
2. If you cannot stop it, encourage the exporting government (OURLANDIA) to provide conditions or restrictions on the export of the arms to ensure they are used properly.

For Consideration:

- Try to use the government of OURLANDIA to express your views in the negotiation.
- Feel free to use your "research" on the types of violations the government of YOURLANDIA is committing and the government's failure to prosecute those forces involved.

- Over 1,000 unlawful killings of innocent civilians falsely presumed to be helping “insurgents” in the country. Note – the insurgents are an indigenous population located in remote mountains. You have long standing concern about economic and political marginalization in the region and you believe this marginalization has led to an increase in violent rebellion.
- Some 300 cases of “disappearances.”
- Widespread raping of women at gunpoint by government forces.

Resources and tactics available:

- Advocacy capacity: During the last 6 months you have been gathering thousands of petition signatures opposing this deal. You want the money that might be spend on financing incentives to be used to update school computers across OURLANDIA.
 - a. You have the support of the largest teachers union in OURLANDIA and many labor organizations.
 - b. You have 50,000 signatures you may consider submitting to the government of OURLANDIA. Think about what you will do to submit them – will you have an action at the negotiating site, mail the petitions, have a press conference, use them quietly with negotiating teams to try and leverage the negotiation? The choice is yours.
- You have photo’s of all 300 cases you consider to be disappearances, look for an opportunity to use these photos.

ILLEGAL ARMS TRAFFICKERS:

You represent the arms traffickers. You will not have a seat at the negotiations table. Pariah states and armed insurgents rely on your ability to flout international law, national boundaries and state law to provide them with much-needed weapons and supplies.

Your objectives for this scenario are:

1. Get guns for THEIRLANDIA.
2. Use your influence with YOURLANDIA to increase the number of weapons in their official purchase for the purpose of funneling extra weapons to THEIRLANDIA.
3. Get guns for THEIRLANDIA.

For consideration:

- You have an existing relationship with THEIRLANDIA. In the past, the government has allowed you to use their planes to transport weapons in exchange for a good price on weapons.
- You have access to 3,000 stolen assault rifles from a remote military base in YOURLANDIA. You are interested in moving these weapons to THEIRLANDIA. You will need to convince THEIRLANDIA that the guns can be moved. This includes arranging a landing strip, transport, and passage across the border. Consider bartering use of their planes for some of these weapons to transport all 3,000 stolen weapons out of YOURLANDIA. Remember, this strictly an off-the table deal.
- YOURLANDIA has a corrupt member of their negotiating team. Find this person and you will have a connection to a corrupt government official who will agree to help arrange passage of the weapons across the border.
- Consider asking this person to use their influence to increase the sale of weapons to YOURLANDIA so some may be funneled to THEIRLANDIA. This includes securing a forged end-use certificate, transport of weapons and passage across the border.

- Remember, THEIRLANDIA is rich in natural resources that they are unable to trade on the legitimate market because of strict controls on blood diamonds and timber, consider taking diamonds or timber in exchange for guns.
- The corrupt official for YOURLANDIA is also connected to the Justice for YOURLANDIA resistance movement (JFY). JFY is in need of timber to build barracks, training camps, and houses in the remote mountains where they are located. Winter is coming, and JFY needs homes for families and plans to use the winter to prepare the movement for a Coup D'état in the summer.

Resources available to you:

- You recently made \$25 million selling arms to another country. This money may be used to pay bribes, purchase weapons or natural resources. Use at your discretion.

Appendix 2: Background on the Arms trade

Also refer to http://www.amnestyusa.org/arms_trade/index.do for more extensive information.

ARMS FUEL POVERTY AND SUFFERING

Every day, millions of men, women, and children are living in fear of armed violence.

Every minute, one of them is killed. From the gangs of Rio de Janeiro and Los Angeles, to the civil wars of Liberia and Indonesia, arms are out of control.

The uncontrolled proliferation and misuse of arms by government forces and armed groups takes a massive human toll in lost lives, lost livelihoods, and lost opportunities to escape poverty. An average of US\$ 22bn a year is spent on arms by countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America - a sum that would otherwise enable those same countries to be on track to meet the Millennium Development Goals of achieving universal primary education (estimated at \$ 10bn a year) as well as targets for reducing infant and maternal mortality (estimated at \$ 12bn a year).

Every day in our work around the world, Oxfam and Amnesty International witness the abuse of arms which fuels conflict, poverty, and violations of human rights.

Arms are out of control

The impact of the widespread proliferation and misuse of arms is now critical. The 'war on terror' should have focused political will to prevent arms falling into the wrong hands. Instead, since the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on 11 September 2001, some suppliers have relaxed their controls in order to arm newfound allies against 'terrorism', irrespective of their disregard for international human rights and humanitarian law. Despite the damage that they cause, there is still no binding, comprehensive, international law to control the export of conventional arms.

At the same time, we are seeing a long-term change, as guns are becoming an integral part of life - and therefore an increasingly common instrument of death - in more communities and cities around the world. From the pastoralists of northern Uganda to the gangs of Rio de Janeiro, the carrying and use of increasingly lethal weaponry is becoming the norm.

WHO GETS HURT IN THE ARMS TRADE?

It is men, especially young men, who are the most common perpetrators and the most common victims of gun violence, in times of both war and 'peace'. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, young men are 24 times more likely than women to be killed by firearms; in Colombia they are 14 times more likely to die of gunshot wounds.

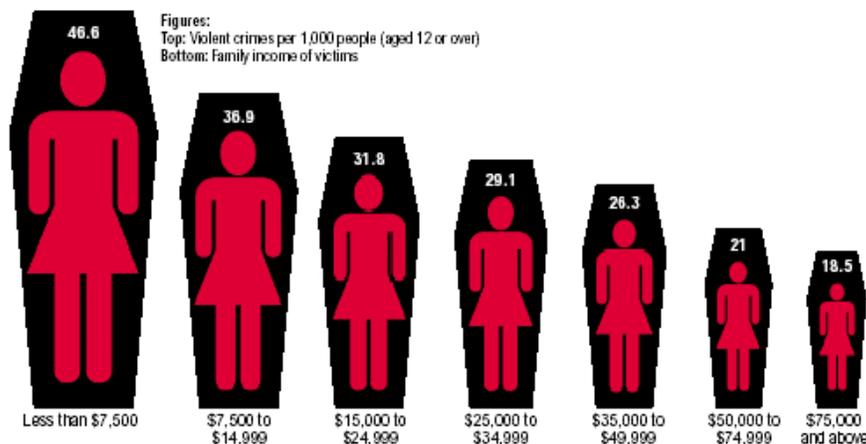
Nevertheless, women have been killed and injured in great numbers by shooting and bombing in armed conflict. Women and girls made up a high proportion of the victims when armed forces drove hundreds of thousands of refugees from camps in the Great Lakes Region in 1996 and deliberately executed refugees en masse.

The young are not spared. Children have become targets in drug wars, in political and gang-related killing, in civil and international wars, and as victims of police brutality. In Honduras, at least 1,817 street children have been killed over the last five years. 73 Interviews with a group of Croatian refugee children in 1992 revealed that 85 percent had experienced shooting, 67 percent shelling, and 24 percent bombing.

Nor are older people spared. In Kosovo from February 1998 to June 1999, the mortality rate from armed violence for men aged 50 or over was nearly 10 times that of women from the same age group, and more than three times that of men of military age (15–49 years), which suggests that Serb forces may have been specifically targeting the traditional heads of households in order to weaken the social and cultural integrity of local society.

Poor people are more likely than rich people to fall victim to violent crime

Source: US National Criminal Victimization Survey, 2001.



APPENDIX 3: TRUE-FALSE FACT ACTIVITY

- Distribute to each team the following facts. Instruct the teams that of the 5 facts, 1 is false and they must determine which one. This activity can be done in conjunction with the material above or as a stand alone activity, depending on how much time you have for the simulation.
- Poll the groups to assess their answers, asking them to raise hands or shout out. The last fact is false. If the group has questions, refer to background information for further discussion.

Assault rifles are simple and durable, with only a few moving parts; their use requires little training, and they can remain operational for 20 – 40 years or more, with little maintenance. They are also highly portable, easily concealed, and relatively cheap.

At Least 640 million firearms exist in the world. 1 for every 10 people.

8 million new firearms are produced every year. ½ of them are made in the USA.

Those who find themselves in refugee camps may not see an end to fear and armed violence because many camps have become increasingly militarized. They are sometimes hubs for arms trafficking. Too often, governments and the international community have failed to minimize the risk by providing adequate protection for refugees.

Key strengths in the arms trade are strict controls on brokering, licensed production and “end use” of arms.