

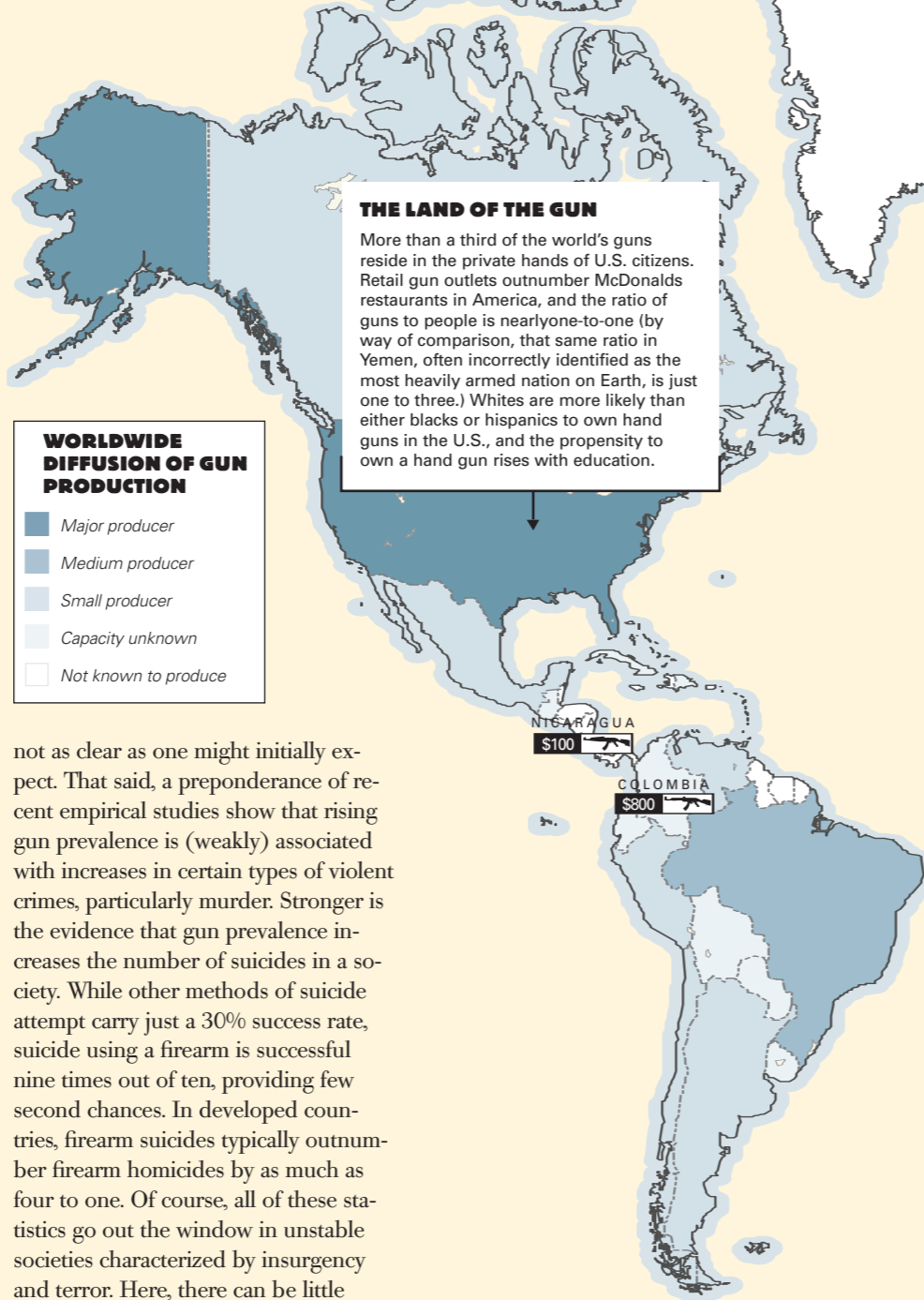
THE GUN TRADE

The market for small arms is becoming ever more efficient. Where they flow tells us much about the prospects for war and peace worldwide.

No one really knows how many guns are in existence worldwide. They move quickly from place to place, are easily hidden, and are often held by people who have cause to hide them. The best current estimate, from the 2002 Small Arms Survey undertaken by the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland, indicates that there may be about 640 million small arms—ranging from hand guns to rocket launchers—worldwide, or one for every nine people on earth. This figure has been revised steadily upward in recent years as better information has become available.

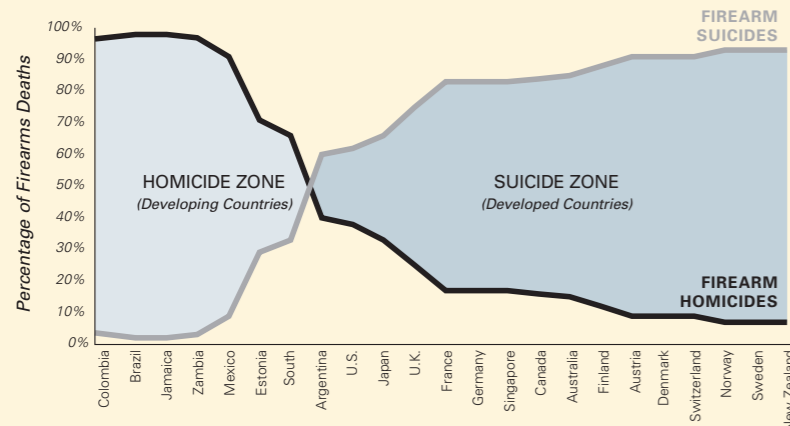
Gun production has slowed substantially over the past decade, principally due to military downsizing. Still, known, legal small arms manufacturers worldwide produced about 8 million new guns last year. Adding in unknown and illegal gun production, it is likely that the world's stock of small arms continues to increase at a faster rate than the world's population, indicating that international appetite for guns is by no means sated. For good or for ill, a high and rising proportion of these weapons are in private, not government, hands (see bottom right).

In stable societies, the relationship between gun prevalence and violence is



not as clear as one might initially expect. That said, a preponderance of recent empirical studies show that rising gun prevalence is (weakly) associated with increases in certain types of violent crimes, particularly murder. Stronger is the evidence that gun prevalence increases the number of suicides in a society. While other methods of suicide attempt carry just a 30% success rate, suicide using a firearm is successful nine times out of ten, providing few second chances. In developed countries, firearm suicides typically outnumber firearm homicides by as much as four to one. Of course, all of these statistics go out the window in unstable societies characterized by insurgency and terror. Here, there can be little doubt about the awful humanitarian

PREDOMINANCE OF SUICIDE OVER FIREARM HOMICIDE

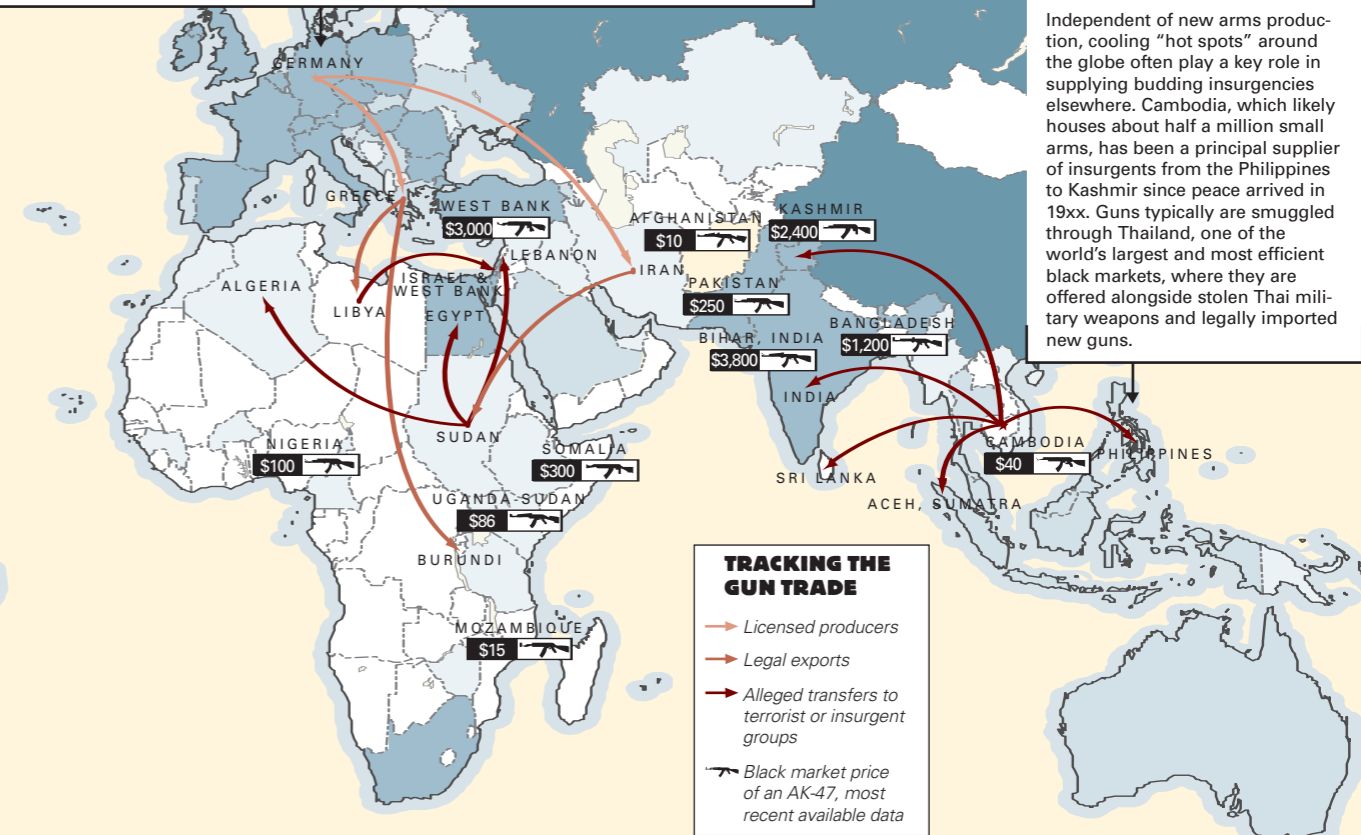


consequence of widespread armament.

Worldwide, the production of small arms is following a familiar path. Once concentrated in the U.S., Europe, and Russia, substantial production capacity has now spread to ninety-eight nations—a preponderance of which are now less developed countries (???)—often through production licensing agreements with European or U.S. companies. The commoditization and diffusion of gun production, the enormous stock of small arms already in existence, and the expansion of global trade have made the illicit flow of guns

FROM FACTORY TO INSURGENCY (IN THREE STEPS)

Since the 1960s, arms makers in fourteen advanced states have established licensed production agreements with 46 other countries. The arrows below show just two of the production agreements of Heckler & Koch—a German maker of assault rifles and submachine guns—along with subsequent exports from licensed factories. Worldwide, the multiplication of high-quality arms production sites has made any restraint on the small arms trade extremely difficult. (Heckler & Koch is neither disreputable nor unusual). In recent years, fifty-four states are alleged to have violated mandatory U.N. arms embargoes—often through lax export controls—including China, Russia, France, the U.K. and Israel.

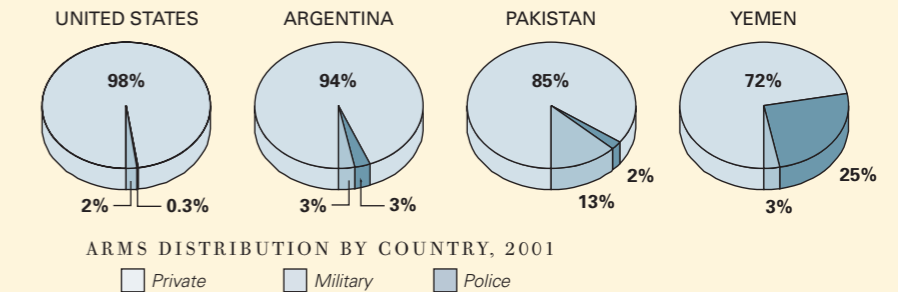


THE PROBLEM WITH PEACE
Independent of new arms production, cooling "hot spots" around the globe often play a key role in supplying budding insurgencies elsewhere. Cambodia, which likely houses about half a million small arms, has been a principal supplier of insurgents from the Philippines to Kashmir since peace arrived in 19xx. Guns typically are smuggled through Thailand, one of the world's largest and most efficient black markets, where they are offered alongside stolen Thai military weapons and legally imported new guns.

to areas of insurgency and conflict increasingly difficult to stop, as the map to the right attests.

Black market gun prices can be one of the best leading indicators of gathering (or ebbing) conflict. The map displays recent black market prices of AK-47 assault rifles—the weapon of choice for most insurgents due to their killing power and widespread availability. (About 10%—or 100 million—of the world's guns are AK-47s.) Under normal conditions and in legal markets, used AK-47s typically fetch between \$240 and \$400. Prices under \$100 usually show an environment where peace has arrived suddenly (and convincingly) after a period of intense conflict. Rock-bottom prices of \$30 or less create their own problems, typically leading to the widespread armament of pet-

GUNS OVERWHELMINGLY IN PRIVATE HANDS (ESPECIALLY IN DEMOCRACIES)



ty criminals, and perpetuating a very high rate of firearms deaths for months or years after political stability has returned.

At the other end of the spectrum, prices above \$1,000 generally serve as bright red flags for incipient, organized violence. These prices mean that people are desperate to own weapons, and that

normal supply chains cannot keep up with demand. Once new supply routes are found, weapons will flood the market, and violence may erupt.

One must take care in interpreting the prices on these pages. Pricing can change very quickly (in Somalia, for example, prices in 1992 fell from \$300 to \$100 in a matter of days as U.S.

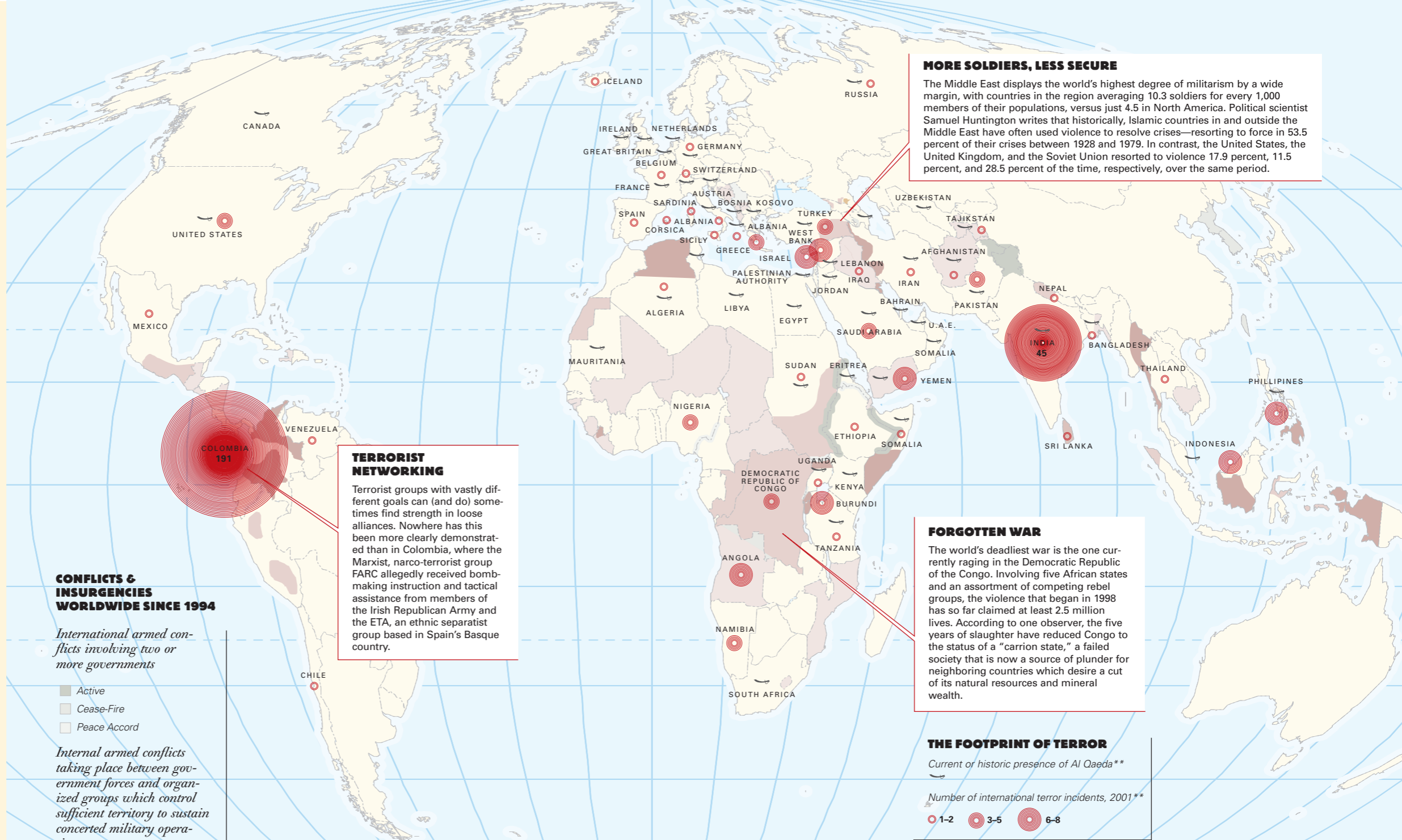
GLOBAL MAYHEM & THE THREAT TO AMERICA

The greatest challenges to the U.S. today come not from strong states, but from weak ones—not from superpowers, but from superempowered individuals. The map to the right shows armed conflict and incidence of terrorism throughout the world. It may provide a rough guide to current and future problem areas for the United States, highlighting regions where violence is widespread, and where lawlessness could encourage the growth of extremism and offer safe haven for terrorist organizations.

It is easy to overstate international instability—conflicts are fewer in number than a decade ago, military spending is down worldwide, and terrorist attacks have declined in number (though not in lethality). Yet it is clear that serious challenges to international security remain, most of them centered along a belt of unstable, developing nations that stretches from Latin America across Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. These nations share several characteristics: low economic productivity, surging populations, and high amounts of militarism relative to the developed world, particularly in the Middle East.

This map should present a sobering picture for anyone hoping that America can effectively police the world. The U.S. military is built on speed, reach and precision—ideal for winning battles, but not for holding territory or building and overseeing foreign states. The United States can dampen the most dangerous brushfires as they flare, but it cannot by military means alone eliminate those dark, anarchic recesses where terrorism flourishes.

Elimination of these recesses likely depends more on economic progress and democratic reform. Here, the news is discouraging. Economically, the world's poorest nations have gone backward across the last five years. Over the same period, the world has added just three nations to its roster of democracies, and according to a recent study by Freedom House, an independent think tank, six out of every ten people on Earth continue to live in societies where respect for political rights and civil liberties is either limited or nonexistent.



CONFLICTS & INSURGENCIES WORLDWIDE SINCE 1994

International armed conflicts involving two or more governments

- Active
- Cease-Fire
- Peace Accord

Internal armed conflicts taking place between government forces and organized groups which control sufficient territory to sustain concerted military operations.

- Active
- Cease-Fire
- Peace Accord

* Conflict countries and active insurgencies do not perfectly correspond. In some cases, insurgencies have continued after rebel groups refused to accept the terms of the peace accords or cease-fires.

** As compiled by the U.S. State Department.

Sources: U.S. State Department; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; International Institute for Strategic Studies.

TERRORIST NETWORKING

Terrorist groups with vastly different goals can (and do) sometimes find strength in loose alliances. Nowhere has this been more clearly demonstrated than in Colombia, where the Marxist, narco-terrorist group FARC allegedly received bomb-making instruction and tactical assistance from members of the Irish Republican Army and the ETA, an ethnic separatist group based in Spain's Basque country.

MORE SOLDIERS, LESS SECURE

The Middle East displays the world's highest degree of militarism by a wide margin, with countries in the region averaging 10.3 soldiers for every 1,000 members of their populations, versus just 4.5 in North America. Political scientist Samuel Huntington writes that historically, Islamic countries in and outside the Middle East have often used violence to resolve crises—resorting to force in 53.5 percent of their crises between 1928 and 1979. In contrast, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union resorted to violence 17.9 percent, 11.5 percent, and 28.5 percent of the time, respectively, over the same period.

FORGOTTEN WAR

The world's deadliest war is the one currently raging in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Involving five African states and an assortment of competing rebel groups, the violence that began in 1998 has so far claimed at least 2.5 million lives. According to one observer, the five years of slaughter have reduced Congo to the status of a "carrion state," a failed society that is now a source of plunder for neighboring countries which desire a cut of its natural resources and mineral wealth.

THE FOOTPRINT OF TERROR

*Current or historic presence of Al Qaeda***

*Number of international terror incidents, 2001***

- 1-2
- 3-5
- 6-8

FEW INSURGENT GROUPS ARE OVERTLY DEMOCRATIC IN THEIR AIMS

States facing largest number of known, active, organized insurgents, as of August 2002

RANK	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF INSURGENTS	TYPE OF INSURGENTS	RANK	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF INSURGENTS	TYPE OF INSURGENTS	RANK	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF INSURGENTS	TYPE OF INSURGENTS
#1	Colombia	33,100	●●●●●	#10	Somalia	8,000	●●●●●	#18	Algeria	2,000	●●●●●
#2	Iraq	30,500	●●●●●	#11	Nepal	5,000	●●●●●	#19	Lebanon	2,000	●●●●●
#3	Democratic Rep. of Congo	22,000-23,000	●●●●●	#12	Eritrea	3,000	●●●●●	#20	Uzbekistan	2,000	●●●●●
#4	Burundi	18,000-19,000	●●●●●	#13	Sudan	3,000	●●●●●	#21	Uganda	1,700	●●●●●
#5	Rwanda	18,000	●●●●●	#14	Russia	2,000-3,000	●●●●●	#22	Afghanistan	1,500	●●●●●
#6	Bangladesh	15,000	●●●●●	#15	Senegal	2,000-3,000	●●●●●	#23	Egypt	1,000	●●●●●
#7	Philippines	11,600	●●●●●	#16	Indonesia	2,700	●●●●●	#24	Peru	600	●●●●●
#8	India	8,500	●●●●●	#17	Palestinian Authority	2,400	●●●●●	#25	Angola	600	●●●●●
#9	Myanmar	8,000	●●●●●								

- Ethnic separatists/nationalists
- Islamic separatists/nationalists
- Christian separatists/nationalists
- Democratic revolutionary
- Left-wing revolutionary (Marxist, Communist, Socialist, etc.)
- Other (Narco, right-wing, etc.)