

# **A Clear Step Forward: Attention to Demand Issues at the PrepCom on Small Arms**

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# A Clear Step Forward: Attention to Demand Issues at the PrepCom on Small Arms<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Background

*“Supply and demand have become shorthand terms for describing broad factors affecting the spread, use, and misuse of guns; approaches to managing them; and means for reducing their negative effects. Most international policy initiatives, such as the UN PoA, have so far tended to focus on supply—that is, steps to control the flows of arms into, and their availability within, certain settings. However, understanding what drives individuals and groups to possess and use small arms—the demand side of the equation—is equally important for efforts to reduce availability and misuse. In fact, all sides of the equation must be taken into account simultaneously if the international community is to respond adequately to the problem of gun violence.”<sup>2</sup>*

By the time of the 9-20 January 2006 session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the UN Review Conference on small arms, there was already ample evidence of political momentum regarding demand issues. For example, at the Second UN Biennial Meeting of States (BMS2), held in New York 11-15 July 2005, there were a large number of statements in support of a “comprehensive approach” to small arms control, one that would treat supply and demand aspects in a balanced and integrated way. In addition, many states, regional groups, international agencies and NGOs spoke directly about the specific issues that are generally considered significant in lessening the demand for small arms and light weapons. In all, the statements of more than 77 states (including those of 3 regional organizations) and 5 multilateral agencies addressed demand themes of one kind or another. In addition, eleven separate sidebar meetings held during the BMS2 focused on topics that were related to demand issues.<sup>3</sup>

This level of interest continued at the autumn 2005 meeting of the UN General Assembly First Committee, which focuses on disarmament, arms control and security issues. Among the several resolutions the Committee passed on small arms topics, a newly introduced one specifically addressed “the humanitarian and development impact of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.”<sup>4</sup> It called on UN member states to develop “comprehensive armed violence prevention programmes integrated into national development strategies, including poverty reduction strategies,” and to include “national measures to regulate small arms and light weapons in longer term post-conflict peacebuilding strategies and programmes.” In essence, it was the first UN GA resolution to focus on tackling the root causes of demand

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<sup>1</sup> Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the United Nations Conference to Review Progress Made in the Implementation of the Programme of Action (PoA) to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, New York, 9-20 January 2006.

<sup>2</sup> “Theme 6, Motivations and Means: Addressing the Demand for Small Arms,” in *Missing Pieces: Directions for Reducing Gun Violence Through the UN Process on Small Arms Control*, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva, 2005, p. 93

<sup>3</sup> For an extended report on demand issues at the BMS2 see Jackman, David “A Broader Outlook: Progress on Demand Issues at the UN Second Biennial Meeting,” in *Reporting the results of the Second UN Biennial Meeting of States to review the implementation of the Programme of Action on Small Arms July 2005*, Small Arms Working Group of the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee, Ottawa, November 2005.

<sup>4</sup> “Addressing the negative humanitarian and development impact of the illicit manufacture, transfer and circulation of small arms and light weapons and their excessive accumulation,” UN Document A/RES/60/68.

for small arms. It was eventually passed as UN GA Resolution 60/68 with only one negative vote. In contrast, just one year earlier a draft First Committee resolution that merely mentioned small arms demand as a topic was withdrawn due to intense resistance from some states. Clearly the winds had changed.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. At the PrepCom

### *a) Statements and Interventions*

“The entire debate and policy prescriptions by many continue to emanate from a supply perspective. Hence, calls for effective transfer controls, end-user certificates and common minimum standards. But the causes of war are even more important than the instruments of war. The demand for weapons will remain strong so long as the conflicts fester and solutions to their underlying causes are not addressed. In particular, it is essential to end foreign occupation and the denial of the legitimate right of peoples to self-determination.”

*Pakistan, Opening Statement*

The trend toward greater political attention and momentum continued into the UN PrepCom meetings themselves. At these sessions there was clear evidence of progress in addressing demand issues.

- The members of two regional organizations (AU and EU) and 19 individual states spoke strongly and explicitly in support of addressing demand issues at the coming UN Review Conference. Together, this represents the views of some 101 states.
- In addition, three sub regional groups (Arab League, BSEC and RECSA) and 23 individual states—roughly 46 states in all—addressed two or more separate issue areas that are major components in typical demand-side programming.<sup>6</sup>
- This long list of supportive statements and other interventions demonstrates that the central aspects of demand programming, either separately or in combination, are actively supported by some 147 UN member states, a clear majority of those likely to attend the July Conference.
- Additionally, a smaller number of states—approximately 20—spoke to individual issues that are part of the larger demand agenda, but in these cases it was not clear if the state concerned supported more comprehensive demand programming.
- A significant number of states, roughly 20, chose for the first time to make a statement supporting attention to one or more demand issues.
- Multilateral agencies and nongovernmental organizations were also active in their support for demand programmes. There were relevant statements by ICRC, UNDP, UNIDIR, CASA, and three by IANSA.

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<sup>5</sup> For a longer list of international agreements and declarations that mention a focus on small arms demand see “Preparing For The 2006 SALW POA Review Conference: Addressing The Demand For Illicit Small Arms And Light Weapons,” UN document A/CONF.192/2006/PC/CRP.15, 18 January, 2006, pp. 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> This list would include such typical demand related issues as DDR, conflict resolution, development, gender, youth, policing and judiciary reform, social integration and governance reform. For a more complete discussion and listing of demand issues see Atwood and Jackman, “Security Together: A Unified Supply and Demand Approach to Small arms Control,” Quaker United Nations Office, Geneva, February 2005, pp. 11-22.

Statements on specific demand-related issues fell roughly into three groupings, depending upon the number of times that speakers referred to them (for more detail see Appendices 2 and 3):

1) Topics receiving significant attention:

- Development – 55 references
- DDR – 38 references
- Conflict resolution – 29 references
- Policing and Judiciary reform– 27 references
- Multidimensional programming – 25 references

2) Topics receiving some attention:

- Gender – 17 references
- Youth – 14 references
- Governance – 13 references
- Social Integration – 12 references
- Research – 11 references

3) Other topics mentioned:

- Culture of Peace (7), Peacebuilding (6), Victim Assistance (4), Best Practices (2), Misuse (2), Reintegration (1), Public Health (1), Post-Conflict Education (1)

***b) Other Evidence***

It must, however, be pointed out that the 2001 Programme of Action does not adequately address the problem of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons from the demand side, an element that is of direct relevance to us, neither does it take into account the gendered implications of this problem given the negative effect which gun violence has on women's personal security and well being and the fact that men, particularly young men, constitute the vast majority of perpetrators and victims of armed violence. We urge that these aspects be taken up at the Review Conference.

*Trinidad and Tobago, Opening Statement*

As usual, there were daily sidebar presentations during the two-week PrepCom meeting. These included five on subjects related to demand issues: three organized by IANSA members, one by UNDP and one by Small Arms Survey (in partnership with the Quaker UN Office). (*See Appendix 4 for the list of sidebar topics.*)

In addition, four individual member states and one regional organization issued Conference Room Papers on specific themes that are related to demand:

- Assistance to survivors (Canada, CRP.3),
- DDR (Sweden, CRP.4),
- Best practices on SALW projects and demand factors (Japan, CRP.5),
- Appropriate use of SALW by law enforcement officials (Switzerland, CRP.6),
- The EU Strategy (CRP. 14) and
- Addressing demand (Canada, CRP.15).

Finally, the list of topics addressed by the PrepCom and related recommendations for the Review Conference—all of which were included in the “Conference room paper submitted by the Chairman” (CRP.17)—included some nine subject areas of direct relevance to tackling demand issues in an effective way.

### *c) Qualitative Improvement*

Arms control measures alone will not stop the flow of illicit weapons. It will be a great challenge for us at the Review Conference to properly address the factors behind **demand**, and the complex interlinkages between development, human rights and security. We should look for ways to **increase security for the individual**. A key motivation for acquiring small arms and light weapons is a sense of insecurity. Governments, law enforcement agencies and civil society all have crucial roles to play to enhance security at the level of the individual.

*Norway, Opening Statement*

As was true at the BMS2, there was continuing evidence that member states and other actors were deepening their knowledge of demand factors and programming. Many statements emphasized the need for a holistic (or “comprehensive”) approach to small arms control—one that integrated supply and demand aspects. In this respect, the attitudes of many states are now reflecting lessons learned from work on the ground.

It was indicative that virtually all the typical demand issues identified in research over the last six years were addressed explicitly during the PrepCom events. In addition, there were descriptions of relevant field programmes, new research results and examples of integrated supply and demand policy planning. An unprecedented number of speakers focused on demand explicitly by name and outlined its root causes and means of reduction. The various formal thematic papers (CRPs) presented suggest that there is sufficient awareness and understanding of demand issues that it should be possible for interested actors—government agencies and civil society—to develop adequate draft text for the outcome documents of the Review Conference.

### *d) Those Still Unconvinced*

The evident wave of interest in a comprehensive supply and demand approach has not carried all states in its wake. There are still many who either have not expressed an opinion on the subject, or have offered at least indirect resistance. Among regional organizations, several (OAS, MERCOSUR, CARICOM, ASEAN, SADC, and ECOWAS) chose not to mention demand issues or to comment on the need for a more comprehensive approach. Similarly several significant states (USA, Russia, Ukraine) did not address demand issues, or in other cases (China, Indonesia, Australia, Iran) were ambiguous in their references.

Perhaps it is useful to note that there were no explicitly dismissive statements regarding demand factors. On the other hand, there were a number of warnings that states should avoid opening new issues at the Review Conference and should be cautious about putting too much stress on the existing consensus. All this suggests that there is likely to be considerable resistance by a few states to including implementation language on demand issues in the Conference outcomes.

### 3. Summary and Next Steps

There is clear and growing support for inclusion of demand-related language in the Review Conference outcomes, focused both on an over-arching, comprehensive approach and on many individual demand factors.

The resistance to this trend is not yet explicit. (No state directly rejected demand issues at the PrepCom or BMS2). Nevertheless, such resistance still exists, although it is likely that it will be couched in general warnings about sticking to implementation of the current PoA. Achievement of full consensual support by all UN member states for a single, discrete package of inter-related demand programmes is unlikely by the time of the Review Conference. Nevertheless, some progress is distinctly possible at the Review Conference.

There is sufficient support now for including individual components of a demand approach (e.g., on DDR, integration into development programmes, youth focus, conflict resolution), as well as for a simple declarative statement reaffirming the need for a comprehensive supply and demand approach.

Work in the period before the Review Conference should focus on the following actions by states, agencies and NGOs:

1. Maintaining communication and cooperation among those states and organizations actively interested in promoting attention to demand issues;
2. Drafting formal declarative text as well as implementation language on individual demand issues (e.g., those topics issued as CRPs) and convening consultative meetings with groups of states to test and revise the specific language;<sup>7</sup>
3. Assuring that the outcomes from major international policy development efforts that relate small arms to development programming and DDR reform are fed into the pre-conference consultation and drafting process;
4. Eliciting more expressions of support from regional and sub-regional groups;
5. Gaining an understanding of the positions and interests of states that appear not to support direct attention to demand issues; and seeking to include some of these states in wider consultations;
6. Assisting the President of the Conference to consult adequately with states that support inclusion of demand issues in the Review Conference outcomes;
7. Encouraging the NY UN small arms community to involve international small arms actors in consultations and events leading-up to the Review Conference;
8. Preparing some high profile events on demand topics before and during the Review Conference.

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<sup>7</sup> For detailed suggestions on possible text see three documents that were introduced at the PrepCom:

- “Reducing the demand for small arms,” No. 7 in the series of position papers distributed by IANSA ([www.iansa.org](http://www.iansa.org));
- “Preparing for the 2006 SALW PoA Review Conference: Addressing the Demand for Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons” UN Document A/CONF.192/2006/PC/CRP.15, January 18, 2006; and
- Atwood, Glatz and Muggah, “Demanding Attention: Addressing the Dynamics of Small Arms Demand,” Occasional Paper 18, Small Arms Survey, Geneva, 2006, pp 53-55.

## Appendix 1: Excerpts from Selected Statements Made at the PrepCom

UNDP firmly believes that the small arms issue is both a disarmament AND a development issue.... Based on our experience, UNDP believes that the best way to address the negative impacts of small arms proliferation and misuse on development is to incorporate small arms and related security issues into national development, or poverty reduction frameworks.

The outcome document of the Review Conference could draw on language from resolution L.34 in which States are encouraged to develop “comprehensive armed violence prevention programmes integrated into national development strategies, including poverty reduction strategies”

*UNDP Statement to the Preparatory Committee*

The EU welcomes the adoption of General Assembly resolution 60/68, adopted on 8 December 2005, on “addressing the negative humanitarian and development impact of the illicit manufacture, transfer and circulation of SALW and their excessive accumulation.” This resolution calls for developing comprehensive armed violence prevention programmes that are integrated into national development strategies, including poverty reduction strategies.... In a context of extreme poverty, unless people feel safe and secure, they might not feel capable of giving up their weapons. National and international poverty reduction strategies should be enhanced to ensure full and proper implementation of the PoA.

*Austria for the European Union, Statement on Cluster I issues*

Clearly, most of the attention in our deliberations on this issue is dedicated to addressing supply side issues in relation to SALW—manufacture, identification and tracing, transfer, stockpile management, criteria for possession, and so on. But it is a ‘truism’ that where there is demand there will be supply—and unless we can reduce demand, our efforts to control supply will simply not achieve the kind of results we seek.

*Canada, Statement on Cluster III issues*

In addition to the steps outlined above, Malawi is also addressing the demand for small arms through its nationwide Community Based Policing Programme. This programme has led to the adoption of community based policing as the guiding strategy behind policing in Malawi and to the establishment of community based policing fora across the country. These fora provide an opportunity for the police and the community to partner in the identification of security needs and the development of responsive and accountable policing strategies. This is a crucial component of efforts to enhance community safety and to ensure trust between the police and the community, and thus to reduce the demand for small arms among the general public. Malawi hopes that other countries will be able to learn from our experiences in this regard and to promote the principle of community based policing at the international level.

*Malawi, Statement on Cluster III issues*

It must, however, be pointed out that the 2001 Programme of Action does not adequately address the problem of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons from the demand side, an element that is of direct relevance to us, neither does it take into account the gendered implications of this problem given the negative effect which gun violence has on

women's personal security and well being and the fact that men, particularly young men, constitute the vast majority of perpetrators and victims of armed violence. We urge that these aspects be taken up at the Review Conference.

*Trinidad and Tobago, Opening Statement*

In analyzing SALW problems through an analysis of the projects on the ground, the demand factor, among others, should also be covered. Japan believes that the mere consideration of the political aspect will not suffice in addressing the demand factor. It is also essential to analyze socio-economic elements which are likely to give rise to the illicit trade in SALW and to formulate an appropriate project as a countermeasure.

*Japan, Opening Statement*

Uganda wishes to emphasize the importance of prioritizing issues relating to the demand for small arms at the Review Conference in July 2006. We recommend that the outcome document of the Review Conference should emphasize:

- The need for National Action Plans and other national strategies on small arms and light weapons to be integrated into national security strategies and poverty reduction frameworks
- The development and implementation of weapons collection and disarmament processes which are fully inclusive and designed in collaboration with affected communities

We recommend that the Review Conference encourage further research into the relationship between small arms proliferation and development and insecurity.

*Uganda, Statement on Cluster III issues*

The entire debate and policy prescriptions by many continue to emanate from a supply perspective. Hence, calls for effective transfer controls, end-user certificates and common minimum standards. But the causes of war are even more important than the instruments of war. The demand for weapons will remain strong so long as the conflicts fester and solutions to their underlying causes are not addressed. In particular, it is essential to end foreign occupation and the denial of the legitimate right of peoples to self-determination.

*Pakistan, Opening Statement*

Thirdly, the ICRC considers it important that the Review Conference recognize the need for increased efforts to address the **demand for small arms and light weapons**. Illicit markets are after all driven by existing demand. Unless a reduction in the demand for small arms can be achieved, attempts to better control their supply are likely to be only partially successful and may merely shift the source of supply to the weakest link in the control chain. The Programme of Action calls for “*combating this trade simultaneously from both a supply and demand perspective.*” However, measures on the demand side by which this commitment can be implemented in practice should be further elaborated by the Review Conference.

*International Committee of the Red Cross, Statement to the Preparatory Committee*

Arms control measures alone will not stop the flow of illicit weapons. It will be a great challenge for us at the Review Conference to properly address the factors behind demand, and the complex interlinkages between development, human rights and security. We should look for ways to increase security for the individual. A key motivation for acquiring small

arms and light weapons is a sense of insecurity. Governments, law enforcement agencies and civil society all have crucial roles to play to enhance security at the level of the individual.

*Norway, Opening Statement*

This example from Kenya shows that work to address arms supply must be complimented by integrated and multifaceted work to reduce arms demand. Such programmes which seek to reduce arms demand can have 3 elements:

1. Firstly, address the root causes of the conflict/violence, to give people viable alternatives to picking up the gun. Poverty and violence are linked in a vicious cycle, with the easy availability of small arms, and particularly semi-automatic weapons, as in Kenya, making the situation worse. People without other economic opportunities will take to armed violence as a way of securing money to support themselves and their families and thus small arms become tools of trade. Alternative and sustainable livelihoods must be provided.

2. Secondly, prioritize security sector reform. When people lack confidence in their government's ability to protect them from criminals or armed insurgents, demand for small arms will increase. Reform measures aimed at improving the functioning as well as transparency and accountability of security forces and criminal justice systems can reassure citizens that they need not be armed.

3. Lastly, incorporate local knowledge and recognize the importance of local-led initiatives. Genuinely participatory and community-led initiatives have a greater chance of influencing the reduction in demand for weapons.

*LANSA, Statement to the Preparatory Committee*

## Appendix 2: Demand-side References During UN Small Arms PrepCom, January 9-20, 2006

Key: # opening exchange; ^ thematic debate; + sidebar presentations

Country/ Region/Org	Strong Support	Some Issues	Poss. Relev.	New	No. of Interv.	DDR	Conflict Res.	Develop.	Gender	Youth	Police/ Judic.	Soc. Integ.	Govern- ance	Research	Multi. Dimens.	Culture of Peace	Other
<b>REGIONAL</b>																	
AU (Nigeria)	#				#	#		#					#				
EU (Austria)	#				#^^	#^		#^^									
Arab Group (Morocco)			#	#	#										#		
BSEC		#		#	#			#			#						
League of Arab States		#		#	#								#	#			
RECSA		#		#	#		#						#				
<b>STATES</b>																	
Algeria		#		#	#			#						#			
Argentina		^		#	^^	^											Peacebuilding Victim assist
Australia		# ^			# ^	# ^					^						
Bangladesh	^				#	^		^									^
Benin	^			#	# ^	# ^	#	^	#	#	# ^						#
Brazil		#^			#^						#				#		^
Burundi			^	#	^	^											
Canada	#^^				# ^^^^	#^^		#^	#	#^	#^						Best practices Misuse
China	^				#			#									
Cote d'Ivoire			^	#	^	^											
Cuba			^	#	#			^									
Dominican Republic		#		#	#		#	#			#	#			#		
Egypt	^			#	# ^^	#	#	^^			^						
France		^			^				^	^							
Ghana	^			#	# ^			^				#					
Holy See	#				# ^			^						#	#		
India		#			#^^	^^		#						#	#		
Indonesia		#			# ^	^	#										Victim Assist
Iran		^			# ^	^		# ^									
Iraq			#		#			#									
Jamaica		#			#			#	#	#	#				#		
Japan	#^				#^^	^						#		#	#	^	Best practices
Kazakhstan			#	#	#		#										
Kenya	#^				#^^	^	#^^	#^^			#^	#	#		#		Victim Assist Peacebuilding
Korea		#		#	# ^^	# ^	# ^^	#	#	#		#	#		#		Peacebuilding
Malawi	^			#	^			^			^						

Country/ Region/Org	Strong Support	Some Issues	Poss. Relev.	New	No. of Interv.	DDR	Conflict Res.	Develop.	Gender	Youth	Police/ Judic.	Soc. Integ.	Govern- ance	Research	Multi. Dimens.	Culture of Peace	Other
Mali			^		#^			^									
Mexico			^					^									
Mozambique		#			#			#	#	#							
Namibia		#			# ^	^	#	#				#		^	#		Reintegration
Netherlands	^				^	^		^									Peacebuilding
New Zealand		#			# ^	^					#						Peacebuilding
Nigeria	#				# ^^		#^	^^				^	^		#		
Norway	#^				# ^	^		#	#	#	#				#		Victim assist
Oman		#		#	#		#				#				#		
Pakistan	# ^				# ^^		# ^^	#			^		#	#	#		
Palestine		#			#		#	#			#		#				
Papua New Guinea			#	#	#		#										
Philippines		^			^^										^	^^	
Senegal		#^^		#	#^^	^	#		^			#			# ^		
Sierra Leone		^			^^	^^	^	^^			^						
Solomon Islands		#			#		#	#				#					
South Africa	^				^	^											
Sri Lanka		#			#			#	#	#							
Sweden		^				^											
Switzerland	#				#^^	#		#			#^			#^	#		Misuse
Tanzania		#			#		#	#				#	#		#		
Trinidad and Tobago	#				#			#	#	#	#	#			#		
Uganda	^				^		^	^						^			
UK	^				^^			^^							^		Peacebuilding
Uruguay			^	#	^												Post conflict education
<b>AGENCY/NGO</b>																	
CASA	#				#	#		#									
ICRC	# ^				#^^				^	^	# ^						
IPU		#			#	#	#	#		#			#		#		
Interpol		#		#	#						#		#	#			
UNDP	#				#	#+		#							#		
UNIDIR	#				#	#		#	#	#					#		
IANSAs	#			#+++			#	##	####+		#		#		#	#	Public health +
Small Arms Survey	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		

### Appendix 3: Levels of Support from Individual Organizations and States

<b>Stronger Support</b> (demand concept plus issues)	<b>Weaker Support</b> (no demand concept, two or more individual Issues)	<b>Marginal Support</b> (no demand concept, one Issue only)
African Union European Union	Black Sea Ec. Com. Arab League RECSA	Arab Group
Bangladesh Benin Canada China Egypt Ghana Holy See Japan Kenya Malawi Netherlands Nigeria Norway Pakistan South Africa Switzerland Trinidad and Tobago Uganda United Kingdom	Algeria Argentina Australia Brazil Dominican Republic France India Indonesia Iran Jamaica Republic of Korea Mozambique Namibia New Zealand Oman Palestine Philippines Senegal Sierra Leone Solomon Islands Sri Lanka Sweden Tanzania	Burundi Cote d'Ivoire Cuba Iraq Kazakhstan Mali Mexico Papua New Guinea Uruguay
ICRC UN CASA UNDP UNIDIR IANSAs Small Arms Survey	IPU INTERPOL	

### Appendix 4: PrepCom Sidebar Meetings that Addressed Demand Themes

- Launch of the report: “Demanding Attention: Addressing the Dynamics of Small Arms Demand”  
Small Arms Survey/Quaker UN Office
- “Prescriptions for Prevention”  
IANSAs Public Health Network/Government of Canada
- “DDR and Small Arms”  
UN Development Programme
- “How should the PoA help women working against gun violence?”  
IANSAs Women’s Network
- “Global Gun Epidemic: International Comparisons”  
IANSAs/SAFER-Net: