



PUZZLING OVER THE PIECES

Comparing the Demand, Proliferation, Impact and Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Nine Southern Africa Countries

By Guy Lamb

Centre for Conflict Resolution

Introduction

Over the past decade small arms experts and government officials have argued that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in southern Africa is a serious obstacle to securing sustainable peace in the region, as these weapons directly contribute to increased levels of violence and criminal activity.¹ This seems to be a common sense assertion, but generally it has been made in the absence of rigorous research and reliable information, and hence it has been difficult to objectively ascertain the validity of the link between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and insecurity. To date no publication has accurately determined the nature and extent of small arms and light weapons proliferation in southern Africa, and the source of those weapons that are used in destabilising activities. In fact, it appears that this alleged link is largely based on anecdotes and speculation. One of the more colourful anecdotes that has been recycled on a numerous occasions by journalists and researchers, is that AK-47 assault rifles in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia can be exchanged for chickens, goats or maize meal.²

The researchers that are part of this study of small arms and light weapons in nine southern African countries have sought to make a modest, yet constructive contribution to the small arms and light weapons debate in the region, by interrogating the link between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and security. They have undertaken primary research, as well as gathered and analysed publicly available data. Consequently, a collection of previously unpublished information and analysis has been presented in this publication.

The aim of this chapter is to ascertain if any useful comparisons can be drawn from the nine country case studies, and more specifically identify commonalities and differences between these countries. Such an analysis may have an impact on small arms and light weapons policy and legislation, as well as on future research.

Small arms and light weapons data in southern Africa

With the exception of South Africa, the acquisition of reliable data on most firearms related issues in southern Africa was a challenge, especially with respect to the state-held weapons, loss and theft of weapons, and firearms-related crime. State authorities were generally unwilling to provide researchers with official firearms data, often citing national security concerns. However, in certain instances, the information was not easily accessible, due to the lack of the necessary state resources, processes and systems to capture, categorise and analyse such data. Where data was available, it was often not possible to determine its accuracy or reliability.

This severe shortage of accurate information means that a number of key comparisons of firearms related issues across countries in southern Africa cannot be drawn. However, a more serious consequence is that this state of affairs provides a major challenge to the design and implementation of national policy and legislation. It also presents a serious obstacle to the implementation of the provisions of the Southern African Development Community's Protocol on the Control of Firearms, Ammunition and Other Related Materials; and the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. Arms control policy and legislation that is not based on reliable information may result in unintended negative consequences, or

may not adequately address national needs. In addition, it also limits the extent to which countries can share information on firearms related matters.

Civilian demand for small arms in southern Africa

As indicated in Table 10.1 below, legally owned firearms in civilian hands vary from country to country, with Mozambique having the lowest percentage of firearms per total population at 0.04%, and South Africa the highest at 8.4%. The average percentage for eight of the southern African countries under review was 2.27%, but for five of these countries, namely, Malawi, Mozambique,³ Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, it was less than one percent.

Table 10.1: Civilian ownership of firearms in southern Africa

Country	Total population	Civilian ownership (licenced firearms)	Firearms as a % of total population
Botswana	1 700 000	32 901	1.9
Lesotho	2 000 000	Unknown	Unknown
Malawi	11 600 000	(30 000)	0.26
Mozambique	18 500 000	7 000	0.04
Namibia	1 800 000	(97 111)	5.4
South Africa	44 000 000	3 735 676	8.4
Swaziland	1 200 000	11 407	0.95
Zambia	9 980 000	86 642	0.86
Zimbabwe	12 500 000	(400 000)	0.32

The combined total of eight of the southern African countries (excluding Lesotho as no data or estimate was available) was 4 400 737 licenced civilian firearms. The Small Arms Survey 2003 estimates that by the end of 2003, there were 23 million firearms in the hands of civilians in sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ If this estimate is accurate, then 19% of all firearms in civilian hands in sub-Saharan Africa at this time were located in these eight countries, and 14% of this total in South Africa.

There are similarities in terms of the nature of demand for firearms by civilians in all nine countries. Self-protection, as a result of perceived

pervasive violent crime, was consistently cited as the primary motivating factor for acquiring a licenced firearm. This was particularly the case in South Africa and Namibia. For example, at the end of 1998, 71% of a total of 4 544 705 registered civilian firearms in South Africa were pistols, revolvers and shotguns, which are predominantly purchased for reasons of self-protection and/or protection of property and livestock. In Swaziland and Malawi more the half the firearms licences that have issued in recent years are for shotguns. In the case of Namibia, a 2003 sample of licenced firearms in Namibia indicated that 70% of a total of 3 579 registered firearms were obtained for reasons of self-protection.

In many of the nine countries, but particularly South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, hunting and sports shooting were a driving force behind the demand for firearms. In Botswana, firearm licences are only issued for rifles and shotguns; in Zambia, 41% of the total number of licenced firearms (2 884) for the period 1998-2003 were rifles; and in Namibia 24% of a 2003 sample of licenced firearms were for rifles.

According to *ResourceAfrica*, an international sustainable development and nature conservation non-governmental organisation, between 10% and 20% of the total combined land area of these four countries is currently devoted to hunting. Despite this, only a small elite of southern African citizenry and wealthy tourists engage in such activity. But these activities bring in more than an estimated US\$50 million annually to the four countries combined.⁵ In Namibia alone, a study undertaken by Michael Humavindu and Jonathan Barnes revealed that in 2000, hunting generated US\$19.6 million in direct expenditure.⁶

The research results indicate that, contrary to expectation, the expansion of the private security industry in southern Africa does not appear to contribute significant numbers of firearms to total national holdings. In South Africa, which has the largest and one of the most sophisticated private security industries in the region, as of September 2003, 1 643 private security companies (out of a total of 3 252) were registered as possessing 58 981 licenced firearms, which represents 1.6% of the total registered civilian firearms in South Africa. In the Lesotho case, it was argued that the expansion of the private security industry in that country has resulted in an increase in firearms applications, but no data was

available. However, in Botswana and Malawi, private security personnel are prohibited from carrying firearms.

Identifying and analysing trends in legal firearm ownership in southern Africa is hampered by the paucity of comparable and consistent data, as well as the fact that available data was often not disaggregated. However, in four of the country studies sufficient data was provided that allows for limited trend identification and analysis.

In South Africa, official police data indicates that there was an 18% negative growth in the total number of firearms licences issued to civilians between 1998 and late-2003, from 4 544 705 in 1998 to 3 735 676 in late-2003. The reason for this is that the South African Police Services (SAPS) undertook a major audit and restructuring of its data capturing methods during this period, which resulted in the reduction of double-counting and other data capturing and maintenance errors. In addition, the SAPS have become increasingly cautious when issuing firearm licences to civilians since 2000.

In Namibia, there has been a steady decrease in the annual number of firearms applications since 2000. In 2000 there were 27 842 civilian firearms applications, 18 707 in 2001, 12 904 in 2002, and 6 746 in 2003, which represents a 400% decrease in the issuing of licences on an annual basis over that period. However, it is not possible to determine if this trend is of any significance, as the Namibian Police introduced a new firearms control system in the late 1990s, by which all legal firearms owners were required by law to re-register their weapons. It is not clear if these reapplications are included in this data set.

In Botswana, between 1999 and 2003, on average there has been a dramatic increase in the number of civilian firearms licence applications, from 20 321 in 1999 to 38 169 in 2003, which was close to a 100% increase over this period. The bulk of these licence applications were for rifles, possibly the result of a boom in the local hunting industry. However, the Botswana government only issues a maximum of 400 licences per year, on the basis of a lottery system.

In Malawi, since 1996 on average, 297 firearms licences have been issued to civilians annually, mainly for shotguns. Up to the end of 2003, the awarding

of licences on an annual basis fluctuated, but given the relatively small number of licences that have been issued, it is difficult to discern if any significant trends exist.

Small arms and light weapons industry

Relative to the international small arms and light weapons industry, southern Africa is relatively insignificant in terms of weapons and ammunition manufacturing and distribution. In fact, only 3% of the total of global small arms manufacturing sector is located in sub-Saharan Africa.⁷ South Africa is the only major officially recognized producer of small arms and light weapons in southern Africa, and has an industry comprising 19 public and private sector manufacturers. Nine manufacture firearms and ammunition, and ten only manufacture ammunition. In Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Defence Industries, a parastatal produces ammunition, but also acts as a distributor of weapons and military equipment that are imported from other countries.

Given the small production capacity of the arms industry in southern Africa, most small arms and light weapons for both civilian and state use are imported from outside of the region. Countries that have sold small arms and light weapons to southern African countries include: China, the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, Russia, the Philippines, Brazil, Spain, Italy and the United States of America. The exception is South Africa, where the local arms industry supplies the South African armed forces and police with most of their firearms and ammunition requirements. To a limited degree, firearms and ammunition are exported from South Africa to other southern African countries.

Firearm dealers operate in most of the countries under review, their numbers generally corresponding to the domestic firearms demand, national arms control legislation and practice, as well as prevailing economic conditions. In South Africa, which has the largest market for small arms in the region, there are approximately 500 firearms dealers. However, this number is shrinking as a result of the introduction of more rigorous gun control provisions. It was estimated that there are 125 firearms dealers in Zimbabwe, but it was not possible to determine the accuracy of this estimate, and in fact the economic crisis in Zimbabwe may have

resulted in the demise of many of them. In Botswana there are 39 registered firearms businesses, most of which cater for the hunting industry. In Swaziland and Zambia, where the civilian demand for firearms is relatively low, there are eight and five firearms dealers respectively. There are reportedly no firearms businesses in Mozambique or Malawi.

Reference was made to the existence of small homemade firearms industries in Malawi and South Africa. Homemade firearms are typically referred to as zip or pipe guns, and tend to be crudely manufactured devices, made up of a barrel usually fashioned from a piece of water pipe, a wooden or metal frame, and a trigger and firing pin. Very little is known about the dynamics and impact of this industry, mainly due its illegal nature, but reports indicate that these types of weapons have been used for the commission of crime, self-protection and poaching activities.

Firearm Crime

The ultimate design objective of a small arm or firearm is to maim and/or kill human beings and other animals. Since the invention of the firearm in the fourteenth century, which was a cumbersome, clumsy “hand cannon”, manufactures have sought to improve the lethality, accuracy and efficiency of these devices. From the mid-seventeenth century, firearms began to revolutionise the manner in which military campaigns were conducted, the main outcome being the exponential escalation of battle injuries and casualties.⁷

In southern Africa, firearms have been used to repress, murder, commit suicide and injure since the late-seventeenth century following the arrival of European settlers. However, firearms have also been used by those who have been exploited by colonial rule and authoritarian regimes to liberate themselves, as well as by some to protect their lives and property from those who seek to take them forcefully. Generally crime statistics in Africa are notoriously inaccurate, since the information is not always accurately collected, organised and analysed. In addition, certain categories of crime, such as robbery, tend to be under-reported.

Despite the absence of comparable crime data, researchers in the nine countries were able to provide some information about the levels of firearm-related crimes.

In South Africa, an average of 28.6 people per 100 000 were murdered with a firearm, and there was an average of 55.1 incidents of attempted murder with a firearm per 100 000 people between 1994 and 1998. In Zambia, between January 1998 and August 2003, there were 1 679 murders, 264 of which entailed the use of a firearm, which represents 15.7% of total murders for this period. In Botswana, in 2001, firearms were used in 51 out of 213 cases of reported murder (23.9%).

The figures are much lower in Namibia, Malawi and Lesotho. In Namibia, between 1995 and 2002, there were 2 918 reported murders, of which 102 were committed with a firearm, 3.5% of total murders for this period. In Malawi, between 1999 and 2003 there were a total of 121 murders, only a small number of which were committed with firearms. The Lesotho High Court dealt with 22 cases of murder with a firearm, 38 cases of attempted murder with a firearm and 383 cases of armed robbery. In Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland there was insufficient data to assess the level of serious armed crime.

Sources of illegal weapons

From the early-1990s until recently, most small arms and light weapons researchers have been working from the assumption that it is illegal weapons that are predominantly used in criminal activities, and these weapons have the potential to destabilise governments and communities in southern Africa. Considerable donor funds and national government resources have consequently been employed to investigate and neutralise possible sources of illegal firearms. Two sources of illegal firearms were identified: surplus state weapons and weapons caches that have remained following the termination of armed conflicts, such as in Angola and Mozambique; and arms that have been transported into southern Africa illicitly from other parts of the world by weapons brokers. South Africa was seen to play a major role in this regard, either as a market for these firearms, or as a conduit through which the arms could be transported to other southern African countries.

Illegal weapons: South African-Mozambique connection

Motivated by concerns that weapons from caches in Mozambique were possibly being smuggled into South Africa, which were then being used for

criminal and destabilising activities, a multi-part joint weapons collection and destruction operation between the South African and Mozambican police forces known as Operation Rachel was launched in 1995. More than fifty percent of the budget for Operation Rachel was provided by the South African government, with the Belgian government and the European Union providing the balance of funds. Between 1995 and 2003, nine operations consisting of some 20 missions have been undertaken. The weapons collected and destroyed during these operations were largely rifles, machine guns, mortars, mortar bombs, and a wide range of ammunition. Only a relatively small number of handguns (1 442) were destroyed, compared to the number of rifles and sub-machine guns destroyed (31 172).⁸

However, between 1994 and 1998 the South African Police Service were routinely seizing more than three times the number of handguns (pistols and revolvers) than rifles and automatic rifles in South Africa in the course of their duties. For example, during this period, of the 84 905 firearms seized, 54 151 (64%) were handguns, 16 180 were rifles (including automatic rifles) (19%), and 14 574 (17%) were homemade weapons. There were also indications that handguns have been the weapon of choice in the commission of a wider range of criminal activity in South Africa, particularly robbery, attempted murder and murder.⁹

Improved border control

In 1997, in efforts to facilitate better border control, reduce incidents of smuggling and cut down on expenditure, the South African authorities revoked the “international” status of 28 of a total of 36 airports. Mobile X-ray units were deployed at land borders and airports that previously did not have such facilities. In addition, an X-ray scanner with the ability to scan large cargo containers was provided to the Border Police at Durban harbour. A Management Information Centre has also been established at Border Police Headquarters, which maintains a database of border control information. In the same year, the National Interdepartmental Structure for Border Control (NIDS) was established to facilitate better co-operation between the various state structures that are responsible for border control.¹⁰

From mid-1998, the South African Air Force began to make use of an early-warning radar system, which monitors air traffic to the north of South

Africa. This system covers a distance of 1,900 nautical miles and operates from border towns. The South African authorities can now monitor flights over Botswana, Namibia, southern Zambia and southern Angola. The radar system is supported by Tactical Mobile (radar) Units which covers an even wider area. These developments resulted in the number of arrests by the Border Police for illegal possession of firearms more than doubling, from 49 in 1997 to 106 in 1998.¹¹

In October 2001, the Border Control Operational Co-ordinating Committee (BCOCC) was established to facilitate more effective communication between the various sectors of border control. Members of BCOCC include, amongst others: the Border Police, SAPS, South African Revenue Service, Department of Home Affairs (Immigration) and the Department of Defence (Border Control).¹²

Loss and theft of civilian-owned firearms

There remains very little accurate data about the extent to which the loss and theft of firearms from the state and licenced civilians contribute to the pool of illegal firearms in the region. Citing national security concerns, all national security forces of the countries reviewed, with the exception of South Africa, declined to divulge information about the loss and theft of state-owned firearms. In South Africa, between 1994 and 2002, the SANDF lost an average of 189 firearms per annum, while the SAPS had on average 1 452 weapons lost or stolen every year. The Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi chapters contain anecdotal information in this regard.

In South Africa, between 1994 and 2002, there were on average 20 809 firearms stolen or lost by civilian owners every year. In other countries, which have substantially fewer licenced civilian firearms, much smaller numbers of civilian firearms were reported lost or stolen on an annual basis.

There is no reliable information in the public domain that establishes a firm link between lost and stolen firearms and criminal activities, but it is highly unlikely that its impact is negligible. In fact, since 2000, the South African government, concerned about the negative impact lost or stolen weapons may have on levels of crime and policing, has made gun control legislation and policy more stringent, and has launched comprehensive firearms

recovery operations, as well as having undertaken an audit of state weapons holdings and control measures. In addition, the South African authorities have been consistently destroying surplus and/or redundant weapons and ammunition stocks.

Firearms control protocols, legislation and policy¹³

Licensing procedures: civilian owned firearms

In more than half of the countries, firearm control legislation is antique in nature and requires reform, and in certain instances redrafting, as some of this documentation dates back to the era of colonial rule. For example, the Mozambican and Zambian firearm control legislation is more than 20 years old, with fines being recorded in pre-independence currency. In some cases there are serious deficiencies in the legislation. In Zambia, for example, owners of businesses that have firearms licenced to that business can allow their employees to make use of these firearms even if the employee in question does not possess a firearm licence. Yet, despite antiquated legislation, requirements for obtaining a firearm licence are stringent, in some cases more rigorous than required by law.

In a number of the countries, state authorities implement a combination of legalistic and traditional mechanisms in order to determine if a firearm licence applicant is sufficiently competent to carry a firearm. In Lesotho and Malawi, an applicant requires a letter of reference from a senior member of his community or from his village chief or headman prior to applying for a firearm licence. In Swaziland, a firearm licence applicant is required to be interviewed by the local chief's council before the police will consider the firearm application.

The requirements and the period of time it takes to have a firearm licence approved varies from country to country. In certain instances, the approval process takes place in a short space of time. For example, in Namibia it takes between three days to three weeks for the Namibian police to make a final decision on a firearm licence application. In a number of other countries, these processes are bureaucratic and time consuming. This was particularly the case in Swaziland and Mozambique where the licence application process has up to ten stages. Representatives of the Mozambican and Swaziland governments openly stated that objective of this process is to

deter civilians from seeking to acquire a legal firearm. According to a representative from the Royal Swaziland Police: “the government does not want civilians to have handguns.”¹⁴

In most of the countries the licencing authority seems to be discerning in the manner in which it awards firearms licences. In Mozambique, the applications for handgun licences are generally refused. In Lesotho, approximately 50% of firearm licences applications are refused annually. In 2002, only 57% of firearm applications in Swaziland were approved. However, in Namibia, only 10% of all firearm applications are refused on the basis that the applicant is unfit to carry a firearm.

Firearm legislation reforms

Of the nine countries, six have firearm legislation that dates back to the 1960s and 1970s. Zimbabwe’s legislation is even older, as it predates this country’s independence, which was in 1980, by 28 years. Consequently, much of this legislation is in need of revision to bring it in line with current international arms control developments and approaches. For example, in no country other than South Africa, does the legislation require competency testing before a civilian firearm licence is issued.

Fortunately, efforts to overhaul firearm legislation in southern Africa are afoot. The Namibian and Botswana governments are currently reviewing their firearm legislation to bring it in line with the Southern African Development Community’s Protocol on the Control of Firearms, Ammunition and Other Related Materials (SADC Protocol). In South Africa, new, more rigorous gun control legislation, which conforms to the requirements of the SADC Protocol, was enacted by the National Assembly in 2000, and became fully operation in July 2004 following the gazetting of the relevant regulations.

While it is important that updated legislation is adopted in all countries in the region, the police in Zambia and Mozambique, for example, are inadequately resourced. The implementation of new legislation that requires the police to acquire additional skills and expertise, as well as undertake additional tasks may be of limited value unless the necessary resources are allocated for this purpose.

Ratification and implementation of the SADC Protocol

The governments of all countries included in this study are signatories of the SADC Protocol. With the exception of Swaziland, the national parliaments of all these countries have ratified this agreement. However, there have been mixed results with respect to the implementation of the various provisions of the Protocol.

A number of countries in this study have established, or are in the process of establishing National Focal Points (NFP), a structure which brings together representatives from relevant government departments, and in some cases civil society. The NFPs are forums which seek to determine the nature and extent of the small arms problem in their respective countries, and develop appropriate, co-ordinated policy responses. The establishment of NFPs is partly due to the availability of resources and assistance (from South African-based NGOs, such as SaferAfrica). The involvement of some key civil society groups in southern Africa in this research project means that they are now better equipped to effectively participate in these forums, and draw attention to small arms policy-related problems.

An active national focal point has been established in Botswana and is in the process of reviewing its small arms and light weapons legislation. In Namibia, significant progress has been made with respect to meeting the requirements of this Protocol. In Mozambique a special committee, Coprecal, was established to oversee and implement this Protocol.

The relationship between civil society and government¹⁵

This research project sought to contribute towards building a southern Africa network of civil society organisations that could engage in arms control advocacy and information sharing about small arms issues in the region. To achieve this, the Centre for Conflict Resolution and Gun Free South Africa established partnerships with civil society organisations in all nine countries. The research process entailed extensive consultation with representatives from civil society, the police and other government departments, both at the beginning and end of the research process. The objective of which was to maximise the accuracy of the research findings, as well as contribute to building constructive relationships between civil society and government departments in the area of arms control.

In April 2004 a workshop was organised in Johannesburg that brought together all the project researchers as well as representatives of security forces from most of the southern African countries under review. At this workshop it became evident that in order for civil society to gain access to information which will inform firearm control policy, a relationship based on trust needs to have been established between government officials and researchers. Civil society organisations are regarded with suspicion by many governments and are believed to have hidden agendas determined by foreign donors. According to one of the government representatives at the workshop:

“Research [into small arms] is a new phenomenon which intrudes on a previous no-go zone and to just expect information to be given out is unreasonable. All managers in the police services need to be educated about civil society intentions.”

Concerted commitment by governments and civil society is required to overcome the adversarial nature of this relationship, and build one which is based on common understandings, respect, trust and transparency. As has already been stated, NFPs have been created, or are in the process of being established in most southern African countries. These NFPs provide government and civil society with the opportunity to work together constructively to strengthen national and regional arms control. However, in most cases, governments are obliged to interact with civil society organisations in NFP forum, as this often a condition of the donor funding for the NFP. This tends to reinforce those perceptions held by governments that civil society organisations are the lackeys of donor governments and agencies. Hence those donor governments and agencies may wish to reconsider this approach, and explore more creative and empowering ways of encouraging governments to work with civil society organisations on small arms issues.

Topics for future research

This study has provided some previously unpublished information and analysis on small arms and light weapons in southern Africa. However, many key questions concerning the demand, proliferation and control of

arms in this region remain unanswered. In fact, through the presentation and analysis of this study, additional pertinent questions have emerged that have implications for the direction of future research as well as for the content and strategies of small arms and light weapons policy and legislation in southern Africa. There are five broad areas in this regard.

First, the dynamics of demand for small arms in southern Africa are multifaceted and complex, and vary from country to country. This study reveals that a more sophisticated analysis of the demand-side of firearms, and the factors that influence it, is required. A key question that needs to be answered is: how do weak state capacity, poverty and sustained levels of personal insecurity contribute to the demand for small arms and light weapons in southern Africa?

The demand impetus for firearms from the civilian sector seems to be motivated by a need for self-protection. This is often the result of perceptions of high violent crime rates. However, in a number of the country case studies, perception does not equate with reality, and in fact actual incidents of violent crime are relatively low. Hence, perceptions of crime should be addressed.

There are indications that some of the firearms that enter the illegal market may have originated from government stockpiles and/or were licenced civilian owners. Little is known about this dynamic in countries other than South Africa.

There is a need to generate accurate and reliable data on all aspects of small arms and light weapons in southern Africa, in order to design more rigorous gun control legislation and facilitate the effective collaboration between southern Africa countries in order to reduce the cross border proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

In most southern African countries there is a lack of transparency in the manner in which government manages the process of firearms control. Future research should focus on how governments can be encouraged to be more transparent, and what contribution civil society can make in this regard.

Endnotes

- 1 See Smith, C., Batchelor, P. and Potgieter, J. *Small Arms Management and Peacekeeping in Southern Africa*. Geneva: United Nations; 1996. Oosthuysen, G. *Small Arms Proliferation and Control in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs 1996; Gamba, V. (ed.) *Society Under Siege: Crime Violence and Illegal Weapons*. Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies, 1997; Reyneke, E. (comp.) *Small Arms and Light Weapons in Africa: Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000; Hennop, E., Jefferson, C. and McLean, A. *The Challenge to Control: South Africa's Borders and Borderline*. ISS Monograph Series, No. 57, 2001.
- 2 Recent examples include: "Zambians swap goats and chickens for guns", *The Star*, 16 April; Gastrow, P. 2003. *Penetrating State and Business: Organised Crime in Southern Africa*, Volume 1, *ISS Monograph Series*, No. 86, 2003. p10.
- 3 It should, however, be noted that this is an estimated number of firearm owners in Mozambique.
- 4 Small Arms Survey. *Small Arms Survey 2003: Development Denied*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p80.
- 5 ResourceAfrica. ND. *Fact Sheet No. 10: Safari Hunting in Southern Africa*. Parklands: ResourceAfrica.
- 6 Humavindu, M. and Barnes, J. "Trophy Hunting in the Namibian Economy: An Assessment." *South African Journal of Wildlife Research*, Vol.33, No. 2, 2003. pp65-70.
- 7 Keegan, J. *A History of Warfare*. London: Pimlico, 1993. pp319-385.
- 8 Stott. N., *Operations Rachel* in, Sami Faltas and Wolf-Christian Paes, "Exchanging Guns for Tools: The TAE Approach to Practical Disarmament - an Assessment of the TAE Project in Mozambique" Bonn International Centre for Conversion (BICC), 2004, Brief 29, April 2004.
- 9 Hennop, E. "Firearms and Violent Crime in South Africa", *Nedbank Crime Index*, Vol. 3 No. 1, 1999; Chetty, R. (ed.) *Firearm Use and Distribution in South Africa*. Pretoria: National Crime Prevention Centre, 2000.
- 10 Border Police. Status: *Border Policing in South Africa 1999. Prepared for the Portfolio Committee for Safety and Security*. 1999. Unpublished manuscript.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Minnaar, A. "Policing the Ports: Reducing Illicit Trafficking in South Africa". *ISS Monograph Series*, No. 84, May, 2003.
- 13 I am indebted to Chandré Gould for her insights and contributions to this section.
- 14 Statement by a representative of the Royal Swaziland Police at the CCR/GFSA Regional Consultative Workshop, Johannesburg, 6 April 2004.