AN ASSESSMENT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN EAST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF RWANDA

BY

INNOCENT MUNYENGANGO

(10501196)

THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON JUNE 2016
DECLARATION

I, Innocent Munyengango, hereby declare that this dissertation is entirely my work under the guidance of my supervisor, Dr K Ahorsu; and except for references to other research works, publications and journals which have been duly acknowledged, this study has never been presented in part or whole for the award of any degree elsewhere.

INNOCENT MUNYENGANGO        DATE
(10501196)

DR. KEN AHORSU         DATE
(SUPERVISOR)
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Anita; the children Ezio and Eunice, to my late mother Marthe ‘Bibi’ who passed away recently, to the entire staff and leadership of the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College and all the victims of the Genocide against the Tutsis in Rwanda.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work would not have been completed without the assistance, guidance and encouragement of various people. I am highly grateful to the leadership of the Ministry of Defence and Rwanda Defence Forces for the assistance extended to me to carry out this research. I would like to extend special thanks to Dr Ahorsu whose supervision and guidance enabled me to complete this work. To Lieutenant Colonel Ronald Rwivanga who took his time to read through all the chapters and gave very good guidance, I am so grateful.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ........................................................................................................................... i
DEDICATION ........................................................................................................................... ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ........................................................................................................... iii
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS ........................................................................................ vi
ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................................ vii
CHAPTER ONE .......................................................................................................................... 1
RESEARCH DESIGN .................................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Background of the Study .................................................................................................. 1
  1.2 Statement of Problem ..................................................................................................... 4
  1.3 Research Questions ....................................................................................................... 4
  1.4 Objectives of the Study .................................................................................................. 4
  1.5 Hypothesis .................................................................................................................... 5
  1.6 Conceptual Framework .................................................................................................. 5
  1.7 Significance of the Study ............................................................................................... 9
  1.8 Scope of the Study ......................................................................................................... 10
  1.9 Research Methodology and Sources of Data .................................................................. 11
  1.10 Arrangement of Chapters ............................................................................................ 11
Endnotes ........................................................................................................................................... 13
CHAPTER TWO ............................................................................................................................ 14
OVERVIEW OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ...................... 14
  2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 14
  2.2 Description of Small Arms and Light Weapons .............................................................. 14
  2.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons in East Africa ............................................................... 16
  2.4 Human Security, Freedom and SALW Proliferation ...................................................... 19
  2.5 Impact of SALW and Civil Conflicts in Eastern African Region .................................... 22
  2.6 Small Arms and Light Weapons and Socio-Economic Development Error! Bookmark not defined. 28
  2.7 The Fight against Illicit Trade and Trafficking of SALW ............................................... 28
  2.8 Conclusion .................................................................................................................... 31
Endnotes ........................................................................................................................................... 33
CHAPTER THREE ......................................................................................................................... 35
ASSESSMENT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION .............. 35
  3.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 35
3.2 Determinants of SALW Proliferation in Rwanda ....................................................35
3.3 Effects on Human Security and Freedom...............................................................37
3.4 Effects on Socio-Economic Development of Rwanda ...........................................38
3.5 Effects on Other Issues.........................................................................................41
3.6 Hypothesis on SALW Proliferation ...................................................................42
3.7 Conclusion............................................................................................................42

CHAPTER FOUR ........................................................................................................43
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ..................................43
  4.1 Summary ............................................................................................................46
  4.2 Conclusions .......................................................................................................46
  4.3 Recommendations ............................................................................................48

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................................................................51
Appendix: Questionnaire ..........................................................................................53
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU   - African Union

DRC  - Democratic Republic of Congo

Ex-FAR - former Rwandan Army

GDP  - Gross Domestic Products

HIV  - human immunodeficiency virus

HIV/AIDS - human immunodeficiency virus/ acquired immunodeficiency syndrome

ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross

IOSR-JHSS - IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science

RPF  - Rwanda Patriotic Front

SALW - Small Arms and Light Weapons

SAS  - Small Arms Survey

UN   - United Nations Organisation

UNIDIR - United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
ABSTRACT

There are over 100 million small arms in circulation, which kill, maim, obstruct and retard socio-economic development in Africa, including East Africa. The circulation of arms and weapons are a major threat to human security and sustainable development. Armed violence are fuelled by small arms which threaten re-instatement of democratic governance essential to sustainable peace and can lead to the breakdown of civil order and dramatic increases in lawlessness, banditry, and illicit drug trafficking. The genocide incident in Rwanda was cited as being aggravated as a result of the availability of arms and weapons in the hands of civilians through proliferation. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons have been observed and witnessed as causing negative impact on the economic development of East Africa, including Rwanda. The main objective of this dissertation was to assess the effects of small arms and light weapons proliferation on human security and socio-economic development in Rwanda and rest of East Africa. The determinants of SALW proliferation in Rwanda include the demand for self defense, robbery and terrorism by criminals. These demands make proliferation profitable for the people to trade either legally or illegally including illicit trafficking of arms and weapons, thus impeding the efforts by the government to fight against the proliferation of SALW. SALW proliferation has a profound negative influence on the society through its effects on human security and freedom, and socio-economic development. It is recommended that social justice should be enforce with a reform in the security sector to contain security gaps that lead to proliferation of arms and weapons. There should also be equity in terms of distribution of national resources among citizens such as quality education, access to potable/drinking water and job opportunities. Government should develop pro-poor programmes that are all inclusive to alleviate poverty.
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background of the Study

There are over 100 million small arms in Africa and their causes and effects are devastating in a vicious cycle. The small arms do not only kill the innocent but also maim, prolong violent conflicts, obstruct and retard development and thus deepen intensity of poverty\(^1\). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons remains not only one of the major security challenges but also a serious threat to sustainable development in the East African countries including Rwanda. Most armed conflicts in East African region, especially those that took place in Rwanda and Burundi and many others that are on-going in the region, take the form of internal conflicts which are aggravated by proliferation of small arms and light weapons\(^2\).

According to Wendy Cukier, violence fuelled by small arms represents a significant threat to the reinstatement of democratic governance essential to sustainable peace. The continued availability of weapons can lead to the breakdown of civil order and dramatic increases in lawlessness, banditry, and illicit drug trafficking.\(^3\) The effects of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons are widespread and connected with conflicts and insecurity and also related to development and governance issues. These include both the direct costs of deaths and injuries in conflicts, and the indirect costs of post-conflict insecurity and inter-communal and tribal tensions, among others. It is believed that lack of resource to adequately provide security to the people coupled with high economic hardships are causing people to possess small arms and light weapons.
In Rwanda, the genocide did not just begin on its own but was preceded by the 1990 Civil War with the incursion of Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) forces into the northern part of the country. The inability to consider and put a stop to the transfer and proliferation of small arms and light weapons within the communities by the Rwandan government aggravated and accelerated the 1994 genocide due to easy access to such arms and weapons.

In March 2000, countries of the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa adopted the Nairobi Declaration, a political document outlining a series of principles and actions geared towards stopping the illicit proliferation of small arms. In the Nairobi Declaration, member states promised to address in a comprehensive manner the illicit proliferation of small arms. The Rwandan Government on its own has developed a National Action Plan for smooth implementation of laws and policies against the illicit small arms and light weapons. However, there is the need to make these policies and laws all-inclusive and thus sensitize all stakeholders. This has called for a research on the impact that small arms and light weapons proliferation can have on the development of Rwanda.

Many working on peacebuilding and disarmament argue that the link between violence levels and access to weapons is self-evident. When small arms are not removed after conflicts have been resolved, mortality rates are most likely to remain very high as interpersonal violence often substitutes war. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons leads to an escalation of domestic arms race causing widespread criminality and the breakdown of legal norms.
Proliferation of small arms and light weapons have negative impacts on the economic development of East Africa, especially Rwanda. Evidence indicates that illegal arms transfers are easier in periods of political transition that are normally preceded by periods of violence. As such, the state focuses its resources in areas of reconstruction and development only, leaving gaps for the illicit transfer of small arms by crime syndicates. Despite the presence of international organizations and civil society in Rwanda since the 1994 genocide, Rwanda has received little international support to address small arms and light weapons. Although there are no objective statistics on small arms in circulation in Rwanda and the extent of the SALW problem is unknown, arms are known to flow across the national borders, weapons are buried or abandoned around the country, and refugees and returnees often carry arms for protection or sale. There are armed crimes ongoing, which is an issue of increasing concern in Rwanda.

The Government of Rwanda currently remains steadfast in its war against illicit small arms and thus has developed a 5-year National Action Plan to tackle the menace. However, the Government cannot single-handedly deal with the small arms and light weapons problem. There is need for a multi-sectoral approach. Hence, the successful implementation of this National Action Plan entirely depends on the joint efforts of all stakeholders including the private sector and the citizenry. The incident of 1994 genocide was not forgotten and is still fresh in the minds of the people, there is very scanty research on the impact of small arms and light weapons on Rwandan economic development. It is therefore plausible, important and timely to research on the impact of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The findings and its dissemination will, in the end, help caution and sensitize all stakeholders to help enforce the laws and policies on SALW to stop the menace.
1.2 Statement of Problem

This paper explores the effects of small arms and light weapons proliferation on human security and socio-economic development in East Africa, especially Rwanda. It focuses on Rwanda because the proliferation, illicit trafficking and trade in SALW facilitated past conflicts and wars including the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. It explores specifically the post-conflict situations in East Africa in general and Rwanda in particular, to see how the proliferation of SALW affects the sub-region and the management mechanism put in place to manage a sub-region where trust among most of its people are lost.

1.3 Research Questions

Consistent with the research problem, the main research questions of this dissertation are as follows:

i. What are the factors determining proliferation of SALW in Rwanda?

ii. How does SALW proliferation affect human security and freedom?

iii. What effects can the SALW proliferation have on socio-economic development of Rwanda?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this dissertation is to make an assessment on SALW Proliferation in East Africa with special emphasis on Rwanda. In order to help assess effects of SALW proliferation consistent with the research question, specific objectives are set as follows:

i. To determine the possible causes of SALW proliferation in Rwanda

ii. To examine the effects of SALW proliferation on human security
iii. To examine the effects of SALW proliferation on socio-economic development

1.5 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this dissertation is that proliferation, illicit trafficking and trade in small arms and light weapons negatively affect human security and socio-economic development.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The Human Security Concept is adopted for the conceptual framework. The emergence of the concept of human security discourse was the product of a convergence of factors at the end of the Cold War. This concept was initiated as a challenge to the dominance of the neorealist paradigm’s focus on states, “mutually assured destruction” and military security and briefly enabled a broader concept of security to emerge.

The concept of Human Security recognises the widespread and cross cutting nature of current and emerging threats that affect the survival, livelihood and dignity of people (UNDP, 1994) (UNOCHA, 2013 (1)). The concept therefore seeks to bring to the fore the fact that although national security remains important, security matters that affect individuals can give rise to cross-border and international security matters (UNOCHA, 2013 (1)); by identifying and tackling the concrete needs of people. The application of human security concepts target the root causes of the threats and strengthen the actions of governments in providing protection and empowerment (UNOCHA, 2013 (2)). Human Security has been given a two-pronged definition: safety from such chronic threats as
hunger, disease and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (UNDP, 1994).

Within the concept of Human Security, there are seven components (UNDP, 1994):

- Economic security. This deals with the assurance of a basic income. Such income should usually come from productive and remunerative work. In some instances, however, when such income is unavailable or inadequate, there could be income from a social system that supports vulnerable members.

- Food security. Food security means that food is available and accessible to all people everywhere. For people to be food secure therefore, they should have an entitlement to the food: they should grow it themselves, be able to buy it or be able to have access by means of public food distribution. It must be noted that it is possible for people to starve in the midst of an abundance of food, as happened in Bengal in 1943, if the people do not have the economic means to access the food.

- Health security. When there is health security, the people have the capacity to lead healthy lives and where needed, have access to health care. The health needs of people differ from population to population with industrial countries having different needs from developing countries. In all these countries, however, health security is important for all members.
• Environmental security. Human beings need a healthy physical environment for survival. Environmental degradation and destruction of ecosystems have significant effects on the health and survival of populations that directly and indirectly depend on those environments in general and the affected ecosystems in particular. There may also be some effects of environmental degradation that can be felt far away from the site of destruction; environmental damage in parts of the world can therefore have effects on populations far removed from the source. A significant number of disasters are attributable, directly or indirectly, to environmental degradation.

• Personal security. Security from physical violence is vital for all people. The threat of physical violence may come from any number of sources including the state of which people are citizens, other states, other groups, other individuals and in some instances the individuals themselves. Personal security is that aspect of human security that deals with the threat of physical violence.

• Community security. Human beings identify themselves with various groups of which they are a part; and most communities provide support for all members particularly the vulnerable ones. With the breakdown in most traditional communities as a result of industrialization and globalization, the security people get from these communal groups is being lost.

• Political security. The ability to live in a society that respects people’s human rights is essential to all human beings. Human rights violations have been known to increase
when there is political unrest; although these violations become prominent during military interventions, the police have also been used for repressive acts.

According to Bedeski, “Human security is the totality of knowledge, technology, and institutions which protect, defend, and preserve the biological existence of human life; and it is the process which protects and perfects collective peace and prosperity to enhance human freedom.” The various aspects of the concept of human security are therefore very relevant to the preservation of the biological existence of human life; and in taking steps towards securing the seven areas of human security, we will be securing peace, prosperity and freedom for humans, individually and collectively. The components of human security are intertwined; and a challenge to one aspect will have effects on other aspects (UNDP, 1994). This is evident when poor agricultural practices cause environmental degradation and affect food security, resulting in population migrations and subsequently, increase in crime in new settlements and in some instances, political instability.

The concept of human security allows us to deal with the consequences of complex threats such as the impact of SALW proliferation, HIV AIDS and climate change, among others. This reinforces the perception that international institutions were not adequately organised to address such problems. The impact of SALW in this study will be looked at in the perspective of human security concept with its fundamental requirement of a humane society where people can live in security and dignity, free from want and fear, and with equal opportunities to develop their human potential to the full.
This concept is however criticized by Barry Buzan and Roland Paris and they argue that shifting the referent to the individual proliferates the concept without adding analytic value. For them, the more harms that are labelled ‘security threats’, the harder it is to study the relations between them. Another critique is that the fact of labelling all potential harms to the individual as security threats makes prioritizing political action impossible. The last of their critique is that the two approaches of freedom from fear and freedom from want that constitute the core of the human security concept can be considered complementary rather than contradictory.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Small arms and light weapons have played a significant role in determining the winners of conflicts in the Great Lake Region and the Horn of Africa. The availability of these arms and weapons tend to have an impact on the intensity of a conflict as well as the duration. Armed conflicts greatly affect civilians, including innocent men, women, children and the disabled. Civilians are often the deliberate targets of armed attacks during armed conflict – in direct violation of international humanitarian law – which provides for specific protection for non-combatants. These attacks on civilians force them to seek out small arms and light weapons in order to protect themselves, thus further reinforcing and increasing the demand for the weapons in the area. With more weapons available, the conflict is further extended and intensified. The flow of arms to neighbouring countries is also increased by those displaced due to the conflict.

It is imperative to analyse the impact of proliferation of these small arms and light weapons in Rwanda since their trade and proliferation contributed immensely to the 1994
genocide against the Tutsi. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons, including illicit trafficking, need to be controlled and if possible put a lasting solution to illicit trade in these arms and weapons in order to free the people from human insecurity and to give way for economic development.

This study intends to analyse the impact of SALW proliferation in East Africa with emphasis on Rwanda in order to avoid any future escalation of tension with the society. The result of this work is meant to sensitisce the people of Rwanda on the need to stop illicit trade and proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region. It is to further call the attention of the citizens to support governments’ effort to fight against the menace in the region. This study will establish a direct linkage between SALW proliferation and impacts of conflicts on socio-economic development in Rwanda. The dissertation will also add to literature on the assessment of small arms and light weapons proliferation in Rwanda.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The dissertation is about proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the sub-region of East Africa. However, it specifically makes reference to small arms and light weapons proliferation in Rwanda as a case study. It involves an assessment of the possible factors of SALW proliferation, the effects of SALW proliferation on human security and the effects on socio-economic development in Rwanda.
1.9 **Research Methodology and Sources of Data**

The sources of data for this study include both secondary and primary data on the subject matter to analyse the impacts of small arms and light weapons proliferation on human security, economic development and political stability. In order to do this, this dissertation will rely on secondary data sourced from books, journals, articles and governmental records on the subject matter. It also relies on primary data through the use of structured questionnaires for analysis of opinions and perceptions about small arms and light weapons in Rwanda. The research will make use of qualitative data analysis method for presentation and analysis of data.

In general, 100 questionnaires were dispatched to the respondents, which included government workers including military and police personnel, and civilians in the public and private sectors. Out of the 100 questionnaires that were distributed, only 62 of them were completed and returned satisfactorily. Thus, the analyses of the perceptions and opinions in this assessment are based on these 62 completed questionnaires complemented by the secondary data obtained from various sources including Government statistics on firearms and control, and literature review.

1.10 **Arrangement of Chapters**

The study will be arranged in four chapters as follows:

Chapter One: Chapter One is the research design (background of the study, statement of the problems, research questions, objectives, hypothesis, theoretical framework,
significance of the study, scope of the study, research methodology and arrangement of chapters).

Chapter Two: Chapter Two is an overview of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa.

Chapter Three: Chapter Three is the discussion of the finding and synthesis of the results on the impacts of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Rwanda.

Chapter Four: Chapter Four is the presentation of summary, conclusion of the study and recommendations.
Endnotes


4 S.D. Goose and F. Smyth – Article on Arming Genocide


8 Kerry Maze and Hyunjoo Rhee (2008), International Assistance for Implementing the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects: Case Study of East Africa, UN Institute for Disarmament Research, p 24.
CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

2.1 Introduction

The chapter overviews the proliferation and circulation of small arms and light weapon in the East African sub-region. The discussion includes the challenges that are associated with the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in East African region and how it has negatively impacted on human security and socio-economic development in the region with special emphasis on Rwanda.

2.2 Description of Small Arms and Light Weapons

Research has shown that there is no internationally agreed definition of SALW. The Nairobi Declaration defines SALW as arms and weapons that can be used by one or two people. Small arms are designed for individual use. These include pistols, sub-machine guns, assault rifles and light machine guns whilst light weapons are designed to be deployed and used by a small crew, such as man-portable air defence systems, recoilless rifles, and mortars of less than 100mm calibre.¹

According to the document on the Guidelines for Implementation of the Nairobi Declaration and the Nairobi Protocol on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2005), small arms and light weapons could be described as follows:

Small arms:
- **Firearms** - Any portable barrelled and lethal weapon that expels, is designed to expel or may be readily converted to expel a shot, bullet or projectile by the action of burning propellant, excluding antique firearms or their replicas. Antique firearms and their replicas shall be defined in accordance to domestic law. Firearms also include any device which may be readily converted to a weapon as referred to above or destructive device such as an explosive bomb, incendiary bomb or gas bomb, grenade, rocket launcher, missile, missile system or mine.

- **Ammunition** - The complete rounds or their components, parts or replacement parts of a small arm or light weapon, provided that those components are themselves subject to authorization in the respective State party.

**Light Weapons:**

Any portable weapons designed for use by several persons serving as a crew such as:

- Heavy machine guns
- Automatic cannons and howitzers
- Mortars of less than 100 mm calibre
- Grenade launchers
- Anti-tank weapons and launchers
- Recoilless guns
- Shoulder fired rockets
- Anti-aircraft weapons and launchers
- Air defence weapons
2.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons in East Africa

SALW have many uses beyond their primary function as weapons of war. As a consequence, the effects of their proliferation are widespread. Earlier wars in the 19th and 20th centuries already involved the use of rifles, carbines, machine guns and similar weapons, but the range and frequency at which such weapons have been used in more recent conflict suggests that modern SALW are both increasing in numbers and becoming more prevalent in armed conflicts. For example, armed conflicts in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda all witnessed child combatants using small arms with ease. Since these weapons are easy to move around – and given the history of so many armed conflicts in Africa – small arms and light weapons are already present to a large degree in many societies.

Over 600 million small arms and light weapons are found in circulation all over the world with about 450 million of these weapons possessed by civilians. Over 30 million of small arms and light weapons are estimated to be in circulation in Africa alone.\(^2\) In African communities a large majority of the firearms in the hands of civilians who are mostly the people not supposed to be carrying guns.\(^3\) In East Africa and the Horn of Africa alone, about 5 million small arms are estimated to be circulating among 189 million inhabitants and most of these arms and weapons are believed to be transited through Somalia, which was for many years without government authority, to Eastern Africa.\(^4\)

In Republic of Congo, it is estimated that 41,000 weapons are in the hands of various militias scattered throughout the country whilst between 530,000 and 680,000 firearms are suspected to be in civilian hands in Kenya. In Kenya despite an overall perception of
a reduction in the number of firearms nationally, some zones, including areas such as Mt Elgon and Rift Valley, where important disarmament initiatives have been carried out, have recorded a significant increase in gun possession since 2003.\textsuperscript{5}

In Africa, including the Eastern part, small arms and light weapons have been recognized as one of the major causes of violence and were cited as a hindrance to East Africa’s economic, social and political developmental.\textsuperscript{6} The small arms and light weapons proliferation and the negative consequences have become major concerns for a number of national, regional and international initiatives. The small arms and light weapons usually are believed to come from many sources, and they include weapons acquired legally by the armed forces and security forces, which end up in the hands of criminals as a result of theft or illegal sale, home-based manufacturing of small arms and light weapons, and illicit trafficking.\textsuperscript{7} Most of the incidences of SALW proliferation and use occur in East Africa, the Great Lakes Region, and the Horn of Africa. These incidences range from cattle-rustling, piracy and insurgencies focused on undermining legitimate governments, to post-conflict recovery, instability, weak borders, displaced and returning populations, carjacking, terrorism, weapons trafficking, banditry, crime, and livelihoods and tribal identities that rely on guns. These are all made possible because of the fact that the small arms and light weapons are easily available, relatively cheap, technically simple to operate and concealable. That has made them arms of choice to all categories of criminals.\textsuperscript{8}

Ethnic, economic and environmental factors have profound influence on the way and means the SALW problems are proliferated. The problems of small arms and light weapons in East Africa include their trade and use in cattle rustling that affects the
pastoralists of northern Kenya, Eastern Uganda, South-Eastern Sudan and Western Somalia. There is also the problem of ethnic and economic tensions involving the countries sharing borders in the region such as Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. Besides, is the infiltration of gangs and rebel groups in neighbouring countries that aid each other with weapons through net-working.9

According to K. Maze and H. Rhee, abandoned weapons are one of the numerous problems in Rwanda. Many SALW that were distributed prior to 1994 remain unaccounted for and are suspected to be buried in caches around the country. Criminals are reported to have buried and retrieved weapons so as not to be caught with them, particularly when these groups are crossing a border with stolen goods. Besides, individuals that own weapons for self-defence bury them to avoid being caught with an unregistered weapon.

Increased availability of SALW has in the aftermath of conflicts led to an exponential increase in crime rates in the sub-region, perpetuating a climate of insecurity. SALW are convenient and attractive to rebel groups and dissidents that operate in the African landscape. They are widely available, very cheap, deadly, easy to use and easy to transport and smuggle, unlike heavy conventional arms, such as artillery pieces and tanks, which are typically acquired by government forces, police, soldiers and civil populations.10 Evidently, to prevent the reoccurrence of antecedents of the pre-1994 that bred and nurtured genocide in Rwanda, the international community is critically monitoring situations in the country. Many international organizations are currently present everywhere in Rwanda running different activities towards the advancement of social justice in the country. The earlier reluctance to take action by the international
community had been described by researchers as voluntary blindness to the politics of prejudice, injustice, exclusion and human rights violations. The observation therefore is that, even though post-conflict Rwanda is peaceful, there is still some level of uncertainty as to whether the availability of SALW in the country could lead to the reignition of violence between the two main tribes.\textsuperscript{11}

### 2.4 Human Security, Freedom and SALW proliferation

Human rights are usually promoted by the state through its laws including other rights, which are possessed by human beings basically by coming into existence through birth. When these rights are violated or threatened, then it can be referred to as human insecurity. Human security, as defined by UNIDIR (2005), is the situation or condition where there is an absence of non-military danger. By non-military danger, it means more localized conflicts which are limited to a single country or region and most such conflicts are not military confrontations between sovereign states, but civil wars which have ethnic or separatist causes in which great majority of the causalities are civilians and non-combatants. Typical examples are the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and other conflicts in Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa.\textsuperscript{12}

The United Nations Security Council in 1992 ascertained that international peace and security were not the result of the absence of war and military conflicts alone but also absence of other non-military threats originating from the instability prevailing in the economic, social, humanitarian and environmental grounds. According to Anatole Ayissi and Ibrahima Sall (2005), when both military and non-military wars and conflicts result in
civilians and non-combatant casualties and violation of human rights, the situation can be described as human insecurity since international peace and security are threatened.

The proliferation and circulation of illicit small arms and light weapons is one of the most serious security challenges facing the East African regional bloc, including Rwanda, today. The mere fact that the small arms and light weapons are easily available, relatively cheap, technically simple to operate and concealable have made them arms of choice to all categories of criminals. The small arms and light weapons in the Eastern Africa and Great lake region have become the weapons of choice for criminal groups, cattle rustlers, carjackers, terrorists, pirates and insurgents whose focus is to undermine legitimate governments. This state of affairs of SALW proliferation has created a state of insecurity of all kinds including human right abuse against which lives and properties are threatened. It has caused many residents to be displaced and many others to flee the region to seek refuge elsewhere.

According Fatau Musah, there are many sources of SALW proliferation which include the local manufacturing, supplying of new weapons, trafficking, theft of weapons belonging to individuals or the authorities spreading of the stockpile from Soviet Union and United States into Africa. Small arms and light weapons are proliferated in East Africa including Rwanda through arrangement between social members, non-state forces and militias, smuggling through sea and air ports including porous borders in the region. Civil wars and conflicts have been found to be fuelled, exacerbated and sustained by proliferation of SALW whilst this proliferation is linked with the easy access to global criminal networks, the diffusion of arms into the civilian domain through the emergence
of the civilian warlords, and anxiety to create autonomous politico-economic power base by rebel groups in order to carry out illegitimate exploitation of natural resources.\textsuperscript{14}

Besides, the proliferation of SALW promotes banditry and other related social vices. It puts pressure on the citizens of the affected areas as their security is threatened for fear of being robbed, assaulted, raped or captured into slavery by the civilian warlords and gangs.\textsuperscript{15} Small arms hurt men and women in different ways. While men are the primary direct victims of firearms in conflict situations, small arms are a strong tool often used for sexual violence towards women. Moreover, in such situations, women are affected more than once by the same weapon, first for the perpetuation of the sexual assault, then as a threat to avoid reporting to a health centre or to the police, leaving such crimes unpunished and the perpetrator free to repeat it. Armed robberies often include sexual violence towards women when present at the scene. Therefore, small arms, in addition to violating basic human rights, facilitate the spread of HIV/AIDS.

The presence of excessive and easily accessible quantities of SALW have resulted in devastating violence, displacement, human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law in East Africa and other parts of the continent. The proliferation of SALW through illicit trade and trafficking has also increased insecurity and instability and thereby caused human insecurity threat.\textsuperscript{16}

As most of the conflicts and wars end in East Africa, the post-conflict period is now experiencing high levels of organised crime. These include armed robbery, drug trafficking, illicit trafficking of firearms, human trafficking, corruption, business fraud, piracy and terrorism. The most dangerous among these organized crimes is the firearms
and light weapons trafficking, which is most often the work of networked gangs of traffickers that sometimes receive support locally and from well-structured sources, including politicians, across countries of Eastern Africa.¹⁷

A major contributing factor to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in East Africa and Great Lake Region and Horn of Africa that are used in conflicts is illegal importation. There is still the notion that illegal import and illicit trade in weapons remain one of the most serious threats to human security. In Rwanda and other part of East Africa and Great Lake region, for instance, the conflicts led to the acquiring and proliferation of over five million small arms and light weapons. The proliferation of SALW is judged as one of the main causes of insecurity and stumbling blocks in the adoption and enforcement of strong, autonomous and democratic institutions in the region for development in its entirety.¹⁸

2.5 Impact of SALW and Civil Conflicts in Eastern African Region

In the conflict prone areas of Africa, especially in East Africa, majority of the violent wars and conflict causalities were civilians and non-combatants. The Great Lakes Region of Africa has been threatened by deep-rooted conflicts and chronic insecurity for more than a decade. Those conflicts are internal but also transnational and even international. In Rwanda, the genocide incident generated new challenges and security problems in this sub-region. The militia Interahamwe and former Rwandan Army (ex-FAR) who committed that genocide fled with arms and weapons to neighbouring countries, where they continued military activities and recruitment. Since 1994, they have established operational bases in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where they
are trained and supplied with arms through regional and international networks and transnational alliances. They constitute a major source of illicit arms in Rwanda.

These genocidal forces continue to fuel violent conflicts in neighbouring countries and threaten Rwanda in particular. Since the end of the Rwandan Genocide, they have not been disarmed by the international community. The continued arms trafficking has complicated the problem of combating illicit SALW proliferation, and securing peace and security in the East African sub-region. The regional and international instruments used to respond to these problems did not bring the expected results.

Small arms are also used in perpetrating gender-based sexual violence. The availability of small arms places women and girls at increased risk of severe injury or death during an assault. Levels of abuse and domestic violence tend to increase during and after conflict as men return home with arms. The costs of treating and traumatised and rehabilitating those injured by individuals, households, communities and nations services or institutions are prohibitive. Some of these injuries and their effects remain and become serious public health problems. A study in one South African hospital found the costs of gun violence to be close to USD 10,000 per victim.¹⁹ In countries with less sophisticated health care systems, more firearms injuries are likely to be fatal, and the social and economic costs are likely to be far higher.

Even in the absence of an armed conflict, the use of firearms in crime can seriously impede the development of a country. Though there is no direct data on the direct cost of crimes and violence on the gross domestic products (GDP) in Rwanda and the rest of East African countries, it is clear that proliferation of SALW and its negative effects have
impacted negatively on the economic growth when the direct cost of crime including healthcare costs, lost production days, and public security expenses are compared with the annual GDP figure. These costs in terms of percentage of GDP are about 20 percent to 30 percent. Over time, this represents a huge cumulative loss in productivity and wealth. There are also many indirect impacts. The proliferation of SALW increases the fear of violence and intimidation. This can adversely affect the resumption of normal economic activities, as well as the daily lives of citizens. People may be afraid to go to work, market or school. They may be afraid even in their homes. Investors may also be afraid to invest in a country of high crime rate.

There is a strong association between armed violence and deteriorating public services. As a result, people have to spend their own resources to compensate for the lack of public services, reducing the investment capacities of the country. Armed violence, or even just the threat of armed violence, can lead to reduced foreign direct investment. This is particularly true where violence is politically motivated. Armed violence has a particularly important impact on tourism, whether it is political violence or criminality. According to one study, over the long run, tourism is reduced by 25% when there are substantial increases in political violence, and in countries with small tourism industries the reduction tends to be substantially greater. Armed violence may simply prevent people from conducting business and accessing services, leading to reduced levels of school enrolment and literacy, lower levels of immunization, and increased maternal and child mortality. The destruction of physical infrastructure and insecurity disrupt trade.

It is common to find in the conflict and war zones armed groups attacking aid workers including health practitioners, and taking over transportation routes used for the
distribution of food and medicines. This puts fear and panic in the international community whose activities are significantly curtailed. During the civil in Rwanda water resources were destroyed, electricity and communication systems were damaged, and assistance and development programmes were halted.\textsuperscript{23} The youth, including children, are one of the most vulnerable to the proliferation and misuse of SALW. For they are more vulnerable to armed attacks and are more susceptible to being taken as hostages as well as subjected to serious injuries and death. Many of them are forced into early soldiering thereby exposing them to insensitivity of killing and vandalizing of properties.\textsuperscript{24}

2.6 Small Arms and Light Weapons and Socio-Economic Development

The availability and misuse of small arms exert direct and indirect impacts on socio-economic development and they are also responsible for the majority of direct conflict deaths, which was estimated to be about 100,000 in 2003, and indirect conflict deaths estimated to be many thousands of people due to inaccessibility to health facilities.\textsuperscript{25} Although SALW do not by themselves cause conflict, easy access to arms and weapons increases the lethality and duration of violence and conflict, undermines peace and significantly hampers development. The link between SALW and socio-economic development is located in the frequent use of these weapons due to availability and easy access in civil wars and violent conflicts and for terrorism and other crimes.

It is clear in the Eastern African regional bloc including Rwanda that thousands of people were killed, others injured and maimed whilst almost all surviving civilians had their livelihoods destroyed due to the effects of proliferation of SALW. Most of the casualties of violent conflicts and wars are energetic young men and women who obviously have
the highest earning potential and when killed or maimed, become a great loss in economic terms. This can further increase the burden of income generation and care giving, which often falls on women and few older men available after war which is currently very common in the East Africa and great lake region and horn of Africa.26

Economic and social activities generally come to a halt anytime there are violent conflicts and wars apart from loss of lives and the destruction of property. In most part of East Africa and Great Lakes Region, conflicts are being resolved but control over illicit weapons has perversely weakened and widespread availability of weapons within society a common fact. This is because when the rebels and other groups perceive that they have been disadvantaged in peace negotiations or settlements, they often try to derail the peace process by re-igniting the violence. In a similar fashion, as the violent conflicts and wars try to dry up, the arms and weapons in existence are used for criminal purposes and these put fear and panic in the people and therefore affect productive activities which have a direct impact on the people’s economic wellbeing and national development.27

More than 350 million people in Africa live in countries that are affected by conflict and this has multiple implications for the real opportunities available to people, and it undercuts their capability to lead lives that they value. There is a strong negative correlation between conflict and human development.28 Majority of the countries of East African region are categorized as least developed countries. Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda are usually associated with either low development or underdevelopment. This impacts negatively on the lives of the people. Some of the socio-economic and developmental challenges are related to violent conflicts that have links with the
proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Proliferation of SALW is associated with
the escalation and intensification of violent conflicts in the region.29

To ensure sustainable development, there is the need for economic growth with structural
expansion, and social progress to meet the needs of the present population without
compromising on the need to meet the needs and aspirations of future populations.30

However, the problems of SALW including armed violence have been a stumbling block
to sustainable development in most parts of Africa especially in East Africa, the Great
Lakes Region, and the Horn of Africa; where, often physical and human resources are
subjected to destruction through violence whilst inter-border transit routes for essential
commodities are blocked, and fertile land for food production are often diverted,
destroyed or turned into camps by rebels and terrorist groups, thus preventing local
farmers from getting access to their land and farms.31 As stated earlier, during the civil
war in Rwanda water resources were destroyed and electricity and communication
systems were disconnected and assistance and development programmes were halted. In
Kenya, for instance, more than 3,500 people suffered injuries and over 100,000 private
properties were destroyed as a result of the proliferation ethnic violence.32

The proliferation of SALW through illicit trade and trafficking has also increased
insecurity and instability; thereby hindering socio-economic development in the region.
Preliminary findings of researchers, in trying to determine the economic cost of arms
proliferation, reveal rather disturbing facts.33 In poverty-stricken areas, people are often
more worried about how to meet their basic needs, and ensure that the protection of their
properties is guaranteed. Thus the people are not much bordered about the difficulties and
costs of registering or relinquishing small arms and light weapons in illegal ways and
means. The demand for proliferation of SALW is expected to heighten in those communities.

Sometimes security or developmental issues take precedence in some areas in East African region but security and development are inextricably linked together. This state of affairs of SALW proliferations and illicit trade in the region has exacerbated poverty and created a state of insecurity of all kinds thereby undermining any meaningful development. It has prevented the inflow of foreign direct investment in the region that may create job opportunities and increase the welfare of the people.\textsuperscript{34}

2.7 The Fight against Illicit Trade and Trafficking of SALW

The destruction exacerbated by small arms and light weapons has alerted the international community which is now more and more aware of the need to stop the situation through disarmament in order to preserve the goal of achieving development, democracy, human rights and human security in East Africa and the rest of the continent.\textsuperscript{35} Small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation is identified by researchers, policy makers, state-actors and international organizations as retrogressive tend to threaten human security, and all aspects of development of East Africa. Millions of atrocities including maiming and loss of human lives and properties have been carried out using small arms and light weapons in the East Africa and the Great Lakes Region and horn of Africa.

As part of the efforts to wage war against the illicit trade and trafficking of SALW, the United Nations commissioned an office known as the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light
Weapons in All Its Aspects in 2001. The Bamako Declaration was entered into in December 2000. It was adopted by African countries as a common stance towards participating in the UN Conference On Small Arms And Light Weapons, which culminated into the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons. The office of the United Nations is acting as the main international body responsible primarily for addressing trafficking, proliferation and misuse of SALW in the world. The main instruments regulating the trade and transfer of SALW in East, Central, and West Africa are the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, and Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa.

Due to the intensity and the serious effects of proliferation of SALW in the region, a number of countries including Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda recently developed legislation to supplement the UN instrument on SALW and defined their various national objectives to implement action plans in order to tackle the illicit trade and trafficking of SALW. Members of Parliament from Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC have demonstrated what great achievements could be possibly obtained in collaboration to fight against the illicit trade and trafficking of small arms and light weapons. The representatives of members of parliaments of these countries reached a landmark agreement on common efforts to help reduce the problem of illicit arms through harmonizing laws and legislations on country arms and light weapons in order to bring them in line with the requirements of the Nairobi Protocol.

In 2004, Rwanda ratified the Nairobi Protocol and submitted a national report on implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and
Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects to the UN to acquire assistance to fight against the proliferation of SALW.

Rwanda is taking the necessary steps and ground-breaking stride on the fight against proliferation of illicit SALW and the country has been at the forefront to, prevent and resolve conflicts in the sub-region. Currently, Rwanda has ratified the Nairobi Protocol because it attaches great importance to the fight against the illicit proliferation of arms, given the country’s past history where genocide claimed over one million innocent citizens. Rwanda is highly supportive of the East African Regional Centre on Small Arms, which is the forefront of the implementation of the Nairobi Protocol for the regional bloc. In the context of the Rwandan National Action Plan on illicit proliferation of SALW, comprehensive procedures are outlined to help fight against the menace. These comprehensive procedures include the development of effective institutions, effective stockpile management and effective generation and dissemination of information.

A lot of reasons, including both internally and externally, have led to the decision by the Rwandans to develop a strategy through the National Action Plan on small arms and light weapons. The country is still facing safety and security challenges in terms of adequate protection of its citizens and other foreign nationals, even though direct violent conflict and war is over. There are ongoing criminal activities in different forms including armed robbery, poaching and contract killings. The post-genocide regime is expected to be free from all sought of practices that could lead to heightened tension and the idea of amassing weapons by groups or individuals as observed in 1996 and 2000 through insurgency in the western and northern regions of the country. It is believed that citizens could still be holding illegal arms acquired during that war period. In addition, arms were
distributed to civilians during past conflicts and despite the efforts to disarm them, the
government is still of the opinion that some of these illegal firearms are hidden by
citizens. It is also notable that some of the demobilized soldiers and ex-combatants may
have retained their arms and there is need to seek ways and means of sensitizing them to
voluntarily surrender such arms.

2.8 Conclusion

The widespread availability of small arms and light weapons is a major contributor to
insecurity, violent crime and weak socio-economic development. The presence and use of
SALW can inhibit access to basic services and key infrastructure such as health clinics,
schools and markets. The injuries caused can overwhelm fragile health and social
services in poor countries. Limiting the availability and misuse of weapons is a practical
tool in crime and crisis prevention. Programmes to control the proliferation SALW can
have a lasting impact not only on the availability of the weapons themselves – they can
also transform a culture of violence, increase security, and open space for sustainable
development. International actors can help reduce armed violence by linking
disarmament incentives to development programmes, supporting livelihood opportunities
that provide a real alternative to crime and violence, and improving governance and
access to justice.

Armed violence may simply prevent people from conducting business and accessing
services, leading to reduced levels of school enrolment and literacy, lower levels of
immunization, and increased maternal and child mortality. The destruction of physical
infrastructure and insecurity disrupt trade; communities affected by armed violence may
become socially and economically marginalized. For example, following an outbreak of intense violence in East African region and Great Lake Region, citizens and other residents were too frightened to leave the area.
Endnotes

1Best Practice Guidelines for the Implementation of the Nairobi Declaration and the Nairobi Protocol on Small Arms and Light Weapons 2005
6ICRC (2012) - Rwanda: towards more effective arms control in the Great Lakes region
7Dr Abdel-Fatau MUSAH: The Political Economy of Small Arms and Conflicts, London: Pluto Press.
8Frankonero Nganga (2008) - Effects of Proliferation of Small Arms in Sub-Sahara Africa, 31 January
9Kerry Maze and Hyunjoo Rhee (2008), International Assistance for Implementing the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects: Case Study of East Africa, UN Institute for Disarmament Research.
11NicasiusAchu Check, 2011 - Ethnicity and Arms Proliferation in the Great Lakes Region Challenges to Peace and Democracy
13Frankonero Nganga (2008) - Effects of Proliferation of Small Arms in Sub-Sahara Africa, 31 January
14Dr Abdel-Fatau MUSAH: The Political Economy of Small Arms and Conflicts, London: Pluto Press.
15Ibid
16Thokozani Thusi (2003), Assessing Small Arms Control Initiatives In East Africa - The Nairobi Declaration, African Security Review 12(2)

18Nicasius Achu Check, 2011 - Ethnicity and Arms Proliferation in the Great Lakes Region Challenges to Peace and Democracy
19Peden and Van der Spuy, 1998; in WHO, 2002
24Ibid.
29 K. Maze and H. Rhee - International Assistance for Implementing the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects: Case Study of East Africa
31 Ibid.
32 Small Arms Survey 2012
34 Frankonero Nganga (2008) - Effects of Proliferation of Small Arms in Sub-Sahara Africa, 31 January
35 UN Security Council (2001), Press Release, February, 8th.
36 Rhee K. Maze and H. Rhee - International Assistance for Implementing the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects: Case Study of East Africa.
CHAPTER THREE

ASSESSMENT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

PROLIFERATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussions on the assessment of the SALW in Rwanda and analyses the perception of the citizens on proliferation and its effects on the society in general. It gives the actual feelings, opinions and perceptions of individuals about the factors that can influence and determine the SALW proliferation, the effects of SALW proliferation on human security and freedom, and the effects on socio-economic development in the Republic of Rwanda.

3.2 Determinants of SALW proliferation in Rwanda

From the responses of the questionnaires designed and distributed to solicit for information, it has become quite clear that a lot of factors that seek to explain proliferation of SALW in Rwanda are similar to any other parts of the Eastern Africa. However, the factors that account for small arms proliferation and possession of fire arms include self defense, robbery and acts of terrorism. People still feel that they are not adequately protected and therefore prefer to keep arms or other weapons around them. In some cases, people who lost family members during the past conflicts feel that they could have saved them if they had kept proper weapons all the time.

The general public were of the view that the use of arms and weapons by civilians and paramilitary forces should not be allowed by the authorities in Rwanda. This is because
the possession of arms and other light weapons by paramilitary forces could lead to serious problems in Rwandan communities. It is the opinion of majority that civilians possess and keep arms and weapons purposely for self-defence, robbery or to cause terrorism in the society.

The use of SALW for self-defence, robbery and terrorism has increased the demand for arms and weapons. This makes it profitable for the people to engage in either legal or illegal trade of and illicit trafficking of SALW, thus impeding government’s effort of fighting against the proliferation of SALW. It is also claimed that the illicit trafficking and the associated problem of organized crimes such as robbery and terrorism adversely affect the societies of Rwanda and threaten human security. Apart from threatening human security, they also affect the societies by hampering development and obstructing serious investment that bolster fast economic growth in Rwanda.

There are profound linkages and positive relationships between the firearms trafficking and organized crime, terrorism, armed conflicts, urban violence and gang criminality. The claim is that these crimes can undermine the ability of the state to promote development since the trading and illicit trafficking could increase corruption in state institutions.

Even though SALW are mainly used in conflict areas, a peaceful country like Rwanda may experience the effect of SALW proliferation. Citizens and residents both in Rwanda and its nearby countries may flee to and from other areas whilst causing some small amount of trafficking as they travel. Also when arms and weapons fall into the hands of criminals, they use them to violate the human rights of citizens causing fear and panic in
the society. Therefore, the general public in Rwanda is of the belief that reducing the amount of SALW could clearly contribute positively towards ending the vicious circle of violence.

3.3 Effects on human security and freedom

Human rights, including the right to security and freedoms, are very vital to the development of Eastern Africans including those from Rwanda. Each and every citizen or resident in Rwanda is entitled to his/her security, rights and freedoms. However, the proliferation of SALW in any society has the capacity to threaten their (human) security, rights and freedom. Civilians who are not authorized by law to carry arms and weapons typically seek to acquire them to exercise control over innocent people in society, thus denying them their basic human rights and security.

Even though, a large majority today believe that the rule of law is properly taking shape and functioning for the benefit of all citizens in Rwanda, the majority of Rwandans are of the opinion that the availability of SALW can seriously undermine the rule of law. There are generally no restrictions on freedom of movement and association in the country however the fear of being attacked is prohibitive.

In addition, there seems to be a general consensus that civilians are often the deliberate targets of armed attacks in armed conflicts, robbery or terrorism. This is more or less a direct infringement of the human rights of the civilians. The inhabitants in reality are the first people who are supposed to be protected from any of these harms. The attacks in any form on the inhabitants can push them to acquire or seek to possess arms and weapons for
their protection in the form of self-defense. There is the generally accepted view that in times of violence or any criminal attacks, the most vulnerable people who are likely to be abused are women and children.

### 3.4 Effects on socio-economic development of Rwanda

Proliferation of SALW undermines socio-economic development of the country in a number of ways. It causes poverty, increases social spending, perpetuates human suffering and ultimately impedes progress in society. The responses of the people seem to confirm the above since the SALW proliferation negatively affects economic and social development including health and mortality, knowledge and education, income and standard of living, and community participation.

Since SALW play a profound role in criminal activities and cause damage to lives and properties, it is forming an integral part of day-to-day business and commerce, which have a negative impact on employment, investment and growth. Widespread use of small arms in business and commerce frequently has a detrimental effect on business activity and employment, which in turn fuels poverty. As a result, there may be less opportunity to work and earn an income as investment declines – not only large-scale Foreign Direct Investment, but also by local or regional entrepreneurs who may not want to take the risk.

Rwanda is a low-income country in sub-Saharan Africa. The major occupation of the people of Rwanda is subsistence farming with some other people scattered in the commercial farming and mining sectors as labourers. The formal sector of the country is dominated by government and civil service including the military and police services.
Key labour market skills are lacking, as Rwanda has a low human capital with high percentage of illiteracy in the rural areas. However, the primary school enrolment in Rwanda is one of the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa and secondary education is also encouraging. Income levels in the informal sector are relatively lower than that of the formal sector. The varying educational levels also determine this discrepancy, which is relatively high within families with an average of 5 or more members.

In Rwanda wood fuel in the form of firewood and charcoal plays a key role in energy provision for domestic use. The sources of cooking fuel in the country are mainly firewood and charcoal with some limited people using electricity as their sources of cooking fuel. Primary energy supply is dominated by biomass resources in Rwanda whereby the direct use of firewood is over 50 percent and indirectly as charcoal is about 20 percent and still about 10 percent uses agricultural residues and the rest of 20 percent is a combination of petroleum products and electricity.

Access to clean water among the people living in the urban areas especially in Kigali is very high as compared to those living in rural areas that constitute the majority. In most rural areas, people have to walk very long distance to access water. The proportion of the rural population receiving tap water in their homes is relatively negligible.

There is a consensus among the respondents that the gains made in the economic sector bordering on the people will be far advanced if government could fully prevent ordinary citizens from keeping arms and weapons to avoid threat of human live and security. The general view has been that the misuse of small arms and light weapons have severe
implications for development, since government financial resources would be diverted into other unimportant things thus neglecting the provision of basic social needs such as food, water, shelter and quality education. All these are seen as *sine qua non* for development of the Rwandan economy.

The armed violence and other criminal activities are likely to trigger forced displacement of people to places where there is scarcity of drinking water, food and access to health care delivery. Other problems that could be generated as a result of armed violence due to availability of SALW include erosion of social capital and destroying the existing limited infrastructure, which can all have negative effects on development of Rwanda.

From the opinion poll of the respondents, it was clear that when proliferation of SALW, arms and weapons are made easily accessible to the people without any authority, it could easily escalate armed violence among the people. The effects of the armed violence can give rise to impediment of investment in reconstruction and reconciliation, undermining public institutions, facilitating corruption, and serving as a good climate for impunity.

From the analysis, it is clear that availability of arms and weapons contributes and sustains the following transnational crimes, human trafficking and drugs trafficking. The risk factors that are always associated with armed violence and SALW proliferation are likely to be the weak institutions in the economy, systemic economic and horizontal inequalities among the various economic and social classes, exclusion of minority groups, unequal gender relations, and limited education opportunities for the poor and marginalized people and persistent unemployment.
3.5 Effects on other issues

From the government statistics, a sizeable number of civilians possess firearms. The number of privately owned firearms was estimated to be 58,000 guns for both legal and illegal possessions. The ratio of firearms possession by civilians in Rwanda was estimated at 0.6 percent, which include both legal and illegal firearms. In a study that compared the number of privately owned guns in 178 countries, Rwanda was ranked 151. The firearms owned and possessed by government forces such as the police for law enforcement are 12,686 firearms and the military for national defence is estimated at 9,880 firearms. In Rwanda, annual deaths through homicides that are reported by any means in 2008 were estimated at 1,708 people. The rate of homicide per every 100,000 people by any method is 17.1 in 2008, 4.5 in 2007, and 5.6 in 2006.

Meanwhile, the manufacture of small arms, ammunition and their components is prohibited in Rwanda but the prevalence of illicit craft or 'home-made' firearms manufacture is reported to be moderate. Firearm and ammunition exports and imports are limited by transfer control law. The annual value of small arms and ammunition exports from Rwanda is reported by customs and border checks to be US$ 21,776 in 2011 and the annual value of small arms and ammunition imports was US$9,830 in the same year. There is relatively high incidence of smuggling of SALW even though the activities of arms brokers and transfer intermediaries are specifically regulated by law. The customs regulations of small arms and weapons include certification of the intended end user of any small arms or ammunition transfer, and a written declaration of its intended end use. The regulation of guns is categorised as very restrictive but few people find their way through to possess guns and other firearms.
3.6 **Hypothesis on SALW Proliferation**

The hypothesis of this dissertation is that proliferation, illicit trafficking and trade in small arms and light weapons negatively affect human security and socio-economic development. This statement is found to be true based on the analysis presented above. The analysis has confirmed the fact that proliferation of SALW through trafficking, illegal trading and smuggling has a profound negative effects on the Eastern African Region and thus, something needs to be seriously done about it to give hope to the people. The people need human security and socio-economic development in their countries to enjoy a better life and meet their aspirations.

3.7 **Conclusion**

In this chapter, SALW status in Rwanda was discussed and, basing on the opinions and perceptions of the respondents, an analysis of the proliferation of SALW was conducted. The chapter looked at the major factors that determine the possession of SALW and what influences their possession by civilians. The chapter also highlighted the causes of proliferation of SALW in Rwanda and later looked at the impacts of SALW proliferation on the Rwanda economy in terms of its effects on human security and socio-economic development.
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Summary

Research has shown that over 100 million small arms are in circulation, which kill and maim people, obstruct and retard socio-economic development in Africa including East Africa. This circulation of arms and weapons are a major security challenges and threat to sustainable development. Armed violence are fuelled by small arms which threaten re-instatement of democratic governance essential to sustainable peace and can lead to the breakdown of civil order and dramatic increases in lawlessness, banditry, and illicit drug trafficking. The genocide incident in Rwanda was cited as being aggravated as a result of the availability of arms and weapons in the hands of the civilians through proliferation.

Research has further made it clear that anytime small arms remain in a society during post-conflicts mortality rates would likely remain high as interpersonal violence often substitutes for war and also leads to an escalation of domestic arms race causing widespread criminality and the breakdown of legal norms. Thus, proliferation of small arms and light weapons have been observed and witnessed as causing negative impacts on the economic development of the East Africa including Rwanda.

This dissertation intended to assess the effects of small arms and light weapons proliferation on human security and socio-economic development in Rwanda and the rest of East Africa as its broad objective. Based on this, the specific objectives were to determine the possible factors of SALW proliferation in Rwanda, examine the effects of SALW proliferation on human security, and examine the effects of SALW
proliferation on socio-economic development. In order to properly achieve the objectives, both secondary and primary data were gathered for the assessment of the effects of proliferation of SALW on human security and socio-economic development in Rwanda.

The results of the assessments indicate that the determinants of SALW proliferation in Rwanda are likely to be the demand for arms and weapons for self defence because people feel they are not adequately protected. Other determining factors are the demands for arms and weapon for robbery and terrorism by criminals. These demands make proliferation profitable for the people to trade either legally or illegally including illicit trafficking of arms and weapons, thus impeding the efforts by the government to fight against the proliferation of SALW. The general public were of the view that the use of arms and weapons by civilians and non-military and police should not be allowed by the authority in Rwanda.

In addition, the assessment has shown that SALW proliferation has a profound influence on the society through its effects on human security and freedom. The availability and proliferation of SALW in any society has the ability to threaten the human security, rights and freedom. These human rights are found to be the immediate things to be affected in every crime be it conflict, robbery or terrorism. The civilian who are not authorized by law to carry arms and weapons typically seek to acquire them so that they could overpower and exert their control over innocent people in the society and thus leading to the denial of their basic human rights and security. In times of armed violence or any criminal attacks, the most vulnerable people who are likely to be abused are women and children.
Furthermore, the assessment has proven beyond all reasonable doubt that SALW proliferation has negative effects on socio-economic development of Rwanda economy. The end result of the proliferation of SALW is that it affects socio-economic development through impeding society’s progress causing poverty, increasing social spending and perpetuates human suffering. The SALW proliferation can negatively affect economic and social development including health and mortality, knowledge and education, income and standard of living, and community participation. SALW play a dangerous role in criminal activities and cause damage to lives and properties and thus threaten business and commerce, which in turn have influence on employment, investment and economic growth. The general view has been that the misuse of small arms and light weapons have severe implications for development, since government financial resources would be diverted into other unimportant things thus neglecting the provision of basic social needs such as food, water, shelter and quality education. All these are seen as sine qua non for development of the Rwandan economy. The armed violence and other criminal activities are likely to trigger forced displacement, erosion of social capital and destroying the existing limited infrastructure, which can all have negative effect on development of Rwanda.

Moreover, the effects of SALW proliferation, trafficking and smuggling on other issues were also assessed. It was found that, a sizeable number of civilian possess firearms which was projected at 58,000 guns, both legal and illegal owned by civilians in Rwanda. This number is more than the number of firearms owned and possessed by government forces. The police service possessed 12,686 firearms whilst the military forces possessed 9,880 firearms for national defence. The annual death through homicides was reported to be about 1,708. The annual value of small arms and ammunition exports from Rwanda is reported by Customs and border checks to be US$
21,776 and the annual value of imports is US$9,830 in 2011. There is relatively high incidence of smuggling of SALW even though the activities of arms brokers and transfer intermediaries are specifically regulated by law.

4.2 Conclusions

In East Africa, small arms and light weapons have many uses beyond their primary function as weapons of war. This makes the effects of the proliferation high and widespread. More than 30 million small arms and light weapons are estimated to be in circulation in Africa alone and whilst in East Africa and the Horn of Africa alone, about 5 million small arms are estimated to be circulating among 189 million inhabitants. A large number of civilians are in possession of firearms than even both the military and police put together in Rwanda. Besides, trading and smuggling of firearms is relatively considered to be high. This has resulted in high homicide cases in the country.

SALW is a major cause of armed violence and is one of the reasons why development in East Africa is slow. SALW usually are believed to come from many sources, and they include weapons acquired legally by the armed forces and security forces, which end up in the hands of criminals as a result of theft or illegal sale, home-based manufacturing of small arms and light weapons, and illicit trafficking. Even though Rwanda is experiencing peace and calm but there is evidence that the availability of SALW in the country could result into atrocities and therefore every effort should be carried to get rid of this menace.

Human rights is usually recognized by the state through its laws including other rights which are “natural” possessed by human beings basically by coming into existence through birth. This state of affairs of SALW proliferation has created a state of
insecurity of all kinds including human right abuse against which lives and properties are threatened. The proliferation of SALW promotes banditry and other related social vices and therefore human lives are threatened for fear of being robbed, assaulted, raped or sexual violence towards women, and capture into slavery by the civilian warlords and gangs.

The availability and misuse of small arms exert direct and indirect impacts on socio-economic development and they are also responsible for the majority of direct conflict deaths. It is clear that thousands of people were killed, others injured and maimed whilst almost all surviving civilians experienced countless livelihood destruction due to the effects of proliferation of SLAW. Most of the victims of armed violence are energetic young people who could work effectively to support economic development. This state of affairs of SALW proliferation and illicit trade in Rwanda and rest of East Africa can exacerbate poverty and create a state of insecurity of all kinds against which no meaningful development can be achieved. It can be prevented by inflow of foreign direct investment in the region for economic development which could create job opportunities and increase welfare of the people.

The widespread availability of small arms and light weapons is a major contributor to insecurity, violent crime and weak socio-economic development. The presence and use of SALW can inhibit access to basic services and key infrastructure such as health clinics, access to potable water and schools, as well as markets. The threat of attacks by criminals and terrorists can overwhelm fragile health and social services in Rwanda. Therefore, limiting the availability and misuse of weapons is a practical tool in crime and crisis prevention. Programmes to control the proliferation SALW can have a lasting
impact not only on the availability of the weapons themselves – they can also transform a culture of violence, increase security, and open space for sustainable development.

4.3 Recommendations

Social justice is one of the issues that the governments of East African Countries including Rwanda should enforce since the fear and panic among the people usually push them to develop demands for arms and weapons for self defence. Security sector reform should be carried out to contain security gaps that lead to proliferation of Arms and weapons. Once the government institutions dealing with security issues and enforcement of law and order are strengthen enough to handle human security issues, people are likely to build confidence in the state institutions and thus feel easy in terms of security.

Equality among all parties and individuals irrespective of race, clan, tribe, or social status should be greatly encouraged and enforced in the country. Past records have shown that tensions between people with different background, tribes or factions which resulted into genocide incidence where armed violence and atrocities were caused to humanity. This was fuelled by easily accessible and availability of SALW in the society.

There should also be equity in terms of distribution of national resources among citizens such as quality education, access to potable/drinking water and job opportunities. No single person should be marginalised since marginalisation causes people to develop hatred and thus build tension and create negative images of other people.
Criminal and banditry and other non-sociable gangs or groups were believed to have been formed to some extent due to poverty and other economic issues. Alleviation of poverty should be part of the government agenda. Government should develop pro-poor programmes that are all inclusive and also encourage participation by all parties from all areas including religious, cultural, social and economic status.

It is recommended that Rwanda should collaborate with its neighbouring countries to tackle any issues that are related to trafficking arms through the borders since some people are of the view that porous borders are usually exploited by smugglers and traffickers. There should be vigilance and proper monitoring of the entry and exit borders between border towns to look out for traffickers and smugglers of arms and weapons. There could also be continuous campaigns and awareness creation which must be in the long term plans in order to address the root causes of proliferation of SALW.

There should be partnerships and networks between neighbouring countries that allows for exchange of information on best practices of SALWs management. Information exchange among law enforcement agencies on syndicate groups and their modus operandi, types of activities they engage in, types of weapons flows, sources if supply, supply routes, destinations, method of transportation for groups engaged in illicit cross border activities can improve their ability to disrupt the cycle of small arms proliferation. This requires a strong political and administrative leadership as well as political will to establish and implement the partnership and networking among representative countries.
There is urgent need to establish integral policies to combat SALWs proliferation, illicit trading and trafficking in the East Africa including Rwanda. Though Rwanda is playing a leading role in control and prevention of SALW proliferation in the region, it is still required to devote resources both capital and human to achieve the end results. SALWs proliferation can only be contained when nations work together in a more coordinated way as is done currently between Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dr Abdel-Fatau MUSAH: The Political Economy of Small Arms and Conflicts, London: Pluto Press.

African Union (AU, 2011) - African Union Strategy on the Control of Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons, Adopted by the Meeting of Member States Experts, 26-29 September 2011, Lome, Togo


Best Practice Guidelines for the Implementation of the Nairobi Declaration and the Nairobi Protocol on Small Arms and Light Weapons 2005


Frankonero Nganga (2008) - Effects of Proliferation of Small Arms in Sub-Saharan Africa, 31 January

ICRC (2012) - Rwanda: towards more effective arms control in the Great Lakes region

K. Maze and H. Rhee, (2008) - International Assistance for Implementing the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects: Case Study of East Africa


Moulaye, Zeini (2009) - Finding Responses to Trans-Border Crime in West Africa – The Role of Parliaments


NicasiusAchu Check, 2011 - Ethnicity and Arms Proliferation in the Great Lakes Region Challenges to Peace and Democracy

Peden and Van der Spuy, 1998; in WHO, 2002

Robert Spencer, Religions for Peace (2007), Why Christianity Is and Islam Isn’t, Regnery Publishing Inc.


UN Security Council (2001), Press Release SC 7008, February 7th on Great Lakes Region.


Appendix: Questionnaire

“AN ASSESSMENT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN EAST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF RWANDA”

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Innocent Munyengango, a student of LECIAD. My research topic is “An Assessment of Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation in East Africa: A Case Study of Rwanda”. The purpose of the study is to assess the effect of small arms and light weapon proliferation in Rwanda. The information obtained and the resultant recommendations could assist the country and development partners in their decision-making to help develop Rwanda for the benefit of all citizens. Participation in this study is absolutely voluntary.

The information in this questionnaire shall not be used for any other purposes other than for this study. You are not required to provide your name, and will therefore remain anonymous. The aim of the questionnaire is to evaluate your opinion, perceptions and feelings about Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation and its impact on the people of Rwanda. This research is part of the fulfilment of the requirement for the award of a Master’s Degree in International Relations from LECIAD of University of Ghana.

It would be highly appreciated if you could answer all questions accurately. Please give your honest and sincere opinion. Your responses will be helpful in answering the research questions to achieve the objectives of this study.

GUIDE FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE
1. Please answer questions by making a tick (√) or a cross (X) next to the correct answer and explain where necessary.
2. Use “N/A” for not applicable questions.
3. If writing space is not enough use separate page and write the question number next to the answer

A. BACKGROUND DATA
1. How old are you?
   (a) 18-23     (b) 24-29     (c) 30-35     (d) 36-41     (e) 42-47     (f) 48-53
   (g) 54-59     (h) 60 and above

2. Please indicate your gender.     (a) Male     (b) Female
3. Please are you employed?  (a) Yes    (b) No

4. Please indicate your occupation/type of job..................................................

5. What is your educational level?
(a) Doctorate Degree  (b) Master’s Degree  (c) Bachelor’s Degree   (d) HND
(e) Diploma       (f) Senior High School Certificate   (g) Junior High School Certificate
(h) Others (Please Specify)..............................

B. FACTORS AND STATE OF SALW PROLIFERATION
6. Do you think the use of arms and weapons by civilians in Rwanda should be discouraged?
(a) Yes    (b) No
Please give reason.................................................................

7. In your opinion why do you think people want to keep arms and weapons on them?
(a) Conflict/Fighting   (b) Robbery   (c) Self Defence   (d) Terrorism

8. Why do people trade in arms and weapons in Rwanda?

9. Why do people buy or possess arms and weapons?

10. Organised crime and corruption have the power to hold East African countries in a vicious circle of under-development.
(a) True    (b) False

11. Illicit trafficking and the associated problem of organized crime adversely affects society by threatening human security.
(a) True    (b) False

12. Illicit trafficking and the associated problem of organized crime adversely affects society by hampering development.
(a) True    (b) False

13. Illicit trafficking and the associated problem of organized crime adversely affect society by obstructing investment.
(a) True    (b) False
14. Illicit trafficking and the associated problem of organized crime adversely affect society by increasing corruption in state institutions.
(a) True   (b) False

15. Crime undermines the ability of the state to promote development.
(a) True   (b) False

16. Firearms trafficking and organized crimes are inextricably linked.
(a) True   (b) False

17. Firearms’ trafficking has also a clear link to terrorism, armed conflicts, and it is closely related to urban violence and gang criminality.
(a) True   (b) False

18. Reducing the amount of SALW could clearly contribute positively towards ending the vicious circle of violence.
(a) True   (b) False

19. Porous borders create a difficult situation to track trade in the commodity and provide a sanctuary for illicit activities.
(a) True   (b) False

C. HUMAN SECURITY AND FREEDOM
20. Can availability of SALW in Rwanda undermine the Rule of law?
(a) Yes   (b) No

21. Is the rule of law applied in Rwanda?
(a) Yes   (b) No

22. Do you enjoy the freedom of movement in the country or you are restricted because of fear of being attacked?
(a) Seriously Restricted   (b) Not Restricted   (c) don’t know

23. Have you joined any association before? (a) Yes   (b) No
If yes, what kind of association is it? .................................

24. Are people free to join any association or organisation of their choice in your area?
(a) Yes   (b) No
25. Is the above Freedom generally working in Rwanda or not?
(a) Working  (b) Not working  (c) partially working

26. Have you ever been abused? (a) Yes  (b) No
If yes, why were you abused? ……………………………..

27. Are the people in your area safe from human right abuse?
(a) Yes  (b) No

28. Who are the most vulnerable to human right abuse in your society?
(a) Women  (b) Children  (c) Men  (d) Adult  (e) Strangers/foreigners
(f) All of the above  (g) only options a and b

29. Do you feel secure in going about your day activities such as trading, working, farming, etc.?  
(a) Yes  (b) No

30. Do you entertain any fear from any group from attacking you in the cause of your day activities?
(a) Yes  (b) No

31. In your opinion, is the justice and legal system in this country working well?
(a) Yes  (b) No

32. Is there equal opportunity for everybody in the country?
(a) Yes  (b) No

D. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

33. What kind of job or trade are you engaged in? ……………………………

34. What is the level or range of your monthly income?

35. What is the size of your family?
(a) Between 1 to 4  (b) between 5 to 8  (c) between 9 to 12  (d) between 13 to 16  
(e) Above 16 people
36. Do you depend on other people for food, clothing, money, etc.? 
   (a) Yes         (b) No

37. Do you look after other people? (a) Yes       (b) No

40. What are the sources of your income?

41. What is the source of cooking fuel in your home?

42. What is the source of your drinking water?

43. Do you always have access to health care? 
   (a) Yes       (b) No

44. The misuse of small arms and light weapons has severe implications for development 
   (a) True     (b) False

45. Does armed violence trigger forced displacement? (a) Yes       (b) No

46. Does armed violence erode social capital? (a) Yes       (b) No

47. Does armed violence destroy infrastructure? (a) Yes       (b) No

48. Can forced displacement, erosion of social capital, and destroyed infrastructure affect development? 
   (a) Yes       (b) No

   Give reason please……………………………………….

49. In your own opinion choose any of the following that is true 
   a) Armed violence can impede investment in reconstruction and reconciliation.
   b) Armed violence can undermine public institutions
   c) Armed violence can facilitate corruption,
   d) Armed violence is conducive climate for impunity

50. Availability of arms and weapons contributes and sustains the following:

   (a) Transnational crime       (b) human trafficking       (c) drugs trafficking
51. Can armed violence contributes to and sustain arms trafficking?  
(a) Yes  (b) No

52. Please which of the following are risk factors that are associated with armed violence and arms and weapon proliferation? (Please tick as much as applicable)

a) Weak institutions.  
b) Systemic economic and horizontal inequalities.  
c) Exclusion of minority groups.  
d) Unequal gender relations.  
e) Limited education opportunities.  
f) Persistent unemployment.  
g) Organized crime.  
h) Availability of illicit firearms and drugs.

E. OTHER ISSUES/MATTERS
52. Have you been trained in handling firearms, guns or weapons anywhere?

53. What was the purpose of training in handling firearms, gun or weapons?

54. How would you rate your knowledge of handling firearms, guns and other weapons in general from excellent (1) to very poor (5)?  
(a) 1 (excellent)  (b) 2 (Very good)  (c) 3 (Good)  (d) 4 (Poor)  (e) 5 (Very poor)

55. What means do you use as a defensive mechanism for protecting yourself from harms/attacks by other people?

56. Do you think keeping firearms/guns or weapons for self-defence can help the society?

THANK YOU.