

# ARMS TRANSFERS TO CENTRAL, NORTH AND WEST AFRICA

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## I. Introduction

United Nations member states are currently discussing the feasibility of an arms trade treaty (ATT), which would seek to create better controls on international arms transfers. To support this process, the European Union (EU) is funding a series of six regional seminars, organized by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), to increase the awareness of an ATT among UN member states, regional organizations, civil society and industry, and to promote international discussions about the proposed treaty.

This paper is part of a series of region-specific Background Papers produced by SIPRI to inform discussions during these meetings. Specifically, this paper provides background information for the regional meeting on Central, North and West Africa.<sup>1</sup> It gives a general overview of international arms transfers to and within Central, North and West Africa in recent years (section II) followed by an assessment of the transparency of these transactions (section III). Section IV includes brief conclusions.

## II. Arms transfers to the region

The imports of major conventional weapons by Central, North and West African states during the period 2004–2008 accounted for only 3 per cent of the volume of all world arms imports.<sup>2</sup>

Considering the military budgets of countries on this region, it is not surprising that the volume of arms transfers to Central, North and West Africa is so low. Total military expenditure in the region was estimated to have been \$9.5 billion in 2007, just 0.7 per cent of total world military expenditure of \$1339 billion (see table 1). Of the regional total, 41 per cent was accounted for by Algeria, 25 per cent by Morocco, 10 per cent by Nigeria and 7 per cent by Libya.

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this paper Central, North and West Africa includes Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of the), Congo (Republic of the), Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Tunisia.

<sup>2</sup> This figure is based on an assessment of open source information on international arms transfers that is gathered in the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://armstrade.sipri.org/>>. Explanations of the sources and methodology used and how the 'volume' of arms transfers is calculated are also available at this URL.

## SUMMARY

● United Nation member states are currently discussing the feasibility of an arms trade treaty (ATT) which would seek to create better controls on international arms transfers. This Background Paper is one of a series produced by SIPRI to inform these discussions.

While in global terms arms imports by Central, North and West African states are small, such small supplies of weapons have played a major role in the armed conflicts in the region in recent years. Any unnecessary arms imports, which may be caused by either inadequate military planning and budgeting processes or corruption, can also be a significant burden on the small economies of these states, in particular as such imports can exacerbate debts. Suppliers have assessed those risk in varying ways.

A key challenge is to understand which arms supplies provoke, prolong or aggravate these violent conflicts and which supplies contribute to security and stability. Based on such an understanding, it will have to be assessed how arms exporters and arms importers can better coordinate their arms transfer policies and how an ATT can play a role in that.

A widespread lack of transparency in arms transfers to and arms procurement in Africa obstructs an informed debate on an ATT and would be a serious obstacle for the verification and measurement of effectiveness of an eventual ATT.

**Table 1.** Military expenditure in Central, North and West Africa, 1998–2007

Figures are in US \$m. at constant 2005 prices and exchange rates for 1998–2007 and in the right-most column (marked \*) in current US\$ m. for 2007. Figures are for calendar years.

Country	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007*
Algeria <sup>‡</sup>	1 801	1 901	2 205	2 414	2 467	2 453	2 801	2 925	2 992	3 548	3 909
Benin	..	24.9	22.5	20.2	37.0	40.5	44.1	[46.8]	[46.8]	..	..
Burkina Faso <sup>†</sup>	[41.7]	[46.5]	[47.3]	46.6	50.5	51.4	61.1	63.8	68.7	85.5	93.3
Cameroon <sup>§</sup>	175	189	183	183	198	212	226	223	242	257	292
Cape Verde	5.3	6.0	9.6	6.5	6.0	6.3	6.5	7.2	6.7	6.6	7.8
Central African Rep. <sup>‡</sup>	..	..	..	..	14.8	16.7	15.6	15.4	..	..	..
Chad	25.3	37.4	42.3	45.0	45.5	46.1	54.6	55.5	54.2	56.7	68.4
Congo, Republic of <sup>§</sup>	..	..	..	60.7	72.3	80.5	79.9	78.5	80.8	..	..
Congo, Dem. Rep. of	18.4	67.0	49.8	..	..	128	200	150	(142)	(135)	(198)
Côte d'Ivoire	..	..	..	..	..	247	261	250	259	252	286
Equatorial Guinea	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gabon	..	..	129	128	128	120	123	114	106	(102)	(121)
Gambia <sup>‡</sup>	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.9	..	..	..
Ghana	51.6	54.7	76.6	48.2	53.0	65.9	64.3	64.1	69.0	118	114
Guinea	32.2	42.4	41.6	84.2	92.6	70.7	65.5	..	..	..	..
Guinea-Bissau	3.8	..	13.8	8.9	8.5	8.6	..	12.1	..	..	..
Liberia	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.7	6.3	[4.6]	[5.5]	[6.1]
Libya	412	318	341	333	429	533	696	749	568	513	630
Mali	67.4	76.1	88.2	88.7	88.3	101	110	120	129	[142]	[157]
Mauritania	27.4	36.5	47.8	66.9	47.9	75.9	78.1	66.1	77.3	..	..
Morocco	1 721	1 425	1 104	1 997	1 900	2 013	1 956	2 030	2 049	2 118	2 376
Niger	28.1	32.1	30.8	37.6	29.0	29.3	34.1	32.8	..	..	..
Nigeria	453	780	592	844	1 273	783	764	674	703	825	960
Senegal <sup>§ ¶</sup>	91.9	99.1	90.6	100	100	109	110	124	144	164	190
Sierra Leone	..	..	22.9	27.4	27.1	29.6	24.1	23.6	[26.4]	[25.5]	[29.4]
Togo	..	..	..	..	..	34.1	33.9	33.2	..	..	..
Tunisia	386	382	400	415	411	428	436	469	423	..	..

( ) = uncertain figure; [ ] = SIPRI estimate; <sup>†</sup> = all figures exclude military pensions; <sup>‡</sup> = all figures are for current spending only (i.e. exclude capital spending); <sup>§</sup> = all figures are for the adopted budget, rather than actual expenditure; <sup>¶</sup> = all figures exclude spending on paramilitary forces.

Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, <<http://milexdata.sipri.org/>>.

While in global terms arms imports by Central, North and West African states are small, small supplies of weapons have played a major role in the armed conflicts in the region in recent years (see box 1). Furthermore, any unnecessary arms imports, which may be caused by either inadequate military planning and budgeting processes or corruption, can be a significant burden on the small economies of these states, particularly as such imports can exacerbate debts.<sup>3</sup>

The arms production capabilities of Central, North and West African countries are very limited and are likely to be based on imported technology, machinery and basic components.<sup>4</sup> For example, in Nigeria the DICON com-

<sup>3</sup> See *Shooting Down the MDGs: How Irresponsible Arms Transfers Undermine Development Goals*, Oxfam Briefing Paper 120 (Oxfam: Oxford, Oct. 2008)

<sup>4</sup> This conclusion is based on a survey of key sources on arms production: the SIPRI Arms Industry Database; the Jane's annual reference works on infantry weapons, armour and artillery and aircraft; and Anders, H. and Weidacher, R., "The production of ammunition for small arms and light



### Box 1. Destabilizing or stabilizing weapons: the case of Liberia

Currently, the only explicit international law aimed at preventing arms transfers that are perceived to be aggravating conflict or threatening security are United Nations arms embargoes. In Central, North and West Africa, UN arms embargoes have been imposed on Libya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>a</sup> Liberia has been subject to UN arms embargoes since 1992. The terms of the embargo imposed in 2001 were intended to force the Liberian Government of President Charles Taylor to cease its support for armed groups in the region. Using false end-user certificates and false flight plans, the Liberian Government circumvented the embargo and obtained weapons originating from Yugoslavia and possibly China and Iran via Benin, Libya and Sudan.<sup>b</sup>

Contrasting with these illegal supplies are deliveries of small arms and light weapons from China, Romania and Serbia since President Taylor left office in August 2003. The UN Sanctions Committee on Liberia granted exemptions for these deliveries, as the weapons are intended to bolster the new Liberian security forces tasked with maintaining order and securing stability.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fruchart, D. et al., *United Nations Arms Embargoes: Their Impact on Arms Flows and Target Behaviour* (SIPRI/Uppsala University: Stockholm, 2007).

<sup>b</sup> Holtom, P., 'United Nations arms embargoes: their impact on arms flows and target behaviour—Case study: Liberia, 1992–2006', SIPRI, 2007, <[http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=356](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=356)>.

<sup>c</sup> See the reports of the UN Panel of Experts on Liberia since 2005, <<http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1521/>>.

pany reportedly started the production in 2008 of a copy of the AK-47 rifle and related ammunition, the latter with equipment supplied from China.<sup>5</sup> Small-scale craft production of crude firearms also takes place in the region.<sup>6</sup> Because of the lack of local production capacity, most weapons used by governments or non-state groups in Central, North and West Africa are likely to have their origin outside the region, even though the weapons may have been procured via intra-regional flows of arms taken from stockpiles (see below).

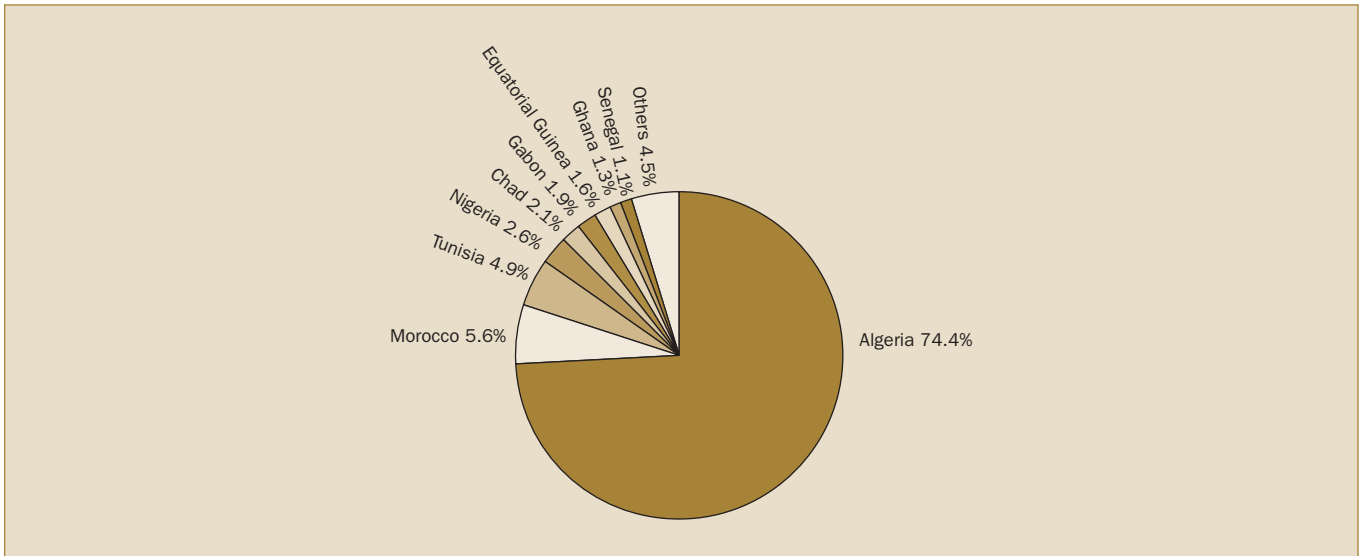
Algeria was by far the most significant importer of major conventional arms in Central, North and West Africa (see figure 1). Algeria is in the process of implementing a major military modernization programme which includes the purchase of 180 T-90 tanks, 28 Su-30MK combat aircraft, 2 submarines and significant numbers of air defence systems from Russia. Morocco, a neighbour of Algeria, also embarked on a military modernization programme in 2008; it ordered 24 F-16C combat aircraft from the United States, 1 large FREMM frigate from France and 3 smaller SIGMA-90 frigates from the Netherlands. Another neighbour of Algeria, Libya, is negotiating with several suppliers about contracts for significant quantities of major weapons and is expected to re-emerge as a major recipient of arms. (For details of all these deals, see the register of arms transfers in table 3 below.)

Information about the motives for these arms acquisitions is difficult to find. Certain of these arms are likely to have been procured in order to bolster counter-insurgency capabilities: armed rebel groups are active in all three countries. Alternatively, they may have been procured in order to improve maritime patrol capabilities to combat smuggling and human trafficking. Procurement of arms such as advanced combat aircraft, submarines, advanced air defence systems and frigates armed with surface-to-surface missiles are most likely to be related to traditional views about the

weapons', eds S. Pézard and H. Anders, *Targeting Ammunition: A Primer* (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Mamah, E., 'TRADOC, DICON to produce armoured personnel carrier', *Vanguard* (Lagos), 15 Feb. 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Florquin, N. and Berman, E. G. (eds), *Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns, and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region* (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, 2005).



**Figure 1.** National shares of the volume of transfers of major conventional weapons to Central, North and West Africa, 2004–2008

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database Database, <<http://armstrade.sipri.org/>>.

need for armed forces to be equipped with modern weapons in order to bolster the country's regional or international profile. Such procurements may also be linked to perceived threat from neighbouring countries.

Excluding the four North African states, total imports of major conventional weapons by Central and West African states are very small—they account for less than 0.5 per cent of world arms imports. Even Nigeria, which had the largest population and economy in the region, imports a very small volume of major conventional arms compared to large countries elsewhere. This is despite the fact that it has several internal security problems and very long borders to control and is involved in a number of international peace operations. The procurement of even small numbers of often older or less-advanced major weapons does, however, play a significant role in the efforts of Central and West African governments to defeat armed rebel groups. For example, in the period 2006–2008 the governments of Chad, Mali, Niger and Nigeria acquired small numbers of combat helicopters.

### International transfers of small arms and light weapons

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are the most commonly used weapons in the violent conflicts in Central, North and West Africa, particularly by non-states armed actors. Furthermore, it is widely acknowledged that the uncontrolled spread of SALW throughout society poses a threat to national and regional peace.<sup>7</sup> This has been recognized by the 15 member of ECOWAS, which have signed the 2006 ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms, Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials.<sup>8</sup> When it enters into force, the convention will require that its parties only allow the

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. United Nations, Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, A/CONF.192/15, 20 July 2001.

<sup>8</sup> The ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms, Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials was adopted by on 14 June 2006; as of 1 Apr. 2009 it had not been ratified by the 9 states required for it to enter into force. The 15 members of ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape



import or national production of SALW when granted permission by the ECOWAS Commission.

Whereas open sources of information can provide a general overview of major weapon transfers to Central, North and West Africa, such sources are insufficient to create a comparable overview and statistics about the flow of SALW to and within the region. Table 4 below gives examples of reports of SALW transfers to Central, North and West Africa in 2007. It shows that governments in the region import significant quantities of SALW. However, the purpose for which the weapons have been acquired is often unclear, as is the intended user (e.g. the armed forces, police, militia, or private individuals or groups), where they are distributed and if delivered weapons are adequately protected against theft and diversion. It can therefore be difficult to assess if any of these imported weapons should be a cause for concern.

Illegal supplies of SALW to non-state actors, including individuals, criminals and rebel groups or to governments subject to UN arms embargoes are by nature even more difficult to assess. While available anecdotal information is insufficient to show the magnitude of the problem, it does show that significant numbers of weapons taken from existing stockpiles in the region or imported from elsewhere have been transferred illegally by private persons and government officials in exporting and transit countries inside and outside the region.<sup>9</sup>

## Suppliers

Both tables 3 and 4 show a wide variety of suppliers of arms to Central, North and West Africa. During 2004–2008 Russia was the main supplier: 74 per cent of all major arms supplied to Central, North and West Africa came from Russia. This was mainly due to deliveries of Su-30 combat aircraft to Algeria.

Direct economic gain is likely to be the primary motivation for many of the arms exports to the region. In some cases, arms supplies may be part of attempts to maintain or create political influence or to gain access to natural resources. For example, the head of Rosoboronexport, the Russian arms export agency, suggested in 2008 that it would consider exclusive rights for exploration of natural resources as payment for arms purchased by African countries.<sup>10</sup> In other cases arms are supplied, often for free or for low prices, as aid to improve the capability of the recipients to conduct peace operations, to restore or maintain internal stability, or to conduct border or maritime patrols to combat human trafficking. These have been the motives behind such transfers as Belgium's supply of armoured vehicles to Benin, the USA and Nigeria's supply of rifles and pistols to Liberia, and Spain's supply of surveillance aircraft to Mauritania.

An increasing number of countries have more restrictive arms export policies and this affects arms supplies to countries in Central, North and West

Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. eds Florquin and Berman (note 6); and the reports of the panel of experts investigating the UN embargoes related to Central, North and West Africa available at <<http://www.un.org/sc/committees/>>.

<sup>10</sup> 'Russia rebuilds Soviet-era military-technical ties with Africa', RIA Novosti, 17 Sep. 2008, <<http://en.rian.ru/russia/20080917/116901542.html>>.



**Table 2.** Central, North and West African states participation in the UN Register of Conventional Arms, 1998–2007  
The table lists only those states that reported at least once during the period.

Country	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Benin						x				
Burkina Faso				x	x	x	x	x	x	
Ivory Coast					x					
Congo, Dem. Rep. of					x		x			
Gabon							x		x	
Ghana					x					x*
Mali									x*	
Niger			x	x				x		
Senegal				x	x	x	x	x	x*	
Sierra Leone				x	x			x	x	
Togo			x						x*	x*
<b>Regional total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>World total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>91</b>

x = report submitted; \* = report includes background information on small arms imports and exports.

Source: UNROCA online database, <[http://disarmament.un.org/UN\\_REGISTER.nsf](http://disarmament.un.org/UN_REGISTER.nsf)>.

Africa. Such policies differ between countries even when they are based on multilaterally agreed guidelines such as the Wassenaar Arrangement or the EU’s Common Rules Governing Control of Exports of Military Technology and Equipment (known as the Code of Conduct on Arms Exports until 2008). For example, while the Government of Chad received weapons from EU member states France and Belgium in the period 2004–2008, several other EU countries refused to issue licences for arms exports to Chad in the same period.<sup>11</sup> The refusals were based on one or more of the criteria in the EU Code of Conduct related to the risk of arms supplies contributing to human rights abuses, internal and regional conflict, threats to EU member states and allies, and the risk of undesired diversion of arms supplied.

### III. Transparency in arms transfers

A lack of transparency in arms procurement processes remains common among African states.<sup>12</sup> This is well illustrated by the limited participation of African states in the UN Register on Conventional Arms (UNROCA). This register was established in 1991 to contribute to the prevention of excessive and destabilizing accumulations of arms. States are requested to report annually on their imports, exports and holdings of certain types of major conventional weapon. Participation of Central, North and West African countries in the UN register has been very poor (see table 2). Of the 27 countries in the region, only 11 have submitted one or more reports to UNROCA for the period 1998–2007. Only five countries have reported more than three times in this 10-year period and none has reported more than six times. Worldwide reporting to the register for 2007 was at the second lowest level

<sup>11</sup> See the 6th–10th annual reports according to Operative Provision 8 of the European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports, all available via <[http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/atlinks\\_gov.html](http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/atlinks_gov.html)>.

<sup>12</sup> Omitoogun, W. and Hutchful, E. (eds), SIPRI, *Budgeting for the Military Sector in Africa: The Processes and Mechanisms of Control* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006), pp. 243–45.



since the register started in 1992, with only 91 reports submitted, including only 2 reports from Central, North and West African states.

Several West African states have repeatedly stated that they do not prioritize the reporting of major conventional weapon transfers to UNROCA. Instead, they require more data on transfers of small arms and light weapons, either through the inclusion of SALW in UNROCA or through a separate mechanism.<sup>13</sup> The two West African states that submitted a report on transfers in 2007 included background information on imports and exports of small arms. However, participation in UNROCA has not increased since transfers of SALW were first included in the register in 2003 or since a simplified way of reporting SALW transfers was introduced in 2006.<sup>14</sup>

The ECOWAS Convention on SALW will require that its parties provide detailed information to the ECOWAS Commission about all SALW they import. Currently, there is no indication that the information will be made public, which would make it impossible to make an assessment of the functioning of this transparency mechanism.

The lack of transparency of arms importing countries contrasts with the increasing transparency of a number of arms exporting countries which publish detailed official arms export reports and submit information to UNROCA. (See table 4 for examples of such reporting related to SALW supplies to Central, North and West Africa.)

#### IV. Conclusions

This overview of arms transfers to Central, North and West Africa highlights a number of challenges in the debate about the feasibility of an international arms trade treaty. Whereas in most cases the volumes of arms imported by countries in Central, North and West Africa have been small, many of the countries in the region have in recent years experienced violent conflicts. A key challenge is to understand which arms supplies provoke, prolong or aggravate these violent conflicts and which supplies contribute to security and stability. Based on such an understanding, it will have to be assessed how arms exporters and arms importers can better coordinate their arms transfer policies and how an ATT can play a role in that.

***A key challenge is to understand which arms supplies provoke, prolong or aggravate violent conflicts***

Of specific relevance to Central, North and West Africa is the need to draw lessons from previous failures in the implementation of UN embargoes imposed on states in the region.

The lack of transparency in arms transfers to and arms procurement in Africa obstructs an informed debate on an arms trade treaty and would be a serious obstacle for the verification and measurement of effectiveness of an eventual treaty.

<sup>13</sup> Wezeman, S. T., *The Future of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms*, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 4 (SIPRI: Stockholm, Aug. 2003), p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> For a full assessment of the coverage of SALW in UNROCA see Holtom, P., *Transparency in Transfers of Small Arms and Light Weapons: Reports to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, 2003–2006*, Policy Paper No. 22 (SIPRI: Stockholm, July 2008); and Holtom, P. 'Reporting transfers of small arms and light weapons to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, 2007', SIPRI Background Paper, Feb. 2009, <[http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=373](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=373)>.

**Table 3.** Transfers of major conventional weapons to Central, North and West Africa, 2004–2008

The 'No. delivered/produced' and the 'Year(s) of deliveries' columns refer to all deliveries since the beginning of the contract. Deals in which the recipient was involved in the production of the weapon system are listed separately. The 'Comments' column includes publicly reported information on the value of the deal. Information on the sources and methods used in the collection of the data can be found at <[http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/at\\_data.html](http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/at_data.html)>.

Recipient/ supplier (S) or licensor (L)	No. ordered	Weapon designation	Weapon description	Year of order/ licence	Year(s) of deliveries	No. delivered/ produced	Comments
<b>Algeria</b>							
S: Belarus	28	MiG-29S/Fulcrum-C	FGA aircraft	(1998)	1999–2004	(28)	Ex-Belarusian; part of deal including 8 MiG-29UB delivered from Russia via Belarus
Canada	12	PW-100	Turboprop	2004	2005–2006	(12)	For 6 C-295 transport aircraft from Spain; PW-127 version
China	1	Daxin	Training ship	(2004)	2006	1	Algerian designation Soummam
France	(9)	AS-355/AS-555	Light helicopter	(2003)	2005	(9)	AS-355N version
	2	PC-2.5	Diesel engine (SH)	(2004)	2006	2	For 1 Daxin training ship from China; probably from Chinese production line
Italy	20	FPB-98	Patrol craft	(2007)	2008	(1)	Part of €400 m. deal; delivery 2009–10
	6	EH-101-400	Helicopter	2007			Ex-Russian; \$120 m. deal; probably modernized before delivery
Russia	22	Su-24MK/Fencer-D	Bomber aircraft	2000	2001–2005	(22)	
	42	Mi-8/Mi-17/Hip-H	Helicopter	2002	2002–2004	(42)	\$180 m. deal; Mi-17Sh armed version
	2	AK-630 30-mm	Naval AA gun	(2004)	2006	2	For 1 Daxin training ship from China
	(300)	9M133 Kornet/AT-14	Anti-tank missile	2005	2006–2008	(1600)	For BMP-2M IFV
	(300)	BMP-2	IFV	2005	2006–2008	(160)	Algerian BMP-2 rebuilt to BMP-2M; delivery 2006–10
	38	96K9 Pantsyr-S1	Mobile AD system	(2006)	2008	(5)	
	..	9M131/AT-13 Saxhorn	Anti-tank missile	(2006)			
	(900)	9M311/SA-19 Grison	SAM	(2006)	2008	(100)	For 96K9 Pantsyr-S1 AD systems
	(125)	Kh-59/AS-13 Kingbolt	ASM	(2006)	2008	(65)	For Su-30MK combat aircraft
	(350)	R-73/AA-11 Archer	SRAAM	(2006)	2008	175	For Su-30MK combat aircraft
	(250)	R-77/AA-12 Adder	BVRAAM	(2006)	2008	(125)	For Su-30MK combat aircraft; status uncertain
	(8)	S-300PMU-2/SA-10E	SAM system	(2006)	2008	(18)	\$1 b. deal
	28	Su-30MK/Flanker	FGA aircraft	(2006)	2008	(18)	\$1.2–1.8 b. deal; Su-30MKA version; delivery 2008–2009
	(180)	T-90S	Tank	(2006)	2007–2008	(180)	\$1 b. deal
	2	Type-636E/Kilo	Submarine	2006			\$400 m. deal; delivery 2010–11
South Africa	(24)	Yak-130	Trainer/combat ac	2006			Delivery from 2009
Spain	..	Ingwe	Anti-tank missile	(2007)			For Mi-17 helicopters modernized in South Africa
UK	6	C-295	T transport aircraft	2004	2005–2006	(6)	€130 m. (\$170 m.) deal
Ukraine	4	Super Lynx-300	Helicopter	2007			Part of €400 m. deal; delivery 2009–10
	(62)	R-27/AA-10 Alamo	BVRAAM	(2003)	2004–2007	62	
	(16)	R-73/AA-11 Archer	SRAAM	(2003)	2004	(16)	Probably ex-Ukrainian
	(21)	T-72	Tank	(2004)	2005	21	Ex-Ukrainian
	(14)	R-40/AA-6 Acrid	BVRAAM	(2005)	2005–2006	14	Ex-Ukrainian
L: UK	(6)	Kebir	Patrol craft	(1990)	1997–2006	(6)	Assembled/produced in Algeria; Algerian designation El Yadekh; more planned but cancelled



<b>Benin</b>										
<b>S:</b> Belgium	4 18	A-109 Hirundo M-113	Light helicopter APC	2007 2007	2007-2008 2007	4 (18)	Ex-Belgian; part of €2.7 m. deal; Ex-Belgian; part of €2.7 m. deal	1 more for spares only		
<b>Burkina Faso</b>										
<b>S:</b> Philippines	1	CN-235	Transport aircraft	(2006)	2007	1	Second-hand; refurbished in Indonesia before delivery			
Russia	2	Mi-24P/Mi-35P/Hind-F	Combat helicopter	(2005)	2005	2	Mi-35 version			
South Africa	4	AML-60/90	Armoured car	(2005)	2006	4	Supplier uncertain; probably second-hand			
<b>Cameroon</b>										
<b>S:</b> France	(30)	VLRA	Reconnaissance AV	(2004)	2005	30	Designation uncertain			
Israel	(16)	CARDOM 120-mm	Mortar	(2006)	2006-2007	(16)				
<b>Central African Republic</b>										
<b>S:</b> USA	1	C-130B Hercules	Transport aircraft	2006	2006	1	Ex-US; C-130A version			
<b>Chad</b>										
<b>S:</b> Belgium	(82)	AML-60/90	Armoured car	2006	2007-2008	(82)	Second-hand; modernized before delivery; Eland version with 90-mm gun; supplied via France			
Canada	1	PT-6	Turboprop	2006	2006	1	For 1 PC-9 trainer aircraft from Switzerland			
China	10 (24)	ZFB-05 RAM	APC/ISV Reconnaissance AV	(2006) (2007)	2007	10 (12)	Designation uncertain RAM-2000 version			
Israel	1	An-26/Curl	Transport aircraft	(2007)	2008	1	Ex-Libyan			
Libya	1	PC-9	Trainer aircraft	2006	2006	1				
Switzerland	(2)	Mi-24V/Mi-35/Hind-E	Combat helicopter	(2006)	2007	2	Ex-Ukrainian			
Ukraine	6	Su-25/Frogfoot-A	Ground attack ac	(2007)	2008	2	Ex-Ukrainian			
Unknown country	1	Mi-24V/Mi-35/Hind-E	Combat helicopter	(2008)	2008	(1)				
USA	(6)	Mi-8/Mi-17/Hip-H	Helicopter	(2005)	2006	(6)	Probably second-hand			
	1	PC-7 Turbo Trainer	Trainer aircraft	(2006)	2006	(1)	Second-hand			
<b>Congo, Democratic Republic of the</b>										
<b>S:</b> Belgium	3	Mi-26/Halo	Helicopter	(2003)			Second-hand; modernized in Russia before delivery			
Libya	(2)	MiG-23MF/Flogger-B	Fighter aircraft	(2003)	2004	(2)	Ex-Libyan; including 1 MiG-23UM version			
Ukraine	(20)	BMP-1	IFV	(2005)	2006	20	Ex-Ukraine			
	(20)	T-55	Tank	(2005)	2006	20	Ex-Ukraine			
<b>Congo, Republic of the</b>										
<b>S:</b> China	(5)	ZFB-05	APC/ISV	(2005)	2006-2007	(5)				
Germany	3	Mi-2/Hoplite	Helicopter	(2007)			Ex-German			
Ukraine	(1)	Mi-24P/Mi-35P/Hind-F	Combat helicopter	(2004)	2005	1	Ex-Ukrainian			
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>										
<b>S:</b> Belarus	4	Su-25/Frogfoot-A	Ground attack ac	(2003)	2003-2004	4	Ex-Belarusian; including 2 Su-25UB			

Recipient/ supplier (S) or licensor (L)	No. ordered	Weapon designation	Weapon description	Year of order/ licence	Year(s) of deliveries	No. delivered/ produced	Comments
<b>Equatorial Guinea</b>							
S: Czech Republic	20	BMP-1	IFV	(2006)	2007	20	Ex-Czech; BVP-1 version
Ukraine	(2)	Mi-24V/Mi-35/Hind-E	Combat helicopter	(2003)	2004	2	Ex-Ukrainian
	(2)	L-39CA Albatros	Trainer aircraft	(2006)	2007	2	Ex-Ukrainian
	(2)	Mi-24V/Mi-35/Hind-E	Combat helicopter	(2006)	2007	2	Ex-Ukrainian
	(4)	Su-25/Frogfoot-A	Ground attack ac	(2006)	2007-2008	(4)	Ex-Ukrainian; including 2 Su-25UB
Unknown country	1	Mi-8/Mi-17/Hip-H	Helicopter	2006	2007	1	
	2	TH-28/480	Light helicopter	(2007)	2007	(2)	Probably second-hand
<b>Gabon</b>							
S: Austria	(1)	Pandur	APC	(2003)	2004	1	
China	(16)	Type-63 107-mm	MRL	(2004)	2004	(16)	
	(10)	Type-63 130-mm	MRL	(2004)	2004	(10)	Designation uncertain; could be other 130-mm MRL
	(4)	Type-90 122-mm	MRL	(2004)	2004	(4)	Designation uncertain; could be other 122-mm MRL
	(6)	WZ-551	APC	(2005)	2006	(6)	Designation uncertain; could be wheeled or tracked APC or IFV
South Africa	(6)	Mirage F-1A	FGA aircraft	2006	2006-2008	(6)	Ex-South African; modernized before delivery; Mirage F-1AZ version
<b>Gambia</b>							
S: Georgia	1	Su-25/Frogfoot-A	Ground attack ac	2001	2004	1	Ex-Georgian
<b>Ghana</b>							
S: Australia	2	SB-7L-360 Seeker	Light aircraft	2004	2006	(2)	From Jordanian production line
China	4	K-8 Karakorum-8	Trainer/combat ac	2006	2007	(4)	Partly paid with ex-Ghanaian Gulfstream-3 transport aircraft
	2	K-8 Karakorum-8	Trainer/combat ac	2008			
	2	MA-60	Transport aircraft	(2008)			
	2	Y-12	Transport aircraft	2008			
Russia	4	Mi-8/Mi-17/Hip-H	Helicopter	2004	2004	4	\$55 m. deal (financed with loan from UK bank)
South Africa	(39)	Ratel-20	IFV	(2003)	2003-2004	39	Ex-South African; including 2 Ratel-90 version
	4	Casspir	APC/ISV	(2005)	2005	4	Ex-South African; Rinkhals ambulance version
USA	4	TFE-731	Turbofan	2006	2007	(4)	For 4 K-8 trainer aircraft from China
	2	TFE-731	Turbofan	2008			For 2 K-8 trainer aircraft from China
<b>Libya</b>							
S: France	..	MILAN	Anti-tank missile	(2007)			Contract possibly not yet signed; \$218 m. deal
Italy	10	A-109K	Light helicopter	(2005)	2006-2007	(2)	€80 m. (\$97 m.) deal; for border patrol; delivery 2007-10/11
USA	8	C-130H Hercules	Transport aircraft	1973			\$70 m. deal; ordered 1973 but embargoed 1974-2005 (paid and owned by Libya but stored in USA); status uncertain



<b>Mali</b>										
S: Bulgaria	(20)	BRDM-2	Reconnaissance AV	(2006)	2007	20	Designation uncertain; ex-Bulgarian			
	(2)	Mi-24D/Mi-25/Hind-D	Combat helicopter	(2006)	2007	(2)	Ex-Bulgarian			
Czech Republic	3	MiG-21MF/Fishbed-J	Fighter aircraft	2005	2005	3	Ex-Czech, including 1 MiG-21UM			
<b>Mauritania</b>										
S: Spain	1	C-212 Aviocar	Transport aircraft	2008			Ex-Spanish; for SAR; aid			
<b>Morocco</b>										
S: France	50	AASM	ASM	2005			Part of €350 m. deal; for modernized Mirage F-1 combat aircraft			
	(27)	Damocles	Aircraft El/Op system		2005		Part of €350 m. deal; for modernized Mirage F-1 combat aircraft			
	..	MICA	BVRAAM	2005			Part of €350 m. deal; for modernized Mirage F-1 combat aircraft			
	(27)	RDY	Aircraft radar	2005			Part of €350 m. deal for modernization of 27 Moroccan Mirage F-1 combat aircraft; RC-400 version			
	1	FREMM	Frigate	2008			€470 m. deal; delivery 2012			
	..	MICA	BVRAAM	2008			MIVA VLS version; for SIGMA frigates			
	4	OPV-70	OPV	2008			Delivery from 2010			
	6	PA-6	Diesel engine (SH)	2008			For 3 SIGMA frigates from Netherlands			
Italy	4	C-27J Spartan	Transport aircraft	2008			€130 m. deal			
	3	Super Rapid 76-mm	Naval gun	2008			For SIGMA frigates from Netherlands			
Netherlands	3	SIGMA-90	Frigate	2008			€510 m. deal; including 2 SIGMA-9813 and 1 SIGMA-10513 version; delivery 2012-14			
	(12)	2S6M Tunguska	Mobile AD system	2005	2005-2008	(12)	\$250 m. deal			
Russia	(300)	9M311/SA-19 Grison	SAM	2005	2005-2008	(300)	For 2S6 AD systems			
UAE	40	M-109A1155-mm	Self-propelled gun	(2004)	2005	40	Ex-Swiss; sold to UAE and immediately diverted to Morocco			
USA	199	M-113	APC	(2005)	2006	199	Ex-US; including 30 M-577A2 and 168 M-113APC versions			
	8	AE-2100	Turboprop	2008			For 4 C-27J transport aircraft from Italy			
	4	DB-110	Aircraft El/Op system		2008		\$88 m. deal; for F-16 combat aircraft			
	24	F-16C	FGA aircraft	2008						
<b>Niger</b>										
S: China	(6)	Type-53 120-mm	Mortar	(2005)	2006	(6)	Designation uncertain; could also be other type of artillery			
Unknown country	(2)	Mi-24D/Mi-25/Hind-D	Combat helicopter	2007	2008	(2)				

Recipient/ supplier (S) or licensor (L)	No. ordered	Weapon designation	Weapon description	Year of order/ licence	Year(s) of deliveries	No. delivered/ produced	Comments
<b>Nigeria</b>							
S: China	12 (20)	F-7M Airguard PL-9	Fighter aircraft SRAAM	2005 2005			\$251 m. deal; F-7NI version; including 3 FT-7NI; delivery 2009 \$20 m. deal (part of \$32 m. deal including other armament); PL-9C version; for F-7NI combat aircraft
Israel	(9)	Aerostar	UAV	2006	2007	(9)	Part of \$260 m. deal; part of 3 Aerostar UAV systems
Italy	4 1	A-109K G-222	Light helicopter Transport aircraft	(2002) 2005	2004 2007	4 1	A-109E Power version Ex-Italian; part of €60 m. deal; modernized before delivery
Turkey	(2)	AW-139	Helicopter	2006	2006-2007	(2)	Including for SAR and VIP transport
Ukraine	2 (193) (47) 3	ATR-42MP Cobra BTR-3U Guardian Mi-24V/Mi-35/Hind-E	ASW/MP aircraft APC/ISV IFV Combat helicopter	2007 2007 (2005) (2007)	2007-2008 2006-2007 2008	(110) 47 3	\$73 m. deal; delivery 2009 Ex-Ukrainian
<b>Senegal</b>							
S: France	1 2	AS-355/AS-555 TB-30 Epsilon	Light helicopter Trainer aircraft	2006 2006	2006 2006	1 2	Second-hand Ex-French
Luxembourg	1	BN-2 Islander	Light transport ac	2005	2007	(1)	Second-hand; for maritime patrol
Russia	(2)	Mi-8/Mi-17/Hip-H	Helicopter	(2004)	2005	(2)	Mi-17ISH version
South Africa	(2)	Mi-24P/Mi-35P/Hind-F	Combat helicopter	(2005)	2007	2	
	(8)	Casspir	APC/ISV	(2004)	2005-2006	8	Ex-South African
	(47)	AML-60/90	Armoured car	(2005)	2006	47	Ex-South African; AML-90 (Eland-90) version
Spain	1	Bell-205/UH-1H	Helicopter	2008			Ex-Spanish; for SAR; aid; delivery 2009
	1	C-212 Aviocar	Transport aircraft	2008			Ex-Spanish; for SAR; aid; delivery 2009
Unknown country	2	Mi-2/Hoplite	Helicopter	(2005)	2005	2	Probably second-hand
<b>Sierra Leone</b>							
S: China	1	Type-062/Shanghai	Patrol craft	(2005)	2006	1	Possibly ex-Chinese; aid
<b>Tunisia</b>							
S: Germany	6	Albatros/Type-143	FAC(M)	2004	2005	6	Ex-German; €34 m. (\$43 m.) deal; Type-143B version
USA	(180) (15)	BGM-71 TOW Bell-205/UH-1H	Anti-tank missile Helicopter	(2005) 2006	2006 2008	(180) (7)	Ex-US; aid

.. = Data not available or not applicable; () = uncertain data or SIPRI estimate; AA = anti-aircraft ac = aircraft; AD = air defence APC = armoured personnel carrier; ASM = air-to-surface missile; ASW = anti-submarine warfare; AV = armoured vehicle BVR/AAAM = beyond visual range air-to-air missile; El/Op = electro-optical; FGA = fighter/ground attack; IFV = infantry fighting vehicle; ISV = internal security vehicle; MP = maritime patrol; SAM = surface-to-air missile; SAR = search and rescue; SRAAM = short-range air-to-air missile; UAE = United Arab Emirates; UAV = unmanned aerial vehicle (drone); VIP = very important person

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://armstrade.sipri.org/>>, 8 Apr. 2009.

**Table 4.** Sample transfers of small arms and light weapons to Central, North and West Africa, 2006–2007

This register provides examples of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and related ammunition delivered to Central, North and West African countries. The 'No. delivered' and the 'Year(s) of deliveries' columns refer to all deliveries since the beginning of the contract. The 'Comments' column includes the designation of the items and the end-user as reported in the sources.

Recipient/ supplier (S) or licensor (L)	No. ordered	Weapon designation	Year of order	Year(s) of deliveries	No. delivered	Comments (source)
<b>Algeria</b> S: Bulgaria	..	Unspecified SALW	(2006)	2006	..	€31 827 of MLI items (Bulgarian national arms export report)
<b>Burkina Faso</b> S: Bulgaria	..	SALW ammunition	(2006)	2006	..	€173 243 of MLI items (Bulgarian national arms export report for 2006)
Romania	209	Grenade launcher	(2006)	2006	209	€902 920 deal (2006 Romanian national arms export report for 2006)
	400	Rifle	(2006)	2006	400	€85 200 deal (Romanian national arms export report for 2006)
	..	SALW ammunition	(2006)	(2006)	..	Small arms ammunition (Romanian national arms export report for 2006)
	..	SALW ammunition	(2006)	(2006)	2006	Anti tank ammunition (Romanian national arms export report for 2006)
<b>Cameroon</b> S: Italy Spain	(90)	Rifle Unspecified SALW	(2007) (2006)	2007 2006	90 ..	(Italian report to UNROCA for 2007) €900 worth of MLI items (EU arms export report for 2007)
<b>Chad</b> S: Bulgaria	..	Unspecified SALW	(2006)	2006	..	€208 125 of MLI items (Bulgarian national arms export report for 2006)
France	45	Machine gun	(2007)	2007	45	(French UNROCA submission for 2007)
Israel	..	Rifle	(2005)	2006	..	Tavor and Galil rifles (UN S/2008/647)
Serbia	4 m.	SALW ammunition	2006	2006	4 m.	5.56- mm rifle ammunition (UN S/2008/647; Serbian national arms export reports for 2005 and 2006)
Ukraine	12 000	Rifle	(2006)	2006–2007	12 000	Automatic rifles/submachine guns (Ukrainian national arms export reports 2007–2008)
Ukraine	2 (2)	Pistol/revolver Machine gun	(2007) (2007)	2007 2007	2 2	(Ukrainian national arms export report for 2007) Light machine guns (Ukrainian national arms export report for 2007)
<b>Gabon</b> S: France Romania	1 ..	Pistol/revolver SALW ammunition	(2007) 2006	2007 2006	1 ..	Pistol (French UNROCA submission for 2007) €137 499 worth of small arms ammunition (Romanian national arms export report for 2006)

Recipient/ supplier (S) or licensor (L)	No. ordered	Weapon designation	Year of order	Year(s) of deliveries	No. delivered	Comments (source)
<b>Ghana</b> S: Turkey	5	Pistol/revolver	(2007)	2007	5	Pistols and revolvers (Turkish UNROCA submission for 2007)
<b>Liberia</b> S: Nigeria Romania	50 1657	Pistol/revolver Rifle	2006 (2006)	2007 2006–2008	(50) (1657)	For police (UN S/2006/97, 20061215) AK-47 rifles; for armed forces (UN S/2008/371; Romanian national arms export report and UNROCA submission for 2007) RPG-7; for armed forces (UN S/2008/371; Romanian national arms exports report and UNROCA submission for 2007)
	150	Grenade launcher	(2007)	2007–2008	150	Model 1933 TT pistols; for armed forces (UN S/2008/371; Romanian UNROCA submission for 2007)
	(250)	Pistol/revolver	(2007)	2007–2008	(250)	7.62-mm ammunition; for armed forces (source: UN S/2008/371, 20080612; Romanian national arms export report for 2007)
Serbia	..	SALW ammunition	(2007)	2007–2008	(1702968)	Zastava light machine guns (UN S/2007/340; Serbian national arms export report for 2006)
	..	Machine gun	(2006)	2006–2007	..	82-mm mortars (UN S/2007/340)
	..	Mortar 50-98-mm	(2006)	2007	..	
<b>Libya</b> S: Ukraine	(101 500)	Rifle	(2006)	2006–2007	101500	Automatic rifles/submachine guns (Ukrainian national arms export reports for 2006–2007)
<b>Mali</b> S: France	350	Pistol/revolver	(2007)	2007	350	Pistols (French UNROCA submission for 2007)
<b>Morocco</b> S: Italy	2	Pistol/revolver	(2007)	2007	2	'Revolvers and self-loading pistols' (Italian UNROCA submission for 2007)
	2117	Rifle	(2007)	2007	2117	'Rifles and carbines' (Italian UNROCA report for 2007)
S: UK	14	Machine gun	(2007)	2007	14	6 general-purpose machine guns and 8 heavy machine guns (British UNROCA submissions for 2007)
	35	Pistol/revolver	(2007)	2007	35	4 revolvers and 31 semi-automatic pistols (British UNROCA submission for 2007)
	81	Rifle	(2007)	2007	81	2 shotguns, 5 sniper rifles, 74 assault rifles (British UNROCA submission for 2007)
<b>Niger</b> L: Serbia	..	Unspecified SALW	(2006)	2006	..	Part of \$9.8 m. worth of SALW and ammunition to civilian and military end-users in Niger, USA, Colombia, Ireland, Afghanistan, Liberia, Chad, Chile (Serbian national arms export report for 2006)



<b>Nigeria</b>	..	Unspecified SALW	(2006)	2006	..	Part of \$1 m. worth of submachine guns; pistols; carbines; mines; ammunition; submachine gun components; grenade launcher; military equipment; ammunition; rounds. Via UK. For military end users in Nigeria; Georgia; Oman; Pakistan; Libya; Iraq; UK; Qatar; Brazil; Spain (Serbian national export report for 2006)
<b>S: Switzerland</b>	..	Unspecified SALW	(2007)	2007	..	3165 Swiss francs worth of MLI items (Swiss national arms export report for 2007)
<b>Senegal</b>	150	Pistol/revolver	(2007)	2007	150	10 pistols and 140 revolvers (French UNROCA submission for 2007)
<b>S: France</b>	..	SALW ammunition	(2006)	2006	..	€28 831 worth of small arms ammunition (Romanian national arms export report for 2006)

.. = data not available; () = uncertain data or SIPRI estimate; MLI = EU Common Military List category, including smooth-bore weapons with a calibre of less than 20 mm, other arms and automatic weapons with a calibre of 12.7 mm or less and their accessories and specially designed components.

Sources: United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA); national arms exports reports, available at <[http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/atlinks\\_gov.html](http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/atlinks_gov.html)>; and reports by United Nations panels of experts, available at <<http://www.un.org/sc/committees/>>.

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#### SIPRI BACKGROUND PAPER

# ARMS TRANSFERS TO CENTRAL, NORTH AND WEST AFRICA

PIETER D. WEZEMAN

#### CONTENTS

I. Introduction	1
II. Arms transfers to the region	1
International transfers of small arms and light weapons	4
Suppliers	5
III. Transparency in arms transfers	6
IV. Conclusions	7
Box 1. Destabilizing or stabilizing weapons: the case of Liberia	3
Figure 1. National shares of the volume of transfers of major conventional weapons to Central, North and West Africa, 2004–2008	4
Table 1. Military expenditure in Central, North and West Africa, 1998–2007	2
Table 3. Central, North and West African states participation in the UN Register of Conventional Arms, 1998–2007	6
Table 4. Transfers of major conventional weapons to Central, North and West Africa, 2004–2008	8
Table 5. Sample transfers of small arms and light weapons to Central, North and West Africa, 2006–2007	13

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