

Commercial Sales. Commercial sales, according to Klare, predominate the diffusion model in all but a few states. He lists an impressive array of major suppliers in this field. However, to suggest that there is no link to government is incorrect. All states, particularly advanced states, are generally aware of these transactions as most have some form of import/export controls (See Annex C). As Jasit Singh points out "the state is the facilitator in the spread of small arms in the overwhelming majority of cases around the world"²⁰

Technology Transfer. Technology transfers aid in domestic arms production in 22 developing states, where 66 out of 146 weapons are produced under licence, according to Klare.²¹ An interesting side light to this observation is that in some instances the prospect, or actual implementation of embargoes from previous supplier states has encouraged this type of diffusion. In this regard embargoes can be a two edged sword.²² Also technology transfers, like commercial sales, are not normally done without the participation of governments. It should also be noted that reverse engineering - technology theft, is relatively easy to accomplish, particularly with light unsophisticated weapons such as most small arms, hand-held anti-tank weapons and mortars.

Quasi-legitimate Transfers. This can encompass two of Klare's diffusion sources. Covert arms deliveries by governments are what Klare considers the most destabilizing as they are going to non-state actors with few controls. Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua are noted as the worst examples. As well, government gifts to allied paramilitary groups run a close second to covert deliveries by governments according to Klare.²³ The most damning example given is the Hutu dominated government in Rwanda supplying arms to the Interhamwe Militia. Another example is rump Yugoslavia providing arms to Serbs outside its jurisdiction in the early days of the Yugoslavian break up. Again, these are state sanctioned transfers.

Illicit Transfers. Black market arms transfers, according to Klare, are now more important as a result of UN embargoes and the increase in non-state actors as belligerents.²⁴ On the other hand Karp suggests that the black market as a major source of arms is a myth as the trade is too expensive for most sub-state actors and too risky for individual black

²⁰ Singh, 154

²¹Klare, 12

²² Author's discussion with Pakistani officials and military officers Pakistan Ordnance Factories, December 1977. Pakistani officials cited the arms embargo during the 1965 war as the incentive to become self sufficient, particularly in munitions.

²³Klare, 13

²⁴*Ibid.*, 14