

were direct or indirect suppliers; establish the methods of export and shipping control; determine whether they frequently sold to independent third parties (arms dealers) or sold direct; determine what their selling criteria was, if any; and, make recommendations accordingly.

In closing it would appear that the best prospect for better control of small arms ammunition would be in developing agreements similar to the OAS Convention on regional or global bases. While such an agreement primarily deals with illicit transfers, it should be enhanced to make legal transfers more transparent outside of government. Such an agreement could be improved by the marking of cartridges to identify major end users. Agreements such as these should be underscored by similar agreements on "Codes of Conduct". As well the use of government controlled and internationally approved shipping organizations may help address the problems of loss and theft in transit and enhance transparency. An agreement would require a commensurate increase in the quality and quantity of enforcement, particular customs and law enforcement, and in the event of abuses, significant and meaningful sanctions by the world community. Attempts to focus only on supply-side regimes, such as the Wassenaar Arrangement, without the participation of would-be recipient countries, would probably be doomed to failure and may actually increase ammunition production diffusion. There are significant producers in developing countries and they will have to be part of any ammunition control regime. Ammunition, like the weapon itself, is just one component of a complex issue. There is no "key solution". It would appear that controls and constraints on weapons transfers and the destruction or non-dispersal of current un-required weapons stocks including ammunition, particularly within the context of disarmament and demobilization measures in post-conflict situations, may be a more promising field to pursue. However, anything less than a "holistic" approach to the problems at hand is likely to be more cosmetic than real in its ability to deal with this important facet of human security.