

- 2) commercial sales;
- 3) covert deliveries by governments;
- 4) black market sales.

Klare examines each of these avenues in turn. He concludes that there remains a paradox in arms control circles. Major weapons systems continue to receive international attention, and yet it is light weapons that are doing most of the killing. He emphasizes the need to alter the arms control focus to include the study of light weapons proliferation and its consequences.

523. Laurance, Edward J. "Addressing the Negative Consequences of Light Weapons Trafficking: Opportunities for Transparency and Restraint." In *Lethal Commerce: The Global Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*, [Serial No. 502], eds. Jeffrey Boutwell, Michael T. Klare and Laura W. Reed, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Committee on International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1995, pp. 140-157.

Two momentous events since 1989 have transformed the international system: the end of the Cold War and the Persian Gulf War. While these events contributed to a decline in transfers of major conventional weapons, they also contributed to a steady increase in the trade in light weapons. A survey is offered of the impact of these seminal events on arms control of major weapons systems (e.g., the Permanent Five Talks, and the establishment of the United Nations Register of Conventional Weapons).

The international trade in light weapons has been facilitated by a number of factors. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has made available for sale massive amounts of light weapons. The end of the Cold War has created surplus stocks of weapons in other states as well (e.g., throughout Europe and China). Major powers have lost their ability to restrain ethnic and nationalist rivalries within states (e.g., former Yugoslavia). Conflicts since the end of the Cold War have been primarily intrastate, and not conducted with heavy weapons.

Laurance also details the characteristics of light weapons which separate them from major weapons systems. First, light weapons are smaller and less visible, making tracking and verification problematic. Second, due to relatively low costs, more people can participate in the trade of light weapons. Finally, light weapons have little political or strategic significance.

The negative consequences of the arms trade, specifically the aspects of major versus light weapons, are discussed. In general, the main difference is "...the lack of a consensus on the negative consequences of trading in these [light] weapons systems" (p. 145). The political consequences of a transfer of major weapons systems are measured in terms of loss or gain of influence, but the same measure does not apply to light weapons. A consensus exists that transfers of major weapons contribute to destabilizing situations, but no such agreement has been reached vis à vis light weapons. The enormous costs inhibit many countries from purchasing large weapons systems. Light weapons, however, are relatively inexpensive and there is little economic pressure to stop states from acquiring these weapons. Finally, one area where some action may be possible is in the humanitarian field (e.g., emphasize the human cost of light weapons proliferation).

Laurance argues that an international norm must be created which stresses the negative humanitarian consequences of the trade in light weapons. Another option is the promotion of transparency measures. The UN Register is examined for its applicability to the trade in light weapons. Unlike many experts, Laurance does not advocate its expansion to include light weapons: "The key here is that the Register focuses mainly on one type of negative consequences of excessive arms accumulations: the outbreak of armed conflict across international borders" (p. 153). Since light weapons are being used primarily in intrastate conflict, the Register would be of little utility. Instead, policy makers need to be constantly shown that the use and availability of light weapons have profoundly negative consequences. Lawrence calls upon the United States and other major powers to play a key role in developing this new norm.

524. Laurance, Edward J. "Surplus Light Weapons as a Conversion Problem: Unique Characteristics and Solutions." In *Coping With Surplus Weapons: A Priority for Conversion Research and Policy*, eds. Edward J. Laurance and Herbert Wulf, Bonn: Bonn International Center for Conversion, June 1995, pp. 31-36 (This publication is also available on the Internet: <http://bicc.uni-bonn.de/weapons/brief3/chap5.html>).

Laurance notes that the export of small arms has increased since the end of the Cold War, citing four factors. First, the disintegration of the Soviet Union resulted in the release of massive amounts of new and used