



SMALL ARMS MONITOR

*Civil society perspectives on the Third Review Conference of the
UN Programme of Action on small arms
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The Small Arms Monitor is produced by the Reaching Critical Will programme of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) during meetings related to the UN Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons.

Editor: Allison Pytlak

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EDITORIAL: MOVING INTO THE FINAL

Allison Pytlak | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

We have reached the final day of the Third Review Conference (RevCon) for the UN Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons (UNPoA). Much in the way that teams progress through the different stages of the World Cup, helpfully broadcast outside the conference room, certain proposals and priorities have accumulated sufficient "points" and are advancing into new iterations of draft outcome documents. Others have been ousted, and will not move on.

Many of the differences in positions that remain have been foreshadowed since day one. States spent Wednesday discussing the thornier topics in closed informal meetings; the outputs of these discussions formed the basis of the fourth draft outcome document that was reviewed on Thursday in another informal session.

Disagreement remains over how extensively to reference the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Very many countries have requested to reference the 2030 Agenda in its entirety; a few prefer to only name Target 16.4 given its explicit mention of illicit arms flows.

This would be shortsighted. In its preamble, the UNPoA takes note of the "wide range of humanitarian and socio-economic consequences" posed by illicit arms, and the threat to "peace, reconciliation, safety, security, stability, and sustainable development". The 2030 Agenda is the other side of that coin, seeking to establish peace, prosperity, and partnership for people and planet. Both are globally negotiated frameworks

that give strong mandates for national level implementation. It is important to broaden acknowledgement of the 2030 Agenda in order to fully take advantage of the very many ways in which the two can help the other be fulfilled. There is relevance to Goal 5 on Gender Equality; Goal 11 on Sustainable Cities and Partnerships; and Goal 17 on Partnerships, to name a few points of connection and the Agenda itself is deliberately integrated and indivisible, in the words of one delegate. Mainstreaming small arms issues across development agendas, and vice versa, is critical to confront conflict and armed violence in a holistic and big picture way.

The original positions on ammunition references remain firm and it's not clear how this divide will be bridged in the end. The fourth draft outcome document makes reference to the separate, General Assembly process on ammunition—which is acceptable to all—and has a second reference encouraging information exchange between member states that apply the provisions of the UNPoA to ammunition. A statement was delivered on behalf of 76 countries on Thursday that urged states to address ammunition management and the regulation of its trade in this outcome document. Immediately afterward, a state that has been a long time opponent of doing so reiterated that its position has not changed.

There have been some upsets during the last two weeks. The proposed technical annex to the International Tracing Instrument (ITI) has been removed, and the acceptance of such has been a big concession from the states that were advocating for it. The an-

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Editorial, continued

nex would have been a mechanism to update the ITI vis-à-vis technological change, but was challenged by those who essentially, do not want to commit to something so specific. The remaining suggestion of a guidance document to take into account new technologies is being challenged—not conceptually, but as something for adoption at the next Biennial Meeting of States in 2020. Establishing a deadline is a way to ensure accountability in making it happen and guarantee at least some progress toward keeping the UNPoA and ITI current.

An issue somewhat newer to the UNPoA causing division is around the use of the term “illegal armed groups,” which two states want to see included—one indicated that this is a red line for them. Others oppose it; the term “illegal armed groups” is not a characterisation recognised by international law.

One or two late in the game proposals have come up with the potential to chip away at measures that prevent diversion. One state has asked to delete the word “transport” from the outcome document, currently placed in Section II in reference to preventing diversion and reducing illicit trafficking, on the grounds that this word is not included in the UNPoA. While the instrument does not explicitly mention the word “transport,” it does nevertheless address it through the concepts of “circulation,” “transit,” and “trafficking,” which are terms used in international customs regulations that refer to transport across territorial jurisdiction. As well, a few states wish to delete references to “end use/end user certification” found twice in the draft outcome document. Language in the UNPoA demonstrates the commitment of states to the concepts of certification and authentication, and should not be undermined.

Given these remaining divisions, it could be a dramatic final match at the RevCon. Except that this is not a game or a sporting event. It is a conference about lives and livelihoods, and preventing human suffering. Beyond whatever language is eventually agreed and adopted, what will really matter is what happens outside of the UN to put those words into action—in the cities, villages, countries, neighbourhoods, and homes afflicted by armed violence. •



A CALL TO ACTION ON GENDER AND SMALL ARMS CONTROL

Shanayah Renois | Nonviolence International

What are the obstacles to gender diversity in small arms control—and why is it important? The side event, “A Call to Action on Gender and Small Arms Control,” organised by the IANSA Women’s Network and the Permanent Mission of Trinidad and Tobago, discussed these fundamental questions on 26 June 2018.

“Gender,” a social construct about how men and women are supposed to act and which roles they are supposed to take on, is often confused with “sex,” which is about biological bodies. Gender is used to reinforce the problematic binary of men and women, and to create a hierarchal order between them, where men are strong, rational, and active and women are weak, irrational, and passive. The most dominant norms of masculinity prescribe the willingness and capacity to use violence. Militarised masculinity is very harmful to society, as it oppresses people who are deemed weaker, such as women, LGBTQ+, and non-conforming men, explained panelist Ray Acheson of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

This dichotomy not only shapes how men and women are viewed in society, but it also dictates how much of a say women have in disarmament. Acheson argued that within this construction, women are likely to be considered the victims of violence, while men are the aggressors. Correspondingly, if men are considered the aggressors, it means they are more expandable in conflict, but it also grants them, and only them, a seat at the table when negotiating peace and security issues. It is important to integrate gender perspectives in small arms control measures in order to challenge these destructive conceptions.

In the UN Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons (UNPoA), the gender gap is tremendous. The UNPoA states solely that it is “gravely concerned about negative impact on women and elderly.” Daniel Prins of the UN Office of Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) said that while women are portrayed as victims of armed violence, often places additional economic,

social, and psychological burdens on women. The framing of women solely as victims of SALW in the UNPoA also reflects the glaring lack of recognition of the agency of women in disarmament.

Folade Mutota of Women’s Institute for Alternative Development (WINAD) presented research that her organisation conducted in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. It examines how women experience insecurity in underserved and highly violent communities. The study found that leadership is a gendered concept that determines how critical decisions are made, who makes those decisions, and reinforces the stereotype of women as victims, which prevents women from being heard. She also noted that women’s security is a consequence of the intersectionality of ethnicity, age, geography, and social class.

Charlene Roopnarine of the Permanent Mission of Trinidad and Tobago highlighted her country’s commitment to gender equality and women’s empowerment. In 2010, Trinidad and Tobago introduced the first resolution on women, disarmament, non-proliferation, and arms control (A/C.1/67/L.35/Rev.1) to the General Assembly. The resolution is an example of the systematic approach needed in small arms control.

Jasmin Nario-Galace of the IANSA Women’s Network presented research showing that only 50 percent of states reported taking into account gender in small arms control processes. Of these countries, only 18.8 percent reported having female members in national commissions on small arms and light weapons (SALW). Additionally, only 8.5 percent of countries reported to have collected disaggregated data on gender and the illicit trade in SALW. Nario-Galace obtained her data from the UNPoA reports submitted this year. Nario-Galace, IANSA Women’s Network Co-coordinator, then spoke about the “Call to Action on Gender and Small Arms” which IANSA offers as guide for all stakeholders working to close the gender gap in the work to reduce the proliferation and misuse of guns. •



SMALL ARMS, BIG HARMS: A CALL TO ACTION ON GENDER AND SMALL ARMS

Jasmin Nario-Galace | Center for Peace Education and IANSA Women's Network

The Women's Network of the International Action Network on Small Arms and Light Weapons (IANSA) launched "A Call to Action (CtA) by Civil Society on Gender and Small Arms Control" on 27 June. The Call to Action lists suggested approaches and strategies to operationalise the gender-related outcomes of previous meetings on the Programme of Action (UNPoA) on small arms and light weapons (SALW). The CtA is meant for States, international, regional, and sub-regional organisations, civil society, and all relevant stakeholders looking at advancing gender perspectives, addressing gender stereotypes, and promoting meaningful representation and participation of women in small arms control.

The CtA took over a year to complete. It is a product of a survey administered to gender and disarmament advocates on the ground, mostly from areas with high levels of gun violence. The results of the survey was drafted into a Call by the IANSA Women's Network Secretariat and was reviewed and refined by gender and disarmament experts from academia; civil society organisations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Amnesty International, Pax Christi, and Womankind; as well as international organisations such as the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA).

The CtA reflects the voices of those affected by gun violence on the ground. It recognises that cultural norms of masculinity play a role in the proliferation and misuse of SALW. It celebrates the advances made in the international policy framework regarding the convergence of the small arms control agenda and the women peace and security agenda. It urges a "thorough inclusion of gender perspectives in SALW control policies, programs and activities in all settings and at all levels, including addressing the gendered nature of ownership and use of small arms, the differentiated effects of SALW on women and men, and the ways in which gender roles can shape SALW policies and practices." It includes calls that relate to national reporting on the UNPoA; ensuring women's meaningful participation; effective implementation of the gender-based violence provision in the Arms Trade Treaty; and ad-

ressing the socially constructed masculinities that contribute to the illicit trade in SALW, among other items.

It is heartening that the fourth draft of the Review Conference's outcome document reflects many of the aspirations included in the CtA. This is an indication of the weight that stakeholders put into mainstreaming gender perspectives into their work on disarmament. Improvements could be made, of course, including re-inserting references to domestic violence and strengthening the language on gender-based violence. References to "equal" participation of women have also unfortunately been removed and have been replaced by "strengthened participation". Despite these weaknesses, the draft is significantly stronger than any earlier UNPoA documents and will help serve the cause of saving lives and building a culture of nonviolence and peace.

The Call to Action can be found at

https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/bb4a5b_3e9af82d8eba4185bc85a8d2d4ecb325.pdf



Image courtesy of IANSA

PARKLAND SCHOOL SHOOTING SURVIVOR ADVOCATES FOR YOUTH AT THE UN

Erica Mumford | International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) Youth Ambassador

Seventeen-year-old Parkland school shooting survivor Mei-Ling Ho-Shing delivered a strong message to delegates at the Third Review Conference on the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms (UNPoA): “The decisions that governments make here this week will affect my future, and all young people around the world. Please don’t let us down.”

Speaking on behalf of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) during the NGO presentations on 20 June, Mei-Ling described the terrifying reality of gun violence in schools. On 14 February 2018, a 19-year old boy opened fire at students and teachers at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida using a military-style assault weapon.

Mei-Ling crouched in the corner of her classroom as she listened to the screams of her fellow students and of teachers. That day, 14 students and 3 staff were killed, and thousands of students were severely traumatised. “I feel that I am here today on behalf of my friend, Helena Ramsay, who was shot and killed. She was passionate about international affairs and fascinated by the work of the United Nations. She would have loved to be here today,” Mei-Ling said.

Mei-Ling also spoke about how her life has changed since the tragedy. “I have learned things that I never thought about before. Like how to hide from a person shooting at me and my friends. And how to provide emergency treatment for bullet wounds. American schools are now putting special kits for treating bullet wounds in every classroom. Many of you in this conference have children, and I hope that they never have to learn in school how to treat a bullet wound.”

Before speaking at the Third Review Conference (RevCon3), Mei-Ling spent several days with IANSA learning more about the United Nations. She noted that she recently learned about the Sustainable Development Goals, including Goal Number 4 on education, and Target 4.A which promises a safe and non-violent learning environment. “As long as military assault weapons are freely available in so-

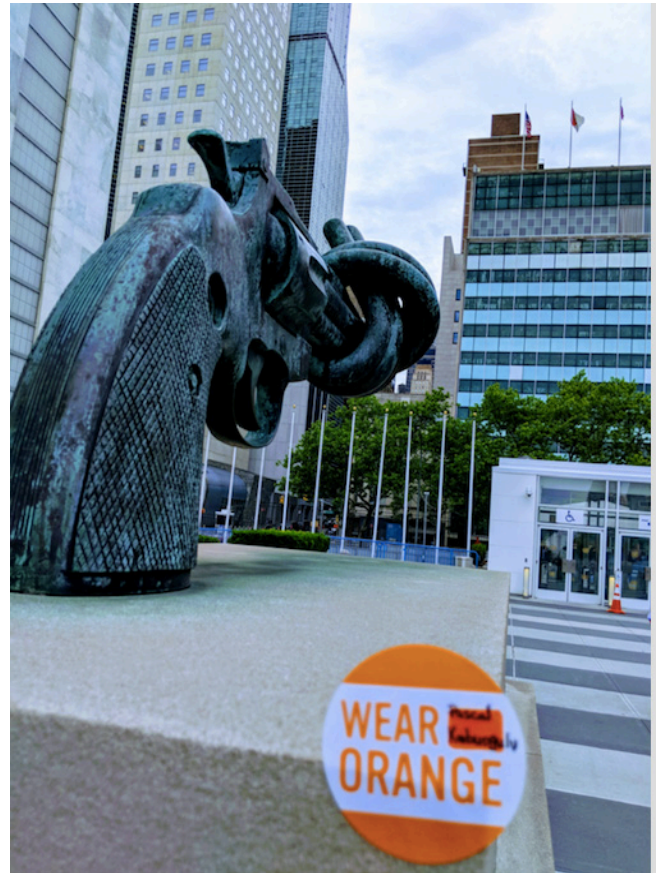


Image courtesy of IANSA

ciety, I won’t be safe in school or anywhere,” she asserted. “As a result of the tragedy at my school, I am one of millions of young people who have joined the national debate on the regulation of guns and ammunition, and prohibiting the sale of military assault weapons. We are an example of another concept I’ve learned about at the United Nations— Security Council Resolution Number 2250, dealing with youth, peace and security,” she added.

On 22 June, IANSA organized a #WearOrange against gun violence event at the United Nations. Delegates of a number of countries, UN officials, and NGO representatives carried the name “Helena Ramsay,” on their Wear Orange items to honor the life of Mei-Ling’s friend who never had the chance to make it to the UN Headquarters, and the lives of all victims and survivors of gun violence against the world.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Marina Kalliga | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

The positions conveyed here are not comprehensive but intended as a summary of the consultations on the fourth draft of the outcome document. Attribution is not given due to informal nature of the consultations.

Section II: Implementation of the UNPoA

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Paragraph 5

- One state reiterated its position that it will accept only a specific reference to Target 16.4 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and proposed deleting the words “Goal 16 and” from paragraph 5 of section II, as it implies relevance of other Goals. A state argued that the UNPoA is not an appropriate place to discuss the SDGs and suggested the insertion of “Target 16.4” before any mention of the Agenda 2030 throughout the text.
- A state called for the retention of Goal 16 in paragraph 5 as this already represents a big compromise from its position of supporting a broad approach to the 2030 Agenda, and further compromise has also been made in the number of paragraphs referring to the SDGs. It was recommended that language on “measuring progress” that was removed from the previous draft is reinserted. A state spoke in favor of adding “measuring progress” towards implementation of the UNPoA and the SDGs, and stressed the importance of having a multi-dimensional approach to 2030 Agenda, as there are other goals that are also relevant to the UNPoA and national authorities need to align all of their objectives.
- During the night session, one state proposed a compromise of referring to the 2030 Agenda in its entirety in Section I, and then only Target 16.4 in the remainder of the document. Other states pointed out that this would be too much of a compromise, given other changes that have already been one. One state this is unacceptable; no reference to the 2030 Agenda can be included.

Sub-section B.1 on the SDGs

- A proposal was made for the addition of a new paragraph before paragraph 74 to encourage states to mainstream Goal 16, especially Target 16.4 of the SDGs, in national action plans and policy frameworks as part of efforts to strengthen and improve the implementation of the UNPoA. The President encouraged the state to consider whether paragraph 75 already covers the proposal sufficiently or could be amended to that end.
- A group of states reiterated their wish to see an explicit connection between the UNPoA and SDG Target 16.4 only, not the entire 2030 Agenda. Twenty-three states called for a broad reference to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to be retained in the outcome document, recalling that the 2030 Agenda and the UNPoA are mutually reinforcing.

Synergies with other instruments

Paragraph 17

- A proposal was made to delete “the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, its Firearms Protocol” from paragraph 17. Two states supported this proposal. A group of states spoke in favour of retaining the reference to the Firearms Protocol, arguing that it has been included in PoA work in the past so it is appropriate to retain it. Another state pointed out that the phrases “as appropriate” and “to which a state is a party” included in paragraph 17 are sufficient caveats.

Paragraph 34

- A state proposed to delete the term “risk assessment” from paragraph 34 because it is a term from a treaty that it is not a party to and it does not want language from that treaty quoted in the outcome document.



News in Brief, continued

Ammunition

Paragraph 18

- A statement was read on behalf of seventy-six countries that support paragraph 18 on ammunition. The statement highlighted that an overwhelming majority of states are of the conviction that the UNPoA should also be applied to ammunition and urged states to address ammunition management and the regulation of its trade in this outcome document.
- One state proposed the deletion of paragraph 18 because it continues to believe that ammunition is not in the scope of the UNPoA and it should be addressed in a separate process, such as the GGE process.

Man portable air defence systems (MANPADS)

Paragraph 21

- A group of states proposed deleting “including man-portable air defence launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems” from paragraph 21 because they do not agree with mentioning a particular type of weapon. One country stated that if the language mentioned above were retained then they wish to add a specific reference to anti-tank missile launcher systems.
- A group of states expressed support for retaining the existing text, arguing that MANPADS cause a different dimension of damage with only one weapon than other small arms and light weapons (SALW) so it is worthwhile to keep a reference to this specific category. One country stated that in the interest of time it would be willing to accept more generic language in paragraph 21, although it supports the current formulation.
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worthwhile to keep a reference to this specific category.

Unauthorised recipients

Paragraph 29

- A state called for the deletion of the term “end-use”, arguing that it is not included in the UNPoA and the review conference doesn’t have a mandate to re-write the UNPoA. A group of states pointed out that paragraph 12 of section II of the UNPoA has a reference to “authenticated end-user certificates”, and it is appropriate to maintain the language in paragraph 29 of the outcome document.
- One state argued that “end-use” needs to be retained because some countries use end-use certificates instead of end-user certificates. A proposal was put forth to use the term of “relevant certification processes”. The two states disagreeing about the language stated that they could support this proposal, but another state insisted that “end-user certificate” should be included in the text. The President suggested using the phrase “relevant certification processes” and then adding “such as end-user certificates” after it.

3D printing

Paragraphs 58 and 60

- One state proposed deleting “including for 3D printing and distributed manufacturing” from paragraph 58. Another state supported this proposal and also called for the deletion of the other reference to 3D printing in paragraph 60.
- A group of states argued that references to 3D printing should be included in the outcome document because this new technology needs to be taken into account, and one state added that it views 3D printing as a major challenge. These paragraphs were revisited later in the night session and a compromise was reached to change the term “distributed manufacturing” to “additive manufacturing” and to delete the reference to 3D printing in paragraph 60.

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News in Brief, continued

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Gender

- The President proposed an amendment to avoid

redundancy to merge paragraphs 70 and 85. Paragraph 70 was deleted and in paragraph 85 the language “including through national reports” was added before “and to increase” in order to retain the notion of national reports contained in paragraph 70, which a state called for. One state hoped that this compromise would appease delegations that previously expressed the view that there were too many references to gender in the outcome document.

Use of SALW by civilians

- A state reiterated a proposal made previously by a group of thirteen states to address the illicit acquisition, possession, and use of SALW by civilians in a new paragraph in the section on a culture of peace. A state spoke in favour of this proposal, which it views as fundamental in the context of the UNPoA. One state spoke against this proposal, arguing that civilian possession and use of firearms is outside the scope of the UNPoA and it is not on the table for consideration.

Section III: Implementation of the ITI

Marking

Paragraph 4

- One state called for the deletion of paragraph 4 of Section III, arguing that it mixes various obligations and goes beyond the scope of the UNPoA by importing an obligation from the Firearms Protocol, namely the criminalisation of marking removal. Two states voiced support for this proposal. A compromise was suggested to delete the second part of the paragraph, beginning with “as well as” until the end of the paragraph. This was supported by one state. Two further compromises were recommended, to delete “including criminal measures” and to change the language from “adopt” to “consider adopting”. The paragraph was agreed to with these amendments.

Tracing

Paragraph 11

- A state opposed the language of paragraph 11 on the basis that the paragraph recommends

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News in Brief, continued

- that tracing begin first in the country where the weapon is recovered, whereas the state believes that tracing should begin in the country where it is manufactured. Its concerns were that the country where the weapon is recovered may not have any records, and that decisions of how tracing is carried out should be left to law enforcement authorities. The state stated that the two sources for tracing are the manufacture record and the import source, and proposed the addition of “available records in the state of recovery and records in the state of manufacture.”
- The President proposed that the second sentence of paragraph 11 become a separate paragraph.

Section IV: international cooperation and assistance

Paragraph 2 - SDGs

- Two states argued that it is of particular importance to have references to the Sustainable Development Goals in the chapter on sustainable international cooperation and assistance.

Paragraph 21 (“upon request by the recipient state”)

- A proposal was made to replace the language in paragraph 21 “and upon request by the recipient state” with “and upon mutual consent” on the basis that assistance on demand has long been avoided. Two states spoke against this proposal, one of them arguing that the phrase “mutual consent” places conditions on recipient states.
- The other state emphasised that the aim of the paragraph is to ensure national ownership and the current phrase is one that is commonly used when it comes to assistance projects, whereas the phrase “mutual consent” does not apply to all cases under this paragraph.
- A compromise was proposed to include both of these phrases in paragraph 21. Three states expressed their willingness to accept this compromise, while two states called for the retaining the original formulation of this paragraph.

Section V: Follow-up

Preamble Fourth paragraph on day-to-day implementation

- Two states asked for the deletion of the fourth preambular paragraph, which refers to the proposal made previously on the day-to-day implementation of the UNPoA. Another state expressed serious doubts that it will be able to accept the fourth preambular as it doubts the need to have such a process. One state that had previously supported the proposal for the day-to-day implementation of the UNPoA stated that this paragraph is no longer the same proposal, it is too open-ended as it is, and it cannot accept the language “including through informal meetings.” One state expressed disappointment at the suggestions for deletion of this paragraph, and another state expressed support for a more regular follow-up mechanism.

Paragraph 1 - Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) fellowship proposal

- One state expressed the view that the language of paragraph 1 is ruining the idea of establishing a fellowship programme and wishes to see it better reflect the NAM proposal.
- One state believes that paragraph 1 is a compromise, as it would have preferred to delay any decision on whether or not to establish a training programme.
- One state noted the inclusion of the phrase “voluntary contributions” in paragraph 1 and stressed the need for this programme to not have a budgetary impact.

Paragraph 3 - Guidance document

- The President put forward new language on paragraph 3 that was formulated during closed informal consultations, which includes the addition of “after consulting member states” after “Secretary-General” and “if consensus is reached prior to this date” at the end of the paragraph.

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News in Brief, continued

- One country stated that during informals there was a proposal made to delete the last sentence of paragraph 3. The state expressed the preference that the 7th Biennial Meeting of States (BMS7) focus solely on the issue of diversion and illicit transfers. Another country stated it cannot accept adopting any kind of complementary document to the UNPoA and the International Tracing Instrument (ITI) in the BMS7 as there is no need for such a document, thus it cannot support the last part of this paragraph.
- Speaking in favour of retaining paragraph 3 as presented by the President, two states argued that this paragraph now includes only a fairly modest suggestion to have a guidance document that can be “considered” for adoption at the BMS7, and it is the result of a major compromise made to remove the language on an annex included in the previous draft.
- One of the states questioned why there is an aversion to a document that would assist states in implementing the ITI, especially given that the paragraph now includes references to consultations with member states and a consensus to be reached before the BMS7.
- The other state highlighted the fact that weapons are already being manufactured using new technologies and they are entering the market, thus is quite an imminent threat that needs to be addressed at an early date. Two countries stated their support for the compromise language of paragraph 3.

Paragraph 4 - Proposal to add illegal armed groups

- A proposal was made to add the phrase “illegal armed groups” after the word “terrorists” in paragraph 4 of section IV. This proposal was seconded. Four states spoke against this proposal, one of them explaining that any reference to “illegal armed groups” would not be acceptable because it is not a term recognised under international law.
- The recommendation was put forth to delete “in particular to terrorists and to transnational organised criminal groups” in order to end the

debate over what types of groups should be referenced in this paragraph. In response, the state proposing the addition of “illegal armed groups” stayed firm in its position, stating that this is a red line. •

