

UNITED NATIONS INTER-AGENCY SMALL ARMS CONTROL STANDARDS DEVELOPMENT

A Case Study In Transnational Gun Control & Civil Disarmament Policymaking?

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This is a draft paper intended for wide review and comment. Feedback would be much appreciated and will help shape ongoing work to develop and explore this area of legal research. Please see author contact information in the Notice section of this paper.

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Summary

The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) is recognized within the UN system as a gateway instrument for the progressive development of conventional arms control and disarmament. A valuable input to this process will likely be the United Nations' (UN) International Small Arms Control Standards (ISACS). This draft paper examines the purpose, scope, approach, history, players, process, controversy, and selected normative implications of the UN's ISACS project.

The paper makes use of various primary source documents including the initial ISACS project kick-off document, draft standards on national small arms control, and interviews and public statements from the ISACS project coordinator, a contracted lead-author, influential diplomats and legal scholars, and stakeholders from non-traditional civil society groups. The paper uses this material to review the execution of the ISACS project and its deliverables in light of its goal to produce internationally accepted and validated standards.

The review found evidence of the project being in systemic variance with two of the four basic principles of international standards development promoted by the International Organization of Standardization (ISO). The implication for ISACS project deliverables is mixed. While some States may choose to adopt them in whole or part into national legal systems, specially-affected states like the United States might not because the deliverables came from a process characterized by a favored stakeholder engagement approach and an opaque and exclusive governance model, are therefore not bona-fide standards à la the ISO method, and of questionable normative validity.

A key element of the paper is an explanation of how the ISACS project and some of its deliverables on national small arms control are an example of 21st century transnational gun control policy making. The paper then illustrates how one draft standard in particular presents adverse implications for non-traditional segments of global civil society as represented by non-profit and charitable trade, collecting, sporting, and "pro-gun" human rights / civil rights groups in exceptional developed national jurisdictions, namely the United States. Among other things the paper reports feedback on how the execution of the project has seriously eroded confidence among these specially-affected non-traditional stakeholders who would otherwise support the project's admirable humanitarian aims.

The paper ends with the observation that, for all the good ISACS may do for normatively underdeveloped states, the ISACS project is instructive for its flaws to developers and advocates of international law. One lesson is perhaps that normative ambitions in UN project settings can and do compromise accepted principles of international standards development and undermine confidence among stakeholders, and that this can have predictable political consequences with potentially wide-ranging implications. Ultimately, the apparent infidelity of the ISACS development process with respect to the ISO standards development principles, among other things, may create an enduring crisis of confidence that precipitates disruptive political blow-back that could reverse official American support for the ATT and undermine other efforts at conventional arms control and disarmament.

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Introduction

The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) was approved by the UN General Assembly on April 2nd 2013 and since this time new energy has been coalescing internationally on how to quickly bring this treaty into force and to move towards practical implementation.¹

This energy was evident on June 20th during a public briefing in Geneva aimed at taking stock of the process to date, looking at the context into which the ATT is inserted, and exploring the immediate next steps required for the Treaty to enter into force.² The presenters included Ambassador Peter Woolcott, the President of the 2013 Final Conference on the UN ATT; Ambassador Roberto Moritán, the President of the 2012 Conference on the UN ATT and Chairman of the pre-negotiations Preparatory Committee process; Sarah Parker from the Small Arms Survey;³ and Dr. Paul Holtom of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)⁴

Ambassador Moritán spoke first and set the frame and tone for the speakers that followed. He explained, among other things, that the ATT should not be seen as a static or stand alone treaty, like others within the traditional arms control and disarmament field (on Landmines, Cluster Munitions, etc). Instead, the ATT must be viewed as a continual process, a framework, and one that must be dynamic and expandable through amendments and additional protocols as States Parties see fit. Ambassador Woolcott added that while consensus seeking was and should remain a priority with respect to the ATT discussions, the treaty does provide for an “off ramp” from the road of consensus seeking. This comes in the “elaborate” form of an amendment approval process requiring a simpler three-fourths majority at meetings of States Parties no earlier than six years from when the treaty enters into force and then every third year thereafter. To Woolcott, this formula makes the ATT a “a living document.” It was in this context that Ambassador Moritán clarified that the current “scope,” “parameters,” and “criteria” within the existing ATT “need additional negotiation” and then concluded by stating:

*“The ATT process has to lead to negotiations in conventional weapons.
Negotiations of conventional weapons cannot continue to be a taboo in the United Nations.”⁵*

It was understood by the room that perhaps the most important changes desired will be on the small arms and light weapons issue. Sarah Parker of the Small Arm Survey then presented a PowerPoint version of a report she published a few weeks earlier called: “The Arms Trade Treaty: A Step Forward in Small Arms Control?”

Ms. Parker made the point both in her report and her presentation that while “the ATT has contributed several missing pieces to the framework of controls governing the international transfer of small arms,” it nonetheless has “provisions that are, in many cases, weaker than existing commitments on small arms transfers agreed more than a decade ago.”⁶ She confirmed that deliverables from a separate UN project to write and promulgate International Small Arms Control Standards (ISACS) would be “of value” in future discussions to amend the ATT.⁷

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The key take-aways from the briefing with respect to small arms: the ATT needs more work with respect to controlling and documenting international small arms transfers at the very least, and the UN ISACS are seen as a valuable tools to help transform the ATT into a more robust binding instrument of small arms control going forward.

What are UN ISACS?

The UN ISACS project has been in collaborative development since 2008 led by the UN's Development Program (UNDP) and Office of Disarmament Affairs (ODA). According to the project's public website, the ISACS are designed to:

*"[F]it within the global framework created by the UN Programme of Action (PoA), the International Tracing Instrument (ITI) and the UN Firearms Protocol; and build upon best practices elaborated at regional and sub-regional levels."*⁸

As such, ISACS are a means to develop and harden parts of the non-binding PoA as well as add normative value to the existing global framework on small arms controls. Hardening is the process of taking soft-law and making it legally binding. A major criticism of the PoA among its supporters is that it hasn't been as effective as it could be and that this was due to its political or non-binding nature. Now, the global framework includes the ATT. And Figure 2 below sketches the key international instruments comprising the current global small arm controls framework, including ISACS.

Figure 1 Global Small Arms Control Framework

GLOBAL SMALL ARMS CONTROL FRAMEWORK							
International Instrument	Date Adopted	Legally Binding	Scope				
			Small Arms	Light Weapons	Ammunition	Parts	Components
Firearms Protocol	2-Jun-01	X	X	X	X	X	X
PoA	20-Jul-01		X	X			
ITI	8-Dec-05		X	X			
ATT	2-Apr-13	X	X	X	*	*	*
ISACS	Rolling **	***	X	X	X	X	X

⁸Notes: Prepared by Jeff Moran. Adapted from a framework published in the Small Arms Survey Research Note 30, June 2013.

* The ATT as adopted 2 April 2013 contains provisions for ammunition, parts, and components, but these are not consistently addressed within the treaty. These provisions can be changed through amendment.

** There are plans to adopt 24 standards, 8 were published in 2012, with the remainder expected by 2013 year-end.

***When published by UNDP and ODA, ISACS are a non-binding but of normative value. If provisions from an ISACS are amended to the ATT, the provision becomes legally binding on State Parties. Rules put forward in any ISACS could become binding on all countries (including non-signatories to the ATT) if and when a given rule becomes recognized as reflecting customary international

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What is the coalition behind UN ISACS?

The ISACS project has been coordinated by Dr. Patrick McCarthy since beginning in 2008. His duties have been to work with the UNDP and ODA, and coordinate with what is now a coalition of 23 UN agencies. This coalition of supporting agencies is known as the Coordinating Activity on Small Arms (CASA).⁹ CASA agencies are part of the growing ISACS partner list.

The ISACS partnership list includes these CASA members, plus 19 member states, 17 other international organizations, and over 30 humanitarian civil society groups.¹⁰ None of the permanent UN Security Council member states are partners with ISACS, but Australia is. In fact the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs is a listed ISACS partner and the employer of the 2013 UN ATT Conference President Ambassador Woolcott, and sponsored the services of the Small Arms Survey's Sarah Parker, an Australian herself, as an advisor to prior Australian ATT delegations. Ms. Parker, incidentally, is also a lead author of one potentially controversial ISACS on national controls of small arms manufacturing.

Also technically part of the partnership base has been a small and shrinking number of non-voting and non-traditional representatives of global civil society: non-profit and charitable trade, collecting, sporting, and "pro-gun" human rights / civil rights groups from developed national jurisdictions. These groups have been involved with giving advice and feedback on certain standards where permitted, but their input does not have to be considered if the lead author or ISAC project coordinator don't care for it.

According to the original ISACS project kick-off document, the reason to launch the ISACS project was because the UN agencies sponsoring it believe "the time has come to develop a set of internationally accepted and validated standards providing comprehensive guidance on [Small Arms and Light Weapons] control to practitioners and policy makers."¹¹

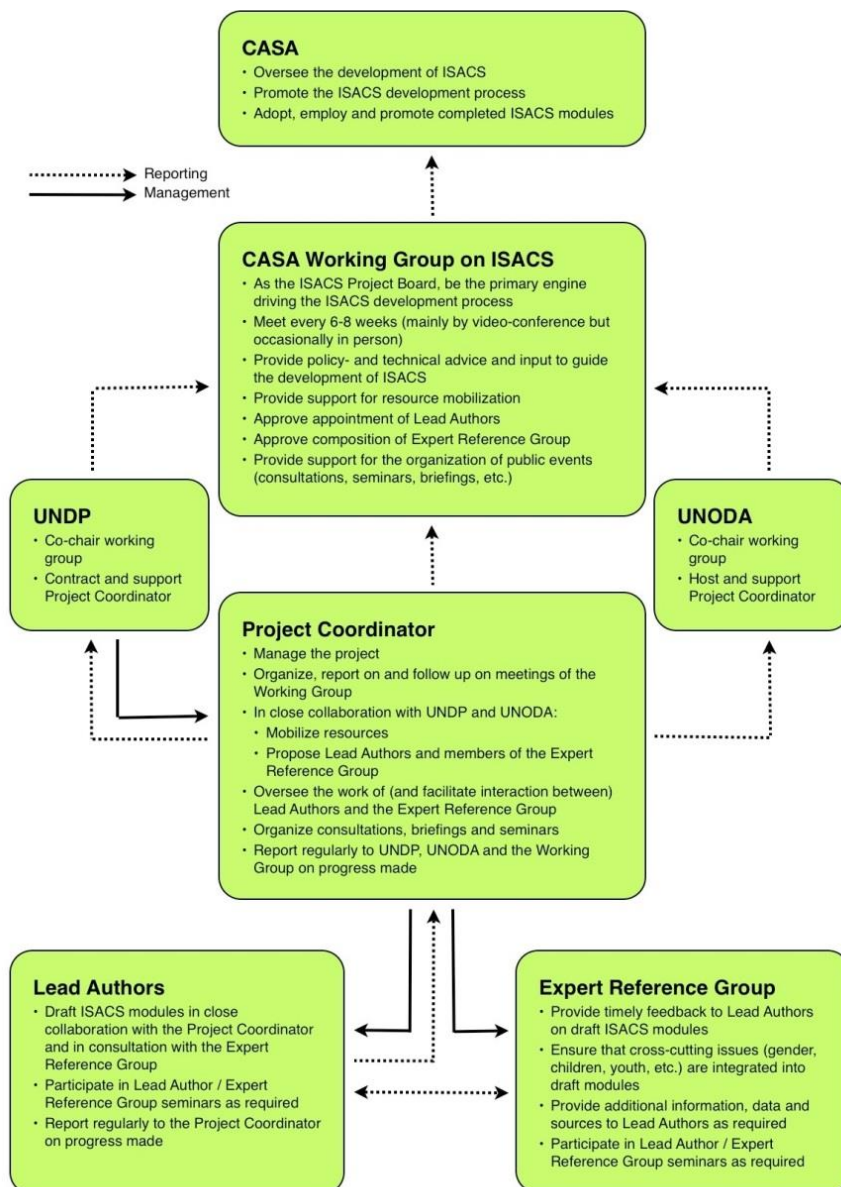
How has CASA and ISACS worked?

The short answer is, by outsourcing the writing to various lead authors, getting input from a non-voting expert reference group, and then approving the standards through a governance process that has not been publicly defined explained, or defined or explained to partnering non-traditional civil society groups that a more or less specially affected by the would-be standards themselves. What is known is that Dr. McCarthy is on contract to the UNDP but also reports to ODA. Over the years Dr. McCarthy has overseen subcontracted lead authors and the growing non-voting expert reference group to help flesh out standards based on various existing instruments. The lead authors include international small arms control advocates or researchers like Ed Lurance,¹² who is former strategic planner for IANSA. IANSA stands for the International Action Network on Small Arms, which, according to page three of its foundation document, is committed to "reducing the availability of weapons to civilians in all societies."¹³

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The ISACS project has worked mostly virtually in a distributed manner using specialized groupware technologies and UN video conferences to develop a range of international standards. The ISACS project structure and key relationships are illustrated in Figure 1 below.¹⁴

Figure 2 ISACS Project Structure and Relationships



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What is meant by "international standard?"

The ISACS project document borrows its definition from the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), defining a standard to be a

"document, established by consensus and approved by a recognized body, that provides, for common and repeated use, rules, guidelines or characteristics for activities or their results, aimed at the achievement of the optimum degree of order in a given context."

The ISACS project document also suggest the project has also followed "to the extent possible, the Rules for the Structure and Drafting of International Standards developed by the [ISO]." What is not mentioned in the project document are the fundamental principles of international standards development that must underpin any ISO standards development initiative. According to the ISO itself, there are four principles of international standards development:¹⁵

1. ISO standards respond to a need in the market
2. ISO standards are based on global expert opinion
3. ISO standards are developed through a multi-stakeholder process
4. ISO standards are based on a consensus

What is the potential normative impact of ISACS?

According to the ISACS website, the purpose of all the standards modules "is to provide clear, practical and comprehensive guidance to practitioners and policymakers on fundamental aspects of small arms and light weapons control." However, in reality, ISACS is much more than about providing practical guidance...it is about international or even transnational lawmaking by other means. To understand this, one need only refer to the 2012 speech titled "Twenty-first Century International Lawmaking" by former U.S. State Department Legal Advisor Harold Koh. Now a Professor at Yale Law School, Professor Koh's, says twenty-first century international lawmaking is better called "transnational legal process." He elaborates in his speech:

...International law is primarily enforced not by coercion, but by a process of internalized compliance. Nations tend to obey international law, because their government bureaucracies adopt standard operating procedures and other internal mechanisms that foster default patterns of habitual compliance with international legal rules...

...[W]e now develop international law more and more through "diplomatic law talk" — dialogue within epistemic communities of international lawyers working for diverse governments and nongovernmental institutions. Perhaps someday these

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norms will crystallize and, if necessary and advisable, become a basis for a multilateral treaty negotiation...

... [But even if a treaty negotiation doesn't formally materialize, "diplomatic law talk"] creates a record of state practice and builds a process of generating opinio juris, the notion that states engage in those practices out of a sense of legal obligation. So even when their meetings don't involve drafting and concluding agreement language, government lawyers find themselves contributing to the development and application of international law [customary law in particular].

...[In the end] twenty-first century international lawmaking has become a swirling interactive process whereby norms get "uploaded" from one country [or international organization] into the international system, and then "downloaded" elsewhere into another country's laws or even a private actor's internal rules.¹⁶

Professor Koh's views are consistent with the earlier writings and teachings of other well regarded legal scholars such as Dr. José Alvarez of the New York Law School. According to Dr. Alvarez' 2005 ground breaking research, international organizations within the UN, like as the ones sponsoring the ISACS project, have been increasingly taking on delegated authority by member states. What's more, they are increasingly assuming lawmaking and regulatory roles on matters traditionally thought to be within the exclusive jurisdiction of national legislatures and executive regulatory agencies.¹⁷ In a 2008 lecture posted online through the UN's library, Dr. Alvarez explains why it is important to all stakeholders to get serious about the phenomena of international organizations as lawmakers.¹⁸

Clearly the UNDP and ODA took this lesson to heart with their ISACS initiative starting up about the same time at Dr. Alvarez's ideas were published through the UN library online. Privately, Geneva-based small arms process legal specialists and researchers acknowledge that international lawmaking is a valid description for what ISACS is all about, even if it is only non-binding standards or softlaw at this early point.

The legal understanding, and hope by many in the UN small arms process¹⁹ is that not only can ISACS be hardened into legally binding international law if they are incorporated into future amendments or as additional protocols to the ATT, they may eventually become recognized as reflecting customary international law, which would make them globally legally binding on all States whether or not a state ratified or acceded to the ATT or not.

What does the ISACS entail?

ISACS covers a full range of topic areas related to small arms and the policy challenges they present mostly from the point of view of UN agencies, a relatively small group of "angelic" developed states and small arms afflicted developing states, and a range of other humanitarian civil society groups that have

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been also pushing the hardest for the ATT. There are six series of ISACS, organized into 24 sub modules²⁰:

Series 1 is basically an introduction to the ISACS framework.

Series 2 entails controls designed for various contexts like for preventing armed violence.

Series 3 is about national controls over things such as civilian access to small arms.

Series 4 is about designing and managing national plans to implement ISACS.

Series 5 is about standards that relate to operational support to the UN in the field.

Series 6 is about standards pertaining to cross-cutting women's and children's issues

Clearly, some of the ISACS modules will be very helpful, especially where aimed at helping fragile and post-conflict States institute effective controls where military small arms and light weapons are clearly out of control. These kinds of programs are necessary in countries like Burundi where humanitarian advocacy groups claim a hand grenade can cost less than a pint of beer, and government and civil society still struggle with the aftermath of genocidal conflict.²¹

But real challenge and risk to some states and the specially affected non-traditional civil society segments mentioned earlier is that ISACS "uploaded" to the international system could very well be at variance with constitutional and governing norms where "downloaded." And this presents a major concern over regulatory dissonance for some jurisdictions, and has already become a source of elevated political concern among American stakeholders in particular.

Put another way, one reason for concern is that some draft ISACS appear much more restrictive than domestic constitutional and political climates permit. And this perception is fueling a growing understanding that ISACS may be so controversial that the project itself could become reason enough to mobilize against the United States signing the ATT.

What ISACS could be particularly problematic?

For American groups represented by non-profit and charitable trade, collecting, sporting, and pro-gun human / civil rights groups, perhaps the most controversial national controls standard now in final review is the one authored by Professor Ed. Laurance, mentioned above. He was the lead author for ISACS sub module 03.30 addressing national civilian access controls to firearms. The full title for this standard is "National Controls Over the Access of Civilians to Small Arms and Light Weapons."²² This particular ISAC is one of several that are controversial because its central purpose clearly crosses the red line about no language on civilian possession that the United States established during the ATT negotiations process. Here are 10 problematic provisions included in his draft standard which have

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been variously validated by former American ATT conference delegates and others representing non-traditional segments of civil society:

1. Prohibitions on civilians owning weapons manufactured and configured according to specifications set by a military armed service of a State
2. National registration of all firearms
3. National individual possession and purchasing licenses for single firearms based on specific, demonstrated, and “legitimate” need
4. Licenses that specify where a given firearm is stored
5. License restrictions by category, for example:

Category 1: Rimfire rifles (not semi-automatic); shotguns (not pump-action or semi-automatic)

Category 2: Centrefire rifles (not semi-automatic)

Category 3: Rimfire rifles (semi-automatic); shotguns (pump-action or semi-automatic capable of holding up to 5 rounds of ammunition)

Category 4: Centrefire rifles (semi-automatic); shotguns (pump-action or semi-automatic capable of holding more than 5 rounds of ammunition)

Category 5: Handguns (semi-automatic, e.g. revolvers and pistols)

6. Limits on the number of firearms one may possess
7. Mandatory 7 day waiting periods
8. Mandatory use of gun safes or locks
9. Periodic home inspections for compliance with safe storage requirements
10. Minimum age for licensed possession and use set to 18 years old.

Why have so few trade, collecting, sporting, and pro-gun rights groups been engaged?

In short, they report a lack of confidence with the process. This is because they have been kept at a distance, basically on the outside of the standards development process. The perception to them is that the process and people involved in decision making are not open nor transparent. These groups report their ISACS experiences convince them the UNDP and ODA are not serious about their commitment to the ISO standards development as much as they are normatively ambitious. Based on feedback from several industry and arms rights groups, the ISACS development process has excluded them even though they are specially affected stakeholders and this has led to conflict, protests, and withdrawal.

For example, the Small Arms and Ammunition Manufacturer's Institute (SAAMI), which is a recognized international industry standards organization in its own right, actually withdrew from ISACS last year in protest over perceived anti-industry bias.²³ This was also due to concern over governance methods that appear in conflict with accepted ISO standard-setting practices. According to multiple sources involved with ISACS, the voting and approval processes are not only closed to industry and arms rights civil

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society groups, but the approval processes have not been defined, the accountable voting individuals have never been identified, and generally the few individuals involved have been provided access necessary to actually know what is going on so they can effectively inform their own civil society constituencies. Bona fide civil rights / human rights groups that happen to have positive assumptions about the value of firearms in civil society appear to have been the most excluded from the ISACS process. The ISACS approval process, according to trade, collecting, sporting, and pro-gun civil/human rights groups is a mystery, unless you are aligned with groups like IANSA, the Small Arms Survey, or are on a contract or salary with a UN organization.

So, are ISACS credible as true ISO standards?

It doesn't appear so. But this probably will not limit their normative value to those states partnering with ISACS, especially, as some have already indicated they will adopt the standards wholesale for their domestic policies. This said, if the ISACS project follows any kind of consensus decision making, it is limited to consensus-seeking within the exclusive UN CASA community. If true, perhaps some ISACS may be dismissed completely and encounter serious implementation issues and political consequences in some jurisdictions. Why? Such an exclusionary approach with specially affected and non-traditional segments of civil society would in fact be at variance with the third and fourth principles of ISO standards development.

The ISO principles in general require what is essentially a negotiation process, and these two principles require global multi-stakeholder engagement and decision making by consensus. What the ISACS project appears to have done is exclude entire segments of civil society in developed countries because they have favorable assumptions about the value of small arms in civil society. So in essence, the standards process seems to have not been transparent consensus seeking among all affected stakeholders, but in reality an opaque if not secretive consensus seeking among the like-minded. The implication: the baked-in standards development process deficiency will likely lead to further controversy in future ATT implementation talks and most certainly to the extent any problematic ISACS are proposed as amendments or additional protocols within the ATT's binding legal framework.

What other ISACS might be problematic?

Generally, for American trade, collecting, sporting, and pro-gun civil rights / human rights groups, the most potentially controversial standards being finalized this year relate to national controls and regulations in general. Again, these fall under Series 3 of the ISACS framework. The title and author are listed below with a endnote linking to where draft documents can be downloaded:

03.10 National controls over the manufacture of small arms and light weapons.²⁴
Lead Author: Sarah Parker, Small Arms Survey.

03.20 National controls over the international transfer of small arms and light weapons.²⁵
Lead Author: SIPRI (Arms Transfers Programme, led by Dr. Paul Holtom).²⁶

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03.21 National controls over the end-user and end-use of internationally transferred small arms and light weapons.²⁷

Lead Author: GRIP of Belgium.²⁸

03.30 National controls over the access of civilians to small arms and light weapons.²⁹

Lead Author: Prof. Ed Laurance of MIIS.

03.40 National coordinating mechanisms on small arms and light weapons control.³⁰

Lead Author: Institute of Security Studies in South Africa³¹.

03.50 International legal cooperation, criminal offences and investigations.

Lead Author: Unknown.

Draft ISACS 03.50 (Not Available, too new).

Initial Conclusions & Lessons Learned

The ATT is, among other things, a gateway instrument for the progressive development of binding international small arms controls. And the UN's ISACS are expected by its lead authors and diplomats to serve as valuable inputs to the ATT amendment and implementation processes.

Clearly the formula of ATT + ISACS could result in enormously favorable impacts for civil society in developing states grappling post-conflict realities such as lack of rule of law, corruption, poor controls over official inventories of small arms.³² Obviously, some degree of standardized small arms controls are appropriate for comparable situations across states. Few trade, collecting, sporting, and pro-gun human rights / civil rights groups would debate that fragile or post-conflict states without effective control over their stocks of military weapons can and should benefit from best-practice based management controls and procedures. These would surely make the job of UN weapons inspectors and peace-keepers easier and safer, in addition to making civil society better off in general.

But the ATT + ISACS formula will certainly present trouble for large segments of civil society in states with well-developed legal protections respecting professional and hobby collecting, modern competitive shooting, and firearms hunting. This trouble would be most acute in the exceptional case of the United States, which is a federal system with national and subnational constitutional and other legal protections providing for not only a citizen's civil if not human right to armed self-defense with weapons suitable for such purposes, but also the right to carry weapons concealed in public, and also the right to collect and lawfully use, with appropriate national licensing, weapons and other destructive devices normally restricted to only military and law enforcement organizations in other countries.

Rightly understood, the essence of the ISACS project is about international lawmaking by other means and its execution may very well serve as a contemporary case study in fraught transnational legal process within the UN inter-organizational system. Three reasons would make this case stand out:

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1. There appears to be clear evidence of favored stakeholder engagement.
2. The process and deliverables produced exhibit tell-tale signs of exclusionary practice, or lawmaking among just the like-minded.
3. The governance process and selected deliverables do not demonstrate an obvious margin of appreciation for the constitutional, political, and cultural sensitivities of non-traditional segments civil society as represented by trade, collecting, sporting, and pro-gun civil / human rights groups, particularly those in the United States.
4. The integrity of the ISACS development process appears to have been compromised by not living up to the core ISO principles of truly inclusive multi-stakeholder engagement and consensus decision making.

The apparent consequence of the execution of the ISACS project relative to its scope, approach, and stakeholder engagement strategy has created a profound lack of confidence among non-traditional civil society stakeholders within the ongoing UN small arms and ATT related processes. For them, there doesn't seem to be much if any reason to trust that what lies ahead is going to be anything other than a zero-sum game of humanitarian normative chauvinism.

Ultimately, if the ISACS project can teach a lesson for developers of international law, it may be about the importance of confidence-building within UN inter-organizational de facto lawmaking settings. Confidence building in treaty making is well established. But as ISACS demonstrates, the lack of confidence building for non-traditional civil society stakeholders could very well lead to disruptive political blow-back with wide ranging implications beyond the narrow scope of a given project itself. In the end, the surprise and anxiety the ISACS is now producing might put in jeopardy the United States signature on the ATT, or later prompt a souring of the domestic political situation which could result in an “unsigned” of the treaty not unlike what happened with respect to the US and the Rome Statue on the International Criminal Court.³³ This in turn could undermine other efforts at conventional arms control and disarmament.

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Notices

Acknowledgements: Many individuals must be thanked for their contributions to this executive brief. This brief would not have been possible without their candor and patience. Because of the sensitivity and the in-progress nature of the topic, and the relatively small size of the world that is the small arms control, some individuals consulted requested their inputs be on a not-for-attribution basis. This was to minimize any adverse impacts on their personal and professional lives.

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End Notes

¹ The final and preceding drafts of the Arms Trade Treaty are available here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/?p=1434>

² The author attended this public meeting. The agenda for this program is here: http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Agenda_June20_Geneva.pdf. A audio file for the first part of the briefing is available here: http://tsmworldwide.com/?attachment_id=1807

³ <http://smallarmssurvey.org/>

⁴ <http://www.sipri.org/>

⁵ For this and the other quoted comments above, see note 2 for audio.

⁶ See <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SAS-Research-Note-30.pdf>

⁷ Author asked about this question in particular during the question period that followed. The response was noted in the author's personal briefing notes but was not recorded at the prior request of Ms. Parker.

⁸ The official website is <http://smallarmsstandards.org/>. More information on the PoA here: <http://www.poa-iss.org/poa/poa.aspx>. More information on the ITI here: <http://www.poa-iss.org/InternationalTracing/InternationalTracing.aspx>. More information on the Firearms Protocol here: <http://www.poa-iss.org/FirearmsProtocol/FirearmsProtocol.aspx>.

⁹ See more on CASA here: <http://www.poa-iss.org/CASA/CASA.aspx>

¹⁰ See ISAC partners here: <http://smallarmsstandards.org/partners.html>.

¹¹ See ISAC Project Document here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/ISACS-Project-Doc.pdf>

¹² See academic profile here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Edward-J.pdf>

¹³ The IANSA website is here: <http://www.iansa.org/>. The foundation document is here: http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/IANSA_Founding_Document.pdf

¹⁴ See note 11 for original graphic in project document.

¹⁵ The principles are here: http://www.iso.org/iso/home/standards_development.htm

¹⁶ Professor Koh's speech may be read in its entirety here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Twenty-First-Century-International-Lawmaking.pdf>

¹⁷ The book may be bought at <http://www.amazon.com/International-Organizations-Law-makers-Jos%C3%A9-Alvarez/dp/0198765630>.

¹⁸ See lecture here along with downloadable handouts: http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/ls/Alvarez_IO.html

¹⁹ For more on what the UN small arms process is see: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SAS-HB2-Diplomats-Guide.pdf>

²⁰ The full breakdown of the ISACS framework is here: <http://smallarmsstandards.org/isacs/>

²¹ Burundi was featured in an award winning promoted by Oxfam International call "Bang for Your Buck," which reported that grenades costs less than a pint of beer. See a review of this film here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/now-showing-misguided-humanitarianism/>

²² See this draft ISACS module here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/module-3.3.pdf>

²³ More on SAAMI here: <http://www.saami.org>

²⁴ See draft standard here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/module-3.10.pdf>

²⁵ See draft standard here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/module-3.20.pdf>

²⁶ More on Dr. Paul Holtom: http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Dr-Paul-Holtom---www.sipri_.pdf

²⁷ See draft standard here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/module-3.21.pdf>

²⁸ See GRIP website here: <http://archive.grip.org/en/siteweb/default.asp.html>

²⁹ See draft standard here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/module-3.3.pdf>

³⁰ See draft standard here: <http://tsmworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/module-3.40.pdf>

³¹ See website here: <http://www.issafrica.org/>

³² Settled research shows that these specific problems of small arms and light weapons are most acute for fragile or failed states. Owen Greene and Nicholas Marsh, eds. Small Arms, Crime and Conflict: Global Governance and the Threat of Armed Violence. Routledge: 2012. P. 90-91

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³³ President Bill Clinton signed the Rome Statue establishing the International Criminal Court on his last day in office in January 2001. His successor, President George Bush, effectively unsigned the treaty months shortly before the treaty came into force in July 2002 with a note delivered to the UN Secretary General.