

KILLERS IN THE COMMONWEALTH:

Antipersonnel Landmine Policies of the Commonwealth Nations

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I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting will be held in Edinburgh, United Kingdom October 24-27, 1997. The secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, recently told Human Rights Watch, "I take the issue of landmines very seriously. It is on the agenda for the heads of government to discuss in Edinburgh and I will be pushing for it to be a priority."¹

Nearly two-thirds of the members of the Commonwealth have already committed to signing the international treaty banning antipersonnel landmines in December in Ottawa, Canada. Several Commonwealth countries, most notably Canada and South Africa, have been at the forefront of the movement to eradicate this insidious, indiscriminate weapon from the face of the earth. However, a half-dozen Commonwealth members have indicated that they are not prepared to sign the treaty: Bangladesh, Cyprus, India, Pakistan, Singapore, and Sri Lanka. Three of those nations--India, Pakistan, and Singapore--continue to produce antipersonnel mines. Twelve members of the Commonwealth appear to be undecided about whether to sign the treaty: Australia, Brunei, Gambia, Kenya, Kiribati, Maldives, Nauru, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

At least fourteen Commonwealth countries are suffering from an estimated two to five million landmines planted in their soil. Landmines plague Commonwealth members in Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Europe. The most heavily infested are Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. Others affected include Bangladesh, Cyprus, India, Malawi, Malaysia, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Uganda, and Zambia. The Falkland/Malvinas Islands (administered by the United Kingdom, claimed by Argentina) are also strewn with mines. In many of these countries antipersonnel mines pose a daily threat to rural development and free trade movement, the very focus of the Edinburgh meeting.

Mines continue to be laid in several Commonwealth countries--including India, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, and Uganda--by government troops, opposition forces, or criminals. In 1996 landmines were available in Mozambique, Namibia and Zambia in exchange for food and second-hand clothing. Mines can be bought in South Africa for as little as U.S.\$25.

Thirty-four of the fifty-two active members of the Commonwealth are committed to the ban treaty. (Nigeria and Sierra Leone have had their memberships suspended). Many have already taken steps domestically to prohibit the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of antipersonnel landmines. Five former producers--Canada, South Africa, Uganda, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe--have decided to ban future production. Nearly all Commonwealth nations have declared a formal ban or comprehensive moratorium on antipersonnel mine exports. Singapore, recognized as one of the biggest producers and exporters of mines in the developing world, has announced only a limited export moratorium, on so-called "dumb" mines.

Given the overwhelming majority view, it should be an achievable goal for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting to issue a declaration of support for the treaty signing in Ottawa and the urgent need to ban antipersonnel mines. Human Rights Watch urges the Commonwealth governments that have not committed themselves to the December ban treaty to do so immediately. It is expected that more than one hundred nations worldwide will sign the treaty in December.

Members of the Commonwealth should lead in implementing regional and international landmine resolutions, such as those of the Organization of American States (OAS), Organization of African Unity (OAU), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the U.N. The Commonwealth should follow the example of the Central American states, Caribbean states, and Southern African Development Community and seek to make the Commonwealth a mine-free zone.

¹ Human Rights Watch interview, London, October 16, 1997.

II. TOWARD A COMMONWEALTH AND GLOBAL BAN ON ANTIPERSONNEL MINES

Nongovernmental organizations brought the global landmine crisis to the attention of the public and governments in the early 1990s, and have been the driving force in the international ban effort. Six NGOs, including Human Rights Watch, launched the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) in 1992 and it has grown into one of the most diverse and successful NGO coalitions ever. The 1997 Nobel Peace Prize will be awarded to the ICBL and its coordinator, Jody Williams. The ICBL now consists of more than 1,000 NGOs in more than fifty nations. It includes organizations involved in demining, victim assistance, rehabilitation, human rights, arms control, humanitarian relief, medical, veterans, religious issues, and more. The ICBL has national landmine ban campaigns, or is active, in many Commonwealth nations, including Australia, Bangladesh, Britain, Canada, India, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mozambique, Namibia, New Zealand, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The ICBL has two calls: for a comprehensive ban on the use, production, stockpiling and export of antipersonnel mines, and for increased resources for humanitarian mine clearance and victim assistance programs.

Malaysia was the first Commonwealth nation to publicly declare its support for a total ban on antipersonnel mines, in December 1994. Other early supporters included Mozambique and New Zealand in October 1995, Canada in January 1996, Australia and Jamaica in April 1996, and South Africa in May 1996. While most of these nations have subsequently been leaders in the global ban movement, Australia has lagged behind, and has still not committed to signing the ban treaty in December.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has endorsed a total ban, first with a Resolution of the 62nd Council of Ministers in June 1995 and again in 1996 and 1997. The Organization of American States adopted a resolution in June 1996 calling for the establishment of a hemispheric mine free zone. The six Central American states declared themselves the first mine free zone in September 1996, and the CARICOM (Caribbean) states followed suit in December. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) also became a mine-free zone in August 1997, but this was short-lived because membership was expanded in September and included the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire), a country that has yet to indicate its wish to ban landmines.

A key event in the global march toward a mine ban was the Canadian government-sponsored conference held in Ottawa, October 3-5, 1996, which brought together fifty pro-ban governments, as well as twenty-four observer states, dozens of nongovernmental organizations with the ICBL, the International Committee of Red Cross and other international groups. In Ottawa states agreed to a Final Declaration committing themselves to "seek the earliest possible conclusion of a legally-binding agreement to ban the production, stockpiling, transfer and use of antipersonnel mines and to increase support for mine awareness programs, mine clearance operations and victim assistance." Perhaps more importantly, the participants developed a Chairman's Agenda for Action, which laid out concrete steps at the international, regional and national levels for achieving a ban rapidly. And in a dramatic announcement at the end of the conference, Canada's Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy stated that Canada would host a ban treaty signing conference in December 1997. The conference also featured perhaps unprecedented cooperation between governments and NGOs, which has continued to the present day.

The success of this "Ottawa Process" has been stunning. Austria hosted a preparatory meeting from February 12-14, 1997 to begin discussions of the elements of a ban treaty. One hundred and eleven governments participated, though many of them were not prepared to commit to a December 1997 time frame. Present in Vienna were Australia, Botswana, Cameroon, Canada, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Mozambique, Namibia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom, and Zimbabwe. South Africa, the first nation to speak, made a particularly strong statement in support of the Ottawa process, as did Canada and New Zealand. Austria circulated a draft ban treaty prior to the conference that served as the basis for discussion.

Belgium hosted a conference in late June 1997 in which 107 governments endorsed a declaration supporting the principles of the Austrian draft ban treaty, the negotiation of the treaty in Oslo in September 1997, and the signing of the ban treaty in Ottawa in December. Thirty-four Commonwealth nations endorsed the Brussels Declaration.

Eighty-nine governments came to Oslo as full participants for the negotiations, and another thirty-two as observers. The negotiations, which lasted from September 1-18, produced a treaty that drew high praise from the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. The treaty prohibits the use, production, import and export of antipersonnel mines. It requires destruction of existing stockpiles of antipersonnel mines within four years, and destruction of mines in the ground within ten years. It also requires state parties to provide detailed information about antipersonnel mine stockpiles and minefields. It calls on states to provide assistance for the care and rehabilitation of mine victims. Twenty-two Commonwealth governments were participants, and six were observers.

Thirty-four members of the Commonwealth are already committed to ban the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of antipersonnel landmines. That is already two-thirds of Commonwealth membership. Twelve other countries are close to signing. This leaves only six--Bangladesh, Cyprus, India, Pakistan, Singapore and Sri Lanka--that are actively against a global ban.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting should issue a declaration of support for the ban treaty to be signed in Ottawa in December and for the need to urgently ban antipersonnel landmines globally. International and regional momentum is growing rapidly. The Commonwealth should follow the example of the Central American states, Caribbean states, and Southern African Development Community and seek to make the Commonwealth a mine-free zone.

III. COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES SUPPORTING THE BAN TREATY

Antigua and Barbuda (St John's)

Antigua and Barbuda has never possessed landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations as the CARICOM representative. It is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Bahamas (Nassau)

The Bahamas has never possessed landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45 and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Barbados (Bridgetown)

Barbados has never possessed landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations. It is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Belize (Belmopan)

Belize has never possessed landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45 and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Botswana (Gaborone)

During the Rhodesian war landmines were planted in northern Botswana. No known incidents have occurred since 1980 and all the mines reportedly have been cleared. Botswana is not known to have produced or exported mines, but may maintain a stockpile of antipersonnel landmines. Botswana was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45 S and voted "Yes." It endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations. It is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Cameroon (Yaounde)

There is no known problem of uncleared landmines in Cameroon. Cameroon claims not to have used antipersonnel landmines and to have no stocks. It was a UNGA 51/45 S co-sponsor and voted "Yes." It endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations. It is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Canada (Ottawa)

Canada has been the key government in bringing about a global ban on antipersonnel landmines. (See above on the Ottawa Process.) In the past, Canada produced one type of antipersonnel landmine, the C3A1 (Elsie) by SNC Industrial Technologies Inc., which has been found in Iraq, the U.K. and other countries. In January 1996, Canada announced a comprehensive moratorium on the production, trade and use of antipersonnel mines. In October 1996, at the time of its international ban conference, Canada destroyed two-thirds of its stockpile of mines, and intends to destroy the rest by the end of this year. Canada introduced UNGA Resolution 51/45 S with the U.S. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, participated in the Oslo negotiations and has said it will sign the treaty in December.

Dominica (Roseau)

Dominica has never possessed antipersonnel landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, and although it did not participate in the Oslo negotiations, it is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Fiji² (Suva)

Fiji has never possessed landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45 and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Ghana (Accra)

There is no problem of uncleared landmines in Ghana. The government claims that its armed forces do not use or stockpile antipersonnel landmines. Ghana is not believed to have produced or exported antipersonnel landmines. It was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45 S and voted "Yes." Ghana endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations. It is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Grenada (St George's)

²Fiji rejoined the Commonwealth on October 1, 1997. Its membership had lapsed on October 15, 1987.

Grenada reports that it has never produced antipersonnel landmines and has no stockpiles. Grenada voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Guyana (Georgetown)

There is no known landmine problem in Guyana. Guyana is not believed to have produced or exported mines, but it is unknown whether it maintains a stockpile of mines. Guyana voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45 S, and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Jamaica (Kingston)

Jamaica has never possessed antipersonnel landmines. Jamaica was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Lesotho (Maseru)

There have been no reports of a problem with uncleared landmines. Lesotho states that it does not maintain a stockpile of landmines. Lesotho co-sponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45S and supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations. It is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Malawi (Lilongwe)

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Malawian troops used landmines to protect the Nacala railway corridor inside Mozambique from attack by Renamo rebels. Many of the mines were supplied by the United States. Malawi also has a problem with mines along its side of the Mozambique border, though landmine incidents are infrequent. Malawi first expressed its support for a ban at the 4th International NGO Conference on Landmines, held in Maputo, Mozambique in February 1997. A Malawi official stated that Malawi "condemn(s) the manufacture, export, import, use and stockpiling of any type of mines." He said, "Malawi is now working on draft legislation to join the world community to ban landmines subject to approval by Parliament; and Civil Society is committed to campaign for the ban and eradication of landmines in the world."³

Malawi was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45S. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, but did not participate in the Oslo negotiations. Nevertheless, it is expected to sign the ban treaty in December.

Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur)

There is a problem of uncleared mines from the long guerrilla insurgency mounted by the Communist Party of Malaysia. The areas which still have a problem are in mountainous and remote terrain, especially along the Malaysia/Thailand border. Malaysia does not produce or export mines, but it is not known whether it maintains a stockpile of landmines.

Malaysia was the first Commonwealth nation to express support for an immediate ban on antipersonnel mines, in remarks to the U.N. General Assembly in December 1994. Malaysia voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and

³Human Rights Watch Arms Project, *Still Killing. Landmines in Southern Africa* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997), pp.60-61.

endorsed the Brussels Declaration. Malaysia participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Malta (Valleta)

Malta does not produce or export antipersonnel mines, but it is not known whether there are stockpiles. Malta announced its support for a global ban in May 1996. It cosponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Mauritius (Port Luis)

Mauritius does not possess antipersonnel landmines. It co-sponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Mozambique (Maputo)

Landmines were used extensively by all sides in the decades-long fighting in Mozambique. Mines have claimed some 10,000 victims and continue to do so on a daily basis. More than 1,000 people have been injured by mines since the October 1992 peace accord. Landmines constitute one of the most immediate obstacles to postwar redevelopment, and hinder delivery of relief aid, resettlement, and agricultural and commercial reconstruction.⁴

Human Rights Watch believes the frequently cited U.N. estimate of two million mines in Mozambique is too high, with the real total in the hundreds, or even tens, of thousands. But the number of mines is not the measure of the problem. Mozambique clearly has a serious problem that threatens civilians daily and is curtailing economic reconstruction.

A limited number of landmines continued to be planted since the peace accord, mostly by bandit groups, criminals and poachers. Nearly forty types of antipersonnel mines from more than one dozen nations have been reported in Mozambique. However, mine clearance efforts have been plagued with delays and controversy.

President Chissano announced in October 1995 that Mozambique was prepared to head an international campaign against antipersonnel mines, but little concrete action was taken for the next year and a half as the Mozambican military wanted to retain the option of using landmines. However, as the 4th International NGO Conference on Landmines (held in Maputo February 25-28, 1997) approached, greatly increased attention to the issue domestically, regionally and internationally spurred a policy decision. On February 26, Mozambique's foreign minister addressed the NGO Conference and announced an immediate ban on the use, production, import and export of antipersonnel mines. Destruction of Mozambique's stockpile was not addressed.

Mozambique co-sponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Namibia (Windhoek)

⁴Human Rights Watch, *Landmines in Mozambique* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994) and Human Rights Watch Arms Project, *Still Killing. Landmines in Southern Africa*, 1997, pp.62-102.

The South African Defense Force (SADF) used mines in northern Namibia during its occupation of Namibia, primarily in fenced and marked areas around military encampments and installations, but also along power lines. The landmines that the SADF planted in northern Namibia were not properly cleared when South African forces withdrew just prior to independence in 1990. These mines continue to injure people and livestock and to disrupt civilian life. A limited number of mines have been planted in Namibia since independence, perhaps most notably by poachers.⁵

A U.S. Department of Defense database indicates that Namibia has produced wooden PMD-6 mines, but Namibian officials deny this claim. Twenty-seven types of antipersonnel mines from nine other countries have been reported in Namibia. The condition of some of Namibia's stockpile of mines is suspect; Human Rights Watch has obtained copies of two confidential documents indicating that the arsenal at Grootfontein Military Base is poorly maintained and contains explosives and weapons, including several mine types, that are unstable and very hazardous.⁶

Namibia co-sponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. Although it did not participate in the Oslo negotiations, it is expected to sign the treaty in December.

New Zealand⁷ (Wellington)

New Zealand first publicly supported an immediate mine ban in December 1995. It renounced the operational use and export of antipersonnel landmines on April 22, 1996. The government states that it has no stocks of antipersonnel landmines. New Zealand was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Papua New Guinea (Port Moresby)

There are still uncleared landmines left over from World War II. Also, guerrillas have placed a limited number of landmines in the countryside, including on Bougainville island. It is unknown whether the military maintains stockpiles of antipersonnel mines. Papua New Guinea voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

St. Kitts and Nevis (Basseterre)

St. Kitts and Nevis has never possessed antipersonnel landmines. St. Kitts voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, and although it did not participate in the Oslo negotiations, it is expected to sign the treaty in December.

St. Lucia (Castries)

St. Lucia has never possessed antipersonnel landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, and although it did not participate in the Oslo negotiations, it is expected to sign the treaty in December.

St. Vincent and The Grenadines (Kingstown)

⁵Human Rights Watch Arms Project, *Still Killing. Landmines in Southern Africa*, 1997, pp.103-124.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Includes the territories of Tokelau and the Ross Dependency (Antarctic). Self-governing countries in association with New Zealand are the Cook Islands and Niue.

St. Vincent and the Grenadines has never possessed antipersonnel landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and fully supports the Ottawa process. It endorsed the Brussels Declaration, and although it did not participate in the Oslo negotiations, it is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Seychelles (Victoria)

The Seychelles does not have a landmine problem. The government states that it has no stockpile of antipersonnel landmines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

South Africa (Pretoria)

South Africa has been one of the most active and important nations in pushing the world toward a ban on antipersonnel mines. On February 20, 1997, South Africa demonstrated bold leadership by announcing, effective immediately, a comprehensive ban on use, production, and trade of antipersonnel mines, as well as its intention to destroy existing stocks, except for "a very limited and verifiable number...solely for training specific military personnel in demining techniques and for research into assisting the demining process."⁸

While South Africa has had a few landmine incidents on its soil, it was in the past the largest producer and exporter of landmines in all of Africa. It used mines in or supplied mines to many other African nations. South Africa's mines have been found in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe and exported further afield to Cambodia, Rwanda and Somalia.

In 1996 the minister of defense stated that South Africa had 261,423 antipersonnel mines in its stockpile, along with 49,756 antitank mines. A significant number of these mines were destroyed in a "big bang" ceremony in May 1997.

South Africa's ban announcement was preceded by other important steps. In March 1994, South Africa announced a formal moratorium on antipersonnel mine exports. The moratorium was turned into a permanent ban in May 1996, when South Africa also announced that it was suspending all use of antipersonnel mines. South Africa is now emerging as a leader in the field of mine clearance equipment.

South Africa has played a prominent role in the Ottawa process. It hosted an important OAU conference on landmines in Johannesburg in May 1997 and chaired the Oslo diplomatic conference on the ban treaty in September. South Africa endorsed the Brussels Declaration and has stated that it will sign the treaty in December.

Swaziland (Mbabane)

Swaziland has a very limited landmine problem. Several Swazi citizens have been killed or maimed by mines along the Mozambique border, including army officers patrolling the border and Ministry of Agriculture officials rehabilitating the fence which controls the spread of foot-and-mouth disease.

At the February 1997 4th International NGO Conference on Landmines, held in Maputo, Mozambique, a Swazi official for the first time called for a ban "with immediate effect." Swaziland voted for UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

⁸Human Rights Watch Arms Project, *Still Killing. Landmines in Southern Africa*, 1997, pp.125-137.

Tanzania (Dar es Salaam)

Tanzania experienced a limited number of landmine incidents in the 1960s, blaming Portuguese forces, which denied laying the mines. Tanzanian forces used mines in Uganda in 1979 and in Mozambique in 1986-88. The Tanzanian military maintains antipersonnel mine stockpiles.⁹

The Tanzanian government in 1996 indicted that it supported a total ban on production, export and operational use of antipersonnel mines in principle. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Trinidad and Tobago (Port of Spain)

Trinidad and Tobago does not possess antipersonnel mines. National legislation recommending a irreversible ban has been proposed but has not yet been put into effect. Trinidad voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It did not participate in the Oslo negotiations, but is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Uganda (Kampala)

The Lord's Resistance Army began planting landmines in 1994 in the north of the country. A limited number of antipersonnel landmines were also used during the Tanzanian-backed invasion to overthrow Idi Amin in 1979 and during the military campaign in 1986 of the National Resistance Army, which resulted in Yoweri Museveni becoming president.

⁹Human Rights Watch Arms Project, *Still Killing. Landmines in Southern Africa*, p.140.

Uganda has produced two types of antipersonnel landmines but in August 1997 announced that it had ceased production. Antipersonnel landmines, a PMD-6 (Box mine type), a plastic mine and grenades were produced at Nakasongola, north of Kampala.¹⁰ The factory was run by the Ugandan army's National Enterprises Corporation (NEC) and had a capacity of producing 50,000 plastic antipersonnel mines per year. Construction of the factory began in 1987 and it was commissioned in 1992, but by 1995 reportedly produced only 10,000 plastic antipersonnel mines. The factory, constructed with assistance from a Chinese company, China Wanbao Engineering Corporation, also produces other weapons. According to NEC's Acting Managing Director, Maj. Fred Mwesigwe, the factories landmine and grenade section is being converted to a dry cell (battery) production line. He said the new project is expected to cost about one million U.S. dollars while on completion the new company expects to earn \$1.7 million per year.¹¹ Mwesigwe is quoted as saying the Nakasongola factory stopped producing antipersonnel landmines around 1995 when the worldwide campaign against their production started. All the mines produced have since been kept in stores and not sold elsewhere.

Uganda voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

United Kingdom¹² (London)

The U.K. itself does not have a landmine problem although there have been reports of a limited number of landmines being used in Northern Ireland. There is a serious problem of uncleared landmines in the Falkland/Malvinas Islands, which are administered by the U.K. but claimed by Argentina. Mines were implanted by Argentine forces during the war with the U.K. which ended in 1982. There are 117 identified minefields, with a total of 25-30,000 landmines. Due to the environment, the exact locations of many of these mines are not known. Eighty percent were laid in peat and beach sand, both of which are subject to movement.¹³

The U.K. was a major antipersonnel mine producer and exporter in the past. On July 27, 1994 it adopted a limited moratorium on the export of "dumb" mines. On April 23, 1996 it expanded its export moratorium to include all antipersonnel mines, and declared a suspension of use, except with ministerial authorization. The U.K.'s commitment to a ban intensified greatly with the Labour Party victory and on May 21, 1997 the U.K. permanently banned the production, import and export of antipersonnel mines and committed itself to the destruction of its stockpiles by 2005 (at the latest).

The U.K. co-sponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45S and voted "Yes." It endorsed the Brussels Declaration and participated in the Oslo negotiations. It is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Zambia (Lusaka)

Zambia has minefields along its Angolan border and its Namibian border. Zambians continue to be victims of mines laid over fifteen years ago. Public awareness of the problem is poor. In 1994, Zambian defense ministry spokesperson, Major Jack Mubanga, said, "There are a lot of landmines in Southern and Western provinces, but it is too

¹⁰*The New Vision* (Kampala), August 21, 1997.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Great Britain comprises England, Scotland and Wales. Its Dependent Territories are: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Antarctic Territory, British Indian Ocean Territory, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Montserrat, Pitcairn, Henderson, Ducie and Oeno Islands, St. Helena and St. Helena Dependencies (Ascension and Tristan da Cunha), South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, and Turks and Caicos Islands.

¹³U.S. Department of State, *Hidden Killers. The Global Problem with Uncleared Landmines*, 1993, p.172.

costly for the government to embark on an exercise to have them removed. It is very expensive to carry out such an assignment."¹⁴

Zambia continues to maintain a stockpile of antipersonnel mines. Nearly thirty types of antipersonnel mines from ten nations have been found in Zambia. Zambian police are concerned about the weapons trade from Angola into western Zambia, which has included landmines.

Zambia voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

Zimbabwe (Harare)

¹⁴*The Times of Zambia* (Lusaka), June 20, 1994.

The government of Zimbabwe estimates that there are one to three million mines planted along its borders with Zambia and Mozambique. Zimbabwe inherited the lengthy border minefields from the Rhodesian government, which the Rhodesians boasted constituted the second largest man-made barrier in the world, after the Great Wall of China. Initially the minefields were demarcated on both sides by security fencing with prominent signs. By 1977 the Rhodesians stopped demarcating the minefields on the hostile side and stopped maintaining them. As a result mine laying became uncontrolled and unrecorded and booby trapping flourished. The minefields remain lethal today, claiming new victims. Clearance of the minefields will be dangerous, costly and time consuming.¹⁵

In March 1995, a senior government official acknowledged that Zimbabwe had produced ZAP PloughShear ("Claymore" type) mines until October 1992, but said a decision had been recently made not to produce any more antipersonnel mines. Zimbabwe Defense Industries (ZDI) has acknowledged manufacturing the PloughShears, while maintaining "a claymore mine is not a landmine." ZDI has stated that the government ordered a stop to production in 1992 and that "as a result ZDI was forced to destroy all claymores in its stocks."¹⁶

On May 21, 1997 Zimbabwe banned the transfer and use of antipersonnel mines and stated that it would destroy all its stockpile except for a small number for mine clearance training. Zimbabwe voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S and endorsed the Brussels Declaration. It participated in the Oslo negotiations and is expected to sign the treaty in December.

IV. COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES OPPOSING THE BAN TREATY

Bangladesh (Dhaka)

Bangladesh does not produce or export mines, but maintains a stockpile of antipersonnel landmines and insists on the right to use them, citing security considerations. There are uncleared landmines along the Burma/Myanmar border. The Bangladesh army has several battalions with mine clearing capability. They have cleared landmines on international peacekeeping operations, including in Kuwait and in Cambodia.

Although Bangladesh co-sponsored UNGA Resolution 51/45 S, it did not endorse the Brussels Declaration and attended the Oslo negotiations only as an observer.

Cyprus (Nicosia)

There is a problem of uncleared landmines from the 1974 hostilities on the island. Both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot forces consider the minefields under their control as integral to their defense. There are 132 confirmed minefields on the island but there are likely to be other undeclared sites.¹⁷

¹⁵Human Rights Watch Arms Project, *Still Killing. Landmines in Southern Africa*, pp.152-176.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷U.S. Department of State, *Hidden Killers. The Global Problem with Uncleared Landmines*, 1993, p.78.

Most mines found in Cyprus are of U.S. origin, such as the M-16A2. Most of these mines are deployed in mixed anti-personnel/anti-tank configurations of six to twenty mines each and located in or near the buffer zone which separates Greek Cypriot and Turkish forces, and along North-South roads. There have also been some post-1974 minefields laid around strategic installations. Some are clearly marked, while others are not. There have been civilian casualties.¹⁸ A U.N. initiative to use Canadian engineers for demining in 1992 failed because the Cypriot communities failed to reach agreement.

The U.S. government has identified Cyprus as a producer of antipersonnel landmines, though the government of Cyprus denies it. Cyprus was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45S, but did not endorse the Brussels declaration and did not attend the Oslo negotiations.

India (New Delhi)

There is a problem of uncleared landmines along the India/Pakistan border in Kashmir and along the India/China border. India produces two U.S.-designed antipersonnel mines (M-14 and M16A1). Although India is not known to have exported mines, it declared a moratorium on antipersonnel landmine exports on March 5, 1996. India states that it supports the use of antipersonnel landmines for self-defense in demarcated fields and along international borders. India favors a ban on randomly deployed mines and on the use of antipersonnel landmines in internal conflicts. India announced in October 1996 that it would continue to produce antipersonnel landmines for domestic use, and has no plans to destroy existing stockpiles. It did, however, vote "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45. India did not endorse the Brussels declaration and attended the Oslo negotiations only as an observer.

Pakistan (Islamabad)

There is not a significant problem of uncleared landmines, but there are numbers of antipersonnel landmines along its disputed border with India in Kashmir. Pakistan is a producer of antipersonnel landmines. Pakistan's state-owned Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) earned a reputation as one of the most enthusiastic promoters of antipersonnel landmines and a wide range of other ordnance, munitions and small arms products. Sales literature for the firm's low cost (unit price \$6.75) P4 Mk.2 stresses the careful calculation of the explosive charge to "make the man disabled and incapacitate him permanently" because "operating research has shown that it is better to disable the enemy than kill him."¹⁹ Pakistan produces six types of antipersonnel landmines, the: P2 Mk2; P3 Mk2; P4 Mk1; P5 Mk1; P5 Mk2 and the P7 Mk1.²⁰

According to one expert, Pakistan appears to have been the largest supplier, by a wide margin, of mines deployed in Somaliland, but relatively little is currently known about the other customers.²¹ Pakistani mines have also been found in Afghanistan, Eritrea and Ethiopia.

On March 18, 1997 Pakistan declared a unilateral moratorium on its exports of antipersonnel landmines. It is currently converting all mines in its stockpile to detectible ones, as prescribed under Protocol II of the Convention on Conventional Weapons.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Pakistan Ordnance Factories, Technical Specifications for Mine Anti-personnel (P4 Mk2).

²⁰According to U.S. Department of Defense *Mine Facts* CD-Rom Database; *Jane's Military Vehicles and Logistics: 1995-96*.

²¹Interview, Maurice Brackenreed-Johnston, Rimfire International Ltd., April 8, 1993.

Pakistan maintains that antipersonnel landmines are important as a defensive weapon. It opposes a global ban unless "viable alternatives" are developed. Pakistan was one of ten nations to abstain on UNGA Resolution 51/45. It did not endorse the Brussels declaration and attended the Oslo negotiations only as an observer.

Singapore (Singapore)

Singapore, like Pakistan, is one of the major antipersonnel landmine producers in the developing world. Singapore's landmines are produced by Chartered Industries of Singapore (CIS), one of four groups of defense firms controlled by the state-owned Sheng-Li Holding Company, and through Sheng-Li by the Singapore Ministry of Defense. Sheng-Li's military subsidiaries have grown from a single plant opened in 1967 to a complex network of production, service and marketing companies.²² CIS sales arm, Unicorn International, maintains offices in London, Dubai and Brunei.²³ They produce and market two antipersonnel mines originated by Italy's Valsella. Press reports identified Singapore as one of the conduits for sales of Valsella-designed mines to Iraq and a partly-declassified U.S. Army Intelligence study confirms that the Singapore-made mines were found in Iraqi arsenals.²⁴ Singapore produces the SPM-1 (like the Italian VS-50) and the Valmara 69.²⁵

In May 1996 Singapore declared a two-year limited moratorium on exports of non-self destruct and non-detectable antipersonnel mines. However, it has maintained that antipersonnel landmines are needed for "legitimate self-defense." Singapore voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S, but did not endorse the Brussels declaration and attended the Oslo negotiations only as an observer.

Sri Lanka (Colombo)

Both the government and separatist Tamil Tigers have used mines during this decade and a half-long insurgency, particularly in the northern and eastern regions. The separatists mine routes used by government troops. The separatists use mines captured from government forces and also manufacture their own improvised version, known as a Johnny-mine.²⁶

Sri Lanka voted 'Yes' on UNGA Resolution, but did not endorse the Brussels declaration and attended the Oslo negotiations only as an observer.

V. COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES UNDECIDED ON THE BAN TREATY

²²Bilveer Singh and Kwa Guan, "The Singapore Defense Industries: Motivations, Organization and Impact," in Chandran Jeshurun (ed.), *Arms and Defense in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989) pp.96-124.

²³Company Profile (undated) for Unicorn International and Chartered Industries of Singapore.

²⁴U.S. Army Intelligence Agency - U.S. Army Foreign Science and Technology Center, *Operation Desert Shield Special Report: Iraqi Engineer Capabilities*, 1990. This document was provided to the Arms Project by Greenpeace, which obtained it under the Freedom of Information Act.

²⁵U.S. Department of Defense *Mine Facts* CD-ROM Database.

²⁶U.S. Department of State, *Hidden Killers*, p.154.

Australia²⁷ (Canberra)

Australia has not produced or exported antipersonnel landmines, but maintains a stockpile. On April 15, 1996 it declared a unilateral indefinite suspension on operational use of antipersonnel landmines (only to be reviewed in event of exceptional circumstances involving a "substantial deterioration in strategic situation"). Stockpiles will be kept for training and research into landmine clearance.

Australia voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/4, endorsed the Brussels Declaration, and participated in the Oslo negotiations. However, at the end of the negotiations, it stated that it was uncertain whether it would sign the treaty. Australia has promoted the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva as the proper forum for a ban, rather than the Ottawa Process. The ICBL has criticized Australia for this stance because the CD is likely to take many years, if not decades, to reach agreement on a mine ban.

Brunei Darussalam (Bandar Seri Begawan)

Brunei does not have a landmine problem. It is not known whether its armed forces maintain a stockpile of landmines. Brunei voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45, but did not endorse the Brussels declaration and attended the Oslo negotiations only as an observer.

Gambia (Banjul)

There is no known landmine problem. Gambia voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S, but did not endorse the Brussels declaration or attend the Oslo negotiations. Its attorney general, Haw Sisal-Scybala told Human Rights Watch in September 1997 that there was no reason for this other than being forgotten and that she thought Gambia would sign if pressed.²⁸

Kenya (Nairobi)

There is no current landmine problem although there have been media reports of a few landmine incidents in Turkana region. Kenya maintains antipersonnel landmine stockpiles and has used antipersonnel mines in the past along the Somali border in North Eastern Province.²⁹ Kenya voted 'Yes' on UNGA Resolution 51/45S, but did not endorse the Brussels Declaration. Nevertheless, Kenya attended the Oslo negotiations as a full participant. There continues to be uncertainty about whether Kenya will actually sign the treaty in December.

Kiribati (Tarawa)

There are no reports that Kiribati has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but has not participated in the Ottawa process.

Maldives (Male)

There are no reports that Maldives has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but has not participated in the Ottawa process.

²⁷External Territories: Norfolk Island, Coral Sea Islands Territory, Australian Antarctic Territory, Heard Island and McDonald Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Christmas Island, Territory of Ashmore and Cartier Islands.

²⁸Human Rights Watch interview, September 11, 1997.

²⁹Information provided by the Kenyan Campaign to Ban Landmines, September 1997.

Nauru (Nauru)

There are no reports that Nauru has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but has not participated in the Ottawa process.

Samoa (Apia)

There are no reports that Samoa has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but has not participated in the Ottawa process.

Solomon Islands (Honiara)

There are no reports that the Solomon Islands has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S. During the Australia NGO Forum in August 1997 it announced full support for the Ottawa process, but has not attended any of the diplomatic conferences.

Tonga (Nuku'alofa)

There are no reports that Tonga has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but has not participated in the Ottawa process.

Tuvalu (Funafuti)

There are no reports that Tuvalu has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but has not participated in the Ottawa process.

Vanuatu (Port Vila)

There are no reports that Vanuatu has a landmine problem or possesses antipersonnel mines. It voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S. It announced full support for the Ottawa process at the Australia NGO Forum in August, but has not participated in the diplomatic meetings.

VI. COUNTRIES SUSPENDED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH³⁰

Sierra Leone (Freetown)

³⁰ Commonwealth Heads of Government suspended Nigeria's membership at their New Zealand summit in 1995. Sierra Leone was suspended on July 11, 1997 following a military coup in Freetown.

Rebel forces in the east and south have used a small number of landmines along roads. Of the thirty-seven landmine-related deaths in 1993, three were civilians. There has been an average of three to four landmine incidents every month. In 1997 following the coup, the Nigerian military has been responsible for laying new minefields, resulting in some civilian casualties. The Nigerian press also reported in September that the military had intensified laying of landmines around and particularly on the passage routes of ECOMOG troops and that there had been civilian landmine casualties.³¹ On May 6, 1997 a local NGO Sierra Leone Campaign to Ban Landmines was launched, but it lasted only a few weeks because of the coup.

Sierra Leone was a co-sponsor of UNGA Resolution 51/45S. It committed itself to support the Ottawa Process on May 21, 1997, just prior to the coup. Foreign Minister Shirley Gbujuma told Human Rights Watch that the government in exile would sign in Ottawa.³²

Nigeria (Abuja)

Nigeria claims to have had landmine incidents in the past (from the Biafra war) but to have eradicated their problem. Nigerian soldiers have used landmines in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and Nigeria is known to maintain a significant stockpile of landmines, including French MIAPID48 antipersonnel mines and British Ranger mines.³³

Nigeria voted "Yes" on UNGA Resolution 51/45S but did not endorse the Brussels Declaration and did not attend the Oslo negotiations.

VII. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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³¹*The Guardian* (Lagos) September 5, 1997.

³²Human Rights Watch interview, September 11, 1997.

³³Alex Vines, "The Killing Fields. Landmines in North, West and Central Africa," *African Topics* (London), no.18, June 1997.