

Spanish Arms Exports 2017

Asia and the Middle East, the main destinations for Spanish arms

Authors: Tica Font · Eduardo Melero



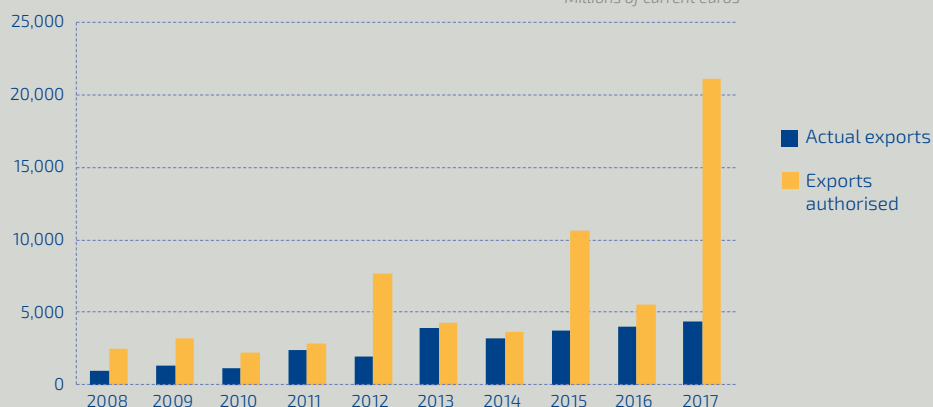
Spanish arms exports reached two historic peaks in 2017: that of exports actually carried out during the year, generating 4,347 million euros, and that of authorisations of exports, which saw a record increase of 280% compared to the previous year, with a value of 21,085 million euros.

The principal destinations for Spanish arms transfers are the Middle East, with 687 million euros in authorisations and 452 million euros in actual exports. Of these, the most relevant transfers in humanitarian terms are munitions transferred to Saudi Arabia at a value of 90.12 million euros, to Iraq for 33.31 million euros, to the United Arab Emirates for 27.28 million euros and to Qatar for 7.73 million euros.

The authorisations of arms to Asia reached a worth of 488 million, with 389 million euros' worth of exports having been actually carried out. In similarity with the Middle East, Asia is a controversial destination for Spanish weapons, given that the economic axis and accompanying unrest are shifting to this zone; and the Spanish policy for exports of military equipment could be contributing to the development of new armed conflicts.

Actual and authorised exports of Spanish defence materials 2008-2017

Millions of current euros



INDEX

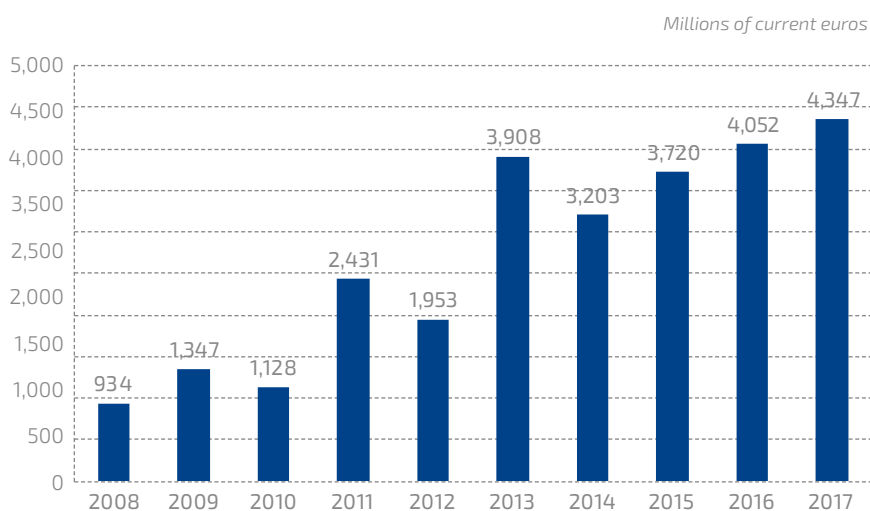
1. Spanish exports of defence materials __ **2**
2. Spanish exports of dual-use goods _ **10**
3. Exports of small arms and light weapons according to ESTACOM _____ **11**
4. Exports of police and security equipment, hunting and sporting weapons _____ **12**
5. Government policy advocating arms exports _____ **13**

1. SPANISH EXPORTS OF DEFENCE MATERIALS

TREND TOWARDS ACTUAL EXPORTS

Exports of Spanish arms have been systematically increasing over the last 10 years (see Graph 1). This policy on exportation driven by the government begins to be seen in 2011, however, it is chiefly from 2013 that the leap is significant. The exports in 2016 and 2017 follow this upward trend; those in 2016 are 9% higher than those in 2015 and in 2017 they are raised 8% higher than in 2016, but 365% higher than the exports seen in 2008.

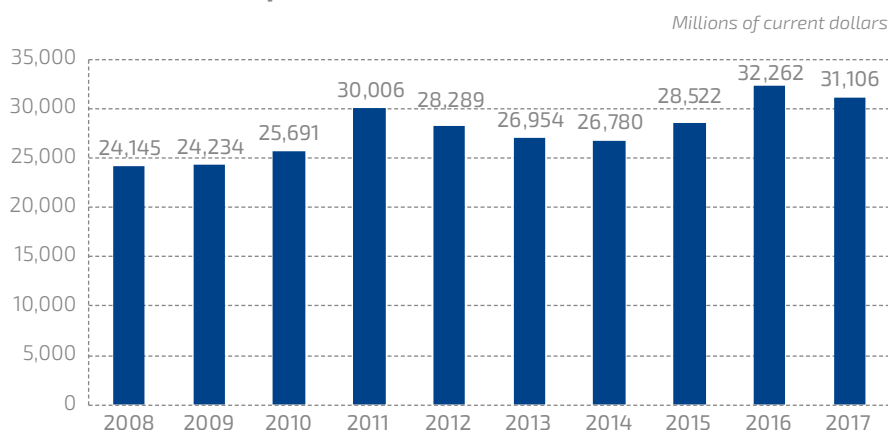
GRAPH 1. Exports of defence materials 2008-2017



Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

While the Spanish trend towards exportation is markedly an upward one, the global trend presents small fluctuations, highlighting a much subtler upward trend than the Spanish one. On a global level the 2017 exports were 29% higher than those in 2008.

GRAPH 2. World exports of defence materials 2008-2017



Source: SIPRI
Developed by: Centre Delàs

AUTHORISATION OF EXPORTS

The policy advocating exports and the internationalisation of the defence industry manifests in the high volume of export authorisations granted by the JIMMDU. In 2017 arms exports have been authorised at a value of 21,085 million euros, a figure never reached before, of which only 21% have been exported. It is to be expected that the rest of the arms will be exported in the coming years (see Table 1).

In fact, in the last decade, only in four years, more than half of total goods authorised have been exported; on average over these ten years 42% of total authorisations were exported. This indicates that there is a good number of contracts that have yet to be fulfilled, and that the volume of exports exports will, in all probability, remain very high over the coming years.

Taking into account the potential for conflict, for humanitarian reasons or those of global security, it is concerning to consider the export authorisations granted to the countries comprising the Middle East, at a value of 687 million euros, and to Asian countries, at 488 million euros.

While the government authorised arms exports in 2017 at a value of 21,085 million euros, only 21% of these actually came to be transferred. It is to be expected that the rest will be exported in the coming years

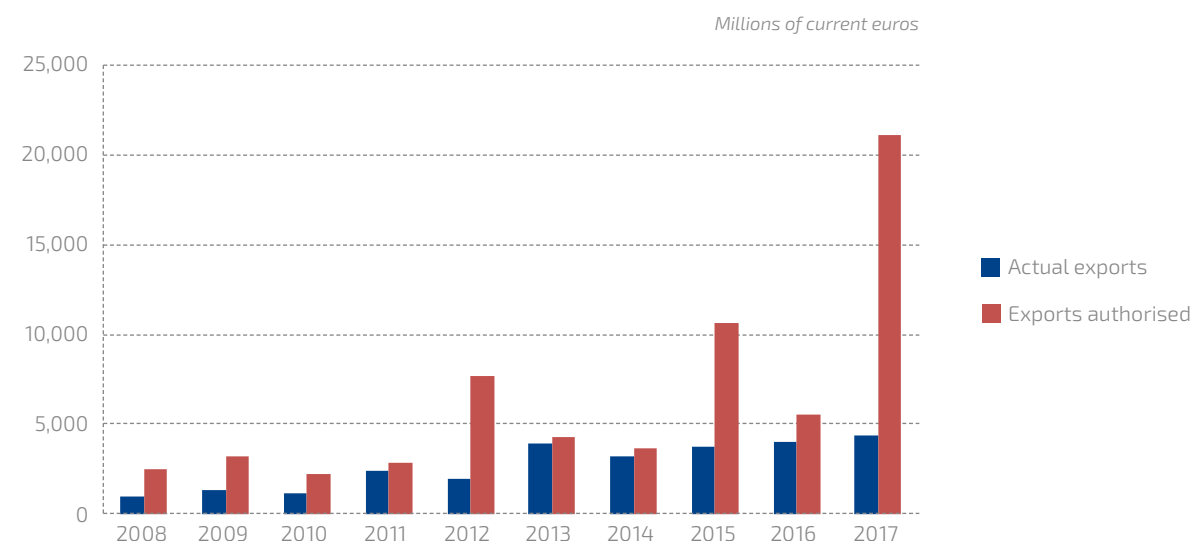
TABLE 1. Value of defence materials authorised and actually exported

Millions of euros

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Authorised	2,526	3,193	2,238	2,871	7,695	4,321	3,666	10,677	5,550	21,085
Exported	934	1,347	1,128	2,431	1,953	3,908	3,203	3,720	4,052	4,347
% exported	37	42	50	85	25	90	87	35	73	21

Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

GRAPH 3. Authorised and actual exports of Spanish defence materials 2017-2018



Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

ECONOMIC VALUE

Spanish arms exports in 2017 have risen to a value of 4,347 million euros, while the annual mean for the decade 2008-2017 was at 2,702 million euros.

According to SIPRI, in 2017 Spain occupied the seventh place in the worldwide ranking of arms exporters, behind the United States, Russia, Germany, France, China and the United Kingdom.

With regard to its participation in the worldwide arms market, Spain's 2017 exports represented 2.6% of global arms exports, and in terms of the Spanish trade balance they represent 1.6% of Spain's total exports. It is relevant to highlight that the weight arms exports carried in the Spanish trade balance has been increasing over these recent years of economic crisis, bringing to light that this is an industry that has not been affected by the economic crisis.

PRODUCTS EXPORTED

On the whole over recent years, the two most widely sold categories of defence materials continue to be military aircrafts and warships. Military Aircrafts represent 68% of the total of the analysed period and signify 18,368 million euros (3,434 million euros in 2017); warships represent 13%, with 3,593 million euros (147 million euros in 2017); fuel 4% with 1,059 million euros (140 million euros in 2017); munitions 3% with 887 million euros (245 million euros in 2017); bombs, rockets and missiles 3% with 851 million euros (62 million euros in 2017); defence imagery teams 3% with 822 million euros (65 million euros in 2017) and armoured vehicles 2% with 442 million euros (84 million euros in 2017).

It is worth highlighting that in 2017 munitions exports have occupied the second place in the ranking of exported product types. 6% of defence materials exported have been munitions, valued at 245 million euros. In humanitarian terms, the spectacular increase in said exports is very bad news—Spain has never before sold so many munitions.

Spanish arms exports in 2017 have risen to a value of 4,347 million euros. They represent 2.6% of global arms exports and 1.6% of the Spanish trade balance, occupying seventh place in the worldwide ranking of arms exporters

DESTINATIONS

TABLE 2. Actual exports of defence materials

Thousands of current euros

	Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2008-2017
1	United Kingdom	95,535	121,955	121,617	277,923	184,774	546,145	862,685	474,379	1,346,682	949,883	4,981,578
2	Germany	169,372	160,216	106,009	113,568	129,688	167,570	272,449	646,981	771,701	1,213,007	3,750,562
3	France	9,602	17,618	32,258	46,266	72,004	402,333	520,669	326,689	183,430	422,090	2,032,960
4	Australia	2	251	24,610	424,472	505,741	609,133	139,689	94,373	22,906	159,335	1,980,511
5	Saudi Arabia		5,148	5,825	14,006	21,263	406,437	292,862	545,980	116,192	270,166	1,677,880
6	Venezuela	111		212,000	567,358	182,365	16,673	10,779	15,301	2,653	3,383	1,010,623
7	Norway	265,691	281,289	5,146	362,964	4,778	3,578	2,020	1,591	6,501	4,110	937,667
8	Italy	62,320	70,833	71,900	50,670	101,992	117,304	96,126	71,462	138,294	90,330	871,230
9	Malaysia		180,526	27	5,214	10,879	5,491	2,515	297,522	167,633	170,628	840,436
10	Turkey	1,113	1,250	357	66	31,629	7,502	243,673	167,955	84,996	301,456	839,997
11	United Arab Emirates	89	89		66	2,380	717,047		3,943	26,739	52,928	803,280
12	Egypt	1,316	4	2,540	69,835	50,324	126,653	107,951	106,413	219,288	12,570	696,894
13	United States	22,376	55,401	75,173	115,602	91,221	84,616	34,026	65,350	67,175	80,774	691,713
14	Oman	48	592	3,195	3,310	670	98,036	64,893	161,336	208,282	72,832	613,194
15	Mexico	108	43,782	132,717	109,602	84,727	1	79	140,935	12,309	7,946	532,205
16	Greece	211	31,197	190	16,061	152,559	97,380	47,444	18,652	10,834	38,457	412,987
17	Indonesia	3,742	6	467	1,027	55,560	85,710	112,031	21,862	65,911	14,854	361,169
18	Brazil	63,446	46,962	14,867	2,922	1,176	114,524	28,867	31,996	16,751	26,317	347,828
19	Kazakhstan		18,930			54,052	1,480	53,896	21,990	73,320	54,624	278,293
20	Morocco	113,900	31,118	2,512	1,530	2,854		9,703	24,227	30,271	16,670	232,785
21	Colombia	31,138	33,312	29,129	24,987	5,744	59,729	1,709	12,847	22,966	10,885	232,446
22	Portugal	4,536	105,881	43,963	41,797	28	236	3,472	4,733	5,896	11,986	222,529
23	Iraq								85,421	52,691	33,313	171,425
24	Chile	711	3,478	24,125	62,467	20,468	19,270	9,607	8,760	12,554	7,062	168,503
25	Czech Republic	105	5,666	105,173	988	3,383	1,491	1,863	16,445	20,342	8,737	164,196
	TOTAL	838.916	1.224.561	1.006.686	2.153.289	1.768.674	3.907.901	3.203.248	3.720.311	4.051.785	4.346.748	

Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

Spanish arms exports have had as their destinations, in order of quantity, firstly the countries that are part of the OECD: 3,337 million euros (77% of the total), secondly the countries that form NATO stand out as they have received 3,147 million euros' worth (72% of the total) and thirdly the interior market of the European Union, which has been valued at 2,766 million euros (64% of the total). In general we can affirm that Spanish arms exports have a consolidated market, a market that comprises Western countries, those that are part of the EU and NATO, countries with a high GDP like the Middle East (with 10% of the total) and the newly expanding Asian market, which already represents 9% of total exports.

Sales to the European Union have reached 2,766 million euros, chiefly to Germany at a value of 1,213 million euros, the United Kingdom at 950 million euros, France at 422 million euros and Italy at 90 million euros. These exports are principally carried out within the most relevant European arms programmes, such as the A400M transport plane, the EF-2000 fighter plane, IRIS-T missiles, MIDS, MRTT and the Tiger combat helicopter. Ultimately, this is a bid by the EU to unify the weaponry of its member states' armed forces, while it also bids to become an industry capable of competing with North America's. With the new European policy, PESCO, which will drive participation between member states through joint projects for the development of European arms, it is to be expected that the volume of transfers between EU countries will increase.

EXPORTS TO THE MIDDLE EAST

Secondly, it is worth highlighting the exports that have been bound for the countries comprising the Middle East, which received arms at the value of 452 million euros in 2017. In particular, it is worth calling attention to exports to Saudi Arabia, totalling 270.2 million euros, in 1 transport plane (55.5 million euros), replacement parts for planes, unmanned planes and munitions at a value of 90.1 million euros; Oman at 72.8 million euros, 5 coastal patrol boats (42.2 million euros), 33 off-road vehicles (5.5 million euros), replacement parts for ships and grenade launchers, munitions and bombs for the sum of 1.05 million euros; the United Arab Emirates at 52.9 million euros, in replacement parts for aircraft, munitions and bombs for the sum of 42.6 million euros; Iraq at 33.3 million euros in munitions and Egypt at 12.6 million euros in aircraft parts, corvettes and vehicles.

If we are to abide by Spain and Europe's own legislation on arms trade, we ought to consider these exports illegal, given the existing situation of instability in the zone of the Middle East. This is specifically owing to the regional influence of countries such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain or the United Arab Emirates as they are giving support to a part of the conflict in Syria (insurgent groups), and in other countries such as Libya or Egypt as they form part of the coalition taking military action on Yemen. Exports to Iraq ought to be prohibited, as it is immersed in a war on its own territory. Given the armed conflict taking place across the region, it is apt to criticize harshly the exportation of munitions and bombs, since they are causing the most humanitarian damage.

With the new European policy, PESCO, which will drive participation between member states through joint projects for the development of new European arms, it is to be expected that the volume of transfers between EU countries will increase

Given the relevance of humanitarian impact, we highlight here the high volume of munitions and explosives that have been exported between 2013 and 2017, which have reached a value of 583.2 million euros. Of these, 288 million euros' worth have had Saudi Arabia as their destination, 152 million were to Iraq, 64 million to Bahrain, 48 million to the United Arab Emirates, 15 million to Oman and 7 million to Qatar

TABLE 3. Spanish exports of defence materials to Middle Eastern countries

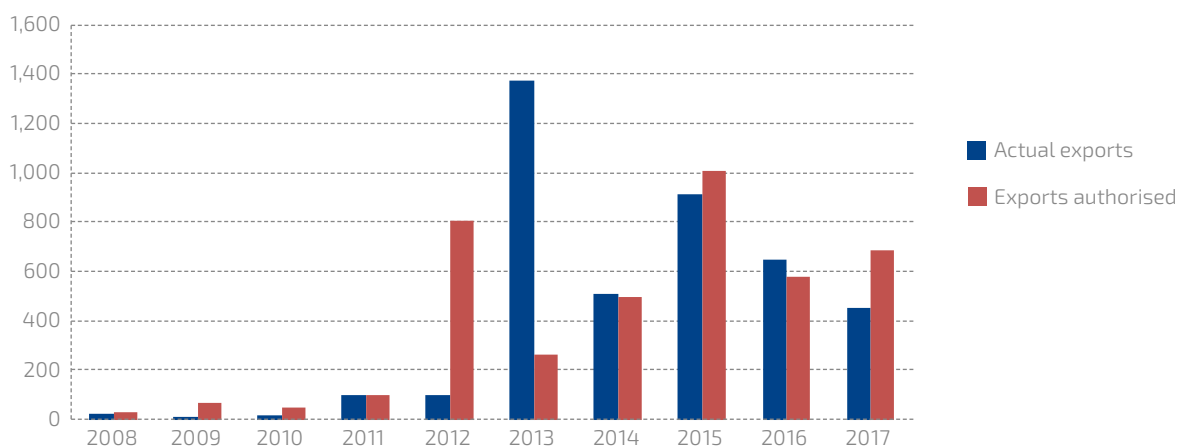
Thousands of current euros

Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2008-2017
Saudi Arabia		5,148	5,825	14,006	21,263	406,437	292,862	545,980	116,192	270,166	1,677,880
United Arab Emirates	89	89		66	2,380	717,047		3,943	26,739	52,928	803,280
Egypt	1,316	4	2,540	69,835	50,324	126,653	107,951	106,413	219,288	12,570	696,894
Oman	48	592	3,195	3,310	670	98,036	64,893	161,336	208,282	72,832	613,194
Iraq								85,421	52,691	33,313	171,425
Bahrain	15,945		41	6,351	21,145	24,130	39,932	3,239	19,081	34	129,897
Jordan	860	707	1,615	2,585	385	609	190	1,394	5,097	888	14,331
Qatar	1,958	836	1,030	383			667	290	66	8,056	13,286
Israel	2,359	791	1,429	473	638	52	3,428	2,187	531	1,387	13,274
Kuwait	1,155				1,703		818	834			4,510
Iran											0
Lebanon											0
Palestine											0
Syria											0
Yemen											0
Total	23,731	8,167	15,676	97,008	98,507	1,372,965	510,741	911,036	647,967	452,174	

Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods
Developed by: Delàs Centre

GRAPH 4. Authorised and actual exports of defence materials to Middle Eastern countries

Millions of current euros



Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

In terms of the relevant impact that the use of munitions and explosives have on civilian populations, war suffered in the Middle East provokes human death through munitions used by all militias, and through the bombardment that the residents of many cities have suffered and are suffering. This is why it becomes necessary to highlight the volume of these exports from 2013 to 2017 to countries such as Saudi Arabia, the value of which has risen to 288 million euros, Iraq (152 million euros), Bahrain (64 million euros), United Arab Emirates (48 million euros), Oman (15 million euros) and Qatar and Israel at 7 million euros respectively. In 2017 alone, this zone received explosives and munitions at a value of 175 million euros.

EXPORTS TO ASIA

Thirdly, it is relevant to address the exports to countries that comprise the Asian continent, which have received arms at a value of 395 million euros. Following in order of their ranking over the last decade, the primary receptors of Spanish defence materials in 2017 have been Malaysia, with arms valued at 170.6 million euros—a transport plane (121.3 million euros), aircraft parts and 6 off-road vehicles; Indonesia at 14.9 million euros, with Spanish aircraft parts for their assembly; Kazakhstan at 54.6 million euros, with 2 transport planes; the Philippines at 11.9 million euros, with airplane fuel and munitions; Thailand at 52.8 million euros, with 1 combat plane (42.8 million euros), spare parts for aircraft, munitions and explosives; Vietnam at 3.5 million euros with firing systems; India at 6.2 million euros, in replacement parts for ships and submarines, electronic equipment and ammunition; South Korea at 8.3 million euros; Pakistan at 27.6 million euros, with replacement parts for armored vehicles and Bangladesh at 30.2 million euros, with 1 transport plane (28.3 million euros), aircraft parts and explosives.

The continent of Asia is becoming a relevant market for Spanish arms. In 2017, it has received arms at a value of 395 million euros, yet given how high the volume of authorisations for exports has been over the last 3 years— 4,458 million euros' worth—a rise in the number of said exports is to be expected in the coming years

TABLE 4. Spanish exports of defence materials to Asian countries

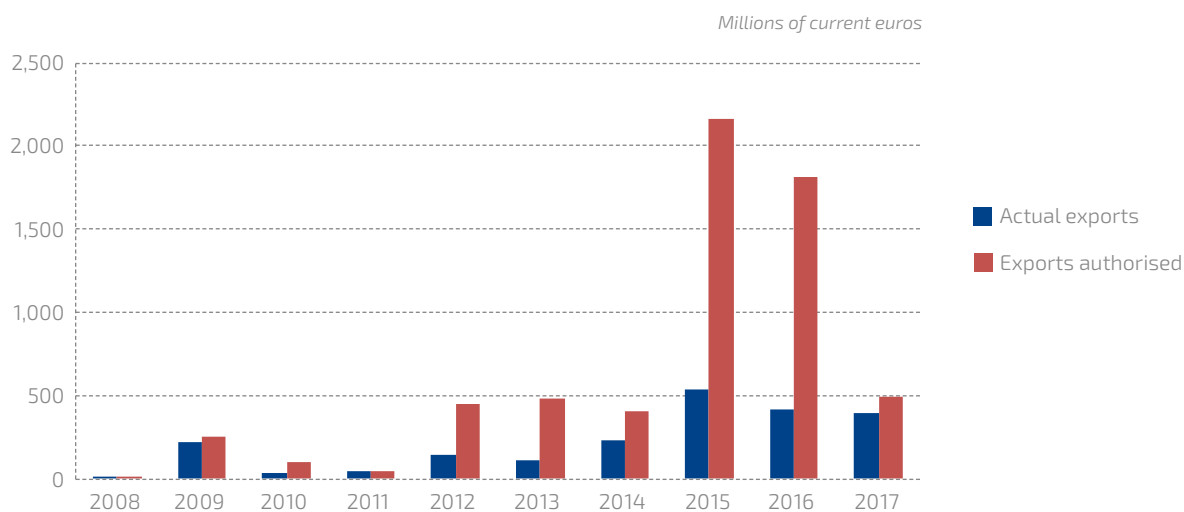
Thousands of current euros

Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2008-2017
Malaysia		180,526	27	5,214	10,879	5,491	2,515	297,522	167,633	170,628	840,436
Indonesia	3,742	6	467	1,027	55,560	85,710	112,031	21,862	65,911	14,854	361,169
Kazakhstan		18,930			54,052	1,480	53,896	21,990	73,320	54,624	278,293
Philippines		138	1	3				102,090	12,379	11,970	126,580
Thailand	157	526	777	7,789	7,297	2,310	3,432	3,591	36,114	52,844	114,837
Vietnam		0					36,492	60,588	2,875	3,501	103,456
India	1,920	10,636	13,741	4,991	8,969	12,054	14,783	8,776	17,904	6,181	99,954
South Korea	1,147	11,561	10,591	6,823	3,839	70		14,395	16,901	8,334	73,662
Pakistan	199	760	390	12,896	3,559	4,018	1,442	2,077	8,438	27,598	61,377
Bangladesh				749	184		1			30,240	31,175
Singapore	570	682	2,339	1,868	90	846	2,330	5,031	4,357	7,983	26,095
Japan									5,766	5,767	11,533
Afghanistan						2,258	573	149	102		3,082
Sri Lanka	139	102	160								401
Kyrgyzstan								5			5
Total	7,874	223,867	28,492	41,361	144,431	114,236	227,493	538,076	411,700	394,524	

Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

Each year, member states of the United Nations present information to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA) about their imports and exports of conventional arms and small arms. The quality of said reports tends to be very lacking; in being incomplete, inconsistent, vague or erroneous. The Spanish government has informed the United Nations Register that in 2017 they exported large-calibre artillery systems to Italy (99), Switzerland (7) and Honduras (4). They have exported small arms and light weapons — specifically portable anti-tank missile launchers and rocket systems — to Estonia (500), Indonesia (313), Oman (200) and to Pakistan (1,413).

GRAPH 5. Exports authorised and actual exports of Spanish defence materials to Asian countries



Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

REFUSALS

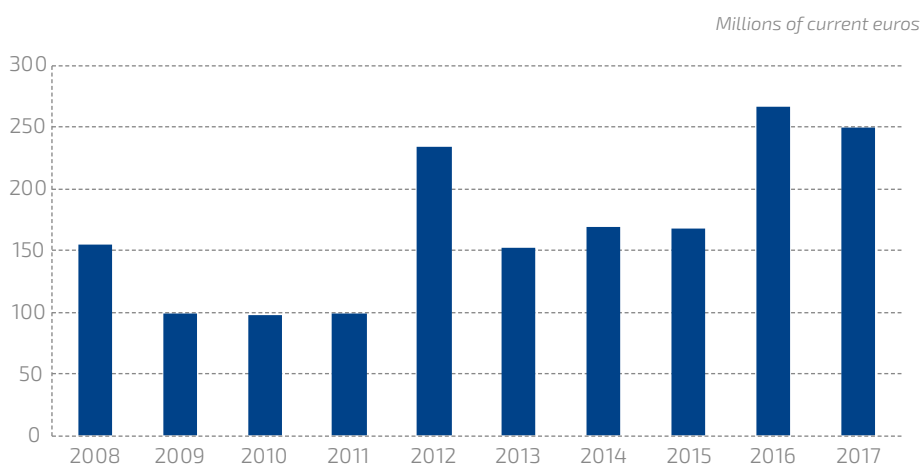
In 2017, the JIMDDU granted 1,560 export licenses for defence materials, and refused only 4. Two of these were for Israel, whose application consisted of 10 rifle barrels and 17 firing control systems for tanks—enforcing criteria 4 of the Common Position (2008/994/PESC) which refers to the preservation of peace, security and regional stability. One refusal was for Myanmar, concerning 20 pistols for sport shooting, in accordance with Criteria 1 of the Common Position referring to the EU embargo, and 1 to the Republic of China, the application consisting of 6 acoustic detection systems, enforcing Criteria 1 of the Common Position referring to the EU embargo.

The low number of refusals can only be interpreted as indicative of a lack of political will to enforce Law 53/2007 which refers to control of the external market for defence materials and dual-use goods, and the criteria established in the Common Position (2008/994/PESC). If Criteria 4 of the Common Position is applied to Israel, because of a risk of increasing regional instability and for the preservation of peace and security, how must we interpret the exporting of munitions and explosives to countries in this zone such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates or Oman?

The low number of refusals – 4 in every 1,560 licenses – can be interpreted as a lack of political will to exercise the law controlling exportation

2. SPANISH EXPORTS OF DUAL-USE GOODS

GRAPH 6. Actual exports of dual-use goods



Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Double-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

The exports of dual-use goods carried out in 2017 have risen to a value of 250 million euros, which represents a decrease of 6% compared to the previous year. These transfers represent 85% of the total number of authorisations for transfers, which reached a worth of 295 million euros.

Ranked, the ten primary receptors of these—taking as a reference the value of exports 2008-2017—are as follows: the United States, which in 2017 received materials worth 105.3 million euros, Iran at 5.9 million euros, Democratic Republic of China at 28.3 million euros, Brazil at 10.6 million euros, Russia at 3.4 million euros, United Arab Emirates at 3.7 million euros, Argentina at 6.7 million euros, Turkey at 1.4 million euros, Mexico at 20.2 million euros and India at 8.2 million euros.

In regards to the ranking of product types exported in 2017, first place would go to Category 9 products (propulsion systems, special vehicles) with 88.9 million euros; Category 2 (treatment of materials) with 70.1 million euros; Category 5 (telecommunications and "information security") with 56.2 million euros; Category 1 (materials, chemical substances, "microorganisms" and "toxins") with 22.0 million euros; Category 3 (electronic) with 7.3 million euros and Category 6 (sensors and lasers) with 3.8 million euros.

In 2017, 522 export licences were authorised and 5 were refused. One refusal was to Iran, concerning a solar navigation sensor, due to a risk of its use being diverted to a missile programme, another to Libya over 6 unmanned aerial vehicles, because of the EU and United Nations embargo; two refusals to Pakistan over two electroerosion machines, due to risk of misuse for a programme of proliferation, military use and for a nuclear programme; and another to Russia concerning replacement parts, due to risk of misappropriation for military use.

3. EXPORTS OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS ACCORDING TO ESTACOM

TABLE 5. Spanish exports of munitions and explosives to countries in the Middle East

Thousands of current euros

Countries	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2013-2017
Saudi Arabia	44,400	35,167	42,063	75,981	90,118	287,729
Iraq			80,790	38,026	33,313	152,129
Bahrain	23,784	39,872				63,655
United Arab Emirates	47			5,572	42,632	48,251
Qatar	0				7,731	7,731
Oman	3,434	9,088	0	1,562	516	14,599
Kuwait	0	818	834			1,652
Israel	3,640	2,225	753		601	7,218
Egypt			227			227
Iran						0
Jordan						0
Lebanon						0
Palestine						0
Syria						0
Yemen						0
Total	75,304	87,169	124,666	121,140	174,911	

Source: Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods.
Developed by: Delàs Centre

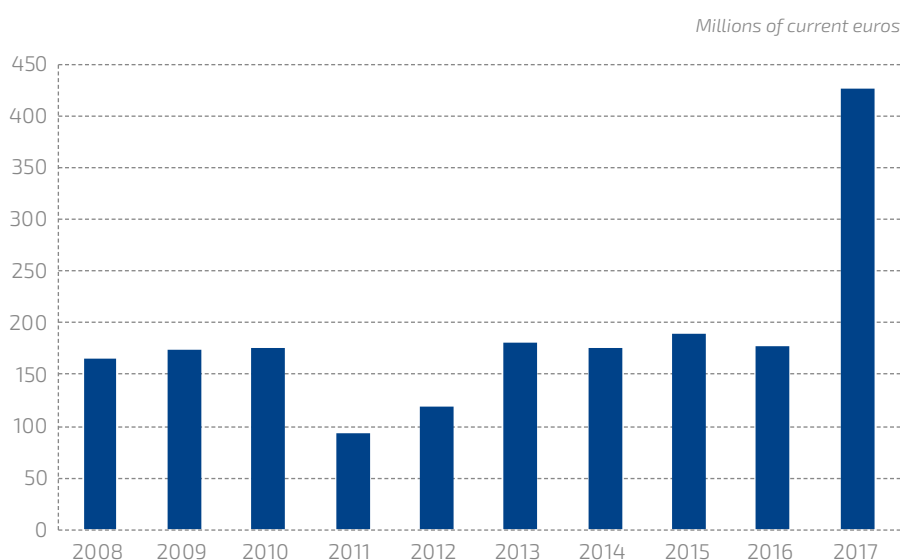
With regard to exports of small and light arms, we have two sources of information at our disposal: one provided by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MEC) and one based on data collected from ESTACOM Customs. According to the classification of defence materials detailed in the MEC's report, in 2017 for Category 1 (firearms with a calibre lower than 20mm) material was exported for a value of 115.5 million euros, for Category 2 (firearms with a calibre equal to or higher than 20mm) material was exported at a value of 54.3 million euros, for Category 3 (munitions and components) material was exported at a value of 349.6 million euros and for Category 4 (bombs, rockets, torpedos, missiles) material was exported at a value of 88.8 million euros. We refer to these exports as small arms and light weapons, even while aware that not all of these materials can indeed be considered light or small arms, however, given the impossibility of separating them further, we consider them as such. Ultimately, according to the MEC, exports of these materials in 2017 ascended to a value of 608.2 million euros.

According to customs database ESTACOM, specifically in terms of exports carried out under customs duty code TARIC 93, exports of small arms and light weapons rose to a value of 425.6 million euros. The four primary exports took place under customs duty 9306 (bombs, grenades, torpedoes, landmines, missiles, cartridges and other munitions and projectiles, and their parts; including slugs, pellets, and plugs for cartridges) rising to a value of 297.2 million euros; followed by customs duty 9304 (other arms: heavy weapons, spring-piston airguns, compressed air or gas spring guns, batons) rising to a value of 34.2 million euros,

customs duty 9305 (parts and accessories for items in consignments 9301 to 9304) rising to a value of 32.6 million euros; customs duty 9303 (other firearms and similar devices that operate using the deflagration of gunpowder, hunting weapons, muzzle-loading firearms, flare guns and other devices designed only to project signal flares, pistols and revolvers for firing blank ammunition, captive-bolt humane killers, line-throwing guns) rising to a value of 30.3 million euros, and customs duty 9301 (weapons of war, excluding revolvers, pistols and bladed weapons) which rose to a value of 28.0 million euros.

Finally, it is worth mentioning as information to bear in mind that in the United Nations Register, the Spanish government has declared that they have exported small arms and light weapons—specifically portable anti-tank missile launchers and rocket systems—to Estonia (500), Indonesia (313), Oman (200) and Pakistan (1,413).

GRAPH 7. Spanish exports of small arms and light weapons



Source: ESTACOM database from the Institute of Foreign Commerce. Values correspond to customs duty code 93. Developed by: Delàs Centre

The ranking of the 10 countries who were the primary receivers of small arms and light weapons in 2017, according to the ESTACOM database, is comprised of: Saudi Arabia with exports at a worth of 83.3 million euros, the United States at 58.8 million euros, Iraq at 30.4 million euros, the United Kingdom at 26.5 million euros, United Arab Emirates at 26.5 million euros, Pakistan at 20.3 million euros, Italy at 18.8 million euros, Tunisia at 16.2 million euros, Morocco at 15.7 million euros and France at 13.7 million euros.

4. EXPORTS OF POLICE AND SECURITY EQUIPMENT, HUNTING AND SPORTING WEAPONS

The report of recent years by the Sub-Directorate General for Foreign Trade of Defence Materials and Dual-Use Goods has designated a subsection to inform about trade undertaken of police and antiriot equipment, and of hunting and sporting weapons—arms which, by virtue of their technical characteristics, are not for military use, but which have a huge impact on zones undergoing armed conflict.

That being so, in terms of police and antiriot equipment, in 2017 exports were authorised at a value of 10.3 million euros and 7 million euros' worth of material was exported. The destinations were Oman, receiving goods at a value of 4.4 million euros in antiriot vans with mounted water cannons and water tanks, and Tunisia with tear gas canisters, sound bombs and smoke canisters at a value of 2.6 million euros.

In 2017, not one export has been denied.

With regards to hunting and sporting weapons (shotguns, cartridges and spare parts), the government authorised 423 export licences, worth 122.3 million euros, and not one application was denied.

Throughout 2017, 49 million euros' worth of sporting and hunting weapons were exported; 40.1 percent of total goods authorised. The main destinations in terms of value of goods exported in the period 2008-2017 were: the United States (5.8 million euros in 2017), Ghana (4.3 million euros in 2017), Turkey (2.7 million euros in 2017), Japan (6.1 million euros in 2017), Australia (2.0 million euros in 2017), Peru (1.7 million euros in 2017) and Morocco (2.2 million euros in 2017).

The Sub-Directorate General affirms that 75.2% of these exports consisted of cartridges for hunting weapons, 9.5% gunpowder, 7.8% knife sheaths, 5.2% shotguns and 2.3% pistons.

5. GOVERNMENT POLICY ADVOCATING ARMS EXPORTS

The Spanish government has been bringing a policy advocating arms exports into effect for many years. The most noteworthy new aspects to this are the Strategy for the Internationalisation of the Spanish Economy 2017-2027, and the Two Year Plan of Action 2017-2018.

The Two Year Plan of Action 2017-2018 indicates that a sectorial group has been created, the Working Group for the Industrialisation of the Defence Sector, within the sphere of the Ministry for Economy, Industry and Competitiveness.

The primary support for this sector is found in the Ministry Defence, which describes the Spanish defence industry as "a strategic sector for the economy." Within the Ministry, four pillars of action present themselves. The first pillar is known as "support for a globalisation that is ever-adapting to the needs and profiles of companies." This support is put into practice through the Foreign Support Office (OFICAEX). Among the actions undertaken by OFICAEX, one can find the following: the co-ordination of conferences in which the Spanish defence industry meets with the EU and NATO; relations with defence advisors and attachés, pushing for the signing of the "Memoranda of Understanding" (MoUs) or Cooperation Agreements in the sphere of defence materials and industry, as well as support in the preparation of contracts between governments.

Another of the measures represented in the first pillar is the promotion of Agreements for the exchange and protection of classified information, which is considered to be "an essential legal instrument, that benefits the Spanish defence industry and Spain's commercial exchanges with other countries in this sector."

Included within the second pillar, "Incorporating Innovation, Technology, Branding and Digitalisation into Internationalisation," is the introduction of a digital portal catering to the defence industry.

The third pillar is referred to as "Taking better advantage of business opportunities arising from common trade policy and from financial institutions and multilateral organisations." It includes participation in the European Defence Action Plan (EDAP) and the disclosure of the defence industry's capabilities before other international organisations, especially NATO and the EU.

The final pillar, "Coordination and complementarity of actions between all relevant actors in matters of internationalisation," seeks to reinforce cooperation between defence attaché offices and trade ministries as well as coordination with other organisations and associations in the sector: these are the Spanish Association of Defence, Aeronautics and Space Technology (TEDAE), and the Association of Contractors with Public Administrations (AESMIDE).

The official statistics for arms exports do not include any reference to the government policy advocating arms exports. It is not stated how many Memoranda of Understanding or Defence Cooperation Agreements are agreed upon. Nor is there information included as to whether government to government contracts have been entered into for the sales of defence materials. With regard to this issue, in her appearance before the Congress Defence Commission in May 2017, the State Defence Secretary, María Poncela García, stated that in 2015 and 2016 not one arms exportation had been carried out under the premise of government to government agreements.¹

As a measure for transparency, and to facilitate political control over Spanish arms exports, it would be advisable for official statistics to gather information about these issues relating to the government policy that advocates the exportation of arms.

AGREEMENT WITH SAUDI ARABIA FOR THE EXPORTATION OF FIVE CORVETTES MANUFACTURED BY PUBLIC COMPANY NAVANTIA

On the 12 April 2018 at La Moncloa, an agreement was signed with Saudi Arabia for a collaboration in matters of defence. This agreement facilitates a future contract being entered into with Navantia, for the manufacture and sale of five navy corvettes for the sum of around 2 billion euros. The corvettes will be based on the Avante 2200 model, around one hundred metres in length, with a cargo capacity of 2,000 tonnes and a fuel range of up to 8,700 nautical miles. The agreement also includes the training of crews using different teams as well as the construction of a naval base in Saudi Arabia. On the same day, an Agreement Memorandum

1. Congress Log for the Congress of Deputies, Defence Commission, 12th Legislative Session, no. 243, 23rd May.

dum was also signed between Navantia and the Saudi public company SAMI, for the creation of a joint company which will develop future naval programmes in Saudi Arabia.²

The sale of the five corvettes has been under negotiation since 2015, and it is an operation in which the Spanish government has been heavily implicated. Even King Felipe VI made a visit to Saudi Arabia in January 2017 to show support for the contract. Another element intended to contribute to the sale was the signing of an Agreement, in Madrid in 2016, between the Kingdom of Spain and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with regard to the mutual protection of classified information in the sphere of defence matters (BOE, or "Official State Gazette", 6th September 2017).

From a legal perspective this operation is very questionable. Article 6.3 of the Arms Trade Treaty prohibits exportation if the arms could be used to commit war crimes. According to the European Union's Common Position 2008/944/PESC, the export must be denied if there is a clear risk that the military technology or equipment to be exported might be used in the commission of serious violations of international humanitarian law.

The enforcement of these criteria should invoke the denial of authorisation for the exportation of the corvettes to Saudi Arabia. This country is leading a coalition in the Yemen war, a conflict that began in 2015. This coalition has launched numerous illegal air strikes, some of which could be considered war crimes.³ Despite this, over the period 2015-2017, Spanish defence materials have been exported to Saudi Arabia at a value of 932 million euros. There is a high probability that the corvettes will be used to carry out a naval blockade. And these corvettes could begin to be delivered within a year of the signing of the contract.

2. According to information obtained from the *Revista Española de Defensa* (Spanish Defence Journal), no. 350, May 2018, page 48.

3. See report *Armas sin control. Un oscuro negocio marca España* (Arms out of control: a dark trade makes its mark on Spain), by Amnesty International, Fundipau, Greenpeace and Oxfam Intermón, from September 2017, page 10.