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Stigma: The Political Costs of Using Cluster Munitions

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Stigma: The Political Costs of Using Cluster Munitions April 2014



Introduction

The movement to end the suffering caused by cluster munitions succeeded not only in establishing a legal ban in the form of the 2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM), but also in decisively re-shaping the global perception of these weapons. Over the past decade, the awareness-raising and political mobilization surrounding cluster munitions have led to an understanding among states that any use would be associated with unnecessary human suffering and would most certainly provoke considerable international criticism. In other words, the political movement and legal ban have created **a powerful stigma associated with the use of cluster munitions**, a stigma that is now strong enough to dissuade most stockpilers from using or transferring the weapon, even those that are not part of the Convention.

This paper lays out the reactions, both by the international community and the user itself, to the relatively few incidents of known or suspected use in the past several years. As shown below, every incident of use received quick and widespread international condemnation, even from states not parties to the Convention. As well, every known or suspected user except two firmly denied such use, sometimes even counter-accusing their opponent as an attempt to tarnish their reputation. Each of these denials or counter-claims shows the clear shame associated with using these discredited weapons, even among states that have not yet decided to join the Convention.

As the information provided below will show, there is a real and significant political cost to using cluster munitions, making it unclear why states still outside the Convention would want to maintain such weapons in their arsenals or keep the possibility of acquiring them in the future.¹ Instead, such states should recognize the evolution of the international environment relating to cluster munition use and forever forswear their use by joining the Convention on Cluster Munitions.

Reactions to use: Prior to the Adoption of the Convention on Cluster Munitions

Use by Israel in Lebanon: In July and August 2006, Israel sent as many as 4.6 million submunitions across southern Lebanon in at least 962 separate strikes.²

Israel's reaction:

Israel did not deny using cluster munitions in 2006. But it appeared to be affected by the strong international reaction to such use. In 2012, when conflict with Hezbollah seemed possible again, an anonymous Israeli officer said, "Due to a whole range of considerations -- legitimacy, our non-indifference to the treaty, effectiveness and other factors -- cluster use is expected to be reduced" in any such conflict.³ A senior officer from the Israeli Army cited in Haaretz, [described Israel's use of cluster bombs in Lebanon as "crazy and monstrous."](#)⁴

International reaction:

Israel's use of cluster munitions in the 2006 conflict with Hezbollah elicited a strong response from the international community. U.N. Humanitarian Chief Jan Egeland in 2006 described [Israel's use of cluster](#)

¹ All data except when otherwise noted come from the relevant Cluster Munition Monitor country profile, all of which can be found online at http://www.the-monitor.org/index.php/cp/display/region_profiles. Hyperlinks to references are available on the online version of this paper.

² Human Rights Watch, "Flooding South Lebanon: Israel's Use of Cluster Munitions in Lebanon in July and August 2006" p. 1-15, <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2008/02/16/flooding-south-lebanon-0>.

³ Dan Williams, Reuters, "Israel to limit cluster bombs in possible war with Hezbollah," uk.reuters.com/article/2012/10/29/uk-israel-lebanon-clusterbombs-idUKBRE89SOUO20121029.

⁴ Meron Rappaport, "IDF commander: We fired more than a million cluster bombs in Lebanon," *Haaretz*, 12 September 2006.

[munitions as “completely immoral”](#) and referred to “shocking statistics” on the extent of cluster munition contamination uncovered by the UN Mine Action Center. The Cluster Munition Coalition, Lebanon and the Holy See strongly condemned the use of cluster munitions at the Group of Governmental Experts’ meeting of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons in August 2006. Lebanese PM Fouad Saniourah [urged the U.S. to stop sending cluster bombs to Israel](#) during a visit with the American Ambassador to Lebanon in February 2007. The US Department of State said Israel [may have misused American-made cluster bombs in civilian areas of Lebanon during its war against Hezbollah](#).

The evidence of humanitarian harm caused by the intensive use of cluster munitions and the massive numbers of submunitions left behind is often credited with generating the political momentum that led to the international ban.⁵ As noted by HRW at the [Wellington Conference on Cluster Munitions](#), “Only a global treaty that bans cluster munitions will prevent such tragedies in the future.” A [report by the UN Human Rights Council](#) concluded “that serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law were committed by Israel during the recent conflict in Lebanon,” and recommended that “the international community should take urgent action to ban the use of cluster munitions under international law.” [Israel’s use of cluster munitions in Lebanon was condemned by the U.K’s Liberal Democrats](#), which stated that “Israel’s use of cluster bombs in civilian areas and subsequent failure to cooperate with mine clearance efforts demonstrates the necessity for an outright and international ban on the use of such weapons”.

Use by Hezbollah:

Human Rights Watch documented the use of cluster munitions by Hezbollah forces into northern Israel during the 2006 conflict with Lebanon. Hezbollah fired about 100 Chinese-produced Type-81 122mm cluster munition rockets, each of which contains 39 Type-90 submunitions, also known as MZD-2.⁶

Reaction by Hezbollah:

The government of Lebanon denied that Hezbollah used cluster munitions. In June 2012, Lebanon provided the Monitor with the following statement: “In the aftermath of the 2006 Israeli aggression, the Lebanese army found several kinds of unexploded cluster munitions on the Lebanese territory. Among these found were used and failed Chinese made MZD2. All (MZD2) were found in an area that is 10 kilometers away from the Lebanese – Occupied Palestine borders. Lebanon does not stockpile any kind of cluster munitions, it has not used any in the past, and the Lebanese Government considers all failed or unexploded cluster munitions or submunitions on the Lebanese soil as a legacy of the Israeli aggression on Lebanon; it should be noted though that these MZD2 munitions were only found after the 2006 aggression.”⁷

International Reaction:

HRW [expressed concern](#) with regards to Hezbollah’s use of cluster munitions:

“We are disturbed to discover that not only Israel but also Hezbollah used cluster munitions in their recent conflict, at a time when many countries are turning away from this kind of weapon precisely because of its impact on civilians,” said Steve Goose, director of Human Rights Watch’s Arms Division. “Use of cluster munitions is never justified in civilian-populated areas because they are inaccurate and unreliable.”

⁵ See John Borrie, *Unacceptable Harm: A History of How the Treaty to Ban Cluster Munitions Was Won*, p. 131-133. A briefing by the UN Mine Action Coordination Center South Lebanon’s Director laid out in great detail the proof of massive use and remaining contamination from Israel’s use of cluster munitions to a full room of delegates to the Group of Governmental Experts’ meeting of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons in August 2006.

⁶ Human Rights Watch, “Civilians Under Assault: Hezbollah’s Rocket Attacks on Israel in the 2006 War,” August 2007, pp. 44–48.

⁷ *Cluster Munition Monitor 2012*, document provided in letter from the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the UN in Geneva to HRW, Ref 8/27/1 & 131/2012, 7 June 2012.

South Ossetia

During their August 2008 conflict over the breakaway region of South Ossetia, both Russia and Georgia used cluster munitions in populated areas. [Human Rights Watch confirmed](#) that at least 16 civilians died from cluster munitions and at least 54 more were wounded in Georgia, south of the South Ossetian administrative border. Unexploded submunitions also littered farms, interfering with harvests.⁸

Reaction by Russia

[Russia repeatedly denied using cluster munitions](#) in Georgia since the first reports about its cluster use were published.⁹

Reaction by Georgia:

The [Georgian Ministry of Defense acknowledged using cluster munitions](#), though asserted they were used against Russian military targets, and only in unpopulated areas.¹⁰ Georgia also [criticized use of cluster munitions](#) by Russia.

International reaction:

Concern and condemnation of Russia's use of cluster munitions was [expressed by Ireland, Norway](#) and the [Netherlands](#). The Norwegian Minister of Defense noted the importance of the stigma created already in 2008: "It is my opinion that the process has established an international norm that all states must relate to, in the same way that the mine ban convention from 1997 also is being respected by states that thus far have not ratified it, says the minister of defence. The majority of the world's states have with the adoption of the Convention on Cluster Munitions made it clear that the use of such weapons cannot be considered acceptable."¹¹

The E.U. called for [cluster munitions from conflict](#) to be cleared by Russia and Georgia.

Alleged Use Since the Adoption of the Convention on Cluster Munitions

Sudan:

There were [two allegations of cluster munition use](#) by the armed forces of Sudan in the first half of 2012 in Southern Kordofan: one attack with Chinese Type-81 dual purpose improved conventional munitions (DPICM), and another in April in the settlement of Ongolo with a Soviet-made RBK-500 cluster bomb containing AO-2.5RT explosive submunitions. The Cluster Munition Monitor was unable to independently to confirm when the cluster munitions were used or by whom.

Sudan's reaction:

[Sudan has repeatedly denied using cluster munitions](#). In April 2012, a representative of Sudan's Permanent Mission to the UN in Geneva stated, "Sudan is not a producing country and does not own stockpiling, [sic] and did not use it before, neither in the far past, nor the near one. So any accusations to [sic] my country in this field are groundless. Accusations always come from political activists working against my country, such as the politicized constituencies. One of those who are accusing Sudan, who said he was an eye witness was declared persona Non Grata in 2003, because of his malicious work and politicized activities. This makes his allegations irrelevant and not valid." On 27 May, the spokesperson of Sudan's armed forces, Colonel Al-Sawarmi Khalid Sa'ad, was quoted in the local media stating, "Whether or not we end up joining the

⁸ Human Rights Watch, "A Dying Practice: Use of Cluster Munitions by Russia and Georgia in August 2008," <http://www.hrw.org/node/82158>.

⁹ See HRW report, Ibid, and Michael Schwartz, "Georgia Fired More Cluster Bombs Than Thought, Killing Civilians, Report Finds," *New York Times*, 5 November 2008.

¹⁰ Yochi J. Dreazen, "Georgia Used Cluster Bombs that Hit Civilians, Group Says," *Wall Street Journal*, 4 Nov. 2008.

¹¹ <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/fd/Press-centre/Press-releases/2008/forsvarsministeren-sterkt-bekymret-over-.html?id=524558>

international treaty that bans cluster bombs, the fact remains that we never use them in our military operations and we don't have them to begin with."

Previously, in November 2010, the General Secretary of the Ministry of Defense stated that Sudan does not possess any stockpiles of cluster munitions, does not produce the weapon, and has "never used cluster munitions, not even in the wars that have occurred in the south and east of the country and in Darfur."

International reaction:

Austria's Foreign Minister [condemned Sudan's alleged cluster munition use](#): "The most recent reports about the use of cluster munition in South Sudan [sic] are appalling. I urge the conflict parties to spare the civilian population from death, mutilation and the suffering caused by these inhumane and cruel weapons."

Yemen:

In June 2010, [Amnesty International reported that it appears the United States used at least one ship \(or submarine\) launched TLAM-D cruise missile](#), which contains 166 BLU-97 submunitions, to attack a "training camp" in al-Ma'jalah in al-Mahfad district of Abyan governorate of Yemen on 17 December 2009. It said the attack killed 55 people, including 14 alleged members of the targeted "terrorist group," as well as 14 women and 21 children.

United States' reaction: There has been no known reaction from the United States on allegations of cluster munition use in Yemen.

International:

In June 2010 Amnesty International expressed [concern at evidence of cluster munition use in](#) Yemen: "Amnesty International is gravely concerned by evidence that cluster munitions appear to have been used in Yemen," said Mike Lewis, the group's arms control researcher. "Cluster munitions have indiscriminate effects and unexploded bomblets threaten lives and livelihoods for years afterwards," he said.

South Sudan

UNMAS documented new use of cluster munitions in South Sudan during the week of 7 February 2014, near the town of Bor in an area not known to be contaminated by remnants prior to mid-December 2013.¹²

South Sudan's reaction:

South Sudan has denied responsibility in the use of the cluster munitions. South Sudan's Minister of Defense, Kuol Manyang Juuk, stated, "I'm not aware of the presence of cluster shells or bombs with the SPLM, whether they have been used, I am not aware." said Mr Kuol. "You'd better ask the SPLA."¹³

Response from other actors in the region:

Brig. Gen. Lul Ruai Koang, speaking for the opposition Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), has denied their forces used cluster bombs in the recent conflict. He stated, "Our Forces do not have cluster bombs," alleging instead that the SPLA and Uganda Peoples Defense Forces used them.¹⁴ A spokesperson for the forces of Dr. Riek Machar, stated "Our forces don't have cluster bombs, because we don't have that

¹² See Human Rights Watch, "[South Sudan: Investigate New Cluster Bomb Use](#)," 15 February 2014, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/14/south-sudan-investigate-new-cluster-bomb-use>

¹³ *Talk of Sudan*, "Machar side say 'we do not use' cluster bombs, gvt side say 'not aware if we do'" 14 February 2014, <http://talkofsudan.com/dr-rieks-forces-govt-deny-using-cluster-bombs-in-the-conflict/>

¹⁴ *Sudan Tribune*, S. Sudanese activists demand probe into existence of cluster bombs, 14 February 2014, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49952>.

capability, we don't use them. In our stock, we don't have them at all."¹⁵

The Foreign Minister of Uganda, whose forces are lending support to those of South Sudan, categorically denied any involvement in the use of cluster munitions on national news, insisting that as a signatory state to the Convention on Cluster Munitions, Uganda would not use the weapon. The Government of Uganda's Official Centre for Public Communications also tweeted a denial of use:

"#Kutesa: We do not use cluster bombs. #Uganda would not because we are signatories to that convention #SouthSudan."¹⁶ In addition, Brig. Muhanga Kayanja, commander of the Ugandan forces, also denied having used cluster munitions.¹⁷

International Reaction:

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon condemned the use of cluster munitions immediately after they were discovered.¹⁸ Zambia and Norway, the presidents of the Fourth and Third Meetings of the States Parties to the Convention on Cluster Munitions, respectfully, publicly condemned the use of cluster munitions in South Sudan.¹⁹ The Cluster Munition Coalition also expressed deep concern about this new use of cluster munitions and called on all actors involved in the conflict to investigate and ensure there is no future use.²⁰

Confirmed Use Since the Adoption of the Convention on Cluster Munitions

Libya

During the 2011 conflict, [government forces loyal to Muammar Gaddafi used three different types of cluster munitions](#) at locations including Ajabiya, Misrata, and in the Nafusa Mountains near Jadu and Zintan.

Libya's reaction:

In response to allegations of use in 2011 in Misurata, Government spokesman Mussa Ibrahim denied that the regime had been using the munitions: "We can never do this, morally, legally. We challenge them [HRW] to prove this. We know the international community is coming en masse to our country. We're not using them."²¹

International reaction:

The European Union and at least ten States Parties and signatories to the Convention on Cluster Munitions [condemned or expressed grave concern](#) about the Libyan government's use of cluster munitions in 2011: Austria, Australia, Lao PDR, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, and the United Kingdom. United States Secretary of State Hilary Clinton described the Libyan government's cluster munition use as "worrying." The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the CMC condemned Libyan use of cluster munitions. A NTC spokesperson said the government's use of cluster munitions confirmed it was "bent on creating a large humanitarian crisis in Misrata." In April 2011, the [UN Human Rights High Commissioner](#) has also condemned

¹⁵ *Talk of Sudan*, "Machar side say 'we do not use' cluster bombs, gvt side say 'not aware if we do'" 14 February 2014, <http://talkofsudan.com/dr-rieks-forces-govt-deny-using-cluster-bombs-in-the-conflict/>

¹⁶ @UgandaMediaCent

¹⁷ HRW (2014) *South Sudan: Investigate new cluster bomb use*. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/14/south-sudan-investigate-new-cluster-bomb-use>

¹⁸ "Statement attributable to the Spokesperson for the Secretary-General on South Sudan," 12 February 2014, <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?id=7455>

¹⁹ <http://www.clusterconvention.org/files/2014/02/Statement-by-Zambia-condemning-use-of-cluster-munitions-in-South-Sudan.pdf>; http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/whats-new/news/2014/condemns_clusterbombs.html?id=751685

²⁰ <http://www.stopclustermunitions.org/news/?id=4617>

²¹ www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/libya-video/8456851/Libya-denies-using-cluster-bombs.html; www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13102328; www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/15/libya-cluster-bomb-misrata.

the reported use in the strongest possible terms, warning that such acts could constitute international crimes.

Thailand

In February 2011, the Cambodian Mine Action Centre (CMAC), a government entity, claimed that Thai military forces had fired cluster munitions during fighting on the border at Preah Vihear. Separate missions by CMC members in February and April 2011 [confirmed that cluster munitions were used by Thailand](#) on Cambodian territory, including M42/M46 and M85 type DPICM submunitions.

Thailand's reaction:

In reaction to the initial allegations, Thailand initially denied using cluster munitions and reportedly accused Cambodia of using them instead. A government spokesman said: "The military confirmed to us that we don't use this weapon. Number two they also discovered those weapons in the area and they concluded that the weapons are from Cambodia. The cluster shells were discovered in the area shot by the Cambodian side."²² The Thai [Ministry of Defence](#) said that the army has no cluster bombs in its arsenal: "We may have some weapons with similar features to cluster bombs but they do not work like cluster bombs. They are not cluster bombs."²³

After further investigation, the Thailand Ambassador to the UN in Geneva told CMC representatives on 5 April 2011 that Thailand had used 155mm Dual Purpose Improved Conventional Munitions (DPICM). The Ambassador said Thailand used these weapons "in self-defence", using the principles of "necessity, proportionality and in compliance with the military code of conduct". When the CMC reported afterwards that Thailand admitted use of cluster munitions, however, it vehemently denied that the weapons it had used were actually cluster munitions. Despite the fact that the type of weapon described by the ambassador were cluster munitions, Thailand did not want the international community to make any association between what it used and the stigmatized "cluster munition" label.

At the CCM intersessional meetings in 2011, Thailand stated that it "fully understands the concerns raised" by States Parties over its use of cluster munitions and promised to "remain committed to engaging with the international community on this issue". Thailand said it had "concern for [the] safety of civilians" and noted "important lessons have been learnt from this episode and we therefore see the need to close this chapter and move forward."²⁴

International reaction:

Thailand's use of cluster munitions [elicited a strong international response](#) as noted by the Beirut Progress Report issued by the convention's Second Meeting of States Parties, which stated, "Several states have reported actions reacting to the instance of use of cluster munitions by Thailand in 2011. This includes individual and joint demarches, support for fact-finding missions and condemnation of the use in public statements. The President of the Convention has also issued a statement, stating his concern over the use of cluster munitions. States and civil society have reported on how they follow up, in terms of actions to increase the understanding and knowledge of the Convention. States and civil society have had a good dialogue with Thailand, which was followed up by a workshop on the CCM [Convention on Cluster Munitions] held in Bangkok in August."

²² "The Thai government denies using cluster bombs," *Bangkok Pundit* Apr 06, 2011.

²³ "Anti-munitions group takes aim at Thailand cluster bomb denial," *Bangkok Post*, 9 April 2011.

²⁴ Statement of Thailand, Convention on Cluster Munitions Intersessional Meeting, Session on Universalization, Geneva, 27 June 2011. Notes by the CMC.

The [EU Parliament issued a resolution](#) on February 17, 2011, expressing its “concern about the alleged use of cluster munitions and [calling] on both countries to refrain from using such munitions under any circumstances.”

In a press release, the [Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#) reacted to the report of use: “Norway condemns all use of cluster munitions. These weapons kill and maim civilians and have unacceptable humanitarian consequences long after they are used,” said Mr Støre. “South East Asia is a region that is already badly affected, and the incident on the border between Cambodia and Thailand demonstrates clearly why this weapon is now prohibited.”

Syria

There has been [documented ongoing and widespread use of Cluster Munitions in Syria](#) by the Syrian government, with more than 150 cluster bomb attacks in at least 119 locations across Syria in the period beginning in August 2012 and continuing into early 2014.²⁵

Syria’s reaction

On 15 October 2012, the Syrian General Command of the Army and the Armed Forces denied a report that its forces have been using cluster bombs, stating that “misleading media outlets” had published untrue news claiming the Syrian Arab Army has been using cluster bombs against terrorists. “In a statement, the General Command said the Syrian Army does not possess such bombs, stressing that those news (reports) are untrue and come in the framework of misleading media which is aimed at diverting the public opinion from the practices of the armed terrorist groups against civilians.”²⁶ In March 2013, Syrian diplomatic representatives continued to deny the evidence of Syrian cluster bomb use.²⁷

International reaction:

To-date, a total of 149 countries have condemned use of cluster munitions in the context of ongoing use in Syria.

At least 29 governments to date have individually, sometimes repeatedly, condemned Syria’s use of cluster munitions as well as to express their deep concern at any use of cluster munitions, including [Australia](#), [Austria](#), [Belgium](#), Cambodia, [Canada](#), [Costa Rica](#), Croatia, [Czech Republic](#), [Denmark](#), [Ecuador](#), [France](#), [Germany](#), [Ireland](#), Italy, [Japan](#), Lao PDR, [Lithuania](#), [Luxembourg](#), [Madagascar](#), [Mexico](#), [The Netherlands](#), [New Zealand](#), [Norway](#), [Portugal](#), [Qatar](#), [South Africa](#), [Switzerland](#), the [United Kingdom](#), and the [United States](#). The foreign ministers of [Belgium](#), [Denmark](#), [France](#), [Germany](#), [Mexico](#) and [Norway](#) all condemned Syria’s use.

The following 131 countries that have condemned use of cluster munitions, naming Syria directly, in the context of [UN General Assembly Resolution 67/262](#), EU statements at [UN First Committee](#) and [4MSP](#) (requiring endorsement of all EU states and others that aligned themselves with the statement), [UN General Assembly Resolution 68/42](#) or the [“London 11” Friends of Syria Core Group of countries communique](#): Afghanistan, Albania, Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia,

²⁵ Human Rights Watch, “Death from the Skies,” <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2013/04/11/death-skies>. See also *Cluster Muniton Monitor 2013*, Ban Policy Overview and Human Rights Watch, “Syria: New Deadly Cluster Muniton Attacks,” 19 February 2014 <http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/18/syria-new-deadly-cluster-muniton-attacks>

²⁶ <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/10/15/world/meast/syria-civil-war/index.html>; see also <http://www.voanews.com/content/damascus-officials-deny-using-soviet-era-cluster-bombs/1526939.html> and <http://news.antiwar.com/2012/10/15/syrian-army-denies-claims-of-cluster-bomb-use/>

²⁷ Letter to Japan Campaign to Ban Landmines from Firas Al Rashidi, Chargé d’affaires ad interim, Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic to Japan, 7 March 2013.

Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kiribati, Korea Republic of, Kuwait, Lao PDR, Latvia, Liberia, Libya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia FYR, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia, Moldova, Monaco, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, Nauru, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palau, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Samoa, San Marino, São Tomé and Príncipe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Timor Leste, Tonga, Tunisia, Turkey, Tuvalu, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Vanuatu, and Yemen.

Representatives from 36 African countries signed the [Lomé Strategy](#), which expresses grave concern at the recent and on-going use of cluster munitions as well as by the effects of these weapons that have led to mounting numbers of victims including women and children. Of these 36 countries, the following 16 have not specifically condemned Syria in other fora: Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Non-signatory Qatar told the UN Security Council it was “appalled” at Syria’s use of cluster munitions “against its own people.”²⁸ The US permanent representative to the UN, Ambassador Susan Rice, tweeted that the cluster munition use was an example of “atrocities” by the Syrian regime.²⁹ U.S. Senator John McCain also put out a press release condemning the use of cluster munitions in Syria, noting ““Americans should be appalled and saddened by reports that the Syrian government is using helicopters to drop crude cluster munitions in Aleppo.”³⁰

CMC press release: <http://www.stopclustermunitions.org/news/?id=4617>

²⁸ Email from Anna Fritzsche, Campaign and Research Assistant, Crisis Action, 17 October 2012. The email contained *verbatim* notes taken during the debate.

²⁹ Tweet by @AmbassadorRice, 24 October 2012, www.twitter.com/AmbassadorRice/status/261192284362653696.

³⁰ [Statement by Senator John McCain Condemning Assad Regime’s Use of Cluster Munitions](#), 18 December 2013,