

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	9
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	13
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	15
<b>Executive summary</b>	17
<b>Introduction</b>	25
<b>1 EU policy to combat (terrorist access to) illicit firearms markets</b>	33
<b>1.1 EU counter-terrorism policy as driver of developing European homeland security</b>	34
<b>1.1.1 Building on existing JHA agreements after 9/11</b>	35
<b>1.1.2 Counter-terrorism as a distinctive area of EU governance after the Madrid and London attacks</b>	38
<b>1.1.3 Towards a ‘Security Union’ after the recent ISIS attacks</b>	41
<b>1.2 EU firearms policy development, 1991-2015</b>	43
<b>1.2.1 The 1991 Firearms Directive: balancing economic and security interests</b>	43
<b>1.2.2 Actions to combat illegal firearms flows to and from third countries</b>	46
<b>1.2.3 Targeting the illegal use of and trade in firearms within the EU</b>	48
<b>1.3 Recent firearms-terrorism policy nexus, 2015-2017</b>	52
<b>1.3.1 Increased policy focus on illicit firearms trafficking after the 2015 terrorist attacks</b>	52
<b>1.3.2 Legislative initiatives</b>	55
<b>1.3.3 EU Action Plan against Illicit Trafficking in and Use of Firearms and Explosives</b>	57
<b>1.4 Main actors in the EU fight against (terrorist access to) illicit firearms markets</b>	59
<b>1.4.1 EU institutions</b>	59
<b>1.4.2 EU agencies</b>	64
<b>2 Illicit firearms markets in Europe</b>	71
<b>2.1 Obstacles to estimating the size of illicit firearms markets in Europe</b>	73
<b>2.2 Demand for illicit firearms from criminals and gun enthusiasts</b>	78

2.2.1	Criminals	78
2.2.2	Gun enthusiasts	81
2.3	Supply mechanisms for illicit gun markets	82
2.3.1	Illicit production	82
2.3.2	Domestic procurement through diversion	85
2.3.3	Cross-border smuggling	104
2.4	Dynamics of illicit firearms markets	119
2.4.1	Traditional closed market	120
2.4.2	Increased availability of military-grade firearms	122
2.4.3	Cyclical nature of supply and demand	124
2.4.4	Prices	126
<b>3</b>	<b>Terrorist access to firearms</b>	129
3.1	Terrorists' use of firearms in the EU	130
3.2	The acquisition of firearms: preference versus availability	132
3.3	Differences in acquisition methods between different types of terrorist actors	135
3.3.1	Separatist groups	135
3.3.2	Religiously-inspired groups	137
3.3.3	Right-wing groups	139
3.3.4	Left-wing groups	141
3.3.5	Firearms linkages among different types of terrorist networks	142
3.4	Access to criminal markets	143
3.4.1	Use of pre-existing criminal connections	145
3.4.2	Low-level criminality versus high-level organised crime	149
3.5	Firearms supply chains for criminal markets	151
3.6	Direct diversion from legal ownership	154
3.7	International linkages for firearms acquisition and training	156
<b>4</b>	<b>Policy conclusions and recommendations</b>	159
4.1	The need for a structural, comprehensive and proactive approach	160
4.2	Improve the intelligence picture of illicit firearms trafficking and gun crime	162
4.2.1	Data collection	162
4.2.2	Data sharing	165
4.2.3	National focal points	168
4.2.4	Strategic data analysis and research	169

<b>4.3</b>	Upgrade the regulatory and policy framework	171
<b>4.3.1</b>	Close the loopholes in EU and national firearms legislation	172
<b>4.3.2</b>	Monitor the implementation of EU firearms legislation	174
<b>4.3.3</b>	Adopt firearms surrender programmes	175
<b>4.3.4</b>	Effectively penalise illicit firearms possession and trafficking	176
<b>4.3.5</b>	Increase security cooperation with third countries	178
<b>4.4</b>	Optimise operational measures, capacities and cooperation	179
<b>4.4.1</b>	Increase operational capacities	181
<b>4.4.2</b>	Enhance national coordination	181
<b>4.4.3</b>	Enhance international cooperation	183
<b>4.4.4</b>	Closely monitor specific risks	184