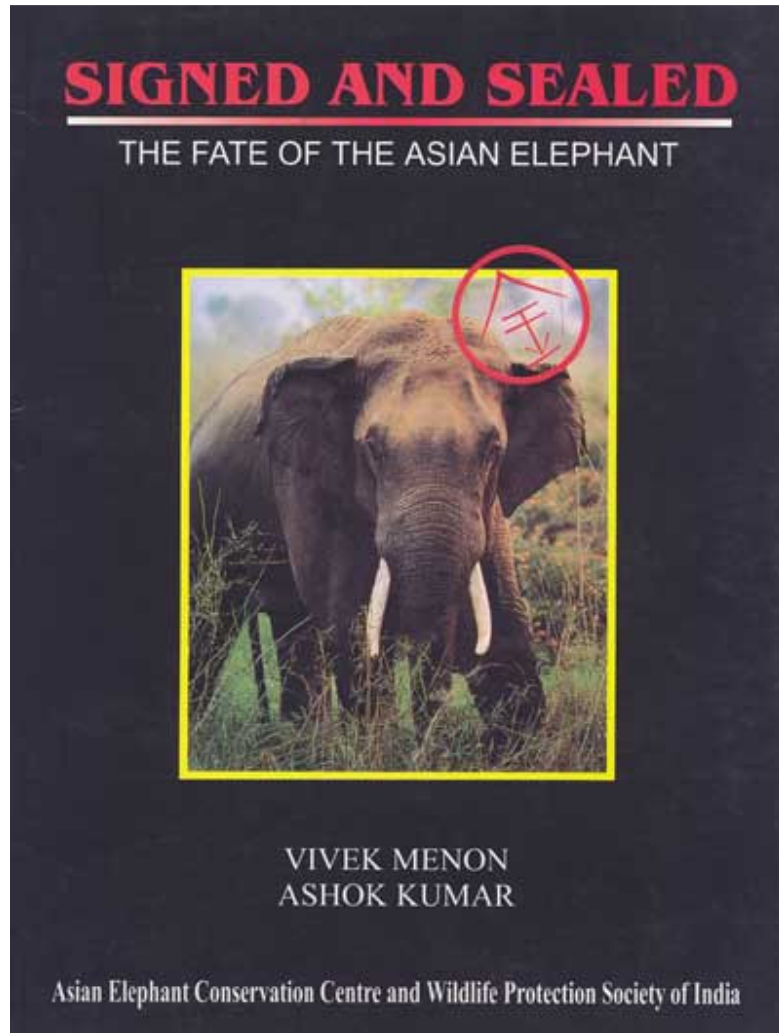




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Ohm Maha Ganapathiye Namah

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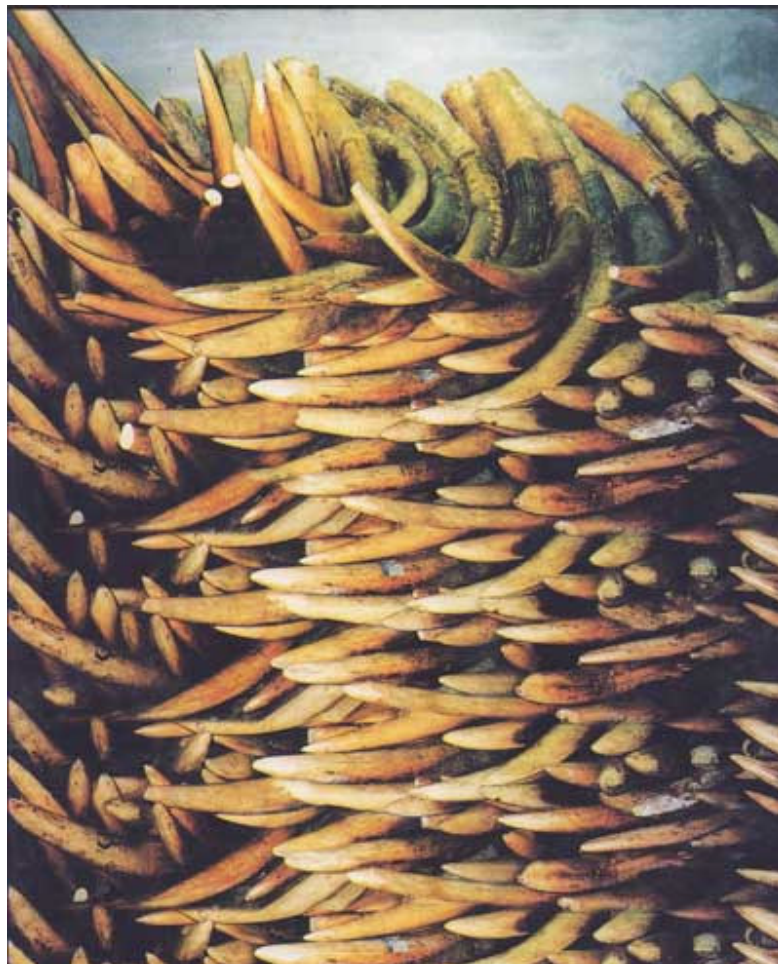
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FOREWORD

Mr. S.C.Sharma
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Though India holds more than half the population of Asian elephants and in many parts of the country the populations are healthy and growing, a new threat has appeared in recent years: poaching of tuskers for illegal trade in ivory. By their very nature, wild elephants exist in remote forest areas which makes the task of enforcement difficult, especially if the threat emerges from a demand for ivory from overseas buyers who can pay high prices.

In India, illegal trade in ivory affects not only the number of elephants but also leads to adverse male-female ratio due to selective targeting of male elephants. This problem is specific in Asiatic elephants and the sensitivity to this problem in Africa is minimal.

We realise the fact that if we have to keep our elephant population genetically viable, strict measures will have to be taken to safeguard against poaching of male elephants. In spite of resource crunch faced by the country, India has decided to ban the trade of both domestic and imported ivory. We have been consistently opposing any downlisting of African elephants at all the Conference of Parties of CITES including the one held in Zimbabwe in June 1997. While India appreciates the concern of African countries where elephant populations have risen as a result of a ban on international ivory trade and the consequent reduction in poaching, we believe that non-consumptive use of elephants should be the first solution. Studies have shown that a living elephant produces far more revenue than a dead elephant.

I, therefore, welcome the publication of this report titled Signed and Sealed - The fate of the Asian Elephant by Vivek Menon and Ashok Kumar. The authors have spent many years in the study and control of illegal trade in wildlife and its derivatives and for the last three years have done extensive data collection on the trade in Asian ivory. I have no doubt that the work will go a long way towards the protection of elephants worshipped in India as the Lord Ganesa.

S.C.Sharma



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INTRODUCTION

The genesis of this report on the probable impact on the Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) of the proposed downlisting of three populations of the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*), goes back to 1992. The authors of this report had, at that stage, established the first ever formal programme to study the totality of trade in wildlife and its derivatives in India. With limited resources at hand, in-depth study had to be limited to the charismatic species, but an attempt was made to also keep an eye on the bigger picture of wildlife crime in India.

Between 1980 and 1986 southern India had experienced a serious poaching wave when between 100-150 elephants were killed (Sukumar 1989). In 1992, however, the worst seemed to have been over for the Indian elephant. Trade in Indian ivory had been banned in 1986 by the government. There was no formal protest from the ivory traders on the banning of Indian ivory, though the tradition of this trade in India was several centuries old. The traders continued to import, carve and then re-export African ivory. In 1991, India banned the import, export, carving and sale of African ivory as well. Legally speaking, the ban was imposed on all 'imported' ivory, and therefore it was not just limited to African ivory but technically also covered ivory from the extinct mammoth. This time, the traders promptly went to court and were initially successful in attaining an injunction (stay order) against the government. The stay order was vacated by the Delhi High Court in 1992, and the ivory trade ban became absolute.

In the meantime, elephant populations in India were steady or even rising except for a few black spots where poaching of tuskers was reported. The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES) had acted in a manner similar to the Indian government, first banning trade in Asian ivory internationally in 1976 and then in African ivory in 1989. The international trade ban on ivory was now complete. The elephant population in Africa which had plummeted from 1.3 million in 1979 to between 300,000-600,000 in 1995 (Dublin et al. 1997) after being hit by a gory wave of massive poaching, had stabilised and showed signs of recovery. It was believed that the late 1970s and early 1980s had seen the high spurt in elephant killings almost solely for ivory (Milner-Gulland and Beddington 1993). Several authors had documented in the past the positive effects of the international ban on both elephant species (Olindo 1997, Mlay 1997, Sackey 1997, Johansen 1997, Kumar 1997 and Nkoyok 1997). Horrifying images of rotting elephant carcasses spread over most of Africa had become a thing of the past. A conservation victory had at long last been won, it seemed.



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This idyllic repose did not last long. Poaching of tuskers began to rise in India, not seriously at first, as the figures in this report show, but seriously enough to warrant that a sharp eye be kept on what the 'other side' was up to. At this time, the Asian Elephant Conservation Centre (AECC) (now the Asian Elephant Research and Conservation Centre) and Wildlife Protection Society of India (WPSI) took up a study of the ivory trade in India. With limited resources, all that was possible at first was to compile at one place, poaching and trade data coming in through the other programmes of WPSI and the field personnel of AECC. A picture began to emerge of a renewed trade impacting tuskers in India, and possibly elsewhere in Asia. Subsequently, the two organisations were able to find further resources to enlarge the scope of the programme.

By late 1996, undercover dialogues with erstwhile ivory traders had begun to yield information that the ivory trade expected a legal resumption in trade soon. They talked of a meeting in Africa where a decision to resume legal ivory trade would be taken. One of these dialogues took place in Kathmandu in Nepal and another in Trissur in India, with fairly low-level traders who knew nothing about CITES or COP. Yet the grapevine had been humming!

From 1996 onwards, a serious escalation of tusker poaching hit India. 1997 turned out to be the worst year ever, claiming at least 102 tuskers compared to 88 in 1996.

AECC and WPSI had feared just such a happening. The possible cause of the escalation in poaching was almost certainly the rumour itself. It was by now known that at the CITES COP to be held in June 1997 in Zimbabwe, proposals to downlist some populations of the African elephant and the partial re-opening of the ivory trade would be put to vote. The apprehensions of the two organisations were voiced in presentations made by the authors of this report in May 1997 at the African Elephant Conference in Johannesburg, South Africa (Menon and Sukumar 1997, Kumar 1997), and subsequently in a more detailed publication, *A God in Distress*, in June 1997 (Menon et al. 1997). This publication summed up the threat to Asian elephants from the illegal trade in Asian ivory and took a preliminary look at the linkage between the possible effects of downlisting of African elephant populations on Asian elephants.

The process of downlisting the African elephant at Harare is, of course, history. The vote, lost at first, was won after hectic closed-door parleys which were often acrimonious. It was finally approved by a narrow margin on the last day in a secret ballot, possibly because the European Union abstained. At that stage, it was possible to seek shelter behind the logic that only three populations of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia had been downlisted and that only a one-time sale of 60 tons of ivory to one country was to take place a year and a half later, if poaching did not escalate. What this logic did not satisfy was the psychological impact this decision would have on ivory traders in Asia (Obara 1997) and, of course, in Africa as well. The fine print of the safeguards would not reach them. What would reach the traders in Asia was a perception which, in operating terms, would give them the signal that a partial reopening of the ivory trade had taken place and that more could be expected later.

AECC and WPSI, therefore, decided to extend the period of the project, and enlarge its coverage to include Asian range and consumer countries, as well as regions used as transit routes for Asian ivory. Other threats to the Asian elephant such as habitat destruction and man-elephant conflict were not designed to be a part of this study. The Project Elephant Directorate of the Indian Government and AECC deal with these aspects separately and the project team liaises with them closely, especially with regard to elephant conflict deaths.



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Elephant mortality records have been classified by the project into four categories: Poaching, Conflict, Natural and Accidental. The bulk of the data is from State government records. Some records are from recently appointed Honorary Wildlife Wardens and from field researchers of AECC/WPSI. The study methods described later in this report have maintained a systematic approach to field data collection ensuring sufficient rigour.

The results of the project are presented in detail in this report. The total toll of elephants poached came to 102 in calendar year 1997 and so far stands at 60 in 1998. Data for 1998 will continue to trickle in over the next few months allowing for delay in data receipt from remote areas and verification. The final figure could be higher by at least 25%, and then applying a multiplier or iceberg effect, it becomes clear that the tusker in India is in serious trouble. This is considering that the 1997 estimate of tusked elephants in breeding age in India has been put at 1500. The tusker in India is thus under greater threat than the more publicised tiger.

Although data on population structures from elephant populations are available for only some of the Indian populations, there is clear indication that sex ratios are becoming more skewed with time in several of these populations. The adult sex ratio of the elephant population in a part of the Nilgiris-Eastern Ghats, which has been continuously monitored since 1981, has skewed from 1:5 in 1981 to about 1:15 or more at present (Sukumar pers. comm. 1998). In the north-east, data from government censuses show that the ratio of tusked males to tuskless males (makhnas) has sharply altered in favour of tuskless males (Lahiri-Choudhury, pers. comm. 1997). A demographic modelling study of the elephant population in Periyar National Park in southern India over the period 1974-94 clearly brought out the fact that, although the number of tusked elephants poached came down with time, the sex ratio became increasingly skewed over this period, bringing down the birth rate of the population. (Sukumar et al. 1998). Thus a level has been reached where even a reduction in the absolute numbers of tusked males in a population with time could actually lead to greater inequality in sex ratios or tusker to makhna ratios. This is because higher and higher proportions of the available tusker segment of the populations are being harvested by poachers.

At the same time, investigations in 12 consumer countries carried out by this study point to the still existing, in fact, thriving and at times burgeoning demand for ivory. The Japanese name-seal or hanko business continues to flourish, while China continues to be an increasingly large market for ivory. Smuggling routes into consumer countries, particularly Japan, are many and the loopholes that exist in regulatory systems, diverse. Given these ground realities and the fact that traders consider Asian ivory to be distinct from African ivory (which has been proven by this study), the pressure on the Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) seems to be unrelenting. Although Asian ivory is not necessarily more costly than African ivory in many consumer countries, a vast majority of dealers find it more valuable and rare. The following account illustrates this and many other evidences that merit thought, as to whether a partial resumption of trade at this stage would not be ill advised.

Added to the issue of economic and ecological viability is an ethical and philosophical one which the vast majority in India consider paramount. In a judgement by the Delhi High Court that banned trade in ivory in the country, the judiciary spelt out the majority Indian sentiment which the authors of this report concur with: 'The trade in ivory is dangerous, subversive and pernicious as it has the potential to deplete the elephant population and to ultimately extinguish the same...Activities having a baneful effect on the ecology, human and animal life occupies a central position in the above (extinguishing of fundamental rights of a citizen if



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carrying on a noxious trade) category' (Singh 1997). Given these many reasons, we feel it imperative that the world conservation community, including members of the CITES Standing Committee and other parties to the CITES, take serious note of the impact that their decisions might have on the Asian elephant.

METHODS: STUDY DETAILS

This report concentrates on work done in Asia between June 1997 and December 1998. The below methods used for the collection and analyses of data are as below:

Data Collection

A standardised mortality recording form has been prepared by the Asian Elephant Conservation Centre for this project. This recording form has been used wherever possible and work is still ongoing to convert the remaining data into this format. The form has been used for compiling data of southern, eastern and central India. Northern and north-eastern data is currently being converted into this format. One form is used for each individual mortality recorded, either by the government or by non-governmental sources. Post mortem reports, wherever available, and field intelligence reports are also used at times to fill in the forms. Where the mortality has been recorded by an official source, such as the forest department, a mention is made of the source of the information in government records. If the record is an unofficial one then all proof available of the death, including photographs and video recordings if available, newspaper clippings and affidavits of local people, is kept linked to the record. In this manner, each individual entry is checked and re-checked before entry. A regular cross-checking mechanism has been worked out which involves checking data in terms of date, area and cause of mortality.

This system is currently in place only for India. Thus far, information of poaching from other Asian countries has been mostly anecdotal in nature. Partners in other countries have been shown the format and it is expected that some of them will co-operate by collecting similar data in the near future.

Trade investigations have been carried out using standard methods of market survey and covert investigation. These results are based not on desk-study or library research, but on the findings of field researchers actually interacting with the trade. Many such interactions are recorded on camera and are referenced as VR, for video-recording. Others where audio recordings have been made are referenced as AR. Many others, where recording was not possible, have been based on actual interviews or dummy dealings, and are referenced as FI, for field investigations. In the next phase of the study, a few select markets will be surveyed for longer periods of time to assess volume of ivory and price trends, which may not be accurately captured by traditional surveys. The project team has liaised closely with national and international enforcement officers and agencies and has therefore been privy to a number of reports that are difficult to credit and are referenced as OI for official information. These are credible reports that have been verified by agencies that can be contacted if the need arises.

Analyses

Poaching statistics in India have been analysed both geographically and over time. Both analyses have been done using three data sets. The first data set is the complete mortality



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database of this project which includes both official and unofficial data. This data set has been analysed for 10 years. This is not corrected for 'effort' although steps have been taken for doing so in the future. The second data set is better corrected for 'effort' as it involves only government data and it is presumed for this exercise that the effort put in by the Indian government in the past five years has been almost uniform (see Graph IV). The third data set is that of the Nilgiris which has been analysed for 10 years. This has, however, not been presented in this report as statistical verification is ongoing. Due to the presence of elephant researchers in the area for the entire period, including the team of the Asian Elephant Conservation Centre, it is felt that the mortality recorded in the area would be more or less accurate and therefore that the 'effort' would be almost completely corrected for.

Trade data has been presented after checking for veracity and, wherever possible, with supporting evidences whether in document, audio or video format. Many of the complete transcripts are available for study to interested parties.

It is to be emphasised that this project has been carried out on a shoe-string budget as compared to monitoring systems that have been proposed to deal with similar problems world-wide. Every attempt has been made to remain unbiased, factual and credible. However, given the type of information that is received during trade investigations, some of the data cannot be strictly labelled as scientific. An effort is underway to improve both data collection methods and statistical analyses to rectify the methodology.

It is also essential to mention here that the project has been carried out by an all-Asian team and has always used nationals of the country being studied. The project plans to collaborate more with national NGOs so that both range and consumer countries have NGO monitoring systems that will work in a co-ordinated and cohesive fashion.

KEY

AR-Audio Recording
VR-Video Recording
OI-Official Information
FI-Field Information

POACHING OF THE ASIAN ELEPHANT

The Asian elephant is being poached almost throughout its range and especially so in India, which has between 50-60% of its population (Sukumar 1998). Although figures for 1998 indicate a decline in poaching in India from 1997, the numbers being poached are still substantial enough to warrant worry. Very scant data over much of the species range complicates the issue.



What is the current status of the Asian elephant in the wild ?

In comparison to the 300,000-600,000 population of the African elephant (Dublin et al. 1997), the Asian elephant is poorly placed with only 35,000-50,000 individuals (Sukumar and Santiapillai 1996, Sukumar 1998) ranging across 13 range countries of Asia. This figure too



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requires some updating as recent information from across Indo-China and parts of South-East Asia indicates that previous figures may be either over-estimates or that there has been significant mortality over the last few years.

India has the largest surviving population of the species with at least 20,000-25,000 wild elephants still left in the country (Sukumar 1998). Thailand is estimated to have an elephant population of around 2000 (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998), although this could be as low as 1500 (Sukumar 1998). Sri Lanka has between 2500-3000 elephants, Peninsular Malaysia has 1000, Borneo between 500-2000 and Sumatra between 2800-4800 (Sukumar 1998).

The number of elephants in Indo-China and Myanmar is subject to debate. Myanmar, which has the second largest population after India, has two sets of figures with certain official sources putting the population as between 5000-6000 (Sukumar 1998) while others put the figure as around 4000 (Aung 1997). A classic case of previous over-estimation is the country of Vietnam which had past estimates of 1500 (Santiapillai and Jackson 1990), 400 (Dawson 1996) and 300 (Le Vu Khoi and Do Tuoc 1992) elephants. Current figures indicate the existence of not more than 150 elephants in the country (Walston and Trinh Viet Cuong in. prep.). The Annamite mountain range that runs parallel to the Lao-Vietnam international boundary probably supports the largest elephant population in Indo-China. While the populations in this area are fragmented and cannot in the traditional sense of the term be considered a single unit, they represent more than half of the reported elephant numbers in the region. It is estimated (Dawson 1996) that Vietnam lost nearly 50% of its forest cover between 1943 and 1983 and the current fragmented elephant population is only viable if taken in conjunction with Laos. The total Lao population would be approximately 1000 animals (Khounboline 1998). There are various estimates for the elephant population in Cambodia. According to Kempf and Jackson (1995), the population of Cambodia is around 2000 wild elephants. According to other sources, Cambodia does not have more than 1000 elephants (H.Weiler pers. comm. to R. Sukumar 1998).

Other than the major populations, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh have sub-500 populations as well. The total Asian elephant population, therefore, is less than 10% of its more glamorous cousin, the African elephant (Sukumar 1998).

What is the current status of elephant poaching in India ?

A comprehensive report on the poaching situation in India till 1996 was presented by the two organisations conducting this project, at the CITES meeting in Harare (Menon et al. 1997). The analysis of poaching in India in the report was based on a database consisting of 2200 mortality entries. In the last one year 1000 entries have been added. Not all of these are entries pertaining to this period (i.e. 1997 and 1998) as past records continue to filter in. Also, a deliberate attempt was made to fill in data gaps and these turned up new mortality records. The current analysis is based on 3195 mortality entries of which 943 entries are poaching records.

The poaching figure for 1996, in the last report, was 76. Fifteen new records were added after June 1997, which made the final tally for the year 91. Poaching increased further in 1997, which recorded 102 cases. This is the highest number recorded by the database thus far. June 1997, in fact, turned out to be the peak of the current poaching wave with 18 elephants poached during that one month (Graph III). Data for 1998 are still coming in, though currently 60 poaching cases have been recorded by the project. It is estimated that this number will go



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up by at least 20% in the coming few months. The poaching figures compiled by the project are given in Graph I.

It is clearly seen that poaching has remained at very high levels over the past 10 years with a peak during 1996-97, although a decline is noted thus far in 1998. The peak of the poaching recorded thus far is in June 1997.

These figures are based on both official and non-official data that have been collected by the project. In order to cross-check the findings of this project, an attempt was made to analyse the official data that is currently with the Project Elephant Directorate. Although it was understood that this figure would be lower, due to lower reporting rates, the trends that the two figures present are important. The official Project Elephant Directorate poaching figures for the country are examined in Graph II. It is to be emphasised that the Directorate depends on State governments for data and does not collect data on its own. Since the Indian government follows the system of a March-April financial year, it is not easy to compare this data with the calendar year data maintained by the project. Graph II compares the Government of India data and the joint database data which has been converted into a similar format. Graph II shows a peak in 1995-96 (1996 contributing the most mortality) and 1996-97.

Both sets of figures show a slight dip in 1998.

[Click Here](#) To view the elephant poaching figures in India.

Does this mean that poaching is on the decline in the country ?

Data for 1998 show a general decline in the number of elephants poached in India. Both official and non-official figures point to this. However, the following points must be kept in mind while analysing the figures.

The data sets for 1998, both official and unofficial, are incomplete. During the first half of each year, mortality records from the previous years come in. The 1996 poaching figure when the previous report (Menon et al. 1997) went to print in June 1997 was 76. It has since been revised to 91, an increase of 19.7 %. The 1997 poaching figure for India on 31 December was 77. The current tally is 102, an increase of 32.4%. On an average, the mortality figure for a year inflates by 20-30% by the time a final tally is arrived at. This is because of late detection of carcasses, inaccessibility of some areas during inclement weather and simple overlooking. Given this, it can be safely presumed that the final total for 1998 will be well over the tally of 60 deaths and would closely approximate the number poached in 1996.

This still shows a drop from the high figure for 1997 which was a peak year for poaching in India. Poaching occurs in waves (Menon 1994) and these take place largely based on opportunistic occurrences. Menon et al. (1997) had documented trade information that pointed to stockpiling in India and neighbouring Nepal before the June 1997 COP at Harare. This was based on trade talk that predicted a resumption of the international trade although the manner in which this was to be achieved was uncertain. Based on the poaching figures thus far available, it is evident that a spurt in poaching in India started in June 1996. It became significantly higher in February and March 1997 (see Graph I). This was particularly so in parts of southern India where poaching reached very high levels during this period.



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Interestingly, the poaching peaked in June even while the 10th COP was in progress at Harare. The effect was felt rather uniformly across the various states having elephant populations, although Orissa and Tamil Nadu were particularly badly hit. Soon after the June 1997 meeting, there was a decline in poaching which fell to a somewhat lower but still significantly high level. This may be attributed to past stockpiles that were not moving fast enough in the market and the general reluctance of the trade in both Japan (VR 1997, VR 1998) and the Ivory Triangle (a term that has been used in this report to connote People's Republic of China, Macao and Hong Kong jointly) to conduct deals before a confirmation of the COP decisions. During investigations in both areas, traders talked of continuing the decoy negotiations only after February or March 1999 (VR 1998). This general reluctance of the international trader to gamble, especially with high-priced Asian ivory, may have caused stockpiles to remain at relatively high levels in India. This would necessarily cause a decline in poaching, especially with regard to killings that were fuelled by talk of trade resumption.

Another fact to be borne in mind is that the figures of poaching are still high enough to warrant worry and necessitate immediate counter-action. Sukumar (1998) estimates that only around 1500 adult bulls with tusks survive in India today. This small number of elephants cannot stand even these poaching levels and would be specially affected in smaller and fragmented populations where each poaching can cause irreversible damage.

What is the current status of elephant poaching in other Asian countries ?

A general paucity of data from most range countries other than India has made the monitoring of poaching in the Asian elephant range as a whole, a very difficult exercise. If sampling is considered a reliable technique then the poaching data of India (which has more than half the Asian population) can be extrapolated to other Asian countries, although this will require much correction for the higher levels of enforcement effort in India. The following are brief country summaries of poaching status, although it is to be emphasised that most of this has to be taken qualitatively and not quantitatively. Until national monitoring mechanisms, preferably national governments acting in conjunction with their NGOs, are put into place, accurate data will be hard to come by. In the absence of good quantitative data, every bit of qualitative data must be taken into account to ensure that lack of information does not influence policy making.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has a highly skewed tusker to makhna ratio with as many as 93% of the country's bull elephants being makhnas (Deraniyagala 1955). Whether this is caused by past poaching is an issue for debate although poaching for ivory has been very well documented in Sri Lanka (Santiapillai and Jackson 1990, Jayawardene 1994). Despite the low tusker numbers in the country, there have been reports of poaching to supply the ivory trade. In the space of a few months in 1998, 22 elephants were poached in Sri Lanka. Most of the poached animals were females but their tusks were taken by the poacher (Jayawardene pers. comm. 1998). Organised poaching gangs have been killing elephants in the North Central province as well, with as many as six elephants poached in this area in January 1996 (Anon 1997b). There are also reports of elephants poached near Wilpattu National Park. The Sri Lankan ivory trade which at one time was renowned for its beautiful and intricate carvings (Martin and Martin 1990, Jayawardene 1994) is now largely dependent on ivory from tusks, or old, yellowed pieces of ivory. This fact is verified by the 1997 survey of Sri Lankan ivory markets (see Chapter



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on trade) by the current project which found that most of the ivory in the market was from tushes.

It is to be noted that the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka have not been surveyed due to civil disturbances which make it inaccessible. Information of poaching from these areas is also very sporadic and unreliable. Although recognising that this very inaccessibility will prevent any trade here as it is completely closed to tourists, the areas are critically important for supplying the trade with ivory. There are several reports that poaching continues in that part of the country and of elephants becoming unwitting casualties of landmines in the ongoing war between the Sri Lankan Government forces and the LTTE.

Thailand

Poaching of elephants in Thailand has been documented in the past by several authors (Santiapillai 1987, Santiapillai and Jackson 1990). In the 1970s nearly 10% of the country's population was estimated to have been poached for meat and ivory (Storer 1981, Santiapillai 1987). Between 1992 and 1998, 25 males were poached for ivory (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). Reports have also come in of at least six elephants that died mysteriously (two confirmed as having been poisoned) in the Prachuab Kiri Khan province of Thailand in November 1997 (FI 1998).

Apart from the poaching of wild elephants, at least 21 domestic elephants had their tusks illegally cut between 1985 and 1994 to supply the ivory trade (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). This assumes importance when you consider the fact that the country has 3800 captive elephants compared to 2000 wild ones (Lair 1997, Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). Other than this, the illegal capture of wild elephant calves is the single largest problem threatening Thailand's elephants currently.

Myanmar

Elephant poaching has been documented in Myanmar by many authors in the past (Santiapillai 1987, Olivier 1978, Aung 1997). Lack of systematic mortality data of elephants is a constant problem in Asia and Myanmar is no exception. There are qualitative records from the Rakhine Yomas, Bago Yoma, Lower Chindwin, Shan states, Tennaserim district and Katha district which have been known to be particularly prone to poaching. In some areas, whole populations are believed to have been wiped out due to poaching. In 1998, Myanmar officials admitted to some poaching in the Rakhine Yoma mountains, which was on the increase (Ye Htut pers. comm. 1998). Private and government owned captive elephants were also increasingly getting to be the targets of poachers on the lookout for ivory. Poaching is considered still rampant although no figures are available after the period 1982-1991 when 55 elephants were recorded as having been killed (Aung 1997). Caheng Ta Li near the Rakhine Yomas is also known to have had poaching incidents in the last few years (Myint Shwe pers. comm. 1998).

Laos

Poaching in Laos has been documented in the past, with 42 elephants poached in 1992 alone (Venevongphet 1995, Kempf and Jackson 1995). Current poaching figures are not available with the government although the killing of elephants for ivory is reported to be occurring, even though sporadically (Khanbouline pers. comm. 1997).



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Vietnam

Poaching of elephants is not very high in Vietnam primarily because of the very low number of elephants in the country. Previous estimates have been revised to give a country population of around 150 elephants (Sukumar 1998, Walston and Trinh Viet Cuong in prep.). However, given the extremely small population, any poaching is a critical issue for the country.

Cambodia

Very little is known about Cambodia, given the civil disturbances in the country. What is known about it is that poaching, in a generic sense, is probably peaking in the country. One newspaper report quoted a senior environment ministry official as saying that nearly 50% of the country's forest had been destroyed (Anon 1997). Ratnakiri and Mondolkiri (both having elephant populations) were reported as being among the worst hit. The official is quoted as saying that three to four poachers could be arrested on a daily basis if more money were available with the Cambodian government to do so. Poaching elephants for ivory has been reported in Ratnakiri Province (Martin and Phipps 1996) and Mondolkiri (Desai pers. comm. 1997).

During field visits to Vietnam, Cambodian officials admitted to rampant poaching in the Virakchey area in eastern Cambodia and reported illegal ivory to be plentifully available in at least three Cambodian towns (Lic Vuthy pers. comm. 1998).

People's Republic of China

Hunting for subsistence is common in the People's Republic of China, and in Xishuangbanna province, for example, it is estimated that each household has at least three guns (Mackinnon et al. 1996). Poaching of the Asian elephant is reported in the country, despite a small population and very stringent penalties for killing protected species. Two people were charged in November 1995 for killing 15 elephants and selling the tusks. Both of them along with two others who were charged with trading ivory were convicted and executed (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997, Kempf and Jackson 1995).

Malaysia

There have been reports of poaching from Malaysia including one in 1998, where an elephant was killed in Belum RF in peninsular Malaysia. However, as the project team has not visited the country, very little data is available on the current situation.

Indonesia

There are stray records of poaching in Sumatra (Ramono pers. comm. 1998) although on the whole, the country does not seem to have been hit by a poaching wave. However, given the present economic recession in Indonesia, there is a general attempt to make fast money and this may soon spread to include the wildlife trade as well.

Can a direct co-relation be drawn between poaching and the downlisting of three populations of the African elephant?



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The critical question that confronts scientists, statisticians, policy makers and conservationists today, is whether the current poaching wave of elephants (be it in Africa or in Asia) can be attributed to a single decision taken at a meeting in Harare in June 1997. The impact of the meeting, as mentioned earlier, had been felt by traders in Japan and China (FI 1998) and in India (Menon et al. 1997) even before the actual meeting took place. There was evidence of stockpiling of ivory in at least two Asian countries and trade intelligence pointed to there being a general awareness in both domestic and international trade circles about the importance of the meeting.

After the meeting, it became imperative for all those monitoring the impact of the downlisting, that methods be formulated for establishing safeguards as well as co-relations between the CITES decision and poaching, if any. However, all efforts thus far to draw a co-relation between the two have failed, perhaps due to the following reasons.

1. An acute shortage of time: One year, or in fact even a few years, is scientifically too short a period to detect, let alone analyse, any trends in mortality, especially poaching. In a long lived species such as the elephant a rigorous study, could take even one or two human generations. Even shorter studies would require considerably more time than has been given to monitoring teams before a confirmation of the decision.
2. A shortage of resources: While plenty of governmental and non-governmental resources were ploughed into establishing the endangering of the African elephant and its subsequent elevation to Appendix I in 1989, very little monetary, manpower and logistical resources have been made available for the monitoring of the status of the Asian elephant in the given period.

While this monitoring process is being put in place, the single largest country population of the Asian elephant is experiencing a poaching crisis. It is recognised that the poaching figures that have been maintained thus far at the Asian Elephant Research and Conservation Centre or by the Government of India (see Graph II) are not corrected for effort. This has been taken into account while preparing future monitoring models where it will be incorporated. However, for the purpose of this report, it is important to state the following:

1. The figures of poaching for India maintained by the Project Elephant Directorate, Government of India, are official records and are independent of NGO efforts to do the same. Indian wildlife conservation goes back a few centuries, the Wildlife Protection Act has been in place for more than a quarter of a century and the Project Elephant Directorate itself is in its seventh year of functioning. The effort put in by the State forest departments and central agencies have not significantly changed in the last few years. Comparing the Project Elephant allocation of resources for the past five financial years (see Graph IV) it is seen that except for a single dip, funding has been more or less stable (Anon 1998).
2. The effort put in by the AERCC has remained fairly stable for the past four years since the inception of this project with one project co-ordinator and five field assistants (some temporary) collecting data.

Is there a mechanism in place that can predict or, in the short term, monitor the impact of the CITES decision on the Asian elephant?



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The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora came into existence with the specific aim of monitoring the international trade in wildlife and determining its effects on threatened species (Brautigam 1994). The unwritten code of conservation ethics of ensuring that a precautionary principle be adopted with regard to the species was very much in evidence when CITES was conceptualised and formed (Olindo pers. comm. 1997). However, the CITES decision-making process at the 10th COP did not adequately take into account the status and fate of the Asian elephant when deciding upon CITES Conference Resolution 10.1 and 10.2. The argument, no doubt, could be that the decisions did not directly concern the Asian elephant, although several documents pointed to the existing links between the two (Menon et al. 1997, Anon 1997). This, philosophically, is a violation of the basic principles that govern such a treaty.

In retrospect, however, a monitoring system was proposed under CITES Conference Resolution 10.10 for 'measuring and recording current levels and trends of illegal hunting and trade in ivory, in African and Asian range states, and in trade entrepots' and ' assessing whether and to what extent observed trends are a result of changes in listing of elephant populations in the CITES Appendices and /or the resumption of legal international trade in ivory'. This in many ways was tantamount to admitting that such a system was not in existence when Conference Resolution 10.1 was adopted.

If such a mechanism was not in place at the time of taking the decision, it should at least have been put into place at one of two stages in order to make sure that the decision did not adversely affect the species concerned.

1. At the 40th or the 41st meeting of the Standing Committee which would precede the 11th COP;
2. At the 11th COP.

The 40th meeting of the Standing Committee was held in London in March 1998, where IUCN and TRAFFIC presented the proposed MIKE and ETIS systems to monitor the trade. The systems were based on the results of a workshop held in Nairobi where one of the authors was also present. It was clear at the workshop that the monitoring of illegal killing would not be possible in the short term and that once this system was set up it would still take a far longer time frame to register trends and more importantly, to establish causality.

The report in its executive summary clearly states: 'In both cases (the two-tiered system including a short term monitoring and a long term monitoring) data available by early 1999, when the CITES Standing Committee meets to determine if limited commercial trade in ivory and other elephant products can commence, will likely not be sufficient to test the question of causality. Some indications of general trends may be available but only if adequate resources are provided and rapid data collection and analysis could be undertaken'.

At the 40th meeting of the Standing Committee there still was not in place any system that could internationally monitor the impact of the relevant CITES decisions. This situation continues till the current date, on the eve of the 41st meeting of the Standing Committee in February 1999 in Geneva. Both parts of the first stage have passed, therefore, with the monitoring system still not in place.



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It is understood and appreciated that considerable work has been undertaken in the interim for creating such a system. However, both African (Leakey in litt. 1998), and Asian (Sukumar in litt. 1998, Appendix II) experts are of the opinion that the proposed system has a number of inherent flaws. Kenya, an African range state, has noted that serious flaws exist in the MIKE and ETIS systems, such as :

1. Lack of transparency
2. Very high cost of implementation
3. Technical flaws in data collection and analyses
4. No baseline conditions for establishing causality
5. Non-consultation with East African experts.

Similarly, in Asia, a working group of the Asian Elephant Specialist Group noted (Appendix II) among other things that:

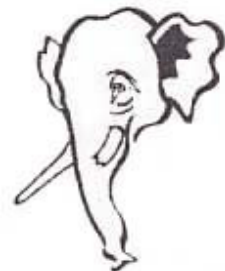
1. The proposed systems are not in a position to establish causality before either the Standing Committee meetings or the 11th COP.
2. Adequate sites have not been selected in Asia to ensure proper, statistically valid results to emerge.
3. In the short term, the proposed systems are inadequate for the purpose of their establishment.

Additionally, the MIKE system does not allow for monitoring the tusk to makhna ratio which is a clear yardstick to study the selective targeting of tuskers in Asian elephants.

In short, therefore, there currently does not exist any system that could prove that Conference Resolution 10.9 has impacted or not impacted on either species concerned. Clearly a case of putting the cart before the elephant, to put it colloquially! With specific reference to the Asian elephant, the lack of a monitoring system could have disastrous consequences for an already endangered species.

ASIAN IVORY TRADE COUNTRY SUMMARIES

After the CITES COP at Harare, and once the decision was taken to downlist three populations of the African elephant from CITES Appendix I to II, it became imperative that the Far Eastern and the Middle Eastern markets in Asia be monitored for the next 18 months before a decision was taken with regard to the lifting of the international ban on ivory. With this in mind, it was decided to make a list of priority countries and then proceed to put in place a monitoring system for these areas. There are 22 consumer or transit countries in Asia. These are Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Philippines, United Arab Emirates, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and China. Among them are both elephant range and non-range countries.



The ongoing trade investigation went once to each of the ten Asian countries that have a domestic or international trade in ivory, and visited three other countries twice. In addition,



investigators and NGO partners from these countries supplied information to the project which has been incorporated into the report.

What is the current status of the ivory trade in Asian consumer countries ?

According to the investigations carried out by this project, two regions have emerged as the most important Asian ivory trade centres. The importance of both centres has been documented several times in the past (Martin 1981, Milliken 1989, Nash ed. 1997) and this study only reiterates the fact. Japan is increasingly becoming the more important of the two regions with the hanko or the signature-seal trade dominating global ivory markets (Nash ed. 1997). The second area is historically the more prominent of the two and consists of People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Macao. This Ivory Triangle begs clubbing together because of historical reasons of having linkages (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997) as well as current trade practices that involve less and less demarcation between them.

1. Japan

Japan has been the one country that has dominated the international ivory trade for nearly two decades. Between 1979-89, Japan imported ivory that represented 32% of the world trade (Milliken 1989). In 1984, it imported 78% of the total ivory exported from Africa (Luxmoore 1989).

In Japan, hankos or signature-seals constitute the bulk of the demand for ivory (Kiyono 1997). Up to 80% of the ivory that reaches Japan is used for manufacturing hankos (VR 1998). The hanko business is a very large trade with thousands of registered dealers, manufacturers and retailers in the business. In a recent study in Japan, 67% of hanko wholesalers and 89% of retailers surveyed said that they dealt in ivory hankos and inzais (JWCS 1998). However, ivory constituted only less than 15% of their total hanko sales with other favoured materials being wood, buffalo horn, plastic, stone, crystal and titan (JWCS 1998). The ivory hanko trade is extremely specialised, with one respondent to the JWCS survey dealing almost exclusively with ivory (more than 90% of his hanko sales are in ivory). This specialisation was very evident in the hanko towns of Lokugomachi and Kofu as well, when the present study team visited these sites.

This specialisation is an important facet of the Japanese trade and plays a key role in the way the trade is controlled. There are three distinct classes of ivory traders in Japan: manufacturers of ivory hankos and other products, wholesalers and retailers. Wholesalers almost never engage in manufacture and only 18% of them engage in retail (JWCS 1998). Other than this, importers (who could be wholesalers) and middlemen may also be present during certain transactions. During investigations in Japan, it was found that less than half a dozen players (importers and wholesalers) dictate both prices and trade volumes in the country (VR 1998). This coterie is based around the towns of Tokyo and Osaka and the major hub of hanko manufacture, the Yamanashi prefecture, lies in between these two cities.

The volume of the Japanese ivory trade collapsed dramatically after the ivory trade ban (Currey and Moore 1994) when public pressure within the country and fear of international isolation reduced demand. By November 1990, it was thought that production was down to a third of the volume recorded just a few years earlier. This downward trend has slowed down but even between 1996 and 1998 it was clearly demonstrated that the volume of the trade in



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ivory hankos had decreased at all levels of transactions, i.e. sales from manufacturers to wholesalers, sales from wholesalers to retailers, and retails (JWCS 1998). 64% of wholesalers and 80% of retailers surveyed felt that the total volume had gone down. The general economic recession, heightened awareness of the international ban and the paucity of ivory for the common carver were some of the reasons given to explain this decrease. Prices for hankos, too, have on the whole gone down, the price trend having clearly been affected by the general Asian economic recession (JWCS 1998).

However, despite the decrease in hanko prices, raw ivory prices that are dictated by the Japanese ivory associations have remained at very high levels (see Chapter on prices). This in turn has led to raw ivory being very unevenly distributed amongst the trade. An important finding of the investigation in Japan was the fact that despite a large amount of ivory stockpiled in Japan (official sources say 100 tons), there was a shortage of ivory in the general market. It was noticed by a recent survey in Japan (JWCS 1998) that retailers are supply starved and may get their stock even as a couple of pieces at a time, sometimes getting as few as two to three pieces in a year. A large carver in Saitama prefecture keenly welcomed investigators and expressed interest in illegal ivory (VR 1998) as the official stocks were held by only a few big dealers and manufacturers. Hanko wholesalers are especially vulnerable to the monopolisation by importers and manufacturers. Wholesalers get their stock from manufacturers almost completely in the form of polished inzais (JWCS 1998). Therefore, even if rough, unpolished inzais are smuggled in they have to pass through a manufacturer before getting into the wholesale hanko market. It is critical to realise that these few manufacturers and importers corner a huge share of the official market. A big hanko manufacturer in Yamanashi prefecture said that the Japanese government was planning to release confiscated inzais (from seizures) in early 1999. He had seen a huge stock of confiscated inzais with the government and was sure that there were only a couple of dealers who could buy such a lot of inzais at an auction. He was confident that as he had good connections with politicians and government officials, it would be possible for him to get the confiscated hankos even without an official release (VR 1998).

The Japanese market, therefore, although showing an overall decline that is mirrored through most of Asia, continues to be a dominant force in the international ivory trade.

2. The Ivory Triangle: Hong Kong, Macao, People's Republic of China

Hong Kong

It is well known that Hong Kong and Macao were two of the largest ivory trading territories in Asia before the ivory ban and well into the mid 1980s (Milliken and Melville 1989) after which they showed a decline in trade because of increased enforcement and a shifting of trade routes (Currey and Moore 1994, Milliken and Melville 1989). Hong Kong has traditionally played a very important part in ivory trade and thus investigators visited the territory twice in the two year period. The vast majority of ivory shops cluster around two roads, Hollywood Road (Hong Kong Island) and Nathan Road (Kowloon). It is interesting that most of the ivory factories in Hong Kong were heavily barred from outside and appeared locked. It was impossible to get into any of them, without a known intermediary. In one shop the showroom was approximately 4000 sq.ft. and was covered from ceiling to floor with shelves filled with ivory, both raw and carved. It was estimated by the owner that he had US\$ 5-10 million worth of goods in there but as a lot of them were carved pieces, ascribing the actual value would be very difficult. Upon asking



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whether fresh ivory could be brought into Hong Kong, the trader seemed apprehensive and said that he personally did not import any fresh ivory and was only trying to get rid of old stocks. It was also established that he did trade occasionally with Japanese businessmen. He mentioned that the southern Chinese towns of Guangzhou, Shanghai, Zhuhai and Shenzhen were important centres of the trade. Subsequently, more than a dozen traders were visited and interviewed.

Two important facts revealed by traders in Hong Kong were:

1. Carvings were normally done in the People's Republic of China and not in Hong Kong.
2. Japanese and Filipino buyers would come and buy ivory statues in Hong Kong even if they were big pieces as there was no problem in taking them back through the customs. One Filipino buyer, for example, who bought a 2½ ft. statue from a trader, carried it back under his arm and walked through customs. There were also unconfirmed reports of raw ivory being bought by Filipinos. This points to the increasing use of the The Philippines for smuggling ivory (see Chapter on trade routes).

Investigations in Japan (VR 1998) yielded important information about the Hong Kong-Japan trade links. According to one of the largest importers of ivory in Japan, the biggest smuggler of Asian ivory into Japan is a Hong Kong intermediary who is currently on the run from Japanese police on charges of ivory smuggling. The person was contacted by investigators in Hong Kong where he confessed to being under suspicion but denied any part in the smuggling. However, independent enquiries in the Yamanashi prefecture showed that most dealers recognised his name and that he was one of the biggest suppliers of illegal ivory at competitive prices in the Japanese market (VR 1998).

Macao

Macao is a Portuguese territory that accedes back to China in the year 1999. After the Hong Kong handover, Macao is slowly preparing for its journey back to China and both its people and its economy reflect this realisation. The ivory trade too showed significant linkages to the People's Republic of China and Hong Kong.

In Macao, contact was made first in 1997 with an art dealer who also trades in ivory. The trader revealed that a lot of ivory had come from India to Hong Kong in the past. While Asian ivory came illegally into Hong Kong and Macao, legal African ivory used to go from Hong Kong and Macao into India. Traders in Macao felt that the trade had suffered a big blow because of the international trade ban and that a number of traders had closed down business. The art dealer felt that because of the lifting of the ban, there could be an increase in trading activity. He was clear in saying that the Japanese could not be trusted and that there were several illegal dealings between Japan and Hong Kong. He also maintained that most Indian ivory traders were also indulging in illegalities, and there never was a legal Indian ivory trade either. He claimed that African ivory taken from Hong Kong was a cover for Indian ivory and the mammoth ivory which really could not be carved into any great object of merit because of its cracks and the yellowing. According to him, mammoth ivory was imported into India merely to launder Indian ivory (FI 1998).

In 1997, the biggest ivory shop of Macao was visited, where hanko carving was in progress (see photographs). The trader claimed that his hankos were for local sale and were not exported.



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He said that he could not get ivory into Macao although it was easier to get it into Macao than Hong Kong. All the traders talked to in Macao gave visiting cards that had both Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China addresses on them showing the close link that existed between the three territories.

People's Republic of China

The People's Republic of China is now emerging as a major market for ivory (Dublin et al. 1997), showing a resurgence as of olden times. In fact, the ivory trade in the People's Republic of China is even older than that of Japan and goes back to before the 6th century AD. Most of the Hong Kong dealers and carvers came originally from the People's Republic of China (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997). Then both Japan and Hong Kong overtook the People's Republic of China as major consumers of ivory and today China is the third largest destination in Asia for smuggled ivory (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997). Over the last two decades, the opening up of the Chinese economy has seen a dramatic increase in the wildlife trade emanating from the country (Mackinnon et al. 1996). Despite the fact that information from inside the country has always been a problem to access, given language barriers and a general restriction of information (Mackinnon et al. 1996), it is reasonably well known that the ivory market in the People's Republic of China is a large and well established one. The Chinese market may, in fact, be a growing market (Dublin et al. 1997).

Preliminary investigations by the study team into southern China revealed that the geographical triangle formed by the cities of Guangzhou (old Canton), Hong Kong and Macao form the hotbed for a flourishing trade. Five factories were contacted during the investigations although only one could be visited. Six ivory retail shops were also surveyed in the People's Republic of China. Almost all the dealers visited in any of the three cities seemed to have links with the other two. Many traders had name cards that showed establishments in two or all three of the cities and most of them were categorical about the fact that although most of the manufacturing and carving was done in China (as labour is cheap), the trade is controlled from Hong Kong and Macao. One dealer in Macao mentioned factories in Zhuhai and Guangzhou while an intermediary agent said that he made weekly trips to the mainland in order to transact ivory business (VR 1998).

In 1989 there were two large and many small factories in Guangzhou. At this time, the biggest factory, Daxin Ivory Carving Factory, which employed 300 ivory carvers and produced 30 per cent of the gross national production, sold locally to Japanese and Taiwanese. Virtually the entire sale was aimed at tourists and the export market as locals did not use much ivory themselves (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997, Laurie 1989). This could have been because of the poor economic situation of the People's Republic of China at the time.

Today, because of the emergence of the Chinese economic tiger from behind a number of liberalisation policies, the buying power of the mainland Chinese has increased significantly. Given this, their stake in the ivory trade is growing and could potentially grow big enough to threaten the current Japanese monopoly. The Chinese emergence as a player of immediate significance is also underlined by the seizure of 1.6 ton of ivory on 16 November 1998 at Zhejiang, in the southern province of Guangdong. The seizure worth 1.68 million yuan (US\$ 202,409) was hidden in imported African wild ox-horn consignments.



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The main factories in China are in Guangdong, Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces and Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin municipalities. In 1997, signature-seals were among the most popular retail items in Guangzhou (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997). During recent investigations by the project, this was confirmed. Although the number of workers in the Daxin factory had gone down to about 100, they were still distributing brochures that invited foreigners to hold trade and processing talks (see centre-spread) in blatant violation of CITES. Shop managers also held talks with investigators (VR 1998) in which they expressed interest in procuring illegal ivory and dealing with Indian or Dubai markets. In 1989, the Chinese ivory stocks were estimated at 50 tons which, it was believed, would be able to supply the industry only for two months (Laurie 1989). This is quite obviously not the case, as a thriving and perhaps increasing market is in evidence in the Ivory Triangle.

3. India

The Indian ivory market has been reasonably well documented in the past (Martin and Vigne 1989, Menon et al. 1997). The domestic market of India still thrives but a large portion of ivory originating from the country finds its way into the Far East.

Earlier reports (Menon et al. 1997) had pointed at a probable ivory trade link between India and Japan but concrete proof was not available. In January 1998, information was received of Japanese buyers frequenting a small town in Gujarat to buy raw ivory. Primary information was that ivory in this town was used for bangle carving and that the sale of these carvings was very openly done. The informant also said that there might be a possibility of ivory leaving this town via the coast of western India, to foreign countries. He claimed that he had seen a very large quantity of whole tusks (here the information was not very clear; while one version said there were 150 tusks, another only mentioned a very large quantity). After this report came in, a covert investigator was sent in towards the end of 1997 to gather some more data. He saw 10-15 tusks with a trader in the town. He also said that this was only the tip of the iceberg and that a very large quantity of tusks were in fact in the trader's possession. According to his report, 12 ivory carvers were operating in the area. He also reported that Japanese buyers used to come on a regular basis to Ahmedabad (the biggest industrial town of the state) to buy ivory from these traders. This was interesting for a number of reasons. First, this was the first confirmed record of trade in ivory in Gujarat. Second, the information on the use of the west coast of India to smuggle meant a distinct possibility of the goods going to the Middle East. Third, the Japanese connection was interesting, given the CITES decision of 1997. Consequently, an investigation was carried out with the help of a Japanese investigator.

In Jaipur, the largest carving centre in India, traders told the investigators that the Japanese were the main buyers of ivory although wealthy Indians were also buying carvings, especially to convert their black money. The main trader in Gujarat said that all his ivory came from poached elephants and that the tusks were cut in the nearby town of Ahmedabad as it was too risky to travel with full tusks (he mentioned a sentence of seven years in prison if one was caught). He was aware of the CITES conference where Africa was allowed to trade with Japan but he was confident that Indian trade would not open for at least five years. He said, however, that ivory could be smuggled out if the right connections were made (FI 1998).

During investigations in Japan, a major dealer in the Yamanashi prefecture (Appendix IV) said that he was negotiating for the purchase of three tons of ivory from India into Japan. There



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was confusion about the number of tusks, but he was clear that the consignment originated in India.

In August 1998, the Jaipur police, in a series of seizures, confiscated over 600 kg of ivory (Appendix V) which confirmed the Japanese connection. Along with a large number of Indian sculptures and paintings were over 100 rough cut inzaïs, en route to Japan. The Indian police initially thought these were waste products of sculptures. This level of ignorance is not uncommon given the fact that the Japanese connection is rarely understood or given priority within India.

Further investigations in Varanasi, near the Nepal border, revealed an open trade route between Nepal and India (VR 1998) which confirmed earlier findings to this effect (Menon et al 1997). There was talk of trade with Japan although conclusive evidence could not be gathered from this part of the investigation. Traders also mentioned the passage of boats from the Gujarat coast into Dubai, once again re-affirming past suspicions (Menon et al. 1997).

It can thus be safely concluded that direct and indirect connections exist between India and Japan to supply illegal ivory from poached elephants in India. Later investigations in China and Macao also confirmed that ivory from India enters the Ivory Triangle regularly, although trade volumes have significantly decreased from earlier levels.

4. Nepal

Nepal has traditionally been an important trade centre for wildlife products from India, Tibet and China and a conduit for these goods to get to final consumer markets (Van Gruisen and Sinclair 1992, Wright and Kumar 1997). Nepal has been surveyed in the past for shahtoosh (Wright and Kumar 1997), fur (Van Gruisen and Sinclair 1992, Heinen and Leisure 1993, Menon 1994), rhino horn (Menon 1996) and ivory (Menon et al. 1997, Martin 1998).

The ivory trade is concentrated around Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Patan and Bhaktapur, all in the Kathmandu valley (FI 1998). The trade is both domestic and international and despite a general slump in trade volumes, it is still an ongoing business in Nepal (FI 1998). A recent survey found that nearly half the carvings found in Nepal came from outside the country (Martin 1998).

In June 1997, investigators surveyed six shops in the Thamel and Darbar Marg areas which were known to have kept ivory (Van Gruisen and Sinclair 1992, Menon 1994 a). All the six shops surveyed were Art and Handicraft shops which had previously stocked wildlife articles including fur and ivory. Of these, three shops did not have ivory although one of the three had camel bone carvings. The other three shops had some ivory. Most of the figurines were carved in a Chinese style and were placed partially concealed within the shop, although carvings made of bone were displayed in all the shop windows. This manner of concealment has also been noticed in the fur trade with artificial or legal furs on display in the shop window and fur of endangered species kept back into the closet (Van Gruisen and Sinclair 1992, Menon 1994a).

Investigators also located the main carver and probably the main trader in Patan. He is part of a very old family which has been carving since generations (Martin 1998). He felt that the level of trade had gone down drastically during the past five years and that ivory was not coming into Nepal, or at least into Kathmandu, for carving. He thought it possible that Indian ivory was going through Nepal, by-passing Kathmandu or at least by-passing the carving centres, into



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Tibet by the Khasa-Lhasa route. This is very significant if you observe the emergence of China as a major consumer of ivory. Nepalese dealers make special trips to India and Tibet to buy ivory (Menon et al 1997, Martin 1998).

In a survey in 1998, 1454 items were found on sale in 184 shops that were visited in Kathmandu (Martin 1998) which shows that there are still a significant number of carvings in Nepal despite a reported decrease in volume. This could be because a large proportion of tusks passing through Nepal now find its way without carving into Far Eastern markets. This reflects the general Asian pattern of a fall in domestic ivory carving markets balanced by a continued international demand for certain commodities such as hankos.

5. Myanmar

There is a thriving trade in ivory that operates in Myanmar, mainly centred around the town of Mandalay. In 1998, the country was visited by project investigators. Yangon and Mandalay were found to be important trade centres for ivory. The trade is fed not only by elephants poached in Myanmar (Aung 1997) but also by ivory coming in from India (Menon et al. 1997). The Burmese do not use much ivory in their traditional necklaces and therefore most of the ivory in the country is in the form of object-de-art (Myint Shwe pers. comm. 1998). There is also a new practice of treating pelvic fracture cases by using ivory as a replacement substance. This is considered a novel method of treatment and has been pioneered by a doctor in Mandalay. The amount of ivory used in this is, however, estimated to be not very large.

Most ivory, therefore, goes into making carvings and souvenirs for the Thai market or goes to China in either a carved or raw form. Despite the fact that the ivory industry in Mandalay has declined considerably over the years (Martin 1997), there still exists a large smuggling ring in Myanmar that operates to supply the Ivory Triangle. Although no direct exports to Japan were in evidence, ivory finds its way there via Hong Kong or Bangkok. No Japanese trader, however, mentioned Myanmar as a source of ivory.

6. Philippines

An investigation in the Philippines in 1998 yielded very interesting results that established that the country has a thriving domestic ivory market and that it is probably the single largest conduit for ivory into Japan (see Chapter on trade routes). During the investigation carried out in Manila, souvenir shops yielded many ivory carvings and a couple of whole tusks carved in a particularly Filipino style. The Bikol province in the east of the country is the biggest carving centre in the Philippines. Seven carvers were met in five different locations. All of them were affiliated to one particular trader in Manila. It is possible that other traders have their own coterie of carvers in the provinces. The number of carvings produced by the carvers in the area may not exceed 50 per month (each carving being approximately one foot in size). Smuggling of ivory into the Philippines is done mostly by Filipino Muslims in the Mindanao region of the country. Smugglers get their ivory mainly from Libya in Africa (information that was very surprising given the fact that this was probably the first reference to the country as being part of the ivory trade) and Malaysia in Asia. They brought it in mostly during Ramadan when they returned home from countries overseas, where they conducted their businesses. In one recent instance, the smugglers were foiled on the high seas by the Filipino customs and the whole consignment (the exact quantity was indeterminable) was dumped into the sea with a marker and then retrieved a few months later (VR 1998).



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In the Philippines, the Mindanao province is the point at which smugglers bring their wares into the country. Mindanao is a lawless area of the country from which sellers come to Manila to sell small quantities of ivory at a time; one trader referred to a maximum of 30 kg per person (VR 1998). The sellers could be different each time and could include Muslim women. There is no office, association or any other means of regularised ivory trade for the smugglers. They are street operators who are also gun runners and smugglers of cocaine. Carvers are affiliated to the Manila traders and take one piece at a time from them to carve. Sometimes the carvers come to Manila and stay with the dealers to carve. A few Japanese or Chinese style carvings are made although the overwhelming number are Filipino religious style ones. In Bikol, small villages around the two cities of Naga and Legaspi are rumoured to have the largest number of workmen. The number, however, seems on questioning to be less than a dozen in each place.

7. Singapore

Singapore is a major ivory trading hub of Asia. In 1986, it was one of the biggest illicit ivory trade centres (Keong 1997). Only a short trip could be made to the city by one investigator during the course of this study and it is recognised that this is a major lacuna in the work done in Asia until now. In Singapore, ivory is sold freely (Varma pers. comm. 1998) and is also listed as a retail commodity in the Yellow Pages and the telephone directories of Singapore.

Singapore stopped the legal export of worked ivory to Hong Kong only in 1988 (Milliken and Melville 1989) and completely stopped commercial ivory imports and exports in 1990 (Keong 1997). However, the connections between the two countries continue and it is a well known fact that Hong Kong traders own factories in Singapore (Keong 1997). A dealer in Yamanashi prefecture of Japan mentioned Singapore as a possible route for illegal ivory to enter Japan (VR 1998). In the past there have been several cases involving Japan and Singapore and the link between the two is very much alive even today.

8. Thailand

Thailand has traditionally been an important country for both the domestic and international ivory trade. As far back as 1663, the country exported 3097 kg to Japan and then again in 1821 it exported 18,000 kg to China (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998).

The Thai centres of the trade are Bangkok and Chang Mai although Tachilek on the Myanmar border is a major smuggling point and Amphoe Payuhakiri in Nakornsawan district is a major carving centre. During three visits to the country between 1996 and 1998, investigators documented a flourishing trade in both Bangkok and Chang Mai (FI 1998). Tourists, especially Japanese, Taiwanese, Hong Kong Chinese and the Thais themselves, are big buyers of ivory in Bangkok (FI 1998, Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). Bangkok, apart from being a consumer of ivory, is a major conduit for smuggled ivory from other Asian countries to reach its final destination in Japan or the Ivory Triangle. There is also a constant trade in illegal ivory between Bangkok and Singapore. Ivory trade flows over much of the country are controlled by the carving and trade centre of Chang Mai.

During investigations in China, Hong Kong and Japan, Thailand was often mentioned as a conduit for illegal ivory. A dealer in Yamanashi said that if Dubai could not be used for smuggling ivory then Bangkok was an obvious alternative (VR 1998).



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The Thais also have huge quantities of ivory in their personal possession. A survey during 1992-93 found 15,639 tusks, 673 kg cut ivory and 9519 pieces of ivory with private people in Thailand (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). This complicates registration of ivory within Thailand, adding to the already existing confusion of ivory from captive elephants and wild elephants. Both these complications make Bangkok a perfect place to launder illegal ivory in Asia.

9. Taiwan

Taiwan could not be visited during this study because of paucity of resources. Taiwan's connection with Africa is a well established fact and as recently as January 1998, a Taiwanese was arrested in South Africa trying to trade in ivory (Styles in litt.1998). The Taiwanese connection with the wildlife trade in India was revealed after an arrest in 1995 of a Taiwanese national trying to purchase rhino horn in the north-eastern town of Siliguri.

Phipps and Chen (1997) have documented the current trade situation in Taiwan very succinctly. As it is not a CITES party, the country is in a unique position. It also has some of the best management and enforcement systems in place in Asia. Nevertheless, between 1991 and 1997, 33 seizures were made in the country (Phipps and Chen 1997). The importance of Taiwan as an entrepot and illegal trade centre is therefore established. During investigations in Japan, Taiwan was mentioned as a conduit by one dealer (VR 1998). Despite its strict regulations, it remains a key player in international smuggling operations.

10. Indo-China

The three countries of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos are being taken as one geographical unit partly because the elephant populations of the three are contiguous (Sukumar 1997) and because the paucity of information from the region and the civil problems are similar and merit clubbing. In Cambodia, ivory carving is a century old business (Martin and Phipps 1996) with Phnom Penh, Poipet and Siem Reap being important carving and trade centres. A survey in 1994 in Phnom Penh revealed that the most common wildlife product on retail sale was ivory (Martin and Phipps 1996).

The present project team could not visit Cambodia due to civil disturbances in the country but visited Laos and Vietnam. In Laos, Vientianne has a number of shops displaying ivory while in Vietnam both Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have a flourishing ivory trade. The Vietnamese trade, particularly that of Ho Chi Minh City, draws heavily on ivory from both its neighbours as Vietnam itself has an elephant population of only 150 (Walston and Trinh Viet Cuong in prep.). There were many reports of smuggling of ivory into Vietnam from Laos and Cambodia (Joe Walston pers. comm. 1998, Lic Vuthy pers.comm. 1998). Buyers in Indo-China seem mostly to be Japanese, Thai and French nationals (Martin and Phipps 1996, FI 1998). Cambodian markets are reportedly fed by elephants poached in the north-eastern parts of the country (Martin and Phipps 1996) although inflow from neighbouring countries cannot be ruled out.

11. Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has always been a minor contributor to the world trade in ivory (Martin and Martin 1990, Jayawardene 1994) due to the minimal number of tuskers present in the population (Deranayigala 1955). There has always been a small but thriving domestic trade which in the mid 1980s had about 100 carvers employed in the island (Martin and Martin 1990, Jayawardene



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1994). Past references of ivory trade in Sri Lanka are concentrated around Colombo, Kandy and Galle (Santiapillai 1997, Jayawardene 1994). They, however, recognise that some of the tourist sites such as Dambulla, Sigriya, Anuradhapura and Pollanaruwa, as well as the beaches dotting the west coast of Sri Lanka from Colombo to Mathera are also potential ivory trade centres.

In 1998, the marketplaces of Kandy, Colombo, Dambulla, Sigriya, Anuradhapura, Galle and Mathera were surveyed once. Although ivory was frequently seen displayed in jewellery and handicraft shops, an important finding of the investigation is that most of the ivory being used by Sri Lankan carvers is from female tushes and is of inferior quality. In all the six cities surveyed, with one notable exception, no full tusk was seen and only a few carvings made from tusks were on display. Most of the other carvings were from tushes (see picture in centre-spread). This is not surprising given the non-availability of tuskers in the island but the poor workmanship is surprising given that Sri Lanka was known for elaborate and fine carvings (Jayawardene 1994).

In Sigriya, for example, the carvings noted were of an inferior quality and were yellowed at some places. Among the tushes was also one piece of a long, pink tusk such as found in young animals and also referred to as a cane tusk (Deraniyagala 1955). The Sigriya shop owner also demonstrated how carving is done using tools meant primarily for ebony carving. By cutting the yellowed outer surface of the tush the owner showed the inner white surface, which could then be passed off as good ivory. In Anuradhapura, after much negotiation, a single tusk was produced before the investigators but this does not imply a large and continuing trade. The contribution of Sri Lanka to the current international trade is therefore considered only marginal.

If demand for ivory is lessening, will it affect the Asian elephant?

The hanko industry in Japan and the Ivory Triangle has become more or less mechanised. During an interview with the largest importer of Asian ivory into Japan and his son (VT 1998), the traders confessed that they still manufactured hankos by hand. As of now both father and son who are in the business hand-carve the hankos but the son felt that this was very rare in Japan and that one day they would progress to a machine. Hand-carving hankos meant that the output was about 30 inzais a day, but with a machine it could go up to 200. The old-fashioned father, however, maintained that as machines have thicker blades more scrap is produced, whereas with their hands they could make two extra inzais per tusk (VR 1998). This form of home industry is, however, rapidly dying out in Japan. Another trader visited (VR 1998) had an operational factory with more than 50 persons carving on ivory and other substances. Computer aided designing of hankos (see picture in centre-spread) and an almost industrialised workforce had replaced the old carver and his hand tools. The factory was capable of producing several hundred hankos daily although a shortage of raw material was keeping them from achieving the volume of the early 1980s (VR 1998).

Similarly, in the People's Republic of China, the infamous Guangzhou factory was still employing more than a hundred carvers although at its peak it used to employ up to 500 carvers (VR 1998). Several smaller factories had sprung up all along the border with Hong Kong and Macao, especially in the Zhuhai and Shenzhen areas. Each of these employed a large semi-mechanised workforce. Despite a lessening of demand, the trade is therefore continuing apace in most of the nerve centres. Although smaller units and individual carvers may be forced out of the business, larger establishments are surviving.



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The mechanisation of the trade would also mean a much larger output than that produced by traditional hand-carving. In Dubai one factory employing eight people was 'consuming' 300 elephants per week in 1989 (Currey and Moore 1994). Despite 100 tons in stockpile, Japan still feels the need to import more ivory, and smaller dealers when interviewed repeatedly claimed an acute shortage of raw material (VR 1998). Throughout this investigation in ten countries, it was seen that there was sufficient demand for raw ivory in the black market. The hanko industry, even in its low hanko demand mode, threatens to utilise ivory stocks large enough to be disastrous for both elephant species in the long term, and most certainly the Asian elephant in the short term.

How tight are enforcement levels in Japan?

Considering the possibility of a partial resumption of international trade in ivory, emphasis must be laid on enforcement in both range and consumer countries to prevent poaching of the elephant and the subsequent smuggling of ivory. It is recognised that while international ivory smuggling mafia are well organised and have transboundary operations, law enforcement agencies are continuously short-staffed, have little resources and tend to operate within national boundaries (Dullo 1997). TRAFFIC International estimates that there have been global seizures of more than 69 tons of ivory between 1989 and 1997 including 11,756 tusks, 111,065 semi-worked ivory blocks and 65,235 worked ivory products. This indicates a continuing (and perhaps increasing) illegal trade across the world (Dublin et al. 1997).

In Japan, the enforcement and management systems seem to be based on goodwill and the feeling that the trade would co-operate with the system (Obara 1997). A recurrent failure of international conservation agencies has been the denial of the fact that the trade is controlled largely by criminals and international smuggling rings (Currey and Moore 1994). In Japan, several importers and dealers talked of the involvement of the dreaded Yakuza in funding and controlling the smuggling of illegal ivory (VR 1998). In India, the trade has had connections with several smuggling Mafia (Menon and Kumar 1998). The link of the Chinese Triad with the ivory trade is also well documented in the Ivory Triangle (Currey and Moore 1994). Given all this, it is extremely important that the enforcement system in any potential consumer country and especially Japan be tight and as foolproof as possible.

In the past, Japan's enforcement has come under much criticism. Large scale laundering between Japan and Hong Kong in the early 1980s meant that as much as 80% of the imports during 1983-84 could have represented illegal trade (Milliken 1985). In 1985, customs authorities had allowed shipments of 17,475 kg and 13,754 kg of African ivory which was allegedly laundered and illegal in origin, to be imported (Milliken 1985). Investigations in consumer countries of Asia indicated that importers and exporters in almost all the countries were willing to illegally trade with Japan (VR 1998). The investigations in the Philippines in particular (see Chapter on trade routes) revealed a large illegal trade with Japan that has managed to elude enforcement agencies.

Sakamoto (1998) agrees that enough enforcement measures are not in place in Japan to ensure that only a legal trade would continue. The current economic situation in South-East Asia and the Far East can lead to more problems with a general relaxation of rules in many areas considered as potential foreign exchange earners such as imports and exports (Obara 1997).



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How good are the management controls of Japan, the country which is to receive the legal African consignment ?

As Japan is the sole country that has been listed by the governments of Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe as a trade partner, it is vital that the management controls of the country be effective and transparent. Before the CITES COP 10, Japanese conservationists had already begun to voice their doubts about the efficacy of the management system (Obara 1997). The CITES Panel of Experts at that time felt that among other things:

1. The management system at the retail level was inadequate, which allowed a mixing of legal and illegal ivory. This was largely because Japanese legislation did not extend to retailers of processed ivory who had the option to not use a certification label on goods if they so wished.
2. Even dealers who handled ivory less than 20 cm in length and 1 kg in weight were not covered by the system. A hanko is a product that is less than 20 cm in length and 1 kg in weight, which makes the regulation ludicrous.
3. During the time of the Panel of Experts inspection, less than 10% of ivory hankos being retailed had a certification label on it (Kiyono 1997).

During investigations in 1997 and 1998 in Japan, these concerns cropped up again and again. A major trader in Kofu felt that his stock of ivory hankos would last another 20-30 years. He also felt that the Yamanashi prefecture had ivory stocks to last 20-30 years. Dealers in Yamanashi, he observed, did not want the resumption of trade as they had enough past stock and also because they did not wish to follow the management system (VR 1998). He had previously approached the government with a petition from the dealers which was not accepted. One of the major problems facing the dealer in Japan, according to him, was the need to put on certification labels. When the management system first came into effect, several years ago, dealers had purchased registration labels. Each label cost 60 yen but hankos could still be sold without the label. This dealer registered all his stock and purchased labels as retail companies could ask for certified goods. He felt, however, that the label was too large to put on a hanko. He also concurred that most dealers would find it bothersome to label every hanko and would instead prefer hankos made from illegal (and therefore uncertified) ivory to avoid using these labels even if they were made compulsory.

The major importer of ivory in Tokyo had on several past occasions registered his comments on the Japanese management system with the government (Kunoki 1996). He felt that the management system was not designed to detect illegal ivory. Another dealer in Saitama prefecture felt that the Japanese management system was designed to benefit only a few dealers in Osaka (VR 1998).

An in-depth analyses of the management system has been carried out recently (Sakamoto 1998). Despite the amendments carried out in the Law for Conservation of Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, which is the conservation legislation of Japan, vital flaws still exist in the system. Among them, the following are important:

1. There still does not exist a method to identify or differentiate recorded stock with actual stock of ivory. The loophole is particularly glaring when the amended system requires manufacturers to record transactions of cut ivory by weight while wholesalers



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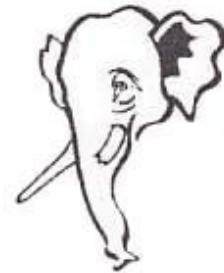
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- and retailers are supposed to do so by recording the number of inzai traded. The difficulty in standardising weight and number of pieces is a well-known problem.
2. It is still impossible to trace certified ivory from the raw state to its finished form. This is more so given the fact that there are a minimum of 14,000 and a maximum of 50,000 retailers spread across Japan, whose ledgers would have to be checked to do so.
 3. While there could be a maximum of a three-month suspension of known offenders under the system, there is no provision to ban the sale of illegal ivory or provide other punitive measures that would discourage such practices.

Sakamoto (1998) is clear that the amended management system does not fulfil the conditions prescribed in Conference Resolution 10.1, Part A.

TRADE ROUTES AND FLOWS

Ivory markets in Asia are, therefore, alive and well. Given this, it is important to study the routes through which illegal ivory reaches consumer markets, especially Japan. Although Asian ivory is the focus of this study, it must be kept in mind that both types of ivory often follow similar routes and in some cases are physically mixed together in the same consignment. The following chapter looks at the innumerable ways by which ivory enters Japan and shows that these are currently in use by a number of smuggling rings.



What are the current destinations for Asian ivory ?

In the 1970s and the early 1980s a market existed for ivory in Europe and the United States which has all but disappeared owing to increased awareness and the implications of the international trade ban (Dublin et al. 1997). During the same period, Hong Kong, Macao and the People's Republic of China, i.e. the Ivory Triangle, was the single largest destination in Asia (Martin 1981, Milliken 1989). Today, Japan is unquestionably the single largest consumer of ivory in the world and the trade in hankos or signature-seals, the biggest industry in ivory (Kiyono 1997, FI 1998). The Ivory Triangle continues to be the second largest destination for ivory.

Other than these, the Asian markets of Singapore, Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan and India are still flourishing while newer markets may be coming up in parts of the former Soviet Union, Lebanon (Dublin et al. 1997) and the Philippines (FI 1998).

What are the current trade routes that are being used for illegal ivory ?

Understanding the trade routes for Asian elephant ivory is an important pre-requisite to understanding the linkages between the African and Asian ivory trade. It is a well documented fact that the majority of African ivory, from all parts of that continent, finds its way into markets in Asia (Martin 1981, Milliken 1989). Ivory from the Asian elephant has also traditionally found its way into a few consumer countries although there has always been a domestic demand in most of the range states. Trade routes are by definition fickle and constantly change, influenced by national and international legislation, enforcement and a variety of other trade factors. The present study traced ivory from the Asian elephant,



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particularly Indian, from its source to consumer nations. The major trade routes for Asian ivory at present are summarised in the following table.

Table I - Major Trade Routes for Asian Ivory

Source country	1 st Transit/ Conduit	2 nd Transit/conduit	Major destination	Minor destination
India	Dubai		Japan, China, Hong Kong, Macao, Thailand, Singapore	
India	Dubai	Philippines	Japan	
India	Nepal	Tibet	China	
India	Myanmar		China	Thailand
Myanmar			China	Thailand
Thailand			China, Hong Kong, Macao, Japan	Singapore, Vietnam
Indonesia			Thailand, Singapore	
Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia)			Thailand, Japan, Hong Kong	Singapore
Singapore			Thailand, Japan, China	
Singapore	Sabah (Malaysia)	Philippines	Japan	
Taiwan			Japan, Hong Kong	
South Korea		Philippines	Japan, Hong Kong	
China/Hong Kong/ Macao			Japan	Thailand, Singapore, South Korea
Former USSR			Japan	
Japan			Hong Kong	

How does illegal Asian ivory reach Japan?

As the focus of this report is to determine the impact of the sale of African ivory to Japan (which has been named by all three countries of origin as their sole buyer), the focus of the trade route studies was also to find out how ivory reaches Japan. It was also important, in this context, to examine the enforcement measures taken by the Japanese and to evaluate their efficacy in preventing international smuggling.

One method of smuggling ivory into Japan is by exploiting loopholes in the Japanese customs system. This has been well demonstrated by a seizure in Kansai airport in November 1996, of 352 kg of ivory (13,800 seal blocks) from a person who had initially imported it from



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Singapore. This ivory was originally South African and was discovered in the import consignment ten days before the actual arrest of the suspect. The importer pleaded ignorance of actual consignment content and asked for permission to re-export the consignment to Hong Kong, which was granted under Japanese law. It was only when he tried to replace the ivory before exporting, that he was arrested. Interrogation reports revealed that he had smuggled ivory into Japan several times in the past using the air route from Singapore (Sakamoto 1997).

A major dealer in the Yamanashi prefecture when interviewed (VR 1998) said that normally, smuggled hankos and ivory enter the country from the Kansai area in western Japan. This is possibly because controls are tighter in Tokyo and eastern Japan. The ports of Yaizu and Shimizu are often used for smuggling. The Japanese Mafia, or Yakuza, are almost always involved in the smuggling (VR 1998) although ivory is only a small part of their business. Many of the ivory smugglers are also arms and narcotics dealers (Menon and Kumar 1998). The dealer also mentioned that as recently the control over both narcotics and arms had become more tight, the routes used by the smugglers could have diversified. In the past, ivory was smuggled from Taiwan through Okinawa island and there also existed a route from Korea. The dealer also talked of the possibility of diplomats bringing ivory into Japan without inspection and the possible involvement of the American army. There is, however, no proof for either of these two charges.

One of the most important findings of this study is the existence of a hitherto unrecorded ivory trade in the island nation of the Philippines and recording the use of this nation as a major smuggling conduit into Japan. The fact that this was not known thus far, amply shows the lacunae that exist in monitoring illegal ivory coming into Japan.

What is the link between the Philippines and Japan ?

During investigations both in Japan and in the Philippines, in both 1997 and 1998, this study repeatedly unearthed evidence that conclusively proves the trade link between these two countries and the fact that illegal ivory actually passes from one into another. There is a small domestic ivory market in the Philippines (FI 1998) but it is not large enough to sustain the quantities of ivory that enter the country. Investigators in the Philippines were repeatedly offered ivory (VR 1998) which could be taken into Japan. During the investigations, it was found that among decoy buyers, a Japanese investigator along with an Indian based in Dubai yielded the best results and at least two traders followed up the preliminary visits of the decoy buyers with telephonic conversations to Dubai, India and Japan expressing interest in trading with them. Traders in the Philippines admitted to using their country as a conduit to Japan as it was less strictly monitored, had lax enforcement and was conveniently positioned geographically (VR 1998, Appendix III).

Later, during investigations in Japan (Appendix IV), Japanese traders also revealed the use of the Philippines as a conduit for smuggling ivory into Japan. A leading importer of ivory into Japan had heard the fact that ivory could be brought in easily from the Philippines into Japan. Normally, the port of Shimizu is used to smuggle into Japan as most of the smuggling takes place through the sea route by using small ships or large boats. He felt that the customs officers at Japanese docking points are bribed. Sometimes the smuggling route is changed to Yokohama (VR 1998). Confessions of large traders indicated a regular and long standing trade link between the two countries that operates by means of small boats or ships, in many ways similar to the India-Dubai smuggling route (Menon et al. 1997).



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The link between the two countries is further established when one considers the raids conducted in the house of a South Korean in Manila in November 1996, where 40 tusks were recovered by the National Bureau of Investigation. Each tusk reportedly weighed 18-27 kg each. Upon investigation it was found that the accused had been previously arrested in Japan for smuggling ivory. The accused is absconding despite both cases. Interestingly, the raid was conducted on a narcotics (metamphetamine hydrochloride, known locally as ice or shabu) tip-off. The accused is wanted on drug smuggling charges in South Korea as well (Ghosh in litt. 1998).

[Click Here](#) To see the pictures and maps related to Ivory Trade.

What are the routes for the ivory to reach the Philippines?

There are two major smuggling routes into the Philippines. The most often used route is the sea route from the outlying islands and the eastern coast of Malaysia (Appendix III). The major smuggling point for such ivory in the Philippines is the island of Mindanao although Palawan also plays a role in receiving contraband. In the Philippines, Mindanao is referred to as a 'backdoor', a term that has its etymology in the widespread smuggling that occurs through the several thousand miles of coastline, small ports and small islands that make up the region. Interestingly, the Malaysians call eastern Malaysia (the part of their country that lies closest to Mindanao) their 'backdoor'. Very much like the India-United Arab Emirate sea route, this route is also not exclusively an ivory smuggling route but in a larger sense is the route used for smuggling much of the Philippines' illegal merchandise into the country. The east Malaysia-Mindanao route is also an established route for arms smuggling that largely feeds the rebel armies and bandit groups of Mindanao (Ghosh in litt. 1998). During investigations in the Philippines two traders referred to this area as the source of their ivory. Bikol, the largest carving centre in the Philippines, was supplied with ivory by Mindanao Muslims. A past seizure on 29 November 1996, of twenty pieces of ivory weighing seven kg each recovered from a commercial establishment in Manila by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), further re-affirms this connection. According to the official report, 'the tusks allegedly passed through the backdoor of Malaysia (into the Philippines) from Libya' (Ghosh in litt. 1998).

The second route is clearly the air route into Manila. Recent trends show that flights originating from the Middle East are especially suspect. On 23 October, 1997, thirteen tusks weighing 92 kg were seized from a Turkish national arriving from Dubai on board Emirates EK 86. The tusks were carried in a suitcase and were allegedly of Nigerian origin. Again, on 9 January, 1998, sixteen tusks weighing 15 kg were seized from a Filipino aboard Emirates flight EK 88 from Dubai. The tusks were allegedly from Libya. Both seizures were from the Ninoy Aquino International Airport at Manila and were conducted by the Philippines Bureau of Customs (Ghosh in litt. 1998).

Interestingly, both these seizures and the investigations in the Philippines revealed the role of Libya in the ivory trade. The Libyan connection needs to be probed by investigators in the future as it has not been well recorded so far.

What are the routes operating between India and Japan ?



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There are three major routes for ivory to leave India (see Table I) which involve the countries of Nepal, Myanmar and the United Arab Emirates. Of these, the last mentioned is a key player in the smuggling of Indian ivory into Far Eastern markets (Menon et al. 1997). Work done by the second author in the Middle East in the late 1980s also indicates the importance of Dubai and Sharjah as conduits for the ivory trade. Official investigative reports also indicate movement of ivory from India into Dubai and Sharjah (OI 1998). Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore (Keong 1997), The Philippines and Thailand are popular destinations from Dubai and Sharjah. Interviews with traders in all these countries (with the exception of Singapore) mentioned Dubai as a source or a possible source for Asian ivory. Investigators for this project found that a Dubai business card invariably opened doors that were earlier closed to them during the course of investigation. Two traders (one from the Philippines and another from Japan) followed up the earlier investigations by contacting Dubai and expressing interest in purchase of Asian ivory routed through the country. A major smuggler of ivory into Japan indicated his interest in Dubai shipments of Indian ivory and said that this could be done easily with forged documents obtained in the UAE (VR 1998, Appendix IV).

It is also known that Asian ivory finds its way directly into consumer countries (VR 1998, Appendix IV). A major hanko manufacturer in Yamanashi prefecture of Japan told investigators that he was concluding negotiations for three tons of Indian ivory. He was certain that the ivory was in India and that it was being brought directly into Japan. Some other sources also indicated the use of Singapore and Bangkok as staging points for Indian ivory to enter Japan. Indian ivory leaving the country through Kathmandu could also reach Japan by first using an intermediary staging point in a South-East Asian country. The Myanmar land route from India feeds primarily the burgeoning Chinese market although some portion of the ivory may reach Bangkok as well.

What is the significance of the United Arab Emirates as a conduit for Asian ivory ?

From the above mentioned evidence, it is known that ivory from India finds its way into the Middle East. It is also known that African ivory has traditionally passed through the Middle East and that the trade has used various ports in the United Arab Emirates as conduits (Milliken 1985, Currey and Moore 1994) and even as carving centres for preliminary work (Currey and Moore 1994). Two evidences unveiled by this study further re-affirm this trade routing for African ivory. Investigation into one shipping line that operated from Lagos port in Nigeria in 1996 and 1997 showed that cargo containing ivory left Lagos and stopping at the east African port of Dar-es-Salaam and at Dubai in the Middle East proceeded onwards to South Asian and Far Eastern destinations. Of over 200 cargoes thus examined, 31 consignments were reported to have been carrying ivory (FI 1998). Of these 31, three were finally destined for Japan (Yokohama), two for Dubai and one each for Singapore and Hong Kong. Most of the others were vessels that were bound for Mumbai in India. Further investigations showed that these India-bound vessels were all stopping at Dubai where possibly the ivory shipments would be unloaded. Investigations in the Philippines also substantiated this evidence. Four traders interviewed confirmed the passage of African ivory through the Middle East into the Philippines (VR 1998). While some responses indicated the use of Malaysia as an intermediate point, two earlier seizures in the Philippines indicate a direct means of ivory reaching the islands from the Middle East as well. From the Philippines, the ivory is then shipped into Japanese ports (Appendix IV). The significance of Dubai and Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates as conduits of the African ivory trade is therefore confirmed. The distance between Dubai and Sharjah is a mere five kilometres and therefore they are to be treated as twin towns. Sharjah is believed to have laxer controls, whereas Dubai has fairly strict law enforcement.



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Investigations in the Philippines and Japan done by this study also confirmed the use of Dubai as a conduit for Indian ivory (VR 1998). In 1997, investigators visited a hanko carver in Macao who expressed interest in trading with Dubai and said that if ivory consignments were available, a deal could be negotiated. In 1998, this shop and another were re-visited and negotiations were done for a supposedly Dubai-held stock of Indian ivory. The negotiations continued into the People's Republic of China and Hong Kong and proved beyond doubt the interest of traders in this region to import from Dubai. One trader in the Philippines was willing to trade with the investigators, including buying raw ivory from the Middle East, carving it in the Philippines and then exporting the carvings to Japan. Intelligence reports of Asian ivory being mixed with African ivory in Dubai have been in existence for long (Menon et al. 1997, OI 1998) but no firm proof of this form of laundering has been found to date. It is believed, however, that Asian ivory smuggled into Dubai is mixed with African ivory and then shipped to the Far East. This is logical given the fact that the domestic ivory market in the Middle East is negligible, thereby making essential, further re-export of smuggled Indian ivory to the Far East or South-East Asia.

The mixing of Asian ivory with African ivory is a critical factor in assessing the possible impact on the Asian elephant, of partially reopening trade in the latter. While larger Asian tusks may be smuggled directly into the Far East to cater to the high end of the market (see Chapter on differences between Asian and African ivory), smaller tusks would in all probability be used to mix with African ivory as the two would be more comparable in prices. This could explain why some tusks are mixed with African consignments while others find their way into Far Eastern markets directly.

Can mixing of ivory not be detected?

There has been a historical difficulty in evaluating ivory volumes and other aspects of the trade because of the difficulty in differentiating between legally and illegally acquired ivory (Dublin et al. 1997). This takes on a different perspective when the ivory of at least two species is in question and when the mixing takes place outside the range of both species. The following reasons make mixing of ivory very difficult to detect in such cases.

1. The mixing of ivory is believed to be done in the Middle East which has traditionally been known to be lax in wildlife law enforcement and has been an established smuggling centre for even non-wildlife products (Currey and Moore 1994).
2. Differentiating between Asian and African ivory in the field is extremely difficult even for the few experts in the field. Existing methods can only distinguish between extant and extinct species of elephantidae (Espinoza and Mann 1991). Cut or worked pieces of ivory are even more difficult to identify once mixed.
3. There has been no international enforcement experiment in marked ivory or any other technique to determine precise movements of illegal consignments. Evidence is largely based on hearsay or small investigative efforts that have remained confined to a few countries.

What are the other important trade routes that exist within Asia?

After Japan, the second largest destination for illegal ivory is the Ivory Triangle of the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Macao. Both African and Asian ivory reach Chinese markets. Earlier routings were through Hong Kong and Belgium in Europe (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997) but



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today direct shipping into China is the single largest smuggling technique employed into the Ivory Triangle (VR 98). Investigators in Hong Kong, Macao and China were told that ships coming into China were the major source of ivory although the land route through northern Myanmar and the occasional air route into Hong Kong or parts of the People's Republic of China were also used. The air route is used particularly when carriers of the consignment are sure of little or no checking. In November 1998, a North Korean diplomat tried to smuggle 600 kg ivory into China from Cameroon but was stopped en route at Paris airport. Diplomatic immunity, in this case, allowed the carrier to take the air route into the Ivory Triangle. There still exists the trade exchange between Japan and the Ivory Triangle (in particular Hong Kong) that has been reported in the past by several authors (Martin 1981, Milliken 1989). From India, ivory can reach the Ivory Triangle in two other ways. There is an old trade route to Nepal from northern India (Menon et al. 1997) and from Kathmandu the ivory finds its way into Lhasa (the capital of Tibet) through the border post of Khasa (FI 1998). From Lhasa the ivory can proceed by land to southern China or can be transported by air to reach Shanghai, Japan or South-East Asian destinations.

The Myanmar land connection is also an important link between India and the Ivory Triangle. Investigations from India showed ivory being transported using the following route: More (north-east India)-Tamu (Myanmar)-Kalewa-Monywa-Mandalay-Lashio-Muse-Yunnan district of China (FI 1998).

Other than the two important trade centres of Asia, ivory finds its way into Bangkok and Singapore mostly using the air route. Bangkok has had 16 cases of ivory seizures in the four years preceding 1998, showing its importance in the global illegal trade. Of these, ten were made at the international airport which demonstrates the importance of the air route into Bangkok. In the most recent case in March 1998, 450 pieces of raw ivory were confiscated by customs (Srikrachang and Jaisomkon 1998). Thailand also receives ivory from Myanmar via the land border (especially the border at Tachi lek), Indo-China and the People's Republic of China. One seizure in the People's Republic of China in 1995 yielded information that ivory was passing into Lao PDR (Lee and Parry-Jones 1997). It was thought that it would eventually have reached the Bangkok markets. From Cambodia, too, ivory reaches the Thai markets of Bangkok and Chang Mai through Lao PDR ((Martin and Phipps 1996). In this region, the following towns are important as carving, trading and transit points for the movement of ivory: Mandalay, Yangon, Bago, Tachilek in Myanmar, Bangkok, Payyuhakiri, Mae Sae, Chiang Mai in Thailand, Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Poipet and Battambang in Cambodia, Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam and Loungprabhang in Laos (Martin and Phipps 1996, Martin 1997, Srikrachang and Jaisomkon 1998, FI 1998)

Ivory from Sumatra (Indonesia) also goes into Singapore, although mostly by the sea route

(Ramono pers. comm. 1998). Smaller routes may exist from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Bhutan as well.

PRICES OF IVORY

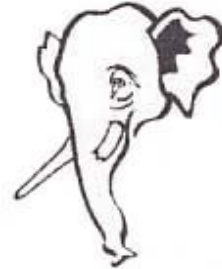
What are the current prices of Asian ivory in national and international markets?



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Menon et al. (1997) documented prices for raw Asian ivory in range states that varied from US\$ 72 in Sri Lanka (Santiapillai 1997) to US\$ 340 in Nepal (FI 1997). In India, which was taken as a representative Asian range country for domestic prices, the average price for raw ivory was US\$ 185 in 1989 (Sukumar 1989) which shot up dramatically to US\$ 285 in 1996 (Menon et al. 1997). This was the average trader's selling price for export. In January 1998, traders in Jaipur, the main carving centre in India, said that they bought raw ivory at Rs. 8000-10,000 (US\$ 186-230). In Gujarat, however, prices during the same period were higher and ranged from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 (US\$ 230-350) a kg. In Myanmar, the price of ivory in Yangon or Mandalay was approximately 20,000-30,000 kyat in 1993 (Ye Htut pers. comm. 1998) but is currently nearly 80,000 kyat (US\$ 460) per kg (Myint Shwe pers. comm. 1998) although the poacher in the jungles of the country may get as little as 5000 kyat (US\$ 30) for the same quantity. In Cambodia, investigators found that prices had shot up from US\$ 150 in 1991 to US\$ 350 in 1993 (Martin and Phipps 1996).



Prices in Nepal have also gone up significantly. From US\$ 92-115 a kg for good quality tusks in 1982 (Martin 1998), prices went up to between US\$ 242-340 (Menon et al. 1997, Martin 1998). Recent investigations in the country have indicated similar levels of prices although the upper end is more suggestive of a record price and is not an average. In Sri Lanka, prices in 1998 were SLR 20,000 per kg (US\$ 330) although prices are reported to have come down to as low as SLR 4000 (US\$ 72) (Santiapillai 1997).

Consumer nation prices, however, have been more difficult to establish. In Japan, the market price for ivory fixed by the trade is 60,000 yen per kg (US\$ 435) although illegal ivory can be got for far less. The prices here have remained relatively unchanged between April 1996 and March 1998 as 58% of the wholesalers and 65% of the retailers surveyed agreed (JWCS 1998). In the Philippines, raw ivory was priced at 13,000 pesos per kg (US\$ 310) during a survey in 1998, showing a doubling in the last three months. Earlier the price was almost stable at 6500 pesos (US\$ 155) per kg (VR 1998).

In Thailand, prices varied greatly. An investigation carried out in 1997 in Chiang Mai province on the border with Myanmar showed prices reaching a high of US\$ 600-650 per kg in Tachilek while at Amphoe Mai Sai it reached 20,000 baht (US\$ 570) per kg (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). In Nakornsawan province which is a nerve centre of carving in Thailand, a survey found that prices had gone up over the last 30 years. While 30 years ago, ivory cost about 300 baht per kg it cost 14,000-20,000 baht (US\$ 400-570) in 1997 depending on the size and, curiously enough, the shape of the tusk (La-Ong and Jaisomkom 1997).

Field investigations in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Macao found that ivory prices varied hugely. In Hong Kong traders said that in the early 1990s the price was about US\$ 100 a kg but that it had currently shot up to over US\$ 200. Prices for Asian ivory seemed on the whole to vary from US\$ 150- US\$ 350 on an average (FI 1997). In the People's Republic of China, dealers in Guangzhou said that they were willing to trade at between US\$ 250-300 per kg for Asian ivory (VR 1998) although later they said that it would cost much higher.

What are the current prices for hankos and other worked items?



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A recent survey (JWCS 1998) put the price of ivory hankos as between 3500 (US\$ 25) yen and 80,000 yen (US\$ 580) depending on both grade and size (JWCS 1998).

Table II: Hanko prices in Japan, 1998

	Manufacturers to Wholesalers	Wholesalers To Retailers	Retail
	Price in yen and (US\$)	Price in yen and (US\$)	Price in yen and (US\$)
12 x 60 (Normal)	3500 (25)	4000 (29)	15,000 (108)
12 x 60 (Superior)	6500 (47)	7500 (54)	35,000 (254)
15 x 60 (Normal)	4200 (30)	5000 (36)	30,000 (217)
15 x 60 (Superior)	13,300 (96)	18,000 (130)	80,000 (580)

It is clear that there is approximately 30% value addition that the wholesaler brings into the trade while the retailer might add as much as 200-600 % to the prices (JWCS 1998). During an investigation in northern India in January 1998, traders claimed that they could get up to Rs. 55,000 (US\$ 1300) per kg on a worked article (a 300-500% increase).

In Sri Lanka simple carvings of little artistic merit were being sold by the kilo at SLR 35,000 (US\$ 580) per kg. It was, however, noted that the carving quality was very poor specially in comparison to the antiques found in the country. This general deterioration in the quality of carvings in Sri Lanka has been noted by others who have studied the trade (Martin and Martin 1990, Santiapillai 1997).

Is there a difference between the price of Asian and African ivory?

By and large, this study revealed that whenever equivalent samples of Asian and African ivory were compared, the price of African ivory was lower than that of Asian ivory. This price difference was, however, far from uniform.

Investigations in Macao in 1997 found African ivory prices to be as low as US\$ 100-150 per kg. The ivory which was specifically from Congo (hard ivory) was priced at US\$150-175. This particular trader did not trade in Asian ivory and did not know the price difference.

One of the largest ivory importers based in Tokyo said that normally Asian ivory is more expensive than African ivory by about 10%. However, he felt that this price difference may not be reflected currently because of the economic recession and the temporary fall in demand



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for ivory. He also felt that prices depend on the quantity of ivory being traded as well. If Asian ivory were available in a large quantity the price would not be very different from that of African ivory, but if available in a small quantity, the price might go higher.

Surprisingly, a survey in Japan found only 21% of retailers quoting a higher price for Asian ivory while 43% of them answered that African ivory was more expensive (JWCS 1998). However, this can be easily explained because of the small size of Asian tusks and the difficulty in getting large number of superior inzais from the small core (see Chapter on differences between Asian and African tusks). Even in the case of two Asian tusks, size plays a major role in the pricing. It was seen during an investigation in Thailand in 1997, that the larger the tusk, the higher was the price. While tusks weighing more than 20 kg were for 20,000 baht (US\$ 570) a kg, ones less than 10 kg were priced at as low as 600 baht (US\$ 17) a kg (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998). In Japan, China, Hong Kong and Macao traders quoted separate prices for 15-20 kg tusks and smaller tusks. Whenever negotiations were done for African ivory, the benchmark figure of tusk weight would go up given the fact that African tusks are heavier than Asian tusks. Any Asian tusk over 20 kg is highly priced in the market, also pointing to the increasingly smaller tusks that are in the international trade (FI 1998).

Is there a difference between pricing of legal and illegal ivory in Asian markets?

In Japan between 1969-1989, i.e. till the international ivory ban, prices were relatively stable at between 18,000-20,000 yen per kg (VR 1998). Between 1989 and 1991 the prices shot up, first to 40,000 yen, then to 80,000 yen before peaking at 180,000 yen per kg. (This was applicable for tusks that weighed 20-25 kg). It has since dropped regularly and today the Japanese ivory industry has fixed the price at 60,000 yen (US\$ 435) per kg. This should then be the current market price of ivory in Japan. However, the trade does not quite work that way. Soon after the international ban a large number of inzai blanks were smuggled into Japan but the bulk of smuggling, especially of raw ivory, took place between 1994 and 1997. This smuggled ivory is currently available at 20,000-25,000 yen (US\$ 145-180) per kg. A large importer of ivory based in Tokyo (VR 1998) felt that original costs may be as low as 6000-8000 yen (US\$ 43-58) per kg in Africa or parts of Asia. This might double to 8000-10,000 yen (US\$ 58-75) per kg at the exporter's level and transporters would charge double (as smuggling is risky) and sell it in Japan at 16,000-20,000 yen (US\$ 116-145) per kg.

All through the investigations in Japan (and indeed in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Macao) traders were very interested in smuggled ivory only for the reason that they felt it would be cheaper than ivory available legally. Smuggled inzai blanks of a dimension of 15mm x 60 mm are currently available at 950-1300 yen per piece while the normal cost of inzais made from legal ivory is 3000 yen per piece (VR 1998). A large dealer in Saitama prefecture told investigators that he was starved of ivory (although he had once employed several hundred workers) only because the monopoly of the trade by a few Tokyo and Osaka based traders had caused prices to rise and had also fixed an official trade rate (of 60,000 yen per kg) which was too high for him. He was keen to trade with the investigators if illegal ivory was offered at half or, even better, a third of that price.

How will these price differences affect the trade if the partial resumption of international trade takes place?



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JWCS (1998) feels that three major factors that would affect the pricing of Asian ivory in Japan are :

1. Asian ivory in zai and hanko maintain a specific status as special commodities in the retail market.
2. There is a shortage in supply of low-cost raw material or illegal ivory (as this is cheaper than legal ivory) and the market is in a state of 'functional disorder'.
3. The Asian ivory hanko in a 'standard' rank can compete with soft ivory hanko because of the price. This would mean that a resumption of trade could promote trade in this quality of Asian ivory because of a general raising of market demand. Sakamoto (1998) also feels that just as in the case of other general commodities, market demand is divided into two poles and one end of the spectrum would have a demand for the high-class hanko and would therefore seek high-quality Asian ivory hankos.

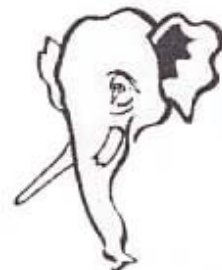
A critical component in the price analysis is the distinct difference in price between legal and illegal ivory. The Japanese ivory market has fixed legal prices that are beyond the reach of the common ivory trader and carver. This further reiterates the curious hold that a coterie of four to five traders have on the Japanese trade and indeed the management system. Since between them they have at least 30-50 tons of ivory (VR 1998), prices are largely dictated by them. It was generally felt by many carvers, dealers and importers in Tokyo, Saitama and Yamanashi that most of the African legal ivory would in fact be bought out by this small number of people who could afford the vastly inflated rates.

This would then cause a lack of raw material in the general Japanese market, forcing smaller operators to buy from the black or illegal market. Because of this, there is every possibility of a continued demand for illegal ivory despite a glut in the legal market. As Asian ivory can enter Japan only as illegal ivory, a link is inescapably made between the demand for illegal ivory and the well-being of the Asian elephant.

Another fallacy in the argument that legal ivory stocks will cause prices to fall and thus discourage poaching is the vast difference between prices at a poacher's level and that at a trader's. Prices would have to fall to such low levels in the legal market as to make it uneconomical for the actual poacher in the field. This is not likely to happen since poachers in both Africa and Asia get very little and will continue to supply the illegal trade even for very small margins.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ASIAN AND AFRICAN IVORY

An oft used argument to justify the flooding of the international market with legal ivory is the economic one that this would automatically discourage illegal ivory and therefore reduce poaching. It is assumed that as there would be easy availability of legal ivory at competitive prices and as the ivory market would be saturated, there would be a consequent decrease in demand. This argument has been refuted earlier in the report both by proving that the saturation of the ivory market would require very large quantities of ivory (which a non-renewable resource or at least a very slowly renewable resource such as the elephant cannot bear) and that the pricing structures would still allow illegal ivory to enter the market. A





third most crucial argument is presented in the following pages.

Does the trade distinguish between Asian and African ivory ?

It is commonly believed by many conservationists and those who subscribe to the demand and supply model of the ivory trade, that ivory is a monolithic commodity. This is despite the fact that it has long been recognised by the international ivory trade, especially by traders in the Far East, that two forms of ivory i.e. hard and soft ivory exist (Martin 1981, Nash ed. 1997). Hard ivory has been traditionally used for carving out superior qualities of hankos, shamisen (a musical instrument) plectrons and certain kinds of carvings (Milliken 1989, Menon et al. 1997). Soft ivory, on the other hand, is used for general purpose carvings and for manufacturing the normal or standard hanko. It has also been traditionally reported that African forest ivory and Asian ivory, both of which are considered by the trade to have a higher density than African savannah ivory, is hard ivory and that the latter is soft ivory (Martin 1981, Milliken 1989). Some others have labelled Asian ivory as soft ivory and clubbed it with the African savannah ivory.

An important finding of this study is that in Japan (the country that is to import the legal ivory, if sale is permitted), the ivory trade easily distinguishes Asian ivory from both hard and soft ivory which are terms applied only to African ivory. Asian ivory in fact occupies an intermediate position between hard and soft ivory and is known in the trade as togata. The term togata can mean 'from China' or more liberally 'from the east' which is interpreted by many traders as coming from Asian sources (JWCS 1998).

One of the biggest importers and dealers of ivory in Japan was interviewed in Tokyo on a number of occasions (AR 1997, AR 1998) by the project. He was certain that all three kinds of ivory (Asian, African hard and African soft) were distinguishable from one another. While he concurred that all dealers and retailers could not make out the difference, he demonstrated to the investigators the various differences based on which Table III has been formulated. A recent survey in Japan (JWCS 1998) found that all wholesalers surveyed were able to distinguish between hard and soft ivory while only 75% of the retailers were able to do so. Interestingly, as many as 14% of the retailers had never heard of the distinction. This further lends credence to the fact that the grading of ivory into hard, soft and Asian is largely at the wholesale or import levels and does not depend greatly on either the consumer or retailer having specific skills of distinction.

Soft ivory, according to this importer (AR 1998), comes from countries in East Africa such as Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Egypt, Sudan, Zambia and Mozambique. While geographically, some of these are considered north African countries, his interpretation seemed to be based on an east-west separation of the continent. According to him, the source of hard ivory was countries such as Congo, Zaire, Cameroon and Gabon. Semi-hard ivory comes from the Central African Republic. Asian ivory, on the other hand, is a completely different commodity which has the good qualities of both hard and soft ivory. While Asian ivory has the lustre of hard ivory it also has the malleability of soft ivory which aids carving. In Japanese, the soft ivory of the African elephant is called shiromono or white ivory because it is creamy-white in colour and hard ivory is called indo-khiba or Indian tusk. The hard ivory name, however, is a misnomer as it has nothing to do with Indian or Asian ivory. Asian ivory is called togata which means either ivory from the east or ivory from China. Interestingly, the forest elephants of Gabon have smaller and thicker ivory with rounded tips that resembles Asian ivory although technically it falls under the hard ivory category.



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The trade in Asian ivory is a specialist trade and one dealer met by the investigators deals almost entirely in this commodity. When interviewed by investigators (VR 1998) he distinguished between hard and soft ivory very easily. According to him, soft ivory comes from southern Africa, semi-hard ivory from central Africa and hard ivory from Congo and Zaire. This closely approximated and confirmed earlier reports. He also felt that Asian ivory approximates soft ivory as the Indian subcontinent was once linked geographically to southern Africa.

Colour was the basic criterion for distinction amongst the three types of ivory with soft ivory being yellowish, Asian ivory whitish and hard ivory pinkish (VR 1998). Patterns of ivory were also reportedly different from one tusk to the other, like human fingerprints. Other distinguishing characteristics included the fact that soft ivory has a thick skin as does Asian ivory. Hard ivory is shiny on the outside and so can be distinguished from duller soft ivory. Often soft ivory has more external cracks (because it is more dry) while ivory from moist places has less cracks. In general, Asian ivory has smaller number of cracks.

The following diagrams are illustrative of the differences between the three forms of ivory i.e. African savannah ivory (soft), African forest ivory (hard) and Asian ivory (togata). Table III also encapsulates the salient differences between the three types of ivory. It is to be emphasised that these differences are visual clues to the source of the ivory used by the majority of Japanese traders and are not scientifically verified. The investigators visited more than a dozen ivory carvers and dealers to get this information, including the second largest stockpile holder of Japan, the largest hanko manufacturer and two of the biggest carvers in the country. The findings are a combination of various tips and hints suggested by all of them and are presented in this manner for the first time ever.

TABLE III: TRADE BELIEFS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AFRICAN AND ASIAN IVORY (FULL TUSKS)

	AFRICAN-HARD	AFRICAN-SOFT	ASIAN
AVERAGE LENGTH	LONG	SHORTER	SHORTEST
SHAPE OF TIP	POINTED TIP	ROUNDED TIP	ROUNDED TIP
COLOUR OF EXTERIOR	DARK AND SHINY	LIGHT AND DULL	LIGHT AND DULL
TEXTURE OF EXTERIOR	LESS CRACKS	MORE CRACKS	SOME CRACKS
COLOUR OF INTERIOR	PINK	CREAM	PINK
SKIN IN CROSS SECTION	ROUGH PATTERNS	SMOOTH PATTERNS	SMOOTH PATTERNS
SHAPE OF NERVE ENDING	OVAL	ROUND	ROUND

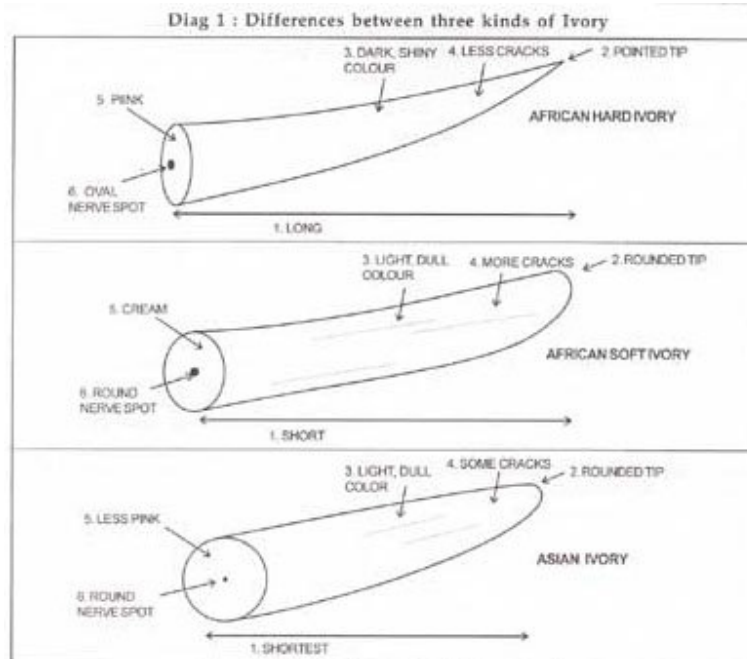
Preliminary investigations in China, Hong Kong and Thailand elicited a mixed response to the differentiation. Although traders did make a distinction, it seemed based more on their knowledge of the source of the ivory than on physical differences. In the Philippines, too, there was no differentiation between Asian and African ivory displayed by the carvers although some



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traders were able to differentiate between the two. More work is required in these countries to arrive at a definite conclusion on trade beliefs in these areas.



Is Asian ivory hard ivory?

As most earlier publications refer to Asian ivory as hard ivory, the need is felt to emphasise the fact that Asian ivory is distinct from African hard and soft ivory and is recognised by the trade as a separate commodity. Asian ivory is a curious intermediate of African hard and soft ivory. Although externally it looks very much like soft ivory, it has certain hard characteristics such as a pinkish interior and lesser cracks that allow it a special place in the Japanese carving industry. As hankos are mostly cored out from the centre of the tusk (see Diagram 1), the interior of the tusk is more important than the skin itself. As Asian ivory is harder than soft ivory but not as hard as forest ivory from Africa, it has an entirely unique position in the ivory trade.



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One reason that Asian ivory has been confused in the past with hard ivory could be the fact that hard ivory is known in the Japanese trade as 'Indo-khiba', implying that the source of the ivory is India.

Despite there being a general difficulty among dealers to differentiate Asian from African ivory it is clear from a recent survey (JWCS 1998) that those who deal exclusively or largely in Asian ivory do differentiate between the two.

Is there a difference between the three kinds of ivory even in hanko form?

A significant part of the investigation in Japan, both in 1997 and 1998, was spent handling different grades of hankos and inzais so as to be able to tell apart hard, soft and Asian ivory as also the various grades within each type. While experienced dealers and importers were able to do this grouping without any difficulty whatsoever, investigators found it very tough going. However, very crude distinctions could be made towards the end of the period of study. It is obviously possible with many years of experience to tell the three kinds of ivory apart in hanko form as also to grade them.

A hanko is manufactured by following a set procedure (see Diagram 2). Once a hanko is made it is almost immediately graded. A hanko is graded as excellent, superior, medium and normal in the retail markets. The most popular size for a hanko is 15 mm diameter as compared to 12 mm diameter. The length of all hankos is 60 mm (JWCS 1998).

In hankos, one way of judging good quality is to see that the colour of the hanko does not change easily with the sweat from the hands of a user and that it remains translucent and ivory coloured (Martin 1981). However, this is contradicted in the preference of the Taiwanese for blood ivory, which is ivory that readily absorbs the red ink used in hankos and eventually turns blood red in colour (Phipps and Chen 1997). Another more common way of grading is the one done during the course of manufacture, in which the following four grades are used :

Grade 1: Made from ivory taken from the core. The schreger lines are finest and most even. Only a few hankos can be got from one tusk.

Grade 2: Relatively from close to the core. Patterns are still even.

Grade 3: Further away from the core. Large and rough pattern.

Grade 4: From the outer part, roughest pattern, large number from a single tusk. Common for mail order sales.

Other than this there are special inkans or hankos such as the shin-mochi inkan which is a single piece hanko from a tusk with a very small nerve centre, the yokone shin-mochi inkan which has patterns on the side of the hanko rather than the top or the bottom and the yokome inzan which is similar to the yokone shin-mochi but has a nerve centre at the tip.

Given a choice between soft and hard ivory, the latter is preferred for manufacturing hankos. The largest dealer in Asian ivory said that he used hard ivory or Asian ivory for making hankos at least 90% of the time. This was the case because he dealt with high quality hand-carved



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hankos and not in cheap, mass-produced mail order hankos. Ivory from the three countries in southern Africa is soft. Therefore, he felt that only those who dealt in cheap, poor quality hankos on a large scale would benefit from the trade resumption in soft ivory.

A large hanko dealer in Kofu, one of the two hanko towns of Yamanashi prefecture, felt that

hard ivory was better for hanko manufacture as compared to soft ivory. Hard ivory has more lustre, and the longer hankos made of hard ivory are used, the more shiny they become from the fat from human hands. That is, the appearance gets better as time goes by. Soft ivory has no lustre, and hankos get dirty and dull with the fat from human hands after being used for a long time. In hankos, the less the texture (patterns), the better. Therefore, the core of hard ivory is the best and most expensive, and the part around the core is the second best. The outer part is not very good as patterns are most visible.

In usage, the dealer felt that although soft ivory is often used for hankos, hard ivory is shiny and has a transparency that when polished makes it look better and more expensive. Hard ivory with patterns (outer part) is lower in quality and might be as good or bad as soft ivory. Hard ivory does not bend easily and is used for chopsticks and shamisen plectrums. Ivory accessories, on the other hand, can be made from scrap and so it does not matter if it is hard or soft. Only larger accessories such as brooches cannot be made from scrap.

Is there a value or pricing difference between Asian and African ivory ?

The Japanese ivory industry has always maintained that the Asian or togata ivory is preferred and therefore more valuable in the trade (Martin 1981). Until 1925 which marked the end of the Taisho era, all Japanese ivory crafts were made of Asian ivory. JWCS (1998) feels that Asian ivory is on the ultimate wish list of Japanese people. During the current study several traders confirmed this belief. One of the largest hanko manufacturers and wholesalers (Appendix IV) said that Asian ivory was most certainly more valuable. The single largest importer of Asian ivory (VR 1998) was categorical that Asian ivory was more valuable, better to carve on and more expensive. He personally attributed the value to the fact that the ivory was so rare in the market in comparison to African hard or soft ivory. As soon as Asian ivory entered the Japanese markets, people like this trader were at hand to pick it up at almost any price. A recent survey (JWCS 1998) found that 80% of wholesalers did not deal in Asian ivory while 60% of retailers also answered in the negative. Only one wholesaler dealt with Asian ivory primarily (90% of his trade volume) while one-third of the dealers felt that their dealing was less than 10% of their total trade volumes. This would definitely indicate the rarity of Asian ivory in the Japanese market as well as the control that a few people have over most of the trade.

The largest importer in Tokyo felt that if Asian ivory and African ivory were offered at the same price, dealers would buy Asian ivory. He also felt (AR 1998) that for making carvings with shine and gloss or for making carvings that have to be coloured, hard ivory is preferred. Soft and Asian ivory has less lustre and is closer to human skin, so it is used for totally white carvings, which in Japanese is known as shiro-mo-no. The largest buyer of Asian ivory in Japan said that he used to buy Asian ivory and still prefers it as it is more traditional and also because it is rarer. When imports stopped, he could still buy Asian ivory from individual owners when the economy was bad and people wanted to sell their investments.



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Traders interviewed in Macao also said that they knew that Asian ivory was more valuable and that it did make good carvings (VR 1998). They were, however, not sure whether the Japanese preferred Asian ivory for hankos.

If the history of the Japanese ivory trade is studied it is clearly seen that India supplied most of the ivory to the country before World War I. Other Asian countries supplemented the demand but there was little or no import from Africa. African ivory was imported into Japanese markets as late as 1920, only after the demand for raw ivory in Japan outstripped all supply possibilities from Asia (Martin 1981, JWCS 1998). Even from Africa, the concentration of ivory supplies was from southern and eastern Africa which are today considered as countries of origin of soft ivory (Milliken 1989). This could have been due to the fact that these countries were earlier onto the international trade bandwagon as also perhaps due to the fact that forest elephants of western Africa have traditionally been harder to poach than in the savannahs. This glut of soft ivory in the markets forced many of the Japanese to move away from their preferred hard ivory or even more preferred togata ivory, to using soft ivory (JWCS 1998).

However, when prices are examined (see Chapter on prices) this value is not always reflected. Savannah ivory or soft ivory often can be as expensive or even more expensive than hard or togata ivory (Martin 1981, Nash 1997, JWCS 1998). When queried in a recent survey, 60% of the wholesalers in Japan replied that they used soft ivory more than half the time. But it is seen that retailers and manufacturers have larger stocks of hard ivory as these do not sell as fast as soft ivory and therefore remain in stock longer. In the Philippines, too, carvers seemed to prefer African ivory only based on the fact that it is bigger. Most of the Asian ivory seen in the country was small, old, and perhaps parts of tusks.

Here, the key factor is that both hard ivory from Africa and Asian ivory tend to be smaller in size as compared to savannah or soft ivory. This would mean that the core portion (which yields the highest grades of hanko) is correspondingly smaller and therefore only a few hankos of Grade I or II can be got from these. This is the reason that many traders and carvers prefer soft ivory when they buy whole tusks. Also, although the quality of individual tusks is considered better, the unit cost price of hanko is higher. The size of the tusk is therefore the key factor that controls pricing in the Japanese markets (JWCS 1998, Appendix IV). However, for equal quantities of hard, soft and togata ivory taken from near the core, the preference is clearly for togata, followed by African hard and lastly African soft ivory.

What is the impact of Asian ivory being clearly distinguished by the trade?

These differences between Asian and African ivory demonstrates that the two commodities are not comparable in an economic sense. The flooding of the market with one would therefore not necessarily reduce the demand for the other. Such an argument would, in a colloquial sense, be like comparing apples to oranges. Given this, it would be presumptuous to assume that flooding the Japanese (or indeed any other market) with soft ivory from the three southern African countries of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia would reduce the demand for Asian ivory. It would, in fact, increase the demand in two ways.

First, by giving the wrong signals to the international trade about the possible resumption of trade, it will encourage a currently falling demand to rise, as well as encourage selective stockpiling and consequent poaching. This will affect all populations of elephants as such poaching is often indiscriminate, although its effect on the Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*)



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would be far more disastrous than on the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) because of sheer population sizes.

Second, because of the clear distinction of Asian ivory, the flooding of the market with cheaper and larger amounts of soft ivory would not satiate the high end of the market which exclusively prefers Asian ivory. This demand which is not dependent on the proposed import of legal ivory is a constant which is unlikely to come down

The predicted increase in demand because of a combination of these two reasons could potentially have a disastrous impact on the species in question.

CONCLUSION

Two documents at the 10th COP to CITES dealt extensively and exclusively with the Asian elephant and the Asian trade in ivory (Menon et al. 1997, Nash ed. 1997). It is pertinent to examine the major conclusions of the two reports: Menon et al. (1997) concluded :

1. The elephant in India (more than half the world population) faced an immediate threat from poaching.
2. There was evidence of a sudden and steep increase in ivory prices and new trade routes emerging in Asia.
3. Immediate measures in anti-poaching, including intelligence gathering, were paramount in halting poaching and illegal trade in ivory in the region.

Nash ed. (1997) concluded that:

1. The ban (international trade ban) had stopped the legal, international, commercial ivory trade in Asia.
2. The domestic ivory trade continued in Asia.
3. There was insufficient information to fully assess domestic trade dynamics.
4. The signature-seal trade continued to be the driving force behind the ivory trade in Asia.
5. The trade in worked ivory products created special problems for effective monitoring and law enforcement.
6. Domestic trade controls were insufficient to identify and prevent illegal ivory from reaching consumer markets.
7. Domestic ivory trade controls needed to be reformulated in line with current trade dynamics in the industry.

In short, in June 1997, both the poaching situation in India (and parts of Asia) as well as the continuing concerns about enforcement in Asian trade markets were on record. So was the fact that the stoppage of international trade because of the CITES ban had a salutary effect on both elephant species. It was also known that the hanko or signature-seal trade was still a driving force in Asia to be contended with. Also, it is of paramount importance to note that the Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) is protected in all its 13 range states and international trade in its ivory was banned by CITES as early as in 1976 given its precarious condition in the wild. Eighteen months down the line, the following conclusions are being made with this as baseline information and keeping in mind the extenuating biological background of the species. With regard to the Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*):



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1. 1996-98 has seen a tremendous escalation in the poaching pressure on the Asian elephant with at least 253 elephants poached in India alone in a three-year period. The actual figure could be as high as two to three times this, if undetected carcasses and deliberate cover-ups are taken into consideration (Menon et al. 1997).
2. Outside India, poaching has also been reported in Myanmar (FI 1998), Thailand (Srikrachang and Jaisomkom 1998), Sri Lanka (Jayawardene pers. comm.) and Indonesia (Ramono pers. comm.). More than three quarters of the various populations of the Asian elephant are affected by poaching.
3. Fragmentation of habitat is a problem threatening all Asian forests and the elephant is particularly affected by fragmented habitat (Sukumar 1989). Poaching pressures are the last straw for most populations that are already fighting a multitude of threats.
4. As ivory poachers of the Asian elephants target only the males, the target population of the Asian elephants is far lower than the total population of 40,000-50,000. In India (which has a resident population of more than 50% of the global population), it is estimated that there could be as few as 1500 adult bull tuskers left. The fact that many of them are in isolated or small populations means that the effect of the removal of even a few bulls from a population could be extremely disastrous for the survival chances of that population.

With regard to the international, particularly Japanese, ivory trade:

1. Trade intelligence reports from within India indicated that traders were willing to stockpile ivory and in fact had started to do so as early as end 1996 and early 1997, expecting a partial re-opening of the trade in June 1997 (Menon et al. 1997). The trend continues to this day and prices in the subcontinent have nearly tripled in the course of a decade (Menon et al. 1997, Martin 1998). The price of ivory continues to rise in India even in 1998 as supplies are still lower than the demand.
2. Trade intelligence from Asian consumer countries indicates that Asian ivory is in demand and has a greater value than African ivory. The fact that Asian ivory is considered distinct and in some cases special as compared to both forms of African ivory would mean that a special demand for the tusks of *Elephas maximus* would continue to exist in the Japanese market and that this would not fall because of the presence of soft ivory in the market.
3. As illegal ivory is available at less than the official Japanese market prices, it would be safe to conclude that despite legal ivory being introduced into the market, there would be a demand for illegally procured and therefore cheaper ivory.
4. It has also been proven that the management system and the enforcement levels of Japan are neither adequate nor foolproof enough to prevent illegal transactions and monitor a legal trade. Both these are pre-requisites to the opening of the trade.
5. New smuggling routes into Japan, particularly through the Philippines, continue to develop and this is particularly worrying with regard to the possible smuggling into Japan of Asian ivory and its laundering.

Given these conclusions, this report recommends to the Standing Committee of the CITES in particular and the world conservation community in general that :

1. It is both unwise and potentially disastrous to permit the sale of ivory from the countries of Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe into Japan under Conference Resolution



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- 10.10 of the CITES. The Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) would be at grave risk were such a sale to take place.
2. If such a sale does take place, it is imperative that the enforcement agencies of both Asian range states for *Elephas maximus* and consumer countries take adequate enforcement and other measures to combat a potentially high poaching and smuggling problem.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

FULL TEXT OF CONFERENCE RESOLUTION 10.10

ADOPTED AT THE 10th COP TO THE CITES

Recalling Resolution Conf. 9.16, adopted by the Conference of the Parties at its ninth meeting (Fort Lauderdale, 1994) ;

Noting that the African Elephant *Loxodonta africana* was transferred from Appendix II to Appendix I at the seventh meeting of the Conference of the Parties (Lausanne, 1989) but some populations were transferred back to Appendix II, under certain conditions, at the 10th meeting (Harare, 1997).

THE CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONVENTION

Regarding definitions

Agrees that

- a) The term 'raw ivory' includes all whole elephant tusks, polished or unpolished and in any form whatsoever, and all elephant ivory in cut pieces, polished or unpolished and howsoever changed from its original form, except for 'worked ivory' and



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b) 'worked ivory' be considered readily recognizable and that this term shall cover all items made of ivory for jewellery, adornment, art, utility or musical instruments (but not including whole tusks in any form, except where the whole surface has been carved), provided that such items are clearly recognizable as such and in forms requiring no further carving, crafting or manufacture to effect their purpose;

Regarding marking

Recommends that whole tusks of any size, and cut pieces of ivory that are both 20 cm or more in length and one kilogram or more in weight, be marked by means of punch-dies or, where this is not practicable, with indelible ink, using the following formula : country of origin, two letter ISO code, serial no for the year in question/last two digits of the year and the weight in kilograms (eg : KE 127/9714). This number is to be placed at the 'lip mark', in the case of whole tusks, and highlighted with a flash of colour;

Regarding control of internal ivory trade

Recommends to those parties in whose jurisdiction there is an ivory carving industry that is not yet structured, organized or controlled and to those Parties designated as ivory importing countries, that comprehensive internal legislative, regulatory and enforcement measures be adopted to :

a) register or license all importers, manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers dealing in raw, semi-worked or worked ivory products; and

b) introduce recording and inspection procedures to enable the management authority and other appropriate government agencies to monitor the flow of ivory within the State, particularly by means of :

1) Compulsory trade controls over raw ivory ; and

2) A comprehensive and demonstrably effective reporting and enforcement system for worked ivory;

Regarding monitoring of illegal hunting of and trade in elephant specimens

Agrees that :

a) a comprehensive, international monitoring system shall be established under the supervision and direction of the Standing Committee with the objective of :



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- 1) measuring and recording current levels and trends of illegal hunting and trade in ivory in African and Asian range states, and in trade entrepots;
 - 2) assessing whether and to what extent observed trends are a result of changes in the listing of elephant populations in the CITES appendices and/or the resumption of legal international trade in ivory; and
 - 3) establishing an information base to support the making of decisions on appropriate remedial action in the event of any problems with compliance or potential detriment to the species; and
- b) this monitoring system shall be in accordance with the framework outlined in Annex 1 for monitoring of illegal trade in ivory and other elephant specimens and in Annex 2 for monitoring of illegal hunting in elephant range states;

Regarding assistance to elephant range states

Recommends that Parties assist range States to improve their capacity to manage and conserve their elephant populations through improved law enforcement, surveys and monitoring of wild populations;

Regarding quotas for and trade in raw ivory

Recommends that :

- a) each State that has a population of African elephants and wishes to authorise export quota for raw ivory expressed as a maximum number of tusks;
- b) each export quota be communicated to the CITES Secretariat in writing by 31 December for the next calendar year;
- c) Parties ensure that significant amounts of confiscated ivory are notified separately to the Secretariat and are not incorporated in quota submissions;
- d) The CITES Secretariat assist in the implementation of the quota system by :
reviewing information received about the status of the population in question;
discussing any concern with the relevant State; and, if there is no cause for concern, communicating the current data to the Parties not later than 31 January of each year;
- e) the Secretariat maintain its Ivory Trade Control Procedures Manual and that the Parties follow the procedures for quota submissions documented in this Manual;



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- f) if the quota is not submitted by the deadline, the State in question have a zero quota until such time as it communicates its quota in writing to the Secretariat and the Secretariat in turn notifies the Parties;
- g) No export, re-export or import of raw ivory be authorised unless it is marked in accordance with this Resolution or in accordance with the Secretariat Manual;
- h) Parties accept raw ivory from producer States only where the export permit was issued in a year for which a quota for the State in question has been communicated to the Parties in accordance with this resolution;
- i) Parties may accept raw ivory from a producer non-party State only if a quota for that State has been reviewed by the Secretariat and communicated to the Parties and if the Secretariat has received from the State an annual report on its ivory trade, and if the State meets all other conditions in this Resolutions and Article X of the Convention (as interpreted by Resolutions of the Conference of Parties);
- j) in compiling their annual reports, producer party and non-party States that have authorised the export of raw ivory relate such export to their quota for any given year, providing the Secretariat with as much relevant information as possible, including, as a minimum, the number of whole or substantially numbers;
- k) all Parties maintain an inventory of the stock or raw ivory held within their territory, and that they inform the Secretariat of the level of this stock each year before 31 January, indicating the source of the ivory; and
- l) Parties assist the Secretariat to ensure that the duties set out in this Resolution are carried out;

Regarding resources required for implementation of this resolution

Appeals to all government, non-governmental conservation organisations and other appropriate agencies to provide funds for the resources required in the Secretariat and producer States to ensure that the recommendations in this Resolution can be effectively implemented; and

Repeals Resolution Conf.9.16 (Fort Lauderdale, 1994) - Trade in African Elephant Ivory

Annex 1

Monitoring of illegal trade in ivory and other elephant specimens

1. Introduction



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In order to monitor and record levels of illegal trade in ivory and other elephant specimens on a global basis, there is a need for a system to collect and compile law enforcement data on seizures and confiscations. The Conference of the Parties recognises the Bad Ivory Database system (BIDS) established by TRAFFIC for this purpose in 1992. Currently, BIDS contains the details of more than 4000 ivory seizures, representing nearly 100 tonnes of ivory from nearly 40 countries around the world since 1989.

The Conference of the Parties further recognises that BIDS has been useful in assessing ivory trade developments since its eleventh meeting (Lausanne, 1989). The African Elephant Range State Dialogue Meeting (Dakar, 1996) agreed that illegal trade in ivory is a concern and improvements in enforcement and management capacity should be a priority for all African elephant range States. It also agreed that all CITES Parties should provide information about ivory seizures to TRAFFIC for inclusion in its database.

Although further development and refinement are necessary, BIDS is designated as the appropriate instrument for monitoring the pattern and measuring the scale of illegal trade in ivory and other elephant specimens.

2. Scope

BIDS will include the details of law enforcement records for seizures or confiscations of elephant ivory and other elephant specimens which have occurred anywhere in the world since 1989.

3. Methods

Data and information on illegal trade in elephant ivory and other elephant specimens will be collected by TRAFFIC using a refined version of the existing BIDS. In this regard, a standardised methodology for the collection of data will be developed, including, but not limited to, information on:

source of information

date of seizure

type of transaction

country of seizure



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country of origin
country of export
country of destination/import
type of ivory and quantity
mode of transport
modus operandi
profile of offenders/suspects
status of cases in the courts
law enforcement effort.

A data collection format will be designed by TRAFFIC and circulated to all Parties by the CITES Secretariat within 90 days of this Resolution taking effect.

4. Data Collection and Compilation

BIDS will be managed and co-ordinated by TRAFFIC from an appropriate location in Africa.

All Parties should provide information on seizures and confiscations of ivory or other elephant specimens in the prescribed format to TRAFFIC within 90 days of their occurrence. In addition law enforcement agencies in States not-party are also requested to provide such information.

TRAFFIC will oversee collection of data, ensure data quality and consistency, and provide training in data collection and information management techniques to designated officials around the world as appropriate.

5. Data analysis and interpretation

The analysis and interpretation of data will be co-ordinated by TRAFFIC in association with the CITES Secretariat and institutions involved with monitoring elephant



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poaching (See Annex 2).

6. Reporting

TRAFFIC will produce a comprehensive report to each meeting of the Conference of the Parties.

7. Intersessional remedial action

In the event that there is a need for urgent intersessional action, TRAFFIC will report to the Standing Committee via the Secretariat as appropriate.

8. Funding

A funding mechanism will be established to ensure that BIDS is fully operational.

Annex 2

Monitoring of illegal hunting in Elephant Range States

1. Introduction

In order to address the concerns of many elephant range States, it is necessary to establish a system through which the impact of CITES decisions with respect to elephants and trade in elephant specimens can be measured. Of primary importance is the establishment of a simple system of international reporting of incidents of illegal hunting as a baseline against which changes in trends can be detected.

It is recognised that such measurement must consist of two elements. The first of these is the monitoring of parameters relevant to the issue, such as the pattern and scale of illegal killing, the pattern and scale of illegal trade in ivory, the effort and resources being applied to detection and/or prevention and the monetary value of illegally traded ivory, as well as other factors that might affect these parameters, such as civil strife, the flow of illegal arms and ammunition, loss of habitat and drought.



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The second element is the determination of whether or not there is a causal relationship between changes in these parameters and the decisions of the Conference of the Parties with regard to elephants.

The overall aim is to build institutional capacity within the range States for the long term management of their elephant populations.

2. Scope and methodology

The monitoring system will include elephant range States in both Africa and Asia trade entrepôts.

It will be based on a standardised methodology for the reporting of illegal hunting by CITES Management Authorities in range States and for monitoring in specific sites or areas. A database and a standard reporting protocol will be established by the CITES Secretariat in consultation with IUCN/SSC and TRAFFIC, for approval by the Standing Committee.

Sites will be selected on the basis of representative sampling (since it is neither possible nor practical to cover all range States) and will include a variety of habitat types, geographical regions and protected and non-protected areas. The sites for inclusion in the system will be selected through the range State representation within the IUCN/SSC African Elephant Specialist Group (AfESG) and Asian Elephant Specialist Group (AsESG)

For countries wishing to include in the monitoring system sites other than the selected ones, it will be possible and desirable to contribute data voluntarily on additional sites.

3. Data collection and compilation

Data collection will cover the following topics:

Elephant population data/trends

incidence and patterns of illegal hunting

measures of effort and resources employed in detection and prevention of illegal hunting and trade.

Data and information on illegal trade in ivory will be collected by TRAFFIC using a refined version of their existing BIDS (Bad Ivory Database System) (See Annex 1)



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The CITES Secretariat will request/sub-contract technical support from AfESG and AsESG to :

- a) select sites for monitoring as representative samples;
- b) develop a standardised methodology for data collection analysis;
- c) provide training to designated officials in countries with selected sites and to CITES Management Authorities of elephant range States;
- d) collate and process all data information from all sources identified;
- e) provide a report to CITES Secretariat for transmission to the Standing Committee and Parties to CITES.

4. Funding

Substantial funding will be required for the above activities.

APPENDIX II

RESOLUTION OF THE AsESG WORKING GROUP MEETING

The IUCN/SSC Asian Elephant Specialist Group held a working group meeting on 'Monitoring poaching of Asian elephants and the ivory trade' at Bangalore, India on 21 and 22 October, 1997. This working group deliberated in detail on the proposed MIKE (Monitoring Illegal Killing of Elephants) and ETIS (Elephant Trade Information System) Systems and made the following observations :

Both MIKE and ETIS owe their genesis to the CITES COP 10 decision to downlist three populations of African elephant from Appendix I to II and the proposed one time sale of ivory to a single buyer country. ICUN/SSC and TRAFFIC were called upon by the Parties to CITES to recommend monitoring systems for illegal killing of elephants and trade in elephant products.

The original mandate was to set up systems that include analytical tools for determining the effect of CITES decisions and resolutions on wild elephant populations in Africa and Asia, including trends in ivory poaching.



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The proposed systems are not in any position to establish this link or disprove it either by the February 1999 Standing Committee meeting or the April 2000 CITES COP 11. This has been recognised earlier at the joint ICUN/SSC and TRAFFIC workshop held at Nairobi in December 1997, and in the present working group meeting of the Asian Elephant Specialist Group. It remains to be seen if statistical analyses could establish causality in elephant population trends even over the five year term proposed for the system.

The working group also recognised that a beginning has to be made in monitoring Asian Elephant populations, and thus several countries for which no objective data exist are likely to indirectly benefit from contributing to the MIKE and ETIS systems. Taking all these aspects into consideration this working group submits the following resolutions :

Given the fact that only 15 sites spread across Asia are proposed to be monitored by MIKE, and that quality is likely to be intrinsically very poor in at least half these sites, the power of the model to detect any changes in illegal killings of elephants is low. The MIKE and the ETIS systems be therefore essentially considered long term monitoring mechanisms which may not be relevant to the CITES decision making processed in the short term. In particular, it is unlikely that any clear patterns will emerge as to trends in the conservation status of the Asian elephant across its continental range in the short term.

The standing Committee and the COP must use the precautionary principle wherever applicable to the conservation of the species as regards the Asian elephant. Decisions and resolutions pertaining to the two elephant species must therefore not be guided solely by any possible lack of scientific clarity on these issues. The Standing Committee and the COP to CITES are therefore urged to exercise great caution in the decision making process, especially as these may have a bearing on the conservation of Asian elephant populations.

APPENDIX III

Interview with a major ivory dealer and carvers, Manila and Naga City

The Philippines

8 August 1998

Excerpts from the interview involving a dealer (2) and two investigators (1 and 3)

1. Are you from Bikol ?
2. Bikol.



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1....So you buy all the ivory from other people ?

2. No no no. only I am supplying them

1. You are supplying them ?

2.Hmm. different carvers

1.Bbut these people. They come to Manila?

2.No no they just work

1.No. The people you buy..

2.Ah ! From Mindanao

1.How much you buy for..just for interest because I come originally from India, I have seen many ivory there but I don't know how much the price is ?

2.The price here is 6500 per kilo

1.Per kilo?

2.Per kilo

1.Per kilo

2.120 dollars

1.150 dollars

2.150

1.And same price for African and Asian?

2.No no no different price

The Asian ivory is mostly less

1.How much ?

2 Hah the small one 3500....

1.Can..can he make out Asian and African?



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Tagalog language

2. Ivory of Asian?

1. When he puts his tool to it, he knows ivory African or Asian ?

2. No he does not. only he knows... only person who buys know, only the person who gives money knows.

laughter

1. Would you say which is the African ?

2. Ah! this is African

1. This is African ?

2. Also this is African ivory but this is old stock

1. Oh this is African...

1. This much difference in colour you will never find in Asian.

2. In Asian you won't find the core, this colour very smooth

1. When did you buy this ?

2. When?

1. Pardon

2. Ah! about three months

1. Three months.....

2. That's why we are not buying any more ivory. the price now, the price at present..
13500

1. 13500

2. 13

1. 1-3

2. 13000 peso for one kg



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1. But you just said 6000

2. No before just two months ago

3. ah hah ah aha

1. No because it is high

3. Double

2. That is because dollar rate. Yah peso drops

1. 13000 is how much ?

2. 300

1. So now the price is 300 dollar a kilo

2. 13000 peso. yes

1. It is 300 dollar. For African?

2. For African

1. That is very expensive

2. Yar very expensive

1. If I give Asian ivory in Dubai can you get it into Philippines? In Dubai I can give you half price

2. Of 300?

1. My company in Dubai can give at 150-200... But of course we can't get it into the Philippines

3. You know method ?

1. We give you at that price, carve and give back, ok?

2. It is very hard to find ivory here. it is only Muslim, eh, Muslim businessman

sometimes.. sometimes he bring many but sometimes he brings a few pieces

1. In kilo ?



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2. You cannot buy more than 100 kilos

1. A hundred kilos?

2. You cannot buy more than 100 kilos. You can buy 10 kilos, 15 kilos, a maximum of 30 kilos....

3. we need consistency

1. Difficult?

2. Only the supply is very difficult

1...your business who you buy from?

2. Muslim

1. Yes Muslim or whoever, you know his name?

2. No they are Muslim businessman

1. But you know him?

2. I know him

1. You can tell him to buy from me in Dubai, Dubai full of Muslims eh?

2. Yar yar

1...but when they bring it here, it is illegal?

2. That is Muslims headache.

1. So you say it is possible?

2. Possible.....

1. We have to talk to the Muslim traders...

(In Bikol)

2. I think you are looking for carver only, that's why I brought you here

1. Carver yes, to see quality, but if carver does not have any ivory



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2. There are other carvers there..

1. Ok, well see

3. Really

2. Because the other carvers they are working in Manila. That's why when they are here they have no ivory

3. Ahaah

1. Are Muslim trader based in Manila or in Mindanao ?

Spreads his hands, they are all around

2. Because they are merchant

1. But where is place?

2. One place in Mindanao maybe more

1.....So therefore I need to talk to your Muslim

2. Hmm

1. If you have ivory I don't want your Muslim trader, I want only carver

2. Yes

1. But you don't have ivory

2. So maybe of ivory that comes into Philippines only some part is kept in Philippines

1. Maybe other part goes to Japan as raw ivory. Is it true ?

2. Yes, there is something like that

1. Maybe Muslim bring large amount and gives only little amount to you

2. Yes...maybe most of it goes...

1. Goes from the northern part?

2. ...Goes to Japan. Japan or HK. Because HK is very near Philippines

1. But you don't know which part of Philippines this transaction takes place?



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2. I cant tell that.....

1. If you know name of Muslim people then we can contact

2. I am going to get name

1. So if you can contact very good. and then if you cant, you give us name and we will contact them. In Manila or Mindanao ,no problem.

2. No I only contact them in the Manila area. If they have ivory. there is a supplier of ivory

1. Are they have office? Are they.. do they have office?

2. No... they are (laughs) are smugglers. Maybe they buy from Africa and then Mindanao, ...bring it here

1. Where in Africa which country?

2. No they did not..they only say Africa

1. Not country?

2. No

Music

2. sometimes from Malaysia

1. They take it there and bring it here?

2. Muslim being Muslim. Filipino Muslim

1. But they must be using ship to bring?

2. Yes ship.

1. Not air

2. Not air. Malaysia. Malaysia is very near Philippines. Brunei, Sabah

1. Brought to Mindanao ?

2. From Mindanao, here.



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1. But you don't need big ship, also small boat.
2. Maybe they use only the small boat. They go from Palawan going to Sabah in small boat, only one hour they make it.
1. One hour?
2. One hour. Its very near
3. Palawan
2. Palawan
3. Really. But Sabah is the....
2. Yah
3. But Sabah is the opposite side from the Philippines
2. Sabah is the east side no west side .west side of Borneo
3. Wwest side of Borneo
1. Wwhich part of Palawan?
- Carver comes in
2. My compadre
- Points to map
2. This, this very near, only hours
1. So where in Palawan they make base ? They must be making somewhere.
- 2 You know Filipino Muslim they really know how to travel.
- Laughter
- Again points to map
2. This part, its very near
1. Maybe to Japan also it is very near



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2. No, no, to Taiwan. This is Philippines, this is already Taiwan.

1. Japan also not very far.

2. Ah ! that is this side

1 .Yes, also possible to go by small boat, eh ?

2. Maybe ... maybe it will take couple of days.

APPENDIX IV

Interview with a major ivory hanko dealer, Koshindo, Rokugo-cho,

Yamanashi Prefecture, Japan

9 September 1998

Excerpts from the interview involving a dealer (A) and two investigators (B and C)

B: This is Mr C. He came to Japan about two weeks ago to visit various (ivory-related) places...

A: Just recently somebody came and offered Indian ivory, we call it 'togata', saying there were thousands of tusks.

B: Did you buy it?

A: No, I can't do so yet.

B: Is that so? But thousands of tusks. Have they been brought over here already?

A: They are in India.

B: He has been offered Indian ivory, togata...it is thousands of ivory...Have you seen the ivory already?

A: He said, 'The ivory is in India, would you like to buy it?'

B: Is he Indian...?



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A: No, Japanese...

C: How much ivory is it?

B: Quantity? How much is the quantity of the ivory?

A: He said there were five thousand tusks.

B: He said five thousand.

C: Five thousand ?

B: Five thousand tusks.

C: H'mm?

B: Five thousand tusks.

C: Tusks or kilo?

A: So, I assume it's around three tons.

B: Probably three tons.

C: Three tons...but three tons ivory in India, or already in Japan?

B: Is it still in India?

A: Still in India.

B: It's still in India.

C: Still in India.

A: Where is your ivory, in India?

B: Where is your ivory?

C: Ya, in India. But this three tons ivory, what price was offered?

B: How much did he ask to buy it for?

A: Asked me?

B: That Indian...



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A: No, the price has not been decided. The price is not yet...

B: So, they haven't negotiated the price yet.

A: No price...

B: Is Asian ivory really good?

A: No, African ivory is the best.

B: African ivory is the best. So here he is saying that African ivory is better.

C: Better? For hanko?

A: Big tusks.

C: It's big...

A: Small ones cannot produce a lot.

B: Because Asian ivory is very small...

C: But other people I met certainly said that togata ivory is better, togata is better quality.

B: Having visited different people, he has been told that togata is better quality.

A: The quality is good, good stuff, but the unit cost, price, is higher.

B: I see, it becomes higher, price per tusk...(unclear).

A: It's for inzai. Then the prices (of hanko) get higher.

B: So, the quality is better but they cannot process...from one tusk...(unclear).

C: He has dealt...(unclear)...does he have any samples that he can show me?

B: Have you used Indian...Asian ivory tusks in the past?

A: Yes I have.

B: You have. He is asking whether you have some samples of Asian ivory products.

A: There is no sample any more.



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B: He hasn't got samples...

A: How much is Indian ivory now? How much do you want to sell it for?

B: How much is this ivory...(unclear)?

C: Ya, no, no. I am trying to find the price in Japan...We know that the industry price is 60,000...but...

B: One of the purposes he came to Japan is to know what price he can put on his ivory. According to...your company --- is probably the largest hanko wholesaler, and you will know the price...We heard that the industry price is now 60,000 yen, 60,000 yen per kilo.

A: Now? Now we buy for 45,000.

B: You mean, togata ivory...?

A: African.

B: You mean the price you pay? He buys ivory for 45,000 now.

C: 45,000.

B: Per kilo. Now.

C: African ivory?

B: Yes.

A: Large tusks are 55,000.

B: Huge tusks can be 55,000 per kilo.

A: 25 kg ones.

B: 25 kg tusk.

C: 25 kg.

B: We were told that the industry price is 60,000, but it's cheaper than that...

A: 60,000 is no good.

B: Cannot be sold for that price?



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A: Nobody would buy. Where, who was it you were told who wants to sell ivory for that price...?

A: Today we are consuming ivory most.

B: Using ivory most in Japan. He uses most ivory in Japan now. For hanko?

A: Yes.

B: How about carving?

A: We do carvings also.

B: I see, you deal in carvings as well. He does both hanko and carvings.

C: Carving also?

B: Carving also.

C: For carving definitely, Asian ivory, Indian ivory is better?

B: For carving, Asian ivory is better...(unclear).

C: H'mm. Tell him this is only a first trip and this is not that we have decided to...just trying to...(unclear).

A: Indian ivory is good, but the cost comes out to be higher.

K: Indian ivory is...but the cost is really high...(unclear).

A: Cost, unit cost becomes higher.

B: His trip to Japan this time is merely for a kind of preliminary research, because, although he has ivory, he has not decided what to do with it, he says.

C: How much ivory does he use?

B: A year? How much ivory do you use a year?

A: We? Up to recently we have used one ton a month.

B: One ton a month. And today?

A: Today we don't use that much.



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B: When do you mean by 'up to recently'?

A: Until the Washington Treaty.

B: That is....?

A: Up until about ten years ago.

B: After that you started consuming less and less....

A: Yes, 300 kg (per month), probably about four tons a year.

B: Till the Washington Treaty, CITES, they used to use one ton a month, but since then they probably four tons a year....

C: Does he have any dealings outside Japan? For example ...(unclear) in Dubai?

B: Do you already have any means of business outside Japan? For example, their office is in Dubai of UAE, and if they want to ship ivory from there, whether they have to do...(unclear), or otherwise, if there is already some...(unclear), he wants to get his ivory on it....

A: No, no, nothing. We don't have...(unclear).

B: (unclear)...

A: You get certificate of origin from India, right?

B: So you have certificates of origin?

C: For India?

B: For India.

C: There is no certificate for this. In India it is banned since long time.

B: No, they don't get such certificate, because Indian ivory has been banned since a long time ago.

C: In 1979 it was banned.

B: Since 1979...it has been banned, so if they try to trade in ivory, they cannot get certificate of origin.....

A: Then you get certificate from Dubai.



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B: You need certain certificate from Dubai...(unclear).

C: Yes, certificate from Dubai, yes, we need that. For Japan, you cannot import now, so obviously getting into Japan is a different matter.

B: Even if they get certificate for the ivory in Dubai, it is legally impossible to bring it to Japan....

A: Because of the MITI.

B: It's regulation from MITI.

C: So how does he propose? If I offered ivory...(unclear).

B: (unclear)...If he offers his Asian ivory, well, though you said you have been offered five thousand tusks already, will you be interested in buying it?

A: Yes.

B: He is interested in...

C: H'mm.

B: You said it depends on the way of the business, but specifically how...well, he wants some advice....

A: Advice? (Answering the phone) Yes? I am coming, today, I think of coming at eleven. OK. (Coming back to his seat) There used to be...(unclear) by smuggling, but smuggling is not good.

B: ...(unclear) There used to be a lot of smuggling, but probably smuggling nowadays is not good...(unclear/interrupted)...

A: Can you bring your ivory into Japan?

B: Is it possible for you to bring the ivory into Japan?

C: Tell me, tell me how.

B: That's what he is researching in Japan now...So far he doesn't have any, but if that kind of thing is actually happening already, he wants advice on how to do it from Japanese dealers. Well, the purpose of this visit was to know from whether there is demand at all in Japan...

A: There is demand.



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B: There is, yes. Well, I think he also knows that as he has talked to several people so far. So there is demand, but...how to, how you bring it.

C: So I'm asking him for advice.

B: He is asking you, yourself.

C: H'mm.

B: So, you asked whether he has means to bring it here...but he is asking that, too...

C: I'm, I'm very frank...Japan, I am not an expert...Japan, and I do not attempt to do something which I don't know well. So I will either ask him for advice or I'll have to find another middleman who'll do it for me. 'Cause I'm not...I am good between India and Dubai, I'm not good in Japan, so...

B: Whether he gets advice from Japanese...(unclear)...or whether he has to find a middleman himself...As he can do only between India and Dubai. However, as there used to be some routes of African ivory through Dubai to Japan in the past, he wonders whether he can get on the same routes...

A: If you go to Dubai, then somebody in Dubai can do it.

B: So, if you are in Dubai, then you can ask somebody in Dubai.

C: Yes, I can. But if he knows...it's easier...(unclear/interrupted).

A: They can use some Dubai route.

B: Dubai route.

C: The lesser people involved, the better. Yes, I can find somebody.

A: We cannot do smuggling this year, you know, smuggling is something you shouldn't do. You shouldn't do bad things. The ban will be lifted next year, right?

B: --- told us.

A: It's not --- but the government's decision. The ban under the Washington Treaty will be lifted at the end of this year. Then, October, November, December...in three and a half months, in about four months, the ban will be over.

B: Then after that you can do freely...

A: Then, you need to put certificate of origin for the ivory, so if you go to Dubai, Dubai dealers can do it.



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B: Need to put certificate of origin, OK. This year they can't do any trade, including smuggling. But next year ivory trade will be opened, so then maybe they can start doing something, but for that you have to have certificate of origin from Dubai.

C: Ya, that is possible. Possible.

B: It is possible to get certificate of origin there, in Dubai.

A: Yes, you can forge such things as much as you want.

B: In Dubai it's maybe easy to make...what do you say?...fake ones.

C: That's simple. No problem.

B: He says that's no problem...

C: But as far as I heard about the...(interrupted).

A: You will get invitation invoice. Invitation.

B: Invitation...?

A: Invoice.

B: Invoice.

C: Hn? Invitation invoice, ya.

A: Dubai...

B: Of Dubai...

C: Invoice can be made. Invoice is no problem, no problem.

B: That is no problem.

A: So, if you bring it to Dubai, Dubai dealers will bring it together, to Japan.

B: If you can bring your ivory to Dubai, then Dubai traders can bring that ivory to Japan.

C: Has he dealt with any Dubai trader whom he trusts?

A: In Africa also they are not knowing what to do with so much ivory now. There is so much.



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B: Then a lot of ivory will be gathering there.

A: They are in trouble as there is so much. I hear it's 8,000 yen per kilo now.

B: 8,000 yen, now.

A: Yes, in Africa.

B: There is too much ivory in Africa...(unclear)...they want to sell ivory...(unclear). In Africa the price is 8000 per kilo, now.

C: Possible...

B: From your experience, what is the easiest, or the best route to bring ivory into Japan? His company is based in Dubai, but it is possible from HK, and from the Philippines also...

A: The Philippines? In the Philippines also, there is a lot of ivory.

B: Now? There is a lot of ivory in the Philippines now...(unclear).

C: But which is the easiest?...(unclear).

B: From where do you think it is the easiest to bring it in?

A: Well...I wonder where.

B: ...(unclear)

C: No, that's...that's why I asked. Whether he will...I should have my own middleman or ...(unclear). That's why I said, will you...(unclear)...somebody in Dubai.

B: Directly?

C: Directly.

B: If they bring the ivory into Dubai, and if you are interested in buying it, is it possible to bring it here directly from there? Or is it absolutely necessary...to have...(unclear)...a middleman?

C: So that I can give him a lower price.

B: The less people involved, the lower price they can offer.

A: But in the end, I think you can't do that.



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B: ...(unclear)...Possible to bring the ivory into Japan.

C: OK, so then I have to... (unclear)...in Dubai. That's it.

A: If you can bring it here, then there will be benefit to both of us.

B: Only if you bring the ivory in Japan, then, you know you could...(unclear)...business with each other.

C: And there is no middleman he can trust...(unclear)? I have not dealt in ivory in Japan before, so I will find a new person if he has...(unclear).

B: He has never had business in Japan in terms of ivory, so he will have to find a middleman himself if he start the business from now on, but if you have already some reliable...(unclear).

A: It might be better to talk to some Japanese dealer. Ah, but no, in the case of India. Then...

B: You mean Japanese dealers, like ---?

A: Better via HK / Singapore.

B: Then there he should find somebody, or...you know anybody there...

A: Today people are not dealing with ivory, for over ten years.

B: You have to go through HK or Singapore...(interrupted).

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APPENDIX V

DETAILS OF JAIPUR IVORY SEIZURE IN WHICH IVORY HANKOS WERE SEIZED

SL. NO.	POLICE STATION	CASE NO., DATE AND SECTIONS	PLACE & DATE OF SEIZURE	SEIZURE DETAILS
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SIGNED AND SEALED

WPSI

1	SAUDALA	301, DATED 30/8/98, UNDER SECTION 39C, 40, 44, 49B,51 OF WPA	HOUSE NO. 50, GAYATRI NAGAR P.S. SAUDALA DATED 30/8/98	IVORY PLATES, PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES, SCRAP ETC TOTAL WEIGHT 108.1 KG
2	SAUDALA	304, DATED 3/9/98, UNDER SECTION 39C, 40, 44, 49B,51 OF WPA	HOUSE NO. C23, SATYA MARG, NANDPURI, P.S. SAUDALA DATED 2/9/98	IVORY PLATES, PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES, HANKOS SCRAP ETC TOTAL WEIGHT 257.749 KG
3	SHYAM NAGAR	151, DATED 30/8/98, UNDER SECTION 39C, 40, 44, 49B,51 OF WPA	HOUSE NO. 6 GANESH VIHAR RAIL NAGAR P.S SHYAM NAGAR, DATED 30/8/98	IVORY PLATES, PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES, SCRAP ETC TOTAL WEIGHT 75.625 KG
4	JHOTVADA	383, DATED 2/9/98, UNDER SECTION 39C, 40, 44, 49B,51 OF WPA	HOUSE NO.113B SRI RAMNAGAR JHOTVADA DATED 2/9/98	IVORY SCULPTURES, OTHER HANDICRAFTS, SCRAP, POWDER ETC TOTAL WEIGHT 90.850 KG
5	JHOTVADA	384, DATED 2/9/98, UNDER	SHOP OF POORNALAL	IVORY POWDER TOTAL WEIGHT



SIGNED AND SEALED

WPSI

		SECTION 39C, 40, 44, 49B,51 OF WPA AND SECTION 3/25 OF ARMS ACT.	S/O LATE SHANKER LAL, BEHIND TEJAJI MANDIR,SHILPA COLONY DATED 30/8/98	3.950 KG AND ILLEGAL COUNTRY MADE .32 BORE REVOLVER
6	KOTWALI	486, DATED 30/8/98, UNDER SECTION 39C, 40, 44, 49B,51 OF WPA	HOUSE NO. 1733 AMBANATH STREET, BHAIRONJI KA CHURAHA,KHAIJURON KA RASTA JAIPUR	IVORY PLATES, SCULPTURES, ETC TOTAL WEIGHT 24.960 KG