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COMMERCIAL SALES

BEFORE THE Cold War, the countries of Latin America generally satisfied their requirements for military equipment through indigenous production and purchases on the international arms market. When, in the 1950s, grant military assistance became available from the United States and the Soviet Union, most of these countries took what they could from the superpowers; most, however, continued to procure at least some weapons from other suppliers through normal commercial channels. Indeed, many of these governments believed that such purchases were necessary in order to avoid becoming overly dependent on one of the superpowers for their military needs, thereby jeopardizing their political autonomy. In addition, several of these countries were barred from receiving U.S. military aid in the 1970s and 1980s because of human rights considerations. By 1990, moreover, the grant aid programs of the superpowers had largely disappeared (except for those related to anti-narcotics efforts), and so the Latin American nations had no choice but to shop on the international market for all military supplies not produced locally. Commercial sales have, therefore, played a key role in arming the Latin American militaries throughout the recent past.

For much of this period, European countries—especially Germany, France, and Britain—supplied the bulk of the light weapons transferred to Latin America through commercial channels. These countries provided most of the military missions introduced into the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to assist in the modernization of Latin American military forces and, in the process, stimulated a desire on the part of these forces to possess modern weapons of European design. This preference for European weapons continued well into the 1930s but was blunted somewhat by the great prestige enjoyed by American weapons during and after World War II. Even at the height of the Cold War, however, many Latin American countries continued to shop in Europe for at least some of their military supplies, and this remains the case today.

Even when Washington was supplying Latin American governments with grants of military equipment, private firms in the United States continued to supply arms to

customers in Latin America through normal trade channels. Such exports, known in Washington as Direct Commercial Sales (DCS), constituted a major source of small arms and light weapons to Latin American countries during this period. Now, with the Cold War over, such sales are the principal channel for U.S. transfers of light weapons to the region. By the same token, many of the newly privatized firms in the former Soviet Union seek to employ normal commercial channels in selling weapons to countries in Latin America and other Third World areas.

Today, many countries sell arms to Latin America through commercial channels. Although not a major market for heavy weapons, Latin America does generate a significant demand for small arms and light weapons. Unfortunately, none of the published statistical sources on the arms trade provides any disaggregated data on commercial sales of light weapons to the region. It is possible, however, to construct a rough estimate of this flow by using a number of sources in tandem.

According to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the total value of all arms transfers to Latin America in 1991-1993, from all suppliers, was \$2.5 billion.¹ Subtracting Soviet transfers to Cuba and Nicaragua during this period (all of which can be assumed to fall into the category of military assistance), along with U.S. government transfers under the Foreign Military Sales program, yields a figure of \$1.3 billion, representing commercial sales of *all* weapons types to the region. The ACDA has further estimated that small arms and ammunition comprise approximately 13 percent of the value of all international arms transfers²; when applied to the \$1.3 billion in transfers to Latin America, this generates a figure of \$170 million for small arms deliveries to the region in 1991-1993. Assuming that machine guns, recoilless rifles, mortars, and other light infantry weapons comprise an additional 12-13 percent of all arms transfers, this would raise this figure to about \$325 million—or, to make a conservative estimate, about \$100 million per year. While it is impossible to verify this figure, common sense and the available data suggest that it is approximately correct.

The sales that fall into this category are normally conducted by private arms firms or by state-owned enterprises that operate as if they were private firms (in the sense that they are driven largely by economic rather than foreign policy considerations). The recipients in such transactions can include government agencies, corporate entities (such as private security firms or large corporations that maintain their own security forces), and private arms

Table 4.1

Selected Firearms in the Inventories of Latin American Militaries

(x = weapon is believed to be in the inventory of the armed forces of the country indicated)

	Sterling L2, Mk4 submach. gun (UK)	Uzi sub-machine gun (Israel)	FN FAL rifle (Belgium)	H&K G3 rifle (Germany)	AK47, AKM rifle (USSR)	M16, AR-15 rifle (USA)	FN MAG machine gun (Belgium)
Argentina	x	x	x				x
Belize	x		x			x	x
Bolivia		x	x	x		x	x
Brazil			x			x	x
Chile		x	x	x		x	x
Colombia		x	x	x			x
Cuba					x		
Dom. Rep.		x	x	x		x	x
Ecuador		x	x			x	x
El Salvador		x		x		x	
Guatemala		x				x	x
Guyana	x		x	x	x		x
Haiti		x		x		x	
Honduras		x	x			x	x
Jamaica	x		x			x	
Mexico			x	x		x	x
Nicaragua		x				x	x
Panama		x				x	x
Paraguay		x	x				
Peru		x	x	x	x	x	x
Surinam		x	x		x		x
Trin.&Tob.	x		x			x	x
Uruguay		x	x			x	x
Venezuela		x	x				x

FN = Fabrique Nationale Herstal
Source: *Jane's Infantry Weapons 95-96.*

H&K = Heckler & Koch

dealers (who in turn sell to government agencies, corporations, and private individuals in their country or region). To carry out such sales, the supplier usually must obtain an export license from its home government and, in doing so, must submit an end-user certificate, signed by a responsible official of the receiving country, attesting to the fact that the intended recipient (the "end user") is legally entitled to procure the items. Once in possession of a valid export license, the supplier is usually free to ship the weapons.³

Commercial arms transfers can entail a mere handful of weapons or much larger quantities of guns and ammunition. While the United States dominated the arms flow to Latin America in the early Cold War period, most countries in the region have, in recent years, drawn on a variety of suppliers for their basic combat gear. It is not unusual, in fact, for a nation's army to use one sort of rifle, the navy and air force another, and the police a third. As a result, the military and police forces of Latin American countries tend to be equipped with a broad spectrum of light weapons, including guns manufactured in the United States, Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and the former Soviet Union.⁴ (See Table 4.1 for a listing by country of the military's holdings of selected weapons.)

Exports Licensed by the U.S. State Department

In the United States, arms exports by private firms are primarily conducted via the Direct Commercial Sales program of the Department of State. In general, foreign arms buyers employ the DCS program for purchases of small arms, basic infantry systems, ammunition, and spare parts for previously acquired weapons, while using the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales program for purchases of major front-line systems (when the involvement of the U.S. government is desired or mandated by law). Thus, while annual DCS sales normally reach much lower levels than those recorded by the FMS program when measured in dollars—perhaps \$2-4 billion per year for DCS as compared to \$10-15 billion for FMS—they are of particular interest as a channel for the transfer of small arms and light weapons.

According to the Defense Security Assistance Agency (DSAA), U.S. firms delivered \$1.34 billion in arms and ammunition to Latin American countries through DCS channels between 1984 and 1993 (in current dollars).⁵ Major recipients during this ten-year period included Argentina (\$83.0 million), Brazil (\$275.1 million), Colombia (\$84.6 million), Ecuador (\$47.3 million), Mexico (\$233.9 million), Peru (\$103.8 million), and Venezuela (\$364.4 million). (See Table 4.2.)

As with other statistics of this type, the DSAA does not provide a precise breakdown between deliveries of light and heavy weapons. However, we can gain some indication of the importance of the DCS channel in supplying small arms and

light weapons to Latin America from data provided to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs by the Department of State in 1994. According to this report, the State Department approved 1,632 licenses worth \$107 million in 1989-1993 for exports of small arms and ammunition to seven Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru. This included 686 licenses worth \$47.7 million for Argentina, 343 licenses worth \$4.0 million for Brazil, 141 licenses worth \$6.8 million for Guatemala, 108 licenses worth \$34.4 million for Mexico, and 137 licenses worth \$11.7 million for Peru.⁶ A sampling of licenses issued by the State Department’s Office of Defense Trade Controls during this period for sales to Argentina included the following:

1. June 17, 1991: \$275,000, pistols and revolvers
2. Sept. 25, 1991: \$439,000, pistols and revolvers
3. Feb. 14, 1992: \$736,801, pistols and revolvers
4. April 6, 1992: \$799,930, pistols and revolvers
5. July 8, 1992: \$2,262,000, pistols
6. Sept. 21, 1992: \$3,300,000, pistols and revolvers
7. Feb. 2, 1993: \$1,300,000, pistols
8. April 19, 1993: \$2,306,662, pistols and revolvers
9. June 3, 1993: \$477,250, pistols
10. August 18, 1993: \$572,400: pistols and revolvers

Unfortunately, the Senate report does not indicate whether all of the items listed in these licenses were actually delivered—it is possible that some of the orders were canceled or postponed after the licenses were issued—but it does provide an indication of the scale and extensiveness of U.S. light weapons transfers to Latin America. Given that an ordinary handgun can cost as little as \$250, these ten licenses—representing only 1.5 percent of all licenses issued for small arms sales to Argentina during this four-year period—could translate into sales of some 55,000 pistols and revolvers. ~~Small arms~~ transferred in this manner are of concern not only because of the scale of the trade involved but also because of the uses to which they may be put. In many cases, these guns are being supplied to the internal security forces of governments that have been accused, over time, of serious

Table 4.2

U.S. Direct Commercial Sales to Latin America, 1950-1993 (current U.S. dollars in millions; excludes French Guiana**)		
	Value of items actually exported	

Licenses
approved for
small arms,
1989-1993

	1950-1983	1984-1993	Total	
Argentina	100.9	83.0	183.9	47.7
Bahamas	0.5	4.4	4.9	n.a.
Barbados	0.1	1.0	1.1	n.a.
Bermuda	1.4	1.4	2.8	n.a.
Bolivia	5.0	5.7	10.7	n.a.
Brazil	107.3	275.1	382.4	4.0
Cayman Islands	0.4	1.5	1.9	n.a.
Chile	8.8	10.8	19.6	n.a.
Colombia	31.8	84.6	116.4	0.6
Costa Rica	1.5	11.6	13.1	0.6
Dominica	*	1.1	1.1	n.a.
Dominican Republic	3.9	6.8	10.7	n.a.
Ecuador	25.0	47.3	72.3	n.a.
El Salvador	6.5	6.3	12.8	0.9
Guatemala	5.8	10.6	16.4	6.8
Guyana	0.9	16.1	17.0	n.a.
Haiti	2.1	0.7	2.8	n.a.
Honduras	6.5	11.6	18.1	n.a.
Jamaica	1.7	3.3	5.0	n.a.
Mexico	20.1	233.9	254.0	34.4
Neth. Antilles	1.3	1.6	2.9	n.a.
Nicaragua	4.3	0.2	4.5	n.a.
Panama	41.0	14.4	55.4	n.a.
Paraguay	3.1	26.8	29.9	n.a.
Peru	37.0	103.8	140.8	11.7
Trinidad & Tobago	2.0	2.6	4.6	n.a.
Uruguay	2.7	7.3	10.0	n.a.
Venezuela	80.6	364.4	445.0	n.a.
Others	0.9	1.8	2.7	n.a.
Total	503.1	1,339.7	1,842.8	(106.6)
<p>* = less than 50,000 n.a. = not available **This French-controlled territory is excluded because most exports consist of commercial satellites for launch at the ARIANE space launch facility. Sources: DSAA, <i>Foreign Military Sales Facts 1993</i>; Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, <i>A Review of Arms Export Licensing</i>.</p>				

human rights abuses against dissidents, peasants, workers, and indigenous peoples.⁷ Although the State Department is no longer willing to provide any information on the particular recipients *within countries* of items furnished through DCS channels (on

the grounds that such data constitutes "proprietary information," and thus is exempt from disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act), data from the 1970s indicates that significant quantities of the arms exported through DCS channels have been supplied to the police and paramilitary forces of countries ruled by authoritarian regimes, including those in Guatemala, Haiti (under the Duvaliers), Nicaragua (under Somoza), and Paraguay.⁸ More recently, in 1989, the United States approved the sale of 16,000 M-16 rifles from Colt Manufacturing Company of Hartford, Conn. to the government of Guatemala.⁹ And, while Latin America has experienced a process of democratization over the past 10-15 years, it is likely that U.S. arms are still being furnished to police and paramilitary forces with an egregious human rights record.

Exports Licensed by the U.S. Commerce Department

U.S. firms can also export small arms and police hardware to Latin America through trade channels supervised by the Department of Commerce. Under U.S. law, products that can be defined as "implements of war" (and are identified as such on the U.S. Munitions List) must be exported under the licensing procedures administered by the State Department's Office of Defense Trade Controls. However, this still leaves a wide variety of products with potential military or paramilitary use—among them, sporting rifles, shotguns, tear gas canisters, clubs, shackles, and electronic shock devices—that can be exported to Latin American countries with a license from the Commerce Department. Such exports, while not significant in conventional military terms, can play an important role in the suppression of dissent when employed by the internal security forces of repressive regimes.¹⁰ These items can also be sold or transferred to private interests, further contributing to the diffusion of arms.

Under Commerce Department regulations, arms and related equipment are tabulated under a number of different export categories. Through the most relevant of these, U.S. firms were granted licenses by the Bureau of Export Administration to sell \$142 million worth of shotguns, clubs, saps, leg irons, shock batons, and police equipment to Latin American countries between 1980 and 1993 (see Table 4.3). This included \$26.6 million in licenses

Table 4.3

Value of Licenses Granted by the Department of Commerce for the Export by U.S. Firms of Arms to Latin America, 1980-1993			
(current U.S. dollars in thousands)			
	1) Shotguns, shotgun shells, electric shock batons, stun guns	2) Saps, leg irons, shackles, handcuffs, thumbscrews, police shields and helmets	Total of 1 & 2
Antigua	5.6	4.1	9.7
Argentina	16,155.2	10,451.8	26,606.9
Bahamas	330.5	9.3	339.8
Barbados	15.9	5.8	21.7
Belize	36.0	10.8	46.8
Bermuda	9.2	8.7	17.9
Bolivia	2,712.7	660.0	3,372.7
Brazil	661.2	0.5	661.7
Cayman Is.	2.7	1.8	4.5
Chile	1,453.9	304.1	1,758.0
Colombia	3,327.9	2,080.7	5,408.6
Costa Rica	980.0	144.1	1,124.1
Cuba	0	40.0	40.0
Dominica	122.4	7.4	129.8
Dom. Rep.	3,350.8	319.7	3,670.5
Ecuador	2,286.6	911.8	3,198.3
El Salvador	896.2	21.5	917.8
French Guiana	125.5	0	125.5
Grenada	16.0	12.3	28.4
Guatemala	3,825.9	291.5	4,117.4
Guyana	267.5	0.3	267.8
Haiti	8.7	0	8.7
Honduras	2,435.2	30.1	2,465.4
Jamaica	241.1	27.8	268.9
Mexico	18,458.2	15,202.5	33,660.8
Neth. Antilles	107.8	26.2	134.1
Nicaragua	734.7	0	734.7

Panama	4,020.9	243.7	4,264.6
Paraguay	3,302.0	106.9	3,408.8
Peru	7,849.9	8,346.4	16,196.3
St. Lucia	0.9	5.9	6.8
Surinam	40.3	0.1	40.4
Trin. & Tob.	144.6	30.5	175.1
Uruguay	2,454.5	117.1	2,571.6
Venezuela	17,073.9	9,998.4	27,072.3
Totals	93,454.6	49,421.9	142,876.4
Totals may not add due to rounding. Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, data supplied to the Federation of American Scientists under the Freedom of Information Act.			

for export of such goods to Argentina, \$5.4 million to Colombia, \$4.1 million to Guatemala, \$33.7 million to Mexico, \$16.2 million to Peru, and \$27.1 million to Venezuela.¹¹

Sales by European Firms

European firms supplied a large portion of the small arms and light weapons acquired by Latin American countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One clear indication of this pattern was the popularity, in the period from 1890 to World War II, of Mauser-type bolt-action rifles. These weapons, originally developed by Paul and Wilhelm Mauser in the late 1860s, were adopted by the Prussian Army in 1871 and subsequently procured by armies around the world. The earliest models were manufactured by the Waffenfabrik Mauser AG in Oberndorf, Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken in Berlin, and the Fabrique Nationale d'Armes de Guerre in Belgium; later models were produced by firms in Austria, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and many other states, including Argentina and Mexico. According to John Walter's *Rifles of the World*, Latin American recipients of German- or Belgian-made Mausers prior to World War I included Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Mauser rifles and carbines continued to be in demand after World War I, with many of these countries buying significant quantities of later versions in the 1920s and 1930s.¹²

After World War II, many Latin American countries chose to equip their forces with weapons of North American design, reflecting the great prestige enjoyed by the United States as a result of its wartime victories. The fact that Washington was

prepared to provide these countries with large quantities of U.S. arms at little or no cost contributed, no doubt, to the appeal of these weapons. Nevertheless, most of these countries continued to obtain at least some weapons in Europe and, as time went on, tended to reassert their historical preference for European arms—in particular, for European small arms and light weapons. This is most evident in the enormous popularity in Latin America of the Belgian-designed *Fusil Automatique Légèr* (FAL) assault rifle. In addition to being produced under license in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela, the FAL was purchased in quantity by the armed forces of Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Jamaica, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Other European weapons that enjoy wide popularity in Latin America are the Heckler and Koch G3 assault rifle, the Stirling L2 submachine gun, the Fabrique Nationale MAG machine gun, Thomson-Brandt mortars from France, and Beretta pistols of various types.¹³ (See Table 4.1.)

Unfortunately, there are no published statistics on European sales of light weapons to Latin America comparable to the available data on U.S. arms exports to the region. The figures published by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency indicate that approximately half of the \$1.3 billion in arms transferred to Latin America through commercial channels in 1991-1993 were of European manufacture,¹⁴ but it is impossible to determine from this what percentage were light weapons. Instead, we must rely on the listings of the national arms inventories of the Latin American countries provided in *Jane's Infantry Weapons* and similar handbooks. While such listings do not provide data on arms transfers, or on the quantities of arms in any given inventory, they demonstrate that these countries have tended to satisfy their requirements for small arms and light weapons with arms of European manufacture.¹⁵

Sales by Other Countries

Sales by European and U.S. firms clearly dominate the commercial arms trade in Latin America, but a number of other suppliers, including Israel, South Africa, Russia, and China, also figure prominently in this commerce. Israel is a major supplier of small arms to Latin America, known especially for its sales of *Uzi* submachine guns and *Galil* rifles. According to *Jane's Infantry Weapons*, *Uzis* are currently in the inventory of the armed forces of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Almost as popular is the Israeli *Galil* assault rifle, found in the inventories of Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Trinidad and Tobago. Israeli-made Soltam mortars have also been sold to a number of Latin American countries, including Ecuador,

Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Panama.¹⁶

South Africa's government-owned munitions firm, Armscor, has also found a market for its products in Latin America. Several countries, including Chile and Mexico, possess South African-made 40 mm grenade launchers, and Mexico has acquired Armscor's M4L3 60 mm mortar.¹⁷

Soviet arms transfers to the region were generally subsidized in one fashion or another, and so are covered under government grants and sales, above. However, with the collapse of the Soviet system, newly privatized arms firms in Russia and other successor states have begun to sell their products through standard commercial channels. Although the market for Soviet-type equipment in Latin America is undoubtedly limited, they are likely to find customers for automatic rifles, machine guns, and other light weapons in a number of countries. Peru, in particular, is likely to serve as a customer for Russian arms, as its forces were equipped with Soviet weaponry in the 1970s. The Chinese are also likely to seek customers in Latin America, offering basic combat equipment at relatively low cost. According to the ACDA, Russia and China together sold approximately \$40 million worth of arms to Latin American countries in 1991-1993; as with sales by other countries, it is not possible to determine what percentage of this was accounted for by small arms and light weapons.¹⁸

Intra-Latin American Sales

Although most of the arms acquired by Latin American forces through commercial channels have come from Europe and the United States, there has always been a certain amount of arms trafficking *within* Latin America, involving sales of surplus or domestically produced weapons. There is very little data on such trafficking—most of the available information emphasizes sales from outside the region—but what little there is suggests that such transactions are more common than is normally thought. The FMAP of Argentina, for instance, is reported to have supplied domestically produced FAL-type rifles to the armed forces of Colombia, Honduras, Peru, and Uruguay.¹⁹ The Peruvian military is also known to be equipped with a quantity of Argentine-manufactured FMK-3 submachine guns, and the Guatemalan military is said to possess a number of FMK-1 105 mm recoilless guns.²⁰ Likewise, the Brazilian *Uru* submachine gun is thought to have been sold to forces in other Latin American countries, but no details are available on this.²¹

Although major weapons sales from one Latin American country to another are relatively rare, an unusual level of such activity occurred in February 1995, when Peruvian and Ecuadoran forces clashed over control of a disputed border zone

known as the Cordillera del Condor. According to various news sources, both sides sought fresh supplies of arms and ammunition at the time, scouring world markets for a wide range of light and medium weapons. Ecuador, with the smaller military of the two, was reportedly the most energetic in this regard: in addition to Soviet-type weapons acquired in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the Ecuadorans reportedly obtained \$2 million worth of rifles from the Fabrica Militar of Argentina and several plane loads of bombs and ammunition from Industrias Cardoen of Chile.²²

Commercial Sales to the Private Sector

Finally, it should be noted that at least some of the arms sold through commercial channels in Latin America are intended for the private sector rather than the military. Such transactions, when legal, generally entail the sale of handguns, submachine guns, and rifles to individuals (for self-protection and/or sport) and to private security firms (which have proliferated enormously in Latin America in recent years). Very little information is available on such sales, but what there is suggests that the quantities involved can be quite substantial.

One indication of the extent of private ownership of firearms in Latin America is provided by data on government-issued gun permits in Colombia, where the high level of civil gun violence has resulted in the adoption of tightened gun-ownership regulations. Prior to 1994, when the new laws went into effect, the government had issued 823,245 gun permits to individual citizens (out of a population of 35 million); in the first six months of 1994, 191,120 people applied for permits for guns already in their possession (but not previously registered), bringing the total number of weapons *legally* owned by Colombian citizens to just over one million.²³ (Whether all of these weapons were still functional, or still in the possession of the original owner, is unknown.) Experts agree, moreover, that large numbers of guns still in private hands have yet to be registered with government authorities.²⁴

Statistics of this sort are not available for other Latin American countries, but anecdotal evidence suggests that gun ownership is equally pervasive elsewhere. Commenting on reports of a number of arms seizures in rural Mexico, for instance, Deputy Attorney General Mario Ruiz Massieu told a Mexico City newspaper in 1994 that the confiscated arms were probably not intended for insurgents in Chiapas, as had been reported, but rather for ordinary citizens who had been seeking firearms for personal use. "This concerns the Mexican people's fondness for arms, as well as the inclination to own them, particularly in Guerrero, Oaxaca, and other states where people usually go about armed," he noted.²⁵ A "fondness for arms" is evident in other

Latin American societies, as well, and surely generates a substantial flow of arms into the private sector in these countries.

Endnotes for Chapter 4

1. ACDA, *WMEAT 93-94*, p. 140.
2. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, *A Review of Arms Export Licensing*, p. 37.
3. For background on the arms export regulations of the major arms-supplying countries, see Ian Anthony, ed., *Arms Export Regulations* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
4. For a listing of the light weapons inventories of Latin American countries, see *Jane's Infantry Weapons 95-96*, pp. 677-87.
5. DSAA, *FMS Facts 1993*, pp. 58-61. Excludes French Guyana, as sales to that French-controlled territory consisted largely of satellites for launch from Guyana.
6. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, *A Review of Arms Export Licensing*, p. 37.
7. For discussion, see Klare and Arnson, *Supplying Repression*, pp. 56-73.
8. See summary of data acquired under the Freedom of Information Act in *ibid.*, pp. 122-43.
9. Letter to the Editor from Thomas F. Stroock, U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala 1989-1992, in *The Nation*, May 29, 1995, p. 742.
10. For discussion see Klare and Arnson, *Supplying Repression*, pp. 74-83.
11. U.S. Department of Commerce, computer printouts and other data supplied to the Federation of American Scientists under the Freedom of Information Act, April 1995.
12. Walter, *Rifles of the World*, pp. 162-63, 174-78, 184-85.
13. *Jane's Infantry Weapons 95-96*, pp. 677-87.
14. ACDA, *World Military Expenditures 93-94*, p. 140.
15. See *Jane's Infantry Weapons 95-96*, pp. 677-87. See also listings of national arms inventories in Ezell, *Small Arms Today*. For background on Israeli arms sales to Latin America, see Bishara Bahbah and Linda Butler, *Israel and Latin America: The Military Connection* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986); Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), pp. 132-38..
16. *Jane's Infantry Weapons 95-96*, pp. 677-87. On Mexican holdings, see Julio A. Montes, "The Mexican Army and Air Force," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 91-94. On Israeli mortar sales to Central America, see Montes, "Central American and Mexican Artillery and Support Weapons," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 7, no. 5, pp. 236-39.
17. See Montes, "Central American and Mexican Artillery," p. 237; Marambio, "In Defence of Chile," p. 73.
18. ACDA, *World Military Expenditures 93-94*, p. 140.
19. Walter, *Rifles of the World*, p. 235.

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20. On Peru, see Ezell, *Small Arms Today*, p. 164. On Guatemala, see Montes, "Central American and Mexican Artillery," p. 236.

21. *Jane's Infantry Weapons 95-96*, p. 78.

22. From news sources summarized in "Info Bites," *Small Arms World Report*, Spring 1995, pp. 15-16.

23. Garcia-Peña, "Light Weapons and Internal Conflict in Colombia," p. 108.

24. *Ibid.*

25. From interview in *Uno Mas Uno*, Mexico City, August 8, 1994, as translated in FBIS-LAT-94-157, August 15, 1994, p. 27.