

He concludes that much more research is required. One option to limit the proliferation of light weapons is to expand the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms to include light weapons. Another possibility involves a more detailed analysis of light weapons traffic and "...its relationship to the current upsurge in ethnic and insurgent conflicts" (p. 21).

613. Klare, Michael T. and David Anderson. *A Scourge of Guns: The Diffusion of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Latin America*. Research Report Prepared for the Arms Sales Monitoring Project. Washington, D.C.: Federation of American Scientists, July 1996.

This report is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1, "Arms and Violence in Latin America," argues that since major weapons systems have been the focus of arms control analysts, little attention has been paid to light weapons. Latin America has imported mostly light weapons, but has done so in sufficient quantities to be destabilizing and to cause profound social and political problems. It is concluded that there is a close link between the diffusion of arms and the pervasiveness of violence in Latin America. Klare and Anderson suggest approaching the problem from a regional perspective.

Chapter 2, "Domestic Arms Production," examines the national arms production capacity of states in Latin America. Since domestic arms production is perceived as a symbol of sovereignty and as a way to promote research and development, most Latin American states have a significant production capacity. Case studies are related of the arms production capacities of several Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru.

Chapter 3, "United States and Soviet Military Assistance," documents the significant aid provided by both these countries throughout the Cold War. Both aid programs are examined, and it is concluded that the Soviet aid was as plentiful as the American support, but was more concentrated in a few countries, most notably Cuba, Nicaragua and Peru. The Europeans did play a minor role in arms transfers to the Latin American region, but most were done in the immediate post-independence era.

Chapter 4, "Commercial Sales" examines the relatively minor role of direct sales to governments in the region (i.e., as compared to grants from the superpowers). Several different avenues are analysed:

- 1) exports licensed by the U.S. State Department;
- 2) exports licensed by the U.S. Commerce Department;
- 3) exports conducted by European firms;
- 4) exports which derived from other countries (e.g., Israel).

It was not unknown for shipments to go directly to private individuals or security forces, but this trade formed only a small part of commercial sales as a whole.

Chapter 5, "Black-Market transfers," maintains that the black market exists in parallel with the legal arms market. However, there has been very little research into the phenomenon. Klare and Anderson provide several case studies which "...represent but a small sampling of illegal arms transactions, but do provide valuable insight into how the black market actually functions" (p. 54). The case studies address the following examples:

- 1) the Antigua and Barbuda connection;
- 2) the role of fake end-user certificates;
- 3) the role of the U.S. in the illegal trade;
- 4) the mechanics of gun smuggling from the United States.

Chapter 6, "Covert Gun-Running by Governments," shows that next to black market suppliers, this avenue constitutes the second major source of clandestine arms transfers (e.g., the Iran-Contra affair, initiated in 1981 by U.S. President Ronald Reagan). Also examined is U.S. aid to intelligence units in Guatemala and Honduras, as well as Soviet aid to countries in the region.

Chapter 7, "Findings and Recommendations," lists the conclusions of the report. Klare and Anderson argue that "...one conclusion appears inescapable: the nations of South and Central America have been inundated with small arms and light weapons, greatly contributing to the pervasiveness of violence, lawlessness, and criminality in the hemisphere" (p. 84). While the flow of weapons to the region cannot be measured exactly, it is surely one of the world's major markets for light weapons, resulting in a region "awash in light weapons" (p. 85).

The authors offer several reasons for the surplus:

- 1) long-time emphasis on security and counterinsurgency;