

**Statement of William Newell, Special Agent in Charge
Phoenix Field Division
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives
Before the United States House of Representatives
Committee on Appropriations
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science and Related Agencies
March 24, 2009**

Chairman Mollohan, Representative Wolf and distinguished Members of the Subcommittee, I am William Newell of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF). As Special Agent in Charge of the Bureau's Phoenix field division, I oversee all ATF operations in the States of Arizona and New Mexico, which includes 552 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border. I am honored to appear before you today to discuss ATF's ongoing role in preventing firearms from being illegally trafficked from the United States (U.S.) into Mexico, and working to reduce the associated violence along the border.

That violence, which is fueled by Mexico's drug cartels, poses a serious challenge for U.S. and Mexican law enforcement and threatens the safety of innocent citizens on both sides of the border. Reports indicate that the drug war has left as many as 6,200 dead last year and 1,000 dead, so far, this year. The U.S Department of State has cautioned U.S. citizens who work and travel in Mexico to be wary of the ongoing danger. Mexican President Calderon and Mexican Attorney General Medina Mora have identified cartel-related violence as a top priority and proclaimed the illegal trafficking of U.S.-source firearms the "number one" crime problem affecting the security of Mexico.

Not a day goes by without the media reporting on murders, kidnappings and home invasions along the border. For instance, an Associated Press article appearing in the Washington Post on March 5th reported that American professionals living along the border, including doctors, lawyers and factory owners, feel so threatened by the murders and kidnappings that they are having armor plating and bullet-proof glass installed in their cars and pickup trucks. According to the Post, one San Antonio company specializing in bulletproofing cars says that it expects a 50% increase in business this year. Clearly we need to take action now to protect our citizens and their property from harm.

ATF Expertise

For over 30 years ATF has been protecting our citizens and communities from violent criminals and criminal organizations by safeguarding them from the illegal use of firearms and explosives. We are responsible for both regulating the firearms and explosives industries and enforcing criminal laws relating to those commodities. ATF has the experience, expertise, tools, and commitment to investigate and disrupt groups and individuals who obtain guns in the U.S. and illegally traffic them into Mexico in facilitation of the drug trade.

The synergy of ATF's crime-fighting expertise, regulatory authority, analytical capability, and strategic partnerships is used to combat firearms trafficking both along the U.S. borders and throughout the nation. For instance, from Fiscal Year 2004 through February 17th of this year, Project Gunrunner—ATF's strategy for disrupting the flow of firearms to Mexico—has referred for prosecution 795 cases involving 1,658 defendants; those cases include 382 firearms trafficking cases involving 1,035 defendants and an estimated 12,835 guns.

Defining the Problem

The southwest border is the principal arrival zone for most illicit drugs trafficked into the U.S., as well as the predominant staging area for the subsequent distribution of these drugs throughout the U.S. Illegally trafficked firearms are an integral part of these criminal enterprises; they are the "tools of the trade". Drug traffickers routinely use firearms against each other as well as against the Mexican military, law enforcement officials, and civilians. Because firearms are not readily available in Mexico, drug traffickers have aggressively turned to the U.S. as their primary source. Firearms are now routinely being transported from the U.S. into Mexico in violation of both U.S. and Mexican law. In fact, 90% of the firearms recovered in Mexico, and which are then successfully traced, were determined to have originated from various sources within the continental U.S.

The rising incidences of trafficking U.S.-sourced firearms into Mexico is influenced by a number of factors, including increased demand for firearms by drug trafficking organizations, and the strictly regulated and generally prohibited possession and manufacturing of firearms in Mexico. Drug traffickers are able to obtain firearms and ammunition more easily in the U.S., including sources in the secondary market such as gun shows and flea markets. Depending on State law, the private sale of firearms at those venues often does not require record keeping or background checks prior to the sale.

In addition, drug traffickers frequently resort to using "straw purchasers" to obtain firearms from federally licensed gun dealers in the U.S.; these dealers are often unwitting participants in these schemes. Straw purchases refer to instances wherein an individual purchases a firearm for someone who is either prohibited by law from possessing one, such as a convicted felon, or who does not want his or her name associated with the transaction. In other words, a straw purchase takes place when a "straw" falsely poses as the buyer of a firearm to help the true purchaser circumvent the law and create an inaccurate paper trail. These illegal purchases, a key source and supply of firearms for drug traffickers and criminals in the U.S., corrupt the ATF firearms tracing process by creating false leads for agents trying to determine the actual purchaser of firearms recovered at crime scenes. In addition, straw purchasers may be difficult to identify because they may make numerous purchases of one to two firearms that are separated by place and time. As an example, a single ATF investigation of straw purchases of firearms shipped to Mexico involved a network of twenty-two individuals who trafficked

at least 328 firearms valued at over \$350,000. These firearms were sold to the Gulf Cartel in Mexico and were traced by ATF following their use in assassinations of Mexican police officials, citizens, and others. This type of case shows the sophistication of the firearms trafficking networks, using the same methods to traffic firearms south that they use to traffic narcotics north.

A comprehensive analysis of firearms trace data over the past three years indicates that Texas, Arizona and California are the three largest source States, respectively, for firearms illegally trafficked to Mexico. In FY 2008 alone, 2,514 firearms seized in Mexico were traced to sources in Texas, Arizona and California. The remaining 47 States accounted for 1,053 traces in FY 2007.

Although the greatest proportion of firearms trafficked to Mexico originate out of the U.S. States along the southwest border the problem is national. ATF trace data has established that drug traffickers are also acquiring firearms from other States as far east as Florida and as far north and west as Washington State. A case from April 2008 involving the Arellano Felix Organization illustrates this point. A violent dispute between elements of this drug trafficking organization left 13 members dead and 5 wounded. ATF assisted Mexican authorities trace 60 firearms recovered at the crime scene in Tijuana. As a result, leads have been forwarded to ATF field divisions in Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Phoenix, San Francisco and Seattle to interview the first known purchasers of the firearms. These investigations are ongoing.

Chairman Mollohan, I brought with me today an ATF diagram, based on trace data, which goes into more detail on this issue and, with your permission, I would like to submit it for the Record. This chart illustrates that guns are obtained from all across the U.S. and then transported into Mexico along three major trafficking corridors: from Illinois, Georgia, Florida and Texas into eastern Mexico; from Washington State, Oregon and California down into western Mexico; and from Colorado and Arizona into central Mexico.

Until recently drug traffickers' "weapon of choice" had been .38 caliber handguns. However, they now have developed a preference for more powerful weapons, such as the .233 semi-automatic rifle, the AK-47 variant rifle, 5.57 caliber pistols, and .50 caliber rifles; ATF has seized each of these types of weapons as those weapons en route to Mexico. ATF also has seized large quantities of ammunition for use in these high-caliber weapons. An April 2006 joint ATF, FBI and Tucson Police Department investigation illustrates efforts by Mexican drug trafficking organization's to obtain high-power weaponry. The Tucson investigation led to the arrest and conviction of three members of the Arellano Felix Organization who attempted to purchase machineguns and hand grenades from undercover agents. One of the defendants, a Mexican citizen, was sentenced to 70 months in Federal prison while the other two, both U.S. citizens, were sentenced to 87 months.

The Tucson investigation case also demonstrates that drug traffickers are supplementing their firearms caches with explosives and the need for ATF's expertise

with explosives in the fight against drug cartels. For the past 18 months ATF has been working closely with Mexican law enforcement and military personnel by quickly responding to grenade seizures in Mexico in order to positively identify and trace a variety of these explosives. Unfortunately, in the past six months we have noted a troubling increase in the number of grenades seized from or used by drug traffickers, and we are concerned about the possibility of explosives-related violence spilling into U.S. border towns.

We appear to have had at least one such incident. In late January, a fragmentation hand grenade was thrown into a crowd of 20 patrons at a club in San Juan, Texas. Fortunately, although the grenade was a live device, it did not detonate and no one was injured. Investigation to date indicates this incident is linked to a Mexican drug cartel. ATF has identified the source of the grenade and believes that grenades from the same source were used during an attack on the U.S. Consulate in Monterrey, Mexico.

ATF's Strategy

Through its experience with combating violent crime along the southwest border, ATF has learned that merely seizing firearms through interdiction will not, by itself, stop firearms trafficking to Mexico. We must identify, investigate and eliminate the sources of these illicitly trafficked firearms, and networks that transport them to Mexico. Thus, ATF has developed and implemented Project Gunrunner, a comprehensive strategy to combat firearms-related violence perpetrated by warring drug traffickers in border cities such as Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. It includes approximately 148 special agents dedicated full-time to investigating firearms trafficking along the Southwest border and 59 industry operations investigators (IOIs) responsible for conducting regulatory inspections of federally licensed gun dealers in this region. .

As the sole agency that regulates federally licensed gun dealers (known as Federal Firearms Licensees or FFLs), ATF has the statutory authority to inspect the records of licensees, examine those records for firearms trafficking trends and patterns, and revoke the licenses of those who are complicit in firearm trafficking. Roughly 6,700 FFLs are located along the Southwest border. As part of Project Gunrunner, IOIs work to identify and prioritize for inspection those FFLs with a history of noncompliance that represents a risk to public safety. They also focus on those primary retailers and pawnbrokers who sell the weapons of choice that are the preferred firearms being trafficked in this region. Moreover, utilizing ATF trace data analyses, IOIs prioritize for inspection those FFLs with numerous unsuccessful traces and a large volume of firearms recoveries in the targeted high-crime areas. This focused inspection effort assists in the identification and investigation of straw purchasers and the traffickers who employ them. In FY 2007 ATF inspected 1,775 of FFLs along the border and in FY 2008 we inspected 1,884.

In addition to inspections, the IOIs work to improve relations with firearms industry members, enhance voluntary compliance, and promote licensees' assistance in preventing firearms diversion by conducting training and outreach activities with FFLs in

the targeted areas. One such outreach effort is the “Don’t Lie for the Other Guy” program, a joint endeavor between ATF and the National Shooting Sports Foundation (NSSF), the trade association for the shooting, hunting and firearms industry. The program was developed in 2000 to aid firearm retailers in recognizing potential illegal firearm purchases in order to deter those purchases, and has since expanded to include a public-awareness component regarding the serious nature and illegality of straw purchases of firearms.

An example of ATF utilizing its regulatory authority to review FFL records to identify firearms traffickers occurred in El Paso, Texas. The case led to the arrest of 12 individuals in November 2007. The subjects purchased 75 firearms that were sold to corrupt local, federal and military officials in Mexico. Sentences for these defendants range from 36 months to two years.

While on the subject of FFLs, I would like to note that the vast majority of gun dealers are in compliance with firearms regulations and are genuinely interested in keeping guns out of the hands of criminals. For example, in 2007, a tip from an FFL involving a firearms trafficker purchasing two .50 caliber rifles, as well as other firearms recovered in Mexico, prompted an undercover ATF operation. That investigation led to the arrest of the leader and his two coconspirators for attempting to purchase several handguns and a fully automatic M-60 machine gun. In September 2008, the leader was sentenced to 30 months incarceration and 84 months of supervised release.

An essential component of ATF’s strategy to curtail firearms trafficking to Mexico is the tracing of firearms seized in both countries. When a firearm is traced, specific identifying information—including the make, model and serial number—is entered in the ATF Firearms Tracing System. Using this information, ATF can establish the identity of the first retail purchaser of the firearm and possibly learn pertinent information, such as how the gun came to be used in the facilitation of crime or how it came to be located in Mexico. Furthermore, analyses of aggregate trace data can reveal trafficking trends and networks, showing where the guns are being purchased, who is purchasing them, and how they flow across the border. Accordingly, ATF is working with Mexican officials to increase their current usage of ATF’s tracing system by means of eTrace, a web based application for accessing ATF’s Firearms Tracing System. Our goal is to deploy eTrace to all thirty-one states within the Republic of Mexico. We can report that our efforts are paying off. Mexico has increased the number of firearms it has submitted for tracing from 3,312 in FY 2007, to 7,743 in FY 2008, and over 7,500 to date this fiscal year.

ATF also has increased its presence at the El Paso Intelligence Center (EPIC), which is the central repository and clearinghouse for all weapons-related intelligence collected and developed not only by ATF’s field and Mexico offices and attaches, but also by all other Federal, State and local law enforcement entities involved in narcotics interdiction and investigation along the U.S.-Mexico border. Our increased staffing levels at EPIC allow ATF to expand our intelligence activities with our law enforcement partners stationed there, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Drug

Enforcement Administration (DEA), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) and the Texas and Arizona Departments of Public Safety. ATF also works closely with these agencies' taskforces that operate along the southwest border, sharing intelligence and conducting joint investigations.

Further, ATF participates in the Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) Fusion Center, a multi-agency intelligence center that provides operational intelligence in drug investigations. Through the Fusion Center, ATF shares information with other federal law enforcement agencies involved in drug enforcement, and helps to build large-scale operations targeting these violent Mexican drug trafficking organizations.

Internationally, ATF enjoys a strong collaborative relationship with Mexican law enforcement and other government agencies within Mexico. Over the last 15 years, ATF has had special agents permanently assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. These agents engage in full-time intelligence sharing with the Mexican government to gather real time information on significant seizures of firearms that originated from within the U.S. Moreover, through bilateral forums, such as the annual Senior Law Enforcement Plenary sessions with Mexico, ATF and the Mexican Government jointly develop operational strategies and policies to minimize the firearms-related violence afflicting communities on both sides of the border. ATF would not have achieved the success it's had, particularly with regard to tracing, had it not been for the remarkable support of the Mexican government.

Recommendation

As noted, ATF's Project Gunrunner has experienced numerous successes, referring for prosecution 795 cases since October 1st, 2003, involving 1,685 defendants, including 1,035 defendants who trafficked an estimated 12,835 guns. Still, there is obviously much work to be done. Accordingly, Congress recently provided ATF with funding to continue and expand our efforts along the southwest border.

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, commonly referred to as the stimulus bill (P.L.111-5), provides ATF with \$10 million for Project Gunrunner. Those funds will allow ATF to establish new firearms trafficking teams in McAllen, Texas, El Centro, California and Las Cruces, New Mexico. The funds also will allow ATF to assign personnel to U.S. Consulates in Mexico where they can share intelligence, assist in investigations and train Mexican authorities on how to conduct firearms traces. Specifically, the funds are providing 37 total positions which include 21 agents in domestic offices, four agents in Mexican offices, six IOIs, three intelligence research specialists (IRSs) and three investigative analysts (IAs).

In addition, the FY 2009 Omnibus Appropriations Act provides ATF with an additional \$5 million for Project Gunrunner. The FY 2009 appropriation includes funding for two additional firearms trafficking teams, including 21 agents, four IOIs and two IAs.

While ATF has achieved numerous successes in recent years with its limited resources, additional assets and personnel will undoubtedly produce even greater results. Increased funding for Project Gunrunner, as provided by the stimulus bill is an important investment in the security of our nation and protection of our citizens.

Conclusion

Chairman Mollohan, Representative Wolf, distinguished Members of the Subcommittee, on behalf of the men and women of ATF, I thank you and your staffs for your support of our crucial work. We recognize and are grateful for your commitment and contributions to the law enforcement community. With the backing of this Subcommittee, ATF can continue to build on our accomplishments, making our nation even more secure. We look forward to working with you in pursuit of our shared goals.