The Drug War in Mexico

U.S.-Mexico Security Challenges in 2013 & Beyond

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Main Points

The Drug War in Mexico

- Recent Patterns of Violence
- OCG Realignment
- PAN Strategy & Results
- PRI Strategy & Implications

Image: Santa Muerte
Recent Patterns of Violence

Tracking Drug Related Homicides
Methodological Challenges
Definitions and Measurement

• How to define TCO/OCG/DTO violence?

• How to measure such violence?

• INEGI: 120,000 murders from 2006-12

• GOM: 47,000+ OCG homicides 2006-2011

• Media: 53,000+ OCG homicides 2006-2012
### OCG-Related Homicides

#### High Profile Violence Characteristic of Organized Crime Groups

**GOM Criteria**

1. Victim was killed by high caliber firearm
2. Signs of torture or severe lesions
3. Body was wrapped in blankets (*cobijas*), taped, or gagged
4. Killed on location, or in a vehicle
5. Killed by OCG within penitentiary
6. Special circumstances (e.g., narco-message (*narcomensaje*); victim alleged OCG member; abducted ["levantón"], ambushed, or chased)

**Reforma Newspaper Criteria**

1. Victim killed by high-caliber or automatic firearm typical of OCGs (e.g., .50 caliber, AK- & AR-type)
2. Execution-style and mass casualty shootings
3. Decapitation or dismemberment
4. Indicative markings, written messages, or unusual configurations of the body
5. Presence of large quantities of illicit drugs, cash or weapons
6. Official reports explicitly indicting involvement in organized crime

*Note: 2011 and 2012 SNSP figures include TBI calculations based on Reforma data.
Geographic Distribution of Violence

**25% OF 2011 KILLINGS IN TOP 5 MOST VIOLENT CITIES**

- **CD. JUÁREZ**: 1,206
- **CHIHUAHUA**: 402
- **MONTERREY**: 399
- **TORREON**: 476
- **ACAPULCO**: 795

25% de los homicidios en los 5 ciudades más violentas
Geographic Distribution of Violence

Distribución geográfica de la violencia

22% DECLINE IN “NARCO-EXECUTIONS” IN 2012

22% reducción en “narcoejecuciones” en el 2012

2012 Organized Crime Killings (Reforma Data)

Reforma Statistics Account for “Drug Related” Homicides Through September 2012
OCG Realignment

Shifting Organized Crime Networks
Evolution of Mexico’s Cartels

Unified PRI Government

1980s

Guadalajara Cartel

Gulf Cartel

Juan Nepomuceno Guerra

Transferred control to nephew

Juan García Abrego

Arrested in 1995

Ernesto Fonseca Carrillo

Arrested in 1985

Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo

Arrested in 1989

Rafael Caro Quintero

Arrested in 1985

1st GENERATION INHERITS COLOMBIAN ROUTES
Corrupt Mexican Government Agencies Permit Cartels To Operate With Impunity
Evolution of Mexico’s Cartels

Political Divisions (PRI/PAN/PRD)

1990s

Tijuana Cartel/AFO

Gulf Cartel

Juárez Cartel

Sinaloa Cartel

Arellano Félix Family

Joaquín Guzmán Loera

Ismael Zambada García

Osiel Cárdenas Guillén

Amado Carrillo Fuentes

2nd GENERATION DIVIDE ROUTES IN 1990s

Arrest of Major Drug Traffickers in Late 1980s Leads To Splits & Territorial Segmentation
Political Divisions (PRI/PAN/PRD)

2nd GENERATION DIVIDE ROUTES IN 1990s

Arrest of Major Drug Traffickers in Late 1980s Leads To Splits & Territorial Segmentation
Evolution of Mexico’s Cartels

Teodoro García Simentel

Arturo Guzmán Decena (Code Z) from Special Forces Airmobile Group (GAFES) to form Los Zetas

Nazario “El Chayo” Morero Gonzalez, José de Jesús “El Chango” Méndez Vargas, Dionicio “El Tío” Loya Plancarte, Servando “El Tuta” Gómez Martínez

Arturo Beltran Leyva

3rd GENERATION SPLITS FROM MAIN CARTELS
Internal Cleavages and Government Targeting Leads to Fragmentation
Evolution of Mexico’s Cartels

2010s

Sinaloa Cartel

Gulf

Juárez Cartel

AFO

Aztecas

AAs

Mexicles

Knights Templar

Zetas

Jalisco

Resistencia

Acapulco

Pacífico Sur

CONTINUED FRAGMENTATION OR RE-CONSOLIDATION?

Increased Targeting of Ordinary Citizens By Organized Crime Groups

Joaquín “El Chapo” Guzmán

Killed in 2012

Heriberto Lazcano Lazcano
Organizational Profile: Sinaloa Cartel

Joaquín “El Chapo” Guzman Loera

Now believed to control major trafficking “plazas” in Tijuana, Ciudad Juarez, and Sinaloa, with ties reaching into Central America, Africa, and Europe

- Business Partner: Ismael Zambada
- Key Lieutenants: Juan José Esparragoza Moreno, Blanca Margarita “La Emperatriz” Cazarez Salazar, Manuel Torres Felix, Gustavo Inzunza Inzunza, Roberto Bedollo Corona
- Family: Emma Coronel (current wife), Maria Alejandrina Salazar Hernandez (1st wife), Jesus Alfredo Guzman Salazar (son), Alejandrina Gisselle Guzman Salazar (daughter)
PAN Counter-Drug Strategy

From National to Public Security
PAN Counter Drug Strategy

**Vicente Fox (2000-06) Disruption Phase**
- Major Reorganization of Security Apparatus
- Significant Anti-Corruption Efforts
- Targeted High Level Arrests
- Close Cooperation with U.S. Government
- Late Large Scale Military Deployments

**Felipe Calderón (2006-12) Fragmentation Phase**
- Increase in Military & Federal Police Deployments
- Continued Anti-Corruption Efforts
- Dramatic Increase in Arrests
- Police and Judicial System Reforms
- Close Cooperation with U.S. Government
Mexican Military Budgets

Army and Navy Budgets, 1996-2011

Military and Federal Police Deployments

**Total Known Deployments:**
45,450

**Urban Deployments (2009):**
18,000

- **Golden Triangle**
  - Jan 2007: N = ?
  - Feb-June 2009: N = 8,300

- **Chihuahua**
  - Jan 2008: N = 1,000
  - Mar 2008: N = 2,500

- **Nuevo León**
  - Feb 2007: N = 1,000
  - Jun 2007: N = 1,600

- **Michoacán**
  - Dec 2006: N = 6,700
  - July 2009: N = 5,500

- **Veracruz**
  - May 2007: N = ?

- **Tabasco**
  - Jun 2007: N = 220

- **Guerrero**
  - Jan 2007: N = 1,000
  - N = 7,600

- **Baja California**
  - March 2008: N = 2,000
  - Oct 2008: N = 150

**Locations:**
- **Golden Triangle**
- **Chihuahua**
- **Nuevo León**
- **Michoacán**
- **Veracruz**
- **Tabasco**
- **Guerrero**
- **Baja California**
Drug Related Arrests

Salvador Alfonso Martinez, AKA "La Ardilla," a regional leader of the Zetas, was arrested in October 2012, accused of 2010 killing of David Michael Hartley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yearly Average</th>
<th>SALINAS</th>
<th>ZEDILLO</th>
<th>FOX</th>
<th>CALDERON</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationals</td>
<td>15,464</td>
<td>10,327</td>
<td>13,584</td>
<td>30,375</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>349</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Arrests</td>
<td>15,654</td>
<td>10,528</td>
<td>13,773</td>
<td>31,446</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labs Destroyed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eradication Probably Reflects Increased Capacity

Mexico Has Increased Production of Heroin and Marijuana During the Drug War
Crop Eradication Efforts

Opium Poppy Eradication (hectares)

Eradication Probably Reflects Increased Capacity

Mexico Has Increased Production of Heroin and Marijuana During the Drug War
Eradication Probably Reflects Increased Capacity

Mexico Has Increased Production of Heroin and Marijuana During the Drug War
Top Public Policy Concerns in Recent Years

*Heightened Concerns About Security, Long Standing Economic Concerns*

![Graph showing top public policy concerns from 2001 to 2011](http://www.consulta.mx/Docs/FusionCharts/EPG_Sep.pdf)

- **Inseguridad** (Insecurity)
- **Crisis Económica** (Economic Crisis)
- **Desempleo** (Unemployment)
- **Pobreza** (Poverty)
- **Narcotráfico** (Drug Trafficking)
- **Corrupción** (Corruption)
- **Drogadicción** (Drug Addiction)

CONSULTA MITOFSKY POLL

The Public’s Metrics of Success?

- Levels of crime & violence
- Drug flows & consumption
- Institutional integrity
- Cost vs. benefit
The Peña Nieto Government

Implications of the New PRI Strategy
The Return of the PRI

Key Priorities for Enrique Peña Nieto

- Restoring Security
- Education Reform
- Pension Reform
- Energy Sector Reform
- Political Reform

Results from State Elections
Ongoing Political Divisions

Results of Federal Elections
Chamber of Deputies & Senate

Source: Clare Seelke, Congressional Research Service
Coalition-Building is Key

Lower Chamber, 1976-2015

MWC = PRI/PVEM/PANAL
SUPER MAJORITY = PRI/PAN

PANAL
PC
PVEM
PT
PRD
PAN
PRI

Lower Chamber, 1976-2015

1976-1979
1979-1982
1982-1985
1985-1988
1988-1991
1991-1994
1994-1997
1997-2000
2000-2003
2003-2006
2006-2009
2009-2012
2012-2015

0%
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%
100%
Security Strategy

Key Priorities for Enrique Peña Nieto

- **Reducing Violence** (50% reduction; crime prevention)
- **Institutional Restructuring** (elimination of SSP/SFP, creation of 10K National Gendarmerie)
- **Judicial Sector Reform** (police, court, and penal reform)
- **Human Rights Reform** (calls to reign in military tribunals)
- **Inter-Governmental Cooperation** (federal, state, and municipal)

*Unstated: Overcoming PRI Reputation* (past corruption & organized crime ties)

Nov 14, 2011: the “military should be returned to the barracks and stop fighting crime.”

July 3, 2012: “I will keep the presence of the Mexican army and navy and Federal Police in those states of the Republic where crime has increased.”
Team Peña Nieto

Key National & Public Security Figures

Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong
Sec.de Gobernación

Jesus Murillo Karam
Procurador General de la República

Salvador Cienfuegos Zepeda
Sec. de la Defensa Nacional

Vidal Francisco Soberón Sanz
Secretario de Marina

Roberto Miranda Moreno
Jefe del Estado Mayor Presidencial

Rosario Robles Berlanga
Sec. de Desarrollo Social

Manuel Mondragón y Kalb
Subsecretario de Planeación y Protección Institucional. Encargado de Despacho de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública

Julián Alfonso Olvás Ugalde
Subsec. de Atención Ciudadana y Normatividad. Encargado de Despacho de la Secretaría de la Función Pública

Source: http://yopolitico.redpolitica.mx
U.S.-Mexico Ties

Evolution of the Mérida Initiative

• **Phase 1 (2007-09)** Emphasis on military and police, information sharing

• **Phase 2 (2009-present)** Emphasis on judicial reform, community resilience

• **Possible Next Steps** Reducing consumption, combatting firearms smuggling, strengthening civil society
Final Thoughts

Change and Continuity

• General improvement on security
• Strong political leadership & coordination
• Significant reforms being undertaken
• Continued U.S.-Mexico cooperation possible
Thank You

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Number of CNDH Military Human Rights Cases 
(By Recommendation and By Year)

- Physical Injury
- Access to Justice (legality and legal certainty)
- Verbal/Mental Abuse
- Excessive/Arbitrary use of force/public office
- Illegal Detention *
- Torture
- Arbitrary Detention
- Cruel/Inhumane Treatment
- Loss of Life
- Illegal Search & Entry

*Illegal detention refers to suspects that are not immediately passed to proper authority