



The Drug War in Mexico

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

Trans-Border Institute
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies
University of San Diego



Main Points

The Drug War in Mexico

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

Image: Santa Muerte





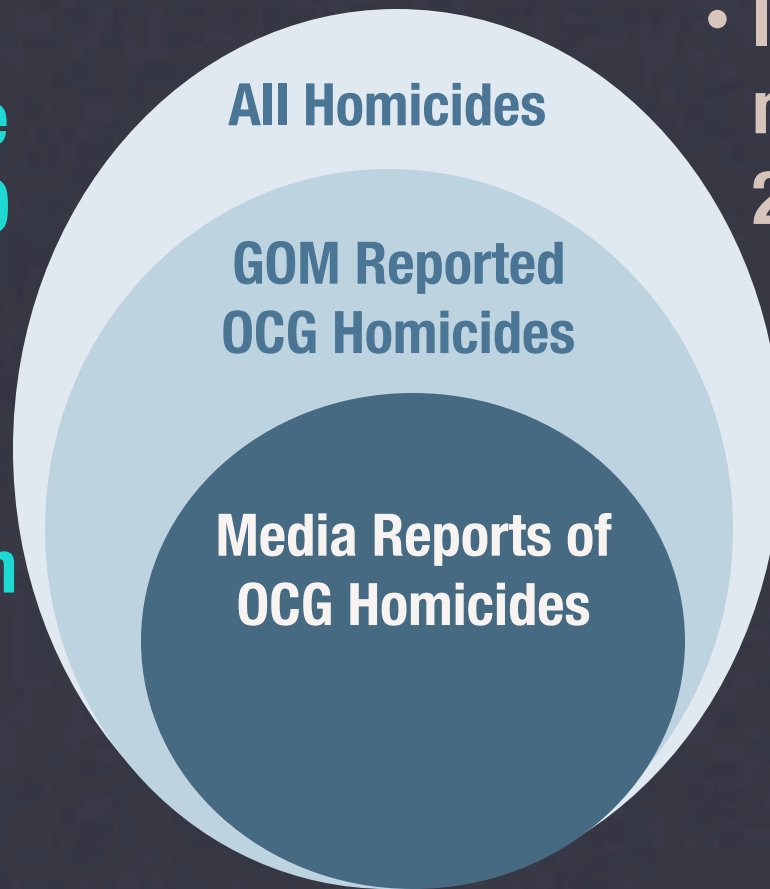
Recent Patterns of Violence

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

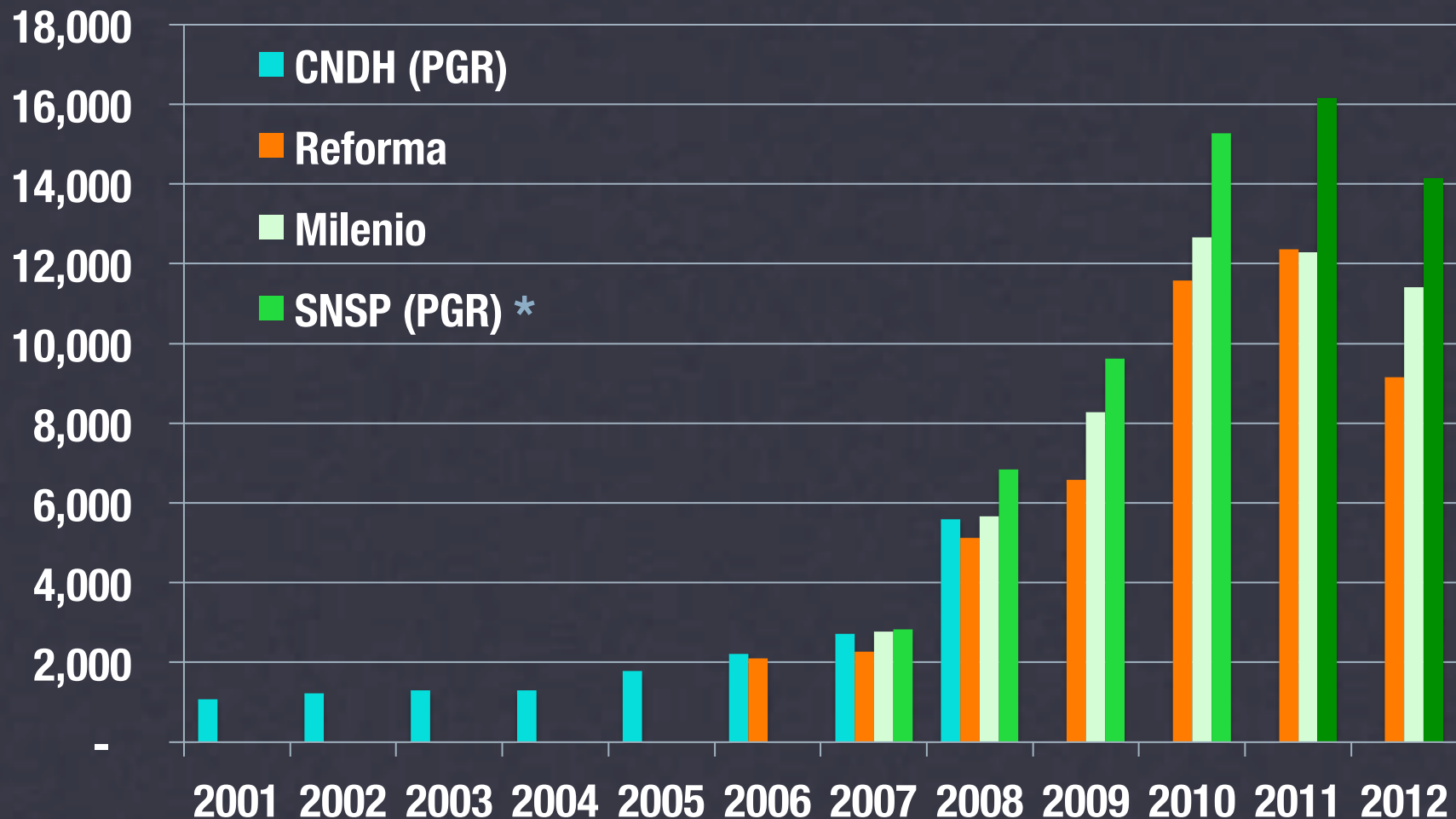
GOM Criteria

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 organize crime

Estimates of Drug Related Homicides



Various Estimates for Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime Killings, 2001-2012

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

Geographic Distribution of Violence

Distribución geográfica de la violencia



2011 Organized Crime Killings (PGR Data)

Official Government Statistics Account for 75% of Homicides in 2011 (Through September)



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

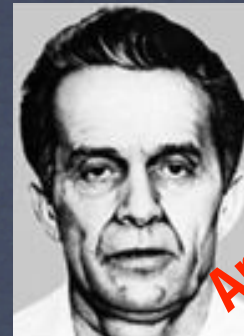
Evolution of Mexico's Cartels

Unified PRI
Government

1980s

Gulf
Cartel

Guadalajara
Cartel



Juan Nepomuceno Guerra

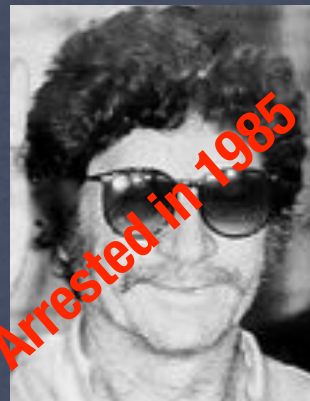


Juan García Abrego

Transferred
control to
nephew

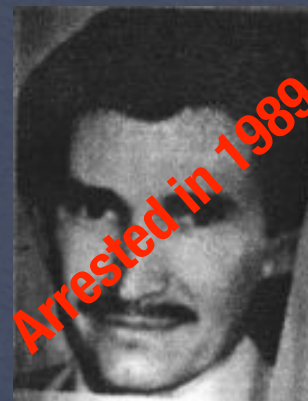
1995

Arrested



Ernesto
Fonseca Carrillo

Arrested in 1985



Miguel Angel
Felix Gallardo

Arrested in 1989



Rafael
Caro Quintero

Arrested in 1985

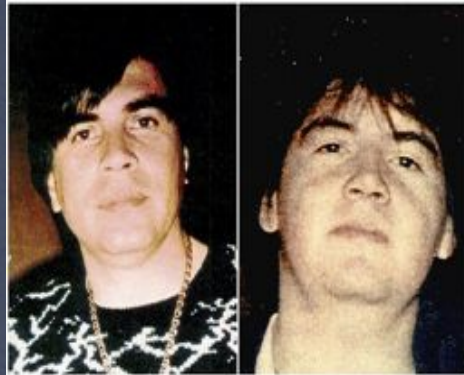
1st GENERATION INHERITS COLOMBIAN ROUTES

Corrupt Mexican Government Agencies Permit Cartels To Operate With Impunity



Evolution of Mexico's Cartels

Political
Divisions
(PRI/PAN/
PRD)



Arellano Félix Family



Joaquín
Guzmán Loera

Ismael
Zambada García



1990s



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



Evolution of Mexico's Cartels

Political
Divisions
(PRI/PAN/
PRD)



Arellano Félix Family

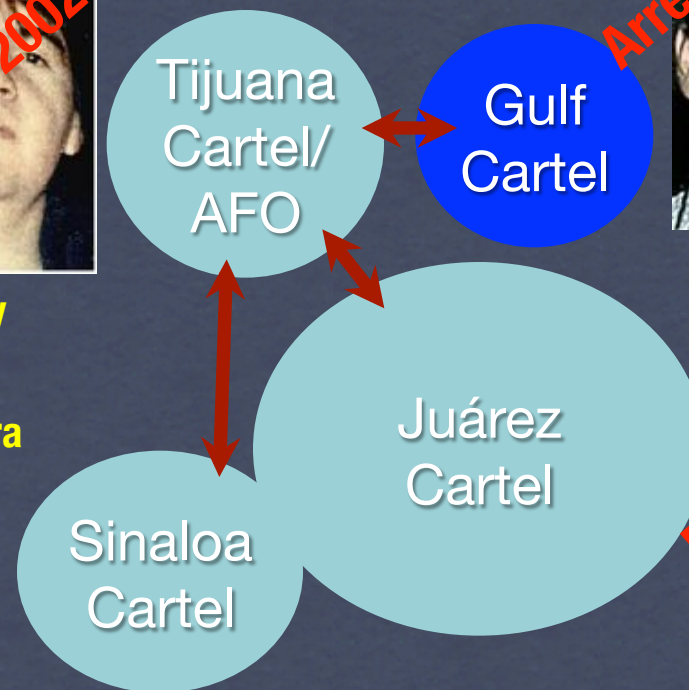


Joaquín
Guzmán Loera

Ismael
Zambada García



1990s



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

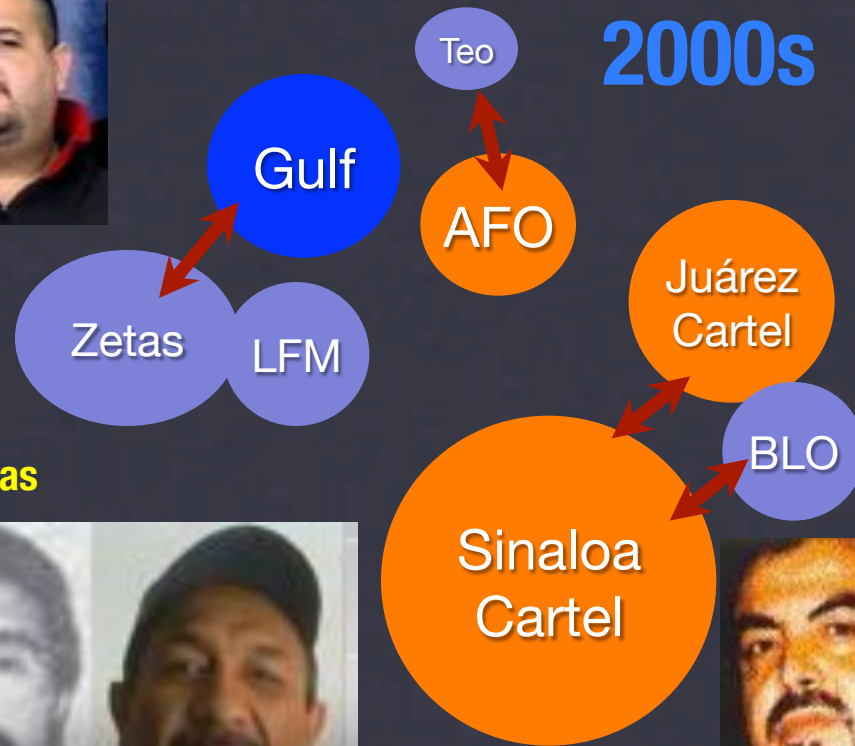
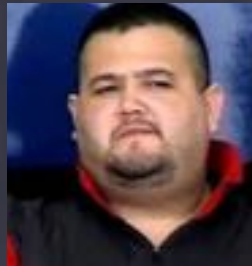


Evolution of Mexico's Cartels

**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**



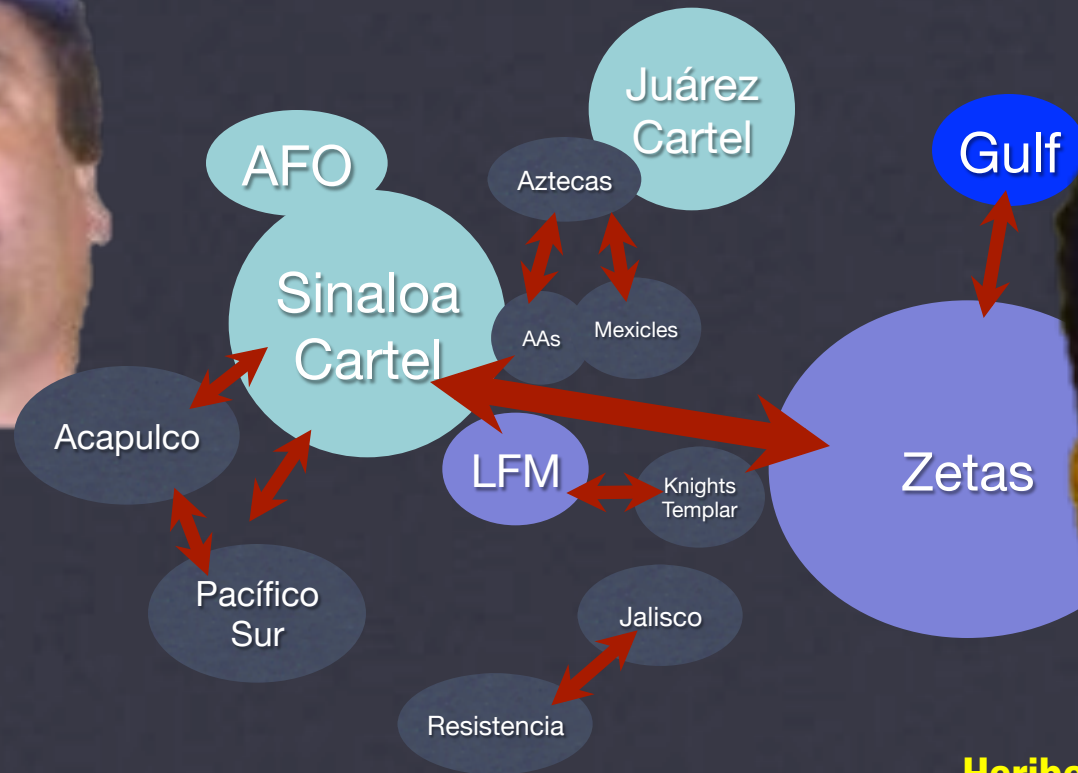
3rd GENERATION SPLITS FROM MAIN CARTELS
Internal Cleavages and Government Targeting Leads to Fragmentation



Evolution of Mexico's Cartels

Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán

2010s



Heriberto Lazcano Lazcano

CONTINUED FRAGMENTATION OR RE-CONSOLIDATION?

Increased Targeting of Ordinary Citizens By Organized Crime Groups



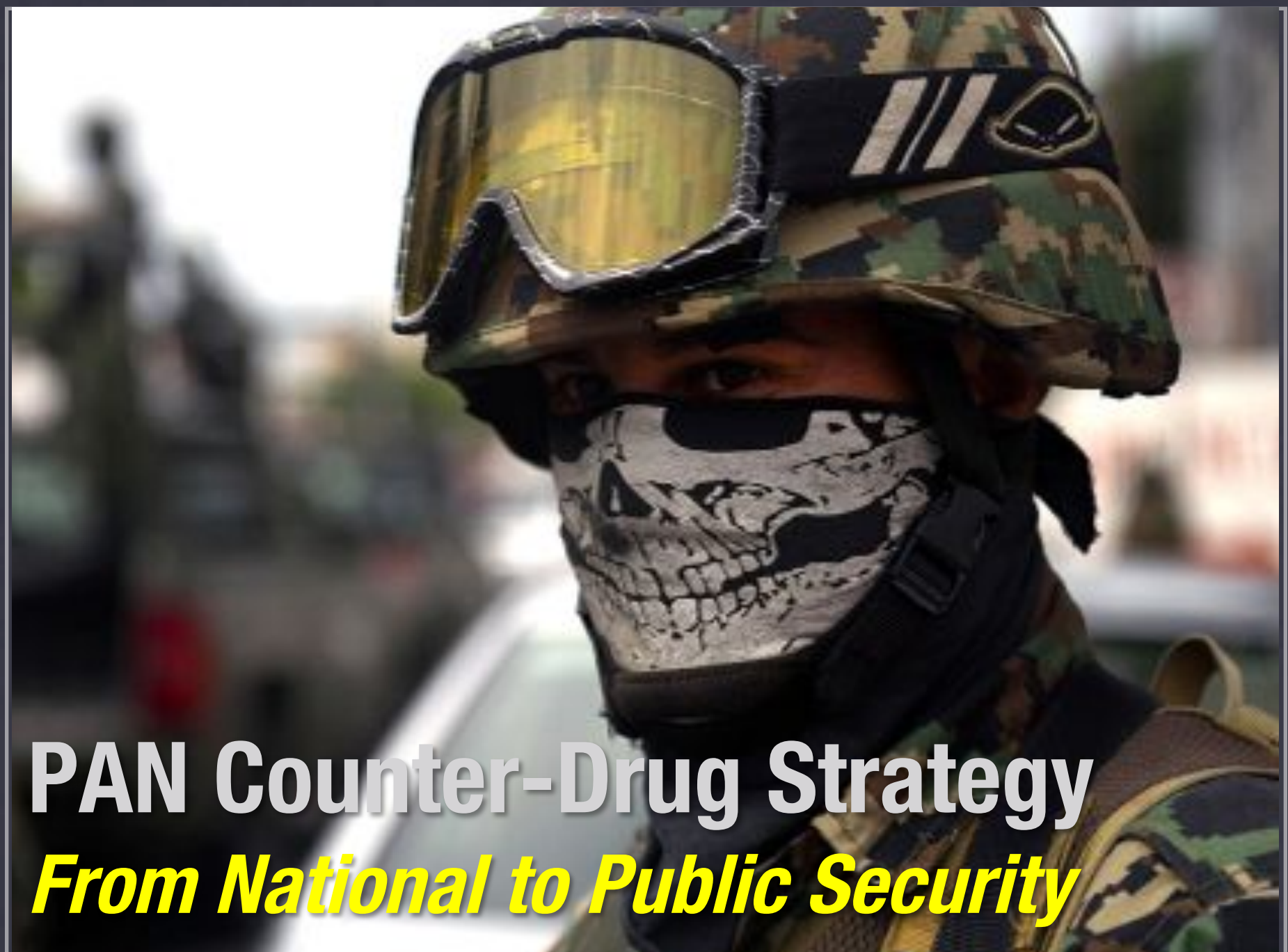
Organizational Profile: Sinaloa Cartel

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



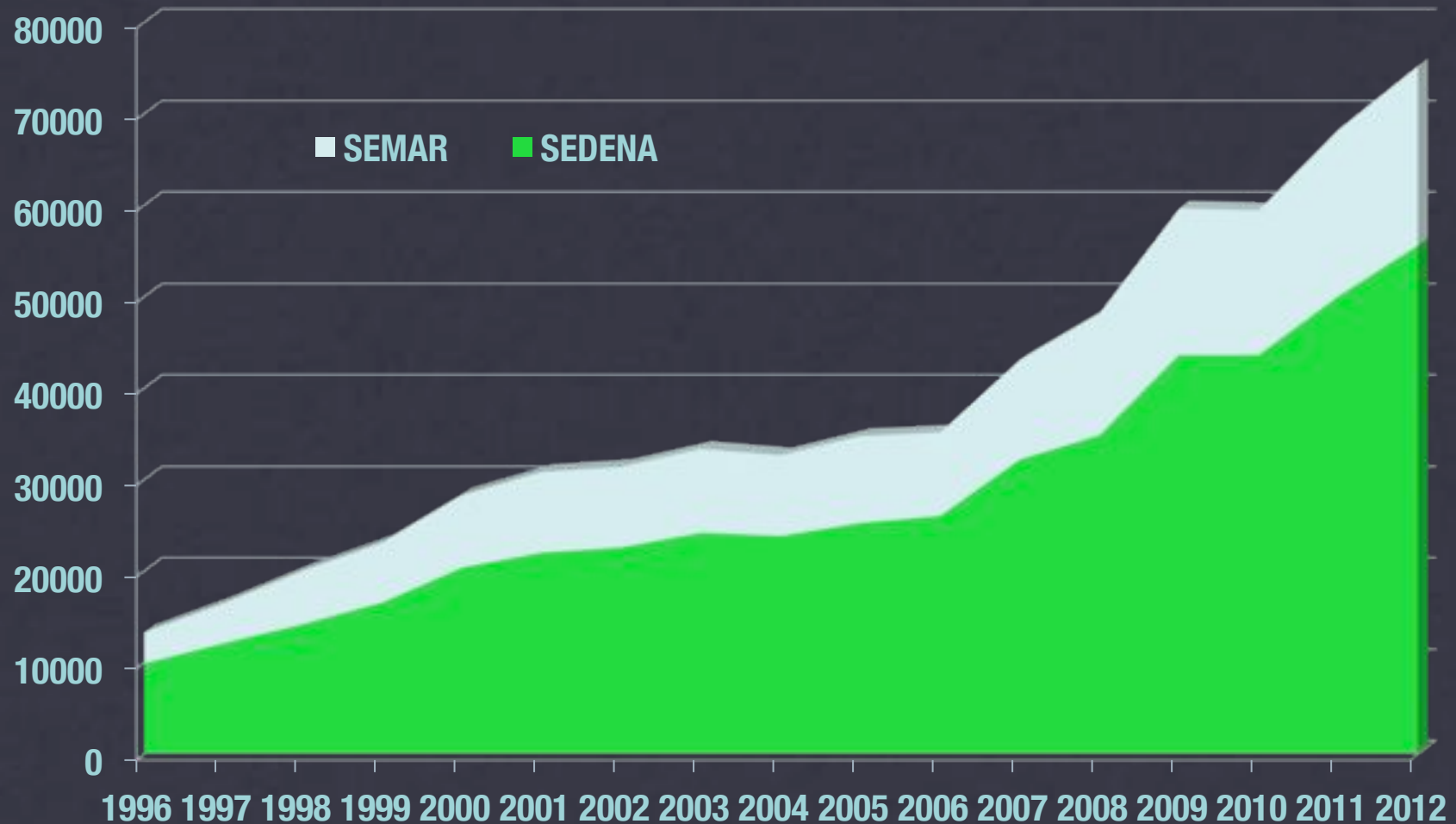
Felipe Calderón (2006-12) Fragmentation Phase

- 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



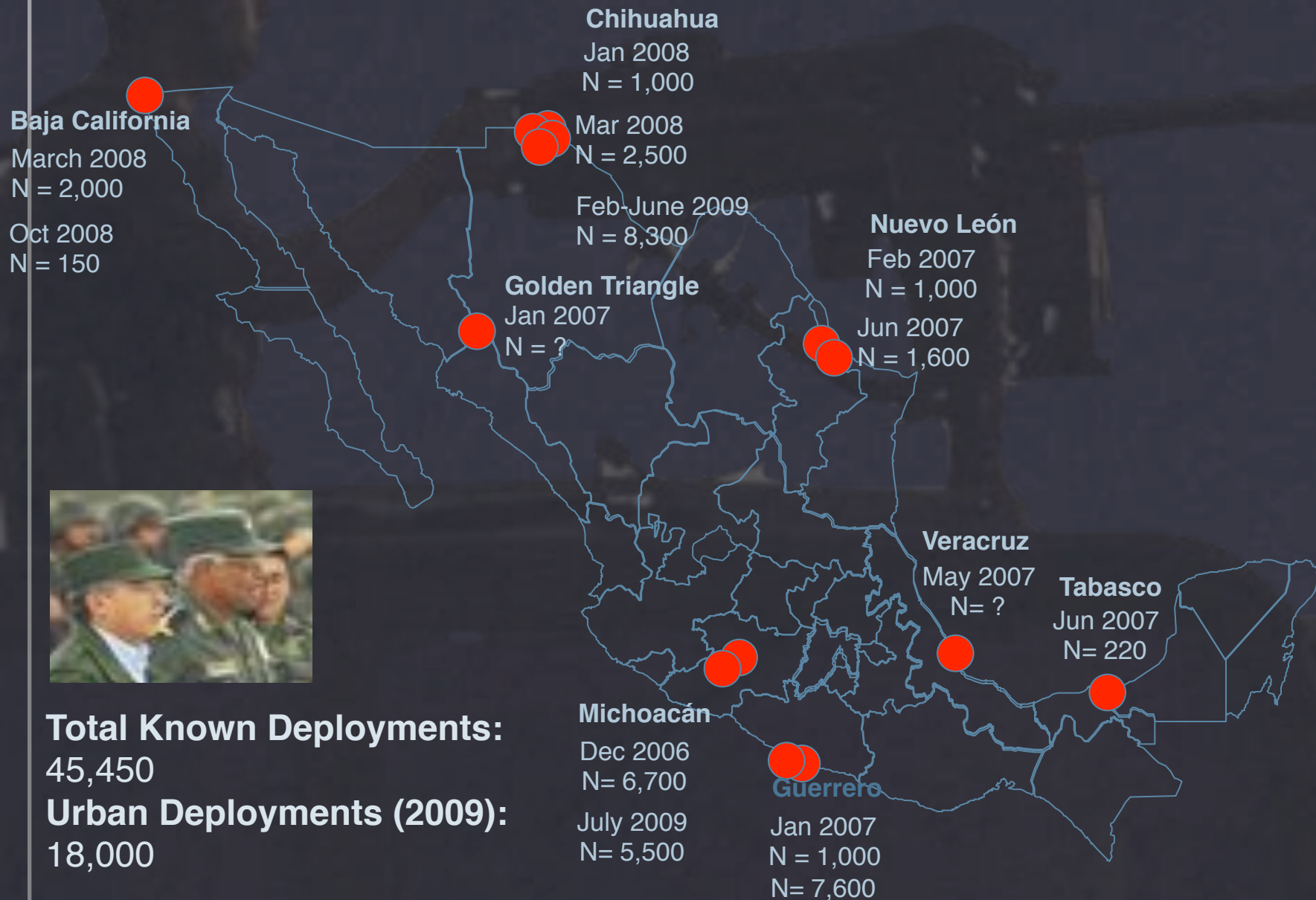
Mexican Military Budgets

Army and Navy Budgets, 1996-2011

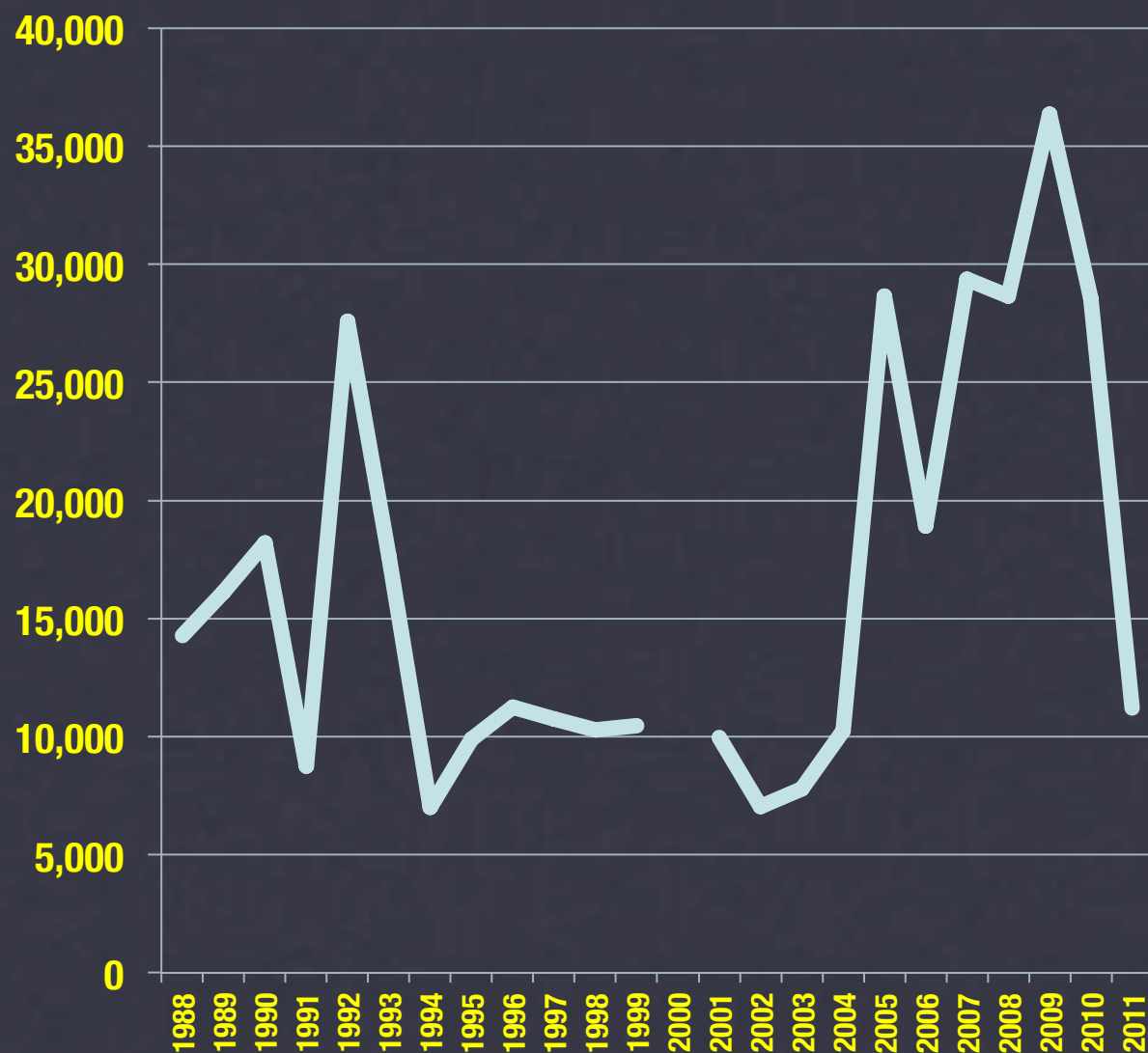


SOURCE: Felipe Calderón, Primer Informe (2007); Quinto Informe. Data Accessed by Judith Davila on May 6, 2009. Data for V Informe accessed by David Shirk on July 19, 2011.

Military and Federal Police Deployments



Drug Related Arrests



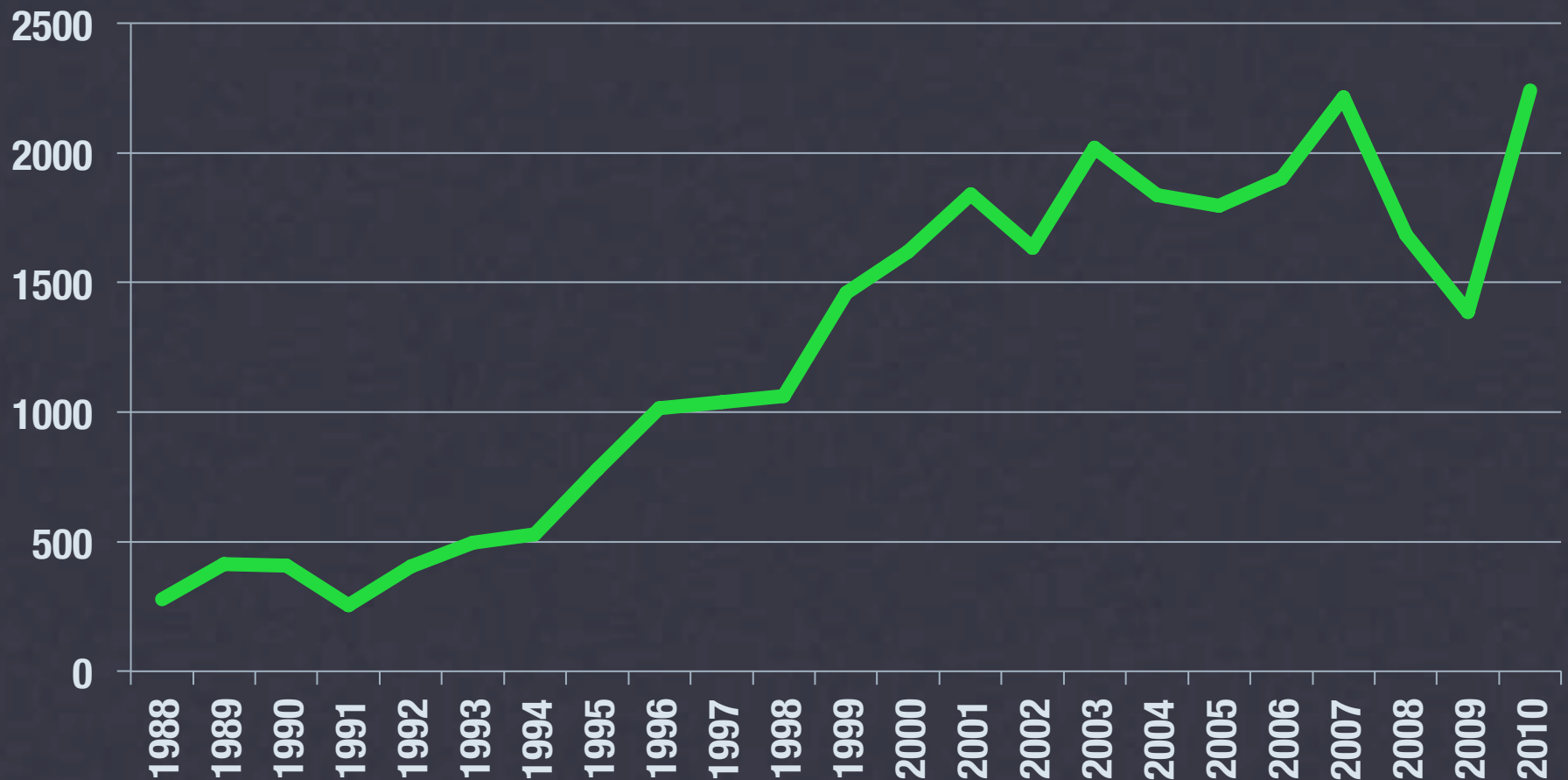
Salvador Alfonso Martinez, AKA "La Ardilla," a regional leader of the Zetas, was arrested in October 2012, accused of 2010 killing of David Michael Hartley.

| | SALINAS 1989- 1994 | ZEDILLO 1995- 2000 | FOX 2001- 2006 | CALDERON 2006- 2010 |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Arrests | | | | |
| (Yearly Average) | 1994 | 2000 | 2006 | 2010 |
| Nationals | 15,464 | 10,327 | 13,584 | 30,375 |
| Foreigners | 190 | 202 | 188 | 349 |
| Total Arrests | 15,654 | 10,528 | 13,773 | 31,446 |
| Labs Destroyed | 8 | 13 | 26 | 101 |

Source: *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 2000-2010*. Decimals are rounded off. Highest annual average marked in **bold** for emphasis.

Crop Eradication Efforts

Cannabis Seizures, 1988-2010



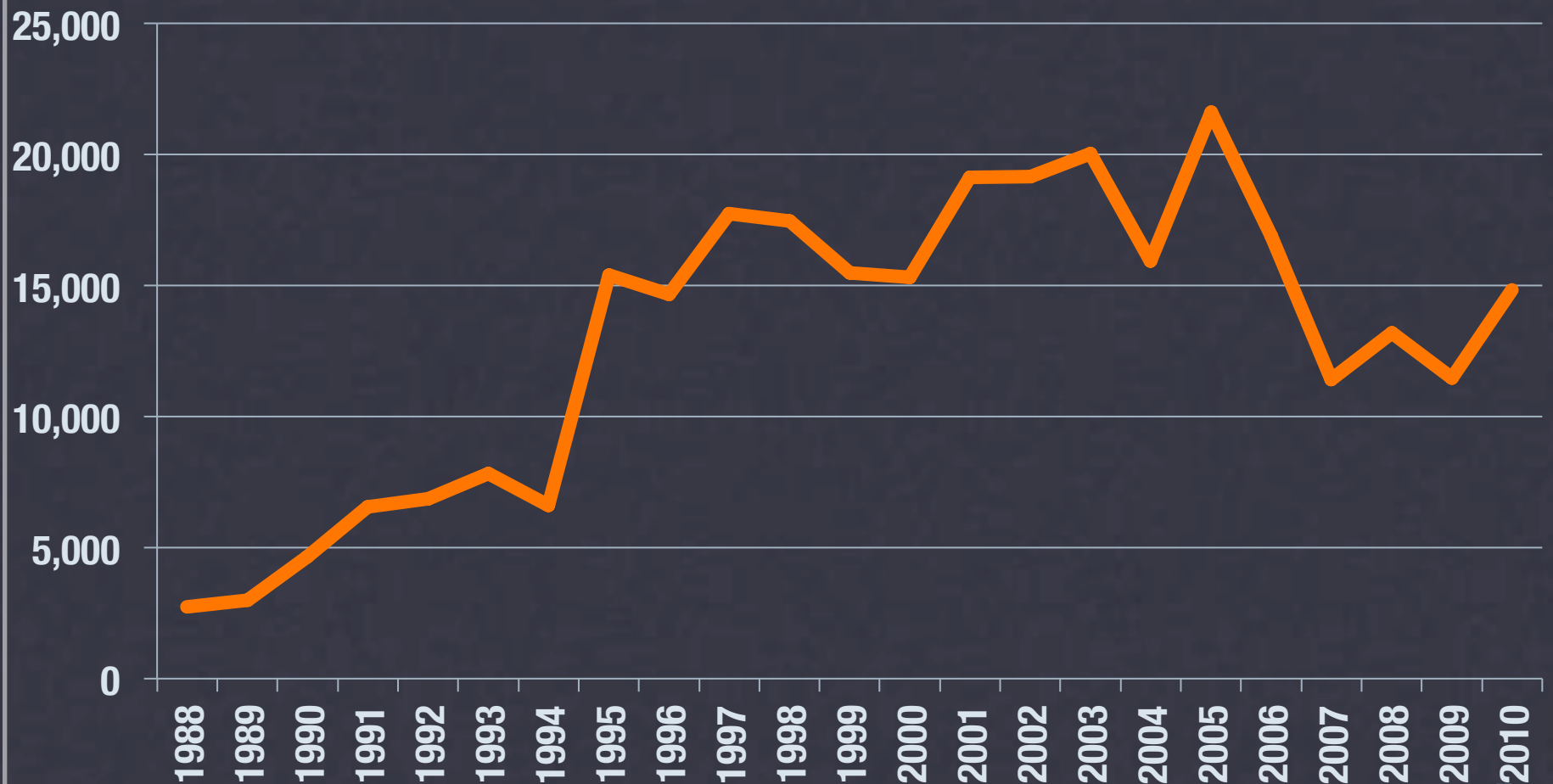
Eradication Probably Reflects Increased Capacity

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



Crop Eradication Efforts

Opium Poppy Eradication (hectares)



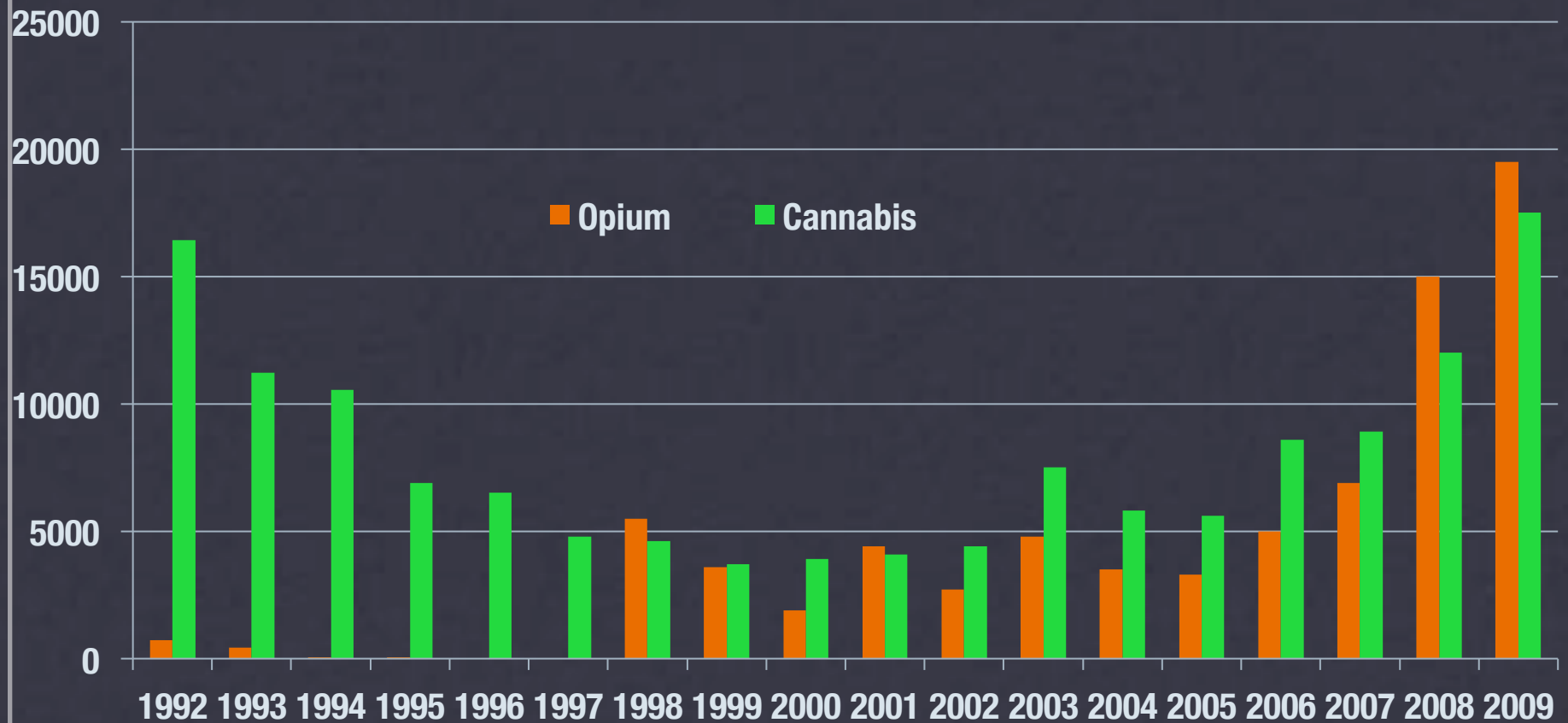
Eradication Probably Reflects Increased Capacity

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



Productive Capacity

U.S. State Department Estimates of Drug Cultivation in Mexico (By Hectare), 1992-2009



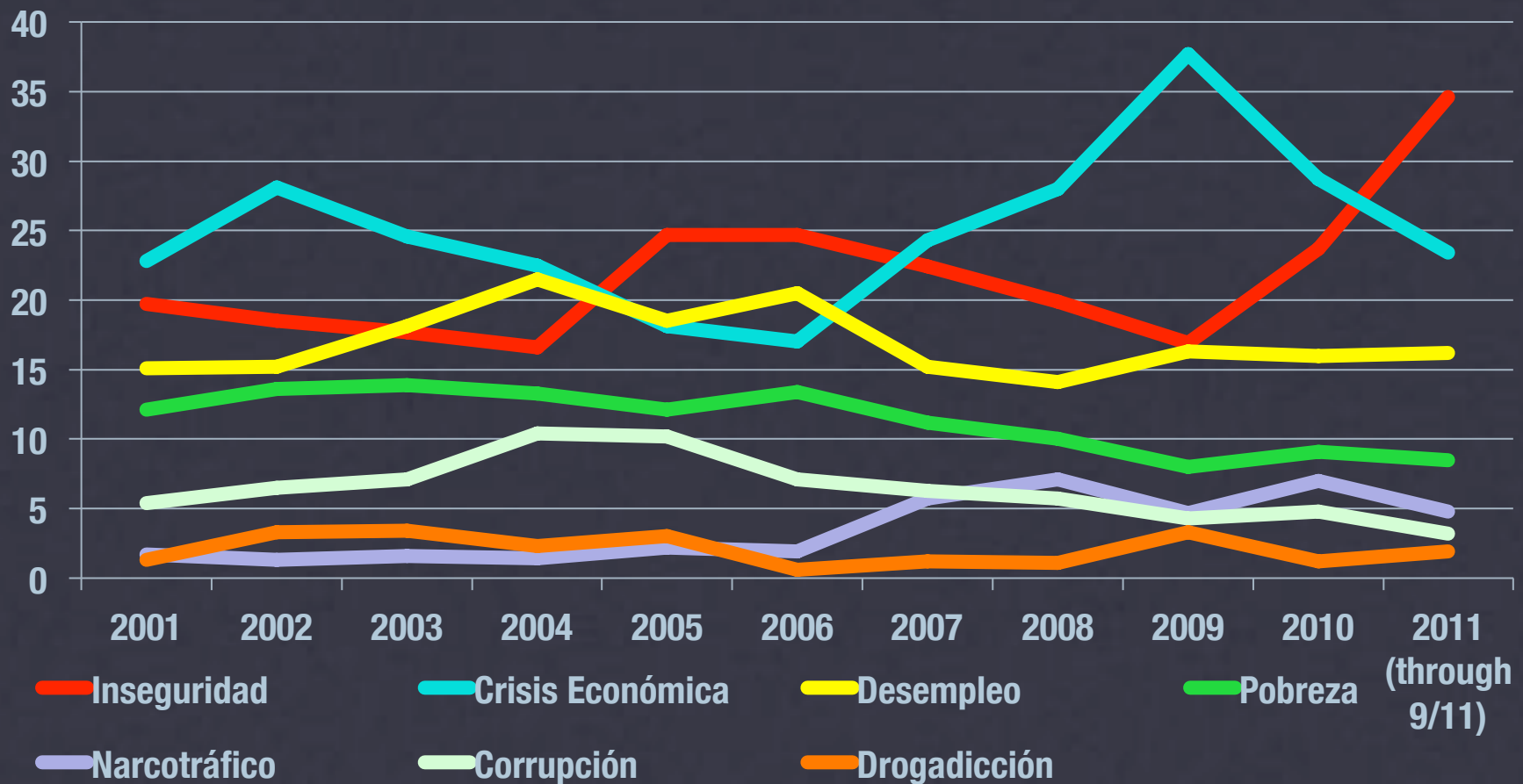
Eradication Probably Reflects Increased Capacity

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



CONSULTA MITOFSKY POLL

Consulta Mitofsky. http://www.consulta.mx/Docs/FusionCharts/EPG_Sep.pdf



The Public's Metrics of Success?

- Levels of crime & violence
- Drug flows & consumption
- Institutional integrity
- Cost vs. benefit

REPROBADO





The Peña Nieto Government

Implications of the New PRI Strategy

The Return of the PRI

Key Priorities for Enrique Peña Nieto

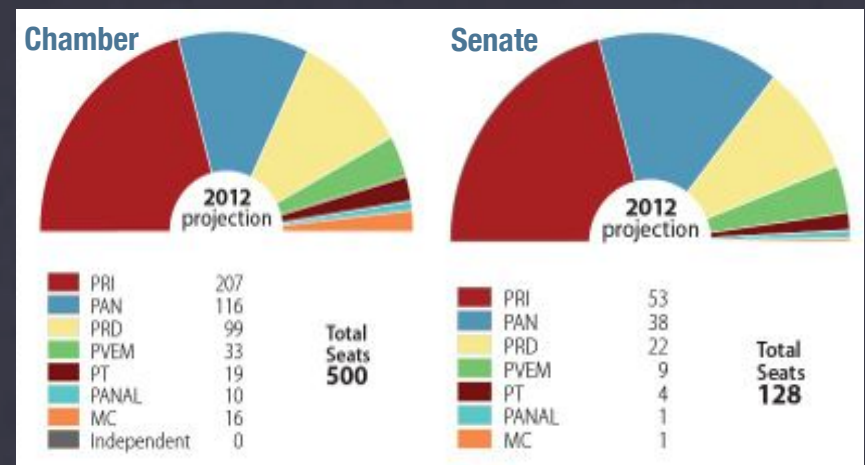
- Restoring Security
- Education Reform
- Pension Reform
- Energy Sector Reform
- Political Reform



Results from State Elections
Ongoing Political Divisions

Source: Clare Seelke, Congressional Research Service

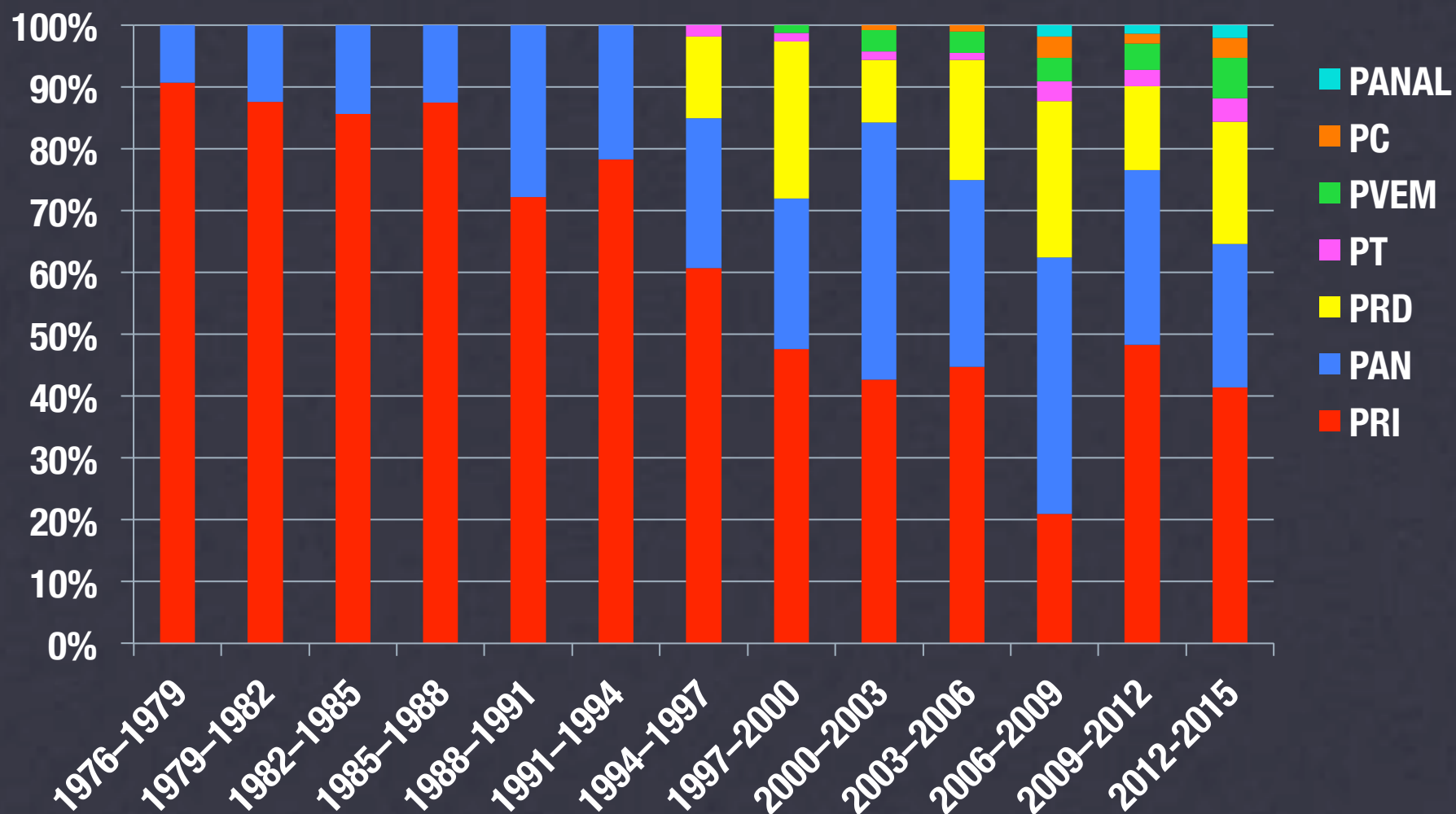
Results of Federal Elections
Chamber of Deputies & Senate



Coalition-Building is Key

Lower Chamber, 1976-2015

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



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



Jesús Murillo Karam
Procurador General de la
República



Salvador Cienfuegos Zepeda
Sec. de la Defensa Nacional



Vidal Francisco Soberón Sanz
Secretario de Marina



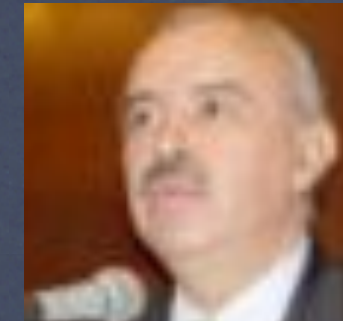
Roberto Miranda Moreno
Jefe del Estado Mayor
Presidencial



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 Olivas 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



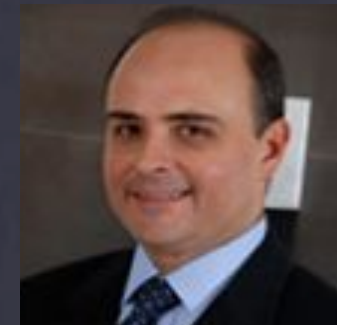
John Kerry
Nominated-Secretary of State



José Antonio Meade Kuribreña
Sec. de Relaciones Exteriores



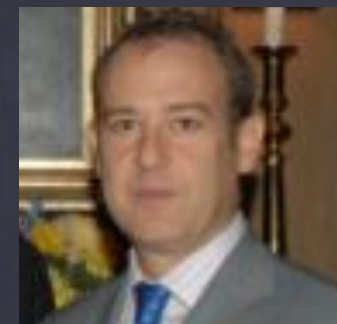
William Brownfield
Asst. Sec. of State
Bureau of INL



Sergio Alcocer Martínez de Castro
Subsecretario Para
América del Norte



Antonio Wayne
U.S. Ambassador to Mexico



Arturo Sarukán
Mexican Ambassador to U.S.

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

Dr. David A. Shirk

Associate Professor, Political Science

Director, Trans-Border Institute

Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies

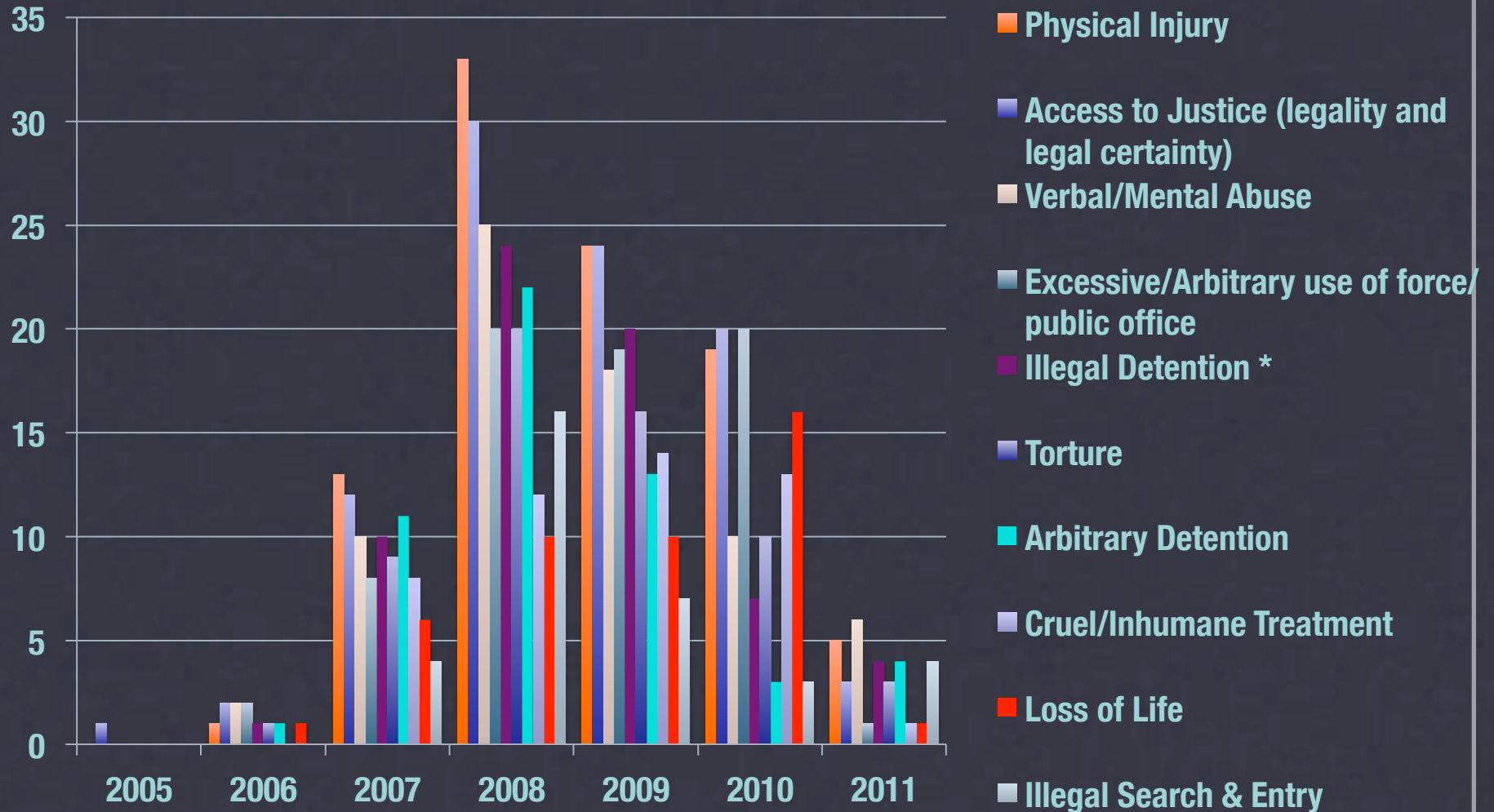
University of San Diego

San Diego, CA 92103

www.justiceinmexico.org

dshirk@sandiego.edu

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



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