



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

---

**INYUVESI  
YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

**Topic: Is the United States winning the War on Drugs: A case study of the flow of drugs from Mexico and Colombia to the United States (2010 – 2020)?**

**By**

**Sifiso Simiso Clive Qogwana**

**Student No: 217064609**

**A Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master's Degree in  
Political Science, School of Social Sciences, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
Howard College Campus**

**Supervisor: Mr. Zakhele Ndlovu**

**June 2022**

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank the University of Kwazulu-Natal for allowing me to express my views and perceptions in this paper. The outstanding individuals who went above and beyond to make this submission possible. To my supervisor Mr Zakhele Ndlovu who guided me through this whole process of writing my master's dissertation. A special thanks go to professor Khondlo Mtshali and Dr Monique Emser, who has always been on standby when I needed any help regarding the dissertation. I want to give the greatest thanks to my single parent, Mrs Jabu Carol Qogwana; without her, I do not know where I would be, and for that, I am grateful, Mama.

## Dedication

This research study is dedicated to my mother, who is my rock and beacon of hope. She is my driving force, and I only want to succeed and give her the life she deserves. This is for you, “Mam Qogwana.”

## Abstract

Drug manufacturing, trafficking, distribution, and selling have wreaked chaos and havoc globally, mainly in the United States of America, which then saw former President Nixon's administration introduce and implement a counternarcotics strategy that would criminalize the sale of illicit substances in America. The problem tackled in this dissertation is a simple yet polarizing question of whether the United States is winning the War on Drugs, which will be analysed and deliberated thoroughly using a case study method that will focus on Colombia and Mexico as they are the manufacturers and transit countries for illicit drugs, respectively. According to Pearl (2018), President Richard Nixon declared war on drugs in 1971, launching a tough-on-crime policy agenda that still produces terrible outcomes today.

The gap in the literature is that previous research has demonstrated that the "War on Drugs" has been a catastrophic failure. Still, this dissertation offers a new lens and perspective by exploring if the drug war has been a success or failure whilst looking at a period from 2010 to 2020 and reaching a probable hypothesis regarding the drug war. This dissertation adopted a qualitative research approach mainly because the events and ideas covered required critical analysis of human behaviour, the decision-making process, philosophies, and beliefs carried out by all actors involved in the "War on Drugs." A case study method was also followed as specific actors in the drug war were targeted, mainly the United States, Colombia, and Mexico. The study used the "Just War Theory," "Social Conflict Theory," and "Rational Choice Theory" in guiding their research. The dissertation found through extensive research and analysis that the drug war was and still is a costly failure that could not achieve its objectives of dismantling and obliterating the illegal drug market. Drug availability, drug overdoses, drug-related crime, and killings are still staggering and growing daily. One recommendation the researcher has suggested is that a decriminalization of illegal narcotics policy be introduced and executed efficiently by the United States to ensure that their citizens are given the treatment they require, as drug use is a disorder/addiction, not a crime that needs punishment.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables .....	x
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	xi
1. Research Introduction .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2. Background of the Study .....	1
1.3. Purpose of the Study.....	4
1.4. Problem statement .....	5
1.5. Significance of research.....	6
1.6 Research questions and objectives.....	7
1.6.1 Research Objectives: .....	7
1.7. Research design .....	7
1.8. Limitations.....	8
1.9. Structure of the dissertation.....	8
1.10 Conclusion .....	9
2. Literature review.....	9
2.1. Introduction .....	9
2.2 Brief overview of the literature review: .....	10
2.3 The “War on Drugs” campaign .....	10
2.4 Ineffectiveness and the alleged failure of the drug war .....	13
2.5 The Balloon Effect and the decriminalization of the “War on Drugs.” .....	15
2.6 Colombia as a manufacturer of illicit substances .....	17
2.7. Mexico as a transit country for illegal drugs. ....	19
2.8 Is the United States of America winning the War on Drugs?.....	21
2.9 Cocaine Overview .....	23
2.9.1 Transportation and distribution .....	24
2.10 Methamphetamine Overview .....	25
2.10.1 Production and Trafficking .....	26
2.11 Marijuana Overview.....	27
2.11.2 Production and Trafficking .....	27
2.12 Heroin Overview .....	28

2.12.1 Production and Trafficking .....	29
2.13 Major Arrests made in the “War on Drugs.” .....	29
2.13.1 Mexican TCO's major arrests .....	29
2.13.2 Colombian TCOs Major Arrests .....	31
2.14 Drug War Arrests Overview .....	31
2.15 The Economic Impact of the Drug War .....	32
2.16 Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	33
2.16.1 The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s involvement in the “War on Drugs”. .....	34
2.16.2 Federal Bureau of Investigation’s recent links to the drug scourge: .....	35
2.17 Drug Enforcement Administration .....	36
2.17.1 Drug Enforcement Administration’s involvement in the “War on Drugs”. .....	36
2.17.2 Drug Enforcement Administration's latest arrests in the drug war: .....	37
2.18 Central Intelligence Agency .....	38
2.18.1 Central Intelligence Agency involvement in the “War on Drugs”. .....	38
2.19 What is the level of cooperation between all states? .....	39
2.19.1 Co-operation explained: .....	39
2.20 Political Cooperation in International Relations: .....	39
2.21 The Level of Cooperation between all participating states: .....	40
2.22 Colombia and the United States of America’s relations in the “War on Drugs.” .....	40
2.22.1 Plan Colombia in the drug war:.....	41
2.22.2 Plan Patriota, National Consolidation Plan and Peace Colombia: .....	43
2.23 Mexico and U.S. Relations in the “War on Drugs”.....	46
2.24 President Enrique Pena Nieto’s security strategy:.....	49
2.24.1 The Merida Initiative and Mexico’s continued fight against illegal drug trafficking: .....	49
2.24.2 How was the Merida Initiative Implemented? .....	54
2.24.3 The Merida Initiative and Its Four Pillars: .....	55
2.25 Diplomacy and Extradition .....	55
2.26 Conclusion .....	57
3. Theoretical framework.....	58
3.1 Introduction .....	58
3.2 Understanding Theory in Political Science. ....	58
3.3 Political Theory and The Theoretical Framework.....	59
3.4 Theoretical Framework .....	59
3.5 Just War Theory.....	59
3.6 Jus ad Bellum.....	62

3.6.1 Just Cause .....	62
3.6.2 Just Peace .....	62
3.6.3 Legitimacy.....	63
3.6.4 Proportionality and Last Resort.....	64
3.7 Jus in Bello .....	64
3.8 Jus Post Bellum .....	65
3.9 Social Conflict Theory.....	66
3.9.1 Assumptions .....	67
3.10 Rational Choice Theory:.....	68
3.10.1 Choice Theory Assumptions: .....	69
3.11 Conclusion:.....	70
4. Research Methods and Methodologies .....	70
4.1 Introduction .....	70
4.2 The Hallmarks of Scientific Research .....	70
4.3 Research Methodologies.....	71
4.4 Qualitative Research Characteristics .....	73
4.5 Research Design .....	73
4.6 Research Methods – Case Study Research Design.....	74
4.7 Case study epistemological approaches.....	75
4.8 Interpretative Approach: .....	75
4.9 Exploratory Research .....	76
4.10 Descriptive Research .....	76
4.11 Data Collection methods .....	77
4.11.1 Secondary Data Collection Methods:.....	77
4.12 Ethical Considerations.....	78
4.13 Conclusion .....	79
5. Results/Findings, discussion, and analysis .....	79
5.1 Introduction .....	79
5.2 Is the United States Winning the War on Drugs?.....	79
5.2.1 Cocaine trafficking, distribution and usage:.....	93
5.2.2 Methamphetamine trafficking, distribution and usage: .....	96
5.2.3 Heroin trafficking, distribution, and usage:.....	99
5.2.4 Marijuana trafficking, distribution, and usage: .....	102
5.3 Mexican Transnational Criminal Organization's significant arrests:.....	105
5.4 Colombian TCOs Major Arrests.....	108

5.5 Drug War Arrests.....	109
5.6 The Economic Impact of the Drug War .....	110
5.7 Federal Bureau of Investigation:.....	112
Federal Bureau of Investigation’s recent links to the drug scourge: .....	114
5.8 Drug Enforcement Administration: .....	115
5.9 Central Intelligence Agency: .....	118
5.9.1 The Central Intelligence’s Role in the drug war: .....	120
5.10 What is the level of cooperation between the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico? .....	122
5.10.1 Colombia and the United States of America’s relations in the “War on Drugs.” .....	122
5.10.2 Mexico and U.S. Relations in the “War on Drugs” .....	128
5.10.3 Rational Choice Theory and the “War on Drugs” campaign. ....	135
5.10.4 Globalization in the drug war:.....	136
5.10.5 Diplomacy and Extradition .....	137
5.11 Conclusion:.....	139
6. Conclusion and recommendations .....	139
6.1 Introduction .....	139
6.2 Conclusions and Recommendations. ....	140
6.2.1 Is the United States Winning the War on Drugs? .....	140
6.2.2 What role did the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, and Central Intelligence Agency play in combatting the illicit narcotics trade?.....	142
6.2.3 What is the level of cooperation between the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico? .....	143
6.3 Conclusion .....	144
Reference List .....	145

## List of Figures

Figure 1: is an illustration of Coca cultivation in Colombia .....	18
Figure 1.2: Illustrates the demand for drugs being used, the number of estimated drug users in the U.S., and the money spent in fighting the “War on Drugs” .....	20
Figure 1.3: shows the consequences of the drug war .....	21
Figure 1.4: Data Shows Number of Past months, nonmedical users of psychotherapeutic drugs to other selected drugs of abuse, 2016. ....	22
Figure 1.5: Total number of deaths from drugs poisoning involving Cocaine in the United States and the district of Colombia, 2010 – 2018. ....	24
Figure 1.6: shows the values of Coca cultivation (hectares) and pure Cocaine production (Metric Tons) .....	25
Figure 1.7: shows the number of Marijuana traffickers and the years from 2016 to 2020. ....	28
Figure 1.8: Illustrates Operation Trojan/OTF Greenlight results which include the participation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, Politie, Polisen etc. ....	35
Figure 1.9: Estimates of Potential Cocaine Production in Colombia, 2000-2013 .....	42
Figure 1.10: Illustrates U.S. Aid to Colombia since Plan Colombia’s introduction. ....	43
Figure 1.11: Shows the Estimated Organized Crime-Related Homicide in Mexico .....	48
Figure 1.12: the Four Pillars of the Merida Initiative. ....	51
Figure 1.13: Funding for the Merida Initiative by Account.....	53
Figure 1.14: Illustrates the Number of Extraditions from Mexico to the United States from 2010 to 2020 .....	57
Figure 1.15: Racial Disparities in Drug Arrests Fell but Remained Pronounced Youth and adult drug arrests by race, 2009 and 2019. ....	82
Figure 1.16: Illustrates the Number of Black and Hispanic People Entering State Prison for Drug Offenses Fell Dramatically From 2009 to 2019 10-year change in drug-related prison admissions by race and sex in 39 states with available data .....	83
Figure 1.17: Illustrates the Past Month Illicit Drug Use Among Persons Aged 12 or Older: 2010.....	85
Figure 1.18: illustrates the past year's Illicit Drug Use: Among People Aged 12 or Older; 2020. ....	85
Figure 1.19: Illustrates Drug Deaths Per 100,000 Population .....	90
Figure 1.20: Percentage of Prisoners Sentenced for Drug Offences.....	91
Figure 1.21: Percentage of People Using Any Illegal Drug Last Year .....	92
Figure 1.22: accounts for drug poisoning deaths involving Cocaine from 2006 to 2016. ....	94

List of Tables

Table 1: Estimated Merida Initiative funding: FY 2007- FY 2018 (Request) in Millions. .... 52

Table 2: Illustrates the estimated annual number of arrests for drug offences in the United States from 2010 – to 2020 ..... 109

Table 3: Represents the four pillars of the Merida Initiative and expands on figure 1.12, which illustrates the Merida Initiative along with its four pillars briefly..... 134

## List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Full Name/ Description	Acronym
Bandas Criminales	BARCRIM
Central Intelligence Agency	CIA
Jalisco New Generation Cartel	CJNG
Colombian Strategic Development Initiative	CSDI
Cocaine Signature Program	CSP
Drug Enforcement Administration.	DEA
Department of Justice	DOJ
Drug Trafficking Organizations	DTO
Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional	ELN
Economic Support Fund	ESF
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia- Ejercito Del Pueblo	FARC
Federal Bureau of Investigation	FBI
Field Division (DEA)	FD
Foreign Military Finance	FMF
International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement	INCLE
National Forensic Laboratory Information System	NFLIS
National Survey on Drug Use and Health	NSDUH
Money Laundering Organizations	MLO
Northwest Border	NWB
Policia Federal Ministerial	PFM
Southwest Border	SWB
U.S. Agency for International Development	USAID

# 1. Research Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

The research study gives updates and sheds light on the “War on Drugs” campaign initiated by the United States' former President Nixon. The introduction chapter will focus on the introduction and background of the study, the purpose of the study, the problem statement, the significance of the study, the research questions and objectives, and the study's limitations.

## 1.2. Background of the Study

Drug distribution and drug trafficking are rattling most societies and causing chaos in most states, as many lives are lost in the process of using drugs and trafficking. The “War on Drugs” is a campaign that the American government initiated to try to cease and decrease the level of drug distribution and trafficking by implementing strict and harsh prison sentences for all offenders. Pearl (2018) wrote that President Richard Nixon called for a war on drugs in 1971, setting a tough-on-crime policy agenda that continues to produce disastrous results today. Policymakers at all levels of government passed harsher sentencing laws and increased enforcement, especially for low-level drug offences. Herrera (2020), in her Master of Public Administration dissertation, argued that there had been massive misuse of illegal drugs in the United States. Henceforth, Herrera (2020) reported that through this, the U.S. has decided to criminalize unlawful drug use and abuse to try to decrease illicit drug availability and trafficking.

Drug distribution and drug trafficking are a problem because they affect national productivity, increase the death rate, and disturb the peace in many communities and states that are affected by these factors. National Drug Intelligence Center (2017) wrote that “the most visible consequences of drug abuse and trafficking are poor health, sickness, and eventually death...the economic impact of drug abuse on businesses and the national economy is catastrophically devastating as it poses a risk to economic growth and expansion as huge numbers of the human capital are lost through the process of drug abuse. Other economic consequences are the growing burden on the state and local government resources and, ultimately, the taxpayer.”. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2018), the worldwide drug trafficking industry is continually changing, hurting economic and social progress and contributing to crime, insecurity, and HIV. In further explaining the above statement, drug distribution and trafficking is a nuisance to society as

it has devastating consequences that not only dismantle the economy but also obliterate the livelihoods of civilians. An INTERPOL (2021) publication further highlighted the issues and problems associated with drug trafficking and distribution. In their statement, they mentioned that states are affected by drug trafficking and distribution in a manner that undermines political and economic stability and often ruins individual livelihoods. Another consequence of drug use, abuse and trafficking is the neglect of children, which has increased the in-take of foster children. The high foster-care intake in the United States further demonstrates this. In summation, the most common and gruesome consequences suffered through drug abuse and trade are absenteeism, loss of productivity, loss of human capital, economic instability, political instability, high death rates and further growth of Transnational Criminal Organizations (Cartels) that continue to make billions in the illicit drug trafficking market.

(U.S. Department of Justice, 2000. P, 1-68) argued in their unclassified government publication that the United States of America has introduced and implemented other measures other than relying on strict, harsh prison sentences; they have initiated drug prevention methods through all levels of schools, reaching out to high-risk individuals that might be suffering from historical trauma or devastating circumstances at homes that drugs are not the answer. Furthermore, the United States Department of Justice (2010) promoted empowering communities to stand as one in their fight against drugs. Other measures that have been taken are the treatment of drug abuse, family-oriented treatment, the treatment of ex-convicts, giving them a second lease on life, and lastly, treating adolescents that have suffered from the might of drug abuse and drug trafficking. The Drug Enforcement Administration and the U.S. Department of Justice supported and implemented extensive policing as another drug trafficking and distribution measure. In their argument, both agreed on community policing, reducing drug availability, reducing drug use and drug abuse, and initiating measures that avoid incarceration. The United States of America has utilized other measures and policies to reduce and curb the high drug-use levels through extensive research and data collection that provides methods and efforts that the state could implement instead of arresting first-time offenders and low-level drug offenders. Other policies involve prevention, treatment and rehabilitation centres across the country that were introduced to assist drug offenders and drug users by providing facilities and infrastructure that help drug addicts and offenders rehabilitate and get back into society through the assistance of the state.

The background and outlining section in this research paper would like to provide readers with a brief overview of the “War on Drugs” campaign since its introduction in 1971. History.com Editors (2019) stated that as part of the War on Drugs effort, Nixon expanded federal money for drug-control agencies and sought harsh drug-crime penalties such as obligatory prison sentences. The “War on Drugs” resulted from increased recreational drug use in the United States. It was an act of fighting back from the U.S. government's standpoint. Furthermore, History.com Editors (2019) stated that the government further implemented the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse prevention (SAODAP), which was later followed by the introduction of the Drug Enforcement Administration two years later in 1973, which targeted the trafficking and distribution of illegal drugs in and within the United States, respectively. According to History.com Editors (2017 and 2019), It is believed that at the beginning of the Drug Enforcement Administration’s formation, the federal agency was given 1470 federal agents to form part of the agency and a budget of less than \$75 million. The Federal agency is estimated in 2021 to have more than 5000 special agents and a whopping budget of \$2,03 Billion.

Furthermore, History.com Editors (2019), along with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (n.d.), which is an unclassified government publication, stated that in 1994 it was suspected that the “War on Drugs” had ulterior motives as former President Nixon was using the drug war as a means to an end, which in this context refers to Nixon using the drug war to keep his post as President. In an interview conducted by Dan Baum for Harper Magazine in 1994, President Richard Nixon's domestic policy chief Mr Ehrlichman stated that the former President had two enemies in this war, the “Anti-War left, and the Blacks”. According to the publication from History.com Editors (2017 and 2019), the “War on Drugs” took a brief hiatus resulting in an estimated 11 states decriminalizing Marijuana. Jimmy Carter, then president, was responsible for such drastic changes. In the 1980s, the “War on Drugs” was revolutionized by Ronald Reagan. According to History.com Editors (2019), President Ronald Reagan reinforced and expanded many of Nixon’s War on Drugs initiatives. The first lady of the former presidential administration launched a “Just Say No” to drugs campaign, which was meant to highlight drug use and abuse consequences.

Furthermore, President Reagan's reinforcement, reinstatement, and expansion of drug-related offences led to mass incarcerations for non-violent drug offences, such as first-time offenders. According to history.com editors (2019), the drug war further spiralled out of control as the American government or congress implemented the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, which mandated minimum jail sentences for minimum drug offences. This act exacerbated and perpetuated the racial discrimination that was ruining America because it increased incarceration rates for minority groups, which were mostly Blacks and Latinos. According to the Pew Research Centre, many states collectively reduced penalties for drug offences and shortened mandatory prison sentences between the period of 2009 to 2014. The researcher believes the “War on drugs campaign has lost its aggressiveness due to the decrease or loss of civilian support. Mexico themselves have decided to take a different approach to combat drugs. The Trump and Biden administrations reduced activity and recent spending related to the drug war as a soft stance is being taken by the United States both nationally and internationally, opting to adopt a prevent-and-treat approach.

### 1.3. Purpose of the Study

The “War on Drugs” has impacted and affected many lives around the globe, mainly in the United States, because it has introduced institutionalized racism, which the researcher believes can and will be considered a factor in determining if the United States is winning the “War on Drugs”. O’Dowd (2020) wrote, “Systemic racism”, or “institutional racism”, refers to how ideas of white superiority are captured in everyday thinking at a systems-level: taking in the big picture of how society operates rather than looking at one-on-one interactions”. The author stated that systemic racism could include laws and regulations targeting a specific ethnic group, the Blacks and Latinos or simply the minority groups. Institutionalized racism is further highlighted and discussed by Cooper (2015), Stemen (2017), and Herrera (2020) in the literature review section and the data analysis section. The “War on Drugs” has also affected economic growth and expansion. The war led to financial instability and turmoil in states like the United States, Colombia, and Mexico, which have fought tooth and nail to decrease mass crime and mass killings in their states, respectively. The study will utilise economic growth and expansion to reach a possible outcome in determining if the “War on Drugs” has been successful or a failure. The study will investigate if the outflow of drugs from the America’s has increased or decreased within the specified period (2010-2020).

The research will also give insightful information into the role played by the F.B.I., D.E.A., and C.I.A. in fighting the “War on Drugs”. The aim is to explore and investigate the origin, purpose, role and impact the Federal bureau of investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Central intelligence agency has had in combating the “War on Drugs”. Lastly, the research study will explore the level of cooperation between the United States, Mexico and Colombia concerning the “War on Drugs”.

#### 1.4. Problem statement

The War on Drugs has had a massive impact on the international arena. It has affected and impacted the livelihoods of millions of American, Colombian and Mexican citizens. It has wreaked havoc and chaos throughout the world in other states like the Philippines, Peru, and Bolivia, to name a few, which later joined the War on Drugs campaign. Not only have many lives been lost, but it has also led to mass incarcerations of innocent minority groups, mass killings and organized crimes within Mexico and Colombia. The economic impact is devastating and catastrophic, to say the least, as taxpayers’ money is utilized to fight a war deemed unnecessary by the American people. Coyne and Hall (2017) argued that “the U.S. War on Drugs, like the ill-fated war on alcohol of the early 20th century, is a prime example of disastrous policy, naked self-interest, and repeated ignorance on the part of elected officials and other policymakers. From its inception, the drug war has repeatedly led to waste, fraud, corruption, violence, and death”. The “War on Drugs” is a provocative and polarising discussion as it has many sceptics and supporters who believe it is a necessity and many other scholars, instructors and citizens thinking it is immoral, needless, and wasteful.

The research study’s primary focus is to highlight the problems and give solutions to a 50-year-old war that has led to the loss of livelihoods, wasteful expenditure in the form of capital spent in fighting the war, wasteful use of state agencies such as the F.B.I., D.E.A., C.I.A., the institutionalization of racism in a country already crying for help, and mass crime and killings in other states partaking in the War on Drugs under the premise of supporting the United States in their mission of eradicating drug use and trafficking. According to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2021), In 2020, approximately 217.6 million people used illegal substances. Marijuana has the highest use rate, at about 49.6 million people. Whilst Cocaine has an estimated 5.2 million users in the year 2020. Methamphetamine has approximately 2.5

million users, and Heroin has an estimated 902,000 people. Drug use, abuse and distribution is a pandemic as it affects the whole world as many people around the globe suffer from drug abuse distributed and trafficked by the cartels, mainly in Mexico and Colombia. This is more than enough evidence to conduct rigorous and unbiased research that will give solutions to an issue that has ruined lives and perpetuated violence, overdoses and arrests of our global citizens. To highlight a few crucial factors, the research will investigate the economic impact caused by the war on drugs. The number of arrests made in all states regarding drug trafficking. Drug consumption and drug overdoses within the United States. Mass crime and mass killings within all states answer if the United States is winning the War on Drugs.

### 1.5. Significance of research

Drug use and drug trafficking are significant concerns in the modern era. The War on Drugs, as stated previously, was initiated with the sole purpose of eradicating and dismantling drug actors, drug-making, and drug trafficking. The study conducted by the researcher critically evaluates if the United States of America is winning the War on Drugs while focusing on a specified period from 2010 to 2020. This research study is necessary and worthwhile because it poses many unanswered questions and offers a new lens or perspective regarding the “War on Drugs,” the study brings different views to the table, engages, and connects with the readers. The gap in the literature regarding this study provides its significance. Other scholars have deemed the war on drugs a severe failure. Still, not many studies explored the costs of the drug war, the increasing number of drug use, drug overdoses, drug-related arrests, and the high number of drugs cultivated in one study whilst looking at the three capital letter agencies (F.B.I, C.I.A., and D.E.A).

Furthermore, what highlights the importance of this study is that the researcher goes as far as investigating the relationship between the three participating states (the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico). The researcher has merged all these indicators and variables into one study while choosing a ten-year time frame to find a probable hypothesis regarding the drug war. The research study is critical because, as stated earlier, drugs are a serious concern to our global citizens. The researcher chose this topic because the United States of America is targeted by Cartels and transnational criminal organizations for their illegal drug trafficking and selling business. The United States is a state of significant interest to TCOs because of their vast wealth and influence in global politics compared to Colombia and Mexico, which are also included in this study. The

study will also play an integral role in updating political science and international relations scholars, instructors, and leaders on the war's progress and how it has fared in the last ten years, mainly through critically evaluating Mexico, Colombia, and the United States of America.

## 1.6 Research questions and objectives

The research study seeks to explore if the United States of America is winning the “War on Drugs” campaign, a fifty-year initiative initiated to curb and cease drug use and drug trafficking in the United States. The key research questions the investigator will address are crucial in determining or reaching a probable hypothesis.

The following questions guide the study, with the first being the main question guiding the study.

1. Is the United States of America winning the War on Drugs?
  - What role does the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Central Intelligence Agency play in fighting the “War on Drugs”.
  - How is the level of cooperation between the United States of America, Mexico, and Colombia?

### 1.6.1 Research Objectives:

The research study has the following objectives

- The study examined whether the United States of America is winning the “War on Drugs.”
- The study looked to investigate the role of the Federal Bureau of investigation, Drug enforcement agency, and central intelligence agency.
- The study wanted to investigate the level of cooperation between the United States, Mexico, and Colombia.

## 1.7. Research design

Akhtar (2016) wrote, “Research design can be considered as the structure of research; it is the “glue” that holds all the elements in a research project together; in short, it is a plan of the proposed research work”. In simple terms, a research design is a blueprint for the research study. It entails the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the research findings related to the study.

### 1.8. Limitations

Limitations that will hinder a perfect study are that the research being conducted will use a desktop study, limiting the researcher in finding credible yet primary data as most information has been published for years and might even be disregarded. The researcher will not conduct any interviews that would have assisted in getting the study credibility and informative first-hand information from the actors and institutions being explored. Time constraints might be a problem in finishing the study on time—the lack of previously published data on the research topic. Lastly, the limited access to specific needed data. The most troubling issue of conducting a desktop study is that you might not be able to gather the information that is relevant to the study because of its different perspective. The study will encounter issues regarding gathering information on the specific timeframe in its entirety, what the investigator means the study might use or refer to data from 2010 to 2014, and maybe later use data from 2015 to 2020.

### 1.9. Structure of the dissertation

This thesis comprises five chapters which will be shown below.

#### **Chapter 1: Research introduction**

This Chapter discusses the study's introduction, the background of the study, the purpose of the study, the problem statement, the significance of the research, the research questions, and the objectives. The Chapter also deliberates on the research design, research methods, data collection methods and limitations of the study.

#### **Chapter 2: Literature review**

This Chapter will explore the level of cooperation between all states by examining Diplomacy and Extradition. Secondly, the Chapter will discuss if the United States is winning the war on drugs while looking at the following period (2010 to 2020). Lastly, the Chapter will critically analyze the roles played by the F.B.I., D.E.A., and C.I.A. in combating the war on drugs.

#### **Chapter 3: Theoretical framework**

This Chapter will deliberate on the theories utilized by the researcher. The chosen theories justify and explain why states go to war, whether it be a conventional war, a war on terror or a war on

drugs. The selected theories also give understanding to readers as to what is the root cause of drug trafficking and why a war on drugs was initiated.

#### **Chapter 4: Research Methods and Methodologies**

This Chapter will examine the research methods and methodologies used in this research project and explain justifiably why these methods and methodologies are appropriate for this study. The Chapter will discuss the research design, qualitative approach, exploratory research, desktop study, and case study method.

#### **Chapter 5: Results/Findings, discussion, and analysis**

This Chapter will analyse and evaluate collected data regarding the war on drugs. The investigation will use exploratory analysis and descriptive analysis to discuss and answer the key questions and try to achieve the set-out objectives for the study.

#### **Chapter 6: Conclusion and recommendations.**

This Chapter will conclude the research study and guide what can be done and how it can be implemented when researching the “War on Drugs”.

### **1.10 Conclusion**

This Chapter has given the readers a detailed introduction, background of the study, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, and research methods and methodologies the readers can expect. The next Chapter will entail the literature review, which will give an overview of the research conducted before and set the tone for the discussion section.

## **2. Literature review**

### **2.1. Introduction**

According to Ramdhani et al. (2014), A literature review is a survey of scholarly articles, books, and other materials related to a specific subject, field of study, or theory, to offer a description, summary and critical evaluation of these works. Literature reviews are intended to provide an overview of your sources when researching a specific issue and show your readers how your research fits into the greater field of study. (libguides.usc.edu, n.d.).

## 2.2 Brief overview of the literature review:

The literature review chapter in this Study will cover the “War on Drugs” by examining previously published data in the form of government publications, books, articles, and journals that align with the research being conducted. In summary, the literature review section will explore the three questions and objectives guiding this research inquiry. This chapter will, in full detail, investigate whether the drug war has succeeded or failed. It will also cover the role played by the three federal agencies in the form of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Drug Enforcement Administration. Lastly, the Central Intelligence Agency, whilst uncovering already published information. Lastly, the literature review section will explain the relationship and cooperation between the United States, Colombia, and Mexico by interpreting the Rational Choice Theory and other published documentation. The research study will not include the rationale section as it has adequately described the research problem and given justification as to why the Study is being conducted. Earlier in the paper, the investigator introduced the purpose and significance of the Study, which covers this chapter.

## 2.3 The “War on Drugs” campaign

Piaggio and Vidwans (2019) wrote in their report “The Cost and Consequences of The War on Drugs” that drug abuse goes back to the early 1800s and 1900s as the drug market was still unregulated, and the authors further mentioned that doctors would prescribe Cocaine along with opium as pain relievers through prescriptions. Piaggio and Vidwans (2019) further claimed that the United States government only took prohibition severe after the Harrison Act of 1914, whereby the government regulated and taxed the consumption of opium and Cocaine. Coyne, Hall, Piaggio, and Vidwans (2017 and 2019) highlighted that the newly implemented prohibitions resulted in the United States government criminalizing the manufacturing, selling, and trafficking of all illicit drugs such as Cocaine, opium, Marijuana, and other illegal substances at the time. Furthermore, the Controlled Substances Act (CSA) of 1970 merged all previously established and used federal laws regarding drug use and drug trading under one umbrella. Coyne and Hall (2017) wrote that drugs were classified according to five categories: their danger to an individual and their addictiveness. Furthermore, Coyne and Hall (2017) claimed that Marijuana and Cocaine were prohibited, which meant that they were subject to no consumption, production or selling.

History.com Editors (2017) wrote that In June 1971, Nixon officially declared a “War on Drugs,” stating that drug abuse was “public enemy number one.” The “War on Drugs” campaign was introduced to destroy all counterparts involved in the drug-making, distributing and selling process from top to bottom. Buxton and Carpenter (2001 and 2006) agreed that since the United States government opted to initiate a war against drugs, it has been a lengthy, exhausting and constantly failing attempt to cease and decrease all drug manufacturing, production and distribution of illicit drugs. Furthermore, Buxton (2006) argued that the United States had one objective in this war which was to achieve an immediate decrease in the drastic and excessive drug use and drug trafficking around the globe through policies that utilized militarized and unilateral measures. Demme (2001) further reiterated that after Nixon’s declaration of war on drugs remained stagnant and did not see much success where the consumption of illegal substances, particularly Cocaine, exploded like a nuclear bomb and the United States government saw drugs as a threat to human civilization.

Coyne and Hall (2017) reported that in the year 1986, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act implemented harsh prison sentences for light drug offences and was later amended to be more brutal towards offenders as drug consumption and trafficking increased not only in the U.S. but in states like Colombia and Mexico was also feeling the wrath and consequences of mass drug use and drug trafficking as organized crime grew, political instability soared, and economic impact was also devastating. The drug Enforcement Administration was introduced in 1975 to enforce the federal prohibition of the drug trade and smuggling within and into the United States, respectively. The drug war experienced a “tough-on-crime” era in the 1980s and 1990s, where mandatory prison sentences were given out to drug-related offenders. The three-strikes law was a policy implemented to soften or decrease the continuation of drug selling and distribution by mixing fear and policy to reduce the rate of repeat offenders. Individuals apprehended in this period faced harsh prison sentences, as stated earlier in the background section of the study, and this often resulted in life prison sentences for offenders. Kovandzic, Sloan, and Vieraitis (2004) reported that the three-strikes law implemented along with the harsh prison sentences was highly ineffective in reducing drug consumption and drug trading; a study in 2006 compiling 18 cities concluded that the three-strikes law was a waste of state resources and deemed inadequate in achieving its objective. Pollack, Reuter, Mezuk, and Walker (2014 and 2018) further confirmed Kovandzic, Sloan, and Vieraitis's

(2004) claims made about the three-strikes laws by further reiterating the ineffectiveness posed and highlighted by reporting that a study conducted concluded there were no differences between the decline of Crack-Cocaine and Cocaine addiction and use even though punishment levels differed significantly.

Furthermore, the researchers concluded that the drug war and the three-strikes laws failed to achieve the objective set out to destabilize the drug trade business, and the targeting of Transnational Criminal Organizations resulted in hiked prices and the Balloon effect. Coyne and Hall (2017) reported that the Obama administration and the government spending on treatment methods caught up with the harsh interdiction, apprehension, and criminalization of drugs which illustrated that the United States was moving towards a more treatment/prevention approach rather than brutal policing. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration wrote that the move towards decriminalization of drugs was escalated by a study conducted in 2015 by the National Survey on Drug Use and Health, which found that only 10.4 per cent of people suffering from drug abuse disorder had received treatment from the state or privately. Furthermore, the National Survey on Drug Use and Health reported that a mere 10 per cent of school administrators utilized state-approved prevention methods.

Coyne and Hall (2017) argued that the United States also introduced ‘drug courts’, which are more lenient towards drug offenders. Supposedly, drug offenders are given lighter prison sentences upon their confirmation of guilt towards drug-related crimes and are later offered treatment methods to cure their drug abuse disorder. Wittouck, Dekkers, De Ruyver, Vanderplasschen, and Laenen (2013) agreed with Mitchell, Wilson, Eggers, and Mackenzie (2012) that there was less effectiveness of drug users and drug trafficking numbers declining even though illegal substances offenders opted to go to drug courts. In closing, the “War on Drugs” campaign introduction to the chapter by Coyne and Hall (2017) claimed that success has been short-lived concerning all policies initiated and implemented by the U.S. government. It further reiterated the dire situation by highlighting that in 2017 approximately 70 000 U.S. citizens died from a drug overdose and that Cocaine levels had surged back up.

## 2.4 Ineffectiveness and the alleged failure of the drug war

Previous research has been published and well documented on the “War on Drugs” progress and how it has fared in contemporary global politics, and the researcher will include those publications and discuss them thoroughly. Researchers Ferreira, Cooper, and Alexandris Polomarkakis (2015) claimed that the drug war’s policy, whether it be national or international, strictly enforces the restriction of illegal drug supply, decreasing availability across the United States, and lastly, making it extremely difficult for drug users and abusers to obtain illicit substances due to price increases that are imposed by the consequences drug traffickers and distributors get when smuggling illegal substances to their destinations (markets).

According to Cooper (2015), who slightly agrees with Ferreira (2015), the aggressive, harsh approach that involves policing has failed to decrease drug use and availability within the United States. Furthermore, Cooper (2015) argues that raids have little or no effect as the balloon effect occurs. The Study, through conducting a thorough literature review, found that dismantling Transnational Criminal Organizations through apprehending and detaining traffickers has proven ineffective. Alexandris Polomarkakis (2017) argued in their statement that police detention of Transnational Criminal Organizations is not practical due to the increase of drug smugglers. Henceforth, Alexandris Polomarkakis claimed that due to the high number of new drug actors, it becomes near impossible to dismantle drug trafficking and distribution as new players enter the arena to replace previously arrested Cartel leaders.

The “War on Drugs” campaign has been seen as a catastrophic unmeasurable failure that has not only failed the minority groups in the United States but has also wreaked havoc and chaos and increased the mortality rate nationally and internationally in states like Colombia and Mexico the drug war is being constantly fought. Herrera (2020) claimed that there had been negative implications regarding the “War on Drugs” policy which can be seen when looking at the social and racial disparities regarding incarcerations of people of colour other than Caucasians. Stemen (2017) agreed with Herrera (2020) by stating that there have been mass incarcerations for people of colour like Herrera noted in her research, but Stemen (2017) takes it a bit further, claiming that even though African Americans and Caucasian Americans consume and use drugs at nearly the

same rate, the national data provided by the National Drug Office on Crime and Drugs (2018), reports that African Americans are charged more for fewer drugs they are caught with, unlike their counterparts. Cooper (2015) claimed since 1982 to 2007, drug-related arrests through the “War on Drugs” had tripled from 500 000 to 1,5 million. Whilst African Americans were less than 13% of the population, they populated American prisons, clearly showing racial disparities. Stemen (2017) later reiterated the racial inequalities imposed by the drug war while analysing more recent data, finding out that out of every 100 000 African Americans, 828 were charged for drug-related offences, while Caucasians accounted for 339 out of 100 000. This further highlighted the social and racial disparities the drug war has enforced and imposed on people of colour.

Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015)) argued that the drug war has never succeeded since its inception in curbing the spread of drug use within the U.S. and has also failed to decrease or cease the supply of illicit drugs. Furthermore, Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015), unlike Ferreira, Cooper, and Alexandris Polomarkakis (2015), argued by giving a different perspective which deems the continued implementation and enforcement of the “War on Drugs” campaign detrimental to the U.S.as citizens become collateral damage in the struggle against drugs. Mohammad and Fulkerson further reiterated the failure of the drug war by explaining that the drug war has failed to assist users and abusers in quitting the use of illegal substances. Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015) agreed that the drug war’s continued existence would introduce a new chapter of the “War on Drugs” ridden with harmful consequences, mass killings, the rise of new kingpins and new Transnational Criminal Organizations. The Editorial Staff (2019) agrees with the research published by both Mohammad and Fulkerson. Furthermore, the editorial staff argued that if the “War on Drugs” were effective or deemed successful, that would be reflected by a drastic drop in drug users, addicts, overdoses, and the availability of illegal substances. Furthermore, the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (2009) argued that illicit drug use in the United States has dramatically increased in the U.S. over the last eight years.

The Leadership Conference Education Fund (n.d.) reported in their publication that the drug war had been a massive and malicious endeavour that has constantly failed for 50 years. The researcher believes the U.S. and company should focus on preventative and treatment measures that do not

involve gun violence, mass killings, and unnecessary incarcerations targeting minority groups. Mohammad, Fulkerson, and Guzmán (2015 and 2021) argued that the drug war had been an abysmal failure. Emily Kaltenbach, a senior official at the Drug Policy Alliance, stated boldly that the “War on Drugs” was not intended to be helpful, empathetic, or even solution-oriented. The researcher agrees with this statement because if we look at the numbers the final thesis will present, it will depict that the drug war has failed to be helpful as drug availability continues to increase in the United States; it is not empathetic as the harsh prison sentences have resulted in first-time offenders getting the full might of the law. Lastly, it is not solution-oriented as the illicit drug market has grown exponentially, with drug traffickers and smugglers making approximately \$25 - \$35 billion in selling and distributing illegal drugs.

## 2.5 The Balloon Effect and the decriminalization of the “War on Drugs.”

According to the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (2013), the Balloon Effect is considered by scholars and policy analysts as the process of drug production displacement to other locations within the region, avoiding interference and eradication from state police. In Simple, squeezing the balloon on one side lets the air flow to the other side, as the same happens with Cocaine or Methamphetamine production. As federal agents and state police aggressively raid drug actors, they shift locations and continue to produce, traffic and sell illicit drugs. This was evident in Cocaine production eradication in South America, as the production process was moved from Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia over 40 years. Hidalgo (2013) provided proof of the balloon effect by stating that drug traffickers paid *Campesinos*, peasant farmers, \$60 a day to assist in building a road utilized as a landing strip for drug traffickers.

Rouse, Arce, and Lopez (2006 and 2016) claimed that drug interdiction and eradication policies enforced by the government stimulate operational changes through the apprehensions of Cartel leaders and operations in that specific region, but it immediately creates a balloon effect. Basov, Jacobsen, and Miron (2001) argued that illegal businesses like drug smuggling and distribution could survive the harsh brutality of law enforcement activities and adapt to changes. Rouse and Arce (2006), unlike Lopez and Hidalgo (2016 and 2013), give a different perspective on the balloon effect argument by claiming that rather than moving to other locations or regions to avoid aggressive policing and eradication, Transnational Criminal Organizations opted to downsize and decentralize their drug trafficking operations. Early published literature on the Balloon effect

further stated that Transnational Criminal Organizations adopt intelligent methods toward organized crime (Salazar and Fierro, 1993).

Lopez (2016) argued that the drug war had some minor successes that were short-lived. Furthermore, Lopez cited the balloon effect as the central issue of the global war on drugs. The International Drug Policy Consortium (2017) described the balloon effect as a negative result of a drug market action against a specific market area. In simple terms, the balloon effect in the researcher's understanding is that Transnational Criminal Organizations may fall, e.g., Medellin Cartel, the know-how (drug manufacturing, trafficking, and distribution) remains, and there is a power shift that allows Cartels to fall for the illicit drug business to continue to thrive and grow. Lopez (2016), unlike Ferreira, Cooper, and Alexandris Polomarkakis (2015), who focused their research on the continued failure of the drug war through its criminalization of drug use and aggressive approach to ceasing drug trafficking, chose to base their research on the perspective that, the more prohibition acts and measures put in place to restrict drug trafficking and distribution, the more money drug traffickers make as the risk of trafficking results in increased prices from suppliers. There is an increase in demand too.

The researcher believes it is crucial to introduce an alternative approach toward the criminalization of drug use. Literature published earlier is still relevant today because states and governments still have not fully decriminalized drug use and decreased the aggressiveness of the drug war. Van Het Loo, Van Beusekom, and Kahan (2002) introduced a new paradigm or perspective regarding the brutal “War on Drugs” approach. Furthermore, Van Het Loo, Van Beusekom, and Kahan (2002) wrote that the state of Portugal began a revolutionary experiment involving the decriminalization of Cocaine, Heroin, and Marijuana. Decriminalization in this context refers to administrative sanctions rather than the criminalization of drug use. Cabral (2017) reported that Portugal elected to decriminalize drug possession, attainment, and consumption for personal use and did not exceed an amount over ten days. To further explain the decriminalization of drugs approach implemented by the Portuguese government, Csete and Wolfe (2015) claimed that decriminalization did not mean Portuguese citizens caught using or distributing drugs would not be arrested. However, it simply meant that the state would impose administrative infractions. The administrative

infractions, according to Cabral (2017), referred to caught users not being taken to prison but are sent to task committees for questioning if the culprits have a drug addiction or not, and if the culprits stated no, they would be allowed to pay a fine and leave, but if they agreed on having a drug problem, they would receive treatment. The decriminalization approach to drug use opted to view drug users as citizens with health problems that could be treated if the user wanted assistance and did not harshly sentence or aggressively raid and apprehend users and people possessing illicit drugs. The researcher believes that the Portuguese approach should be implemented and enforced by states suffering from drug consumption and drug abuse as treatment and prevention reduces the drug markets for Transnational Criminal Organizations.

Herrera (2020) argued that the Portuguese decriminalization drug policy had seen unexpected efficiency and success, which has resulted in states considering a move to decriminalise drugs rather than criminalizing them. Cabral (2017) further claims that since its implementation, unlike the aggressive, brutal criminalization of drug users and offenders, the decriminalization of drug policy has resulted in a decrease in illicit drug consumption, HIV rate among drug users decreases as the sharing of needles increase HIV infection rates, and drug overdoses have reached a new low since the introduction of the campaign. To further highlight the exploration of the decriminalization of drugs policy, Harding, Wyse, Dobson and Morenoff (2014) reiterated the fact that previously incarcerated individuals through drug-related crimes struggle to embrace everyday life as they are viewed differently by the public. The Portuguese decriminalization approach views drug use and addiction as mental health issues that can be resolved with the correct persistence and treatment.

## 2.6 Colombia as a manufacturer of illicit substances

The researcher has decided to introduce and analyse Colombia as this state at some point in the early to mid-80s, allegedly responsible for most illicit drugs trafficked and distributed to the United States. History.com Editors (2017) wrote that Colombian authorities introduced an agency amongst their ranks which was a special police force committed to targeting illegal drug use and smuggling in the United States. The sole purpose of the “War on Drugs” was to reduce drug use and drug smuggling into the United States. Mexico and Colombia joined forces with the United States due to heavy drug trading within their states. Rosen (2015, p, 58) stated, "Colombia has had a long history of drug trafficking, organized crime, and violence and has been at the epicentre

of the US-led war on drugs for decades. The “War on Drugs” in Colombia was initiated because drug trafficking levels were skyrocketing, which meant more and more Cocaine, marijuana, Methamphetamine and Heroin kilos were being shipped to the United States of America; furthermore, it resulted in more organized crime, mass killings and drug kingpins having more influence and power than the state itself which was a threat to every actor involved, and this was witnessed by Pablo Escobar joining the Federal government as a known criminal within the state.

Colombia reports (2021) claimed that Colombia had produced 70% of the Cocaine produced last year, which in this context refers to 2020. Furthermore, Colombia reports (2021) argue that the reason why Colombia produces 70% of the Cocaine the world is consuming is based on the fact that Coca farmers use land that is unguarded and not looked at by the authorities. It is easy to grow and cultivate Coca which is responsible for producing Cocaine and other illegal drugs. The United Nations on Drugs and Crime further stated that Colombian coca cultivations used approximately 169 000 hectares of available to produce the Cocaine that is transited to Mexico and then shipped to the main markets of the United States and Europe.

### Coca cultivation

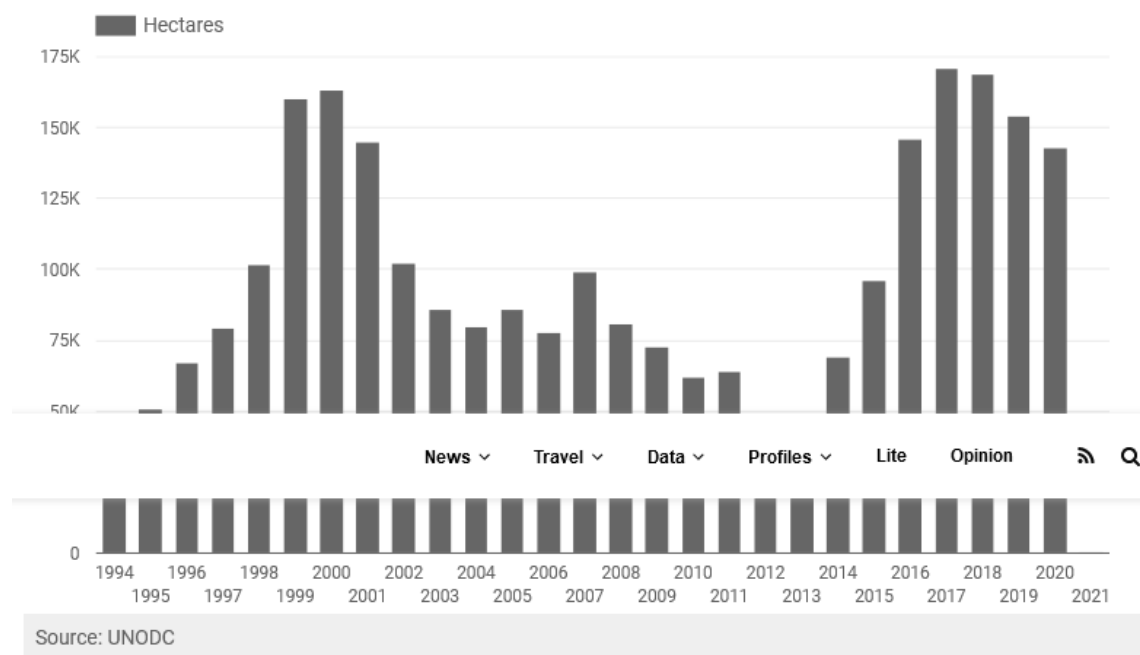


Figure 1: is an illustration of Coca cultivation in Colombia

This graph shows Colombia's prevalence in the illicit drug market, which is why the researcher chose to include Colombia in this Study, as they are now the leading producer of Cocaine. Bagley (1988) wrote that Colombians make more money from the drug trade than anybody else in the Western Hemisphere, except for traffickers in the United States. Columbia provided 70% to 80% of the refined Cocaine and 50% to 60% of the Marijuana available on the US market in the 1980s. Colombian criminal organizations have also become virtually involved in every aspect of the narcotics trade, from financing drug plantations and laboratories in Colombia and other South American countries to smuggling operations, as well as wholesale and street distribution networks in the United States, Canada, and Europe. Colombia has a rich history of drug trafficking and organized crime. The most notorious drug kingpin "Pablo Escobar" from the Medellin Cartel, dominated the drug trade in South America and the globe in the early 1980s. Just like the United States, Colombia had to intervene and implement the "War on Drugs" strategy and join forces with the U.S., which is crucial in their drug war pursuit.

### 2.7. Mexico as a transit country for illegal drugs.

This research study will also explore and investigate Mexico's involvement in the drug war as they are the traffickers and smugglers of illicit substances into their vast drug markets in the United States and Europe. CFR.org Editors (2021) reported that Mexican authorities had waged a brutal fight against Transnational Criminal Organizations for more than a decade with minimal results. The Mexican federal police suffer the same fate as the whole globe, with the balloon effect. In other words, you squeeze here, and it pops there. The balloon effect, as stated previously, refers to the change of power and shift of dominating Transnational Criminal Organizations to new Cartels that implement the same manufacturing, trafficking, and distribution principles utilized by their predecessors. Henceforth, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans, including scholars, interviewers, state/government officials, politicians and journalists, are killed in the drug war as collateral damage. Approximately 300 000 killings and disappearances have occurred since the drug war in Mexico were initiated. CNN Research (2021) supported CRF.org Editors' claims of mass killings and apprehensions in Mexico.

Furthermore, they claimed that Enrique Peña Nieto continued the highly aggressive and malignant approach of the Anti-drug cartel and anti-crime program, which saw the arrest of Joaquin Guzman, who was Mexico's most prominent Transnational Criminal Organization leader. The researcher

previously claimed that Mexican Cartel's profit from approximately \$19 billion to \$29 billion selling illicit drugs in America. Congressional Research Service (2020) reported that around 125 000 to 300 000 homicides were recorded between 2008 to 2018. The researcher believes Mexico is a party of significant interest in the Study being conducted, as they are not only the

### The demand

Number of drug users in U.S.\*

**8.7%**

of persons 12 and over with any illicit drug use in last month

**21.8 million Americans**

close to the entire population size of Australia

\*in 2009

Money

**\$18 to \$39 billion**

That's the top estimated amount Mexican and Colombian drug trafficking organizations make in wholesale profits annually, according to a 2009 Justice Department report.\*

\*The Justice Department said in a 2011 report that Mexican traffickers direct most of the cocaine, heroin and foreign-produced marijuana and methamphetamine in the U.S.

transit country of drug trafficking and distribution in the world currently, but Mexico is responsible for the Cocaine, Marijuana, Methamphetamine, and Heroin consumed by the world.

*Figure 1.2: Illustrates the demand for drugs being used, the number of estimated drug users in the U.S., and the money spent in fighting the "War on Drugs".*

Figure 1.2 demonstrates the number of drug users in 2009, which is 8.7% of persons 12 and over

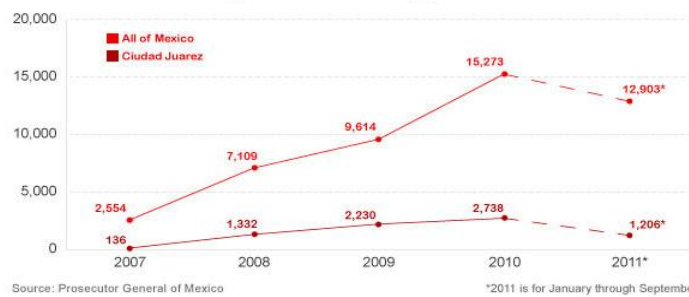
Source: CNN Editorial Research (2022)

Any illicit drug use amounts to 21,8 million Americans. The figure further demonstrates that the money made by Mexican and Colombian cartels is an estimated \$18 to \$39 billion made directly from Cocaine, Heroin, foreign-produced Marijuana and Crystal methamphetamine generated annually. From 2009 to 2020, the number of illicit drugs trafficked and distributed by Mexico from Colombian Transnational Criminal Organizations has increased exponentially, as low prices and more potency of illegal substances have resulted in a more demand and supply conundrum that

allows Cartels/TCOs to traffick more at a higher rate due to high demand levels from their proposed drug markets.

### The consequences

Deaths attributed to drug-related violence by year



Source: Prosecutor General of Mexico

Figure 1.3: shows the consequences of the drug war.

This figure demonstrates the number of deaths attributed to drug-related violence by year, from 2007 to 2011. Figure 1.3 has two indicators: All of Mexico and Ciudad Juarez. The chart starts with 2,554 deaths in 2007 for all of Mexico, to 7109 deaths in 2008, increasing to 9614 deaths in 2009. In 2010 there was a drastic increase which saw the death toll related to the drug-violence to 15273 and caps off with a slight decrease to 12903 deaths in 2011. While the researcher focused on the whole of Mexico indicator, readers must understand the role and significance of Mexican cartels and drug traffickers in the “War on Drugs”.

## 2.8 Is the United States of America winning the War on Drugs?

- **Has the number of drugs flowing into the United States decreased or increased from 2010 to 2020?**

Firstly, before engaging with the sub-topic, the researcher needs to give insight and define the drugs massively made and trafficked by Colombia and Mexico.

- **Cocaine:** According to the (Department of Justice/ Drug enforcement administration, 2020), Cocaine is an intense, euphoria-producing stimulant drug with strong addictive potential.
- **Marijuana/Cannabis:** “Marijuana is a psychoactive (mind-altering) substance generated by the Cannabis sativa plant. Marijuana contains nearly 480 different components. T.H.C. (delta 9-tetrahydrocannabinol) is thought to be the primary component responsible for the psychoactive effect” (Department of Justice/ Drug enforcement administration, 2020).
- **Methamphetamine (Meth):** Department of Justice/ Drug enforcement administration (2020) wrote, “meth is a stimulant. The F.D.A.- approved brand-name medication is Desoxyn®”.
- **Heroin:** According to the National Institute on Drug abuse (n.d.) Heroin is an opioid drug made from morphine, a natural substance extracted from the seed pod of various opium poppy plants. The study mentioned that Crystal Meth, Cocaine and Heroin are cultivated from opium.

The study will utilize previously published literature, statistics, and graphs by the Department of Justice/Drug Enforcement Administration to assess whether there has been an increase or decrease in drug inflow into the U.S.

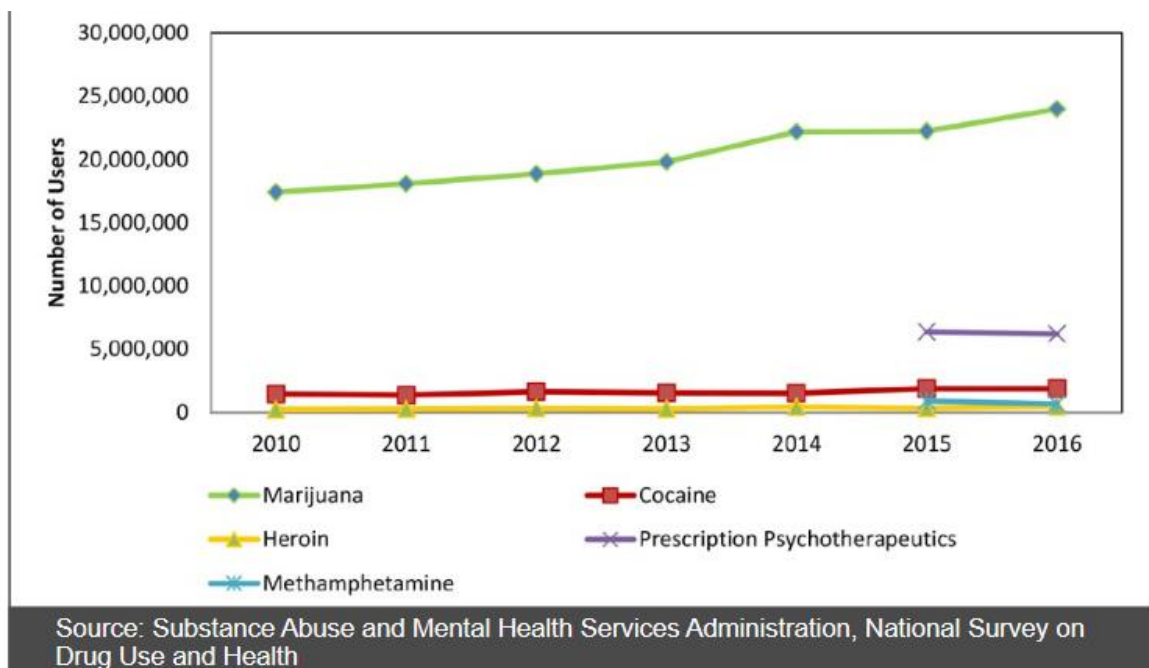


Figure 1.4: Data Shows Number of Past months, nonmedical users of psychotherapeutic drugs to other selected drugs of abuse, 2016.

This graph illustrates the number of drug users of nonmedical psychotherapeutic drugs such as Marijuana, Cocaine, Heroin, and Methamphetamine. The figure uses the years 2010 to 2016 to compare if there has been any growth or decrease in these illicit drugs. The researcher can confidently stipulate that Marijuana has seen a drastic increase from 2010 to 2016. The number of users increased from plus-minus 15 million users to 25 million users. Following suit are prescription psychotherapeutics which are amphetamine (Adderall, Adderall X.R.); dexamethylphenidate (Focalin, Focalin X.R.); dextroamphetamine (Dexedrine); lisdexamfetamine (Vyvanse); methylphenidate (Ritalin, Metadate E.R., Methylin, Concerta). These are less addictive and are stimulants to decrease excessive pain and other medicinal issues. Cocaine use is still prevalent in the United States as the figure clearly shows Cocaine is below the 5 million mark, followed by Methamphetamine, which has seen a rise in use and lastly, capped off by Heroin which is a cheaper alternative to prescriptive opioids. Although the figure does not clarify the exact amounts, the researcher can confidently state that Cocaine, Methamphetamine, Heroin and Marijuana use is on the rise in the United States. The study will look at the main drugs separately to analyze and evaluate collected information from the national drug threat assessment published by the Department of Justice/Drug enforcement administration.

## 2.9 Cocaine Overview

U.S. Department of Justice (2020) wrote that Cocaine production, trafficking, and abuse have long threatened the safety and security of individuals and law enforcement, from South American production zones to transportation and distribution networks in the United States. In 2019, NFLIS-Drug received 196,721 cocaine reports, a 14% reduction from the 229,803 complaints received in 2018. The number of cocaine reports to NFLIS-Drug in 2019 was the lowest in six years, accounting for less than half of the total recorded in 2006. (640,141 reports). Nonetheless, Cocaine placed third in NFLIS-top Drug's 25 most often recognized drugs in 2019, trailing only Methamphetamine and cannabis/tetrahydrocannabinol (T.H.C.).

Although Cocaine has decreased in the past year, referring to 2019, it is still regarded as one of Mexico and Colombia's most potent and trafficked drugs in the United States. The researcher will

attach a Cocaine overdose figure illustration to show the availability of illicit drugs and overdoses among all illegal drugs.

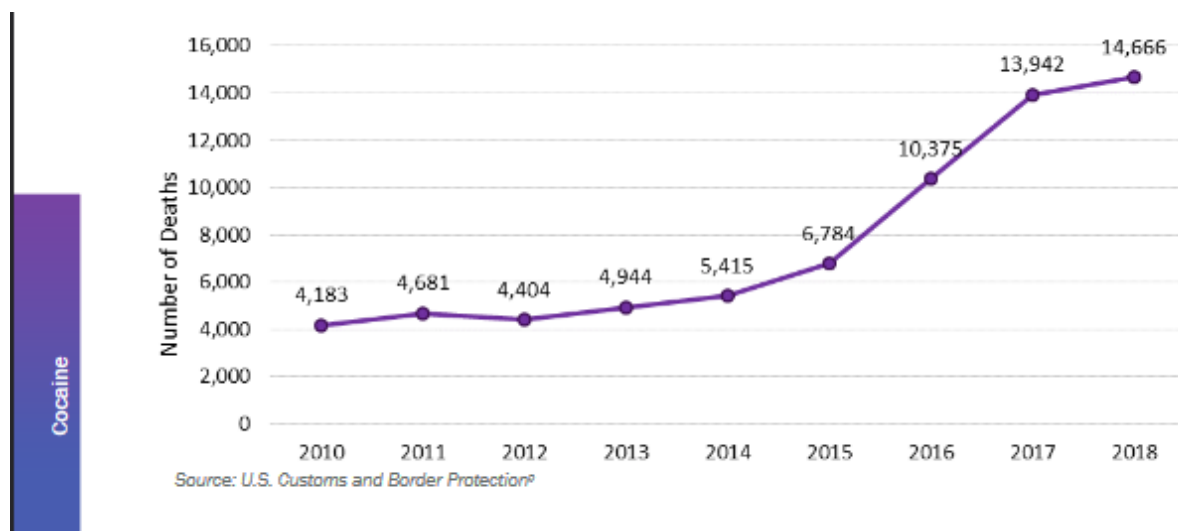


Figure 1.5: Total number of deaths from drugs poisoning involving Cocaine in the United States and the district of Colombia, 2010 – 2018.

This figure illustrates the number of overdoses which has gradually increased from 2010 with an overdose tally of 4183 to 2018, which is represented by 14666. The number of Cocaine overdoses in that region tripled, proving that the “War on Drugs” has not succeeded in alleviating drug trafficking and drug use/abuse.

### 2.9.1 Transportation and distribution

U.S. Department of Justice (2020) wrote that Mexican TCOs dominate cocaine trafficking in the United States, and this is likely to continue because no other trafficking gang is in a position to challenge them shortly. While Mexican TCOs oversee the wholesale distribution of Cocaine to the United States, Colombian TCOs control the manufacture and supply of the drugs required by consumers. Mexican TCOs continue to get multi-ton shipments of powder cocaine from South American traffickers, transporting it via Central America and Mexico before smuggling it into the United States across the Southwest Border.

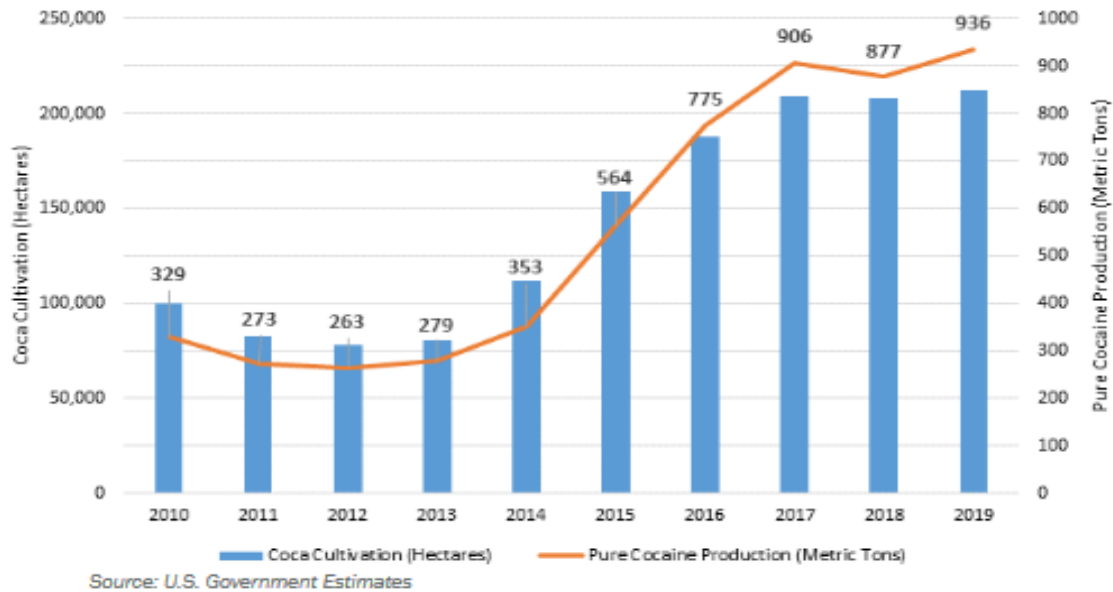


Figure 1.6: shows the values of Coca cultivation (hectares) and pure Cocaine production (Metric Tons)

The figure illustrates that Coca cultivation was more than the Purity of Cocaine in the early 2010s, which in 2019 is the opposite. The Purity of Cocaine in 2019 is 936 out of a possible thousand compared to the Coca cultivated.

## 2.10 Methamphetamine Overview

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2020), Seizures of Methamphetamine, pricing and purity data, and law enforcement reporting all show that Methamphetamine is still widely available in the United States. The majority of Methamphetamine available in the United States is generated illegally in Mexico and smuggled across the S.W.B. Methamphetamine poisoning deaths continue to climb as the purity and potency of Methamphetamine remain high while prices stay cheap. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2017) wrote that according to the 2017 National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), roughly 1.6 million persons (0.6 per cent of the population) used methamphetamine in the previous year, with 774,000 (0.3 per cent) using it during the last month. In 2016, the average age of new methamphetamine users was 23.3.

National Institute on Drug Abuse (2019) wrote that Methamphetamine abuse has disastrous psychological, physiological, and social effects on the individual. Memory loss, hostility, psychotic behaviour, cardiovascular system damage, starvation, and severe dental problems can

all result from using the drug. Methamphetamine abuse has also been linked to an increase in infectious diseases such as hepatitis and HIV/AIDS. Crystal Meth, as known in the streets, is a highly addictive life-threatening drug that has been terrorizing American civilians through abuse, high crime levels, and overdoses. According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2018), The methamphetamine industry has changed dramatically in the last decade. From a market in which manufacturing was concentrated in specific sub-regions, it has transformed into one with worldwide trafficking flows and global seizure quantities increasing more than sixfold since 2000.

### 2.10.1 Production and Trafficking

U.S. Department of Justice (2021) states that Mexican TCOs continue to be the principal makers and suppliers of low-cost, high-purity Methamphetamine in the United States. Mexican TCOs often create enormous quantities of Methamphetamine. This has resulted in a massive supply of Methamphetamine on the U.S. market. The bulk of Mexican TCOs is also involved in methamphetamine trafficking, which has boosted competition among the many TCO groups. TCOs are looking for new markets for Methamphetamine, and growing amounts are making their way across the S.W.B. Mexican cartels control the distribution of Methamphetamine that goes into the United States. Seizures of Methamphetamine occur in every state in the United States. Mexican TCOs primarily manage wholesale methamphetamine distribution, although Mexican and American criminal gangs typically control retail distribution in the United States.

The S.W.B. remains the primary entry point for the vast bulk of Methamphetamine entering the U.S. Seizures of Methamphetamine along the S.W.B. increased by 74% between 2018 (39,268 kg) and 2019. (68,355 kilograms) Between 2018 (41,396 kilograms) and 2019, total countrywide methamphetamine seizures climbed by 77%. (73,351 kilograms). The study has shown through literature from the D.E.A. that Methamphetamine is on a gradual rise regardless of the increase in seizures, which has increased to 77%. The data analysis chapter will discuss thoroughly and in clear detail if these drugs' inflow into the U.S. has increased or decreased, which was the sole purpose of the study.

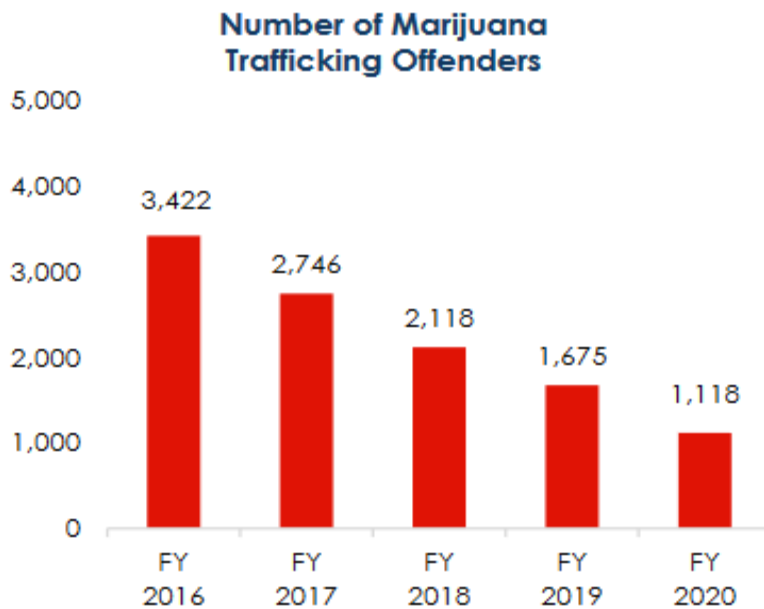
## 2.11 Marijuana Overview

Cannabis is globally the most used psychoactive substance under international control. In 2013, an estimated 181.8 million people aged 15–64 years used Cannabis for nonmedical purposes globally (uncertainty estimates 128.5–232.1 million) (UNODC, 2015). Cannabis. A generic term is used to denote the several psychoactive preparations of the cannabis plant. Cannabis is the preferred designation of the plant *Cannabis sativa*, *Cannabis indica* and, of minor significance, *Cannabis ruderalis* (Gloss, 2015). U.S. Department of Justice and Drug Enforcement administration (2021) stated that Marijuana, the most used illicit substance in the United States, remains prohibited under federal law. The national picture changes as states pass voter referendums and legislation governing the possession, use, and cultivation of Marijuana and its derivatives. The ubiquity of marijuana usage, the need for potent marijuana and marijuana products, the possibility for a significant profit, and the perception of minimal danger tempt various drug traffickers and criminal groups to cultivate and distribute illicit Marijuana throughout the United States.

### 2.11.2 Production and Trafficking

U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2017) claimed Marijuana is the only substance addressed in this research study that is mainly smuggled between ports of entry rather than through them. Large amounts of foreign-produced Marijuana are smuggled into the United States by personal vehicles, commercial vehicles, buses, rail systems, subterranean tunnels, small boats, uncrewed aerial vehicles/drones, and catapults as backpackers walking over. When Marijuana is smuggled into the United States, it is frequently stored in warehouses along the S.W.B. before being distributed to cities around the country.

Marijuana, unlike the other drugs the study covers, is less potent and less deadly, although it has many long-term side effects that can affect cognitive performance and mobility. United States Sentencing Commission (2020) wrote, “6.9% Of Drug Trafficking Cases Involved Marijuana... Marijuana Trafficking offenders have decreased by 67.3% since 2016”. Marijuana trafficking incidents have decreased in the U.S. due to the legalization reforms in the country. States and groups trafficking Marijuana have not ceased distributing and trafficking Marijuana in states that have not legalized the drug.



Source: U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2017)

*Figure 1.7: shows the number of Marijuana traffickers and the years from 2016 to 2020.*

The figure illustrates a decrease of 67% from 2016 to 2020 due to the high legalization of Marijuana in forward-thinking states.

## 2.12 Heroin Overview

U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2017) states that Heroin poses a serious public health and safety threat to the United States. Overdose deaths continue to rise, and Poppy cultivation and heroin production continues to increase in Mexico, the principal supply of Heroin for the U.S. market. The heroin supply in the United States, notably in white powder markets in the east, is pure, cheap, and increasingly mixed with Fentanyl. This high purity is due to laboratory testing, which reveals that it is both highly refined and less diluted compared to what is considered a fair amount of dilution for street-level Heroin, which is typically 40-50 per cent in many East Coast markets. Peri (2020) wrote that Heroin is a narcotic derived from the opium poppy flower, which grows primarily in Mexico, Asia, and South America. It is very addictive and has been prohibited in the U.S. since 1924. It may appear as a white or brown powder or sticky black “tar.” It is also known as horse, smack, junk, or brown sugar.

### 2.12.1 Production and Trafficking

U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2017) argued that in the last seven to ten years, there has been a significant increase in heroin availability in the United States, allowing the heroin threat to reach unprecedented proportions. Since 2015, rapid increases in heroin manufacturing in Mexico have provided a consistent supply of low-cost Heroin, despite significant increases in user numbers. Eleven of the 21 domestic D.E.A. F.D.s identified Heroin as the top drug concern in their areas in 2016; another six F.D.s placed Heroin as the second most serious threat in their areas. The S.W.B. remains the principal entry point for Heroin entering the U.S. Most Heroin apprehended by C.B.P. happens near the US-Mexico border in San Diego, California. In 2017, the San Diego corridor saw the seizure of about 1,073 kg of Heroin, a 59 per cent increase over the volume seized in 2016. Mexican TCOs oversee the movement of Heroin that enters the U.S. through the S.W.B. until it reaches its target in cities across the country (U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, 2017). The study focuses on determining if the U.S. is winning the “War on Drugs” by examining published information and reaching a probable hypothesis. Mexican Cartels dominate Methamphetamine and Heroin production and distribution. There has been progress in seizing and capturing the actors trafficking these drugs, but the drug war has failed to achieve its goals.

### 2.13 Major Arrests made in the “War on Drugs.”

The research study will explain Transnational Criminal Organisations before discussing the significant arrests made in the drug war. (Lawfare, n.d.) defined TCOs as organizations that operate across state boundaries to achieve economic gain by illegal means, as in the case of drug cartels or human trafficking rings.

#### 2.13.1 Mexican TCO's major arrests

U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2020) states that Mexican TCOs continue to control lucrative smuggling channels, mainly across the S.W.B., and have the most influence on drug trafficking in the U.S. The Sinaloa Cartel and the Jalisco New Generation Cartel (CJNG), Mexico’s two most prominent organizations, exhibit evidence of expansion, proving their continuous importance, especially when compared to other Mexican TCOs. These TCOs broaden

their criminal power by forming commercial ties with other organizations, including autonomous DTOs, and collaborating with transnational gangs, U.S. street gangs, prison gangs, and Asian money laundering organizations (M.L.O.s).

The D.E.A. and 'Policía Federal Ministerial' (P.F.M.) have made significant arrests regarding drug trafficking in the U.S. with the recent arrest of the Sinaloa Cartel Drug Kingpin "El Chapo". History.com Editors (2014) wrote that On February 22, 2014, Joaquin "El Chapo" ("Shorty") Guzmán Loera, the boss of the Sinaloa cartel, the world's largest drug trafficking organization, was apprehended in Mazatlán, Mexico, in a combined US-Mexican operation after eluding law enforcement for more than a decade. El Chapo managed to escape, was recaptured, extradited to the United States, and pleaded guilty to illegal narcotics trading. Damaso Lopez-Nuñez, alias El Licenciado was believed to be El Chapo's associate, and his replacement was also arrested in May 2017 and deported in 2018. In 2008 Mexican police apprehended Alfredo Beltran Leyva of the Beltran Leyva Cartel in Culiacan, Sinaloa, Mexico. In January 2010, Mexican officials detained Carlos Beltran Leyva in Sinaloa. CNN Editorial Research (2021) wrote, "Cardenas Guillen, head of the Gulf Cartel until his capture in 2003, is sentenced to 25 years in a Texas prison".

According to CNN Editorial research (2021), on **June 25, 2010** - A leader in the Sinaloa cartel, Manuel Garibay Espinoza, was arrested in Mexicali. July 29, 2010 - One of the Sinaloa drug cartel's commanders, Ignacio "Nacho" Coronel Villarreal, is killed in a military raid on Guadalajara's outskirts. September 12, 2010 - Sergio Villarreal, a prominent leader in the Beltran Leyva cartel, is apprehended in Puebla. Hector Beltran Leyva, the boss of the Beltran Leyva drug gang, was arrested by Mexican authorities in San Miguel de Allende, Mexico, on October 1, 2014. January 29, 2016 - The arrest of 24 Sinaloa cartel members results from a cross-border raid by U.S. and Mexican law enforcement agents. The sting also resulted in the seizure of guns and hundreds of pounds of narcotics. February 20, 2020 - Tirso Martinez Sanchez, a former "El Chapo" accomplice, is sentenced to 84 months in prison. The study has shown progress in the arrests of Drug Kingpins in Mexico and the U.S., with leaders and allies being captured. More results will be shared and discussed in the data analysis section.

### 2.13.2 Colombian TCOs Major Arrests

At the moment, the leading criminal threat confronting Colombian law is the development of criminal organizations from the remains of paramilitary organizations, drug trafficking gangs, and guerrilla units. These organized criminal groups, known as “Bandas Criminales” or BACRIM, have stepped into the hole left by paramilitary organizations and are responsible for much of the country’s growing violence and drug trafficking. As a result, combatting terrorist organizations has become a severe issue for Colombian law enforcement and security (U.S. Embassy in Colombia, n.d.). U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2017) believes that Colombian TCOs continue to impact the illicit drug market in the United States, albeit to a lesser extent than in the 1980s and 1990s. With the demise of the larger, more structured Colombian criminal enterprises of the previous decades, including those of the Medellin, Cali, and Norte del Valle Cartels, Mexican TCOs have taken over as the primary exporters of wholesale Cocaine into U.S. markets. U.S. Department of Justice (2020) claimed Colombian TCOs continue to impact the illicit drug market in the United States. According to the D.E.A.’s C.S.P., roughly 91 per cent of the Cocaine recovered and processed in the United States is of Colombian origin.

According to Insight Crime.org (2021), “Giovanni, the architect of the Urabeos operation, was murdered in January 2012 during a police raid on a ranch in the Chocó province, leaving Otoniel as the maximum commander... Eduardo Ortiz Tuberquia, aka “El Indio,” was apprehended by security forces in May, and military boss Luis Orlando Padierma, alias "Inglaterra," in November”. The researcher highlighted this statement because it signifies the crime levels of all cartels. Insight Crime.Org (2020) wrote that Between 2019 and 2021, Otoniel’s brother, sister, and cousin were all arrested and extradited to the United States after the government expanded the task force Agememnon to 3000 soldiers. (Sky News, 2021) wrote, “Colombian drug lord ‘Otoniel’ was captured in the ‘greatest blow to narcotics trafficking since the fall of Pablo Escobar”.

### 2.14 Drug War Arrests Overview

(Real Reporting Foundation - Doug McVay, n.d.) in 2010, 81.9 per cent (1,342,215) of the estimated 1,638,846 arrests for drug law breaches in the United States were for possession of a prohibited substance. Only 18.1 per cent (296,631) were for drug sales or production. The real reporting foundation – Doug McVay, later claimed that in 2020: Possession of a controlled

substance accounted for 86.7 per cent (1,001,914) of the expected 1,155,610 arrests for drug law offences in the United States in 2020. Only 13.3 per cent (153,696) were for drug sales or manufacturing. Drug-related arrests in the United States decreased in ten years, from 2010 to 2020, showing that the drug war has been an utter failure because fewer arrests show less initiative. The study will get into detail regarding the number of arrests within the United States and outside borders regarding drug trafficking, distributing and manufacturing. Drug arrests and Cartel leaders' arrests are crucial in determining if the United States is winning the war on drugs.

## 2.15 The Economic Impact of the Drug War

“Economic impact analysis is a methodology for evaluating the impact of a project, program or policy on the economy of a specified region” (Economic Impact Analysis | EBP | US, n.d.). In this context, the study will analyse the economic impact of the drug war on the United States of America by looking at the costs and direct fees of the war itself. The researcher believes the economic impact of the war on drugs is a significant indicator in determining if the United States of America is winning the “War on Drugs”. In simple terms, if the expenditure surpasses the results of the “War on Drugs”, that results in failure in the whole campaign. Investments are supposed to reap the rewards or earn exponential or gradual growth. In this context, if investing billions of taxpayers' hard-earned capital does not guarantee favourable results in the long-fought drug war, the researcher can conclude that the “War on Drugs” has not lived up to expectations.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2016), The drug war is an expensive endeavour. In certain states, the direct expenses of policing and interdiction of drug supply include not just routine policing but also large military and paramilitary operations. The arrest, custody, criminal justice processing, and incarceration of millions of people each year, including those charged with minor, non-violent drug offences, is costly for national and sub-national budgets. Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2012) Claims that the global cost of policing and interdiction of illicit narcotics exceeds \$100 billion per year. U.S. Government, Executive Office of the President (2015) wrote that the United States, arguably the most significant contributor to worldwide drug control expenditures, had a government drug control budget of around \$25.5 billion in 2015.

Transform Drug Policy (2019) argued that since the inception of the drug war in 1971, the United States has spent more than \$640 billion on the drug war. Piaggio and Vidwans (2019) reported that Drug production had not decreased continuously since the implementation of prohibition; instead, it has fluctuated considerably in response to state-level policy changes. According to the United Nations World Drug Report, opium output increased by 65% between 2010 and 2020. At the same time, cocaine production reached its “highest level ever” — 1,410 tons — in 2016, a significant increase from previous years, which had seen a fall. Looking beyond the costs, the numbers, the figures and the variables, the amount of capital that has been spent exceeds the results.

The researcher will discuss thoroughly how the expenditure outweighs the cost. If that is the case, the drug war has been a massive failure both in the eyes of the American citizens who have sacrificed unwillingly their taxpayer’s money and the globe who have witnessed the campaign’s inception and progress. States like Afghanistan have been abounded by the United States, which waged war against all terrorist actors, just like the drug war on drugs has been left in ruins which goes against Jus Post Bellum, which confidently stipulates that states should be left in a far less compromising and abusive position than they started on. Jus post-Bellum claims that states should legally oblige in helping countries that went to war. Europe and the rest after World War 2 were saved by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which are Bretton woods systems that were created to support the world, specifically Europe, in lending aid for states to rebuild there Economies and livelihoods.

## 2.16 Federal Bureau of Investigation

U.S. Department of Justice (2021) states that The Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) is a national security and law enforcement agency that utilizes, gathers, and publishes intelligence in its operations. The F.B.I. is sworn to safeguard all Americans by staying ahead of national security threats to the homeland as the sole member of the U.S. Intelligence Community with significant authority over criminal and terrorist acts on U.S. soil. The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s objective is to defend the American people and enforce the Constitution at all costs. The American people are priority number one. Drug use, distribution and trafficking have been and remain a constant threat to civil society. It is for that reason that the F.B.I. has joined the drug war.

“The Federal Bureau of Investigation is responsible for conducting investigations in cases where federal laws may have been violated unless another agency of the federal government has been specifically delegated that duty by statute or executive fiat” (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2021). According to the Council on Foreign Relations (2017), the agency continues to address a wide variety of national security issues, as well as organized crime, white-collar crime, governmental corruption, civil-rights violations, terrorism, narco-terrorism and organized crime.

### 2.16.1 The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s involvement in the “War on Drugs”.

Baker (1987) wrote, “the F.B.I. has identified drug enforcement as one of its primary missions, and we have developed the F.B.I. national drug strategy through extensive research. It has five major objectives: to conduct effective, coordinated investigations against major drug trafficking organizations on a nationwide basis by seizing and forfeiting their substantial profits and assets; to expand and enhance our existing drug intelligence base; to identify trends and to make projections of organized drug-trafficking activities across the nation; to concentrate our designated resources on the major drug centres, and to provide greater assistance to local law enforcement agencies through the shared property and asset seizure program”. The F.B.I. was created for the sole purpose of protecting American citizens interests and lives at all costs, and the “War on Drugs” was introduced to try to cease and decrease drug use in the nation, drug distribution and drug smuggling in the United States. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (n.d) wrote that the F.B.I. has found that the enterprise theory of investigation, which focuses investigations and prosecutions on entire criminal organizations rather than individuals, is the most successful method of countering this crime. All aspects of the illegal operation can be discovered using this method. The approach promotes not only the prosecution of the criminal enterprise but also the confiscation of its assets, intending to disrupt or dismantle entire criminal organizations. According to the U.S. department (2017), In most cases, we collaborate with the Drug Enforcement Administration and Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Forces across the country. The F.B.I. is heavily invested in combating drug trafficking and has joined forces with the D.E.A. to alleviate transnational Criminal Organizations and drug trafficking in the U.S. The study will further discuss the role played by the F.B.I. by examining literature published on the drug war and determine if it has played a significant or minor role by highlighting operations and raids that the F.B.I. has participated in.

## 2.16.2 Federal Bureau of Investigation's recent links to the drug scourge:



Source: EUROPOL (2021)

*Figure 1.8: Illustrates Operation Trojan/OTF Greenlight results which include the participation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, Politie, Polisen etc.*

EUROPOL (2021) reported that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, along with the Dutch National Police (Politie) and the Swedish Police Authority (Polisen), in association with the Drug Enforcement Administration with the constant, unrelenting support of the EUROPOL and 16 other countries. They offered their unwavering support in combating drugs and other encrypted criminal activities and apprehended approximately 800 criminals through ANOM, an encrypted device company. The above figure 1.2 illustrates that more than 8 tons of cocaine were seized, more than 2 tons of Amphetamines and Methamphetamines were seized, more than 250 illegal firearms were seized, and roughly 48 million dollars in currencies and cryptocurrencies were seized in operation Trojan. United States Department of Justice (2021) reported that Pablo Vidarte Hernandez, 48 years of age, was sentenced in federal court in Worcester on Friday for his participation in large-scale fentanyl, heroin, crack, and cocaine trafficking scheme. Pablo Hernandez was sentenced to 81 months in prison for selling and distributing over 1,8 kilograms of heroin mixed with fentanyl.

Furthermore, he was suspected of selling and distributing over 3,6 kilograms of cocaine, and approximately 50 grams of Cocaine were confiscated during the raids and apprehension of the

alleged culprit. The U.S. Department of Justice (2021), along with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Drug Enforcement Administration, further reported that four men were apprehended and indicted for the charges of conspiring to distribute and sell illegal drugs (Cocaine) and using illegal firearms in the process of committing a criminal offence. The culprits are Jonathan Gallegos, Andrez Perez, Jesus Angulo, and Malachai Serrano, 31, 19, 33, and 31 years of age, respectively. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, in cooperation with the Drug Enforcement Administration (2021), reported that Alberto Junior Lopez was apprehended for possessing 100 grams of Crack Cocaine and firearms offences. The Study will later discuss in detail the arrests and introduce other national/international drug war arrests made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

## 2.17 Drug Enforcement Administration

“The mission of the Drug Enforcement Administration (D.E.A.) is to enforce the controlled substances laws and regulations of the United States and bring to the criminal and civil justice system of the United States, or any other competent jurisdiction, those organizations and principal members of organizations involved in the growing, manufacture, or distribution of controlled substances appearing in or destined for illicit traffic in the United States” (Drug Enforcement Administration, 2021). According to the U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2021), the D.E.A. is responsible for enforcing the Controlled Substances Act (C.S.A.) laws concerning the control of illegal narcotics and controlled substances, drugs, and specified substances. The D.E.A. is the world’s leading drug law enforcement agency, with nearly 10,000 employees dedicated to this single mission.

### 2.17.1 Drug Enforcement Administration’s involvement in the “War on Drugs”.

Baker (1987) wrote, “The federal Drug Enforcement Administration has primary responsibility to investigate all drug violations, and the F.B.I. is making a significant impact by directing investigative efforts at those drug organizations that control major segments of the illegal drug markets”. The F.B.I. and D.E.A. have worked together in combating the “War on Drugs” mainly because both organizations share common values and purposes as their number one mission is to protect Americans from external threats whether it be in the form of terrorism, narco-terrorism, or drug trafficking. The F.B.I. uses their extensive network of research to investigate persons and

criminal organizations, resulting in the D.E.A. utilizing that information to track down and arrest suspected culprits through raids that include confiscation of capital and the drugs being trafficked into the U.S. According to The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica (n.d.), The D.E.A., founded in 1973, collaborates with other organizations to control the cultivation, manufacture, smuggling, and distribution of illicit drugs. Most of its activities focus on international narcotics smuggling organizations, although it also seeks to disrupt interstate operations. The D.E.A.'s role in the “War on Drugs” is to decrease, limit or eliminate drug smuggling, trafficking, cultivation, and distribution of illegal drugs into the United States. The study, therefore, will discuss in the data analysis chapter whether that has been a success or failure given its objectives and mission.

### 2.17.2 Drug Enforcement Administration's latest arrests in the drug war:

Monama (2021) at News24 reported that the Hawks and U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration apprehended four suspected Transnational Criminal Organizations linked to South Africa. This all occurred in a drug raid that seized approximately methamphetamine worth R7 Million. The suspects are believed to have drug ties to Transnational Crime Organizations in the United States, Mozambique and South Africa. The U.S. Department of Justice, in association with the Drug Enforcement Administration (2021), claimed that the U.S. Attorney’s office charged 60 defendants for the trafficking and distribution of Methamphetamine in the San Diego area. The alleged drug traffickers are believed to be a part of the Sinaloa Cartel based in Mexico, which currently is the largest and most influential Transnational Criminal Organization. Furthermore, the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Attorney’s office reported that 220 pounds of Methamphetamine were seized, \$250 000 capital was also confiscated, and approximately 90 firearms were seized. The United States Drug Enforcement Administration (2022) reported that 55-year-old Donald Benningfield admitted to his crimes of trafficking Methamphetamine of over 3,716.6 grams. The suspect was apprehended and charged with ten years because of the intent to sell and distribute illicit drugs in the United States. The researcher will further discuss and introduce other cases of illegal drug trafficking and distribution within the United States or internationally in the discussion section.

## 2.18 Central Intelligence Agency

Pringle (2016) wrote that the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.) is the United States' key international intelligence and counterintelligence agency. The Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.), established in 1947, came out of the World War II Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.). The Central Intelligence Agency is responsible for "Collecting intelligence through human sources and by other appropriate means; the CIA/DCIA has no police, subpoena, law enforcement powers or internal security functions" (INTEL.gov, 2017.).

### 2.18.1 Central Intelligence Agency involvement in the "War on Drugs".

The Central Intelligence Agency was criticized for not wanting to aid the other American agencies fighting the drug war. Gerth (1990) states that William Webster was hell-bent on changing past patterns on accusations that the C.I.A. was less invested in aiding the F.B.I. and D.E.A. in fighting the drug. The C.I.A., led by Webster, established a counternarcotics division intending to assist in drug enforcement, which it describes as a "serious problem." Gerth continues by stating that the Central Intelligence Agency has had notable achievements, particularly in using technology to investigate drug trafficking operations and drug money flows. The C.I.A. implemented the use of high-tech to analyze and evaluate the movement of transnational criminal organizations to explore further the illegal money movements made from the profits of illicit drug sales.

The C.I.A. has been publicly criticized by scholars, citizens, federal agents and other organizations fighting the drug war. It is believed or alleged that the C.I.A. was involved in contra-trafficking in Nicaragua for their gain. Delaval (2018) reported that the agency was accused of being a crack distributor in 1996. During the 1980s, a drug triangle linked C.I.A. officers in Central America, a San Francisco drug ring, and a Los Angeles drug dealer, according to a series of exposé pieces in the San Jose Mercury-News by reporter Gary Webb. According to reports, the C.I.A. and its operatives exploited crack cocaine, distributed through the African American community in Los Angeles, to earn millions of dollars to fund the agency's covert activities in Central America. The researcher would like to clarify that these are mere allegations, but they had to be included in the study because it relates to the C.I.A.'s role in the drug war. The study has found contrasting ideas on the "CIA" as it might have contributed negatively to the drug war. That will be proved later in the study.

## 2.19 What is the level of cooperation between all states?

### 2.19.1 Co-operation explained:

Firstly, the study would like to define cooperation and give it meaning within the international arena before looking at the question. Whilst cooperation is a wildly broad term, Merriam-Webster (2022) defined it as a group of people working together for the common good. Collins's dictionary (2022) describes cooperation as one's desire to assist. The researcher's understanding and perception of what cooperation means in a political setting or in general are rooted within the globalization theory as our world becomes more connected and integrated. States who share common interests align themselves with their counterparts in achieving common goals and shared interests. Khamis, Kamel, and Salichs (2006) further described Cooperation as the practice of people or entities working together with mutually agreed-upon aims and methods rather than operating separately in competition. Tuomela (2000) further elaborated on the definition, stating that cooperation is a collective action in which two or more agents work together to attain their individual or common goals. Cooperation in this context/study looks at Colombia, Mexico, and the United States of America's shared interests and common goals of alleviating drug cartels, drug smuggling and drug manufacturing within their countries and outside borders.

### 2.20 Political Cooperation in International Relations:

(Cooperation Among States: Political, Military & Economic Alliances, 2014) argued that political cooperation, in its broadest sense, refers to the efforts of governments from several states to achieve a shared aim. This collaboration can occur in joint military alliances like NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), economic matters, and determining territory boundaries. Dai, Snidal, and Sampson (2010) argued that political cooperation is a vast phenomenon that shares analytic characteristics and features when perceived in a rationalist approach to political cooperation. Political cooperation tends to look at state actors and their interests as strategic interactions. In this context, Colombia, Mexico, and the U.S. share an interest that maximises the well-being of their citizens.

Furthermore, Dai, Snidal, and Sampson (2010) argued that state actors act based on their rationality in political cooperation in international relations, often joining forces and forming alliances to

combat similar problems whilst in Bi or tri-lateral agreements. Keohane (1984) argues that cooperation should result in incentives for all states, albeit not necessarily equal rewards, but everyone should profit. Benefits and motivations regarding the study would mean achieving a common goal in alleviating and getting rid of drugs and their drug actors.

### 2.21 The Level of Cooperation between all participating states:

The researcher believes there is a respectful relationship between the United States, Mexico and Colombia. According to Hunt (2021), Since 2007, the United States has appropriated \$3.3 billion under the Mérida Initiative to assist Mexico in combating drug trafficking. Initially, the U.S. government focused on helping Mexican security forces, contributing \$1.5 billion in assistance during the program's first several years. This initial package comprised \$421 million in foreign military money, allowing the Mexican government to purchase modern U.S. military weapons, including Black Hawk helicopters.

The United States has supported Mexico in their narcotics war, which has resulted in Mexico and The U.S. having amicable and professional relations. Hunt (2021) wrote that Defenders of the program, including security experts, U.S. officials, and Mérida Initiative-funded academics, welcome the growing cooperation between the U.S. and Mexican governments, citing examples of collaboration to target drug traffickers and cartel leaders. The United States and Colombia have a great working relationship as they have the same goals and objectives of alleviating drug trafficking and distribution within their countries. According to Lee (2017), The “war on drugs” was an initiative that put illegal substance control at the top of American national and foreign policy objectives; many scholars covering this subject believe that is when the U.S. – Colombia relations began.

### 2.22 Colombia and the United States of America's relations in the “War on Drugs.”

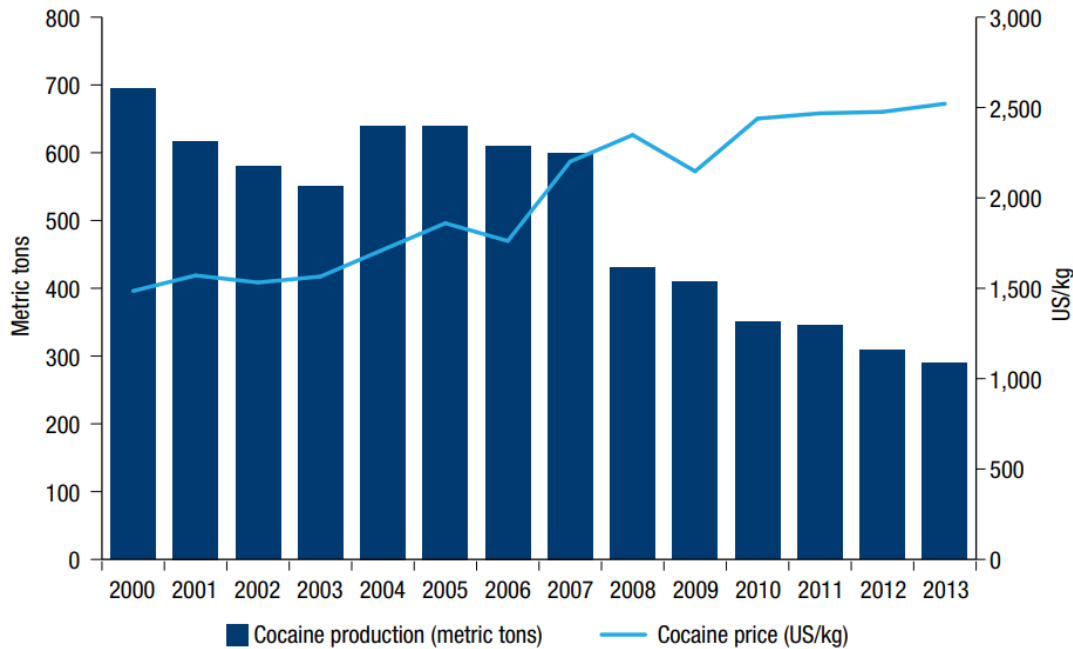
The United States of America has shared a rich and intensive history with Colombia, dating back to Colombia's independence in the 19th century. In simple terms, the countries share rational and close ties meaning that they have a strategic relationship that, in return, both states offer support when fighting the illegal trade of narcotics.

Congressional Research Service (2014) wrote that Colombia's dominance in the manufacturing of narcotics has resulted in a strong relationship between the United States and Colombia during the last two decades. Through these strong ties and relations, Plan Colombia, which critically focused on countering the sale of illicit drugs and, later, terrorism, has led to the expansion of sustainable development, civil liberties being exercised, a drastic increase in trade in the region, and better security. Furthermore, Beittel, in the Congressional Research Service published in (2014), adds that the United States of America, through the Department of Defence, has pledged and appropriated over \$12 billion to Plan Colombia and its successors. Colombia has benefited from implementing the U.S. Counternarcotics policy, which has defined the relations of both states as their alliance strongly relied on the collective goals and objectives of obliterating the drug business. Colombia quickly rose to power and dominated the narcotics trade in the 1980s, as Bolivia and Peru were targeted successfully through brutish strategies that involved crop eradication and operative drug busts. As Colombia grew exponentially in trading finished Cocaine and Heroin through the cultivation of the puffy coco flower, the United States of America saw a rise in drug use and forged plans to eliminate the source of drugs which at this time was Colombia.

### 2.22.1 Plan Colombia in the drug war:

Lippe (2014) reported that Plan Colombia was a six-year initiative introduced in 1999 to combat the high-level illicit drug trade business and promote sustainable development. The administration of then-president Andrés Pastrana and U.S. Consultation implemented this policy and strategy. Beittel (2014) and Lippe (2014) argued that Plan Colombia had received mixed results as it failed to meet its objectives.

Furthermore, it is reported that Plan Colombia failed to decrease the cultivation and trafficking rates it set out in 1999 upon its implementation. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2008) reported that Plan Colombia had two objectives (1) to reduce and decrease the extreme levels of drug cultivation and drug trafficking in the first six years by 50% and (2) to improve security in the lands occupied by drug traffickers by regaining control of those regions. U.S. Government Accountability Office (2008) reported that the government invested approximately \$812 million in the first operating years of Plan Colombia in the fight against illegal drugs. Between 2000-2008 the Colombian government invested 1,2 per cent of their GDP per year.



Source: UNODC, 2013

Figure 1.9: Estimates of Potential Cocaine Production in Colombia, 2000-2013

The figure above illustrates that Cocaine production (metric tons) has decreased since Plan Colombia's inception. In the 6-year plan set out by the Colombian government. Mejía (2016) reported that Colombia has successfully reduced Coca cultivation from the year 2000 from 160 000 hectares to 48 000 hectares. Marks (2002) and Marcella (2003) argued that Plan Colombia coincided with a growth of the military and police forces primarily funded by the state. Plan Colombia's exponential growth aligned with the election of former Colombian President Alvaro Uribe in 2002. The newly elected president intensified the Anti-guerrilla efforts through his democratic security agenda. It is reported that between 1998 and Plan Colombia's inception in 2010, the state's police and military forces quadrupled in numbers, and the budget allocated tripled to assist in fighting the drug scourge and mass killings that came as collateral damage in the drug war.

UN Human Rights Council (2011) further deliberated the dangers and misfortune that came along with Plan Colombia, highlighting that most of the crop eradication and fumigation strategies were inefficient in decreasing drug cultivation as most of these zones/regions were ungoverned. Other significant consequences were the shocking and gruesome deaths of approximately 3,000 innocent civilians claimed to be combatants by Colombia's military and police. Plan Colombia, as

highlighted by the UN Human Rights Council in their publication, failed to dismantle the root cause of Colombia's insurgency and high drug trafficking woes. This was highlighted earlier in the Balloon effect that for the government and states to obliterate the drug business, it is essential and crucial to cut off the root of the problem, which in this context refers to decriminalizing drug use in the affected states while proving prevention and treatment to users and offenders. The research study will later, in the discussion section, further elaborate on Plan Colombia's success or failure.

### 2.22.2 Plan Patriota, National Consolidation Plan and Peace Colombia:

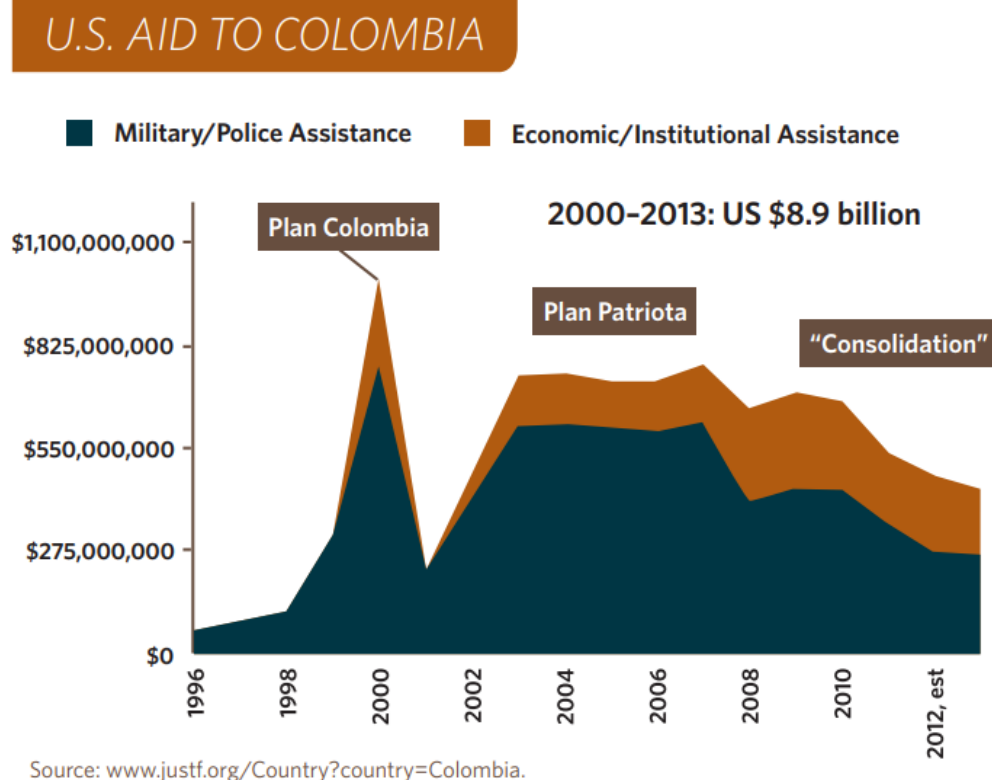


Figure 1.10: Illustrates U.S. Aid to Colombia since Plan Colombia's introduction.

The Figure above illustrates the amount of aid provided by the United States of America to Colombia since 1999, when Plan Colombia was implemented to curb and decimate drug trafficking from Colombia to the U.S. The figure provided shows that from 2000 to 2013, the United States appropriated approximately \$8,9 Billion in both military/police assistance to economic/institutional aid. Adam Isacson (2012), in Consolidating "Consolidation", a Washington

Office on Latin America publication, wrote that after suffering from the gruesome 9/11 attacks, the United States decided to move beyond the initial Plan Colombia's concentrated scheme of only countering narcotics to a more offensive boots-on-ground approach. Furthermore, Isacson (2012) reported that Congress passed a law reform that will allow the United States to provide counter-drug help to Colombia's government in its battle against armed organizations, particularly the FARC and ELN, two Marxist guerrilla groups founded in the mid-1960s. Figure 1.10 illustrates U.S. aid to Colombia, which shows that in 2003 and 2004, Plan Patriota was initiated under the guidance and support of the United States government. Assistance came from intelligence and advice on combating the drug war facing these notorious FARC and ELN guerrilla groups. Plan Patriota swept southern Colombia with the full might of the Colombia military along with the United States' support.

The strategy was successful as the Bandas and guerrilla transnational criminal organizations evacuated the Colombian jungles. The numbers and airpower provided by the U.S. were too much to handle. The one criticism Plan Patriota could not evade was that with Colombia having a stronghold in the newly vacant ungoverned rural areas, no one within the police department, the military and the U.S. had planned for the aftermath. Colombia had to fully incorporate the rural areas used by the guerrilla drug traffickers and the newly consolidated zones into one with Colombia's urban and metropolitan areas to improve their living standards, increase security for the protection of civilians and protect the rural areas from drug traffickers. Congressional Research Service (2014) wrote that the National Consolidation Plan was created to help the government coordinate its operations in regions where marginalization, narcotics trafficking, and violence intersect. Washington Office On Latin America (2012) stated that the National Consolidation Plan was introduced as the concept of "consolidation" was coined for a new strategy and approach designed by then defence minister now President Jan Manuel Santos and vice-minister Sergio Jaramillo. The Colombian government consulted and further deliberated with the United States Congress and U.S. Embassy to select the zones most ridden by narcotics trafficking. That was ungoverned in the rural areas to consolidate with state presence.

Furthermore, Isacson (2012) reported that the National Consolidation Plan zones were selected based on the frequency of armed group activity, the unmet demand for essential social services, and the existence of coca planting or usage as a "corridor" for drug or weapon trafficking. The

National Consolidation Plan focused on incorporating and integrating the consolidated zones into Colombian life, aiming at improving the ungoverned rural areas, providing astute security, raising living standards, and combatting the drug trafficking business. Angelo (2020) supported the claims established by Isacson (2012), further reporting that once the FARC and ELN transnational Criminal Organizations had evacuated the consolidated areas after defeat by the Colombian military, the government would send out a security task force to protect that newly acquired zone included government agencies from the department of housing, development, and education. This would signal the state's newfound presence in the consolidated zones and the reintegration of underprivileged communities into Colombia.

Angelo (2020), in *Waiting for Peace: Violence Against Social Leaders in Colombia* in a Webinar, further elaborated that the Colombia Strategic Development Initiative was utilized to support and promote the National Consolidation to achieve Colombian Peace and demobilization of drug trafficking in rural areas. The Colombia Strategic Development Initiative offered support from the United States to "fill gaps" in Colombian governmental programmes. "At the US Embassy in Colombia, CSDI coordinated the efforts of USAID, the State Department's Narcotics Affairs Section, the US Military Group, and the Department of Justice to assist Colombia in carrying out the consolidation plan by expanding state presence and promoting economic opportunities in priority zones" (Angelo, 2020). The National Consolidation Plan, just like its predecessors', used interdiction, drug raids, eradication of cultivated crops through fumigation of the plants, alternative development methods that could be applied in the consolidated areas, and further growing the police departments, the military and justice sector within the state.

USAID/Colombia (2014) reported in a government publication that the Colombian and FARC guerrilla group reached a peaceful settlement with their ongoing war. There was a shift in strategy and approach from the U.S. Aid and the Colombian government that opted to assist Colombia in post-conflict planning and protecting the marginalized ethnic groups within Colombia. The U.S. Aid country strategy for 2014-2018 anticipated a peaceful resolve and a further escalation of progress.

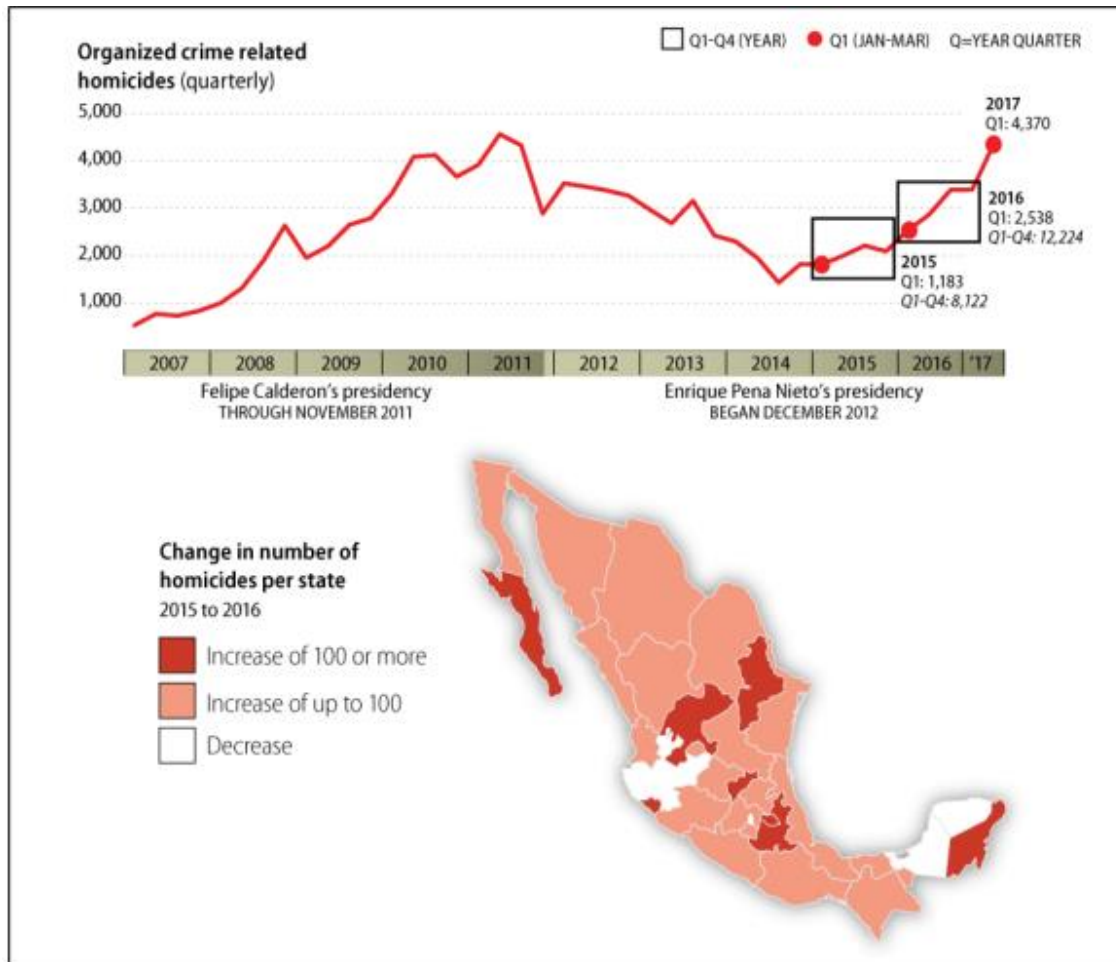
## 2.23 Mexico and U.S. Relations in the “War on Drugs”.

Mexico and The United States are neighbouring countries that, just like Colombia, share a history dating back to the U.S.-Mexican wars. The study looks to seek the level of cooperation between Mexico and the United States since the “War on Drugs” campaign was initiated. Seelke and Finklea (2017), in the Congressional Research Service report, claimed that violence committed by competing criminal gangs had jeopardized citizen security and government in areas of Mexico for more than a decade. Transnational Criminal Organizations started dominating Mexico as deaths, crime, and the illegal drug trade business grew exponentially. Heinle, Ferreira and Shirk (2017) argued that illicit drug trading and trafficking have long been prevalent in Mexico; there has been a growing number of Transnational Criminal Organizations fighting over territory, local markets, and drug smuggling routes which have led to a shocking 109,000 killings and approximately 30,000 disappearances related to the drug trade business in Mexico.

Flannery (2017) further highlighted Mexico’s ongoing illicit drug trafficking problem by stating that in early 2017 drug-related crimes and killings reached a new high during President Felipe Calderon’s tenure. U.S. and Mexican relations have waned recently, but the states still have cooperative strategic relations that have targeted illegal drug trafficking through the Merida Initiative and a Bi-lateral agreement. The Congressional Research Service report (2017) wrote that the U.S. government committed approximately \$2.8 billion to Mexico for the Merida Initiative to combat illicit drug trafficking. Furthermore, the Mexican government appropriated roughly \$100 billion to improve national security. Felbab-Brown (2017) claimed that newly elected President Enrique Pena Nieto solemnly vowed to decrease the mass crime and killings of illegal drug trafficking in Mexico. Whilst, the new President, promised a change in approach, critics remained sceptical of the Mexican government’s strategy of eliminating the Transnational Criminal Organizations leaders as it results in territorial wars as the Balloon effect takes place.

Ahmed (2017) and La Rosa (2017) further highlighted the inability of the Mexican government to solve the state's high-profile cases that included a wide array of gruesome acts by Transnational Criminal Organizations. To name a few, these cases involved corruption cases that involved former governors and high-ranking state officials. The disappearances of state police and security officials. Extrajudicial killings topped the list as the new President Pena Nieto's administration suffered from their shortcomings.

Furthermore, it was reported that the Mexican government failed to protect its journalists and human rights activists as Transnational Criminal Organizations were targeting them to silence them. There was also a growing concern that the Pena Nieto government spied on its citizens, specifically journalists and human-rights activists. "The Mérida Initiative is still being funded and overseen by Congress. In the FY2017 Consolidated Appropriations Act as the 115th Congress appropriated \$139 million for the Mérida Initiative" (Seelke and Finkle, 2017. p, 2). The Merida Initiative has played a significant role in shaping Mexican and American relations, as assistance from their neighbours has gone a long way in fighting the drug war. The President Trump administration requested to cut the Merida initiative funding by 38% from 2017's budget, equivalent to \$54 million. The Drug Enforcement Administration (2016), in the National Drug Threat Assessment Summary, reported that countering the flow of illegal narcotics from Mexico into the U.S. has remained a top priority in the last decade. As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, Mexico is the transit country for Transnational Criminal Organizations that want to distribute and sell illegal drugs into the United States market. Furthermore, Mexico supplies the American market with Cocaine, Heroin, Marijuana, and Methamphetamine. Mexico is also responsible for the illegal trading of Fentanyl, a synthetic opioid mixed with Heroin.



Source: Lantia Consultores, a Mexican security firm. Graphic prepared by CRS.

Figure 1.11: Shows the Estimated Organized Crime-Related Homicide in Mexico

Figure 1.11 illustrates the estimated organized crime-related homicides in Mexico since the Merida Initiative was introduced. The figure shows that organized crime homicides rose from Felipe Calderon's Presidency term in 2007 from an estimated death of 1000 people to 2007, the number of organized crime-related to approximately two thousand plus people murdered. In 2008 as the Merida initiative found its footing around Mexico, the number of estimated organized crime-related homicides decreased to a possible 2,000 people. From 2009 to 2011, there was a dramatic rise in estimated organized crime-related deaths in Mexico. From 2012 to 2014, there was a decrease as the Merida Initiative and the security policy were in full effect, reducing estimated organized crime-related deaths.

The figure reports that from 2015 to 2017, under the stewardship of President Pena Nieto, organized crime-related deaths surged drastically to newer highs. In 2015 the estimated organized crime-related deaths were recorded at 8,122 deaths. In 2016 the number of organized crime-related deaths increased to 12,244, and it capped off a whooping 4,370 in the year's first quarter. There was a decline from 2012 to 2014 when the Merida Initiative and security policies were fully implemented, decreasing estimated organized crime-related deaths. According to the data, under President Pena Nieto's leadership, organized crime-related murders increased dramatically from 2015 to 2017. The anticipated number of drug cartel deaths in 2015 was 8,122. Organized crime-related deaths grew to 12,244 in 2016, totalling 4,370 in the year's first quarter.

## 2.24 President Enrique Pena Nieto's security strategy:

Presidencia de México (2012) claimed that former President Enrique Pena Nieto first focused on economic reforms and understated Mexico's malicious and vicious violence. The security strategy former President Pena Nieto proposed to combat illegal narcotics trafficking involved a rather subtle yet disruptive approach focused on the kingpins. Pena Nieto's administration believed targeting Transnational Criminal Organizations leaders, and high-ranking individuals would obliterate and disrupt the illicit drug trade business prevalence in Mexico. Ferreira and Shirk (2017) further reported that Pena Nieto's security strategy involved the following measures:

- 1) Planning.
- 2) Prevention.
- 3) Protection and respect of human rights.
- 4) Coordination.
- 5) Institutional reform.
- 6) Monitoring and evaluation.

### 2.24.1 The Merida Initiative and Mexico's continued fight against illegal drug trafficking:

According to Seelke and Finklea (2017), President Felipe Calderon assumed his Mexican Presidency role in 2006. Calderon's priority became targeting and obliterating organized crime from Transnational Criminal Organizations operating within Mexican borders. Furthermore, the Congressional Service Report claimed that Calderon asked for aid from former President George

W. Bush. The United States of America offered Mexico \$36.7 million for combatting illegal drug trafficking. Meyer and Seelke (2015) reported that the United States of America and Mexico announced the Merida Initiative in October 2007.

Government Accountability Office (2016) reported that the Mexican government set out the Merida Initiative's priorities to eradicate and combat corruption and crime within Mexico. The United States of America pledged to decrease and abolish the illegal drug trade and illegal firearms market from the U.S. to Mexico. Both administrations combating these objectives drastically failed to meet their obligations. The Government Accountability Office claimed that 70% of the illegal firearms confiscated in raids and border security from 2009 to 2014 had U.S. origins. Rosen (2017) argued that in the first phase of the Merida Initiative, the United States of America permitted the procurement of equipment for the Mexican military and police. The equipment purchased amounted to an approximate value of \$590.5 million from the fiscal year 2008 to the fiscal year 2010. According to Rosen in the Human Rights Issues: Security Forces Vetting ("Leahy Laws") publication, the U.S. government provided the following support and assistance to Mexico:

1. Counternarcotics, border security, and counterterrorism.
2. Public security and law enforcement.
3. Institution development and the rule of law.

All these support and assistance measures were subject to Mexico passing the "Leahy Laws". Rosen (2017) further reported that U.S. Congress withheld 15% of the funds pledged to aid the military and federal police. "The plan behind the Mérida Initiative was amended in 2011 by officials from the Obama Administration and the Calderón government "(Seelke and Finklea, 2017. p, 9). Furthermore, the Merida Initiatives' priorities were modified so that institutional building was chosen technological transfers. Economic growth and community-based social initiatives. Since 2011, establishing the rule of law while protecting civil liberties, part of pillar two, was given the green light and the most finance.



**Source:** U.S. Department of State, "Fact Sheet: the Mérida Initiative: an Overview," January 15, 2015; Graphic prepared by CRS Graphics.

*Figure 1.12: the Four Pillars of the Merida Initiative.*

The White House (2016) wrote that after a brief hiatus when President Peña Nieto entered office, collaboration increased from 2013 to 2016. Furthermore, the Obama administration, along with Peña Nieto, reiterated the significance of the Merida initiative, and both Presidents pledged to fully commit to enforcing the four pillars shown above in figure 1.12. The justice sector was prioritized for reform. It lacked the means to combat corruption, illicit drug trafficking, and organized crime ravaging the country. North and South borders, both prevalent for drug traffickers, were targeted for reform in the justice sector. Tillerson et al. (2017) claimed that the four-pillar plan is theoretically still in existence. Still, former President Trump's administration opted to advocate a more restricted, anti-drug approach that will entail less foreign aid from the United States. In these meetings and deliberations, it was reiterated that the core objective of disrupting and destroying the illegal narcotics trade and organized crime brought about by Transnational Criminal Organizations.

Table 1: Estimated Merida Initiative funding: FY 2007- FY 2018 (Request) in Millions.

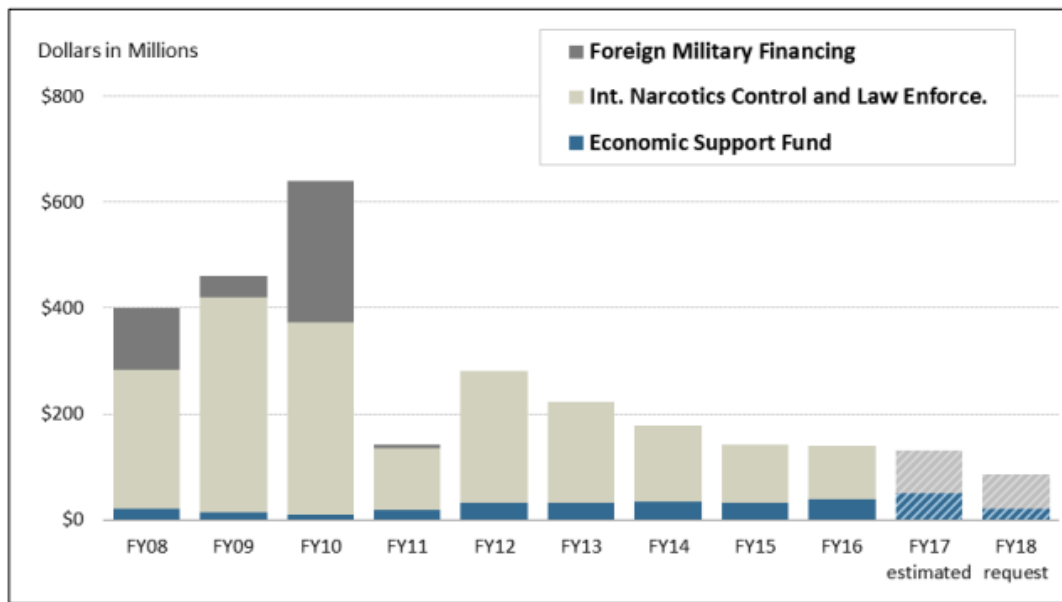
Account	ESF	INCLE	FMF	Total
<b>FY2007</b>	11.4	36.7	0.0	<b>48.1</b>
<b>FY2008</b>	20.0	263.5	116.5	<b>400.0</b>
<b>FY2009</b>	15.0	406.0	39.0	<b>460.0</b>
<b>FY2010</b>	9.0	365.0	265.2	<b>639.2</b>
<b>FY2011</b>	18.0	117.0	8.0	<b>143.0</b>
<b>FY2012</b>	33.3	248.5	Not Applicable	<b>281.8</b>
<b>FY2013</b>	32.1	190.1	Not Applicable	<b>222.2</b>
<b>FY2014</b>	35.0	143.1	Not Applicable	<b>178.1</b>
<b>FY2015</b>	33.6	110.0	Not Applicable	<b>143.6</b>
<b>FY2016</b>	39.0	100.0	Not Applicable	<b>139.0</b>
<b>FY2017 (est.)</b>	49.0	90.0	Not Applicable	<b>139.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>284.0</b>	<b>2,033.2</b>	<b>428.7</b>	<b>2,745.9</b>
<b>FY2018 (request)</b>	25.0 <sup>a</sup>	60.0	Not Applicable	<b>85.0</b>

**Sources:** U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) budget office, November 3, 2016; U.S. Department of State, November 18, 2016; U.S. Department of State, *Congressional Budget Justification for Operations, FY2018*.

**Notes:** ESF = Economic Support Fund; INCLE = International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement; Foreign Military Financing. FY2008-FY2010 included supplemental funding.

- a. In the FY2018 budget request, the Trump Administration proposes a new aid account to merge the Economic Support and Development Fund accounts. It is to be known as the Economic Support and Development Fund account, or ESDF.

The Table above provides the estimated values in requested and paid funds by Mexico in their U.S. Counter-narcotics policy. According to Seelke and Finklea (2017), U.S. Congress prioritized funds for institutional reforms. The Foreign Military Financing decreased their aid from 2011 onwards. In 2012 the Financial Military Finance detached itself from the Merida Initiative and Utilized the Bi-lateral agreement for military assistance to Mexico.



**Sources:** U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) budget office, November 3, 2016; U.S. Department of State, November 18, 2016; U.S. Department of State, *Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, FY2018*.

Figure 1.13: Funding for the Merida Initiative by Account

Seelke and Finklea (2017) supported Rosen’s claims of all aid being subject to Mexico passing the “Leahy Laws”, as stated above. Seelke and Finklea (2017) further elaborated that by imposing restrictions on the Merida Initiative support, the U.S. Congress has tried to stimulate and implement efficient initiatives that prevent human-rights violations and impunity in Mexico. Furthermore, Seelke and Finklea (2017) raised points made by Rosen (2017) by claiming that as the U.S. Congress imposed “Leahy Laws” that subjected Mexico to pass human-rights violations, 15%, as stated by Rosen, was withheld in the period of the fiscal year 2008 through 2015 constantly vetting Mexican authorities and usage of supplied aid. “Despite lowering budget demands for the Mérida Initiative, there has been bipartisan agreement in Congress for maintaining roughly stable financing for the Mérida Initiative” (Congressional Research Service, 2017. p 12).

According to Seelke and Finklea (2017), the Congressional Research Service Report claimed that in the fiscal year 2015, U.S. Congress pledged and appropriated an approximate value of \$28.6 million on top of the requested amount for that fiscal year which showed the U.S. and Mexico relations were solid and cooperative through financial assistance schemes and foreign policies (Consolidated Appropriations Act (P.L. 115-31) )that made sure funds were available to assist Mexico in their continued fight against drug trafficking. Most financial aid was appropriated to

justice sector reforms and the Southern Mexican border, which Transnational Criminal Organizations predominantly utilize to smuggle illegal drugs into the United States.

Furthermore, Seelke and Finklea (2017) reported that in President Obama's tenure, a further \$20 million was appropriated above the requested \$119 million in the fiscal year 2016. The Congressional Research Service report by Seelke and Finklea (2017) claimed that the Consolidated Appropriations Act that was enacted into law on the fifth of May 2017 included \$139 million, which is \$10 million more than the President Obama administration requested for the Merida Initiative. According to the consolidation Appropriations Act, the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INCLE), financial aid was to be used to combat illegal narcotics trafficking by TCOs, and to reduce the high levels of organized crime and corruption and impunity within Mexico. The financial assistance provided by the U.S. Congress through the INCLE institution also aimed at reducing the flow of Heroin, Fentanyl, and Cocaine into the United States. According to Isacson (2017), in the WOLA publication, it was reported that U.S. Congress deliberated in the fiscal year 2018 on the pledged and appropriated funds for the Merida initiative. Former President Donald Trump's administration in the fiscal year 2018 aimed at decreasing initial funding to Mexico whilst adopting a security-centred approach. The former President's Administration requested \$85 million in financing for the fiscal year 2018. It was reported by Isacson (2017) that the \$85 million requested was 38.8 per cent less than the projected the fiscal year 2017 and then authorized 2016 budget for the Merida initiative. U.S. Congress is currently looking to decrease the level of financial aid and involvement with the Merida Initiative.

#### 2.24.2 How was the Merida Initiative Implemented?

Seelke and Finklea (2017) reported that U.S. Congress has ensured that Merida-funded equipment and training assistance is efficiently delivered for years, continuously upholding the strong relations that Mexico and the United States share. In 2011 over \$500 million in training, technical, and equipment aid had been supplied to Mexico through the Merida Initiative. Furthermore, Seelke and Finklea (2017) claimed that after President Calderon's tenure ended in 2012, approximately \$1.2 billion had been appropriated for the Merida Initiative. An estimated \$837 million had been spent on equipment, including planes and technology that enhanced the military and police defences. Another \$100 million was spent on surveillance tech, and a further \$146 million was

allegedly spent on training the military and police forces operating under the Merida Initiative. The Pena Nieto administration and U.S. Congress agreed upon changing the Merida Initiative strategy to a more agile process when approving funding and new Merida Initiative projects to be introduced and implemented. From 2013 to 2017, the estimated funds appropriated for the project amounted to \$1.6 billion.

### 2.24.3 The Merida Initiative and Its Four Pillars:

“The new approach took shape around four strategic priorities, or “pillars” (Olson and Wilson, 2010). According to the Mexico Institute (2017) publication, the four-pillar plan addressed both short-term and long-term security challenges raised by organized crime in Mexico. Furthermore, Olson (2017) claimed that the short-term efforts concentrated on strengthening intelligence coordination to apprehend the Transnational Criminal Organizations leaders and obliterate the drug trafficking business by cutting off the criminal networks, confiscating illegal firearms utilized by TCOs, and intercepting the profits generated from the illicit selling of narcotics travelling south to fund the unlawful criminal operations. The long-term efforts implemented in the Merida Initiative included violence and border prevention by introducing a new 21st-century border that could withstand illegal drug smuggling whilst also enabling the legal trading of goods and services. Other measures were initiated in the fourth pillar of the Merida Initiative through empowering communities and introducing crime and drug prevention programs that shifted the mindsets of citizens. Furthermore, gainful employment was given to citizens to improve the living standards of ordinary citizens. Figure 1.12 in the study represents the Four Pillars of the Merida Initiative.

### 2.25 Diplomacy and Extradition

Diplomacy and Extradition are introduced in this study to answer the question of the level of cooperation between all states involved. Marks et al. (n.d.) claim that Diplomacy is the recognized way of influencing foreign governments and peoples’ decisions and behaviour through communication, negotiation, and other non-violent means. “Diplomacy can be defined as a process between actors (diplomats, usually representing a state) who exist within a system (international relations) and engage in private and public dialogue (diplomacy) to pursue their objectives peacefully” (McGlinchey, 2017). The researcher believes that an Extradition is a peaceful act of Diplomacy because states enter dialogue, influence and persuade each other that a particular

person or people needs to be extradited to the country where they committed the crime, whether it be organized crime or drug trafficking in this context.

According to Masters (2020), Extradition is the formal process by which one state surrenders an individual to another state for prosecution or punishment for crimes committed within the jurisdiction of the requesting country. It is usually made possible through a bilateral or multilateral treaty. To clarify, bilateral means two states agree, whereas a multi-lateral treaty refers to two or more parties agreeing. One of the most notable drug war arrests, or some might call it an achievement, was the apprehension and Extradition of El Chapo, the head of the Sinaloa Cartel, which is the most prominent Mexican cartel. (Ahmed, 2017) wrote, “A federal court in Mexico denied an appeal by Mr Guzmán’s lawyers to block the Extradition, clearing the way for his transfer to the American authorities in New York, where he faces numerous charges for his role as the chieftain of the Sinaloa cartel. Mr Guzmán was put on a plane in Ciudad Juárez, near the border with Texas, and arrived in the United States on President Obama’s final night in office”. The researcher believes that there is a respectful relationship between the United States, Mexico and Colombia, which is evident in the above statement proving that all states are prepared to do anything to combat drugs and have together initiated many policies that enhance the capturing of drug kingpins who are responsible for cultivating, distributing and trafficking illegal narcotics, which the researcher believes is not adequate for proving if the war has been a failure or success because the number of arrests of drug kingpins from both Colombia and Mexico is irrelevant because drug empires and the drug business has a set-out plan that functions without certain personnel

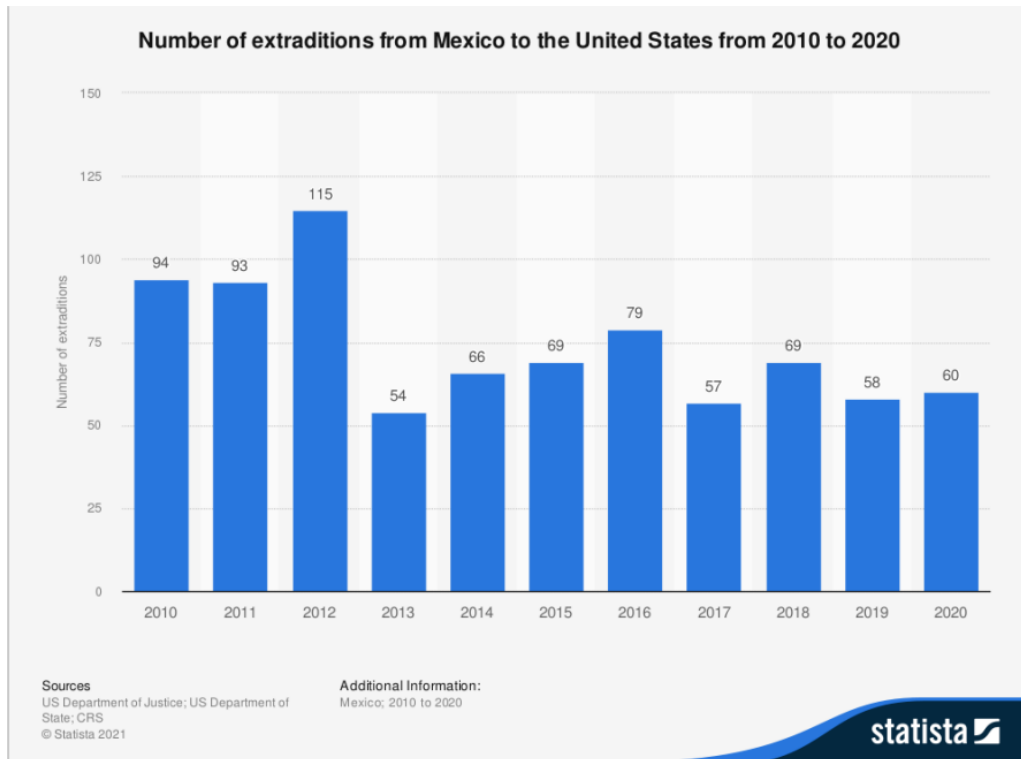


Figure 1.14: Illustrates the Number of Extraditions from Mexico to the United States from 2010 to 2020

Figure 1.14 is an illustration of the approximate number of extraditions from Mexico to the United States from the year 2010 to 2020. In 2010 the total number of extraditions from Mexico to the U.S. was 94 people. Fast forward ten years, and the total number of people extradited from Mexico to the United States of America amounted to approximately 886 people. Extraditions and diplomacy represent cooperative relations between all participating states.

## 2.26 Conclusion

In summation, this Chapter has looked at the conceptualization of the War on Drugs, the illicit drugs being trafficked into the U.S. from Mexico and Colombia, while briefly describing them and providing figures and numbers to show the availability of the drugs in the U.S. The Chapter has also examined Mexico and Colombia as actors in the drug war while exploring the drug war-related arrests of Mexican and Colombian TCOs. The Chapter looked at the role of the F.B.I., D.E.A., and C.I.A. In closing, the Chapter covered the level of cooperation between the states while briefly discussing Diplomacy and Extradition. The study will move onto chapter three, focusing on the theoretical framework guiding the research inquiry.

### 3. Theoretical framework

#### 3.1 Introduction

This Chapter will strictly focus on the theoretical framework. This research dissertation will adopt and give justification as to why those theories were explicitly chosen for this study. This research design will entail three theories, all established and well-documented within the social sciences discipline. The theories share common ground on the “War on Drugs” topic. The writer will utilize the “Just war theory”, “Social conflict theory”, and “Rational Choice theory” in justifying and legitimizing the “War on Drugs” campaign. The reasoning behind using these three insightful and logical theories is based on the notion of self-preservation, self-defence and rationality. The study will not discuss the theoretical framework in the discussion section because it will thoroughly cover all theories mentioned above in this chapter (Theoretical Framework). Before the study details the theories that will be utilized, the researcher believes it is essential to understand the theory and theoretical framework and how they shape and form the study.

#### 3.2 Understanding Theory in Political Science.

According to Glanz (2008), a theory is a generalized statement that brings together ideas, “interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that explain or predict events or situations by specifying relations among variables” (Glanz, 2008, p. 114). “a theory is a generalized statement of abstractions or ideas that asserts, explains or predicts relationships or connections between or among phenomena, within the limits of critical bounding assumptions that the theory explicitly makes” (Gabriel, 2008). Kerlinger and Lee (2000, p. 11) define and explain the meaning of a theory very well as follows: A theory is a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables to explain and predict the phenomena. Theory, in simple terms, is the glue that brings together concepts, ideas, variables, abstracts, principles and beliefs of the researcher and the study conducted. Theory in a research study brings together forgotten concepts while also providing guidelines as to how the study should be conducted and how it is conducted (Research study).

### 3.3 Political Theory and The Theoretical Framework.

According to Dryzek, Honig, and Phillips (2011), Political theory traditions, methodologies, and styles differ. Still, the discipline is linked by a desire to theorize, critique, and diagnose the past and present political action norms, practices, and organizational structures of political action. The study will look to explore political events that shaped the course of our history, which in this context is the “War on Drugs”, which will be analyzed, evaluated, and critiqued if need be. The researcher is not taking a position but believes that the “War on Drugs” has been an utter failure while realizing that opinions can change anytime, and the perceptions can and will be disregarded if needs be.

### 3.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the ‘blueprint’ or guides for research (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). A theoretical framework can be compared to a map or blueprint, as stated above, that drives your thoughts and research conducted by using the correct theories that align with the investigation to reach a probable hypothesis. The theoretical framework assists the researcher in not deviating or breaking from the already published line of work that is being referenced. Grant & Osanloo (2014) argue that a theoretical framework can help a research project in several ways. It gives structure by demonstrating how researchers define their study philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically, and analytically. Ravitch and Carl (2016) agree that the theoretical framework guides researchers in situating and contextualizing formal theories in their studies. This sets their studies in a scholarly context.

### 3.5 Just War Theory

The “Just war theory” provides logical and analytical justification for why the United States of America has waged a “War on Drugs “in Central, South and North America, specifically on Colombia and Mexico, which are the most prominent drug traffickers and distributors in the globe in this modern era. “Because war involves profound decisions about the value of human life and the sanctioned use of lethal force, it is an issue on which law and morality overlap. At its broadest

level, “Just war” relates to the moral justification for state-sanctioned killings... The researcher disagrees with Fixdal and Smith, as the investigator views the “Just War” theory as a last resort measure that refers to how the United States of America has gone about fighting the drug war. The investigator does not condone the extreme methods adopted to curb and ease drug trafficking. The researcher believes that the United States, Colombia and Mexico have done what is necessary regardless of the deaths, overdoses, availability and costs of combating the drug war. (Fixdal and Smith, 1998, pp.283-312).

The Just War theory is the perfect framework or guideline for this research paper, and it gives a reason why the United States initiated the drug war in the first place. It was for self-defence and self-preservation because drugs are silent killers; they affect productivity, the economy of a state, human capital, increase crime rates, grown deaths in a state, give specific actors (Transnational Criminal Organizations) power and influence malicious behaviour within their states, which leads to the mass killings of innocent civilians, whether it be journalists, federal agents, state agents and others which has notably seen in Colombia and Mexico. (Calcutt, 2011, p. 111), wrote that “Just war theory encompasses two dimensions: Jus ad Bellum (Justice in resort to war) and Jus in Bello (justice in the conduct of war). Both elements have humanitarian aims and are rooted in self-defence (resort to defensive, not offensive force)”. The Just War theory was developed to justify why states should engage in just and fair wars that are last-resort measures. The Just War theory stipulates that states should not go on the offensive but use defensive measures to protect their civilians. In this case, the United States introduced the drug war due to high drug use, overdoses, and trafficking levels in the U.S. One can argue that the drug war was a last-resort measure to save humanity from TCOs, and drugs, so the war is justified and legitimate.

(Calcutt, 2011, p. 111) argues that “The fundamental difference between the two complementary elements of just war theory is that the moral principles of jus ad Bellum (the reasons for going to war) were not explicitly codified and were to a large degree subsumed in other international law, while the principles and practices of Jus in Bello (the war is to be conducted) were ultimately translated into what is now called the law of armed conflict (or international humanitarian law)., of which the four Geneva Conventions and three additional protocols form a major part”.

According to The Ethics Centre (2016), The Just war theory is an ethical framework used to decide when it is appropriate to go to war. It was founded by Catholic moral thinkers such as Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas, although it has taken many different shapes over time. Before going into any war, states should question their intentions and reasons for going into that war and ask themselves the following questions:

- Is it for a **just cause**?
- Is it with the **right intention**?
- Is it from a **legitimate authority**?
- Does it have due **proportionality**?
- Is it the **last resort**?

The Just War Theory is the appropriate and suitable theory for this research study because it aligns with what the United States' intentions were before entering into war. In answering the questions above, is it for a just cause? Fighting to preserve your country that has been targeted as the primary consumer of drugs globally. That reason alone is enough for a state to act based on self-defence. Is it with the right intention? The United States initiated the “War on Drugs”, intending to obliterate drug trafficking and Transnational Criminal Organizations mainly because drug trafficking not only destroys human life but has other despicable consequences like mass crimes, mass killings and human trafficking organizations and actors conducted through trafficking drugs. Is it from a legitimate authority? yes, no actor is higher than the state. Does it have due proportionality? In this context, moral and ethical measures can be taken to ensure that the war is just and fair to all actors.

That is very difficult in a world where war combatants can range from child soldiers to rebels, insurgents, and uniform soldiers. There are no clear lines regarding what war is in contemporary global politics. Is using drone attacks excessive, or is it just and fair? Maybe not, but drug traffickers are immoral and do not consider human life when trafficking drugs. Sometimes you have got to attack the fire with fire, which is what the United States, Colombia, and Mexico have done, respectively. Is it the last resort? In this case, yes, it was because you can never negotiate with a drug kingpin or transnational Criminal Organization and ask them politely to stop trafficking drugs. Drug traffickers and TCOs have no regard for human life, so the drug war is necessary for the betterment of humankind.

## 3.6 Jus ad Bellum

### 3.6.1 Just Cause

War is considered as life-threatening as many casualties come with waging war. As stated previously in the Chapter, War is considered just and fair if it is for a just cause. In the researcher's opinion, the drug war is a legitimate and just cause to initiate and wage war against all perpetrators. "War can be necessary and proportionate only if it serves an end worth all this death and destruction. Hence the importance of having a just cause. And hence the widespread belief that just causes are few and far between" (Laza, 2016).

The drug war is a just war and is necessary because it serves a higher purpose, and the ends justify the means. States uphold sovereignty and legitimacy by providing the following: 1) Individual security, 2) the right to life, and 3) liberty. Once these three elements have been compromised, a state has the right to act justly to retain and protect civilians from external or internal threats. In this context, drugs are an internal threat as they cripple societies and are also an external threat as drug trafficking threatens individual security, the right to life, and the right to freedom, as many innocent civilians are not safe in drug trafficking hotspots as there are territorial wars amongst the Cartels. The state wages war to try to cease drug trafficking, which results in many unnecessary casualties. The "War on Drugs" has had its collateral damage, with innocent people dying whilst combating drugs. The researcher thinks it does not take away the fact that sometimes a person/state needs to do evil to achieve good which can be considered a Utilitarianism principle. The theory of Utility focuses on attaining the highest possible good.

### 3.6.2 Just Peace

According to Stahn and Iverson (2020), "Morally, War should not end with any type of peace, but rather a specific form of peace. Just peace theory relies on the premise that peace is not a natural or normal state but something that needs to be constructed". Just Peace Theory encompasses the notion that wars should end with peace being achieved and not leaving matters worse than they were. "Some theorists have claimed that a war 'should end in a "better state of peace", that is, a peace that is juster and more stable than the situation that led to the war in the first place" (Fixdal, 2012). Just peace theory is a very significant element of the just war theory because it accounts for

the future in a sense that wars can be waged and fought, but what happens after the war should be accounted for, e.g., the war on terror that was dropped by the U.S. recently due to undisclosed circumstances has left Afghanistan in a far worse position than it began. Afghanistan is now under the rule of the Taliban and other insurgent groups who have continuously caused chaos and havoc within Afghanistan and Pakistan.

### 3.6.3 Legitimacy

“Historically, just war theory has been dominated by statist. Most branches of the tradition have had some version of a “legitimate”, “proper”, or “right” authority constraint, construed as a necessary condition for a war to be *ad Bellum* just” (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2016). Many positivists, unlike sceptics, believe that the state is the highest actor. It holds all legitimate grounds to initiate war, as it intends to provide security to all nationals while also securing the liberty of future generations.

Legitimacy is a contested concept, but the researcher believes the state mirrors the definition of legitimacy in that the state initiates policies with the notion of saving the nation as it has the citizen's interests at heart. Sceptics might disagree with that justifying their arguments with the premise that the state has representatives who are decision-makers, and that puts the whole Just cause argument in jeopardy solely because those elected representatives are human, subjective and imperfect. In other words, the state might act unjustly and initiate an unnecessary war, causing chaos and harming innocent livelihoods because the decision-making process is no longer objective but subjective. Henceforth, the researcher believes that elected representatives still serve the state's interests as long as the state is the highest actor in politics. The argument of elected officials getting into unnecessary wars is uncalled for because modern-day democracies rely on the elected officials to fulfil their duties and to respect and honour their commitments given by fair voters, so in that sense, elected personnel deal with voters' needs which results in the best interests of the state.

### 3.6.4 Proportionality and Last Resort

“In determining whether a particular resort to war is just, national leaders must consider the proportionality of the conflict, i.e., balance the expected gain or just redress against the total harm likely to be inflicted by the impending armed action” (Brown, 2011). Proportionality is the simple act of weighing the positives and the damages that would come from the war. The war can be considered just and fair if the means justify the ends. As stated previously within the study, the last resort refers to if the war was entered because there were no other options the state could make. The state waging war should enter because it is defending itself and not offensive for its interests, e.g., economic gain.

### 3.7 Jus in Bello

According to international law, military behaviour must adhere to three principles:

- Discrimination: It is illegal to target non-combatants.
- Proportionality: Harming non-combatants accidentally (that is, harming them unintentionally but foreseeable) is lawful only if the harms are proportionate to the goals of the attack.
- Necessity: Collaterally injuring non-combatants is permitted only if the least destructive means possible are used to achieve one's military aims.

Stahn (2006) argued that the fundamental rationale for jus in Bello is to limit the effects of armed conflicts on non-combatants (particularly vulnerable groups such as the wounded, women, and children), property, and the environment. Jus in Bello is grounded upon the notion of proportionality and necessity. Jus in Bello principles stipulate that war must be necessary, and innocent civilians should not be harmed when conducting warfare. Jus in Bello continues to be ambiguous in that there is no clear-cut distinction as to what is deemed feasible or necessary when initiating or when fighting that war, respectively. Nowadays, wars are different compared to conventional warfare. Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants.

“*Jus in Bello* regulates the conduct of parties engaged in an armed conflict. I.H.L. is synonymous with *jus in Bello*; it seeks to minimize suffering in armed conflicts, notably by protecting and assisting all victims of armed conflict to the greatest extent possible” (International Committee of The Red Cross, 2015). International humanitarian law (*Jus in Bello*) seeks to govern misconduct by protecting civilians post-war regardless of why states went to war, and peace must be maintained after the war. The United States went to war against Transnational Criminal Organizations who occupied residency in Colombia and Mexico, respectively; that becomes an issue because when initiating war and fighting that war, it is primarily fought in hosting states which in this context refers to Colombia and Mexico. Since the drug war was implemented, Colombia and Mexico have suffered drastically at the hands of Transnational Criminal Organizations, which has resulted in mass killings of innocent civilians as collateral damage. Crime and drug trafficking have increased due to inflation rates. The Cartels seem more influential and vigorous as they make \$30 to \$40 billion yearly.

These states have been damaged as government officials, journalists, women, and children have been killed while fighting the drug war. *Jus ad Bellum* stipulates that the reasons for going to war should be Just; in this case, the U.S. is justified to combat drugs. *Jus in Bello* claims that wars should be conducted honestly, reasonably, and ethically, which has not been the case in the drug war. *Jus post-Bellum* stipulates that those states should conclude wars in a soft light, meaning there should be an efficient transition from war to peace. In other words, states are obliged to end the war and leave states in a better position than the one they were in before the war started. If the United States decides to terminate the drug war, Colombia and Mexico would be in a far worse position than before the war started, which according to the researcher's views, does show and prove the drug war's failure since its introduction.

### 3.8 *Jus Post Bellum*

“*Jus Post Bellum* is the body of laws, norms, and principles that apply during the transition from war to peace.” (Stahn and Kleffner, 2008). According to Easterday (2012), One of *Jus Post Bellum*’s primary purposes is to develop and maintain long-term peace. The *jus post Bellum* paradigm provides a means of harmonizing and reconceptualizing overlaps in post-conflict laws.

It offers relational cohesiveness to its underlying rules and norms and a foundation for determining who is responsible for post-conflict duties. According to Bass, Jus Post Bellum is rooted in the following principles:

- A just and fair conclusion to the war once its aims have been achieved to a large extent.
- Right intention, meaning no revenge.
- Collaboration with a legitimate domestic authority that respects human rights.
- Discrimination (no collective penalty).
- Proportionality.

These principles are crucial in maintaining peacekeeping and ensuring that every party involved in the war respects international law and abides by the international community's rules and regulations. The drug war is not entirely over; the U.S. plans to adopt a more health-rehabilitation policy that will assist drug abusers in living and maintaining a healthy, harmonious life. Mexico is also planning to abort their drug war policy that targets the cartels, as it has only led to mass destruction and organized crime of the highest order.

### 3.9 Social Conflict Theory

According to Hayes (2020), Conflict theory, first proposed by Karl Marx, holds that society is perpetually at war due to the struggle for limited resources. The Conflict Theory stipulates that humanity is at war or in conflict due to limited resources. It becomes a struggle for power and domination between all actors involving states. Marx & Engels (1848) wrote that according to conflict theory, people with wealth and power try to keep it by whatever means possible, most notably by oppressing the poor and powerless.

Individuals and groups within society will attempt to maximize their own money and power, according to a core principle of conflict theory. Siegel (2000) argued that according to social conflict theorists, crime in any society is generated by class struggle, and those in power make laws to preserve their rights and interests. This theory is appropriate for this research study because it highlights why there is a “War on Drugs” in the first place. There is a massive gap between the rich and the poor. The researcher believes that crime is a consequence of inequality and poverty.

It is commonly known that South America and Central America are poverty-stricken regions with vast amounts of land containing opium and coca plants which are processed to make illegal substances. The Conflict Theory purports that society is at war with each other and that the masses fight for wealth and limited resources. The people, Cartels, and drug distributors are just actors trying to earn a living. The researcher is in no way promoting drug trafficking but is simply explaining how and why drug trafficking exists. The researcher believes that the “Social Conflict theory” explains why drug actors engage in such disturbing behaviour. A phrase goes, “you should never judge a man in survival mode”. The investigator believes that all drug actors engage in the drug business as a means to an end, which is generating an income to feed their families in states such as Colombia and Mexico, the Gini-Coefficient is high (refers to the inequality gap between the bourgeoisie and the peasants (rich and poor)”. The investigator believes that drug actors, whether high-ranking Cartel members or low-ranking drug smugglers, sell and distribute drugs to earn an income for their families because of the high inequality gap between the rich and poor within the state.

### 3.9.1 Assumptions

- **Competition:** There is competition for limited resources. “Competition exists due to the scarcity of resources, including material resources—money, property, commodities, and more” (Hayes, 2020). Drug actors are forced to take matters into their own hands. Poverty and survival can make a man do despicable things. Drug trafficking is a result of greed and survival. Simply wanting more in life than suffering leads TCOs to drug trafficking and organized crime, killings, and kidnapping, to name a few, are collateral damage.
- **Structural Inequality:** Amadeo (2021) defines structural inequality as a system of privilege established by economic institutions. The law, corporate practices, and government policy are examples of these institutions. Structural inequality is a form of deprivation towards minority or marginalized societal groups. Transnational Criminal Organizations are a product of structural inequality as the system in their countries only assists the affluent and wealthy.
- **War:** According to Hayes (2020), war, according to conflict theory, results from a long and developing conflict between individuals and organizations. The constant need for

survival perpetuates war in conflict theory. Resources are limited and are not distributed equally by the states and their governments.

Drug trafficking is the result of structural inequality and poverty combined. If resources were evenly distributed, the world would not be troubled by drug trafficking, genocides, and high crime levels. People are just trying to survive, which then leads to conflict. The researcher does not condone Transnational Criminal Organization's actions but perceives the situation in Karl Marx's perception when theorizing Capitalism as Marx refers to a society of classes. In contrast, there are the Bourgeoisie and peasants, which in this context refers to the drug trafficker who is born out of nothing and making a living from cultivating, distributing, trafficking and selling drugs to feed their families due to the growing inequality gap, the struggle for unevenly distribution of goods and services.

### 3.10 Rational Choice Theory:

The Just War Theory lacked the knowledge and failed to explain various variables the research study covers. In explaining what the investigator means in the above statement, The Just War Theory justifies and legitimises why states go to war and how wars need to be Just and Fair for them to be considered moral and legitimate. Furthermore, the Social Conflict Theory focuses on why specific actors engage in the trafficking and selling illicit drugs. The theory views inequality and poverty as the main reasons drug trafficking is so prominent worldwide. The researcher has decided to introduce the Rational Choice theory, which stipulates that individuals make rational choices that align with their interests. In this case, the Rational Choice Theory answers why and how states like the United States, Colombia and Mexico have decided to engage in full-scale war combating drugs. Ganti and Anderson (2021) described the theory as follows; According to the rational choice theory, people employ logical calculations to make rational decisions and obtain outcomes that align with their personal goals. These outcomes are also linked to maximizing an individual's self-interest. Given the restricted options available, the rational choice theory should produce results that offer people the most benefit and happiness. Amadae and Rodgers (2016) argued that the Agents are described in rational choice theory by their unchanging sets of preferences over all conceivable global outcomes. Agents are considered reasonable if their

intentions are complete—that is, if they represent a relationship of superiority, inferiority, or indifference among all pairs of choices—and rationally ordered—that is, there are no cyclic inconsistencies. In simple terms, when agents or individuals face risky and uncertain decisions, they present calm and assured decisions that an astute gambler would make if the house were involved. Ganti, Anderson, Amadae, and Rodgers (2016 and 2021) all believe that the concepts of rational actors, self-interest, and the invisible hand are frequently connected with the rational choice theory. The researcher introduced this theory because it resonated with the Study and accounted for sections of the research study that other theories failed to explain and justify. The Rational Choice Theory in political sciences can be viewed from a perspective that involves or includes states, intergovernmental organizations, non-profit organizations, and multinational organizations, all run by human beings who utilize rationality in their decision-making processes.

### 3.10.1 Choice Theory Assumptions:

The Rational Choice theory in the drug war looks at the actors involved, such as States, Intergovernmental institutions, NGOs, and INGOs. All these actors share one common denominator: the decision-makers who, in this context, are elected government officials representing the States or any institutions. These so-called actors are emotional beings who make rational, calculated choices that benefit and enhance state or institution interests. Other scholars link the Rational Choice Theory to the Theory of Utility which has the core principle of maximizing happiness regardless of the outcomes and consequences. Actors in politics make rational decisions that maximize or reach the highest possible outcome. Transnational Criminal Organizations manufacture, traffic, and sell illicit drugs without thinking of the consequences of the drug business, such as increased organized crimes, drug overdoses, and a decreased human capital as there is a loss of human life, whether figuratively or literally. States like the United States, Colombia, and Mexico decided to criminalize drug manufacture, trafficking, and selling of illegal narcotics to maximize utility to achieve a shared interest in alleviating illicit drug use. All these actors have in common is making rational, calculated decisions that align with their shared interests. According to Nickerson (2021), the Rational Choice Theory has the following assumptions:

- 1) All acts are sensible and are based on weighing the costs and benefits.

- 2) The benefit of a relationship or activity must surpass the expense of carrying it out. Simply put, “the means must justify the ends”.
- 3) When the value of the reward falls below the value of the expenditures incurred, the individual will either discontinue the behaviour or terminate the connection.
- 4) Individuals use the resources available to them to maximize their gains.

### 3.11 Conclusion:

In conclusion, the chapter focused on the theoretical framework chosen for this research topic. The chapter discussed in detail the Just war theory and the drug war, giving meaning and justification as to why the study utilized this specific topic. The next theory was the social conflict theory which believes that the competition for limited resources is why actors such as the Cartels/TCOs end up producing, distributing, and trafficking narcotics. Lastly, the chapter briefly explained the Rational Choice Theory and the shared interest between all actors involved in the drug war. The study will move onto chapter four which will specifically discuss the research methods and methodologies used to collect, evaluate, and analyze its information.

## 4. Research Methods and Methodologies

### 4.1 Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 covered the research study's literature review and theoretical framework. This chapter will discuss the proper research methods and methodologies that the researcher in this study will utilize. The research study being conducted will focus on a qualitative approach. Furthermore, the study will collect data from the case study and desktop study methods. The research study is both exploratory and descriptive.

### 4.2 The Hallmarks of Scientific Research

The hallmarks of research are the blueprint for producing a near-perfect study. If a study can follow and apply all the hallmarks of research, it is impossible not to reach a testable hypothesis. The main characteristics of scientific research are as follows:

- **Purposiveness**: The aim or purpose of the study should be clear and definitive for the investigation to succeed. This guarantees a plausible work ethic to everyone involved in the research and reporting process.
- **Rigour**: Le Chat (2016) claims that A solid theoretical foundation and methodological design provide rigour to a purposeful investigation. Rigour refers to the degree of exactitude in research, as well as carefulness and perfectionist tendencies.
- **Testability**: According to Testability (n.d.) Testability measures whether the information collected through research can be tested to see if the results are true or false.
- **Replicability**: Refers to whether the research conducted would give the same conclusion when tested on old or new information.
- **Precision and Confidence**: Yartsev (2016) claims the accuracy of the findings. This is the range in which the estimated population means may fall. A confidence interval is a set of values that contains the "real" gods-own-truth result.
- **Objectivity**: In Academic writing, objectivity refers to an objective study that avoids all bias and expressive writing and respects the work of literature published by other scholars and experts in the field. If this can be achieved, then the study would be deemed objective.
- **Generalizability**: This refers to how helpful the set of findings in a study applies to the general population or situations in real-life settings.
- **Parsimony**: is rooted in the notion of understanding a situation using the fewest assumptions.

### 4.3 Research Methodologies

A qualitative research method is more suitable and appropriate for this type of Study. The Study will critically analyse human behaviour, the decision-making process, philosophies, and beliefs carried out by all actors involved in the “War on Drugs.” The drug war requires thematic and content analysis. As the study will mainly focus on events, actors and circumstances that are heavily influenced by human behaviour and decisions, the Qualitative research method is more suitable. Three main research methods are frequently used by social science scholars and researchers, which are, Qualitative, Quantitative and mixed methods. Sandelowski (2004) wrote, "Qualitative research intended to generate knowledge grounded in human experience." Braun & Clarke (2006) noted, "It is a method for identifying, analyzing, organizing, describing, and

reporting themes found within a data set.”. Qualitative research promotes dependability, conformability, credibility, and transferability, which results in concrete, trustworthy, reliable, and engaging Studies that readers find knowledgeable. The study will use the Qualitative approach to answer the research questions and formulate a research hypothesis. DeFranzo (2011) stated that “this approach is used to understand underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations by providing insights into the research problem or helping to develop ideas and hypotheses for potential quantitative research”. The Qualitative research method provides insightful subjective data that is observable and adds value to the development of new ideas and unexplored research topics. It will assist in providing readers and scholars with information updates on the “War on Drugs” campaign.

The researcher opted to utilize a qualitative research approach because it is subjective and naturalistic. There are many academic research methods, just as the quantitative research method, which is strictly objective in its data collection and delineation of the data being analysed. According to Cohen and Manion (1980), a social study that utilizes empirical methodology and empirical claims is known as quantitative research. Quantitative research specifically explores numerical values, test scores, IQ scores etc. Creswell (1994) offers a concise description of quantitative analysis as a sort of 'explaining' research phenomena by gathering numerical data that is then examined using approaches based on mathematics (notably statistics)'. The quantitative research approach focuses on internal/external validity, reliability, and objectivity, which explicitly makes up its core features. One of the key reasons why the investigator decided not to use the quantitative research approach is that it is too objective and relies on numerical values to deduce its hypothesis, whilst the qualitative research approach is subjective and tests trustworthiness through dependability, confirmability, and transferability to reach its conclusion. In simple terms, this research study opted for the qualitative method mainly because it is easier to investigate real-life events and people’s opinions, perceptions, and beliefs.

## 4.4 Qualitative Research Characteristics

4.4.1 Naturalistic inquiry, this research approach is usually conducted in the researcher's natural setting. “Qualitative research is an attempt to comprehend circumstances in their uniqueness as part of a specific context and the interactions that occur there” (Patton, 1985).

4.4.2 The researcher is the primary collector of information/data required to complete the study.

4.4.3 Qualitative research typically has a vast number of sources to collect data.

4.4.4 Inductive data analysis refers to the thematic and content analysis a researcher must uncover to understand specific published data, whether it be documents, text, or vocal recordings.

4.4.5 Ethical Considerations: Following all ethical guidelines when conducting research is essential.

4.4.6 The study usually follows a design that develops. Spacey (2016) argues that in contrast to the traditional upfront design process, emergent design is a design that is built as it evolves.

## 4.5 Research Design

“Research design can be considered as the structure of research. It is the “glue” that holds all of the elements in a research project together; in short, it is a plan of the proposed research work” (Akhtar, 2016). In simple terms, a research design is a blueprint for the research study. It entails the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the research findings related to the study. “A research design is the ‘procedure for collecting, analyzing, interpreting and reporting data in research studies” (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007, p.58). According to the researcher, a research design connects all the dots regarding the study, whether its concepts, ideas, theoretical framework, or data collection methods. The research design guides the investigator in finding a probable hypothesis. The study design outlines the approach for gathering the required data, the methods to collect and evaluate the data, and how all of this will be used to answer the research question (Grey, 2014). “The goal of a descriptive study is to paint a picture of a scenario, person, or event,

or to demonstrate how things are related to one another and how they occur naturally” (Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2005).

#### 4.6 Research Methods – Case Study Research Design

This research study will utilize a **Case Study Method** to target specific states and actors involved in the “War on Drugs.” As stated above, the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico will be targeted. (Crowe, 2011) wrote, “A case study is a research approach used to generate in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context. It is an established research design used extensively in various disciplines, particularly in the social sciences”. “Case studies can be used to explain, describe or explore events or phenomena in the everyday contexts in which they occur” (Yin, 2009).

Myers, Mason, and Creswell (2002 and 2009) all agree that the defining feature of case study research is its focus on ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions and that the qualitative research method significantly focuses on producing a holistic perspective and understanding of rich, unstructured, and non-numerical data. This research study will specifically focus on how the drug war started through the analysis of the Social Conflict theory, which stipulates that organized crime and drug trafficking are the results of limited resources and structural inequality in the world, to explore further why the United States initiated the drug war and later investigating the Just War Theory which boldly gives justification as to why the drug war was introduced and the Rational Choice Theory which further covers the gaps left by the two theories which advocate for the cooperation and relationship shared by the states in joining their efforts in combating drugs through serving the interests of their states while trying to achieve the highest possible outcome for themselves through joint efforts

The Case Study method can be utilized when conducting research that involves events, or highlights, that was triggered by human behaviour. In this context, the event being referred to is the drug war. The case study method asks explanatory questions such as why, what, and how a specific event occurred and how a solution will be generated. It is perfect for this research study because the researcher is discussing why the drug war was initiated and how will drug use/abuse and

trafficking be ceased by all actors involved. This is a case study on the “War on Drugs.” This research method will concentrate on gathering, organising, analysing, and presenting information-theoretically. The researcher will conduct a desktop study looking at documents, records, books, whether revised or original and journal articles that will provide an adequate in-depth analysis of this research topic on the “War on Drugs.” It also falls in line with the Qualitative research approach. The Study will analyse, evaluate, and assess previous literature before formulating a proper and adequate research hypothesis.

#### 4.7 Case study epistemological approaches

The following epistemological approaches can be utilized when using a Case Study approach when conducting research;

- Critical Approach: According to Blakie (1993), The Critical approach entails evaluating one's assumptions while keeping the more significant political and social issues in mind.
- Interpretative Approach: This approach focuses on interpreting previously published data, analysing it, and theorizing new concepts and ideas while taking a stand in supporting or criticizing theories, ideas and concepts published regarding the topic.
- Positivist: Dudovskiy (2018) argued that Positivism holds that only "factual" information obtained by observation (the senses), including measurement, is reliable. The study reflects upon previously published events before the drug war initiative.

#### 4.8 Interpretative Approach:

This Study will utilize the interpretative epistemological approach as it significantly analyses, evaluates and reports findings on already published documents, journals, and dissertations from established scholars in the political sciences and international relations field. (Leitch, Hill, & Harrison, 2010) argued that Interpretivism is founded on a life-world ontology that contends all observation is both theory and value-laden and that research of the social world is not, and cannot be, the pursuit of a detached objective truth. Furthermore, Burrell & Morgan (1979) supported the argument posed by Leitch, Hill, and Harrison that the Interpretivist research paradigm is constructed socially by humans through their behaviour. This research study on the drug war, as stated previously, analyses human behaviour and decisions through the qualitative method, which

aligns with the case study design, which then uses an interpretative epistemological approach whilst conducting exploratory research in a sense that not many researchers have investigated how the drug war has fared from 2010 to 2020.

#### 4.9 Exploratory Research

Singh (2007) argued that “exploratory research is the initial research, which forms the basis of more conclusive research. It can even help determine the research design, sampling methodology and data collection method”. Brown (2006) wrote, “Exploratory research “tends to tackle new problems on which little or no previous research has been done”. Exploratory research is conducted when exploring a topic with little or no information published previously.

The “War on Drugs” case study has been published before, but many not publications discuss the outflow of drugs from Colombia and Mexico, and there is not much data on the set-out period, which in this context is from 2010 to 2020. Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2012) wrote, “exploratory research is not intended to provide conclusive evidence but helps us better understand the problem. When conducting exploratory research, the researcher ought to be willing to change their direction due to the revelation of new data and insights”. The research study explores new answers, suggestions and possibilities concerning the drug war. Exploratory research in academic writing seeks to explore phenomena that have little or no published data. As mentioned above, the researcher conducting exploratory research aims to uncover hidden truths or get information on a less published area.

#### 4.10 Descriptive Research

Nassaji (2015) claims that descriptive research seeks to describe a phenomenon and its characteristics. This study primarily concerns what happened rather than how or why it happened. “Descriptive research methods describe the features of the studied variables” (Voxco, 2021). The descriptive research method is highly used in the social sciences due to its flexibility in analysing phenomena and their characteristics. The research study aims to critically evaluate if the United States of America has been winning the war on drugs by looking at a period from 2010 to 2020. Descriptive Research allows the investigator to gather all required information, analyse it, and

report findings due to its main features of looking at what happened rather than how and why it happened.

#### 4.11 Data Collection methods

According to Yin (2003), Data for qualitative research can be gathered from various sources, including documents, historical materials, interviews etc. Therefore, this research will collect the necessary information from the desktop study method. Desktop study (2020) wrote, “The word desk ‘study’ refers to a study carried out solely through research, rather than physical testing, i.e., sitting at a desk may be performed. Until more thorough forensic examinations are carried out, this may be a tentative study carried out, or it may be a standalone study carried out instead of a formal examination”. Data will be collected through the internet, using search engines like google scholar, google, and the university library. The collected data will be critically analyzed, evaluated, interpreted and reported within the Study to formulate a hypothesis. The researcher believes the desktop study collection method is more appropriate and suitable for this kind of Study. The data need not be collected from an interview or survey as publications and books have been published in this area of specialization. Social science researchers use many other data collection methods to acquire information like Surveys, interviews, emails or phone interviews.

##### 4.11.1 Secondary Data Collection Methods:

Kabir (2016) argued that data or information already collected by someone else for research purposes and published is considered secondary data. The research paper will use secondary sources such as interviews, whether it be a phone or sit-down interview, questionnaires, focus groups, experiments, and surveys will be conducted. The researcher will use already published books, book chapters, Journals, records, newspaper articles in the form of e-articles, and research articles, government publications from the United States government through the FBI, DEA, CIA, and the Justice Department. According to Kabir (2016), the secondary data advantages are as follows;

- A. No hassle when collecting data; it has already been published.
- B. Less expensive because of fewer travel costs and other expenditures resulting from primary data collection.

- C. The investigator collecting data is not responsible for published data as it is already published.

Furthermore, Kabir (2016) stipulates that the disadvantages are as follows.

- a. Data collected may lack validity and reliability.
- b. Old data may be scrutinised if new data contests those perceptions, ideas, and principles.  
Data will be deemed unreliable.
- c. Secondary data can also lead to copyright issues and authenticity.

#### 4.12 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are the rules and principles that should be followed when conducting academic writing or research. According to Bryman and Bell (2010), these are the most recent and standard ethical guidelines that are followed;

- Participants in a research study should not be subjected to harmful behaviour while conducting research.
- Research participants should be dignified and treated with the highest respect.
- Participant consent is mandatory.
- Confidentiality is obligatory.
- Exaggerations and ambiguity should be avoided while conducting research.
- Conflict of interest and funding should be mentioned to avoid deceitful behaviour.
- The research study should be conducted with honesty and total transparency.
- Biasness and misleading information should and must be avoided at all costs.

Ethical considerations guarantee that a safe and rigorous research process is conducted and the best possible results due to the guidelines followed. It also shows that the researcher is serious with their work and respects academic writing.

#### 4.13 Conclusion

The chapter discusses the research methods and methodologies the study will utilize to achieve its objectives. The researcher preferred to use the Qualitative research approach as it focuses on analysing phenomena and their characteristics to generate knowledge rooted in human experience. The researcher partially applies the Mixed-Methods approach since it uses graphs, figures and tables to argue the study's findings correctly. The drug war is a result of human decisions, whether it be choosing to traffic drugs or choosing to initiate the war on drugs. The chapter also discussed the hallmarks of research that enable a study to achieve its objectives and aims if followed correctly. The researcher then thoroughly discussed the data collection methods that will be used. The research will use a case study method and a desktop study method in formulating and gathering data. In qualitative data analysis, the researcher will use the descriptive and exploratory approaches, which both support the case study method. The chapter then discussed the ethical considerations that should and can be followed when conducting research. The next chapter will be the results, findings, discussion, and analysis.

### 5. Results/Findings, discussion, and analysis

#### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed discussion and analysis of the research study's findings. The discussion section is responsible for reporting the results gathered when collecting and analysing information. According to Hess (2004), The discussion section allows you to describe the significance of your findings. When writing the discussion, remember that the goal is to assist the reader in comprehending the study and that the emphasis should be on the study findings. This chapter will discuss and give answers to the research questions.

#### 5.2 Is the United States Winning the War on Drugs?

##### ➤ **Ineffectiveness and the alleged failure of the drug war:**

The study found through analysing publications by Ferreira, Cooper, and Alexandris Polomarkakis (2015) that the counternarcotics strategy or approach adopted by the United States, Colombia, and Mexico focused on harsh restrictions on the illegal manufacturing and sale of illicit substances

through decreasing the availability and access of these illegal substances for users and offenders. Furthermore, the study found that the counternarcotics strategy used its restrictions and penalties to increase the prices for drug smugglers/traffickers imposed by the harsh consequences of being caught. This resulted in a simple increase in demand and supply. The study, through extensive research on the global drug war, found that authors Cooper and Ferreira (2015) agreed on the continued failure of harsh policing and criminalization of drugs. Furthermore, the study found that drug availability and access are still prevalent in all these states (United States, Colombia, and Mexico). The researcher agrees with both Cooper and Ferreira (2015) that drug raids and the interdiction of Transnational Criminal Organization leaders is a futile endeavour and requests that all states should focus on a more positive soft approach as apprehending TCO leaders results in the immediate change of personnel and change of location. However, the illegal drug business continues to thrive.

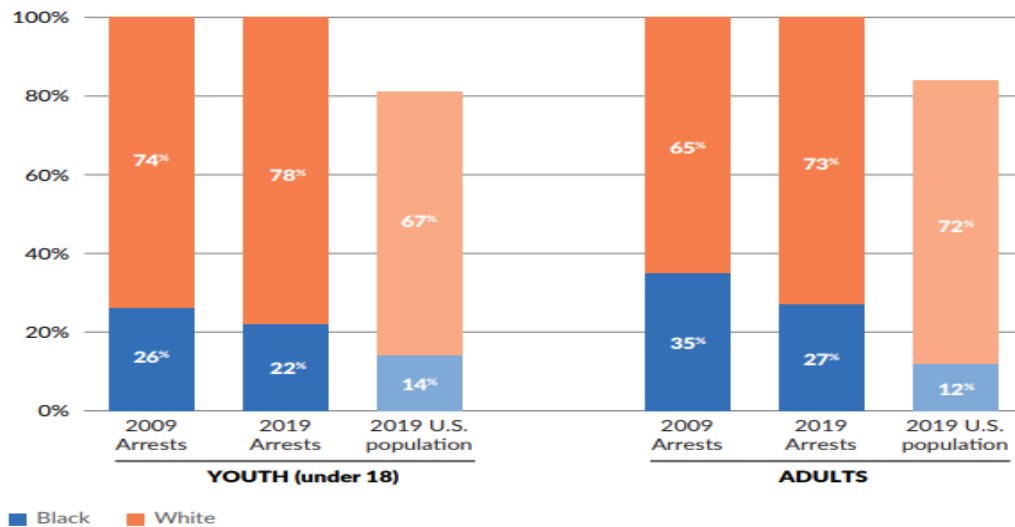
The study fully supports Alexandris-Polormakakis's (2017) claims that the apprehension and interdiction of drug smugglers are ineffective and time-consuming as state resources are stretched, as raiding, apprehending, jailing, and providing for these new prisoners is an expensive endeavour. The study does not thwart the idea of apprehending drug smugglers and other drug-related offenders but believes there is a way to go about this. The researcher further elaborates Alexandris-Polormarkakis's views on the interdiction of Transnational Criminal Organization leaders and members that claims that the continued apprehension of drug smugglers is ineffective due to the high volume of recruitment and numbers of existing drug smugglers, makes it impossible for the states, police, and military to dismantle the illegal drug business fully. The “War on Drugs” campaign initiated by President Richard Nixon in 1971 has been declared a seismic and catastrophic failure. The drug war has not only caused chaos and heartache to millions of innocent global civilians. Still, it has also targeted minority and marginalized groups in their communities, as many studies have shown the racial disparities among drug offenders. The researcher believes that the “War on Drugs” policy was an appreciable effort that lacked the correct implementation and execution from the administrators, policymakers, the presidential administration, and the former president. Seeing so many elected officials that represent the people get it so wrong is appalling and bemusing. Considering this disheartening find, the study uncovered by looking at researchers Herrera and Stemen (2020 and 2017) that in their separate knowledgeable publications

that there were evident racial disparities in the apprehension between black people and Caucasians. Stemen (2017) further elaborates that even though African Americans and Caucasian Americans consumed and were apprehended with the exact amounts of illegal narcotics in their possession, the interdiction rates favoured Caucasian Americans.

Furthermore, the National Office on Crime and Drugs (2018) publication further reiterated the damning statistics of African Americans and Caucasian Americans' drug-related arrests by highlighting that from 1982 to 2007, drug-related arrests through the drug war had tripled from 500,000 to 1,5 million whilst African Americans were less than 13% of the population, they populated American prisons which raises the alarming racial disparities in the United States of America. Stemen (2017) further raised disturbing statistics regarding the racial disparities imposed by the drug war arrests, claiming that out of every 100,000 African Americans, 828 were indicted on drug-related offences, whilst Caucasian Americans accounted for 339 out of 100,000. This further highlights the shocking racial disparities within the American justice sector. PEW (2022) reported that arrests for drug crimes among Black persons declined by 37%, more than three times the drop among White people. Horowitz and Wertheimer (2022), in their PEW Charitable Trust, reported that an increase in the arrest of White people for Methamphetamine possession and use offset a decrease in marijuana arrests, which has resulted in a 37% decrease in racial disparity regarding drug-related arrests. "The decrease in the number of Black people imprisoned for drug offences accounted for 26% of the decline in prison admissions and 48% of the drop in prison population" (PEW, 2022).

## Racial Disparities in Drug Arrests Fell, but Remained Pronounced

Youth and adult drug arrests by race, 2009 and 2019



Note: The FBI Crime in the U.S. data does not include ethnicity numbers (e.g., arrests of Hispanic individuals), so racial groups do not indicate ethnicity.

Sources: Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Crime in the United States, 2009, 2019"; U.S. Census Bureau, "American Community Survey, 2019 One-Year Estimates"

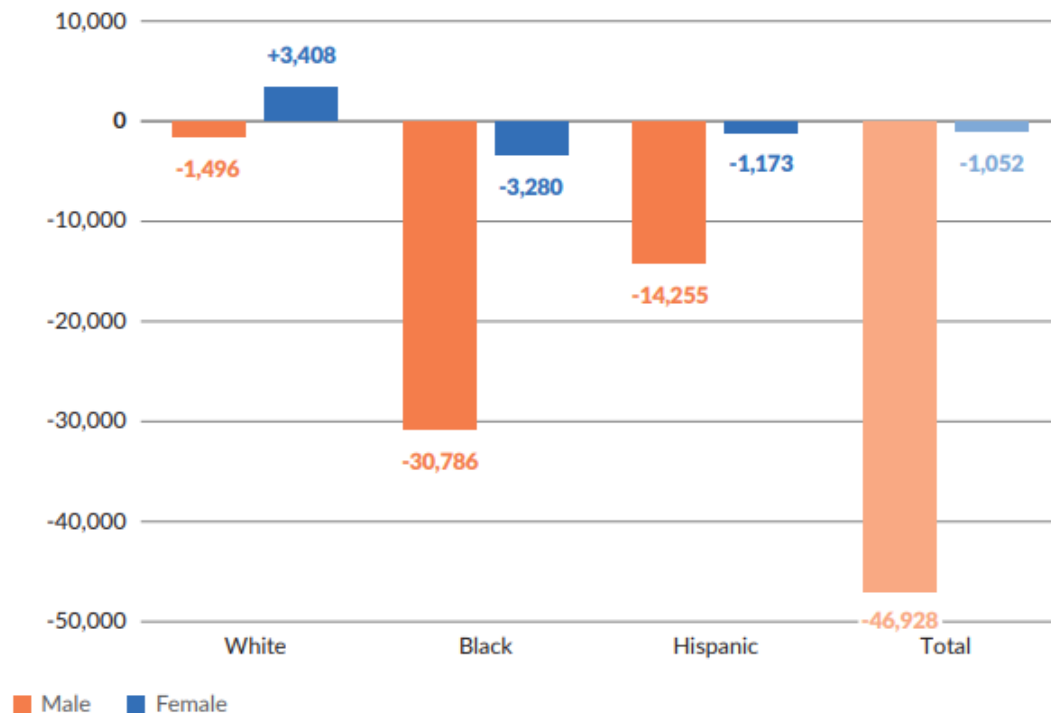
© 2022 The Pew Charitable Trusts

Figure 1.15: Racial Disparities in Drug Arrests Fell but Remained Pronounced Youth and adult drug arrests by race, 2009 and 2019.

U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey (2019) reported that in 2019, black adults accounted for 27% of all drug arrests, compared to 35% in 2009. Disparities persisted despite these adjustments. In 2019, black individuals made up 12% of the adult population in the United States, yet they were responsible for more than twice as many adult drug charges.

## The Number of Black and Hispanic People Entering State Prison for Drug Offenses Fell Dramatically From 2009 to 2019

10-year change in drug-related prison admissions by race and sex in 39 states with available data



Note: Admissions figures include the 39 states that reported data for 2009 and 2019.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, "National Corrections Reporting Program, 1991-2019: Selected Variables (ICPSR 38048)"

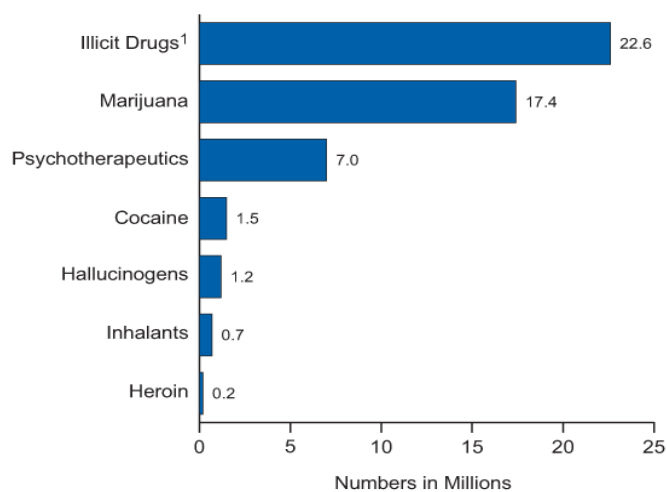
© 2022 The Pew Charitable Trusts

Figure 1.16: Illustrates the Number of Black and Hispanic People Entering State Prison for Drug Offenses Fell Dramatically From 2009 to 2019 10-year change in drug-related prison admissions by race and sex in 39 states with available data

Horowitz and Wertheimer (2022), in their PEW Charitable Trust report, claimed that prison admissions of Black people for drug charges declined by 59 per cent between 2009 and 2019, representing a quarter (26 per cent) of the overall drop in admissions over that period in the 39 states for which data was available. Drug-related admissions declined by 30,786 among Black males, accounting for 64% of the overall drop in drug-related admissions. Furthermore, PEW Charitable Trust (2022) reported that, between 2009 and 2019, the drug-related jail population fell by half among Black people while increasing by 4% among White people. In closing, PEW (2022) reported that in 2019, black individuals made up 28 per cent of admissions and 36 per cent of the population in jail for drug offences, which is two and three times their percentage of the overall population. Earlier on in the literature review section, Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015) claimed

that since its inception, the “War on Drugs” campaign has failed to curb and decrease illegal drug use and illegal drug trafficking from America’s to the United States of America. The study found through extensive research on the “War on Drugs” that Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015) gave a different perspective regarding the drug war and closed some gaps left by previous researchers. Fulkerson and Mohammad, just like the researcher of this study, deemed the continued implementation and execution of the criminalization of drug use and drug trade detrimental to not only U.S. citizens but the whole globe as the continued harsh interdiction and combatting of illicit drugs results in mass killings, disappearances, and turf wars in the manufacturing and distributing states as profits increase due to high risk-reward, demand, and supply.

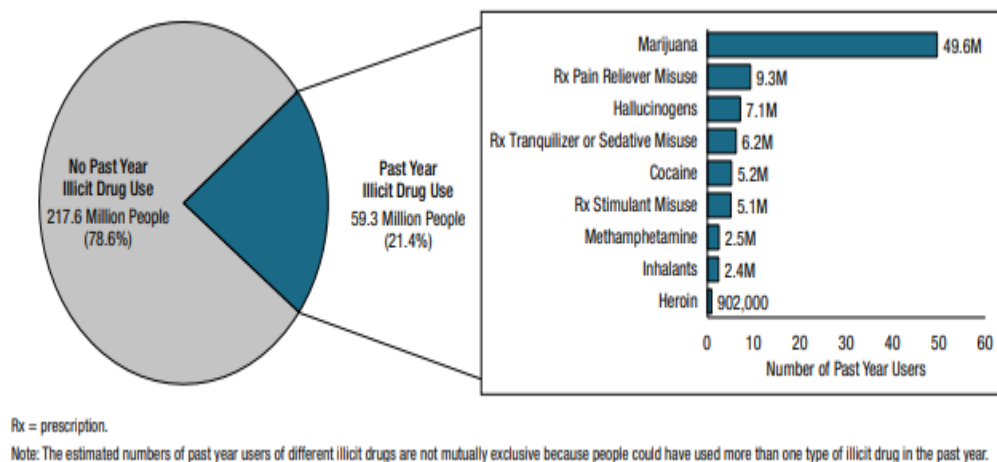
Furthermore, Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015) claimed that the continued fight against drugs through the criminalization of illicit substances and their users would introduce a new chapter of the drug war that is highly harmful, filled with mass killings of innocent civilians through organized crimes. The study found that new drug kingpins will arise through all this chaos and commotion, and Transnational Criminal Organizations will find a new lease in the drug business. The Editorial Stuff (2019) agreed with claims made by Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015) that if the drug war and its counternarcotics strategy were to be deemed a success, it would have been reflected by a decrease in drug users, drug overdoses, the continued availability of illegal substances trafficked into the United States by both Colombia and Mexico which hasn’t been the case.



Source: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, *Results from the 2010 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of National Findings*.

Figure 1.17: Illustrates the Past Month Illicit Drug Use Among Persons Aged 12 or Older; 2010.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2010), through its National Survey on Drug Abuse and Health, indicated that illicit drug use approximated 22.6 million users. Marijuana accounted for an estimated 17.4 million users, whilst Cocaine accounted for approximately 1.5 million users. Heroin accounted for approximately 200,000 people.



Source: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2021)

Figure 1.18: illustrates the past year's Illicit Drug Use: Among People Aged 12 or Older; 2020.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2021) further highlighted the drug war's abysmal failure. The study found figure 1.17 to demonstrate the approximate statistics regarding drug use within the United States of America to show whether the "War on Drugs" campaign was a fruitful endeavour. In 2020 approximately 217.6 million people used illegal substances. Marijuana has the highest use rate, with around 49.6 million people. Whilst Cocaine has an estimated 5.2 million users in the year 2020.

Methamphetamine has approximately 2.5 million users, and Heroin has an estimated 902,000 people. The researcher highlighted these four drugs as the study focused on illicit narcotics trafficked by Transnational Criminal Organizations. Figures 1.17 and 1.18 show an astounding growth in illegal drug users from 2010 to 2020. In 2010 the estimated number of illicit drug users

aged 12 and over amounted to approximately 22.6 million people, whilst in 2020 the estimated number of illegal drug users aged 12 and over amounted to about 217.6 million people. In 2010, Marijuana drug users aged 12 and over accounted for an estimated 17.4 million people, whilst in 2020 drug users aged 12 and over accounted for approximately 49.6 million people. In 2010, cocaine users aged 12 and over approximated 1.5 million people, whilst in 2020, 5.2 million people. In 2010, Heroin users aged 12 and over accounted for 200,000, whilst in 2020, the amount of Heroin users aged 12 and over accounted for approximately 900,000 people. Methamphetamine users aged 12 and over amounted to an estimated 2.5 million people. The drug war, being investigated from 2010 to 2020, has failed to decrease illicit narcotics use/availability and has further exacerbated the drug issue in the United States of America.

According to Caulkins et al. (1995), the annual cost of the war is about \$60 billion for the U.S., with significant outlays going to the arrest and incarceration of drug users and low-level distributors. One might agree with Caulkins that the cost of the drug war is too high and in retrospect, billions have been spent yearly funding a war that is unending and everchanging. If the study were to look at a more economical or fiscal perspective in deciding if the drug war has been a failure or success, the researcher would conclude that the drug war has been disastrous and an absolute failure. In chapter 2, Mohammad and Fulkerson (2015) argued that "The War on Drugs has never succeeded in stopping the supply of drugs. The researcher believes that for the drug war to be deemed successful, there should be a decline or decrease in drug use within the U.S. drug-making and drug trafficking should also decrease. The study has concluded by analysing gathered data from various sites, including the Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, primarily responsible for reporting drug trafficking numbers. Since the drug war's inception, drug trafficking rates, transportation of illicit substances, drug use, and drug overdose have increased. There has been a drastic rise in demand and supply due to the difficulty of transporting and trafficking these drugs. The study will discuss the numbers in full detail later. States should focus on rehabilitation and apply drug prevention by teaching and educating the masses about the consequences of drug use. The Editorial Staff (2019) claimed that if the effectiveness or success of the "War on Drugs" is measured by a decrease in the number of drug users and addicts, then it is clear that the war is failing. Through thorough analysis and evaluation of published data on the drug war's progress, one might argue that it is time to take a step back and change the whole

approach. Transnational criminal organisations' profit margins range from 18 billion to 35 billion dollars yearly. Allegedly cartels are generating that much profit or income while the U.S. and co. Spend twice that much yearly to fight the drug war. It is fair to say that the drug war has failed.

➤ **The Balloon Effect and the decriminalization of the “War on Drugs.”**

Earlier in the literature review section, the study introduced the Balloon Effect and the decriminalization of drugs. In describing the Balloon Effect, the council on Hemispheric Affairs (2013) stated that it's the process of displacement of drug production to other locations within the region, avoiding interference and eradication from the military and police. The researcher believes the Balloon Effect is the main reason why the state and its actors, whether it be the military, federal police, and intergovernmental institutions, have consistently failed to abolish the illegal trading and trafficking of illicit narcotics. Cocaine cultivation has moved from Peru to Bolivia and then from Bolivia to Colombia as the military and police squeeze and implement harsh drug raids, confiscating illegal substances and capital generated from the illicit sale of narcotics. Transnational Criminal Organizations then shift their place of business, switching locations to evade police and military apprehension. Rouse, Arce, and Lopez (2006 and 2016) explained thoroughly that drug interference and eradication policies implemented and executed by government institutions result in operational changes within the Transnational Criminal Organizations as Cartel Leaders are apprehended. TCOs either switch locations to avoid police interdiction or decrease operations by lessening their organizations in personnel or drug trading operations. Basov, Jacobsen, and Miron (2001) claimed that Transnational Criminal Organizations could survive the harsh brutality of law enforcement activities through adaptation, evasion, and change in operational activities of the drug business.

The study found that Rouse, Arce, and Lopez (2006) had a different argument compared to the Balloon Effect than Lopez and Hidalgo (2016 and 2013). Rouse, Arce, and Lopez (2006) claimed that rather than switching locations to avoid interdiction, TCOs downsize and decentralize their drug trafficking operations. In their early publication, Salazar and Fierro (1993) argued that Transnational Criminal Organizations opted to utilize intelligent methods and schemes to avoid police apprehension and eradication. The study found that Transnational Criminal Organizations

may be destabilized and obliterated, and their operations might not be able to evade police apprehension. However, the illegal drug trade business will survive simply because the researcher believes the illicit drug business is a system that changes and evolves to accommodate any situation it faces. The drug actors/Cartel leaders and members are simply facets of a system more significant than them. When members of the illegal drug business are apprehended, a simple switch of personnel occurs, and operational methods can be changed to evade apprehension. Dominant Cartels can fall, but new ones will rise simply because of the Balloon Effect. Another explanation of the continuously changing and evolving drug business is the Social Conflict theory which will be explained in the study and how it affects the drug business. Lopez (2016) argued that the reason why the “War on Drugs” has had minor successes that are short-lived is because of the Balloon Effect. The study found two concrete scientific reasons why the criminalization of drugs and harsh, brutal strategies of apprehension, interdiction, and eradication have failed since the drug war's implementation.

- 1) The Balloon effect is one of the leading causes of the continued failure of the commendable drug war efforts.
- 2) The Social Conflict Theory.

Lopez (2016) gave a different perspective different to the ones published by Feirrera, Cooper, and Alexandris-Polomarkakis (2015), that chose to focus on softer accepting prevention and treatment-centred approach, unlike the brutal pragmatic approach that decided to focus its efforts on brutish malicious drug raids, apprehension of Transnational Criminal Organizations leaders and members. Lopez, just like the author, uncovered that the more drug prohibition strategies put in place, the ill-fated continued criminalization of illicit drugs. Restricting drug trafficking increases the prices of the illicit drugs trafficked because of the risk undertaken when trafficking illegal narcotics. The study found, as a solution to the illicit drug trade business, an alternative approach that will choose to decriminalize drugs. In this approach, the researcher believes it is crucial to lessen the ferocious and vicious methods adopted in drug interdiction and eradication. A softer approach is necessary as the harsh, aggressive criminalization of drug counternarcotics strategy has failed to achieve its

objectives for over 50 years. Van Het Loo, Van Beusekom, and Kahan (2002) introduced a new phenomenon towards the drug war, a softer preventative and treatment-centred approach that views the drug user as a person who merely suffers from a drug disorder and not a delinquent that needs to be apprehended. In a process that perceives the continued use of illicit substances as a mere problem, society needs to join hands and fight it in a new soft yet aggressive approach instead of targeting the Transnational Criminal Organization leaders and members that can be replaced in a continuous, ever-changing system.

- 1) It is time to target the users to educate them on the consequences of drug use and abuse.
- 2) To empower communities through job opportunities and educational support to thwart the need to join Transnational Criminal Organizations to survive.
- 3) To reduce the problems of daily lives through the empowerment of individuals through better employment, increased pay and a thriving economy that grants individuals the opportunity to thrive and grow exponentially as people and their wealth.
- 4) To implement measures that allow people not to be arrested when they are caught with drugs, but to provide them with treatment centres that will assist them in their drug use disorder.

In their publication, Van Het Loo, Van Beusekom, and Kahan (2002) reported that Portugal had begun a revolutionary experiment that involved the decriminalization of Cocaine, Heroin, and Marijuana. The researchers further elaborated that the meaning of decriminalization meant the state would utilize more administrative sanctions than the criminalization of drug use. Cabral (2017), in recent research, claimed that decriminalization of drugs within Portugal meant that possession, attainment, and consumption for personal use must not exceed an amount of ten days. In further explaining this phenomenon or counter-drug policy implemented by the Portuguese government, Csete and Wolfe (2015) meant citizens caught using or distributing drugs would not be arrested. Still, there would be administrative infractions imposed on them by the state. The administrative infractions Cabral (2017) referred to meant that caught users would be taken to prison but would be obligated to attend a committee for questioning. If the offender claimed to

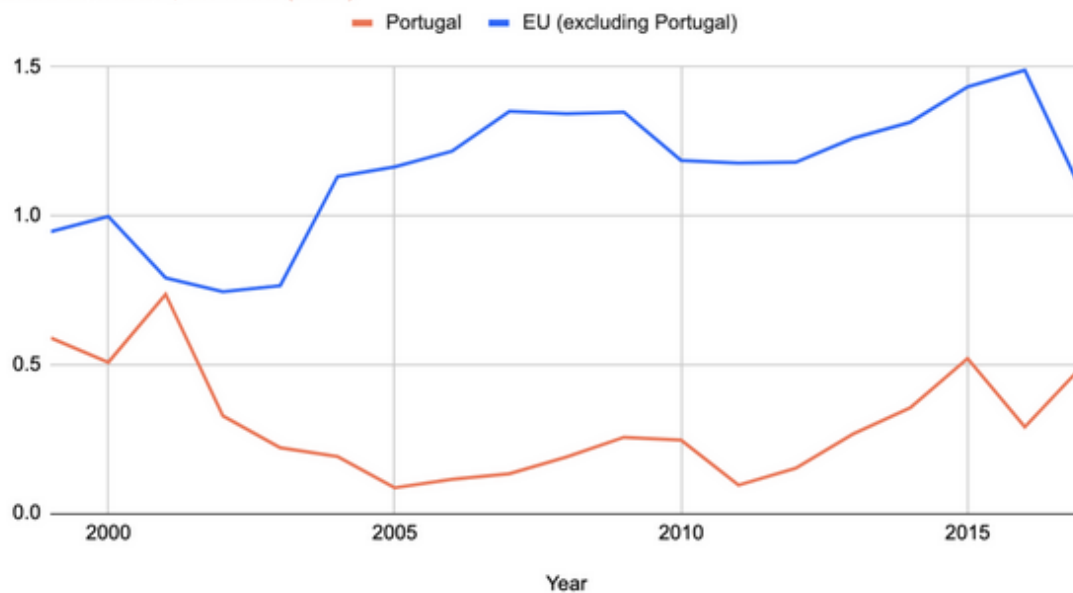
have an addiction, they would be sent to a treatment program provided by the state, and if not, they would be obliged to pay a fine for their indiscretions and leave.

Through extensive research, the study found the Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2021) the following:

- 1) Since 2001, Portugal's drug-related fatalities have stayed lower than the EU average.
- 2) The proportion of Portugal's offenders punished for drug offences has decreased from 40% to 15%.
- 3) Portugal's drug usage rates have continuously been lower than the EU average.

DRUG DEATHS PER 100,000 POPULATION (NOT AGE ADJUSTED)

Data: EMCDDA, Eurostat (2020)<sup>12</sup>

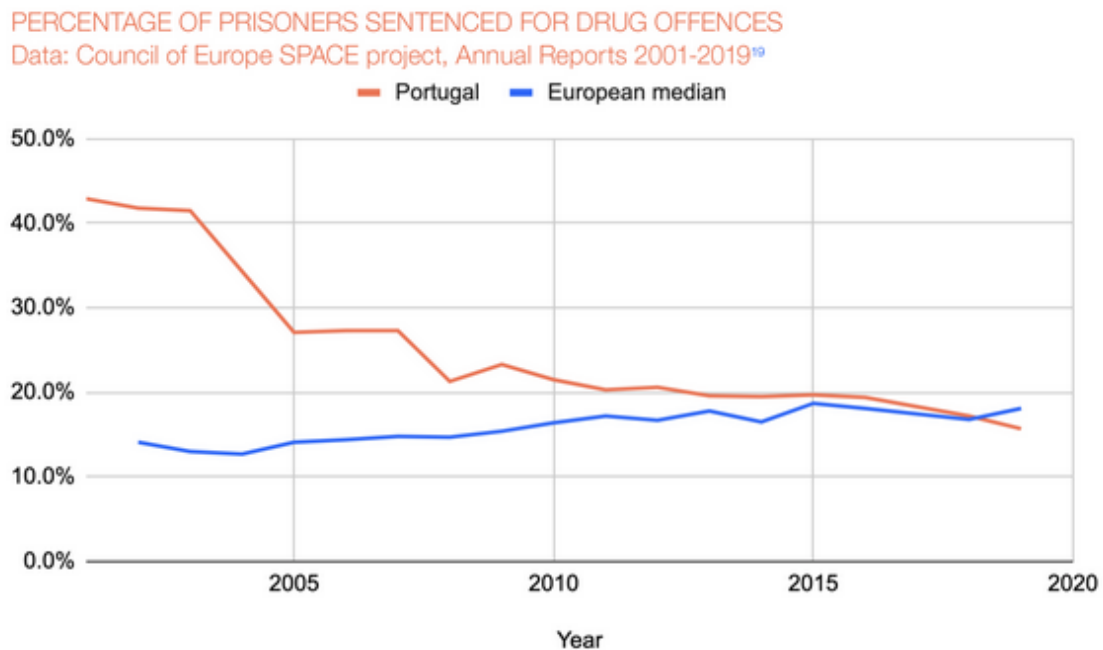


Source: Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2021)

Figure 1.19: Illustrates Drug Deaths Per 100,000 Population

Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2021) reported that in 2001, the drug fatality rate in Portugal was relatively comparable to the EU average. Furthermore, the Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2021) claimed that rates dropped in Portugal due to reforms whilst they rose in the rest of Europe. In 2011 Portugal separated itself from the rest of Europe concerning the number of drug-related deaths. Portugal has one of the lowest drug-related deaths in the

rest of the EU. Portugal accounts for six fatalities per million compared to the rest of Europe from people aged 15-64 compared to the European average of 23.7 deaths per million in 2019. EMCDDA (2020) reported that Scotland and Portugal have the most incomparable drug death rates, as Scotland accounts for a shocking 315 per million.



Source: Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2021)

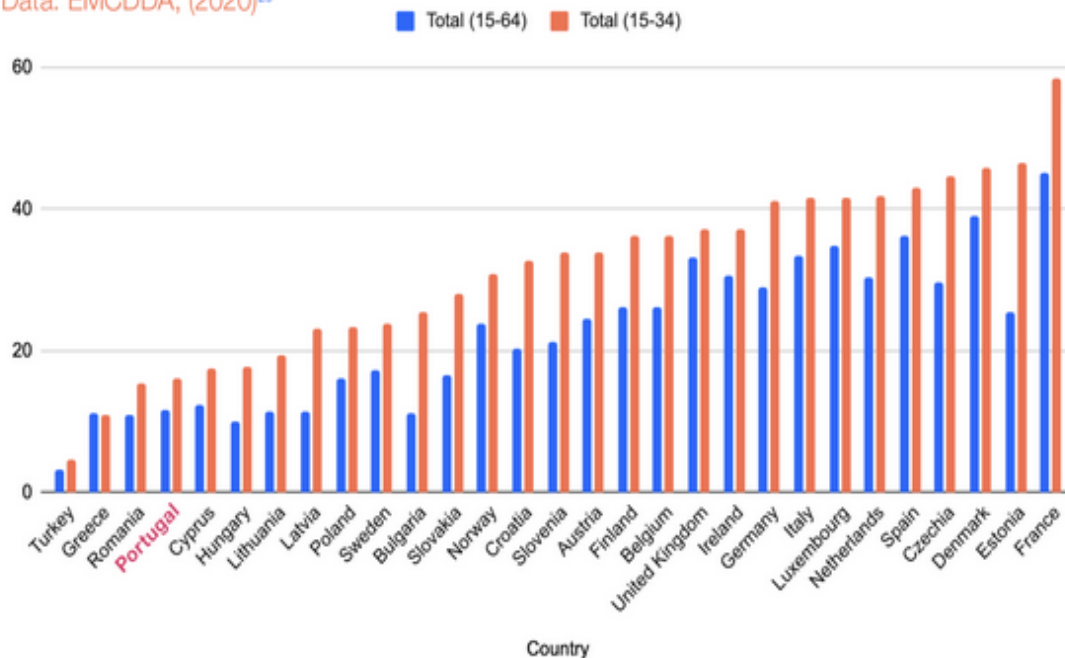
Figure 1.20: Percentage of Prisoners Sentenced for Drug Offences

Torres and Mendes (2016) reported that in 2001, more than 40% of the convicted Portuguese prison population was detained for drug offences, much higher than the European norm, and drugs were involved in 70% of recorded crimes. Council of Europe (2019), in their publication of the annual reports from 2001 to 2019, reported that while the European average has progressively increased over the last two decades (from 14 to 18%), the number of prisoners imprisoned for drug offences in Portuguese prisons has dropped substantially to 15.7 per cent in 2019 — currently lower than the European average. The Council of Europe (2001-2019) further claimed that the drastic drop-in crime rates related to illicit substances occurred after the decriminalization of drugs and the implementation of a healthy-led strategy that perceived the drug user as a person with a drug disorder that can be treated. From 2010 onwards, the overall number of people in jail serving

for drug-related crimes shrunk. The decriminalization of drug policy has also led to a decrease in drug seizures in Portugal.

#### PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE USING ANY ILLEGAL DRUG LAST YEAR

Data: EMCDDA, (2020)<sup>29</sup>



Source: Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2021)

Figure 1.21: Percentage of People Using Any Illegal Drug Last Year

The Figure above shows how the decriminalization of drugs approach has worked miracles in a state that suffered from drug abuse. In the last 20 years, Portugal has managed to achieve the unimaginable. Portugal is fourth in drug use rates in Europe. The numbers do not lie. Herrera (2020), in her dissertation, argued that the Portuguese decriminalization strategy had seen unexpected efficiency and success, which has resulted in states suffering from abuse and drug trafficking adopting a more decriminalized system that will assist users and offenders. Cabral (2017) claimed that since the Portuguese government adopted the decriminalization approach toward illegal drugs, there has been a massive decrease in HIV transmission through needles as drug users commonly share needles to take their fix. It is evident that in Portugal, HIV through transmission from drug use has dramatically decreased and that drug overdoses have also decreased too. Harding, Wyse, Dobson and Morenoff (2014) further highlighted the success of the

decriminalization of drugs policy by mentioning that drug users and offenders are viewed as people who struggle with drug use in Portugal. The decriminalization of drugs removed the stigma surrounding illegal drug use whilst reducing drug use through a softer approach rather than viciously bulldozing through Transnational Criminal Organizations. To get a clearer image, the study will look at Cocaine, Methamphetamine, Heroin and Marijuana to further justify the study's position on the drug war.

### 5.2.1 Cocaine trafficking, distribution and usage:

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2011), past-year cocaine use among those aged 12 and older fell from 2.5% in 2006 to 1.9% in 2010. In 2010 there was a decrease in cocaine use and availability. “NSDUH data also shows that the estimated number of individuals aged 12 and older who initiated cocaine use decreased from 977,000 in 2006 to 617,000 in 2010, the lowest level recorded since 1973” (SAMHSA, Office of Applied Studies, 2010). The information provided stipulates that Cocaine use and availability in the U.S. decreased immensely from previous years. This data does not affect the results of the study because this research study aims to look at a period from 2010 to 2020 and then determine the outcome.

According to the United States/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2013), Cocaine use and availability in the United States remained at low levels. However, they remained accessible to users, meaning drug trafficking cocaine was still prevalent. Villa (2021) wrote that in 2016 cocaine accounted for 19.8% of drugs trafficked into the U.S. by Colombian and Mexican TCOs. This information shows that although Cocaine use has decreased, it is still one of the most used and trafficked drugs in the U.S. markets. U.S. Department of Justice (2018) reported that according to the 2016 NSDUH, an estimated 1.9 million people aged 12 and up were current cocaine users. In 2016 and 2017, cocaine use and trafficking grew exponentially due to the high level of Coca

cultivation

in

Colombia.

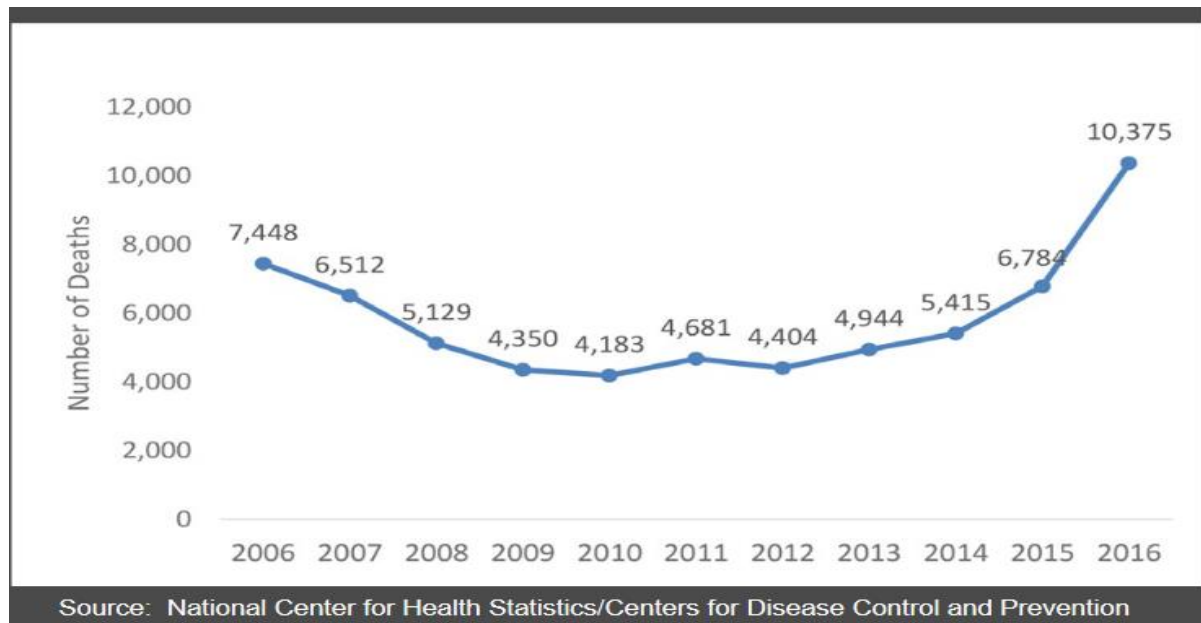


Figure 1.22: accounts for drug poisoning deaths involving Cocaine from 2006 to 2016.

The study will examine the figure and discuss findings from 2010 to 2016. In 2010 the number of deaths (Overdoses) related to Cocaine amounted to 4,183. In 2011 it increased to 4,681 deaths caused by Cocaine use. It decreased partially in 2012 to 4 404 deaths, then rose again in 2013 to 4,944. In 2014 the drug overdose rate related to cocaine use increased immensely, and in 2016 it increased again to 6,784 deaths. The figure shows the readers that cocaine use, availability, and trafficking increased from 2010 to 2016, which was justified by the number of Cocaine overdoses. The researcher will utilize incomplete information that other findings will back because of the scarcity of the necessary information to conduct the study properly.

In chapter 2 (literature review), the U.S. Department of Justice (2020) reported that in 2019, NFLIS-Drug received 196,721 cocaine reports, a 14% reduction from the 229,803 complaints received in 2018. The U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2020) reported that Cocaine related overdose deaths increased from 2010 to 2019 by 251% exceeding the 10 000 deaths mark from 2012 to 2020. This further proves that Cocaine use is prevalent through availability, which results from trafficking. Furthermore, the study would like to discuss Cocaine production levels by analyzing figure 1.5.

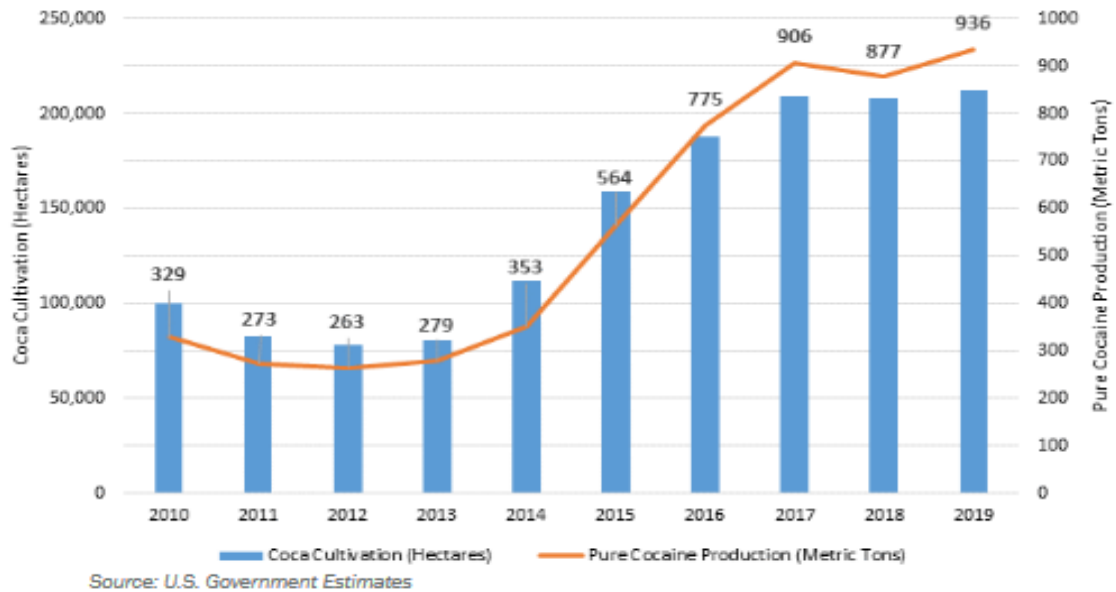


Figure 1.5 illustrates the Coca cultivation (hectares) and the pure Cocaine Production (Metric Tons).

The researcher believes it is necessary to provide Coca cultivation numbers and the purity of the cultivated Coca to show the type of Cocaine that is distributed to cocaine users in the United States. In 2010 the Coca cultivated was 100 000 hectares compared to 329, which is the purity level. In 2019 Coca cultivated is than 200 000 hectares which is double the amount produced in 2010. The purity of the Cocaine cultivated is 936, triple the amount in 2010.

These statistics show the readers that Cocaine Cultivation doubled from 2010 to 2020, which went from 100 000 hectares cultivated to 210 000 hectares cultivated. Whilst the purity of the Cocaine tripled from 329 to 936 metric tons. If the objective is to decrease drug trafficking, the goal would be to reduce drug cultivation and purity, which the U.S. has failed dramatically. U.S. Department of Justice (2020) wrote that Mexican TCOs dominate cocaine trafficking in the United States, and there seems to be no challenger at this moment. Colombia is responsible for the cultivation of Cocaine, and Mexico is the distributor, as some call it, the transit country for drug trafficking. Furthermore, the researcher's findings indicate that Colombia is the producer of most of the drugs trafficked and smuggled into the United States, whilst Mexico has turned into the "Trafficker" of all drugs going into the United States through the South-Western Border.

### 5.2.2 Methamphetamine trafficking, distribution and usage:

U.S. Department of Justice (2011) reported that according to NSDUH, people aged 12 and over who started using Methamphetamine grew by more than 60% between 2008 (95 000) and 2010 (154 000), respectively. In 2013 Methamphetamine availability, usage and trafficking increased due to Mexico's high level of production and distribution. This resulted in a spike in meth usage in the United States of America, which would signal the failure to cease and abolish drug trafficking. "The number of past months methamphetamine users increased from 353,000 in 2010 to 439,000 in 2011" (U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, 2013. p, 10). Villa (2021) reported that in 2016 Methamphetamine accounted for 33,6% of drugs trafficked into the United States. In 2017 methamphetamine use in the U.S. was reported to soar high, and availability levels were at the highest since 2007. The U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration (2017) said that the number of meth users aged 12 and higher is 897 000, accounting for 0,3% of the permanent population.

According to the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (2019), in 2018, the number of meth users aged 12 and higher amounted to 667 000 users, which accounted for 0,2% of the population. There was a steady decrease in active users. However, the numbers are still high, which in this case represents high production levels which result in high availability of the drug and leads to high trafficking levels into the United States. If the demand increases, it is most likely that the supply will increase too. Methamphetamine demand increased by 41% in 2017, which is relatively high. "Methamphetamine reports to NFLIS-Drug, increased two per cent between 2018 and 2019—there were 424,926 reports in 2018 and 433,740 reports in 2019. (U.S Department of Justice/Drug Enforcement Administration, 2021. p 18). The researcher will provide a brief timeline of the drug use statistics, which is very significant in determining if the U.S. is winning the drug war.

- 2008 (95 000) to 2009 (154 000) active meth users.
- 353,000 in 2010 to 439,000 in 2011 active users.
- In 2016 Methamphetamine accounted for 33,6% of the drugs trafficked into the U.S.
- In 2017 897, 000 meth users accounted for 0,3% of the permanent population.

- In 2018 it was reported that meth has 667 000 users, which accounted for 0,2% of the population.
- There were 424,926 reports in 2018 and 433,740 reports in 2019.

In conclusion, Methamphetamine use, availability and trafficking levels have fluctuated throughout the years. However, TCOs/Cartels are still winning the drug war, and the “War on Drugs” campaign has failed to decrease Methamphetamine production and trafficking. The study utilizes unclassified data from the United States Department of Justice and Drug Enforcement Administration drug threat assessment which highlights the numbers of drug availability, drug production and drug trafficking, which in this context refers to the growing number of drug use, and drug trafficking which then highlights the results of the drug war which in the investigator's perception has failed dismally and has worsened the drug cultivation, production, distribution, and trafficking levels.

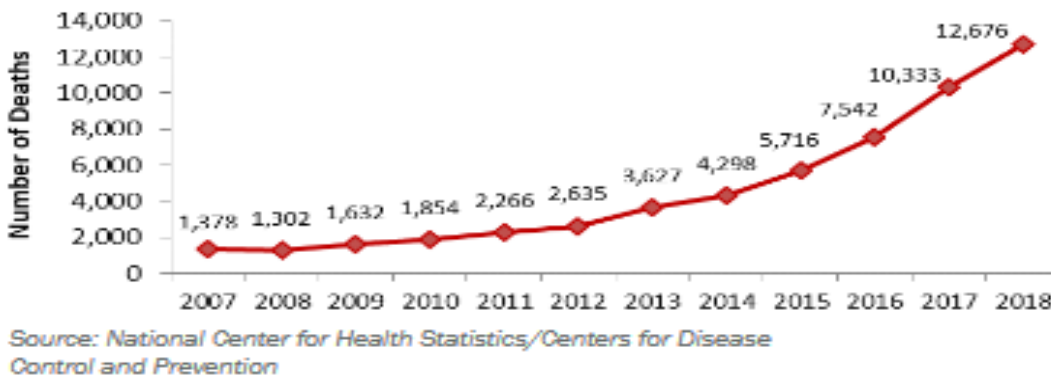


Figure 1.8 shows the number of deaths/drug overdoses related to Methamphetamine use from 2007 to 2018.

The research study will start evaluating and analysing the graph from the year 2010. In 2010 there were 1,854 deaths. In 2011 the amount increased to 2,266, and in 2012 the number of overdoses was 2,635. In 2013 the number of deaths was 3,677, which rose to 4,298 deaths in 2014, then in 2015, the number of deaths 5,716. Methamphetamine-related deaths continue to increase. In 2016 the number of deaths was 7,542, which grew to 10,333 in 2017 and closed off with 12 676 Methamphetamine related deaths in 2018.

Drug overdoses are a significant factor in determining if the drug war accomplished its objectives. Drug overdoses went from 1,854 in 2010 to 12 676 in 2018, clearly showing that drug use, availability and Methamphetamine trafficking rates are still high. Although the graph does not give

the readers statistics from the years 2019 and year 2020, the prevalence, availability and trafficking levels remain high. In chapter 2 of the literature review, the U.S. Department of Justice (2021) reported that Mexican Transnational Criminal Organizations continue to be the principal makers and suppliers of low-cost, high-purity Methamphetamine in the United States. The researcher agrees that Mexican TCOs continue to dominate drug trafficking in Methamphetamine. The study will look at Methamphetamine seizures to determine if there have been enough arrests and if those arrests/seizures have led to a decrease or increase in drug production and drug trafficking.

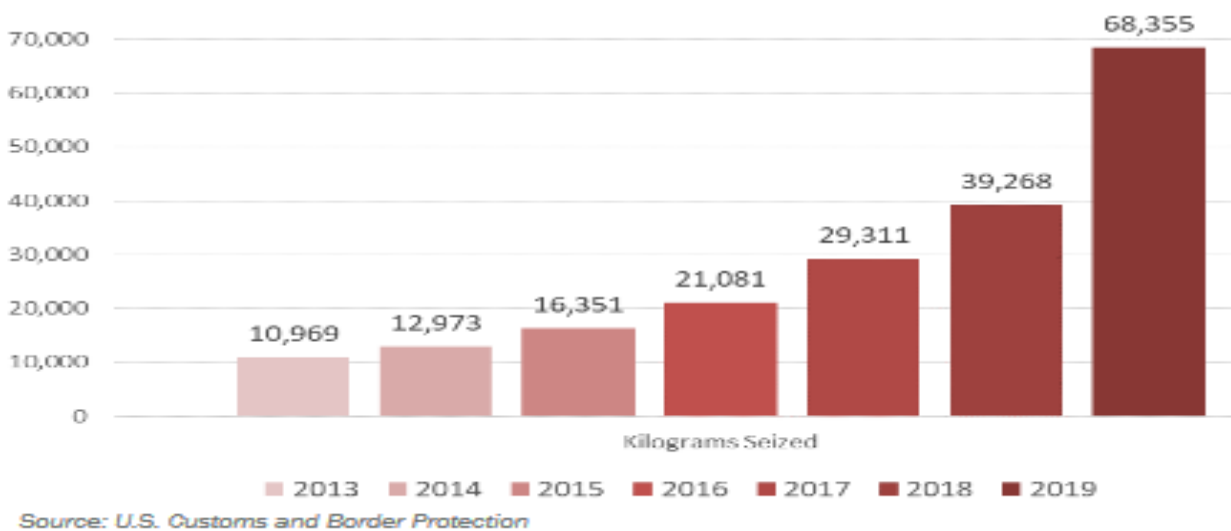


Figure 1.9 illustrates the number of kilograms seized or confiscated by the U.S. Customs and border protection Southwest Border Methamphetamine Seizures, 2013 – 2019.

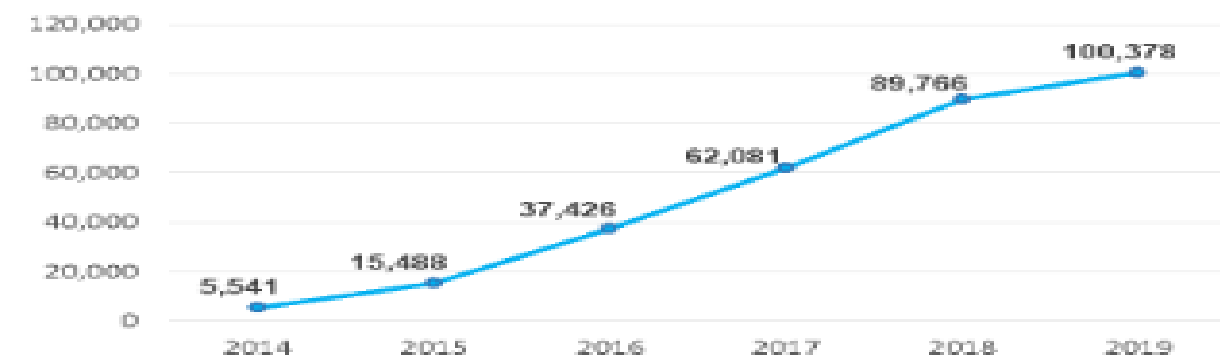
In 2013 10, 969 kilograms of meth were seized, which increased to 12,973 in 2014 and rose to 16,351 in 2015. In 2016 the number of kilograms seized increased from 21,081 to 29,311 in 2017. The rapid increase in meth seizures grew to 39,268 and closed off at 68,355 kilograms in 2019. The number of seizures quadrupled from 2013 to 2019. The U.S. Customs and Border Protection assisted the DEA, FBI, and CIA in fighting the drug war. Drug seizure numbers do not represent the full scope of the discussed issue. The question is, is the United States winning the drug war? So yes, drugs are being seized at a humongous level. However, drug trafficking is still prevalent, drug traffickers are still making large profits in the illegal drug market, drug users are still dying from overdoses, and the United States is still losing the drug war. Seizures do represent a

significant effort in trying to cease and curb drug trafficking. However, if drug production, distribution and availability are still high, the drug war is still failing to succeed.

### 5.2.3 Heroin trafficking, distribution, and usage:

U.S. Government (2011) wrote that Heroin availability and demand are increasing due to the significant production levels in Mexico, even though Colombian production levels are decreasing. “According to the national-level survey data, the number of new heroin users has recently been increasing. NSDUH reports the number of new heroin users increased from 142,000 in 2010 to 178,000 in 2011” (U.S. Department of Justice, 2013, p, 6). In 2013 Heroin availability and usage drastically increased in the United States, with death overdoses gradually rising. According to the U.S. Department of Justice/Drug Enforcement Administration (2015), In 2015, Heroin availability in the United States of America was reported to be moderately high in most areas.

Furthermore, 65% of respondents claimed that availability was drastically increasing, and the demand was also increasing. Villa (2021) reported that in 2016, Heroin accounted for 14,4% of drugs trafficked and distributed in the United States, making it the fourth highest drug on the list of abused drugs. The researcher believes the drug war cannot be a success even with decreased numbers regarding the “War on Drugs” mainly because reduced numbers do not account for all the drugs trafficked and smuggled into the United States since the study is solely based on reaching a probable hypothesis that favours or discredits the drug war. The study has continuously found that drugs are still being trafficked into the United States at a high level, and the prohibition or “War against Drugs” raises the demand and prices due to the danger levels of traffickers. Demanders get through, negating the drug sale process.



Source: National Forensic Laboratory Information System-Drug  
Retrieved July 10, 2020

Figure 1.10 illustrates Heroin and Fentanyl reports to NFLIS, 2014 - 2019

Figure 1.10 verifies the availability of Mexican and South American trafficked Heroin. In 2014 the number of reports throughout the U.S. was 5,541, which then increased to 15,488 in 2015, almost triple the previous year's number of reports. In 2016 the number of reports was 37,426, which grew to 62,081 in 2017. Heroin reports throughout the U.S. continued to soar. In 2018 Heroin reports were 89,766, which then increased to 100,378 in 2019. It is fair to say that Heroin trafficking in the United States is rising yearly, and the Heroin market is growing exponentially. The drug war is failing dramatically to decrease or stop the trafficking of illicit substances. Next, the researcher would look at the number of deaths/overdoses that are Heroin induced.

“Further investigation finds that, while the rate of heroin-related overdose deaths has fallen by about 20%, (dropping from 7,391 in 2017 to 5,928 in 2018)” (U.S. Department of Justice/Drug Enforcement Administration, 2020, p, 10). Furthermore, it is reported that despite its massive decline in drug overdoses, Heroin still ranks second in overdoses in any drug category.

**Figure 5. Heroin-Involved Overdose Deaths With and Without Fentanyl, 2013 – 2018**

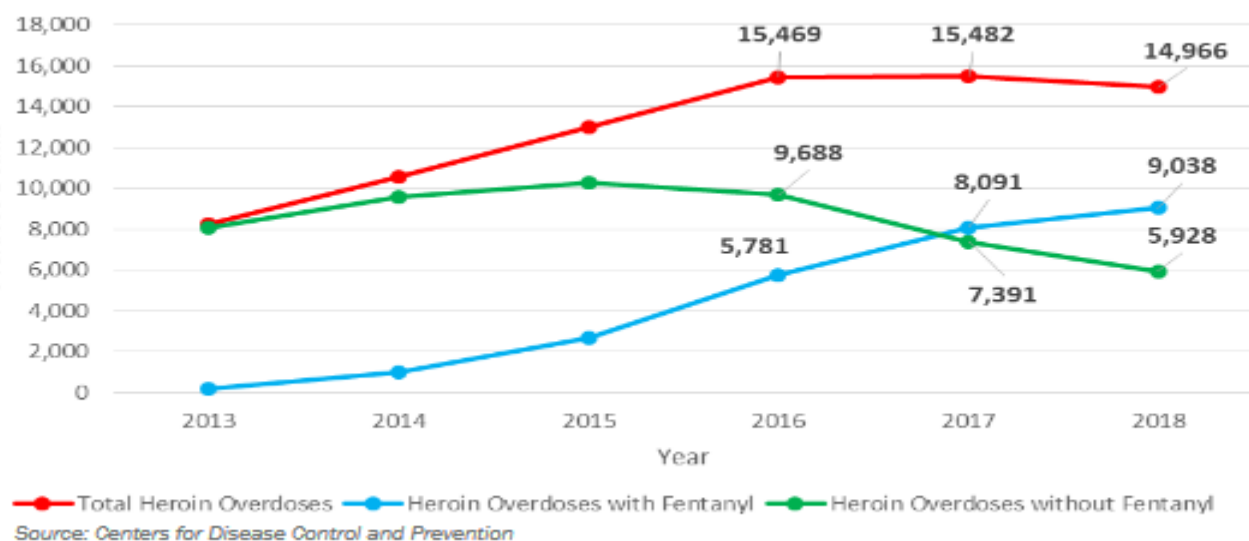


Figure 1.11 shows the total Heroin overdoses, Heroin overdoses with fentanyl, and Heroin overdoses without Fentanyl.

The main reason why this graph illustrates Heroin and Fentanyl is that their markets intertwine. Heroin and Fentanyl come from poppy, an opioid cultivated in Mexico, South America, and Asia. This research study will only look at Heroin overdoses without Fentanyl. In 2013 the number of Heroin overdoses without Fentanyl was 8,000, which increased to 9,000 in 2014. In 2015 Heroin

overdoses without Fentanyl were 10,000, which minimally decreased to 9,688 in 2016. The decrease of Heroin overdoses continued to decline both in 2017 and 2018, which amounted to 8,091 and 5,928. Heroin overdoses minimally reduced over the years, but Heroin and other illicit drugs are still available for consumption and abuse by the American public. The researcher included the overdose illustrations and figures because drug overdoses highlight the accessibility citizens have to specific drugs. The study will evaluate and analyse Heroin production next. “Heroin of Mexican origin accounted for 92 per cent of the total weight of heroin analysed under the HSP, the seventh consecutive year that Mexico has been identified as the primary source of origin for heroin encountered in the United States” (U.S. Department of Justice/Drug Enforcement Administration, 2020. p, 13). Mexico is still the primary producer of heroin.

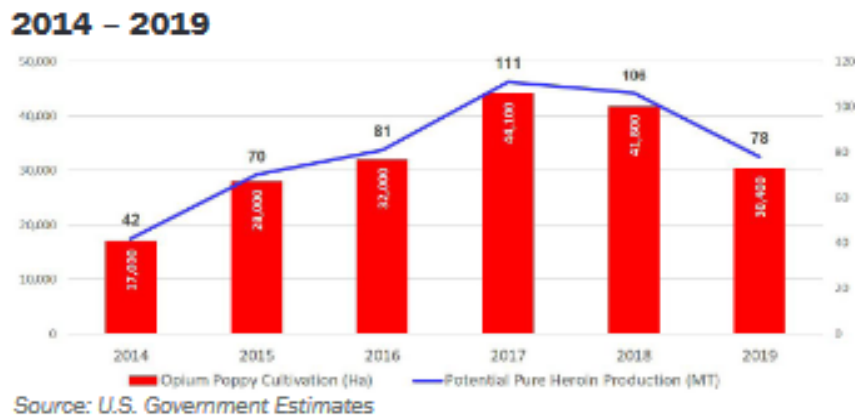


Figure 1.12 illustrates the Opium poppy cultivation (Hectares) and the potential pure heroin production.

The graph illustrated in figure 1.12 represents the opium cultivated compared to the purity of the heroin cultivated. In 2017 opium poppy grown amounted to 17,000 hectares, while the purity of the Heroin accounted for 42. In 2015 there was an increase in both the opium poppy cultivated and the purity of the Heroin cultivated, which were 28,000 and 70, respectively. Again, opium poppy cultivation and the purity of the Heroin produced increased dramatically. In 2016 opium poppy cultivation (hectares) was 32,000, and the purity was 81. In 2017 opium poppy cultivation was 44,100, and the purity of Heroin was 111. This was the highest level of production in the years covered in this study, both opium poppy cultivation and purity. In 2018 opium poppy cultivation amounted to 41,800 hectares, and the purity of the Heroin was 106, a slight decrease from the previous year. However, Heroin was still being produced at a high level. In 2019 opium poppy

cultivation amounted to 30,400, and the potential pure Heroin production amounted to 78, which was the lowest since 2016.

Massive Heroin production continues to be the driving force of the Heroin market. As long as there is an enormous demand for heroin, the supply and production will also be high. To justify why the researcher included the Cultivation and purity numbers is to show that Heroin production might fluctuate, but it will not be ceased by the drug war and its methods, which the investigator will explain in chapter 6. The conclusion/Recommendations section further describes how the fight against drugs can be successful. The United States, Colombia, and Mexico should adopt a drug leniency strategy that decriminalizes drugs in all states, saving the American Government billions every year. In the investigator's understanding and perception, American citizens should be taught about drug dangers and consequences whilst providing rehabilitation centres to aid recovering drug users. The opioid crisis with Oxycontin proved how citizens could naively and unknowingly engage in drug-addictive acts to which their doctors subscribed. The researcher believes that if people can be convinced to use illicit drugs through prescription, then the same people can be taught to avoid drugs through education and rehabilitation centres.

#### 5.2.4 Marijuana trafficking, distribution, and usage:

“Marijuana remains illegal under federal law and is the most used illicit drug in the United States... The prevalence of marijuana use, the demand for potent marijuana and marijuana products, the potential for substantial profit, and the perception of little risk entice diverse drug traffickers and criminal organizations to cultivate and distribute illegal marijuana throughout the United States” (U.S. Department of Justice/Drug Enforcement Administration, 2020. p, 45). UNODC (2015) claimed that an estimated 181.8 million people aged 15–64 years used Cannabis for nonmedical purposes globally (uncertainty estimates 128.5–232.1 million). Marijuana is the most used illicit drug globally, not only in the United States. The production and trafficking levels are insanely high because of the light penalties, consequences, profits and revenues generated from distributing and selling Marijuana. Another issue faced by the U.S. government is the growing United States cultivation of indoor Marijuana that is excessively potent.

Figure 1.6 shows the number of Marijuana traffickers and the years from 2016 to 2020.

The figure illustrates a decrease of 67% from 2016 to 2020 due to the high legalization of Marijuana in forward-thinking states.

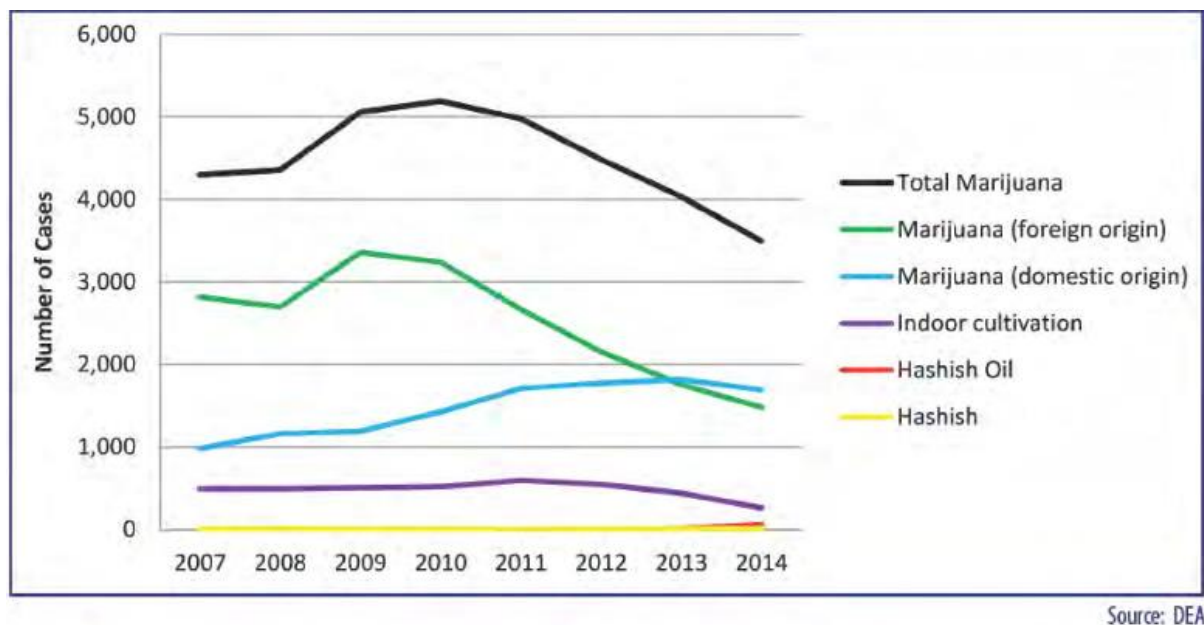


Figure 1.13 Illustrates the number of cases regarding domestic marijuana cases from 2007 to 2014.

The study will start evaluating and analyzing from 2010 to 2014. The focus will be on Marijuana (foreign origin), represented by the green line in the graph. The figure illustrates a decline in foreign Marijuana from 2010 to 2014 mainly because of the rising domestic cultivation, production and legalization of Marijuana. Foreign Marijuana trafficking is still relatively high. Villa (2021) reported that in 2016 Marijuana accounted for 17,6% of the illicit drugs trafficked into the United States.

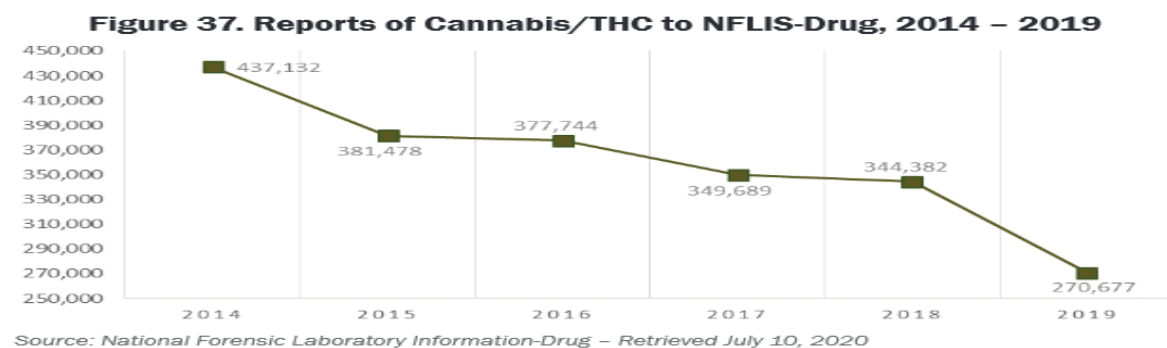


Figure 1.14 illustrates the reports of Cannabis to NFLIS, 2014 – 2019.

Figure 1.14 reports that in 2014 the number of Cannabis cases was 437,132, and in 2015 the cases dropped to 381,478. The gradual decline continued as cases dropped from 377,744 in 2016 to

349,689 in 2017. The number of Cannabis cases continued to decline; in 2018, the number of cases was 344 382, and in 2019, the number of Cannabis cases reported was 270,677. The figure illustrates a 38% decrease in Cannabis cases reported to the DEA division fields across the state. Marijuana laws are being reformed in the United States, another factor that has lowered Marijuana trafficking rates. Henceforth, the legalization of Marijuana in specific regions within the U.S. increases the growing Marijuana trafficking rate in the prohibited states. “Domestic use of marijuana will remain high and is likely to increase. Individuals and criminal organizations will exploit state-legality in these localities to produce and traffic their product to the illicit market, particularly to states without state-approved marijuana” (Drug Enforcement Administration, 2018, p, 88). The researcher believes that Marijuana seizures are a significant factor in determining if the drug war has achieved its objective of decreasing and ceasing drug production, distribution and trafficking. Therefore, the following figure will illustrate how much Marijuana has been seized by DEA agents in the field.

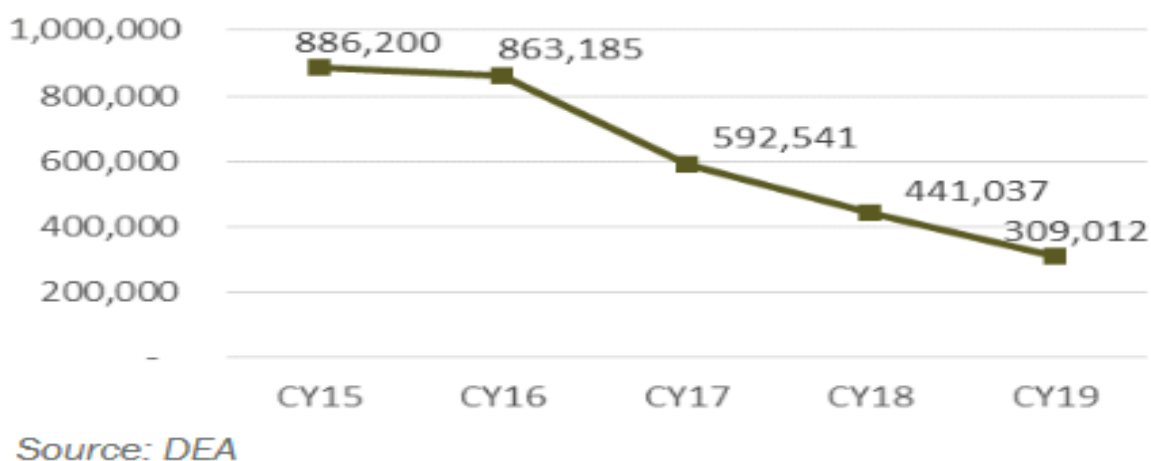


Figure 1.15 shows the number of Marijuana seizures in Kilograms from 2015 to 2019.

In 2015 the number of kilograms seized amounted to 886,200. In 2016 the number decreased to 863,185. In 2017 the gradual decline continued as the number of kilograms seized amounted to 592,541. In 2018 the number of Marijuana kilograms seized was recorded at 441,037. The latest data set recorded that the Marijuana kilograms seized amounted to 309,012. From 2015 to 2019, the Marijuana seizures recorded declined by 65%. In summation, Marijuana trafficking has decreased in recent years, with states in the U.S. reporting less usage and trafficking. One should consider that Marijuana seizures decline automatically signify the failure to reduce the drugs trafficked into the United States.

### 5.3 Mexican Transnational Criminal Organization's significant arrests:

According to CNN Editorial Research (2021):

- **In January 2010** - Carlos Beltran Leyva was apprehended in Sinaloa.
- **On the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 2010** - Cardenas Guillen was captured and sentenced to 25 years.
- **On the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 2010** - Edgar Valdez Villarreal, nicknamed “La Barbie”, was charged with the alleged suspicion of Cocaine trafficking into the United States.
- **On the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 2010** – Manuel Garibay Espinoza was arrested for allegedly Drug smuggling and drug trafficking.
- **On the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2010** – Edgar Villarreal was apprehended for Cocaine trafficking.
- **On the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 2010**- Sergio Villarreal was captured and arrested on drug trafficking charges; Sergio was suspected to be a leader in the Beltran Leyva Cartel.
- **On the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 2011** - Flavio Mendez Santiago was apprehended in Mexicana. Flavio was believed to be one of the founding fathers of the Los Zetas drug cartel.
- **On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 2011** – The ‘Policía Federal Ministerial’ (P.F.M.) captured Mexican Cartel Los Zetas members, including a high-ranking member Julian Zapata Espinoza.
- **On the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 2011**- Mario Jimenez Perez was caught and brought into custody.
- **On the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 2011** - Marcos Carmona Hernandez was apprehended by the Mexican Policia (PFM). Hernandez was allegedly the leader of the Los Zetas cartel.
- **On the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 2011** - Martin Omar Estrada Luna, an alleged leader of the Los Zetas, was arrested for drug trafficking violations.
- **On the 29<sup>th</sup> of 2011** - Benjamin Arellano Felix was extradited to the United States.
- **On the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 2011** - **Jose de Jesus Mendez Vargas was captured by Policía Federal Ministerial’**. He was the suspected leader of the La Familia Michoacana drug Cartel in Mexico.
- **On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 2011** - Jesus Enrique Rejon Aguilar was arrested by the Mexican Federal Police. He is suspected to be another founding member of the Los Zetas.

- **On the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 30, 2011** - Jose Antonio Acosta Hernandez was apprehended. Jose is suspected to be the leader of La Linea, which forms part of the Juarez Cartel.
- **On the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2011** - Moises Montero Alvarez, the alleged leader of the Independent Cartel of Acapulco, was arrested in Mexico.
- **On the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 2011** - Carlos Oliva Castillo was arrested. He was suspected of being a leader in the Los Zetas.
- **On the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 2012** - Benjamin Arellano Felix, a former commander of Mexico's Tijuana drug cartel, pleaded guilty to racketeering and money-laundering conspiracy.
- The plea agreement asks for a \$100 million forfeiture to the US and a potential sentence of 25 years in jail.
- **On the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2012** - Eduardo Arellano Felix of the Tijuana Cartel was jailed and sent to the United States on extradition.
- **On the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 2012** - Mario Cardenas Guillen was arrested, and Mexican federal authorities made a public announcement. Mario is allegedly a high leader in the Gulf Cartel.
- **On the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 2012, Mexican marines arrested Ivan Velazquez-Caballero.**
- **On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 2013** - Miguel Angel Trevino Morales was captured and detained by the 'Policía Federal Ministerial' (PFM).
- **On the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 2013** - Mario Ramirez-Trevino, of the Gulf cartel, was arrested for his crimes in drug trafficking and racketeering.
- **On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 2014** - A US official told CNN that Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman had been arrested. "El Chapo", at this point, is one of the most powerful and feared drug cartel leaders in all of Mexico.
- **On the 9<sup>th</sup> of March 2014** - Nazario Moreno Gonzalez, an alleged leader, was fatally shot during a raid by Mexican Federal agents.
- **On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2014** - Hector Beltran Leyva, suspected Beltran Leyva leader, was arrested in Mexico.
- **On the 9<sup>th</sup> of October 2014** - Authorities announced that Mexican federal police had captured alleged Juarez Cartel boss Vicente Carrillo Fuentes.

- **On the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 2015** – Omar Trevino Morales was arrested in a Mexican suburb.
- **On the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 2016** – Joachim “El Chapo” Guzman was recaptured after escaping prison.
- **On the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 2016** - 24, Sinaloa cartel members were apprehended in a cross-border raid organized by Mexican federal and U.S. agents.
- **On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 2016** – Alfredo Beltran Leyva pleaded guilty after U.S. Extradition and was sentenced to life in prison.
- **On the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 2017** - Mexico's Foreign Ministry turned Guzman over to US authorities.
- **On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 2017** - Dámaso López Nuñez, a high-ranking member of the Sinaloa Cartel, was arrested in Mexico City for violating transnational drug trafficking laws.
- **On the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 2017** – The Drug Enforcement Administration and the Department of Justice publicly announced the arrests of Mexican drug cartel leaders, Ramirez-Trevino, the suspected leader of the Gulf Cartel Cartel and Victor Manuel Felix-Felix, the alleged leader of a Mexican money laundering and cocaine-trafficking organization.
- **On the 9<sup>th</sup> of February 2018** - Jose Maria Guizar Valencia. The alleged leader of the Mexican drug Cartel Los Zetas is captured by the Federal Policia Ministerial.
- **On the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 2020** - Tirso Martinez Sanchez, one of the last associates of “El Chapo”, was arrested”.

The drug war has had some accomplishments concerning the detention and arrests of Major Mexican Transnational Criminal Organizations. The researcher still believes that significant arrests of Cartel members are not effective or enough in reducing and ceasing drug production, distribution, and trafficking because the drug business is a system. One can remove the leader, the cartel members or the street gangs who sell drugs after distribution. That would not change anything as personnel is changed; you get a new leader, new members, and other high-ranking members are promoted. It Is a continuous system that does not allow the drug war to be a success. As stated before, the investigator believes that the entire drug business cannot be shut down by brute force (War on Drugs). Still, through the education of the masses and rehabilitation of troubled peoples only then drug cultivation, distribution, and trafficking can be ceased once and for all.

## 5.4 Colombian TCOs Major Arrests

In chapter 2 (Literature review), the U.S. Embassy in Colombia (2020.) claimed that the main criminal threat confronting Colombian law is the development of criminal organizations from the remains of paramilitary organizations, drug trafficking gangs, and guerrilla units. The researcher has found out through thorough research that the old structured Colombian Cartels that reigned in the early 1980s and 1990s have since been demolished and replaced by paramilitary criminal organizations that now dictate and control the drug trafficking business and are usually responsible for organized crime in Colombia. These so-called paramilitary groups are referred to as *Bandas Criminales*” or BACRIM.

According to Insight Crime.org (2021), the following members were apprehended or killed:

- Juan de Dios Úsuga David was murdered in January 2012 during a police raid on a ranch in the Chocó province.
- Eduardo Ortiz Tuberquia, aka “El Indio,” was apprehended by security forces in May.
- Military boss Luis Orlando Padierma, alias "Inglaterra," was arrested in November”.
- Otoniel’s sister, Nini Johana Usuga, was arrested in March this year (2021) and was extradited to the U.S.
- Otoniel’s brother and cousin were all arrested and extradited to the United States after the government expanded the task force Agamemnon to 3000 soldiers
- Dairo Antonio Úsuga is arrested in Colombia. “Colombian drug lord ‘Otoniel’ was captured in the ‘greatest blow to narcotics trafficking since the fall of Pablo Escobar’” (Sky News, 2021).

The researcher included brief statistics on current Colombian cartels because the most prominent and influential drug Cartel is the “Gulf Clan”. In contrast, other cartels are small compared to the traditional Medellin and Cali Cartel drug operators and distributors. The Colombian government has neutralized many Colombian “*Bandas Criminales*” or BACRIM groups. The Gulf Clan Cartel was Colombia’s most powerful and influential drug trafficking organization left. With the recent arrest of Otoniel, it is believed that the Gulf Cartel might collapse without its leader. Significant progress has been made concerning the apprehension and detention of major Colombian drug trafficking kingpins and leaders. What the drug war has failed to do is dismantle and cease drug production and drug trafficking in its entirety. This is evident in the demise of the Medellin Cartel,

which Pablo Escobar, the Cali Cartel led, and Norte del Valle Cartel, which was overtime obliterated and dismantled. The researcher mentioned before how the drug business is an everchanging and continuously revolutionary system. People, methods of the drug trade, distribution, trafficking, and entry points might all change, but the system will stay in place and adapt to the current climate of the drug business. For the drug war to be deemed successful in the last ten years (2010 – 2020), the drug war should end drug production, distribution and trafficking in its entirety. The whole drug business and the process should be dismantled. If that is not the case and billions are being spent yearly to achieve an objective or goal set in 1971 by former president Nixon, then it is fair to say that the drug war has been a colossal disaster.

## 5.5 Drug War Arrests

The following table will report the findings of the study with regards to drug-related offences in the United States of America: According to Real Reporting Foundation - Doug McVay (2021)

*Table 2: Illustrates the estimated annual number of arrests for drug offences in the United States from 2010 – to 2020*

Estimated Annual Number of Arrests for Drug Offenses in the US By Type of Offense - 2010-2020

Estimated Annual Number of Arrests for Drug Offenses in the US, by Type of Offense - 2010-2020								
Year	Total Drug Arrests	Sale/Manufacture					Possession	
		Sale/Manu. Any Drug	Heroin, Cocaine, and Derivatives	Marijuana	Synthetic or Manufactured Drugs	Other Dangerous Nonnarcotic Drugs	Possession Any Drug	Heroin, Cocaine, and Derivatives
2020	1,155,610	153,696	47,380	32,357	17,334	57,781	1,001,914	227,655
2019	1,558,862	207,328	65,472	45,207	26,501	68,590	1,351,533	305,537
2018	1,654,282	224,982	72,788	54,591	29,777	66,171	1,429,300	334,165
2017	1,632,921	238,406	84,912	60,418	26,127	65,317	1,394,515	336,382
2015	1,488,707	239,682	81,879	68,480	26,797	62,526	1,249,025	296,252
2014	1,561,231	263,848	90,551	81,184	29,663	64,010	1,297,383	265,409
2013	1,501,043	265,685	90,063	84,058	28,520	63,044	1,235,358	246,171
2012	1,552,432	276,333	94,698	91,593	29,496	62,097	1,276,099	256,151
2011	1,531,251	278,688	96,469	94,937	27,563	61,250	1,252,563	255,719
2010	1,638,846	296,631	101,608	103,247	29,499	60,637	1,342,215	268,771

Drug-related arrests in the United States in ten years from 2010 to 2020 decreased drastically. In 2010 Total Drug Arrests amounted to 1,638,846 arrests; in 2020, the number fell to 1,155,610 arrests. Furthermore, the estimated number of arrests for the sale/manufacturing of any drug in 2010 was 296,631, 18.1 per cent of the total arrests. While in 2020, the number of estimated arrests will be 156,696, which accounts for 13,3 per cent. In 2010 the number of estimated arrests for Cocaine, Heroin, and Derivatives amounted to 101,608 arrests, while in 2020, the estimated number of arrests for Cocaine, Heroin, and Derivatives was 47,380 arrests.

For Marijuana, the estimated number of arrests in 2010 was 103,247, and in 2020 the estimated number of arrests for Marijuana amounted to 32,357. For Synthetic or Manufactured drugs, the estimated number of arrests in 2010 amounted to 29,499 arrests, while in 2020, the estimated number of arrests for Synthetic or Manufactured drugs amounted to 17,334 arrests. The results provide the readers with factual evidence that concludes that the number of arrests declined dramatically, whether for the possession, sale or distribution of either Cocaine, Heroin, Marijuana or other derivatives. In conclusion, the investigator believes that lesser arrests than in previous years show a steady decline in the commitment of all actors in the drug war. Another factor that might affect the arrests in the drug war is being “Outwitted” or “Outsmarted” by Transnational Criminal Organizations in their drug distribution and drug trafficking process, which would still signal the failure to capture and seize trafficked drugs before they enter the United States.

## 5.6 The Economic Impact of the Drug War

In reporting the study's findings, the researcher believes that the economic impact of the war on drugs is fundamental in determining if the drug war has succeeded or failed. To understand the economics of the drug war, the study needs to look at a simple statement: “Economic success or failure is determined by the results of that project, policy or investment”. In chapter 2 of the study, the researcher claimed that “In simple terms, if the expenditure surpasses the outcome of the drug war, that results in the failure of the whole campaign. Investments are supposed to reap the rewards or earn exponential or gradual growth”. With the United States pondering backing out of the drug war as they have recently done with the “War on Terror”, it is easy to reach a conclusion that stipulates that the drug war has not lived up to expectations, and it has not achieved its objectives.

If the United States decides to change its brute force strategy and adopt a more lenient approach, it will acknowledge its failure to the entire globe, which then deem the drug war a colossal failure.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2016), The drug war is an expensive endeavour. Piaggio and Vidwans (2019) reported that Drug production had not decreased continuously since the implementation of prohibition; instead, it has fluctuated considerably in response to state-level policy changes. The study has concluded that prohibition and fighting the drug war have increased the demand and supply of illicit drugs because of the difficulty of distributing and trafficking drugs. The drug war has exacerbated drug use, drug distribution, drug production, and drug trafficking as selling illicit narcotics increase both the price and demand, which allows Transnational Criminal Organizations to diversify their endeavours into other illegal businesses. According to the United Nations World Drug Report, opium output increased by 65% between 2016 and 2017. At the same time, cocaine production reached its “highest level ever” — 1,410 tons — in 2016, a significant increase from previous years, which had seen a fall. This illustrates that prohibition and the drug war increase the demand for illicit drugs.

The following list will report findings on the global and U.S costs of the drug war:

- The global cost of policing and interdiction of illicit narcotics exceeds \$100 billion annually.
- The United States had a government drug control budget of around \$25.5 billion in 2015.
- Transform Drug Policy (2019) argued that since the inception of the drug war in 1971, the United States has spent more than \$640 billion on the drug war.
- Rolles et al. (2012) The illegal drug trade is worth more than \$330 billion annually.
- Drug trafficking profits weaken the regular economy by facilitating money laundering, corruption, regional conflicts, and organized crime.
- Rolles et al. (2012) reported that the illegal drug trade creates a hostile environment for legitimate corporate interests, discouraging investment and tourists and causing sector volatility and unfair competition.
- The U.S. Government allegedly spent \$9,2 million daily incarcerating people with drug-related offences.
- \$3,3 Billion is spent yearly internally.

- In 2015 the government spent \$7 billion on incarcerating individuals with drug-related charges.
- On estimate, Marijuana legalization would save the state 7.7 billion yearly.
- America, an estimate, spends \$50 billion to fight the drug war.

It is fair to say the drug war has failed. The vast amounts of money spent are not returning the exact results, with only 10 per cent of the drugs trafficked into the U.S. being captured or seized. The economic impact is more devastating because of the drug war's uncertainty, but capital is being invested into a continuously failing plan. The study's findings reported that the drug war had spent an estimated 1 billion dollars since its inception. Those funds could have been used to upgrade a failing education system favouring affluent neighbourhoods, providing better healthcare, improving infrastructure, and expanding economic growth to newer heights. The time has come to take a new approach that involves less killing and combat and includes the rehabilitation of a wounded and broken nation troubled by racial disparities and police brutality. The study will discuss the recommendations in the conclusion chapter.

### 5.7 Federal Bureau of Investigation:

**Origin:** According to History.com Editors (2010), the Federal Bureau of Investigation was formed on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1908. Attorney General Charles Bonaparte ordered newly hired federal agents to report to the Chief Examiner of the Department of Justice, Stanley W. Finch. The office of the Chief Examiner was renamed a year later to the Bureau of Investigation. Furthermore, in 1935 it was permanently renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation. J. Edgar Hoover revolutionized how the Federal Bureau of Investigation operated. "During the 1920s, with Congress's approval, Director Hoover drastically restructured and expanded the Bureau of Investigation. He built the agency into an efficient crime-fighting machine, establishing a centralized fingerprint file, a crime laboratory, and a training school for agents".

When a soldier named William Bishop escaped from the stockade in a camp, the military army intelligence sent out a letter requesting the FBI's assistance in finding him. That letter shaped how the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducts its duties in the modern era. J Edgar Hoover continued to implement new ideas and restructured operations and tasks. "In 1956, Hoover initiated COINTELPRO, a secret counterintelligence program that initially targeted the U.S. Communist Party but later was expanded to infiltrate and disrupt any radical organization in

America” (History.Com Editors, 2010). This subdivision, introduced by J Edgar Hoover, targeted dangerous radical groups such as the triple k “Ku Klux Klan” and the “African American Civil Rights groups that fought for black empowerment and equality. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was later suspected as an institution of abusing its power and authority. It faced much criticism from Congress, even passing a law that only allowed future FBI directors to hold the FBI presidency for ten years at max. J Edgar Hoover died of heart disease before the Watergate scandal exploded onto the scene. “The Watergate affair revealed that the FBI had illegally protected President Richard Nixon from the investigation, and Congress thoroughly investigated the agency”. It was later discovered that the FBI did abuse power and its authority.

### **The Federal Bureau of Investigation's priorities:**

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2021), the following list will report the priorities of the FBI:

- To protect American Civilians of all colours and backgrounds from terrorist attacks.
- Protect the U.S. against foreign intelligence, espionage, and cyber operations.
- Defend the United States from foreign intelligence, espionage, and cyber operations.
- To protect the United States from cybercriminal activity.
- To fight all types of corruption at all levels.
- Make sure all civil liberties are always protected and all costs.
- To fight transnational criminal organizations, whether it be terror groups, insurgents, rebels, or drug traffickers/cartels.
- To protect the United States from white-collar crimes.
- To protect the United States from violent crimes.

### **The Federal Bureau of Investigation's role in the drug war:**

According to Baker (1987), the Federal Bureau of Investigation had five objectives regarding the “War on Drugs”:

- 1) To conduct effective, coordinated investigations against significant drug trafficking organizations nationwide by seizing and forfeiting their substantial profits and assets.
- 2) To expand and enhance the existing drug intelligence base.

- 3) To identify trends and to make projections of organized drug-trafficking activities across the nation.
- 4) To concentrate our designated resources on the significant drug centres.
- 5) To provide more significant assistance to local law enforcement agencies through the shared property and asset seizure program.

In chapter 2, The Federal Bureau of Investigation (n.d) wrote that the F.B.I. has found that the enterprise theory of investigation, which focuses investigations and prosecutions on entire criminal organizations rather than individuals, captures TCOs and drug traffickers. The Federal Bureau of Investigations' role is to supervise Transnational Criminal Organizations, conduct effective and coordinated investigations against all drug traffickers nationwide and assist the Drug Enforcement Administration when they need assistance with information only the FBI can acquire. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (n.d.), the enterprise theory of investigation promotes not only the prosecution of the criminal enterprise but also the confiscation of its assets, intending to disrupt or dismantle entire criminal organizations. The Federal Bureau of Investigation plays a pivotal role in raiding, confiscating, and seizing drugs and assets from Transnational Criminal Organizations. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (n.d.) claims that the FBI is committed to eradicating transnational organized crime syndicates that pose the greatest threat to the United States' national and economic security. The FBI has discovered that even when key members in a Transnational Criminal Organization are removed, the depth and financial strength of the organization typically allow it to continue. Hence the Bureau targets entire groups responsible for a wide range of criminal acts. "The Bureau uses the RICO Act to expand criminal accountability for several "predicate offences," and to expand a single offence across multiple members of a criminal enterprise" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d.).

### Federal Bureau of Investigation's recent links to the drug scourge:

Figure 1.8 Illustrates Operation Trojan/OTF Greenlight results which include the participation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, Politie, Polisen etc.

In chapter 2, the literature review section introduced Operation Trojan/OTF Greenlight in providing the FBI with recent links to the drug scourge. EUROPOL (2021) reported the following findings:

- Eight hundred suspects were apprehended.
- Approximately 8 tons of Cocaine were confiscated.
- More than 2 tons of Amphetamines and Methamphetamines were seized.
- More than 22 tons of Marijuana and Cannabis Resin was confiscated.
- Approximately 700 houses were searched.
- Around 250 illegal firearms were seized during the raids.
- More than \$48 million in worldwide currencies and cryptocurrencies were seized.

The study through chapter 5.5 (Drug War Arrests) discussed the numbers and estimates of the joint arrests of all intergovernmental organizations, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence agency, and Drug Enforcement Administration. The researcher believes that looking at the overall research problem, which questioned if the “War on Drugs” was winning the drug war or not, looking specifically at the period of (2010 – 2020). The study discovered that the drug arrests made in 2010 amounted from 1,638,846 to 1,155,610 in 2020, which shows a drastic decrease of 483,236 estimated drug-related arrests. If the stud was to look at drug-related arrests made by the DOJ/FBI/DEA/CIA during the chosen period, it is evident that the drug war has been an utter failure with gruesome consequences

### 5.8 Drug Enforcement Administration:

**Origin:** According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2021), the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs was established in 1968. In its infancy, the organization was made up of agents/personnel from the Federal Bureau of Narcotics treasury department, the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control (Food and Drug Administration), and the Department of health, education and welfare.

“The Drug Enforcement Administration was established in 1973 by the merger of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence, elements of the United States Customs Service involved in drug

trafficking intelligence and investigations, and the Narcotics Advance Research Management Team” (U.S. Department of Justice, 2021). The Drug Enforcement Administration (2012) wrote that the DEA is the world's most prominent drug enforcement institution and the only federal agency with a single mandate committed to drug law enforcement. The men and women of the DEA use unique operational and intelligence skills to identify, investigate, disrupt, and destroy large drug trafficking organizations and those who enable them, remove drugs and dangerous criminals from our communities, and combat licit drug diversion. “Specifically, the DEA enforces all federal laws about the illegal sale, distribution, manufacture or use of drugs. This includes enforcement of the **Controlled Substances Act**, or CSA, which is the main federal drug policy under which the manufacture, importation, possession, use and distribution of certain substances is regulated” (Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA): History, Role & Purpose, 2014).

- **Drug Enforcement Administration priorities:** According to the Drug Enforcement Administration (2012), the vision for the DEA includes the following seven priorities:
- To disrupt and destroy all drug trafficking Transnational Organizations and their networks, including TCOs that use drug trafficking proceeds to fund narco-terrorism.
- To target Transnational Criminal Organizations' financial infrastructure.
- Prevent pharmaceutical controlled substances and listed chemicals from being diverted from lawful routes, including the Internet, while ensuring an adequate and continuous supply of medicinal, commercial, and scientific needs.
- “Improve information collection and distribution to foresee shifts in trafficking trends, identify all components of significant drug supply organizations, and support counterterrorism effort” (Drug Enforcement Administration, 2012. p, 1).
- To maximize the impact of our global operations, the Drug Enforcement Administration must strengthen its relations with national and international institutions fighting the drug war.
- To support drug rehabilitation and prevention initiatives to curb the spread and use of drugs in the United States.
- To develop future DEA leaders who represent the rich, diverse American society.

### **Drug Enforcement Administration's role in the drug war:**

In chapter 2, Baker (1987) wrote, "The federal Drug Enforcement Administration has primary responsibility to investigate all drug violations, and the F.B.I. is making a significant impact by directing investigative efforts at those drug organizations that control major segments of the illegal drug markets". The investigator found through evaluation and analysis that the DEA and FBI have worked together in the pursuit of dismantling and ceasing drug trafficking and distribution. These organizations have been able to work together effectively and efficiently because they share and promote the same values concerning the drug war and drug trafficking, respectively. The DEA and FBI both strive to protect American citizens at all costs. Both Organizations fight the drug war to protect the state from drug distribution and trafficking. They collect information to track down and raid Transnational Criminal Organizations and target confiscating their assets and finances from the illegal drug trade. Both organizations despise Narco-Terrorism and would do anything to abolish it in its entirety. In Chapter 2, The Federal Bureau of Investigation (n.d.) wrote that, in most cases, we collaborate with the Drug Enforcement Administration and Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Forces across the country". The FBI and DEA support each in combating the drug war. The D.E.A.s role in the "War on Drugs" is to decrease, limit or eliminate drug smuggling, trafficking, cultivation, and distribution of illegal drugs into the United States. The investigator did not include examples of the D.E.A.'s role in fighting the drug war because he believed that it would deviate from the question asked, which is what is the role of the FBI, DEA and CIA in the "War on Drugs", which needs the role all these prestigious organizations play and not examples.

### **Drug Enforcement Administration's Criticism:**

"The DEA was created in 1973 to combine federal drug enforcement resources into a "superagency." It has been a massive waste of resources over the last 50 years, leaving a trail of disaster in the United States and worldwide" (Drug Policy Editors, n.d.). Many critics and sceptics believe that the Drug Enforcement Administration has abused its power and authority in combating the drug war, just like the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In addition, it is believed that the DEA has continuously engaged in illegal operations, not considering the civil liberties other people have; it has singlehandedly stacked American prisons, faced scrutiny over racial disparities and

the targeting of the minor/marginalized communities, and lastly, it has failed to achieve its goals and objectives which were to decrease and demolish the drug supply of drugs into the United States. It has since perpetuated the drug pandemic, making drug Cartels and Transnational Criminal Organizations untouchable. The criticisms include but are not limited to the following:

According to the Drug Policy Editors (n.d.):

- They are wasting taxpayers' funds, which the study has constantly reiterated. In 2020 more than \$3,1 billion was spent on the DEA alone.
- The Drug Enforcement Administration fuelled mass incarcerations and racial disparities. Non-white people made up more than 75% of those convicted of federal drug charges in 2019.
- Abuse of power and authority.
- Paid Massive amounts to informants, who worked without supervision and oversight. It is claimed that the DEA in 2016 paid over 18,000 informants, a sum of \$237 million over five years.
- Lack of Results. The study discussed and explained how trafficking is still terrorising the United States after billions of dollars are utilized yearly to combat drug trafficking.

### 5.9 Central Intelligence Agency:

**Origin:** According to History.com Editors (2017), the Central Intelligence Agency, or CIA, is a United States government agency primarily responsible for obtaining intelligence and international security information from foreign countries. In chapter 2, the study mentioned that according to Pringle (n.d.), the Central Intelligence Agency was established in 1947 and came out of the World War II Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.). Furthermore, History.Com Editors (2017) reported that the United States government's first large-scale institutional incursion into spycraft began during World War II in 1941 when the Japanese army bombed Pearl Harbour. It is believed that Naval intelligence, a subdivision of the U.S. Navy, had reportedly cracked the Japanese code and spotted irregular, suspicious activity in Hawaii with the Federal Bureau of Investigation's assistance.

The U.S. government lacked a centralized intelligence agency that could decipher, analyse and report findings to the army of aid in the war. Through this, former President Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced a new agency focused on gaining intelligence, named the “Office of Strategic Services (OSS)”, and appointed war hero General William J. Donovan as the head of the new department. After President Roosevelt's death, Truman took over his post and abolished the Office of Strategic Services. The United States got into the cold war, and the president felt the need to reintroduce the Office of Strategic Services with a total rebrand. “In 1946, President Truman formed the Central Intelligence Group and the National Intelligence Agency. Then, in 1947, Congress passed the National Security Act, establishing the National Security Council and the CIA as we know it today” (History, 2017).

- **The Central Intelligence Agencies’ priorities:**

The Central Intelligence Agency is divided into four directorates responsible for different duties regarding information collection from abroad. According to Pringle (n.d.), these are the following directorates and their respective functions:

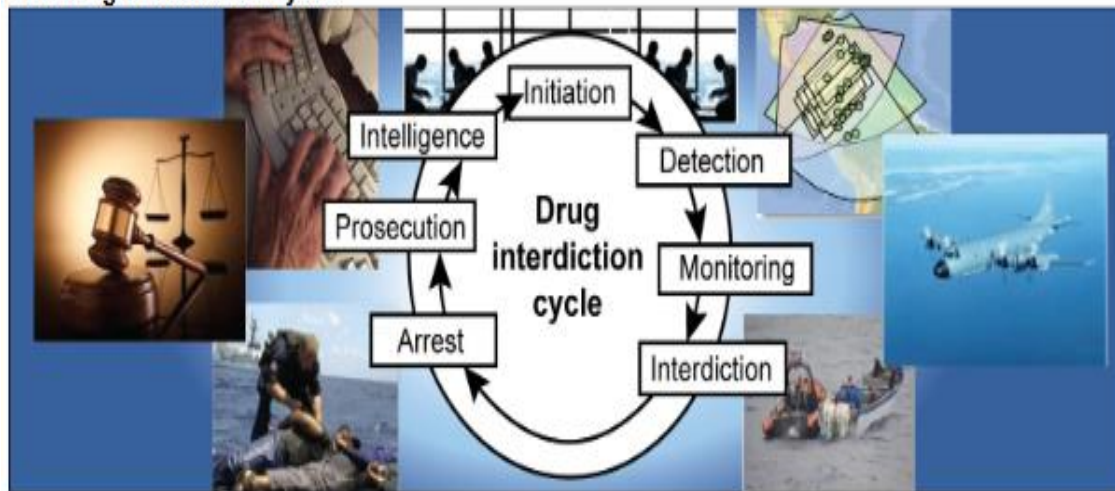
- **The Intelligence Directorate:** evaluates and examines intelligence obtained overtly from sources such as the news media and covertly from agents in the field, satellite imagery, telephone, mobile phone, and other types of communication eavesdropping.
- **The Directorate of Operations** oversees spying assignments such as espionage. The CIA also carries out covert operations under various disguises using the invisibility cloak utilized by other secret service institutions.
- **The Directorate of Science and Technology:** this directorate is responsible for keeping the CIA up to date concerning scientific and technological breakthroughs and utilizing reconnaissance satellites to coordinate intelligence that is helpful to the agency. Lastly, the Directorate of Science and Technology manages and supervises international media outlets. In conclusion, the Directorate of Science and Technology is responsible for creating information intercepting and spying satellites that provide the division and intelligence with the required information.
- **The Directorate of Administration:** “oversees the CIA's budget and employees. It also houses the Office of Security, which oversees the protection of personnel, facilities, and information, as well as finding spies within the CIA” (Pringle, n.d.).

### 5.9.1 The Central Intelligence's Role in the drug war:

The Central Intelligence Agency was criticised for its minimal support and aid in the “War on Drugs” campaign. Gerth (1990) states that William Webster was hell-bent on changing past patterns on accusations that the C.I.A. was less invested in aiding the F.B.I. and D.E.A. in fighting the drug war. In the chapter, the investigator briefly mentioned the role of the CIA. The following list will report findings of the role played by the Central Intelligence Agency:

- The C.I.A., led by Webster, established a counternarcotics division intending to assist in drug enforcement, which it describes as a “serious problem.”
- The Central Intelligence Agency utilizes technology to investigate drug trafficking operations and drug money flows.
- The C.I.A. implemented the use of high-tech to analyse and evaluate the movement of transnational criminal organizations to investigate further the illegal money movements made from the profits of illicit drug sales.
- The CIA investigates data on the global drug trade, including drug production, drug distribution, and drug trafficking into the U.S.
- The Central Intelligence Agency also provides the Drug Enforcement Administration and The Federal Bureau of Investigation with research information on organized crime while analysing drug trade and drug consumption patterns.
- Isikoff (1989) reported that Director William H. Webster established an anti-drug section that would "provide analytical and operational support" in fighting the drug war.
- The Anti-Drug division was responsible for dismantling and destabilizing drug trade trends to cripple drug cartels' infrastructure while tracking down the illegal proceeds from drug trafficking.

## The Drug Interdiction Cycle



Source: GAO analysis of agency documentation; Joint Interagency Task Force South (photos); GAO (photo) | GAO-18-10

Figure 1.15 illustrates the Drug Interdiction Cycle Method.

The Central Intelligence Agency uses a similar method to target Transnational Criminal Organizations and gives the Drug Enforcement Agency along with the Federal Bureau of Investigation for prosecution since the CIA does not have the jurisdiction to prosecute offenders.

### Criticisms of the Central Intelligence Agency:

- The CIA was criticised for its inconsistent analysis and failure to identify significant events like the breakup of the Soviet Union and the inability to predict and report the Iraqi revolution.
- The CIA has been accused of misleading and misinforming the public and Congress. An example of this would be the Watergate scandal
- The Central Intelligence Agency has been accused of Cocaine-trafficking in Nicaragua to fund other rogue military operations.
- The CIA's method of attaining or getting information is believed to be malicious and ruthless, which many citizens, scholars and sceptics deemed immorally wrong and unethically.

## 5.10 What is the level of cooperation between the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico?

All the states involved in combating the drug war share a very respective and cooperative relationship that has allowed all parties involved to join forces in their quest to eradicate and demolish the drug business. In chapter 2, Hunt (2021) stated that the United States of America provided monetary support in appropriating \$3.3 billion to the Merida initiative implemented by the Mexican government to fight the drug war at a time Mexican Cartels were growing in influence and power. The Merida initiative focused on the reinvention of the Mexican security forces by allowing them to purchase high-end U.S. Army weapons, including black hawk helicopters. The United States and Mexico have had some apparent success through their joined humanitarian interventions, and the Merida initiative has seen the arrests of many drug kingpins. It has seized hundreds of thousands of drugs, whether it be Cocaine, Meth, Marijuana, or Heroin, while also confiscating capital generated from the selling, distribution and trafficking of illicit drugs.

Furthermore, Hunt (2021) wrote that supporters of the Merida initiative and other policies implemented by the Mexican and U.S. governments have seen growing praise from U.S. officials and the Mexican government whilst citing examples of cooperation to target drug traffickers and cartel leaders. According to Lee (2017), the “War on Drugs” campaign is believed to have been the beginning of U.S. – Colombia relations. The United States also shared a respective and amicable relationship as both states joined forces to take down the Medellin Cartel and Pablo Escobar, The Cali Cartel and Norte del Valle Cartel, which were dominant figures in the drug trafficking business.

### 5.10.1 Colombia and the United States of America’s relations in the “War on Drugs.”

Colombia and the United States of America share amicable yet strategic rational relations, which have assisted both states in fighting the drug war. Since Colombia’s rise and dominance in being the supplier of illegal narcotics not only for the United States but the whole world, the U.S. took it upon itself to initiate, adapt, and execute counternarcotics strategies that would result in the demise of the drug business led by Colombia and Mexico who are referred to as the manufacturer, and transit countries respectively.

In the literature review section, the Congressional Research Service (2014) claimed that Colombia's dominance in the illicit drugs trade has resulted in strong ties between the states in the last two decades, supporting the researcher's claims of strategic relations with a shared objective. Plan Colombia and its successors significantly focused on countering illicit drug trading and later terrorism which led to a drastic growth in sustainable development and trade (commerce) within the region. Beittel (2014) claimed that the United States of America further appropriated over \$12 billion to Plan Colombia and its successors through the Department of Defence. The study found that Colombia significantly benefitted from the initiation and implementation of these U.S. counternarcotics strategies or policies. The researcher understands that relations cannot be defined by capital. However, both states utilized the money appropriated for assistance to build reliable and strategic ties that shared common goals and objectives, which in this instance was the decrease and obliteration of the illegal drug market that affected human capital, and finances in states as the illicit drug business was and still is dramatically decreasing the GDPs of the affected countries. Conditions predominantly known for trafficking drugs know no peace as there is constant turmoil and vicious killings, from gang wars to turf wars, to disappearances of civilians etc. Colombian and American ties were reliable during the specified period (2010 – 2020). Still, they saw a slight decrease as changes in government and administration came with new national and foreign policies that might affect preceding affairs.

### **Plan Colombia and the drug war.**

In the literature review section, Lippe (2014) claimed that Plan Colombia was a six-year effort launched in 1999 to combat high-level illicit drug trafficking and promote long-term development. The government of then-President Andrés Pastrana and the United States Consultation executed this program and plan. Beittel and Lippe (2014) argued that Plan Colombia received its fair scrutiny and criticism as it was a polarizing topic that many scholars, instructors, experts, and citizens believed Plan Colombia failed to achieve its core objectives. Furthermore, the study found that Plan Colombia drastically failed to decrease cultivation levels and trafficking rates objectives it set out before implementation and execution.

(Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2008) claimed that Plan Colombia had two goals: (1) to lower and decrease severe levels of drug cultivation and trafficking by 50% in the first six years and (2) to restore security in territories controlled by drug traffickers by recovering control of such regions. According to the United States Government Accountability Office (2008), the government expended roughly \$812 million in the first operating years of Plan Colombia in the battle against illicit narcotics. Colombia's government invested 1.2 per cent of its GDP between 2000 and 2008.

In the literature review section, Figure 1.9 Estimates the Potential Cocaine Production in Colombia, 2000-2013. Figure 1.9 supports the alleged accusations that Plan Colombia failed to decrease the levels of cultivation and manufacturing within the first six years of its implementation. Meja (2016) indicated that Colombia effectively lowered Coca cultivation from 160 000 hectares in 2000 to 48 000 hectares in 2013. Marks (2002) and Marcella (2003) noted that Plan Colombia corresponded with increased military and police forces sponsored primarily by the state. The exponential rise of Plan Colombia coincided with the election of former Colombian President Alvaro Uribe in 2002. The newly elected president ramped up anti-guerrilla measures through his democratic security policy. According to reports, between 1999, when Plan Colombia was implemented, and 2010, the state's police and military forces doubled in size, and the funding allocated to combating the drug epidemic and mass deaths due to the drug war tripled.

The researcher believes that Plan Colombia and its successors showed and proved to the world that Colombia and the United States, in combatting their illegal drug war, gained each other's trust and an efficient amicable, yet strategic relationship. Colombia and the United States are old foes with a vibrant, shared history that has recently lost contact. When looking at the concepts of sovereignty and self-preservation, one must understand that what Colombia and the U.S. went through is both compelling and courageous, mainly because ending the illicit drug market in its entirety seems impossible. Yet, both states took it upon themselves to trust each other and combat the illegal drug business. Sovereignty can be defined as having supreme power or authority in one's land, whilst self-preservation is self-protection against destruction or harm.

The kind of relationship between these two states is beyond just amicable ties but one that is deeply rooted in trust. In explaining that statement using sovereignty and self-preservation, if both states

shared unfriendly relations, Colombia would not have allowed the U.S. access and allowed them to operate, implement, and execute their counternarcotics policies along with them mainly because of sovereignty that no state has the right or jurisdiction to intervene or meddle in another state's affairs/territory. The same could be said about the United States, which chose to ignore the core principles of self-preservation; illicit drugs are harmful. The United States could have closed borders and combat by assisting their citizens but decided to help Colombia in trying to alleviate and cut off the root cause of the problem, which in this instance is Colombia, which manufactures the illicit drugs for most states to then traffic, distribute, and sell.

The UN Human Rights Council (2011) discussed the threats and tragedies with Plan Colombia, stressing that most crop eradication and fumigation tactics were ineffective in reducing drug cultivation because most of these zones/regions were ungoverned. The horrific and brutal killings of around 3,000 innocent citizens believed to be militants by Colombia's military and police came along with significant scrutiny and criticism from the Colombian population. Plan Colombia, as underlined by the United Nations Human Rights Council in their report, failed to address the core causes of Colombia's conflict and rising drug trafficking. The study found that the reason for Colombia's failure, along with U.S. assistance and consult, was because of the Balloon Effect, which argued that the illegal drug business's destruction and obliteration seem near impossible because of three things; (1) Drug production is displaced to avoid interference and interdiction from the police and military. (2) The illegal drug business is a continuous ever-evolving system that can and is adaptive to whatever changes brought about by personnel, drug production strategies or operation changes. For example, TCOs might prefer to diminish or decentralize the drug production process. (3) the number of people willing to risk their lives to earn a piece of the pie is astounding, as poverty and the social conflict theory are the leading cause of new combatants joining the illicit drug business.

#### **Plan Patriota, National Consolidation Plan and Peace Colombia:**

In the literature review section, figure 1,10, which is an illustration of U.S. Aid to Colombia since Plan Colombia's inception, provided estimates backed by the Department of Defence and Congress that approximately from 2000 to 2013, the United States has appropriated over \$8,9 Billion in military/police assistance to economic/institutional aid.

According to Isacson (2012), after the 9/11 heinous attacks, the U.S. government decided to expand Plan Colombia's concentrated militaristic scheme of combatting illegal drugs only but also adopted a more offensive and brutish boots-on-the-ground strategy. Furthermore, Isacson (2012) claimed that Congress authorized legislation allowing the US to assist Colombia's government in its fight against armed organizations, primarily the FARC and ELN, two Marxist guerrilla groups formed in the mid-1960s. Figure 1.10, which depicts US aid to Colombia, demonstrates that Plan Patriota was begun in 2003 and 2004 with the advice and backing of the US administration. Aid arrived in the form of intelligence and instruction on fighting the drug war while confronted with the famed FARC and ELN rebel organizations. Plan Patriota surged over southern Colombia with the full force of Colombia's military and the help of the United States. The tactic worked, as the Bandas and guerrilla multinational criminal groups were forced to flee the Colombian forests. The United States' numbers and airpower proved overwhelming. The study found through extensive research that Colombia, along with its police, military, or the United States, had not planned for the aftermath of removing the FARC and ELN guerrilla groups from ungovernable rural Colombia. The study found that Colombia had to fully integrate the intractable areas and the newly consolidated zones into Colombia's urban and metropolitan advanced areas to improve mainly their living standards and security and increase protection so those lands are not occupied by drug traffickers responsible for illegal drug cultivation in the future.

### **National Consolidation Plan.**

Congressional Research Service (2014) wrote that the National Consolidation Plan was created to help the government coordinate its operations in areas where marginalization, narcotics trafficking, and violence intersect. Washington Office On Latin America (2012) stated that the National Consolidation Plan was introduced as the concept of "consolidation" was coined for a new strategy and approach designed by then defence minister now President Jan Manuel Santos and vice-minister Sergio Jaramillo. The Colombian government consulted and further deliberated with the United States Congress and U.S. Embassy to select the zones most ridden by narcotics trafficking. That was ungoverned in the rural areas to consolidate with state presence. The National Consolidation Plan was the successor of Plan Colombia. The continuous support for countering the illegal cultivation, trafficking, distribution, and sale of illicit narcotics highlighted the overwhelming support from the United States to its drug and crime-ridden counterpart, Colombia.

It proved their relationship was strategic yet amicable as shared objectives/goals aligned with both states' interests.

Furthermore, according to Isaacson (2012), the National Consolidation Plan zones were chosen based on the frequency of armed group activity, the unmet need for essential social services, and the presence of coca plantations or use as a "corridor" for drug or weapon trafficking. The National Consolidation Plan focused on including and integrating the consolidated zones into Colombian life, intending to improve ungoverned rural regions, ensuring adequate security, enhancing living conditions, and combating the drug trafficking enterprise. The study found that Angelo (2020) backed up Isaacson's (2012) claims that once the FARC and ELN multinational criminal organizations evacuated the ungoverned and newly consolidated zones, the Colombian government sent out security task forces along with the military/police to protect and enforce laws in the newly reduced zones which included government agencies from the development, housing, and education national departments. The researcher believes this new approach formalised the reintegration and inclusion of the once-disadvantaged communities in the consolidated zones.

Furthermore, Angelo (2020) highlighted that the Colombian Strategic Development Initiative assisted and promoted Colombian Peace and the demobilization of intense drug trafficking in rural regions. The CSDI provided United States assistance and aid to fill gaps in the Colombian govt. Programs. According to Angelo (2020), the CSDI officially coordinated the efforts of USAID, the State Department's Narcotics Affairs Section, the U.S. Military Group, and the Department of Justice at the U.S. Embassy in Colombia to aid Colombia in implementing and executing the Consolidation Plan by expanding state presence and furthering development/economic opportunities in newly consolidated zones. Like its predecessors, the Colombian National Consolidation Plan implemented brutish and pragmatic drug interdiction programs, extensive drug raids, plant fumigation in cultivation zones, and alternative sustainable development initiatives in consolidated areas and exponentially growing the state's police department, military, and judicial sector. In the literature review chapter, the study through the USAID/Colombia (2014) found in an announcement made by the govt. That the FARC rebel organization that had terrorized Colombia through mass drug trafficking and the Colombian Government had reached a peaceful resolution to their protracted conflict. The researcher believes there was a shift in policy and attitude from US aid and the Colombian government, which chose to support Colombia in post-

conflict planning and defending Colombia's vulnerable ethnic groups. The United States Aid nation plan for 2014-2018 predicted a peaceful resolution and more significant development.

### 5.10.2 Mexico and U.S. Relations in the “War on Drugs”.

The United States of America and Mexico, like Colombia, share amicable and strategic relations that align with each other's interests. The study seeks to explore the level of cooperation between the states and, as a result, has found that all three countries have assisted and aided each other through monetary, govt. Policies and aggressive efforts in their quest to alleviate illegal drug trafficking. Seelke and Finklea (2017) argued in a Congressional Research Service report that for more than a decade, violence conducted by rival criminal gangs had compromised citizen security and administration in portions of Mexico. Transnational Criminal Organizations began to dominate Mexico as fatalities, crime, and the illicit drug trade increased tremendously. According to Heinle, Ferreira, and Shirk (2017), while illegal drug trading and trafficking have long been prevalent in Mexico, there has been an increase in the number of Multinational Criminal Organizations fighting for territory, local markets, and narcotics trafficking routes, resulting in a staggering 109,000 killings and approximately 30,000 disappearances related to the drug trade business in Mexico.

The researcher found that Mexico's TCOs have been viciously and maliciously committing crimes against humanity in their quest for universal domination and having more power, territory, and capital generated from the illicit narcotics trafficking business. The study has provided figures that support those claims. The main reason why this was conducted was to try and investigate thoroughly if the United States is winning the drug war, analysing in great detail the “War on Drugs” campaign and questioning factors like the amount of drug availability, drug arrests, the role the three American federal institutions play in combatting the drug war and lastly to evaluate the level of cooperation between the three states (Colombia, Mexico, and United States) and reach a probable hypothesis. The study has found that the relations, as stated before in previous chapters, between Colombia, Mexico, and the U.S. have been cooperative and strategic in a sense that the relations all the countries share were or are supposed to be beneficial toward all state's interests which will be highlighted later by analysing the “War on Drugs” and the “Rational Choice Theory” which according to Ganti and Anderson (2021), the rational choice theory states that people use

logical calculations to make reasonable judgments and achieve results that are consistent with their aims. These results are also related to maximizing one's self-interest.

In the literature review, Flannery (2017) emphasized Mexico's ongoing illicit substance trafficking problem by claiming that drug-related murders and deaths hit a new peak in President Felipe Calderon's tenure in early 2017. Although ties between the United States and Mexico have deteriorated recently, the countries have cooperative strategic relations that have tackled illegal drug trafficking through the Merida Initiative and a Bilateral pact. According to a Congressional Research Service study (2017), the US government provided \$2.8 billion to Mexico for the Merida Initiative to combat illicit drug trafficking. In addition, the Mexican government has set up nearly \$100 billion to bolster national security. According to Felbab-Brown (2017), democratically elected President Enrique Pena Nieto is committed to reducing mass violence and fatalities associated with illegal drug trafficking in Mexico. While the new President pledged a different strategy, sceptics remained unconvinced of the Mexican government's method of killing the leaders of Transnational Criminal Organizations, which resulted in territorial battles due to the Balloon effect.

In the literature review section Ahmed (2017) and La Rosa (2017) emphasized the Mexican government's incapacity to address the state's high-profile crimes, which featured a wide range of horrible acts committed by Multinational Crime Organizations. To mention a few, these cases featured previous governors and high-ranking government officials implicated in corruption. State police and security staff have gone missing. Extrajudicial deaths topped the list as the new administration of President Enrique Pena Nieto was plagued with flaws. Furthermore, it was stated that the Mexican government failed to safeguard its journalists and human rights activists, who were targeted for silence by Transnational Criminal Organizations. There was also rising fear that the Pena Nieto administration was spying on its citizenry, particularly journalists and human-rights advocates. "Congress is still funding and overseeing the Mérida Initiative." The 115th Congress authorized \$139 million for the Mérida Initiative in the FY2017 Consolidated Appropriations Act" (Seelke and Finkle, 2017. p, 2). The Merida Initiative has played an essential part in Mexican American relations since support from their neighbours has helped them battle the drug war. The

Trump administration recommended that the Merida project funds be reduced by 38% from the previous year, amounting to \$54 million. Figure 1.11 in the literature review depicts the estimated number of organized crime-related killings in Mexico since the implementation of the Merida Initiative. Figure 1.11 demonstrates that organized crime killings increased from Felipe Calderon's presidency term in 2006, when an estimated 1000 people were killed, to 2007, when an estimated two thousand or more people were slaughtered. As the Merida project gained traction in Mexico, the number of anticipated organized crime-related deaths fell to 2,000 individuals in 2008. Estimated organized crime-related fatalities in Mexico increased dramatically between 2009 and 2011.

**President Enrique Peña Nieto's security strategy:**

Presidencia de México (2012), former President Enrique Peña Nieto prioritized economic reforms while downplaying the purposeful and deadly violence that erupted in Mexico. Former President Peña Nieto recommended a security plan to combat illicit drug trafficking that was both discreet and destructive, focusing primarily on drug lords. Peña Nieto's government felt that targeting leaders of Transnational Criminal Organizations and high-ranking officials would eliminate and destabilize Mexico's illicit drug trade economy. In the literature review section, Ferreira and Shirk (2017) argued that former President Peña Nieto's democratic security plan included the following measures: (1) Planning, (2) Prevention, (3) Human rights protection and respect, (4) careful coordination, (5) Institutional change, (6) Evaluation and monitoring.

**The Merida Initiative and Mexico's continued fight against illegal drug trafficking.**

According to Seelke and Finklea (2017), President Felipe Calderon took office in Mexico in 2006. Calderon's goal became to identify and eliminate multinational criminal enterprises operating within Mexican borders. Furthermore, according to the Congressional Service Report, Calderon requested assistance from former President George W. Bush. The US government promised Mexico \$36.7 million to tackle illicit drug trafficking. According to Meyer and Seelke (2015), the United States of America and Mexico unveiled the Merida initiative in October 2007. According to the Government Accountability Office (2016), the Mexican government's primary aims for the Merida Initiative were to eliminate and counter corruption and crime within Mexico. The United States of America has vowed to reduce and eventually eliminate the illicit drug traffic and illegal

gun market from the United States to Mexico. Both governments tasked with achieving these goals fell well short of their targets. According to the Government Accountability Office, 70 per cent of illegal guns collected in raids and border security from 2009 to 2014 originated in the United States. According to Rosen (2017), the first phase of the Merida Initiative allowed the United States of America to purchase equipment for the Mexican military and police.

In the literature review section in chapter 2, the study discussed through providing Rosen's (2017) statement that the first phase of the Merida Initiative allowed the U.S. to purchase destructive and efficient weaponry for Mexico. The study found through extensive academic research that approximately \$590.5 million was spent by the U.S. and Mexico in their initiative (Merida) in peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions. According to Rosen in the publication Human Rights Issues: Security Forces Vetting ("Leahy Laws"), the US government supplied Mexico with the following support and assistance:

1) Narcotics control, border protection, and counterterrorism, 2) Law enforcement and public safety and 3) Institutionalization and the rule of law. The study found that all of the measures of help and support were contingent on Mexico enacting the "Leahy Laws." According to Rosen (2017), the United States Congress withheld 15% of the cash committed to helping the military and federal police. "In 2011, authorities from the Obama Administration and the Calderón government modified the strategy behind the Mérida Initiative" (Seelke and Finklea, 2017. p, 9). Furthermore, the priority of the Merida Initiatives was changed such that institutional development was preferred before the transfer of technology. Economic growth and community-based social projects Since 2011, building the rule of law while defending civil freedoms, part of pillar two, has been given the most significant funding. Figure 1.12 illustrates the Four Pillars of the Merida Initiative, highlighting the following:

The investigator, through detailed and thorough research, found that the International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE), Economic Support Fund (ESF), and Foreign Military Financing (FMF) combined pledged \$48,1 million in the fiscal year 2007. In 2008 the three agencies INCLE, ESF and FMF further appropriated approximately \$400 million. In 2009 the FMF, INCLE, and ESF pledged \$460 million in police and judicial sector training, prison reform, forensic equipment and training, and cross-cutting human rights programs. In FY 2010, all federal agencies pledged a mighty \$639,2 million through the Merida Initiative to fund Mexico in their

quest against alleviating the illegal drug business and TCOs. In 2011 \$143 million was pledged from the ESF, INCLE, and FMF. In the fiscal year 2012, the three agencies pledged approximately \$281.8 million in their continued support of Mexico against the Mexican Cartels. In 2013 the ESF, INCLE, and FMF pledged and appropriated a total of \$222.2 million combined. The United States of America continued to support Mexico in their fight against illegal drug trading by pledging approximately \$178.1 million in funds from the ESF and ICLE in 2014. In 2015 ESF and INCLE promised about \$143.6 million for vigorous policing interdiction and raids toward TCOs. In 2016 the ESF and INCLE paid \$39 million and \$100 million, respectively. In the fiscal year 2017, the ESF and INCLE pledged an estimated \$49 million and \$90 million, respectively. The Economic Support Fund (ESF) pledged approximately \$284 million.

In comparison, the International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE) pledged an estimated \$2,033.2 billion, and the Foreign Military Finance pledged approximately \$428.7 million, respectively. The ESF, INCLE, and FMF pledged \$2,745.9 billion. In 2018 a total of \$85 million was requested from both the ESF and INCLE by the U.S Congress. through the Merida Initiative. The study found that a total of \$1.6 billion has been paid to Mexico, which in the author's understanding, showed their continued support. The researcher found through the White House (2016) that coordination improved from 2013 to 2016, following a brief gap when President Peña Nieto took office. Furthermore, both Presidents Obama and Peña Nieto emphasized the importance of the Merida project, and both committed fully to upholding the four pillars depicted in figure 1.12. Although the judicial system was prioritized for reform, it lacked the power to aid in combating the country's corruption, illegal drug trafficking, and organized crime. The north and south borders, which drug traffickers frequent, were targeted for change in the justice system. According to Tillerson et al. (2017), the four-pillar strategy is technically still in place. Still, former President Trump's administration chose to argue for a more limited, anti-drug policy involving less foreign aid from the United States. The main goal of destabilizing and dismantling the illegal drug trade and organized crime brought about by Transnational Criminal Organizations was emphasized during these discussions and deliberations.

The study found through interpreting published material by Seelke and Finklea (2017) agreed with Rosen that any help was contingent on Mexico enacting the aforementioned "Leahy Laws." According to Seelke and Finklea (2017), by setting constraints on Merida Initiative assistance, the

US Congress has attempted to promote and execute efficient programs that prevent human-rights breaches and impunity in Mexico. Furthermore, Seelke and Finklea (2017) raised points made by Rosen (2017), claiming that as the US Congress imposed "Leahy Laws" that subjected Mexico to pass human-rights violations, 15 per cent, as stated by Rosen, was withheld from the fiscal year 2008 to 2015, constantly vetting Mexican authorities and use of supplied aid. The researcher believes that the "Leahy Laws" was an affirmative action plan that failed to decrease human-rights violations and civil liberties as deaths in Mexico imposed by drug gangs and Transnational Criminal Organizations did not cease but increased due to turf wars, mass killings and other illegal activities within the state. The researcher found that Seelke and Finklea (2017) reported that in the fiscal year 2015, the United States Congress pledged and appropriated an additional \$28.6 million on top of the requested amount, demonstrating that the United States and Mexico relations were solid and cooperative through financial assistance schemes and foreign policies (Consolidated Appropriations Act (P.L. 115-31)) that ensured funds were available to assist Mexico. Most of the funds were allocated to judiciary system reforms and the southern Mexican border, which organized crime groups primarily use to bring illicit narcotics into the United States.

The study found through continued analysis of Seelke and Finklea (2017) that under President Obama's tenure, an additional \$20 million was appropriated in the fiscal year 2016 beyond the proposed \$119 million. According to Seelke and Finklea (2017), the Consolidated Appropriations Act passed into law on May 5, 2017, includes \$139 million for the Merida Initiative, which is \$10 million more than President Obama sought. The International Drugs and Law Enforcement (INCLE) financial aid was to be used to counter illicit drug smuggling by Cartels as well as to lower the high levels of organized crime, corruption, and impunity inside Mexico, according to the Consolidated Appropriations Act. In addition, the financial aid offered by the United States Congress through the International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE) was also intended to reduce the flow of heroin, fentanyl, and cocaine into the U.S. Furthermore, the researcher found that according to Isacson (2017), the US Congress deliberated on the committed and allocated funding for the Merida project throughout the fiscal year 2018. In the fiscal year 2018, former President Donald Trump's government sought to reduce initial assistance to Mexico while focusing on security. The previous President's Administration sought \$85 million in funding for the fiscal year 2018. Isacson (2017) noted that the \$85 million asked was 38.8% less than the

planned fiscal year for 2017 and then allowed the 2016 budget for the Merida Project. The United States Congress is now considering reducing financial aid and participation in the Merida Initiative. The investigator believes that the continued support from U.S. Congress, although waning, shows initiative and amicable ties between the United States of America and Mexico.

#### **The Merida Initiative and Its Four Pillars:**

"The new strategy was built on four strategic goals, or "pillars" (Olson and Wilson, 2010). The four-pillar approach addressed both short-term and long-term security concerns created by organized crime in Mexico, according to the Mexico Institute (2017) study. In chapter 2 of the literature review Olson (2017) reported that the Merida Initiative, through achieving its objectives (short-term and long-term), focused on improving and strengthening intelligence coordination to arrest TCOs high, ranking officials, or one might say drug kingpins through cutting-off virtual criminal networks they have, smuggling routes, confiscating the capital generated from the sale of illicit narcotics, and illegal firearms utilized by organized crime groups. The 21<sup>st</sup>-century border built ensured that border security would prevent drug smugglers from illegally entering the U.S. through the South-West border, which Transnational Criminal Organizations predominantly use. Pillar 4 of the Merida Initiative fought to empower communities in marginalized areas that lack economic and educational opportunities.

*Table 3: Represents the four pillars of the Merida Initiative and expands on figure 1.12, which illustrates the Merida Initiative along with its four pillars briefly.*

Pillar 1: Disrupting Organized Crime from Transnational Criminal Organizations.	Pillar 2: Institutionalizing the Rule of Law.	Pillar 3: Building a 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Border.	Pillar 4: Building a Strong and Resilient Community.
Improving counterintelligence and intelligence sharing with Mexico within the Merida initiative.	Supporting institutions that continually combat drug trafficking.	Implementing strict borders to control the outflow of drug trafficking from Mexico to the United States.	Empowering community members to stand against organized crime and high levels of drug

			trafficking in Mexico.
Disrupting the illegal trade of narcotics within Mexico.	Introducing Justice reforms within the justice sector to improve the rule within Mexico.	Risk Segregation	Investing in drug and violence prevention institutions within Mexico.
		To reduce the illegal outflow of drugs whilst allowing legitimate commerce to occur drastically and efficiently.	Targeting the Transnational Criminal Organizations.

### 5.10.3 Rational Choice Theory and the “War on Drugs” campaign.

In chapter 3 of the theoretical framework, the researcher introduced the Rational Choice Theory and believes it is suitable for this research study as it explains the relationship between the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico. The theory justifies why these states share amicable yet strategic relations. According to Ganti and Anderson (2021), the rational choice theory states that people use analytical calculations to make reasonable judgments and achieve results consistent with their aims. These results are also related to maximizing one's self-interest. Given the limited alternatives available, the rational choice theory is expected to yield outcomes that provide individuals with the most benefit and enjoyment. In simplifying the above statement, the study found that the United States, Colombia, and Mexico have common enemies. Through this, all states used rational decision-making like introducing and implementing counternarcotics strategies/foreign policies that combat the excessive use, manufacturing, trafficking, distribution, and sale of illicit narcotics within their states and outside borders. In joining forces to fight the illegal drug trade, Colombia, Mexico, and the U.S. have shared interests that will achieve individual state interests. According to Ganti, Anderson, Amadae, and Rodgers (2016 and 2021),

the notions of rational agents, self-interest, and the invisible hand are typically associated with rational choice theory. The researcher believes that the Rational Choice theory explains and justifies why states in the international political (U.S., Colombia, and Mexico) arena have decided to join forces to combat illegal drug trafficking around the globe. This has been explained thoroughly in the theoretical framework section.

#### 5.10.4 Globalization in the drug war:

“Globalization refers to the increasing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations as a result of cross-border trade in commodities and services, technology, and flows of investment, people, and information” (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2018). Globalization in this context refers to a shrinking world whereby state relations are essential to having prosperity, economic growth and expansion, influence, and persuasion around the globe. The researcher believes that globalization and interconnected systems in contemporary global politics it has created a diverse, ever-changing, and innovative market that has allowed Transnational Criminal Organizations to produce drugs at a high level and use different routes through technological advancements to distribute and traffic into states or intended markets. Globalization has also increased human connectivity through an online presence system where systems like the “Black Market” are used to sell high-end arms, drugs and other illegal commodities.

According to Nisar-ul-Haq (2004), globalization can differ regarding theoretical frameworks. The following list will differentiate the different types of beliefs according to theories:

- **Realism:** Globalization, according to Realists, does not affect the most crucial element of international politics, namely. The territorial division of the world into nation-states. It is believed that Globalization also increases the inter-connectedness of states to a level that states become reliant on one another. The drug war in this context allowed the U.S. to seek assistance from Colombia and Mexico while offering aid to other states suffering from the consequences of the drug trade business. Featherstone (1990) argued that nations retain sovereignty in this context, and globalization does not render the battle for political power between states obsolete.

- **Liberalism:** The scenario is drastically different for Liberals. They typically see globalization as the culmination of a long-running revolution in global politics. Globalization, as liberals argue, severely challenges Realist theories of world politics by demonstrating that states are no longer the key actors they once were, as other significant non-traditional actors like Transnational Criminal Organizations or multinational cooperation now hold more than traditional states.
- **World Systems theory:** The belief is that Globalization is a fraud, according to World-System Theorists. It is not particularly novel and is only the most recent stage in the evolution of international capitalism.

The researcher believes it is essential that readers are introduced to the Globalization theory before explaining the concepts of diplomacy and extradition, which are significant in determining if the level of cooperation is good or bad among all states.

#### 5.10.5 Diplomacy and Extradition

According to Marks et al. (n.d.), diplomacy is the accepted method of influencing other governments' and peoples' decisions and behaviour via dialogue, negotiation, and different nonviolent ways. In chapter 2 of the literature review, diplomacy was defined as “a process between individuals (diplomats, often representing a state) who operate within a system (international relations) and participate in private and public communication (diplomacy) to accomplish peaceful aims” (McGlinchey, 2017). The study has concluded that there is a chain of events or theories interlinked with one another that provides the answer that the study is searching for regarding the level of cooperation between all states. The researcher noted that extradition is a peaceful act of diplomacy because states engage in dialogue, influence, and persuade one another that a specific person or people should be extradited to the country where they committed their crimes, which in this context could be organized crime or drug trafficking. Extradition is the official procedure by which one state surrenders an individual to another state for prosecution or punishment for crimes committed within the jurisdiction of the requesting nation, according to Masters (2020). It is often accomplished through a bilateral or multilateral treaty. To clarify, a

bilateral treaty is one in which two states join an agreement, whereas a multi-lateral treaty is one in which two or more parties agree.

In chapters 2 and 5, the study mentions various individuals from Colombia and Mexico extradited to the United States because of the crimes committed in those states. To name the most significant drug traffickers apprehended recently, “El Chapo,” Mr Guzman was arrested in Mexico for his involvement in the illegal drug trafficking business. He was later extradited to the United States. "A federal judge in Mexico refused an appeal by Mr Guzmán's attorneys to halt the Extradition, opening the way for his transfer to American authorities in New York, where he faces several indictments for his position as the Sinaloa cartel's head. On Thursday, Mr Guzman boarded an aeroplane in Ciudad Juárez, near the border with Texas, and landed in the United States on President Obama's final night in office (Ahmed, 2017) ". Another significant Colombian drug kingpin who was recently arrested for illegal drug trafficking and operating a massive Transnational Criminal Organization is Dario Antonio Usuga David. His alias is “Otoniel”, one of the biggest Colombian drug traffickers in the modern era after Pablo Escobar. Mexico and Colombia have extradited many drug kingpins to the United States for incarceration because the states share good relations.

Figure 1.14 in the literature review section shows the Number of Extraditions from Mexico to the United States from 2010 to 2020. Figure 1.14 will be discussed thoroughly and attached in the appendix for the reader’s access. However, the principal investigator could only find Mexican-United States extraditions due to limitations in the research study's methods and methodologies section. In 2010 94 extraditions between the United States and Mexico were officially recorded. In 2011 there was a minimal decline in numbers as there were 93 extradition cases compared to the 94 registered the previous year. In 2012 there was a slight increase as approximately 115 people were extradited from Mexico to the United States, signalling a peaceful and efficient relationship between both states. In 2013 a measly 54 individuals were extradited to the U.S. from Mexico, which amounted to half of the 115 people deported in the previous year due to a change in government and presidency as new counternarcotics strategies were adopted. In 2014 66 people were extradited to the United States, showing a steady increase in numbers from the previous year. In 2015 the steady rise in extradition cases grew to 69 people. In 2016 the gradual increase continued as 79 offenders were extradited to the United States for their illegal activities conducted

in the United States. In 2017 57 people were recorded in extradition-related cases, according to the United States Department of Justice. In 2019 the extradition cases took a low decline, and 58 people were deported to the U.S. In 2020, 60 people were deported to the U.S., on estimate.

### 5.11 Conclusion:

In summation, the chapter thoroughly and in great detail, if the United States of America has won or failed in its fight against the drug war by examining the number of drugs trafficked into the United States and also looking at the number of drug arrests within the Colombian and Mexican Cartels. The study focused its attention on the number of drug arrests which clearly shows the availability of drugs cultivated, distributed and trafficked. The research study then moved to answer the question of the roles played by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Central Intelligence Agency. The study then discussed rational choice theory, extradition, and diplomacy to achieve and maintain amicable yet efficient relations in answering the level of cooperation question asked in the study. The study will move on to deliberate the next chapter, which strictly focuses on the conclusion and recommendations.

## 6. Conclusion and recommendations

### 6.1 Introduction

This section will provide a distinguished conclusion of the paper and future recommendations regarding this specific line of inquiry. This chapter highlights how the drug war has been a failure that needs to be ceased due to its continued failure through the use of pragmatic and power politics approaches. The section will summarize what role the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Central Intelligence Agency have played in assisting U.S. Congress in their quest against illegal drug manufacturing, trafficking, distribution, and sale. The Federal agencies have employed counternarcotics strategies that have provided security intelligence, mass drug raids, Transnational Criminal Organizations apprehension, confiscating illegally obtained capital from cartels and cutting off networks and drug smuggling routes. Lastly, the section will provide a summary of the level of cooperation between the United States, Colombia, and Mexico by analysing their relations and drug prohibition policies like Plan Colombia and the Merida Initiative, which signalled the continued support between all the states as they have committed themselves in trying to alleviate and dismantle the illegal drug market which they have failed continuously to achieve. It is fair to say through extensive evaluation and

providing evidence on the drug war that the “War on Drugs” campaign implemented by former President Richard Nixon in 1971 was and still is a chaotic and drastic failure as the drug war has perpetuated the marginalization of minority groups, led to mass killings and disappearances in states like Colombia and Mexico as human rights activists, journalists, elected state officials have been killed mercilessly by Transnational Criminal Organizations. Though all of this has occurred, the drug war failed to achieve its objectives fifty years ago. Furthermore, drug use, drug availability, drug overdoses, and drug-related killings have increased, and the danger/consequences that come with trafficking illegal drugs has resulted in price increases for illicit narcotics.

## 6.2 Conclusions and Recommendations.

### 6.2.1 Is the United States Winning the War on Drugs?

In summation, the United States of America failed to cease and alleviate the illicit drug business in its entirety. The study found that some short-lived successes and victories were quickly surpassed by the balloon effect that allowed Transnational Criminal Organizations to displace their operations to different locations in a specific region whilst avoiding police interdiction and apprehension. Cooper and Ferreira (2015) argued that drug raids and the harsh interdiction of Transnational Criminal Organization leaders are futile and requested that all states focus on a more positive soft approach as apprehending TCO leaders results in the immediate change of personnel and change of location. However, the illegal drug business continues to thrive.

Stemen (2017) further raised alarming statistics regarding the racial disparities imposed by the drug war arrests, claiming that out of every 100,000 African Americans, 828 were indicted on drug-related offences, whilst Caucasian Americans accounted for 339 out of 100,000. The study can conclude that the drug war can be blamed for the high drug arrests for marginalized communities/minority groups in the United States as national policies like the three-strikes laws allowed govt. Agencies and state police to be harsher toward first-time offenders. The objective of the drug war was to annihilate and obliterate the illicit drug business never succeeded as drug availability, drug overdoses, drug-related crimes, and deaths continued to wreak havoc in societies, and this has been thoroughly discussed in the discussion/analysis section. The drug war also had mass implications regarding its financing and economics. U.S. Congress utilized taxpayer’s capital

to fund this horrendous and catastrophic endeavour labelled the drug war. It is believed that since the drug war's inception and implementation, it has cost the U.S. \$640 billion.

The illegal drug trade business is worth more than \$330 billion globally. When looking at those estimates, who is winning the drug war? The Transnational Criminal Organizations or the American government waged a brutal war against drugs. Looking at the numbers of drugs trafficked into the United States from either Colombia or Mexico, whether it be Cocaine, Marijuana, heroin, or Methamphetamine, there is a decrease in manufacturing, trafficking, distributing, and selling. This has, in return, resulted in the growth of the illegal drug empire as recruits see this business as a way out of poverty; as the Social Conflict Theory discussed, the unequal distribution of resources has led to alarming rates of organized crime, illicit drug trading, mass killings, and disappearances of innocent civilians. The more dangerous and difficult it becomes to traffic these drugs into their intended markets increases more demand for the product. It is time to admit the drug war campaign had great intentions but poor execution by U.S. Congress, Mexican govt., and Colombian govt. Should all States reconsider their harsh pragmatic approaches as drug cartels continue to dominate proceedings in these states?

**Recommendations:** The researcher believes that the United States, Colombia, and Mexico should adopt the same strategy implemented by Portugal, which has seen drastic and practical success. Portugal initiated and executed the decriminalization of illicit drugs policy which has since had immeasurable success. The decriminalization of illegal substances policy promoted the individual's well-being and saw the continued abuse of illicit narcotics as merely a disorder and not a crime, allowing citizens to attend rehab and other treatment centres. The United States has recently tried to adopt prevention and treatment programs, decreasing drug prohibition, harsh policing and interdiction funding. This has been discussed in chapter 5 of the study, and figures/graphs/tables were provided to show the success Portugal has seen through implementing this policy. The author is not suggesting ceasing combatting the illicit narcotics business but simply pleading for a different approach.

### 6.2.2 What role did the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, and Central Intelligence Agency play in combatting the illicit narcotics trade?

In summation, the three American federal agencies all contributed equally to assisting the United States in its quest to obliterate illicit drug trafficking within the States and outside borders. According to Baker (1987) 1), the FBI was and still is responsible for conducting effective, coordinated investigations against significant drug trafficking organizations nationwide by seizing and forfeiting their substantial profits and assets. 2) expanding and enhancing the existing drug intelligence base. 3) Identify common trends and projections of organized drug-trafficking activities nationwide. 4) The FBI concentrated their designated resources on the primary drug centres. 5) Provide more significant assistance to local law enforcement agencies through the shared property and asset seizure program.

D.E.A. (2012) claimed that the Drug Enforcement Administration played a significant role in fighting the illicit trading of narcotics by disrupting and destroying all drug trafficking Transnational Organizations and their networks, including TCOs that use drug trafficking proceeds to fund narco-terrorism and targeting Transnational Criminal Organizations financial infrastructure among other things. History.Com Editors (2017) argued that the Central Intelligence Agency was and still is primarily responsible for obtaining intelligence and international security information from foreign countries. In this context, the CIA collected and received intelligence for the U.S. government to utilize when fighting Transnational Criminal Organizations through harsh police interdiction, mass drug raids, seizing illegal drugs/firearms from cartels, and confiscating illegally gained capital. It can be argued that the FBI, DEA, and CIA played a significant role in the drug war. Whether the three federal agencies were successful in their endeavours requires further research by other drug war scholars.

**Recommendations:** The investigator believes the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, and Central Intelligence Agency should take a step back and let U.S. Congress initiate and successfully implement the decriminalization of illicit substances act and await further instruction from the current administration.

### 6.2.3 What is the level of cooperation between the United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico?

The United States of America, Colombia, and Mexico share amicable yet strategic ties explained by the Rational Choice Theory, which states that actors with common interests make rational choices that will result in their shared goals being achieved. The researcher has reiterated this point countless times throughout this research study. In the discussion/analysis section, Hunt (2021) stated that the United States of America provided monetary support in appropriating \$3.3 billion to the Merida initiative implemented by the Mexican government to fight the drug war at a time Mexican Cartels were growing in influence and power. The same could be said about Colombia, for whom the U.S. pledged approximately \$8.9 billion since 2000 through Plan Colombia, Plan Patriota, and the National Consolidation Plan that pushed for the destruction and alleviation of the illegal drug business. All these policies, whether Colombian or Mexican, had shared interests of countering illegal narcotics, dismantling Transnational Criminal Organizations, intensifying security in marginalized areas, and empowering communities/nations through friendly, strategic, and efficient relations. In answering the question, all these states, the U.S., Colombia, and Mexico, were cooperative towards each other, as this is seen through extradited people that are discussed in chapter 5. The researcher is by no means claiming that state relations are derived by the amounts of capital one state pledges to another and eventually pays. This study, in particular, explores a deeper connection between all states as the capital provided becomes a means to an end. All states then use the money to achieve their goals.

**Recommendations:** The researcher would advise states included in this research paper to continue sharing amicable and strategic ties as this makes it easier for everyone involved to combat issues, whether it be impunity, civil liberties being violated, mass killings, or organized crime. The states are advised to change their counternarcotics policies and opt for more preventative simply and treatment strategies that view the individual as merely a person suffering from a drug disorder and not a criminal that needs to be incarcerated through criminalizing illicit drug use. Humanitarian interventions are required, and full cooperation from all states makes operations easier and more efficient in achieving set goals and objectives.

### 6.3 Conclusion

This study has discussed in great detail the critical questions of whether the “War on Drugs” initiated and implemented by former President Nixon’s administration policy in 1971 was successful or a wasteful endeavour. The study deliberated the role played by the F.B.I., D.E.A., and C.I.A. in the drug war and closed off by looking at the level of cooperation between the United States of America.

## Reference List

Ahmed, A. (2017). Mexican President Says Government Acquired Spyware, but He Denies Misuse, New York Times.

Akhtar, I. (2016). Research Design. In *Research in Social Science: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (p. 17).

Amadeo, K. (2021) *What Is Structural Inequality?*, *The Balance*. Available at: <https://www.thebalance.com/structural-inequality-facts-types-causes-solution-4174727>.

Angelo, P. (2020). Council of Foreign Relations. *Waiting for Peace: Violence Against Social Leaders in Colombia*. Webinar from the Inter-American Dialogue. Washington, DC. At <https://www.thedialogue.org/events/online-event-waiting-for-peace-violence-against-social-leaders-in-colombia/>.

Bagley, B. M. (1988). Colombia and the War on Drugs. *Foreign Affairs*, 67(1), 70–92. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20043675>

Bass, G. J. (no date) *Jus Post Bellum*, *Princeton School of Public and International Affairs*. Available at: <https://spia.princeton.edu/system/files/research/documents/juspost.pdf>.

Benbaji, Y., (2016). “*Legitimate Authority*”, in *Lazar and Frowe*”. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199943418.013.15.

Blakie, N. (1993). *Approaches to Social Enquiry*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Blumberg, B., Cooper, D.R. and Schindler, P.S. (2005). *Business Research Methods*. McGraw-Hill, Maidenhead.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. (n.d.). “Drug Enforcement Administration”. Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Drug-Enforcement-Administration>. Accessed November 13 2021.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. (n.d.). “Federal Bureau of Investigation”. Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Federal-Bureau-of-Investigation>. Accessed November 13 2021.

Brown, G, D. (2003). Proportionality and Just War, *Journal of Military Ethics*, 2:3, 171-185, DOI: 10.1080/15027570310000667.

Brown, R.B. (2006) *“Doing Your Dissertation in Business and Management: The Reality of researching and writing”*. Sage publications.

Buxton, J. (2006). *The Political Economy of Narcotics: Production, Consumption, and Global Markets*. New York: Zed Books.

Bryman, A. & Bell, E. (2007) “*Business Research Methods*”, 2nd edition. Oxford University Press.

Carpenter, T., G. (n.d.). “*Plan Colombia: The Drug Wars New Morass*”. “Cato Policy Report Vol 23. pp, 11-14.

Caulkins, J. P., P. H. Reuter, M. Y. Iguchi, and J. Chiesa. (2005). How goes the “war on drugs?” An assessment of U.S. drug problems and policy. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1980). *Research Methods in Education*, London: Groom Helm Ltd.

Congressional Research Service (2014) *Colombia: Background and U.S. Relations*. North Charleston, SC: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform.

CNN Editorial Research. (2022). *Mexico Drug War Fast Facts*. [Online] CNN. Available at <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/02/world/amercans/mexico-drug-war-fast-facts/index.html>

Council of Europe (2001-2019). Space Project: Annual Reports 2001-2019. <https://wp.unil.ch/space/space...>

Council of Europe (2001-2019). Space Project: Annual Reports 2001-2019. <https://wp.unil.ch/space/space...>; SICAD (2017). Statistical Bulletin 2017: Illicit Substances. p10. <http://www.sicad.pt/PT/Estatis...>

Council on Foreign Relations. (2017). *What Is the F.B.I.'s Role in National Security?* [online] Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/fbis-role-national-security>.

Count the Costs, The War on Drugs: Creating Crime, Enriching Criminals (London: Transform Drug Policy. (2019), accessed April 27, 2019, <https://transform-drugs.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CTC-Crime-briefing-1.pdf>, 10.

Cooper, H. L. (2015). War on drugs policing and police brutality. *Substance Use and Misuse*, 50 (8/9), 1188 – 1194.

Cooperation Among States: Political, Military & Economic Alliances (2014). Retrieved from <https://study.com/academy/lesson/cooperation-among-states-political-military-economic-alliances.html>.

- Coyne, C. and Hall, A., 2017. *Four Decades and Counting: The Continued Failure of the War on Drugs*. [online] Cato.org. Available at: <<https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/four-decades-counting-continued-failure-war-drugs#>> [Accessed 20 October 2021].
- Crowe et al. (2011). B.M.C. medical research methodology. 11: 100.
- Creswell, J.W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*, London: SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. (2007). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Dai, X., Snidal, D. and Sampson, M. (2010). "International Cooperation Theory and International Institutions," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. London, England: Oxford University Press.
- Delaval, C. (no date) *Cocaine, Conspiracy Theories, and the C.I.A in Central America*, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/special/cia.html>. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/special/cia.html>.
- Demme, T. (2001). *Blow*: New Home Line Video.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP), Dirección de Justicia y Seguridad (DJS), Balance Plan Colombia 1999-2005 (Bogotá, Colombia: Departamento Nacional de Planeación. (2006), <https://www.dnp.gov.co/programas/justicia-seguridad-y-gobierno/Paginas/plan-colombia.aspx>; and U.S. Government Accountability Office.

Department of Justice/ Drug enforcement administration (2020). *Get Smart About Drugs*.  
[online] Getsmartaboutdrugs.com. Available at: <<http://www.getsmartaboutdrugs.com/>>  
[Accessed November 4, 2021].

Designingbuildings.co.uk. (2020). *Desktop Study*. [online] Available at:  
<[https://www.designingbuildings.co.uk/wiki/Desktop\\_study](https://www.designingbuildings.co.uk/wiki/Desktop_study)> [Accessed 1 November  
2020].

Drug Enforcement Administration. (2012). *DEA Fact Sheet*. Available at: [www.dea.gov](http://www.dea.gov).

Drug Enforcement Administration (2014). *History, Role & Purpose*. Retrieved from  
[https://study.com/academy/lesson/drug-enforcement-administration-dea-history-role-  
purpose.html](https://study.com/academy/lesson/drug-enforcement-administration-dea-history-role-purpose.html)

Drug Enforcement Administration. (2016). National Drug Threat Assessment Summary. At  
<https://www.dea.gov/resource-center/2016%20NDTA%20Summary.pdf>.

Designingbuildings.co.uk. (2020). *Desktop Study*. [online] Available at:  
<[https://www.designingbuildings.co.uk/wiki/Desktop\\_study](https://www.designingbuildings.co.uk/wiki/Desktop_study)> [Accessed 1 November  
2020].

Dudovskiy, J. (2018). *The Ultimate Guide to Writing a Dissertation in Business Studies: A Step-  
by-Step Assistance*.

Easterday, Y. (2012). Remarks by Jennifer Easterday. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting  
(American Society of International Law)*, 106, 335–337.  
<https://doi.org/10.5305/procanmeetasil.106.0335>

Ebp-us.com. (n.d). *Economic Impact Analysis / EBP / US*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.ebp-us.com/en/topics/economic-impact-analysis/economic-impact-analysis>> [Accessed 12 November 2021].

EMCDDA (2020). European Drug Report 2020: Trends and Developments. p80. <https://www.emcdda.europa.eu/e...>; *National Statistics and National Records of Scotland* (2020). Drug-related Deaths in Scotland in 2019. p85. <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/...>

Featherstone, M. (ed). (1990). *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London: Sage).

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (N.d.). *What Is the F.B.I. Doing about Drug Trafficking?* <https://www.fbi.gov/about/faqs/what-is-the-fbi-doing-about-drug-trafficking>. Accessed November 13, 2021.

“Fees and F.Y. 2014 Expenses President’s of ... - Justice.gov.” *U.S. Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration*, 2014, <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/jmd/legacy/2014/05/13/few-justification.pdf>.

Felbab-Brown, V. (2017). Hooked: Mexico’s Violence and U.S. Demand for Drugs. *The Brookings Institution*.

Fixdahl (2012) 51. See also Eric D. Patterson, *Ending Wars Well: Order, Justice, and Conciliation in Contemporary Post-Conflict* (Yale University Press 2012).

Flannery, N., P. (2017). Is Mexico Really the World’s Most Dangerous War Zone? *Forbes*.

Fordham, A. (2021). *How the United States Fueled a Global Drug War, and Why It Must End*. [online] Opensocietyfoundations.org. Available at: <<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/how-the-united-states-fueled-a-global-drug-war-and-why-it-must-end>> [Accessed November 8 2021].

Gabriel, A. (2008). The meaning of theory. *Sociological Theory*, 26, 173 – 199.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2008.00324.x>

Gerth, J. (1990) “The C.I.A. And the Drug War: A special report: C.I.A. Shedding Its Reluctance To Aid in Fight Against Drugs,” *The New York Times*. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/25/world/cia-drug-war-special-report-cia-shedding-its-reluctance-aid-fight-against-drugs.html>.

Glanz, K. (2008). Health behaviour and health education: theory, research, and practice. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gloss D (2015). An overview of products and bias in research. *Neurotherapeutics*. 12(4):731–4.

Government Accountability Office. (2016). Firearms Trafficking: U.S. Efforts to Combat Firearms Trafficking to Mexico Have Improved, But Some Collaboration Challenges Remain. Pp, 16-223.

Grant, C. & Osanloo, A. (2014). Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for ‘House’. *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice and Research*, Pp. 12-22 DOI: 10.5929/2014.4.2.9 Inc.

Hayes, A. (2020) *Conflict Theory*, *Investopedia*. Available at: <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp#citation-1>.

Heinle, K. Ferreira, O., R. and Shirk, D., A. (2017). Drug Violence in Mexico: Data and Analysis Through 2016, Justice in Mexico Project, University of San Diego.

Herrera, M. (2020). *Towards an Alternative Approach in U.S. Drug Policy: Perspectives from the War on Drugs to decriminalization*. Master’s degree. California State University, Northridge.

Hess, D. (2004). How to write an effective discussion. *Respiratory care*. 49. 1238-41.

History.com Editors (2010) *FBI founded History*. Available at: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/fbi-founded>.

History.com Editors (2014). *'El Chapo,' the world's most-wanted drug kingpin, is captured in Mexico*. [online] HISTORY. Available at: <<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/worlds-most-wanted-drug-kingpin-is-captured-in-mexico>> [Accessed 11 November 2021].

History.com Editors (2017) *CIA, HISTORY*. Available at: <https://www.history.com/topics/us-government/history-of-the-cia>.

Hudak, J. (2021). *Biden should end America's longest War: The War on Drugs*. [online] Brookings. Available at: <<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2021/09/24/biden-should-end-americas-longest-war-the-war-on-drugs/>> [Accessed 7 October 2021].

Hunt, E. (2021). *The U.S. has spent billions trying to fix Mexico's drug war. It's not working, The Washington Post*. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/03/15/us-has-spent-billions-trying-fix-mexicos-drug-war-its-not-working/>.

Insight Crime.org. (2021). *Urabeños - Gulf Clan*. [online] InSight Crime. Available at: <<https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/urabenos-profile/>> [Accessed November 8 2021].

Interpol, (2021). *Drug Trafficking*, p.12-41.

INTEL.gov (no date). INTEL.gov. Central Intelligence Agency Available at: <https://www.intelligence.gov/index.php/how-the-ic-works/our-organizations/411-cia>

Isacson, A. (2017). Trump's 2018 Foreign Aid Budget Would Deal a Devastating Blow to Latin America. *WOLA*.

Isikoff, M. (1989) "CIA CREATES NARCOTICS UNIT TO HELP IN DRUG FIGHT," *The Washington Post*. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/05/28/cia-creates-narcotics-unit-to-help-in-drug-fight/76f73f4c-6d0b-400b-abd1-19bde1dcb01d/>.

John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips (2011) *Overview of Political Theory*, *Oxford Handbooks Online*. Available at: <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199604456.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199604456-e-002>.

Keohane, R. (1984). *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press) <http://people.iq.harvard.edu/~olau/ir/archive/keo8.pdf>

Kerlinger, F. N. & Lee, H. B. (2000). *Foundations of behavioural research*. 4th Edn. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.

Khamis, A & Kamel, M.,S. & Salichs, M. (2006). Cooperation: Concepts and General Typology. Conference Proceedings - IEEE International Conference on Systems, Man and Cybernetics. 2. 1499 - 1505. 10.1109/ICSMC.2006.384929.

Kielborn (2001) "Characteristics of Qualitative Research." Available at: <https://www.westga.edu/~kielborn/QualitativeResearch.ppt>.

Kovandzic, T. Sloan, J. Vieraitis, L. (2004). "Striking out as crime reduction policy: The impact of 'three strikes' laws on crime rates in U.S. cities." *Justice Quarterly*. 21(2): 207-239. <http://doi.org/10.1080/07418820400095791>.

La Rosa, L., C. (2017). "Award-Winning Journalist Javier Valdez Murdered," Justice in Mexico.

Lawfare (n.d.). *Transnational Criminal Organizations*. [online] Lawfare. Available at: <<https://www.lawfareblog.com/topic/transnational-criminal-organizations>> [Accessed 11

N Lee, G. (2017) *Imperialism by Another Name: The U.S. "War on Drugs" in Colombia, E-International Relations*. Available at: [https://www.e-ir.info/2017/08/22/imperialism-by-another-name-the-us-war-on-drugs-in-colombia/#\\_ftn1](https://www.e-ir.info/2017/08/22/imperialism-by-another-name-the-us-war-on-drugs-in-colombia/#_ftn1).

Laza, S. (2016) *War*, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/war/> (Accessed: November 14, 2021).

Le Chat (2016) *The hallmarks of Scientific Research*, *Le Petite Chat*. Available at: <https://kalyaneynath.wordpress.com/2016/06/02/the-hallmarks-of-scientific-research/> (Accessed: November 15, 2021).

Lippe, S. (2014). *There is No Silver Bullet and Other Lessons from Colombia*. *Interagency Journal*, vol. 5, no. 3

Lovett, F. (2006). *Rational Choice Theory and Explanation*. *Rationality and Society* - RATION SOC. 18. 10.1177/1043463106060155.

Marcella, G. (2003). *The United States and Colombia: The Journey from Ambiguity to Strategic Clarity* (Carlisle, PA: *Strategic Studies Institute*, U.S. Army War College): 20

Marks, T. (2002). *Colombian Army Adaptation to FARC Insurgency* (Carlisle, PA: *Strategic Studies Institute*, U.S. Army War College). 10.

Marks, S. and Freeman, Chas. W. (n.d.). "diplomacy." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Invalid Date. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>.

Masters, J. (2020) *What Is Extradition?*, *Council on Foreign Relations*. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-extradition>.

McGlinchey, S. (2017) *Diplomacy, E-International Relations*. Available at: <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/01/08/diplomacy/>.

Mejía, D. (2016). *Plan Colombia: An Analysis of Effectiveness and Cost..* [ebook] pp.1-17. Available at: <<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/mejia-colombia-final-2.pdf>> [Accessed 14 March 2022].

Merriam-Webster. (2022). Cooperation Definition and Meaning. In: *Merriam-Webster*.

Mexico Institute, (2017). *The Evolving Mérida Initiative and the Policy of Shared Responsibility in U.S.-Mexico Security Relations*. Charting a New Course: Policy Options for the Next Stage in U.S.-Mexico Relations. [online] Wilson Center, pp.1-25.

Mitchell, O. Wilson, D. Eggers, A. and Mackenzie, D. (2012). *Assessing the Effectiveness of Drug Courts on Recidivism: A Meta-Analytic Review of Traditional and Non-Traditional Drug Courts*. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. Volume 40(1). <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S004723311001255>.

Meyer., P., J., and Seelke, C., R. (2015). Central America Regional Security Initiative: Background and Policy Issues for Congress. *Congressional Research Service*. p, 1-33.

National Drug Intelligence Center, 2017. *The impact of drugs on society*. National drug threat assessment/Justice.gov.co.za.

National Institute on Drug abuse, (n.d.). *Commonly Used Drugs Charts* / *National Institute on Drug Abuse*. [online] National Institute on Drug Abuse. Available at: <<https://www.drugabuse.gov/drug-topics/commonly-used-drugs-charts#heroin>> [Accessed November 9 2021].

Nassaji, H. (2015). Qualitative and descriptive research: Data type versus data analysis. *Language Teaching Research*. 19. 129-132. 10.1177/1362168815572747.

Nickerson, C. (2021). *Rational Choice Theory*. [online] Simplypsychology.org. Available at: <<https://www.simplypsychology.org/rational-choice-theory.html>> [Accessed 31 March 2022].

Nisar-ul-Haq (ed.) (2004) *GLOBALIZATION: TOWARDS A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY*. Indian Political Science Association. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/41856059.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A1233cb284237bd12170943b168c6bbae>.

O'Dowd, M. (2020). *Explainer: what is systemic racism and institutional racism?* [online] The Conversation. Available at: <<https://theconversation.com/explainer-what-is-systemic-racism-and-institutional-racism-131152>> [Accessed 8 October 2021].

Olson, E., L. & Wilson, C., E. (2010). Beyond Merida: The Evolving Approach to Security Cooperation,” *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*.

“Organisation, Mission and Functions Manual: Drug Enforcement Administration.” *The United States Department of Justice*, October 8 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/jmd/organization-mission-and-functions-manual-drug-enforcement-administration>.

Pearl, B. (2018). *Ending the War on Drugs: By the Numbers* - *Center for American Progress*. [online] Center for American Progress. Available at: <<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/criminal>

justice/reports/2018/06/27/452819/ending-war-drugs-numbers/> [Accessed 7 October 2021].

Peri, C. (2020). *Heroin*. [online] WebMD. Available at: <<https://www.webmd.com/mental-health/addiction/heroin-use>> [Accessed 10 November 2021].

PEW, (2022). *Drug Arrests Stayed High Even as Imprisonment Fell From 2009 to 2019*. Racial disparities in enforcement narrowed substantially but remained significant. PEW Charitable Trusts.

Piaggio, A. and Vidwans, P., 2019. *CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR ON DRUGS*. New York, NY 10118: Human Rights Foundation Center for Law and Democracy, pp.1-11.

Pollack, H., A. and Reuter, P. 2014. Does Tougher Enforcement Make Drugs More Expensive. *Addiction*. Volume 109(12): 1959-966. <http://doi:10.1111.add.12497>.

Presidencia de México. (2012). Discurso íntegro del Presidente Peña Nieto a la Nación.

Ramdhani, Abdullah & Ramdhani, Muhammad & Amin, Abdusy. (2014). Writing a Literature Review Research Paper: A step-by-step approach. *International Journal of Basic and Applied Science*. 3. 47-56.

Ravitch, S. M. & Carl, N. M. (2016). *Qualitative Research: Bridging the Conceptual and Methodological*. Los Angeles, U.S.A.: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Research, C., (2021). *Mexico Drug War Fast Facts*. [online] CNN. Available at: <<https://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/02/world/americas/mexico-drug-war-fast-facts/index.html>> [Accessed November 4 2021].

- Real Reporting Foundation - Doug McVay, E., (n.d.). *Total Annual Drug Arrests In The United States By Offense Type*. [online] Drug Policy Facts. Available at: <<https://www.drugpolicyfacts.org/node/234>> [Accessed 12 November 2021].
- Rolles, S. Murkin, G. Powell, M. Kushlick, D. Slater, J. (2012) *THE ALTERNATIVE WORLD DRUG REPORT. COUNTING THE COSTS OF THE WAR ON DRUGS*. DOI: ISBN978-0-9556428-3-8.
- Rosen, L., W. (2017) Human Rights Issues: Security Forces Vetting (“Leahy Laws”).
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2012) “Research Methods for Business Students” 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Pearson Education Limited.
- Seelke, C. and Finklea, K., (2017). *U.S.-Mexican Security Cooperation: The Mérida Initiative and Beyond*. Congressional Research Service, pp.1-36.
- Sekaran, U. (2002) *Research Methods For Business: A Skill Building Approach*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons (WIE).
- Siegel, L. (2000). Conflict Theory (From Criminology, Seventh Edition, P 254-284.
- Singh, K. (2007) “Quantitative Social Research Methods” SAGE Publications, p.64.
- Sky News, (2021). *Colombian kingpin ‘Otoniel’ arrested in ‘biggest blow to drug trafficking since fall of Pablo Escobar’*. [online] Sky News. Available at: <<https://news.sky.com/story/colombian-kingpin-otoni-el-arrested-in-biggest-blow-to-drug-trafficking-since-fall-of-pablo-escobar-12442968>> [Accessed 12 November 2021].
- SAMHSA, (2010). Office of Applied Studies, Results from the 2009 National Survey on Drug Use and Health.

Smith, B., (2021). *New Documents Reveal the Bloody Origins of America's Long War On Drugs*. [online] Time. Available at: <<https://time.com/6090016/us-war-on-drugs-origins/>> [Accessed 7 October 2021].

Spacey, J. (2016) *What is Emergent Design?, Simplifiable*. Available at: <https://simplicable.com/new/emergent-design>.

Stahn, C. (2006) “‘Jus ad Bellum, ‘jus in Bello . . . ‘jus post Bellum? –Rethinking the Conception of the Law of Armed Force,” *European Journal of International Law*, 17(5), pp. 921–943.

Stahn, C. and Kleffner, J. (2008). “Jus Post Bellum: Mapping the Discipline(s), in *Jus Post Bellum: Towards a Law of Transition from Conflict to Peace* 105”.

Stahn, C. and Iverson, J. (2020) “Jus Post Bellum and Just Peace,” in *Just Peace After Conflict: Jus Post Bellum and the Justice of Peace*. Oxford Scholarship Online, pp. 1–10.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, (2010). *Results from the 2010 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of National Findings*, NSDUH Series H-41, HHS Publication No. (SMA) 11-4658. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2011.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2017). Results from the 2016 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Detailed Tables (H.H.S. Publication No. S.M.A. 17-5044, NSDUH Series H-52). Rockville, MD: Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Available at: <https://www.samhsa.gov/data/report/results-2016-national-survey-drug-use-and-health-detailed-tables>.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, (2020). *Results from the 2020 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of National Findings*, NSDUH Series H-41, HHS Publication No. (SMA) 11-4658. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2011.

Testability. (n.d.). In *Alleydog.com's online glossary*. Retrieved from: <https://www.alleydog.com/glossary/definition-cit.php?term=Testability>.

The Ethics Centre (2016) *Ethics Explainer: Just War Theory*, *The Ethics Centre*. Available at: <https://ethics.org.au/ethics-explainer-just-war/>.

The White House. (2016). Blog Post: Partnering with Mexico to Combat Crime and Secure Our Borders.

Tillerson, R., W. Kelly, J. Videgaray Caso, L. and Osorio Chong, M., A. (2017).

Transform Drug Policy Foundation. *The Alternative World Drug Report*. Bristol, UK, (2012). At: <http://countthecosts.org/sites/default/files/AWDR.pdf>.

Transform Drug Policy Foundation, (2021). *decriminalisation in Portugal: setting the record straight..* [online] Bristol: Transform Drug Policy. Available at: <<https://transformdrugs.org/blog/drug-decriminalisation-in-portugal-setting-the-record-straight>> [Accessed 2 April 2022].

UN Human Rights Council. (2011). Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Colombia. Geneva.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), (2016). *THE ECONOMICS OF THE DRUG WAR: UNACCOUNTED COSTS, LOST LIVES, MISSED OPPORTUNITIES*. Open Society Foundations.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, (2018). *Drug Trafficking: a \$32 billion business affecting communities globally*. UNODC publishers.

United States Sentencing Commission, (2020). F.Y. 2016 through F.Y. 2020 Datafiles, USSCFY16-USSCFY20.

UNODC (2015). World drug report 2015. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

USAID/Colombia. (2014). Country Development Cooperation Strategy 2014-2018, *A Path to Peace*.

U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Table K200201: Race, (2019), accessed Oct. 7, 2021, <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=percentage%20race%202019&tid=ACSSE2019.K200201>.

U.S.C. Libraries. (n.d.) *Organizing Your Social Sciences Research Paper*. Retrieved from <http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/literaturereview>.

U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, (2000). *National Drug Threat Assessment*. DEAIntelPublications.

U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, (2010). *National Drug Threat Assessment*. DEAIntelPublications.

U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, (2011). *National Drug Threat Assessment*. DEAIntelPublications.

U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, (2013). *National Drug Threat Assessment*. DEAIntelPublications.

U.S Department of Justice/ Drug Enforcement Administration, (2017). *National Drug Threat Assessment*. DEAIntelPublications.

U.S Department of Justice, (2020). *National Drug Threat Assessment*. D.E.A.'s Strategic Intelligence Section.

U.S. Department of Justice., (2021). *Organization, Mission and Functions Manual: Federal Bureau of Investigation...* Summary: Companion to the National Drug Control Strategy. Washington, D.C., 2014. At: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/ondcp/about-content/fy2015\\_summary.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/ondcp/about-content/fy2015_summary.pdf).

U.S. Embassy in Colombia, (n.d). *Organized Crime Organizations*.

U.S. Government, (2011). Major Illicit-Drug-Producing Nations: Cultivation and Production Estimates, 2005–2009.

U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2008). *“PLAN COLOMBIA: Drug Reduction Goals Were Not Fully Met, But Security Has Improved*.

U.S. Government, Executive Office of the President. FY2015 Budget and Performance.

Torres, A., Mendes, R. et al. (2016). Inquérito Nacional sobre Comportamentos Aditivos em Meio Prisional. Caracterização da população prisional, crimes cometidos e dependências face às drogas, bebidas alcoólicas e jogo a dinheiro. SICAD. p116.

- <http://www.sicad.pt/BK/Estatis...>; Cardoso Torres, A. and do Carmo Gomes, M. (2002). *Drogas e Prisões em Portugal*. Lisboa: CIES/ISCTE. p76. <http://www.sicad.pt/PT/Estatis...>
- Tuomela, R. 2000. *Cooperation: A Philosophical Study*. Cooperation Philosophical Studies Series, ISBN: 0792362012, Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Villa, L. (2021) *Trafficking Statistics, American Addiction Centres*. Available at: <https://drugabuse.com/statistics-data/drug-trafficking/>.
- Walker, L., S. and Mezuk, B. 2018. *Mandatory Minimum Sentencing Policies and Cocaine Use in the U.S., 1985-2013*. BMC International Health and Human Rights. Volume 18(1). <http://doi.org/10.1186/s12914-018-0182-2>.
- War (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). (n.d.). <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/war/>.
- What Is Globalization? And How Has the Global Economy Shaped the United States?* (2018) Peterson Institute for International Economics. Available at: <https://www.piie.com/microsites/globalization/what-is-globalization>.
- What are jus ad Bellum and Jus in Bello?* (2015) International Committee Of The Red Cross. Available at: <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/what-are-jus-ad-bellum-and-jus-bello-0>
- WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA, 2012. *Consolidating "Consolidation"*. Washington, D.C.: Washington Office on Latin America, pp.1-26.
- Wittouck, C. Dekkers, A. De Ruyver, B. Vanderplasschen, W. and Laenen, F. 2013. The Impact of Drug Treatment Courts on Recovery: A Systematic Review. *Scientific World Journal* 2013. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3618932/>.

Yartsev, A. (2016) *Precision of findings: p-value and the confidence interval*, *Deranged Physiology*. Available at: <https://derangedphysiology.com/main/required-reading/statistics-and-interpretation-evidence/Chapter%201.5.0/precision-findings-p-value-and-confidence-interval>.

Yin, R K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2003.