

# II Conferencia Internacional sobre CORRUPCIÓN Y TERRORISMO

Riesgos y Desafíos del Siglo XXI

Hyatt Regency Miami, 22 y 23 de Noviembre de 2005, Miami FL.



**11:15 - 12:00 AM**  
**¿GANARLE LA GUERRA AL TERRORISMO  
SIGNIFICA PERDER LA BATALLA  
EN CONTRA DE LAS DROGAS?**  
**Eduardo Gamarra**  
**Director del LACC de la Universidad  
Internacional de La Florida**



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# Is Fighting Terrorism Undermining the Drug War Effort?

Eduardo A. Gamarra

Director



## Twenty five years after the declaration of the War on Drugs, the policy record is mixed

- Drugs are still widely available in the United States
- Europe is now a significant consumer
- Industry has ability to restructure (balloon effect)
- In the early 80s, the problem affected countries differently: consumer, transit, manufacturing and crop producing nations
- In 2005, nearly every country in the region is affected by every facet of the drug problem
- Severe problems of governability, social unrest, criminality and host of other issues are directly blamed on the proliferation of the drug industry in the region.
- Drug related corruption continues to be pervasive
- Collaboration among nations is greater today than in the past as notion of co-responsibility took hold
- in 2005, cocaine purity levels are declining and that street price is increasing as a result of policy in Colombia.
- Success with new forms of carrying out alternative development programs in Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia
- Except for Colombia, no evidence of linkage between terrorism and drug trafficking.

*The War on Terrorism distracted resources away from the War on Drugs in the Americas, except in Colombia where both logics inter act.*





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### **I. The Socio-Political Context of the War on Drugs**

- The Drug War was declared at the same time as the democratization of the region was getting underway.
  - Stabilization and structural reform
  - Constructing democracy in context of growth of great expectations regarding what democracy could solve,
  - Context of proliferation of illicit activities.
  - State and institutional weakness.
    - Security institutions charged with carrying out interdiction activities.



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## II. Illicit Activities and Democracy

- Illicit activities have been a powerful amplifier of social problems and a destabilizing force in each country involved. Two ways of examining this phenomenon.
  - Impact of illegality itself
  - Impact of policies each country has adopted to combat Drugs.



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# Impact of Illegality/ Illicit Activities

- **Violence and criminality**
  - Organized crime
  - Guerrillas and paramilitary activity
  - Homicides, kidnappings, gangs
- **Environmental impact**
  - De forestation to impact of chemical precursors.
- **Profound social impact**
  - Perverse social logics where illicit activity is considered a social value
- **Impact on political systems**
  - Corruption
  - Distortion of justice systems
  - Influence on elections
  - Influence on social mobilization and ability of State to respond.



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# Impact of anti-drug policy

- **Civil rights**
  - Illegality affects national security
  - Individual impact of policy
  - Introduction of oral trials and accusatory systems.
  - Human rights violations
  - Complex citizenship patterns
  - Introduction of oral trials and accusatory systems despite public rejection of reforms
- **Strengthening of police/ military institutions and administration of justice**
  - Accusations of Impunity of institutions charged with enforcing the law.
  - Militarization of the police
  - Policivization of the armed forces
  - Problematic penal and prison systems





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# Impact of anti drug policies

- Reduced autonomy for policy design owing to international pressure
- The logic of governance and stability sometimes runs counter to the inflexible logic of the War on Drugs.
- Presence of multiple counter drug agencies who sometimes undermine the ability of international programs aimed at institutional strengthening.





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### III. The Current Situation

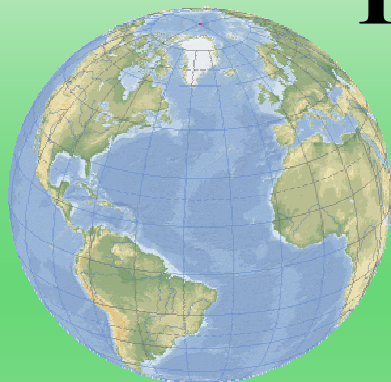
- Price of cocaine in the United States is increasing and purity is declining
- Consumption, production, and drug trafficking affects all countries of the region
- Direct and indirect impact:
  - A close relationship between armed/irregular groups with drug production and trafficking
  - Organized crime is widespread
  - Explosion of criminality in urban and rural zones
  - Explosion of consumption in nearly all countries
  - Corruption of institutions and actors (justice systems, security forces, social and political actors)
  - Erosion of the social fabric of many countries.

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## The cocaine problem



**World Consumption**  
**Continues to Increase**

**1990 = 500 TM      2005 = 640 TM**



**The US proportion of world  
consumption is**

**Dropping**

**1990 = 400 MT      2005 = 300 MT**

**All cocaine is still produced in  
the Andean region**

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## Drug Trafficking and Production Trends in the Andes 2000-2005

•**Colombian** production of cocaine and heroin continues to increase despite aerial spraying program. Impact of coca production has been felt. Linkages between AUC, FARC, and ELN add a level of complexity to the situation there. Nearly all cocaine that arrives in the US is produced in Colombia. Drug Czar Walters announced that for the first time owing to US efforts in Colombian prices of cocaine in the US had dropped and purity levels had declined. Sprayed over 136,000 hectares (more than 300,000 acres) of coca and over 3,000 hectares (some 7,000 acres) of opium poppy. A 33 percent reduction in coca production from the peak-growing year in 2001 has occurred.

•**Ecuador** faces a growing production and transit problem. Major complaint is the presence of Colombia guerrilla organizations. Country is now also seen as a major money laundering center.

**Peru** Trafficking organizations move coca products out of Peru via air, river, land and maritime routes to Mexico, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile and other transshipment points. Opium latex and morphine moved overland north into Ecuador and/or Colombia, where they are collected and converted to heroin for subsequent export to the U.S. and Europe. Maritime smuggling of larger cocaine shipments has become the primary method of transporting multi-ton loads of cocaine base and cocaine hydrochloride (HCl).

**Bolivian** production of coca and cocaine is on the increase as each family is allowed "un cato de coca." Significant political strength of coca growers federations in the Chapare. Very real possibility exists that Evo Morales, the leader of coca unions, could emerge a next president of Bolivia on December 18, 2005. He has already promised to launch a campaign to get UN to take coca off list of dangerous



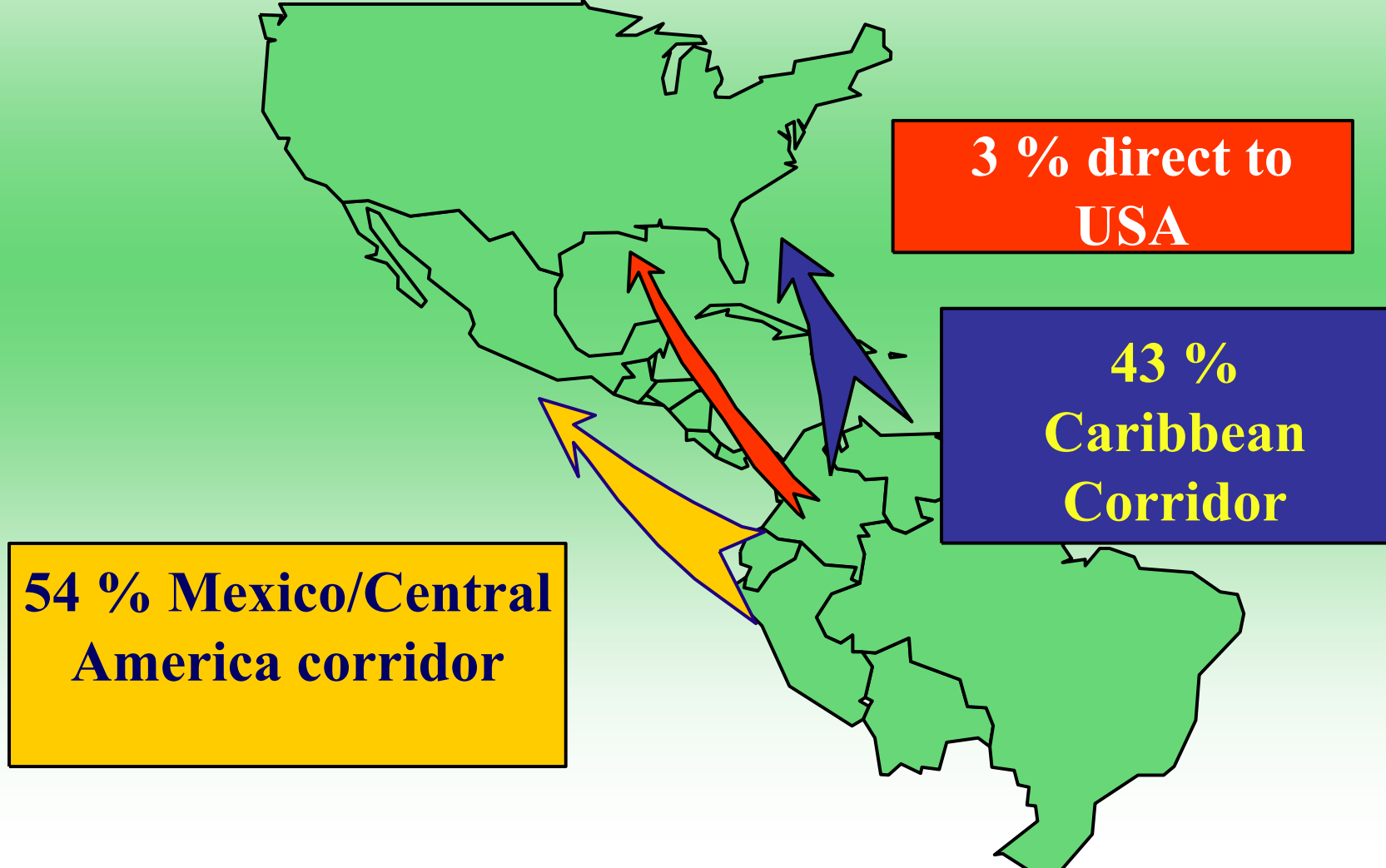


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## **Flow of Cocaine from South America**



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## Trends in Rest of South America

**Argentina** is quickly becoming a major transit country primarily for cocaine (Bolivian and Peruvian) destined for Europe. Colombian heroin destined for New York via Europe also transits through Argentina. Northern Argentina is a consumer of traditional coca and some production results from presence of Bolivia coca. Cocaine and metaamphetamine consumption is on increase in larger cities. Seizures of amphetamines and ecstasy (MDMA) have increased. Due to its advanced chemical production facilities, Argentina is an important source for precursor chemicals. In 2004 a Colombian-run cocaine laboratory was found in the Buenos Aires area.

**Brazil** not a significant drug-producing country; it is a conduit for cocaine base and cocaine HCL moving from Andean source countries to Europe and Brazil's urban centers. Crack cocaine is used among urban youths, particularly in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Smaller amounts of heroin also move through Brazil to the U.S. and Europe. Organized drug gangs, located principally in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, are heavily involved in narcotics and drug-related arms trafficking.

**Chile**, not a center of illicit narcotics production, but remains a transit country for cocaine and heroin shipments destined for the U.S. and Europe. Chile has an internal cocaine and marijuana consumption problem, with Ecstasy continuing to grow in popularity..

**Venezuela** cocaine is smuggled from Venezuela to the U.S. and Europe in multi-hundred kilo to multi-ton lots via maritime cargo containers, fishing vessels, and "go-fast" boats. Multi-kilo loads of cocaine and heroin are routinely smuggled through Venezuela's commercial airports and mailed through express delivery services to the United States. Colombian guerrilla organizations, such as the FARC, ELN, and AUC, move through parts of Venezuela without significant disruption by the Venezuelan security forces.





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## Caribbean

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



Produced by the Cartographic Research Lab  
University of Alabama

**Bahamas:** utilized as a major transit country for cocaine and marijuana bound for the U.S. from South America and the Caribbean. Approximately 20 metric tons of the cocaine trafficked to the U.S. passes through the Jamaica-Cuba-Bahamas vector. Although small plots of marijuana plants have been found in Grand Bahama, Abaco, Eleuthera, Andros and Cat Island,

**Cuba:** Strategic location between Colombia, Jamaica, Bahamas and the U.S. make it a natural transshipment location for drug shipments of cocaine and marijuana. The Cuban government claims that 75 tons of illicit narcotics have been seized inside Cuban territory since 1994, of which 48 tons, mostly marijuana, washed ashore. It is not a significant producer of drugs or precursor chemicals. Small plots of "criolla" marijuana plants are found each year in Havana and eastern Cuba.

**Dominican Republic:** cocaine, heroin, and marijuana destined for the U.S. and, to a lesser extent, Europe transshipped through the DR and its territorial waters. Ecstasy seized in the DR transported from Europe. Once only a transit area it now has serious drug consumption problem, urban crime and major organized crime activity.

**Eastern Caribbean** serves as northbound transshipment points for cocaine and heroin coming from South America; chiefly Colombia, Venezuela, and Suriname. Shipments transported to U.S. by "go-fast" boats although use of fishing boats, freighters, and cruise ships is becoming more common. Direct transport to Europe, and at times to the U.S., is by "mules" (drug couriers) using commercial flights.

**Haiti:** geographical position, weak institutions, and extreme poverty make it ideal for drug traffickers transporting cocaine from South America to the United States and, to a smaller degree, Canada and Europe. Society affected by drug trafficking, gangs, addiction, collapsed state and no law enforcement capability. Has become a key concern for Dominican Republic as drugs now follow immigrants across the border.

**Jamaica:** Jamaica is a major transit point for South American cocaine en route to the United States and also the largest Caribbean producer and exporter of cannabis. 638 miles of coastline and over 110 unmonitored airstrips make it a major transit country for cocaine destined for the U.S. and European (primarily UK) markets as well as the largest producer and exporter of cannabis in the Caribbean. Drug dons may well replace political dons in Jamaica. Marijuana and other drugs make their way to north.



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## Regional Trends: Mexico

- Mexico is the second largest source of heroin (2004 potential of 9 metric tons);
- Largest foreign supplier of marijuana (2004 potential of over 6,000 metric tons)
- A principal exporter of methamphetamine.
- Mexico is also a transit country, an estimated 90 percent of cocaine and large percentage of Andean heroin destined for the U.S. passes through Mexico, as does European ecstasy.
- Some of the world's largest and most powerful criminal trafficking organizations are in Mexico.
- Mexico is a principal channel for laundering and transporting illicit drug profits.



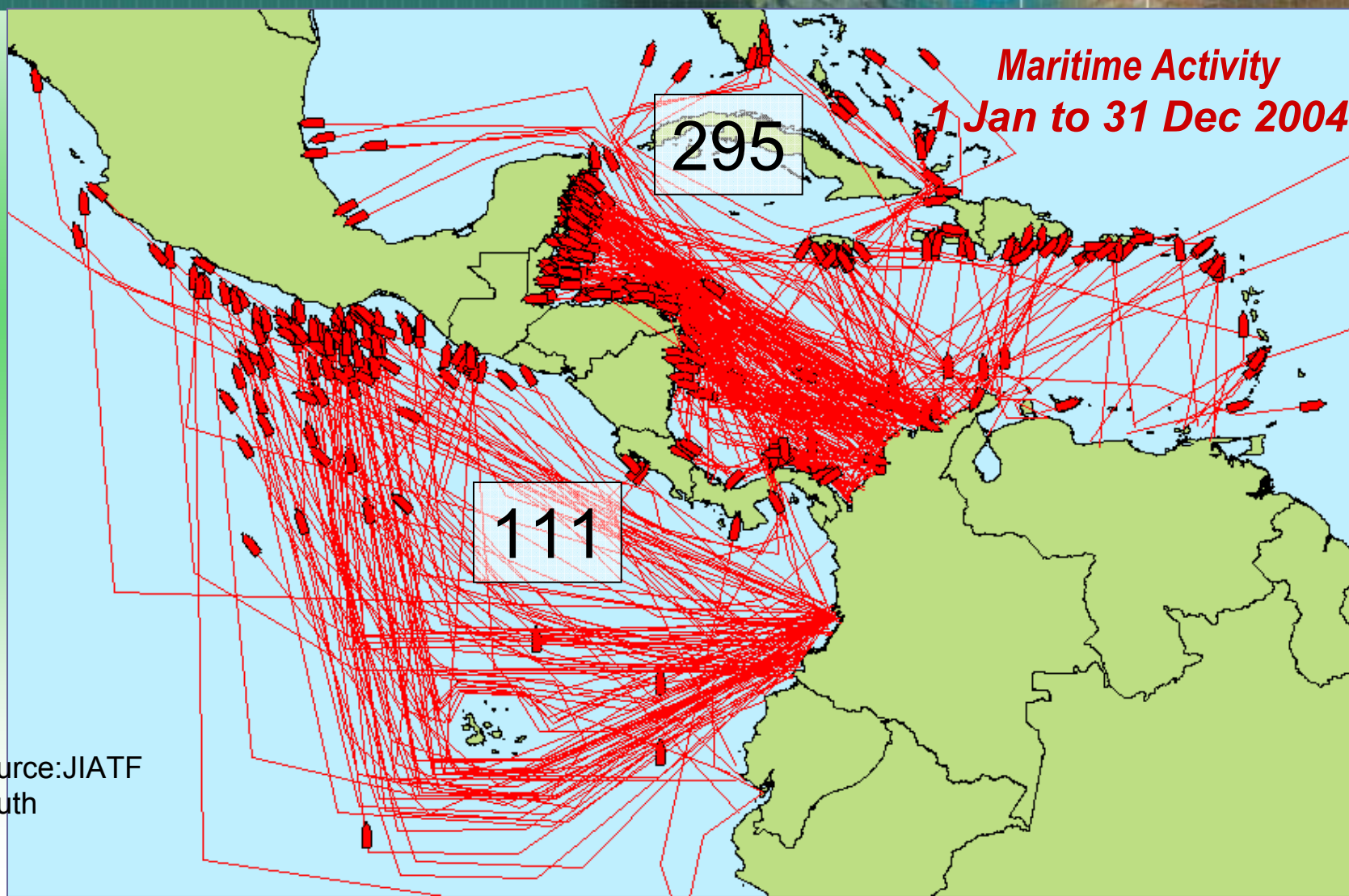




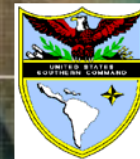
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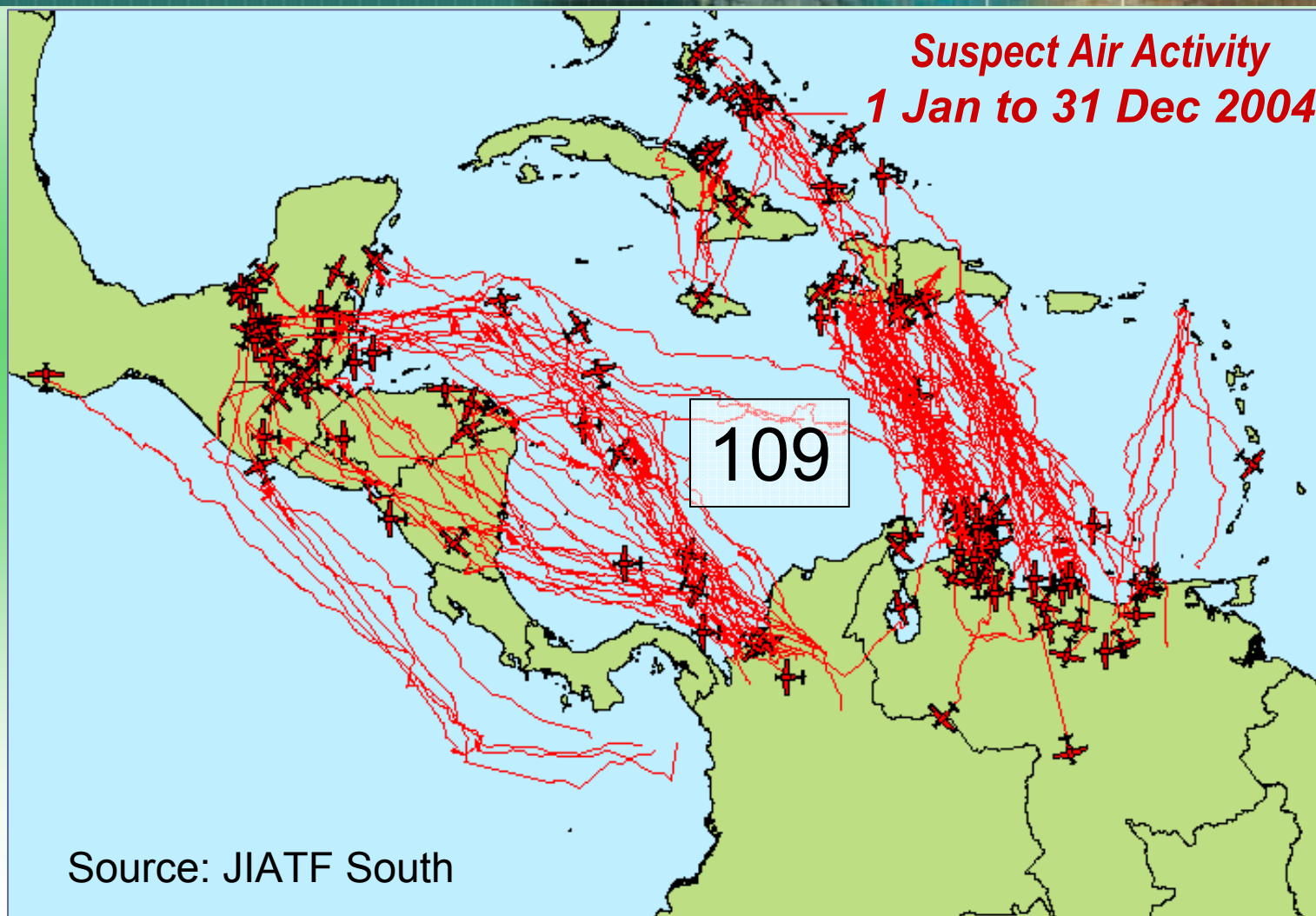
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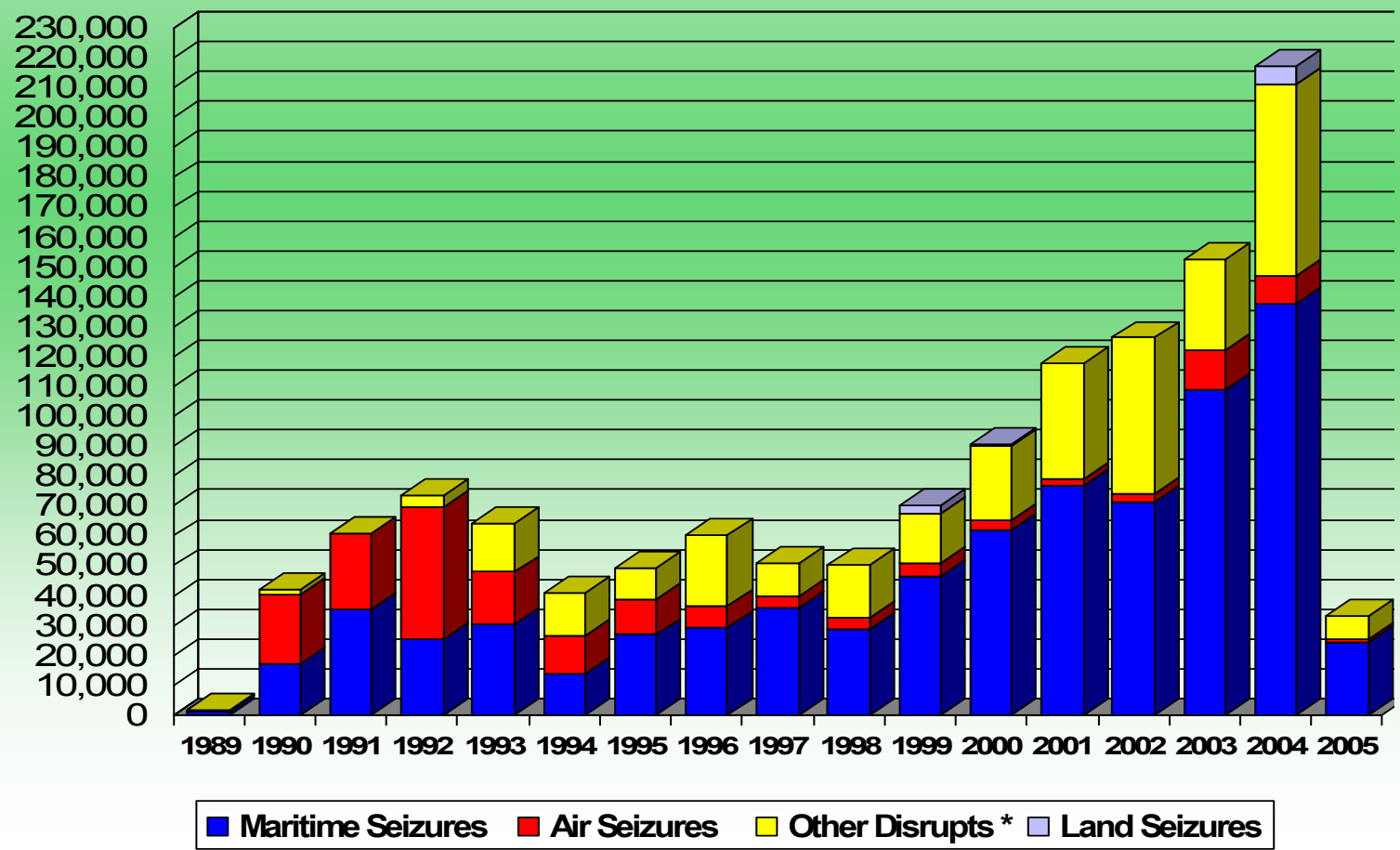




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**Interdiction in the Caribbean**



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## Regional Trends: Central America

- Principal transit zone for drugs headed toward the US.
- El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras have a major Gangs/Maras problem that has resulted in very high levels of public insecurity.
- Nicaragua: Corruption and trafficking in Miskito Coast
- Consumption increases in all countries of the region.
- Laundering of drug proceeds in Panama and elsewhere in Central America.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN







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# Most Probable Scenario

- The drug trafficking situation will remain the same, although trends will vary per country in response to the imposition of counter drug policy.
- Except Colombia and Andean northern ridge, the drugs-terrorism linkage is absent.
- The quality of democracy in the region will be affected both by the growth of the illicit industry and attempts to combat it.
- Current policy will have little impact on the negative or positive trends identified.
- The linkage between counter drug policy and counter terrorism policy will not improve the anti-drug battle but will continue to divert resources away from the Americas.