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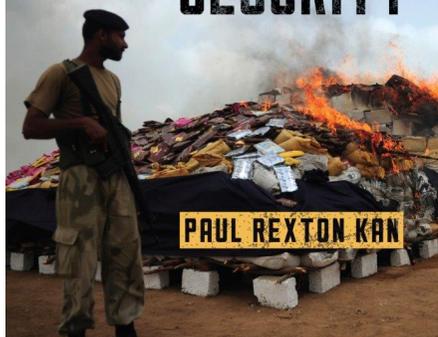### AND INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY

PAUL REXTON KAN

Drug Trafficking and International Security

Peace and Security in the 21st Century

Until recently, security was defined mostly in geopolitical terms with the assumption that it could only be achieved through at least the threat of military force. Today, however, people from as different backgrounds as planners in the Pentagon and veteran peace activists think in terms of human or global security, where no one is secure unless everyone is secure in all areas of their lives. This means that it is impossible nowadays to separate issues of war and peace, the environment, sustainability, identity, global health, and the like.

The books in this series aim to make sense of this changing world of peace and security by investigating security issues and peace efforts that involve cooperation at several levels. By looking at how security and peace interrelate at various stages of conflict, the series explores new ideas for a fast-changing world and seeks to redefine and rethink what peace and security mean in the first decades of the new century.

Multidisciplinary in approach and authorship, the books cover a variety of topics, focusing on the overarching theme that students, scholars, practitioners, and policymakers have to find new models and theories to account for, diagnose, and respond to the difficulties of a more complex world. Authors are established scholars and practitioners in their fields of expertise.

In addition, it is hoped that the series will contribute to bringing together authors and readers in concrete, applied projects, and thus help create, under the sponsorship of Alliance for Peacebuilding (AfP), a community of practice.

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Drug Trafficking and International Security

Paul Rexton Kan

Expect nothing. Prepare for anything.

—Samurai saying

Contents

Preface

This book is dedicated to the current and future generations of students who are interested in studying the underbelly of globalization and its effects on international security. Those of us who study "deviant globalization" need your curiosity, energy, and enthusiasm to help us gain a greater understanding of our world and to help build a more secure future. Of all the qualities required to delve into a subject that encompasses so many quickly evolving topics, the most valuable is intellectual flexibility. My first days as a political science graduate student provided a poor forecast for my future scholarly and practical work. I began my master's program just after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of communism in much of Eastern Europe. The halls and classrooms were filled with rich conversations that left me intimidated for much of my first weeks. I remember one PhD student whose dissertation topic was about East-West German relations being the most worried—was his research interest now more suited for the history department than political science? As for me, I did not expect that studying international relations as a career would lead me to so many different and varied places—Afghanistan, the U.S.-Mexico border, the drug czar's office, Border Patrol stations, FBI vehicles, drug and veterans' courts, and substance-abuse treatment centers. I am extremely fortunate to have had the opportunities to see the policy implications of academic research.

I was also fortunate that an opportunity to write this book would come along. I am extremely grateful to Marie-Claire Antoine at Rowman and Littlefield for encouraging me to contribute a volume and join the well-regarded catalog of titles at the distinguished publishing house. The topics covered in each chapter are attempts to provide the reader with the fundamentals and contexts for continued explorations of the links between the trafficking of illegal narcotics and international security, regardless of one's

intellectual field of study. This book has used concepts and ideas borrowed from political science, history, sociology, criminology, security studies, and even pharmacology as an attempt to give a fuller understanding of the power that drug trafficking has in contemporary international relations.

Because of the well-known generosity and patience of my colleagues, it was not unexpected that I could count on their support as I wrote this book. Among those are Frank Jones, Mike Neiberg, Tony Echevarria, Bill Johnsen, Andrew Hill, Doug Mastriano, and Scott Bertinetti at the Army War College along with Phil Williams at the University of Pittsburgh and Robert Bunker at Claremont Graduate University. The administrative assistants in the Department of National Security and Strategy—Michelle Saville, Leah Hohn, and Tamika Johnson—where I work have been a constant source of support during the writing of this book. Unanticipated help came from the good fortune to be linked with a superb group of interns over the years. They assisted in researching many topics and reviewed substantial portions of the manuscript as it was being written. To Mark Rynne, Jarrell Howard, Patrick Murray (who did great research for chapters 7 and 9), Edward Garibay (who was especially helpful with chapter 7), I say "thank you" not only for your terrific work, but also for helping me learn along the way.

For moral support, special thanks are owed to the friends I have known from my days as a doctoral student in Denver: Shawn Morris, Troy Gagliano, Chris Meskow, Alison Zapata, and Michelle Honald. In my current home of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, I am grateful to Nancy Sneed, Jeanette Moyer, Mike Powers, Erica Briggs, Barb Thomas, and my "Ghost Protocol" buddy, Thomas Laughman. In New Orleans, I am grateful to Cindy and Terry Gagliano as well as Laureen Lentz. In Montgomery, Alabama I am grateful for the moral support of Chrisi Arrighi and her family. Finally, everything and everywhere I have been able to explore would not have been possible without the love and support of family in my home state of Hawai'i—to my mother Elwyn, sister Monique, brother-in-law Kevin, and nieces Janae and Kiani, thank you for your love and support (mahalo i ko'u 'ohana no ke aloha me ke kāko'o).

Chapter One

The Scope and Scale of the Issue

The revelation by China's director of the Ministry of Public Security's anti-drug bureau took many foreign policy experts by surprise. During an interview with a Chinese newspaper in February 2013, Liu Yuejin disclosed that there was once a proposal to use a drone to kill a notorious Burmese drug trafficker, Naw Kham, in Myanmar. Known as the "Godfather of the Golden Triangle," Kham was responsible for killing thirteen Chinese sailors on the Mekong River in October 2011; images of their bound and gagged bodies with execution-style gunshot wounds to their heads went viral on China's Internet. The public outcry placed enormous pressure on the Chinese government to find Naw Kham and bring him to justice. The Chinese government shelved the "execution operation" in favor of using satellite surveillance to find his camp and then relayed the intelligence to Laotian authorities, who subsequently apprehended Kham and extradited him to China for his execution.

Almost a year to the day of the revelation of China's drone plan, Mexican marines using intelligence derived from a joint operation with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) captured the head of the Sinaloa drug cartel, Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman, at his beachside condo in Mazatlan, Mexico. On the run since his escape from prison in 2001, El Chapo presided over a sprawling drug enterprise that spanned from Mexico to the United States, the Andes to West Africa, and Australia to Hong Kong. His personal fortune was estimated to be in the billions; he was named one of the world's wealthiest men by *Forbes* magazine. El Chapo's aggressive tactics against rival cartels in Mexico contributed to the nearly one hundred thousand deaths in that country since 2006. However, his capture in Mazatlan did not curtail his power and wealth; from his jail cell in Mexico's maximum-security pris-

on he was able arrange for his subsequent escape in 2015 and was on the run for six months before being arrested again in 2016.

Though separated in distance and time, both examples reveal how drug trafficking is a routine feature of the international security landscape in a globalized world. Each man—Naw Kham and El Chapo—was in violation of international conventions that prohibit the trade in dangerous drugs. Interpol placed the men on its most-wanted list and issued international arrest warrants, known as "red notices," to member states for their apprehension. Each man was seen as a national security threat by a major world power—China and the United States—that dedicated national resources to engage in manhunts to capture them. Both nations undertook cross-border operations to deal with the drug lords who were apprehended by military troops and ultimately turned over to law enforcement.

These two episodes demonstrate the complicated and convoluted nature of the powerful intersection between drug trafficking and international security. Drug trafficking threatens the interests of a variety of actors in international relations, such as international organizations, states, nongovernmental organizations, and individuals.

> In fact, the drug trade affects both so-called "hard" or military security issues as well as "soft" security issues (such as economic and societal security). In doing so, it practically penetrates the academic security debate: whether security is understood in a traditionalist, state-centered sense focusing on military threats, or in a wider, broader sense encompassing non-state actors and non-military threats, organized crime in general and drug trafficking in particular is an increasingly obvious element of concern in international security—although the political science and international relations debate on security has accorded this phenomenon scant attention. [1]

This book argues that global drug trafficking should be viewed as an international security threat, but not merely as one threat among many. Due to the trade's evolution, it can no longer be studied in isolation. The unique nature of the trade has made persistent threats to national and international security more complex, durable, and acute. In short, there is a drug-security nexus where contemporary drug trafficking intersects with a number of major international security issues such as rogue nations, weak and failing states, intrastate conflicts, terrorism, transnational crime, global health, and cyber security. This nexus makes traditional understandings of international security inadequate. Drug trafficking has transformed the international security landscape by permeating nearly every important aspect of it.

DRUG TRAFFICKING AS AN ISSUE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

International drug trafficking involves the production and distribution of psychoactive substances that are globally prohibited by states and regulatory authorities because of the substances' adverse effects on individual health and public safety. These drugs include marijuana, heroin, cocaine, hallucinogens like LSD, amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) like ecstasy and methamphetamine, as well as a growing array of synthetic drugs. International drug trafficking also includes the diversion of legally produced pharmaceutical medicine for non-medical or non-prescribed uses. This twofold definition of international drug trafficking creates several ways to study the issue.

Scholars and policy makers use a number of approaches to give a context to the ramifications of illicit drug trafficking. Crime studies and criminology examine drug trafficking in the context of an illegal activity that affects communities and law enforcement. Public policy studies focus on debates surrounding the war on drugs paradigm as a method to control the distribution and consumption of illicit narcotics. Comparative politics often analyzes regional or country-specific effects of drug trafficking. Each of these fields makes valuable contributions to understanding the role of illegal drugs in society. However, these fields downplay or overlook the global dimensions of the trade. The United Nations and the International Monetary Fund estimate that illegal drug trade derives $600 billion in annual profit, or the equivalent of the combined GDP of New Zealand, Ireland, and Portugal. As such, it accounts for 7.5 percent of global trade and, if it were a country, it would be eligible for membership in the G-20. However, rather than a source of international stability or global prosperity, the trafficking of illicit narcotics has undermined the national security of many countries and distorted the development of many societies. Drug trafficking has cost lives, fueled violence, upended governments, ingrained public corruption, damaged legitimate commerce, and infiltrated online commerce.

In its origins as an international security issue, drug trafficking was treated singularly. Scholars and policy mainly focused on drug use and abuse with the associated negative effects on people and societies. Drugs were viewed as an external threat to the social fabric of the state; their trafficking was analogous to an invasion.[2] Perceived as a violation of sovereignty, drug trafficking was "securitized." Military force and intelligence activities began to be used to interdict supply and disrupt demand before the drugs reached the consumer markets located mainly in developed countries. Drug traffickers responded by investing more in their security and intelligence operations, and at times figures like Colombia's Medellin cartel leader Pablo Escobar directly confronted the state with violence akin to that used by terrorist or guerrilla movements. Such "narco-terrorism" began to intrude on many di-

mensions of the Cold War. Writing in 1989, Michael Dziedzic saw this clearly.

> Indeed, the Soviet Empire itself seems to be crumbling, and its potential to spread unrest is decidedly on the wane. While it would be premature to consign the threat of left-wing subversion to the historical dustbin (clearly El Salvador and Peru continue to face especially virulent threats), the old "evil empire" has probably been superseded in its potential to undermine regional stability by the transnational drug empire.[3]

Narco-terrorism during the 1980s and 1990s only added greater weight to the dangers posed by drug trafficking, further establishing its presence on the security agenda.

However, the drug-security nexus became much more pronounced with the end of the Cold War and the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. The violence that had surrounded the drug trafficking enterprise expanded beyond criminal groups. No longer under the sole control of criminal groups, drug trafficking became infiltrated by insurgent groups and terrorist organizations that were lured by its profits in the absence of state financial sponsorship that had been so readily available during the Cold War. The reliance on drug trafficking by groups responsible for the attacks of 9/11 was the bane of the international coalition that entered Afghanistan to defeat the Taliban and its Al Qaeda allies. Drug trafficking expanded violence and enabled more groups to stymie the power and authority of the state.

Understanding the evolving complexity of contemporary international drug trafficking, its constellation of participants, and the broad intellectual landscape of the issue require insights from a number of different fields, including history, politics, economics, law, military studies, strategy, and anthropology along with others. Analyzing issues linked to drug trafficking requires a degree of economic knowledge, understanding illegal activity involves an appreciation of the criminal dimension, assessing state corruption requires understanding how public institutions function, while dealing with drug-fueled internal conflicts makes a familiarity with military strategy necessary. As a field, international security studies not only includes the global dimensions of the drug trade, but it also has the advantage of being interdisciplinary. To analyze drug trafficking as a security issue, an intellectual field that is comfortable drawing from multiple disciplines is especially beneficial when designing approaches to tackle the issue. As Ryan Grim, author of *This Is Your Country on Drugs*, puts it,

> In reality, there is no such thing as drug policy. As currently understood and implemented, drug policy attempts to isolate a phenomenon that can't be taken in isolation. Economic policy is drug policy. Healthcare is drug policy. Foreign policy, too, is drug policy. When approached in isolation, drug policy

almost always backfires because it doesn't take into account powerful economic, social and cultural forces.[4]

Although interdisciplinary, international security studies is tightly tethered to international relations, sharing many conceptual cognates. For example, the cognates of the three images, or levels of analysis, of international relations as described by Kenneth Waltz in his seminal work *Man, the State and War* are useful to understand how drug trafficking rises to the level of an international security issue. When applied to the cases of Naw Kham and El Chapo, the levels of analysis add a greater degree of explanatory power.

The first level of analysis is the individual, which focuses on how a person interacts with larger organizations, processes, and forces in the international arena. This level assumes that people are rational actors who are motivated by costs and benefits when engaging in activities with international dimensions. Both Naw Kham and El Chapo trafficked illegal drugs across the borders of multiple nations for the accrual of profit and personal power. To gain personal rewards, they relied on a robust organization that included a large number of additional individuals—mid-level associates, smugglers, farmers, accountants, lawyers, chemists, bankers, police—who had their own motivations to participate in an illegal enterprise. Moreover, as criminals, drug traffickers affect the lives of other individuals; they create victims who are often coerced into assisting them or killed when attempting to thwart them.

The second level of analysis is the state. Seen as the fundamental organizing unit of international relations, the state is designed to ensure the security of its citizens and its territory from harmful individuals, groups, processes, forces, and phenomena. As a result, the state retains the legitimate use of force and is granted the authority to speak for its citizens in international relations. The illegal drug trafficking activities of Naw Kham and El Chapo undermined the ability of the United States, China, Mexico, and Laos, as well as other states, to effectively protect their citizens from the harmful effects of drug consumption, violent crime, and corruption. By one estimate, the trafficking of drugs into the United States causes thousands more drug-induced deaths than acts of terrorism, homicide, suicide, or accidental deaths by firearms or drunk driving.[5]

The third level of analysis is the international system that surrounds the individual and the state, but also includes other actors like nongovernmental organizations and international organizations that influence, and are influenced by, events that cross borders. As previously mentioned, the trafficking activities of Naw Kham and El Chapo covered a number of geographic regions. The activities of their respective criminal organizations were widespread and far reaching; the criminal groups were responsible for cultivating drug crops in particular countries, importing precursor chemicals from other

countries to process harvested crops, transporting the crops to labs for processing, and shipping them to wholesale markets by circuitous routes through other countries. El Chapo's Sinaloa cartel is reputed to have a presence in over fifty countries. These drug trafficking organizations also relied on global networks to launder their profits through financial institutions and gain access to weaponry through legal and illegal channels. Under the leadership of Naw Kham and El Chapo, their organizations were able to take advantage of globalization's reliance on lower barriers to the movement of goods and services across borders and more efficient transportation networks that have been promulgated and supported by international organizations like the World Trade Organization, World Bank and International Monetary Fund. To mitigate some of the unintended negative effects of globalization, several international organizations were established to combat drug trafficking. The United Nations Office on Drugs (UNODC) is responsible to compile data and estimates on drug production and consumption while also advising governments on effective law enforcement. As a complement to UNODC, the International Narcotics Control Board monitors treaty compliance by signatory nations and manages international markets of medicines controlled by treaties. The World Health Organization (WHO) advises the UN and member nations on how and which drugs should be controlled internationally.

While using a single level of analysis can explain why drug trafficking is an international security issue, the cases of Naw Sham and El Chapo demonstrate the linkage of all the levels of analysis in providing greater analytical weight. In its most basic form, drug trafficking is the result of activities of a wide range of individuals (first level) who circumvent, corrupt, and at times attack the institutions of the state (second level) to distribute internationally banned narcotics across the globe (third level). Drug trafficking thus connects what individuals do within states to what goes on across states.

The sharing of concepts between international security studies and international relations is part of their intellectual bond; the three levels of analysis are clearly useful in putting international drug trafficking into a larger context. However, using common concepts does not necessarily argue for the tight embrace of international relations theory to gain a thorough understanding of the international security threat posed by drug trafficking. Contemporary security problems require analysis and solutions that the field of international relations cannot provide alone.[6] In fact, the connection between the two disciplines has, in many ways, limited the understanding of drug trafficking's power to affect a wide range of global issues.

DRUG TRAFFICKING AND THE GAPS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

Although international security studies has brought global drug trafficking into the discipline as an issue worthy of analysis, the field has been content to place drug trafficking under discussions of transnational organized crime or to link it to narrow security issues like terrorism and insurgencies. Drug trafficking is not only relevant to traditional views of international security which are "state-centric, focusing on military force and defining issues in relation to threats to state survival," but it also plays a part in less traditional views which are "less state-centric, focusing on policy tools in addition to or instead of military force and define issues relative to other values beyond state survival."[7] However, as a complicated and dynamic phenomenon that involves a multitude of players, drug trafficking means that traditional theories are inadequate due to the prevailing tendency within international security studies

> to construct its choices in dichotomous terms mean[ing] that security approaches have tended either to make the state or the individual the referent object; to construct security as either military or non-military; to draw a rigid line between external and internal security problems; and to see international—and national—politics as either inherently conflictual or as susceptible to non-violence and emancipation. . . . [H]owever, some of these dichotomies have deeper historical ties and therefore should be seen as connected rather than opposed: there is a link between individual conceptions of security and collective ones; there is a connection between external and internal threats; and an understanding of security politics as a rational account of material capabilities exists in tandem with one based on the need to make decisions in an "irrational" environment.[8]

Drug trafficking transcends these conceptual dichotomies. First, by itself, drug trafficking is an anarchic global activity—no single individual, organization, or state has a monopoly (a single provider for many customers) on supply or a monopsony (multiple providers for a single customer) on demand of narcotics. Although some states, international organizations, and NGOs attempt to control the trade, it remains an unregulated market for farmers, producers, traffickers, smugglers, and distributors. Second, the drug trade is a threat to individuals and states by posing internal and external challenges. As an unregulated and clandestine market, it is surrounded by violence, intimidation, and corruption. Third, the expansion and power of the trade has created greater pressures on a number of differing institutions to cooperate in efforts to combat it and mitigate its effects. Fourth, drug trafficking is also a globalizing activity. The myriad of actors who participate in the trade connect disparate parts of the world with each other, forming a complex global

social system. Fifth, the reliance of drug trafficking on legitimate trade and commerce means that it connects the legal and illegal arenas. Paradoxically, state policies to reduce impediments to the free flow of goods, services, and capital have also limited the ability of states to more strictly enforce laws that prohibit criminal activities that cross borders.

One reason that drug trafficking has been treated as a type of niche field in international security studies is the inadequacy of the major international relations theories to incorporate threats from the dark side of globalization into their conceptions of world politics. Transnational threats like organized crime, illicit narcotics trafficking, and pandemics that are not limited by state boundaries have been euphemistically categorized as studies of "thugs, drugs and bugs," placing them at the margins of international relations theories of realism, liberalism, and constructivism.

Realism as an international relations theory inherently marginalizes drug trafficking as a security issue. Its main focus is on the behavior of nation-states, particularly major powers, and their interaction with one another in an international environment characterized by anarchy. The lack of a central authority to mediate disputes and enforce judgments among nation-states prompts them to focus on securing their own sovereignty. Chief among the ways to ensure a state's sovereignty is through maintaining adequate military might supported by and supporting a robust treasury. Major powers are able to achieve security more easily, while lesser states must seek security in whatever ways they can. The optimal way to guarantee international security is through a balance of power among the major powers to prevent the outbreak of a war that would upset the prevailing system of world order. Issues that do not rise to the level of upsetting the balance of power, jeopardizing world order, or undermining state power are not viewed as critical. Drug trafficking is thus relegated to the lower tier of security issues. As criminal activity, realists view drug trafficking as an international social issue that should not be treated as a high priority for scholars or decision makers.

Realism, however, overlooks how drug trafficking has been part of major power relations. During the superpower competition of the Cold War, the Soviet Union and its allies deliberately marketed drugs and narcotics intended to demoralize U.S. military forces and disrupt the social fabric of the United States.[9] In some cases, drug trafficking has been tied to the wars of major powers. The Opium Wars in the mid-1800s between Britain and China, the U.S. invasion of Panama to remove drug-running president Manuel Noriega, and the protracted struggle against the drug-funded Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan point to the ways that major powers have used military force because of the power of drug trade.

Liberalism views realism as an incomplete approach to understanding international security, but it also downplays the power of the drug trade. Adherents of this theory stipulate that major powers are important actors on

the international landscape, but not that they are the only actors who shape debates over international security issues. According to liberalism, the use of military force is rare in international relations; international cooperation enshrined in international conventions and coordinated by a number of international institutions more often sets the global security agenda. Drug trafficking is an issue that is managed through cooperation among international and regional organizations in concert with nation-states. Diplomacy, development, and law enforcement are therefore the preferred methods to limit the global trade in illicit narcotics.

However, liberalism overlooks the power that global drug trade has in undermining international cooperation. Corruption, failed states, and internal conflicts that are fueled by drug trafficking undermine cooperative attempts to limit it. As a result, international organizations have these security issues placed on their agendas as well. Liberalism is also unable to incorporate into its theoretical parameters the variety of actors who participate in the global drug trade. Transnational criminal organizations, rogue states, insurgent groups, terrorist organizations, and even some national militaries are involved in the growing, manufacturing, selling, and distributing of illicit narcotics. Liberalism is as equally as hobbled as realism with its lack of theoretical breadth.

The incompleteness of realism and liberalism in addressing the less orthodox and overlooked international security issues like drug trafficking created the need to revisit the basics of international relations theory. Constructivism emerged, not as a unified theory along the lines of realism and liberalism, but as a type of meta-theory of international relations that emphasizes the subjective through the examination of values, perceptions, beliefs, and cognition. [10] Constructivists often use these concepts in quests to build theories that will reveal powerful interests that take on guises of legitimacy. In short, international security is what one makes it, particularly by those who are powerful. Drug trafficking, therefore, is an international security issue only due to the "war on drugs" that is based on the prohibition paradigm as espoused by the major powers. Many constructivists argue that drug trafficking has become identified as a threat only insofar as the major powers can use their military forces, police institutions, and intelligence agencies to maintain their dominance over countries and peoples on the periphery of global influence. Constructivists view drug trafficking as an international *political* issue rather than an international security issue; for them, reversing the war on drugs and ending the prohibition paradigm would be key to bringing a greater degree of security to global politics.

Constructivism appears at times, not as a way to generate a theory to explain international behavior, but as a political tactic to argue against prevailing configurations of power in the international system. Some constructivists generate theories to argue against international drug laws and to argue

in favor of the legalization of narcotics. However, such a perspective fails to recognize that international conventions against trafficking narcotics have been negotiated and put into effect over decades and that abrogating these treaties is unlikely. In fact, there is little consensus among other states, powerful or otherwise, to fundamentally alter the international prohibition on the cross-border trafficking of narcotics. Although some smaller states, like Bolivia and Ecuador, have mildly reformed their drug laws to ease the effects of prohibition on drug cultivation and transportation of drugs across their territory, they have not legalized the use of all drugs in their own societies.

Each of the dominant theories in international relations—realism, liberalism, or constructivism—still continues to view the nation-state as the preeminent actor in world politics. "The number of states, their relative power distributions and the strategic and security relations that link them together shape the contours of the subject matter."[11] Other actors and their activities are placed in relation to the state; even the terms ascribed to them—non-*state* actors, multi*national* corporations, inter*national* institutions, ir*regular* fighters, un*conventional* war—reveal the dominance of the state in conceptions of international security. Yet state sovereignty is highly contested by a number of actors in the international system.

The end of the Cold War laid bare the conceptual inadequacies of the traditional theories of international relations and provided intellectual space for the inclusion of drug trafficking in international security studies. The extinction of the bipolar international order gave fuel to a number of security issues that were simmering below the surface of the superpower rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union. Ethnic conflicts, religious-inspired terrorism, transnational organized crime and pandemics, which occurred during the Cold War, moved to the center of the international security agenda in the aftermath of the demise of the Soviet Union. The growing prominence of these issues and the decline in the occurrence of interstate wars, and consequently the interest in geopolitics, forced scholars in international relations and international security studies to wrestle with many long-held theoretical assumptions. These disciplines were compelled to refer to units other than the state in their analyses because they affected international peace and stability in dramatic ways. These "new referent units" and their effects included: ethnic groups with substantial grievances about the composition of their national governments forcefully redrew borders; terrorist groups without state sponsors conducted mass-casualty operations that struck deep into the territory of developed nations; criminal organizations undermined legitimate governments and created zones of impunity; warlords carved out swaths of territory beyond the control of central governments; militias successfully resisted powerful conventional military forces; individuals with laptops and Internet access aided in the upending of long-standing regimes; multinational corporations gained more wealth than many nations;

and infectious diseases mutated quickly while spreading rapidly across the globe.

These new referent units challenged the preeminence of the state as the central organizing concept in international relations and international security studies. Sovereignty, rather than being a barrier to negative external forces, became one of the chief enablers of insecurity. In the case of drug trafficking, national boundaries serve to constrain anti-narcotics activities, making sovereignty a *de facto* ally of traffickers.[12]

THE EMERGENCE OF DURABLE DISORDER AND DEVIANT GLOBALIZATION

To incorporate these new referent units and their effects on the international system, the literature on globalization often found in international security studies is essential. Instead of a state-centric perspective, the globalization literature focuses on the flows of goods, services, people, and phenomena across borders. Particularly useful are scholars in the field of international security studies who bring the darker side of globalization to light. Rather than assuming that stability, transparency, and progress are the natural conditions of international relations, they begin with the premise that the contemporary international system is awash with countervailing, interrelated, and reinforcing pressures that are at times obscured from the view of scholars and policy makers.

> We live in a somewhat paradoxical era when political conditions and the dispersion of authority increasingly resemble the Middle Ages, but the forces of modernity, technology and globalization add a whole new set of challenges to the viability and integrity of the state system and make the provision of security—at the national, public and individual levels—increasingly problematic.[13]

Such an era of countervailing forces is witnessing the decline of the power and authority of the state along with its weakening ability to shape the international system in favorable directions. The state now exists in a complex international system, far more distinct than the structure of the nineteenth century or late twentieth century. The result is that many more individuals are at the mercy of threats to their well-being without the ability of the state to effectively intervene on their behalf. The new referent units—ethnic communities, terrorist groups, transnational criminal organizations, warlords, militias, multinational corporations, cyber-savvy individuals, and infectious pathogens—have led to the emergence of institutions with competing jurisdictions, states with fluid territorial boundaries, individuals who hold multiple and fragmented loyalties, and the spread of lawless geographic areas.[14]

Rather than stability in the international system, a type of "durable disorder" has emerged, creating problems that can only be managed and contained rather than solved.[15] Instead of viewing instability as an anomalous condition in international security that can be corrected with better crafted policies or understood by well-honed academic theories, proponents of durable disorder see instability as a given and seek to build policies and design conceptual tools that can describe and mitigate its most serious and acute effects. The multifaceted and convergent nature of the threats posed by durable disorder has improved the ability of illicit networks to evade official policies that seek to control them while presenting new complexities for scholarship to understand its dimensions.

Undergirding durable disorder is the illicit global economy, which comprises the theft of intellectual property, distribution of bogus consumer goods, counterfeiting of currencies, trafficking in people and weapons, and corruption of public and private institutions, among many other illegal and gray-area activities. With its largely clandestine nature, "deviant globalization," is notoriously difficult to measure with a great degree of precision.[16] Estimates suggest that the illegal global economy comprises between five and twenty percent of annual global GDP.[17] Strikingly, each of the new referent units plays a part of deviant globalization and is linked to drug trafficking in some measure. For example, ethnic communities have sold drugs in order to raise funds for separatist movements, terrorist groups have taxed drug crops to earn cash for their operations, transnational criminal organizations use their networks to expand the drug market to new regions, warlords give protection to farmers who cultivate drug crops in areas they control, militias permit drug shipments to pass through their territory for a fee, multinational corporations have assisted in laundering drug proceeds, cyber-savvy individuals use the Deep Web to buy and sell drugs online, and infectious pathogens are spread by intravenous drug users.

Drugs are essential flows in deviant globalization theory; they are "now clearly a 'global habit.'"[18] Drugs have qualities that many other illegal commodities do not possess, which make them attractive for a variety of actors and especially suitable for globalization. They are more "lootable" and less "obstructable" than other illegal commodities. Drugs are lootable; individuals and small groups of unskilled workers can easily extract, produce, and transport drugs.[19] Barriers to entering the illegal drug trade are few—the amount of money and skill to enter the business is low, but the profits are high, "especially when compared with other business opportunities available to many farmers, shippers and salespeople involved."[20] Added to their lootable quality is their low obstructability.

> [Drugs] can only be blocked with many soldiers and heavy equipment. . . .
> Resources that have a lower value-to-weight ratio that must be transported by

truck or train—like minerals and timber—are moderately obstructable if they must cross long distances. Resources that are transported in liquid form and travel long distances through aboveground pipelines (i.e., oil and natural gas) are highly obstructable.[21]

The qualities of high lootability and low obstructability work to the economic advantage of the drug trafficking industry. Legal commodities that are illegally traded—such as minerals, timber, oil, and natural gas—are tied to the prices of the world market in ways that drugs are not. These commodities are often mixed and remixed with those that are legally acquired and legally traded. This makes these commodities subject to price shocks and market collapses, unlike drugs, which are an illegal commodity that is illegally traded. Due to the clandestine ways in which drugs are produced, transported, and sold, prices can be more easily manipulated at different nodes in the trafficking network than the prices of legal commodities.

Added to the qualities of high lootability and low obstructability are the organizational dynamics of drug trafficking that were the unintended consequences of the global prohibition regime. Among the unintended consequences are the "profit paradox," "balloon effect," and the "hydra effect." The profit paradox is inherent in any prohibition paradigm that is unable to significantly reduce the demand for the banned commodity. Prohibition of narcotics trafficking increases the profit of the commodity, enticing people to participate in the trade rather than dissuading them. Because of efforts by governments to combat the trade, participants are confronted with high risk, which is mitigated by higher reward. Additionally, as drug traffickers have pursued high profits, they have kept the supply of drugs high in order to reap greater profits.[22] Traffickers have also purposely withheld supply to artificially raise the price of a particular drug and increase their profit taking. Even successful interdiction favors traffickers—a lower supply of a particular drug has the effect of raising its price, once again encouraging people to enter a lucrative trade.[23] Attempts to suppress the narcotics trade have had the paradoxical effect of encouraging a greater number and variety of actors to enter it, thus sustaining a trade that many states and organizations want eliminated. The balloon effect is when enforcement pressure that occurs in one area of a drug trafficking network leads participants to simply move their operations to where there is less pressure or to make up for losses in product or personnel by shifting to another node of the distribution chain. This is akin to pressing on a particular area of a balloon creating an expansion in another area. Along with the profit paradox and the balloon effect, the hydra effect is also a distinct disadvantage of the prohibition regime. Named after the mythical animal that could lose a head, only to have two grow back in its place, this dynamic refers to drug trafficking's ability to absorb losses of personnel, due to arrest, incarceration or physical harm, at any place in the network. More-

over, those who remain untouched by enforcement efforts enjoy reduced competition.

The consistent and high rate of profit of drug trafficking along with its resistance to suppression efforts creates a deep reservoir of people who make up the labor and management force that perpetuates the illegal industry in contravention of all efforts to control it. Although traffickers do not have the means to upend the global prohibition regime, illicit drug trafficking is hardly governable.[24]

The unique qualities of illicit narcotics and the unintended consequences of the global prohibition regime help bolster deviant globalization, which in turn provides the nourishment for durable disorder. Policy makers have also recognized the intersection of illicit trafficking and international security. "Threat convergence" captures the perception of policy makers that "interlinked illicit threats not only undermine the integrity of vital governmental institutions meant to protect peace and security, but cost economies tax revenue and jobs, and promote a culture of impunity."[25] As a result, the contours of the illicit global economy have permanently pushed aside the relative stability of the Cold War international system. Cold War security issues of nuclear deterrence, arms races, alliance politics, and proxy wars have given way to issues such as rogue nations, failing states, intrastate conflicts, religiously inspired terrorism, high-intensity crime, public health crises, and cyberattacks. And, it is drug trafficking that intersects with each of these security issues.

THE PLAN OF THIS BOOK: DRUG TRAFFICKING AND DURABLE DISORDER

In order to grasp how the drug-security nexus contributes to the durable disorder of the contemporary international system, the following chapters describe in greater detail how international drug trafficking is linked to numerous separate issues of international security.

Before an analysis of each international security issue, the next chapter, "Patterns of International Drug Trafficking," describes the fundamentals of the trade. It explores how various actors have been able to participate in the illegal drug trade because of its unique dynamics. The chapter details the evolution of the legal drug trade to the emergence of the global prohibition regime. It examines the shift from the legal drug trade to illegal drug trafficking as a function of three drivers—organization, attitudes, and technology—and how they have affected issues of world order since the drug trade began. The chapter also further elaborates on the unintended consequences of the prohibition regime and the unique qualities of illicit narcotics, discussed in the previous section, that emerged and evolved over time. From a discussion

of history, the chapter moves on to describe the "geo-narcotics" of source, transshipment, demand and hybrid countries, and the networks of distribution that currently give shape to the contemporary drug trafficking industry. Geo-narcotics focuses on what are largely external interactions among nation-states in relation to illicit flows of narcotics.

After laying the foundation for understanding the fundamental dynamics of international drug trafficking, the book takes up the trade's intersection with major international security issues. Chapter 3, "Narco-States," describes how a number of national governments have, in varying degrees, active links to illegal drug trafficking. While geo-narcotics deals with external interactions among states in global patterns of drug trafficking, the concept of a narco-state examines how drug trafficking has altered traditional understandings of a state's internal political, social, and economic arrangements. Countries as diverse as Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Mexico, Honduras, North Korea, and Afghanistan, each have been implicated in distributing illegal narcotics through public institutions. The chapter outlines an index of narco-states with five different categories: incipient, developing, serious, critical, and advanced. It also provides examples of each type of narco-state, with the two most advanced being North Korea and Afghanistan. Bureau 39 of the North Korean government is dedicated to perpetrating criminal schemes, like drug manufacturing, smuggling, and distribution.[26] Members of the Afghan government continue to be enriched by the opium trade, bolstering Taliban claims that the national leaders are corrupt and do not care for ordinary citizens.[27] The chapter continues by drawing out common effects of narco-states on international security by linking the types of narco-states with their status as source, transshipment, and hybrid countries. The chapter concludes with the variety of ways that other states, along with the international community, have sought to deal with narco-states.

Although states that are captured by the forces of drug trafficking are an international security issue, the presence of drug-crop cultivation and narcotics trafficking contribute to internal instability within a number of countries. Chapter 4, "Fragile States," argues that civil society suffers when disorder, criminality, and poverty become ingrained due to the drug trade. Cynicism toward government can lead to resentment, which can foster support for alternative power structures in society. A vicious cycle ensues. Such degeneration in governmental legitimacy can lead to the creation of swaths of ungoverned spaces, which provide rich environments for various armed groups to operate freely. Diminishing governmental authority, and consequently the declining power to protect citizens and provide modest economic security, promotes state weakness and failure.

Chapter 5, "Intrastate Conflict and Terrorism," highlights how the illicit drug trade contributes to political violence and war. Drug trafficking has been used to finance insurgent and terrorist groups, making them more resil-

ient to attempts to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat them. Groups ranging from the FARC to the Taliban, from MUJAO to AQIM have benefited from trading narcotics to purchase arms, pay for expertise, and attract recruits. Additionally, members of jihadist groups from West Africa to the Hindu Kush have consumed a wide range of narcotics as a way to conduct violent operations like suicide bombings. Jihadist suicide bombers are known to consume drugs as varied as heroin, meth, and Ritalin as a way to steady themselves before detonating their devices.[28]

Because warfare can now be more easily sustained with drug funding, the expected length of conflicts is more than double that of conflicts that started prior to 1980.[29] This can be attributed to the accessibility of drug resources and revenues that permits militarily weaker groups to maintain their viability rather than being swept from the battlefield. Segments of the drug trafficking infrastructure are now part of the strategic equation for many combatants. With drugs now playing the role of an economic engine for many belligerents, battles for control over aspects of drug trafficking have occurred. As a result, drugs have often deepened conflicts; not only do drugs provide another means to continue fighting, but they provide another reason as well.

Not all instances of internal violence are due to political competition over state institutions. Chapter 6, "Transnational Organized Crime," describes how organized crime can use high levels of violence as well as insinuate itself into the structures of governance. Mexican drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) and gangs violently challenge the government of Mexico while exporting their violence and drugs into the United States. Because their logistics train for Andean cocaine runs over land, DTOs and gangs have also undermined stability in Central America. Mexican DTOs and gangs have close associations with other Central American criminal groups and militaries; law enforcement is often outgunned and outmatched. In Mexico alone, over one hundred thousand people have been killed in drug-fueled violence since 2006 while homicide rates in countries like Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are far above the regional average.

Chapter 7, "Human Security and Global Health," continues to explore how drug trafficking is a part of an international security landscape that transcends traditional approaches by delving into the broader issue of human security and indirect security threats. Drug trafficking contributes to the undermining of global and national public health through its enabling of addiction and infectious disease. This, in turn, contributes to costs that include not only deaths, but also injuries or chronic illnesses, problems with human reproduction, the creation of orphans, a rise in poverty and crime rates, and loss of economic output.[30] By one estimate, drug abuse costs the United States $160 billion annually in lost workplace productivity and health care.[31] In developing states, drug abusers add to an overburdened health-care system. Drug abuse by Iraqis in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion grew by

75 percent between February and July of 2003.[32] The rapid growth of drug abuse in Iraq placed additional stress on the country's already overburdened health-care system. At the time, the Ibn Rushd Psychiatric Hospital was the only institution in the country that dealt with drug-related disorders with only eight staff members assigned to treat patients.[33] As a result, many addicts were unable to receive care and, in order to cope with their addiction, turned to crime, thereby further eroding law and order. Along with increased drug use is a rise in infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS and hepatitis, which follows newly established drug trafficking routes.

Continuing the discussion of indirect security threats, Chapter 8, "Cyberspace and Cybersecurity," examines how drug trafficking has contaminated the Internet with criminal activity. For example, cryptomarkets like the Silk Road website were part of the Deep Web where anonymous criminal activity was rampant. Users with encrypted accounts used the Silk Road to launder drug proceeds, to barter for weapons, and to engage in illicit sexual exploits. This largely hidden part of the Web escapes many governments' attempts to track criminal activities and to find criminals. It undermines sovereignty while empowering individual criminals to continue their illegal exploits. Such activity has added weight to government actions to gain greater control over the Web. However, drug trafficking continues to be rampant online and has intersected with cyber libertarian ideologies that seek to make the Internet an ungoverned space.

With numerous international security issues affected by drug trafficking, the concluding chapter, "Ways Forward," argues that research and policy agendas should be more open to analyses, assessments, and strategies that include the drug-security nexus. It is only through a more inclusive perspective that the most vexing problems of durable disorder can be effectively managed in the future.

The security issues discussed in each chapter are not mutually exclusive, but are interwoven. Transnational criminal organizations barter and sell drugs to insurgent and terrorist groups for weapons and expertise, which contribute to the protraction of intrastate wars while high levels of internal violence create the conditions for the emergence of ungoverned spaces in weak and failing states to be used for drug trafficking operations. These features of durable disorder upend long-standing notions of global peace and stability, meaning that international security studies as a discipline must contend with an expanding agenda. Studying the forces of deviant globalization, like the illicit drug trade, should not itself be treated as deviant from what have been traditionally central features of the international security agenda. Drug trafficking and its tight interconnection with numerous international security issues must be part of any serious analysis. The powerful forces that propelled individuals like Naw Kham and El Chapo to international notoriety are ever evolving.

While overlooked by many scholars, commodities are, as David Miller argues, "the vanguard of history," and studying their dynamics is necessary for the "radical rethinking of areas of already acknowledged importance such as economies and politics."[34] The interaction between societies and the creation of commodities is often overlooked in international relations and international security. As Daniel Deudney argues, "a major distorting filter in contemporary thinking, particularly international relations . . . is a gross underappreciation of the importance of material contextual factors, of nature, geography, ecology and technology. We think and act as if technologies are just our handy tools and as if nature has somehow just been left behind."[35] To lay the proper foundation for an analysis of how societies created narcotics as a commodity and how this commodity has, in turn, affected societies, the following chapter discusses the history of the drug trade, the emergence of illegal drug trafficking, its patterns, and its evolving links to international security.

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Chapter Two

Patterns of International Drug Trafficking

In a desperate effort to end Britain's illegal importation of opium into China that was undermining its society and economy, the Chinese emperor's commissioner, Lin Zexu, sent a letter to Queen Victoria in 1839. Appealing to her a sense of fairness, Lin wrote:

> We find that your country is distant from us about sixty or seventy thousand miles, that your foreign ships come hither striving the one with the other for our trade, and for the simple reason of their strong desire to reap a profit. Now, out of the wealth of our Inner Land, if we take a part to bestow upon foreigners from afar, it follows, that the immense wealth which the said foreigners amass, ought properly speaking to be portion of our own native Chinese people. By what principle of reason then, should these foreigners send in return a poisonous drug, which involves in destruction those very natives of China? . . . We have heard that in your own country opium is prohibited with the utmost strictness and severity: this is a strong proof that you know full well how hurtful it is to mankind. Since then you do not permit it to injure your own country, you ought not to have the injurious drug transferred to another country.[1]

Queen Victoria did not receive the letter; British merchants intercepted it en route to London. Diplomacy between the two powers had long been strained, but by 1839 relations were at a crisis point. A naval skirmish between the British and Chinese quickly escalated, leading to what the British Parliament called the War for Free Trade, but what the *Times of London* newspaper dubbed the "Opium War."

By the end of the Opium War, the outmatched Chinese were defeated and the emperor was forced to cede Hong Kong to British authority, pay war

reparations, and open China to all forms of trade, including the continued importation of opium. To put the episode into a more contemporary context:

> Imagine this scenario: the Medellin cocaine cartel of Colombia mounts a successful military offensive against the United States, then forces the US to legalize cocaine and allow the cartel to import the drug into five major American cities, unsupervised and untaxed by the US. The American government also agrees to let the drug lords govern all Colombian citizens who operate in these cities, plus the US has to pay war reparations of $100 billion—the Colombians' cost of waging war to import cocaine into America.[2]

At the time of the Opium War, the drug trade was fully commercialized; psychoactive substances that are prohibited in today's world were treated like any valuable commodity and created valuable property, labor, and financial relations. From the sixteenth to the twentieth century, all trading powers were involved in the drug trade. During this period, the state itself was commercialized by the drug trade.[3]

Although drug trafficking and its connection to international security appear to be a new phenomenon, the link has a deep history. In fact, the drug trade has long played a part in world order through the relations among great powers, the expansion of commerce, and the desire for national prestige. The historical link between the two runs so deep that the linkage's contemporary relevance becomes even more apparent and its downplaying by international relations theory more surprising.

To provide a better understanding of how contemporary trafficking of drugs intersects with a number of international security issues, this chapter explores how the drug trade moved from being nurtured by empires and nation-states to being under the purview of criminal syndicates, insurgents, and narco-states. As Paul Gootenberg notes, "prior to last century, drugs were generally not divided into illicit and licit classes, and as border-crossing commodities they actually played vanguard economic and cultural roles in the construction of the modern world."[4] By examining the emergence of the drug trade as a legitimate form of commerce, its subsequent prohibition, the unintended consequences of the prohibition regime, and its contemporary trafficking patterns, this chapter will provide the foundation for understanding the evolution of the drug trade's effects on international security.

CRITICAL DRIVERS OF THE DRUG TRADE AND THEIR EFFECTS ON WORLD ORDER

A combination of factors has driven the evolution of the drug trade's influence on world order: technology, attitudes, and organization. Technological innovations have affected the ways drugs have been discovered, produced,

and distributed. People's attitudes toward narcotics have influenced the parameters of drug control policies and strategies. The organization of the trade by those who have sought to participate in it and control it has also shaped its historical direction. These drivers have been intertwined through history with each having varying degrees of intensity at a given time. As demonstrated by the Opium War, all of these drivers formed key portions of the world order at the time, like trade patterns, relations among states, and armed conflict.

With improving technology over the sixteenth through twentieth centuries, commercial states moved beyond their own shores and discovered, harvested, stored, and transported psychoactive substances over greater distances. These substances were also refined to make other products. Opium, coca, and cannabis were not only valued because of their mood altering qualities but also for their usefulness in the production of other goods like beverages, medicines, and clothing. For the trading powers of the day, opium poppies, coca leaves, and cannabis plants became part of routine international trade in agricultural products and were incorporated into the way of life of many European and American societies. As legitimate commodities, the restriction placed on their sale and purchase was limited to taxes and tariffs.

As part of legitimate commerce, the drug trade was significant in the course of European colonial expansion.[5] Major powers used its profits in their competition with one another by expanding their colonies across the globe. Opium was especially influential; the British, French, and Dutch were actively involved in the global trade of opium as part of their commercial relations and colonial administration. The British Empire was particularly reliant on the production of Indian opium for the Chinese. By one account, "although it is difficult to prove beyond question, it seems likely that without opium, there would have been no [British] empire."[6] For other imperial powers, opium was also an important part of their colonial efforts. Opium contributed to 30 percent of net revenues in the Dutch Indies,[7] while opium was the largest single revenue-generating operation in French Indochina.[8]

Coca and cocaine were discovered during the later stage of industrialization. Derived from coca leaves, cocaine was first isolated in the mid-nineteenth century but became more widely touted for its medicinal qualities in the 1880s. Improvements in technology during this time enhanced agricultural innovation, made sea transportation of crops more efficient, improved pharmaceutical research, increased the pace of manufacturing, and made for better marketing techniques.[9] Without regulation, pharmaceutical companies were able to create demand for cocaine by espousing its benefits to physicians, medical manufacturers, and the general public.[10]

Although much of the scientific advancement in isolating the chemical compounds for cocaine came from Europe, it was the United States as a growing economic power, with an expanding consumer economy, that tightly embraced coca and cocaine. Private companies began to include this new

commodity in a variety of products sold in American society. The coca leaf was an essential ingredient in Coca-Cola as well as various health tonics and elixirs. Products containing cocaine were mass-produced and commercialized like any other consumer good and exported to other nations. Cocaine provided an energy boost for the growing number of American workers. Cocaine products were also available in Europe and were part of the fabric of World War I when French pilots and British soldiers used them to fortify their nerves.[11] Some returning veterans in Europe and America sought out cocaine and coca products to "cure" their addiction to morphine and heroin that they acquired after treatment of their war wounds.[12]

As technological advances gave individuals greater access to more powerful drugs, the turn of the twentieth century witnessed a change in attitudes on the use and commercial trade of narcotics. Western industrialized countries began to view the previous laissez-faire attitude toward the casual use of narcotics as disruptive to the social, political, and moral order of their societies. The emerging view was that society was declining because of the growing use of drugs by an underclass that also engaged in a number of other vices. Therefore, stemming society's decline meant controlling individuals' access to drugs. By the early twentieth century, regulation by governments became the answer, with the only questions being what level and what type of regulation was suitable.[13]

The changing attitudes toward narcotics coincided with a change in the organizational understandings of government, helping to usher in the era of tighter state regulation of access to drugs. While interests groups in Western societies organized against drug use, they encouraged a more active stand by government to delineate clearer laws and regulations for the use of drugs. This was consistent with the emerging Weberian notion of the state as a bureaucratic agent of control that was grounded in rational authority with an administrative structure capable of articulating and enforcing clear and consistent codes of conduct. Governments sought to draw clear lines between the medicinal use of drugs for the relief of physical and psychological pain and the recreational use of drugs for pleasure. The medical community also began to professionalize during this period; medical associations and government licensing spawned the emergence of ethical guidelines for the treatment of illnesses. This reinforced the need to discriminate between medical and recreational uses of narcotics. Those who used drugs for nonmedical reasons were thus operating outside the established guidelines of a respected professional community and beyond the laws established by the government. The large number of individuals who used drugs for recreational purposes, therefore, symbolized a shift in society toward more social deviancy and moral decay.[14] Through closer scrutiny of their citizens' access to drugs that were once freely available as a consumer choice, governments sought to rid their

societies of what was seen as a growing plague of addiction, debilitation of public health and, menace of criminality.

But limiting what was a global trade also required global action. Concomitant with changing attitudes toward drug use and the emergence of the bureaucratic state was another important contributing factor to the eventual global prohibition on the narcotics trade—the rise of international forums to discuss and manage critical issues between countries. The Hague Opium Conference was one such forum that led to a sea change in how nations interacted with each other over the drug trade. Rather than a free trade issue, drugs became a security issue, subject to international treaties to restrict and eventually prohibit their growth, manufacture, and distribution. Many of the thirteen signatories of the 1912 International Opium Convention who were able to expand their territories and whose companies made huge profits due to the drug trade were called upon to limit the use of drugs to medical and scientific purposes. The International Opium Convention was the first international drug-control agreement and laid the cornerstone for the foundation of the global regime on drug prohibition that exists today. A revised version was negotiated in 1925, which added more narcotics, such as cannabis, to the prohibited list. The revised agreement was registered with the League of Nations, the preeminent international forum of the time, and established the first international bureaucracy to monitor compliance with international drug laws.

For the first time since the discovery, distribution, and sale of narcotics, the combination of technology, attitudes, and organization created the conditions for moving drugs away from being treated as commercial products to being considered contraband. Countries that had actively encouraged and engaged in the drug trade in past centuries turned against it in dramatic ways. Although the implementation of the prohibition on narcotics was uneven, a comprehensive ban on the trade proved to be infeasible. The drug trade underwent a metamorphosis, as did the world order of which it was a part.

FROM THE DRUG TRADE TO DRUG TRAFFICKING

With the trade in drugs proscribed by international agreements, nations and their companies brought an end to the drug trade as a legitimate commercial enterprise. It was, "one of history's great about-faces, however slowly and imperfectly executed."[15] However, the prohibition of drugs did not lessen the importance of technology, attitudes, and organization as drivers of the place of drugs in world order. Ironically, attempts to suppress the international trade had the same effects as deregulation of a nationally owned industry—it increased the number of stakeholders and diversified the number of participants in the industry. The prohibition regime may have ended the "drug

trade," but "drug trafficking" began, creating a constellation of legal and illegal entities that manage the production and distribution of banned narcotics.

Changes in the ability to gain access to drugs for non-medical uses did not lead to a reduction in individuals' demands for intoxicating narcotics. Although nations and companies were prohibited from engaging in activities that met the demand for mood-altering drugs, many other groups stepped in to reap the profits. Drug policies ultimately sought to return the geographic limitations upon drugs that existed before commercial capitalism expanded. Yet, this was impossible. Because it was prohibited, drug trafficking became a lucrative business; few other commodities, legal or illegal, provided such a large profit margin.[16] The prohibition regime created the unintended organizational consequences of the profit paradox, balloon effect, and hydra effect discussed in the previous chapter. These consequences empowered many who once stood outside the contours of world order.

As a result of these unintended consequences, efforts to eliminate the trade in illegal drugs only spread the problem and made any gains against it temporary.[17] These consequences made the drug trafficking a highly flexible and adaptive industry. Drug trafficking began with many points of entry for those willing to participate; these were the same nodes of what once comprised the legal drug trade but were left abandoned by nations and companies. Drug crops that were used to make heroin, cocaine, and marijuana were still grown, harvested, transported to labs for processing, moved to distribution points, sold to wholesale markets, and purchased at retail. Profits continued to be made at each stage of the enterprise, reinforcing the profit paradox and creating multiple areas for the balloon and hydra effects to occur.

These unique organizational dynamics of drug trafficking were new issues that did not exist during the era of legitimate drug trade. These dynamics soon mixed with larger political movements that affected world order beginning in the 1950s. Decolonization and nationalism in the Third World helped shift drug trafficking into a variety of different hands. As colonial powers began to divest themselves of their colonies where drug production was occurring, it became increasingly unchecked and uncontrolled. Though many countries banned drug distribution and use in their societies, organized crime took the reins and continued to find ways to gain access to narcotics. Farmers who cultivated drug crops in colonies had already been difficult to control from distant capitals. The number of actors involved in drug trafficking proliferated exponentially. Clandestine groups like criminals and insurgents stepped in to take over drug control issues from the departing colonial authorities. Even independent governments of newly created states sought kickbacks and payoffs from drug lords in exchange for the use of territory or for overlooking anti-drug laws. For example, even as they attempted to comply with the their international obligations, the British were continually unsuc-

cessful in their efforts to suppress the opium trade in Burma due to cultivation in remote and difficult-to-access territory. By the time Burma became independent, local feudal lords, government bureaucrats, organized crime, and numerous insurgent and guerrilla groups were involved in some portion of the opium trade. A similar pattern was repeated in other European colonies where drug crops existed.

During post–World War II decolonization, coca-producing countries that had gained their independence in the nineteenth century were in the grips of nationalism. Their attitudes toward drugs were distinct from many in the developed world. Having been largely skeptical of efforts of powerful countries to suppress the drug trade, these nations resisted many pressures to eliminate their drug crops because of the negative effects on their economies. Not only were the governments of these countries without a strong capacity to control large parts of their own territory needed to suppress drug-crop cultivation and production, but also the status of drug crops was wrapped into many ideological programs. These countries "consistently used drug production as an economic bulwark against foreign encroachment. Moreover, drug production and trafficking served as a form of political protest, denigrating the values of the world's supposed overlords."[18] Drug production was not only an expression of ideology, but it also served a practical function as well. In a foreshadowing of the contemporary drug-security nexus, political organizations and governments in parts of Latin America used the profits of the trade to finance their military operations.

Playing into the hands of drug traffickers was the wider availability of technology that had enabled the drug trade's expansion. An increasing number of groups could more easily obtain the chemicals and materials needed to process drug crops into finished narcotics. In the past, opium poppies and coca leaves had to be transported over great distances to be processed into morphine, heroin, and cocaine in industrialized countries, but could be done so more efficiently closer to where the crops were being cultivated. Before World War II, the cocaine trade for example, remained small due to the dearth of experts with the technical skill to turn coca leaves into cocaine hydrochloride who resided in countries where coca was cultivated. However, after World War II, an embryonic capability to produce coca paste developed in Peru with the use of more widely available chemicals. This paste was then transported to labs in Mexico and Cuba and processed into cocaine for the U.S. market.[19] The ability to produce the finished product closer to the botanical origins of illicit narcotics added an extra complication to enforcement efforts; interdicting drugs at the source or in transit was fraught with greater difficulty. Rather than attempting to find crops and deal with them in the colonies or confiscate them en route, nations had to accept that prohibited narcotics could be grown with less harassment and transported in smaller, harder to find loads of finished product.

The technical ability to produce narcotics closer to their botanical source by more people gave drugs added qualities that have only aided their illegal movement. They became more "lootable" and less "obstructable." As discussed in the previous chapter, individuals and small groups of unskilled workers could easily extract, produce, and transport drugs without the need for the investment by countries or companies to perform the activities of the drug trade. The result was that other more clandestine groups proliferated to fill these roles. As previously mentioned, finished narcotics are more difficult to find and obstruct than large loads of harvested drug crops bound for a European or American port. The qualities of high lootability and low obstructability became vexing issues for drug-control efforts. They are also the qualities that contributed to their challenge to international security.

THE COLD WAR AND THE SECURITIZATION OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

Attitudes toward trafficking shifted again after World War II and during the Cold War; drugs became "securitized." Policy makers in the developed world began to see drugs and drug traffickers not merely as social ills, but as threats that undermined national security. Others, however, saw political, military, and financial utility in participating in drug trafficking; the superpowers were also less consistent in their commitments to suppress drug trafficking when they could make ideological gains against one another. While, organizationally, many governments sought to work with one another and through the newly created United Nations to bring further limits on drug trafficking, some politicians, guerrilla leaders, and criminal groups saw drug trafficking as a means to engender security. Technology also increased the global supply of cocaine and introduced a new form of the product—crack—into the drug market. This set off further alarm bells among policy makers, deepening their efforts at suppression.

As the United States rose to international prominence after World War II, it began to assert itself more forcefully in the international drug control debates. In 1961, at a UN conference to negotiate a Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the United States successfully pressed for further updates and consolidation of previous international agreements on the production and distribution of psychotropic drugs. The Convention provided the framework of the post–World War II global drug regime that continues to guide policies and actions. Reflecting the attitude seeing drugs as a serious international security threat, the final draft of the Convention explicitly stated that "addiction to narcotic drugs constitutes a serious evil for the individual and is fraught with social and economic danger to mankind." To combat this threat, the treaty required signatories to standardize their domestic laws to criminal-

ize "cultivation, production, manufacture, extraction, preparation, possession, offering, offering for sale, distribution, purchase, sale, delivery on any terms whatsoever, brokerage, dispatch, dispatch in transit, transport, importation and exportation of drugs." To add greater weight for enforcement, the agreement also encouraged the extradition of drug criminals. The Single Convention also codified a "schedule" of the types of drugs that were permissible for countries to produce and distribute for various scientific and medical reasons. The World Health Organization (WHO) was also empowered to recommend any updates to the schedule to the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Office (UNESCO).

Even with the tighter international standards that it gained, the United States saw drugs as merging with a critical Cold War security issue in the 1970s. In 1971, President Richard Nixon was contending with the Vietnam War when a congressional report concluded that between 10 and 15 percent of American servicemen were addicted to heroin.[20] Believing that drugs were not only undermining the war effort but also that drug-addicted veterans who returned home would generate social discord, President Nixon declared drugs to be "public enemy number one" and announced the "War on Drugs." He expanded the federal government's role in dealing with drugs, creating the Drug Enforcement Administration whose agents would eventually come to work against drug traffickers across numerous borders in a multitude of countries.

During the 1980s, the United States deepened its commitment to the War on Drugs. This deepening commitment was largely a response to the growth of cocaine usage in the United States. In the late 1970s, prices for powdered cocaine were dropping due to a glut in the market. Continuing to build on the qualities of high lootability and low obstructability, drug dealers developed crack cocaine—a solid version of smokable cocaine that could be sold in cheaper and smaller amounts to more people, at a larger profit. This form of the drug also made it highly addictive, creating a larger market for the product. Crack swept through American cities and dramatically increased the number of cocaine users. By 1985, the number of people who admitted using cocaine on a routine basis increased from 4.2 million to 5.8 million.[21] Cocaine-related health emergencies spiked dramatically; in 1986 they increased 110 percent.[22] The U.S. media and politicians began referring to the problem as the "crack epidemic."

The crack epidemic fueled calls in the United States to more aggressively tackle drug trafficking at the source and in transit. In 1988, the Reagan administration successfully pushed the United Nations to pass the Convention on Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances that mandated the tracking and seizing of drug assets of signatory nations along with enhanced extradition mandates for drug criminals among signatories that did not otherwise have such agreements with each other.[23] At the en-

couragement of President Ronald Reagan, the U.S. Congress passed legisla-
tion allowing the U.S. Department of Defense to participate in efforts to
curtail drug trafficking that was directed at the U.S. market. Although drug
trafficking was securitized, the United States now *militarized* it by dedicating
U.S. military personnel to help law enforcement activities aimed at stemming
the flow of drugs into the United States. In 1989, President George H. W.
Bush gained further congressional authorization to increase the Defense De-
partment's role in counternarcotics operations. Along with a large increase in
the Pentagon's budget for counternarcotics activities, the new laws made the
Department of Defense the lead federal agency for counterdrug intelligence
and expanded the role of the U.S. military to train and assist the police and
militaries in other countries to perform counternarcotics missions. In many
respects, the moves by presidents Reagan and Bush internationalized the
U.S. War on Drugs. The international efforts to suppress the illegal drug
trade were now tethered to a superpower's domestic laws and its willingness
to use its military might in the pursuit of counterdrug goals.

However, it was the Cold War that overshadowed a substantial portion of
the international security agenda. Drug trafficking did play a role in the
superpower rivalry; each side used it to further their international security
agendas against the other. The Soviet Union was accused of "the deliberate
marketing of drugs and narcotics intended to demoralize US military forces
and disrupt the social fabric of the United States. . . . There is also a direct
connection between the western drug problem and communist sponsored
terrorism and revolutionary warfare."[24] Reports appeared, accusing countries
of the communist Warsaw Pact of trafficking drugs. East German premier
Erich Honecker encouraged trafficking as a way to undermine NATO, while
Bulgaria's secret police would barter arms with Middle Eastern terror groups
in exchange for drugs that it would send on to Europe and the United
States.[25] The United States was also accused of colluding with drug traffick-
ers to help its proxy fighters in the Third World. In the mid-1980s, the
Central Intelligence Agency was implicated in various schemes to work with
Latin American drug traffickers to help fund the anticommunist Contra
rebels in Nicaragua.[26] The U.S.-supported Afghan mujahedin ran covert sup-
ply lines of heroin to Red Army troops in Afghanistan, exacerbating the
numerous military and political problems for Soviet leaders.[27]

The developing world was often the battlefield of the superpowers, with
governments and political organizations turning to drug trafficking as a way
to further their ideological goals. Cuban members of the failed Bay of Pigs
operation organized Brigade 2506 to fight their own private war to liberate
Cuba from Soviet influence. Using their clandestine skills, they formed "La
Compania," an underground drug syndicate dedicated to raising money to
put toward the undermining of the Castro regime. In Bolivia, a "cocaine
coup" occurred in 1980 as military officers in collusion with drug traffickers

sought to protect the drug proceeds of high-ranking governmental officials by seizing political power under the pretext of stopping the spread of Marxism in the country.

Drug trafficking was an undercurrent during the Cold War, but the pervading international security issues were the threat of thermonuclear war between the superpowers and the internal conflicts in the Third World that pitted proxies of the superpowers against each other. As a result, the growing power of international drug trafficking was obscured. There were, however, several important developments during the Cold War that began to reveal drug trafficking's power in international security and how events in the world influenced changes in the drug trade.[28]

Changes in Drug Trafficking That Affected International Security

- The dramatic increase in cocaine demand in the United States during the 1980s provided more profits that were used to undermine Colombian law enforcement and military operations.
- Tough countermeasures in Mexico and Colombia during the mid-1980s expanded transit points through Latin America and the Caribbean.
- The saturation of the U.S. cocaine market in the early 1990s forced product and market diversification. New drugs were produced, and markets in Asia, Middle East, Africa, and Europe expanded, thereby adding opportunities for more actors to participate in the drug trade than before.
- The development of synthetic psychotropic drugs, which could be produced anywhere, permitted more groups, including violent non-state actors, to participate in the drug trade even though they were not located in drug crop regions or along familiar transit routes.

Political Events That Affected Drug Trafficking

- The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan facilitated an increase in opium production and allowed profits to be put toward the anti-Soviet effort while exploiting routes in Iran and Pakistan.
- The 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution increased support to Islamic militants in the Bekaa Valley at the expense of narcotics countermeasures in Lebanon.
- The 1988 collapse of the Ne Win government in Burma created increased national instability, led to fewer counternarcotics operations, and increased drug production by rebel groups who opposed the new government.
- The 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama led to the sharp restriction of Panama's ability to be used as a transit country, thereby forcing traffickers to shift

routes through countries where rebel groups actively challenged govern-
ments.

The changes in drug trafficking in the 1980s and 1990s revealed how
government suppression efforts were largely at the mercy of the attitudes of
the organizations that largely controlled the direction of the trade. Even as
the UN General Assembly convened a special session in 1990 to proclaim
that "the magnitude of the rising trend in illicit demand, production, supply,
trafficking and distribution of psychotropic drugs [was] a grave and persis-
tent threat to the health and well-being of mankind, the stability of nations,
the political, economic, social and cultural structures of all societies, and
lives and dignity of millions of human beings,"[29] those governments and
international organizations dedicated to suppressing drug trafficking were
mostly confined to reacting and responding to changes in the trade brought
about by clandestine operators or by uncontrollable world events.

To the frustration of those who believed in the words of the declaration of
General Assembly's special session, the undercurrent of drug trafficking
during the Cold War swept in more parts of the international security agenda
once the superpower competition had ended. The power of globalization has
only added more power to the illicit trade in drugs that now swamps the
security agendas of many nations.

THE GLOBALIZATION OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

Promoted by policy makers in the developed world during the Cold War but
gaining strength after its demise, neoliberal trade and economic programs
were designed to increase global prosperity and stability through more open,
standardized, and integrated trade among countries. These policies also had
the effect of pushing technological and organizational drivers of drug traf-
ficking further while reinforcing the attitudes of those who wanted to sup-
press it and those who participated in it. The gradual emergence of globaliza-
tion, as a result of these policies, pushed forward more advanced technology
and dispersed it to those who sought to evade drug suppression efforts and
allowed for more participants in the drug trafficking industry. The growing
prominence of the Internet was essential in the proliferation of synthetic
amphetamine type stimulants (ATS) like ecstasy and methamphetamine.
Smuggling routes also expanded to encompass countries that were previously
not included in the global trafficking of drugs. This newest stage in the
evolution of drug trafficking continues to impact the nature of contemporary
international security.

Neoliberal policies had the goal of expanding the capitalist marketplace
around the world by moving countries toward an "open economy." Propo-

nents of neoliberal international economics wanted barriers to trade or invest-ment to be as few and as low as possible with rules to be known in advance, transparent, coherent, and uniformly enforced. To be in line with this vision, governments should strictly constrain their interventions in economic mat-ters, meaning that few or no prices should be set by the government, and the economic weight of the state must be reduced by balancing budgets and the shedding of state-owned industries.[30] The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War gave a boost to these policies as much of the former communist world was eager to be integrated into the larger global economy from which it had been previously excluded. The shrinking borders within the European Union (and with those seeking EU membership) along with the signing of NAFTA removed additional barriers to the flow of goods and capital. Additionally, developed countries along with powerful international economic organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) pushed structural adjustment policies in Third World countries to link them more tightly with the contours of the international economy.

Under neoliberal policies, the state's role has been transformed; it has been "reduced to the role of adjusting national economies to the dynamics of an unregulated global economy."[31] In the post–Cold War world, "illicit drugs were among the first global goods to supersede borders and regulatory states in the quest for profit by, for example, forging new markets in Eastern European post-communist regimes . . . or establishing flexible production sites and transshipment routes across neo-liberal Latin America and fourth-world sub-Saharan Africa."[32] Ironically, the state has gradually volunteered to relax its exercising of sovereignty, ceding power to non-state actors and to forces that transcend borders. Neoliberal policies created a paradox for con-trolling drug trafficking—"the prohibition model pushes for a maximalist state; the free-market model pushes for a minimalist state."[33] Less enforce-ment of legitimate economic activity has also translated to less enforcement of illicit trade flows. Moves to bolster global trade through deeper commit-ments to open national economies have proven to be organizationally advan-tageous to global drug trafficking. Looser border controls and the lessening of government authority over international trade have benefited legitimate business while permitting opportunities for the freer flow of illegitimate commerce. Private industry has also accommodated neoliberal policies by streamlining logistics, which has also worked in favor of drug trafficking. The moves by the shipping industry to standardize shipping containers and to increase the size of cargo vessels to carry more containers have facilitated the ability of drug traffickers to circumvent and evade law enforcement.[34] With their high lootability and low obstructability, drugs merely "piggy back" on shipments of legitimate cargo. Reduced enforcement combined with more cargo to process at port facilities has led to the expansion in the number of pipelines that drug traffickers have at their disposal.

Neoliberal policies have also created a number of downsides for the legitimate economies in the developing world. These downsides have given deviant globalization and drug trafficking added boosts. Market adjustment programs promoted by the World Bank and IMF to build societal economic linkages to the international market have tended to create economic systems in the developing world that have spawned economic dislocation, political unrest, and, in some cases, violence.

> Wages tend to fall, both because of rising employment caused by demand contraction and because of real devaluation that raises the costs of imports. Fiscal entrenchment, in the form of increased taxes and reduced government subsidies, tends to have a regressive effect, because the easiest taxes to raise and collect are often sales and value-added taxes which fall more heavily on lower income consumers. [35]

Such effects create the conditions for social-economic disparities while "increasing exclusion, and unemployment and, consequently, illicit activity."[36] Consequently, neoliberal economic policies have provided not only the means but also the incentives for participating in drug trafficking because it offers more consistent income and thus more relative economic stability than large portions of the licit economy.

Globalization has driven the unintended consequences of the international prohibition regime even further than in the early years of the drug trade's ban. The profit paradox has swept in more players from the legitimate world by employing "lawyers, transportation and communication specialists, security guards, accountants and distribution and sales managers."[37] Drug trafficking's intertwining with legitimate commerce has given the balloon effect additional power. Once one trafficking method is uncovered by law enforcement, traffickers have simply changed tactics or paid off officials. The hydra effect has also become more widespread. The continued lucrativeness of the trade has meant that when the capture, incarceration, or death of major traffickers has created holes in drug trafficking networks, other individuals have routinely taken their place, or the organization has adapted to employ others who can work around the vacant positions. Globalization has meant that actors involved in contemporary drug trafficking now use strategies similar to those of legitimate transnational business, including "subcontracting, joint ventures and strategic alliances, use of offshore bank accounts and sectoral diversification."[38]

As drug trafficking was undergoing a change in attitude and organization due to globalization, technology was not only dispersing the illicit drug industry to new areas, but it also helped engender the new spread of synthetically produced drugs. Amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS), like ecstasy and meth, have been in increasing demand since the 1990s to today, with year-over-year increases in ATS seizures worldwide.[39] The heavy reliance on the

availability of certain chemical compounds like pseudoephedrine or ephedrine for producing meth had largely limited the production of synthetic drugs to developed countries like the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands. However, acquiring precursors no longer presents a large obstacle due to the reduction of trade barriers, making the transfer of technology and products easier and more efficient. The necessary knowledge to manufacture ATS had once been the intellectual property of nations and private companies, but the Internet has been able to disseminate various recipes. Even if the necessary precursor chemicals were not readily available, instructions on how to make them or their substitutes exist online.[40] In fact, today there is no region in the world that is immune from the manufacturing and distribution of ATS drugs.[41]

The unique ways that ATS drugs are manufactured give them a very high lootability and very low obstructability. Meth, in particular, can be manufactured in small laboratories no larger than an automobile, making it very difficult to destroy at the source. They can also be manufactured in much larger "super labs" that can produce hundreds of kilograms a day. The characteristics of meth manufacturing and distribution allow the drugs to be produced more easily, more quickly, and more clandestinely than botanical drugs that require large crop space, hospitable climate, and a larger workforce. ATS drugs can be produced and ready for distribution in two to twenty-four hours. Additionally, because meth is home manufactured, there are very few middlemen and few choke points that can be targeted by law enforcement.[42]

Although ATS drugs are relatively new additions to the trafficking of illicit narcotics, they quickly joined heroin, cocaine, and marijuana as major challenges to international peace and stability. In fact, neoliberal policies and actions that have given rise to globalization have also empowered its deviant underside that sustains many elements of durable disorder as discussed in the previous chapter. For example, those participating in the illicit narcotics trade have seen a variety of benefits. Criminal groups, corrupt governments, compromised militaries, and complicit guerrillas have viewed drug trafficking as a means for private gain, personal enrichment, ideological advancement, or military power. The attitudes of these groups have collided with the response to the militarization of the War on Drugs by trafficking organizations. Criminal groups have begun to acquire more sophisticated weaponry, often overpowering law enforcement and militaries in some countries. Some groups have taken more violent actions against governments, presenting narco-terrorism as a hybrid challenge to weak governments. Other criminal groups have colluded with terrorist and guerrilla groups in order to better shield their activities from government intervention. In many cases, a convergence of interests has occurred among criminal enterprises and warring groups.

Terrorist and guerrilla groups, in turn, have received additional funding and expertise to sustain or expand their operations against their targeted states at a time in history when they were in the most need. After the end of the Cold War, superpowers that once sponsored non-state actors as proxies on the battlefield of the Third World, ended their funding. Many of these non-state groups turned to the illicit global economy and drug trafficking as sources of support to sustain their movements. "There has been no exception to this phenomenon: wherever substantial amounts of narcotics were produced, terrorists or rebel groups were taking advantage of drug profits."[43] By the early 2000s, over 95 percent of the world's hard drugs were being produced in zones of conflict.[44] Groups like the guerrilla group Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), the Peruvian guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso (SL), and the Myanmar insurgent group United Wa State Army (UWSA) deepened their efforts to control portions of the drug trade in their territories. In fact, these groups would conduct military operations in order to gain access to key pieces of drug trafficking networks.

Non-state groups that were involved in the explosion of ethnic conflicts in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War's end also turned to illegal drugs. The Serbian paramilitary group, Arkan's Tigers, and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) used their territories as drug transit areas as a means to raise money for their military campaigns in the Balkan wars of the 1990s. At times, humanitarian catastrophes in which the West intervened to stem were exacerbated by the pernicious influence of narcotics. For example, several warring groups in Yugoslavia were heavily involved in the drug trade to purchase arms and to pay combatants used in paramilitary operations against civilians.[45]

In the wake of 9/11, many countries began to clamp down on the financial links of Islamist terrorist groups by heavily scrutinizing charities and bank accounts. As a result, groups like the Taliban, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Al Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM) and Tuareg rebels in Mali turned to the illicit global economy and the movement of illicit narcotics. New drug demand markets in Africa have made cocaine accessible to Al Qaeda–linked fighters in North Africa for the first time. American and coalition forces contended with the drug trade in Iraq. U.S. Marines who participated in some of the most violent battles in the early years of the Iraq War claimed that many of their adversaries were on drugs. Meth, crack, and stockpiles of needles and pipes were found in homes used by insurgents.[46] In another instance, the terrorists that attacked hotels in Mumbai were also high on at least one type of manufactured drug. "'Injections containing traces of cocaine and LSD [were] left behind by the terrorists and [we] later found drugs in their blood,' said one official. . . . This explains why they managed to battle the commandos for over 50 hours with no food or sleep. . . . One

terrorist used the drugs to keep on fighting despite suffering a life-threatening injury."[47]

There now exists a reinforcing dynamic between drug control efforts and violent non-state and state actors involved in drug trafficking—enforcement is much more successful against trafficking groups with the least capacity to use violence, corruption, or political influence.[48] This has led to "the survival of the fittest" whereby the most violent groups are more likely to prosper. Groups in the contemporary world with the greatest propensity for violence are guerrillas, insurgents, and terrorists that are not only paid for protection but also have in many cases supplanted trafficking organizations. The institutions of some states have been partially or completely captured by drug trafficking, giving trafficking activities the protection of sovereignty. The global prohibition regime has been unable to keep pace with the adaptability of the illegal drug trade and the willingness of participants to embrace more violent strategies or counter the drive of some warring groups to link themselves to drug trafficking.

CONTEMPORARY GEONARCOTICS

To characterize the shape of global drug trafficking is a difficult task, given its ever-evolving nature based on changes in technology, attitudes, and organization. Defining the contours of a trade that has changed over centuries is nonetheless important for understanding its contemporary dynamics, pressures, and effects. Some have defined contemporary drug trafficking as an "industry" with similar features to legitimate enterprises.

> If the goods and services happen to be outlawed, then illegal enterprises will emerge to meet demand. In this respect, there is no difference between conventional and criminal enterprises. Very often, all that changes when the business is illegal are some adjustments in modus operandi, technology and the social network that will be involved. In some cases, we have a mere re-description of practices to make them appear outside legal provisions. [49]

Although there are some similar features that drug trafficking shares with other commodity-centered enterprises, its illicit nature makes it different. As Phil Williams notes, "conventional industry analysis has to be accompanied by efforts to identify and assess those characteristics that are peculiar to the product and that stem from the illicit nature of the industry."[50] The global prohibition regime has created acute organizational dynamics like the profit paradox, balloon effect and hydra effect and has drawn a variety of other actors into the illegal trade because of the characteristics of high lootability and low obstructability that illegal narcotics possess. As previously discussed, actors like states, militaries, police forces, terrorist groups, and insur-

gent organizations that participate in drug trafficking are not akin to legitimate businesses seeking to meet customer demand. As will be discussed in chapter 6, transnational criminal organizations do use business principals and a corporate logic to make and distribute illegal drugs. However, drug trafficking as a global phenomenon cannot be merely reduced to the contours of how legitimate industries operate. A reductionist interpretation provides few benefits in helping to understand the complexity of illicit global narcotics trafficking.

Rather than viewing the illicit narcotics trade as similar to a legal business enterprise, others view it as a near-monolithic entity akin to an empire.

> Sovereign, proud, expansionist, this Underground Empire, though frequently torn by internal struggle, never fails to present a solid front to the world at large. It has become as ruthlessly acquisitive and exploitative as any nineteenth-century imperial kingdom, as far-reaching as the British Empire, as determinedly cohesive as the American republic. Aggressive and violent by nature, the Underground Empire maintains its own armies, diplomats, intelligence services, banks, merchant fleets and airlines. It seeks to expand its dominance by any means, from clandestine subversion to open warfare.[51]

The description of multifaceted, global, illicit activity with many types of participants as a type of unitary actor reifies a complex, fluid human endeavor. As this chapter has demonstrated, the history of the illegal drug trade is not one of greater centralization, but of greater dispersion. Much as globalization has spread power among a multitude of actors, drug trafficking is also a reflection of this same trend. As discussed, the contemporary drug trafficking pattern of networks is formed by a variety of types of actors with varying degrees of power and who participate in any number of nodes. No single group or grouping of organizations controls the production and distribution of illicit narcotics around the world. As Richard Friman and Peter Reuter argue, "the popular image of a concentrated, octopus-like global network of crime syndicates is a fiction."[52] It is tempting to reduce the dispersed array of actors and activities that give complexity to global drug trafficking to a simple analogy—industry or empire—in an effort to bring it into sharper focus. However, these analogies confuse more than they clarify.

Analogies, while useful, have limitations when one is attempting to generate useful concepts and theories. Contemporary drug trafficking is a combination of business logic and politics imbued with criminality and surrounded by potential and actual violence largely due to pressures to suppress it. The fundamental way to conceptualize these contours of drug trafficking and their relationship to international security is through "geonarcotics." Espoused by Ivelaw Griffith in the early 1990s, geonarcotics is defined as "the relations of conflict and cooperation among national and international actors that are driven by the narcotics phenomenon."[53] The concept is based on the

interrelationship of drugs, geography, power, and politics, with the central proposition being "that there are significant relations of conflict and cooperation that are driven by narcotics production, trafficking, consumption-abuse and money laundering operations, by the myriad problems stemming from them, and by the efforts to deal with the operations and as well as problems."[54] As this book argues, the diversity of actors involved in drug trafficking includes the new referent units other than the nation-state that have complicated the work of policy makers and scholars in profound ways.

Geonarcotics is a valuable conceptualization because it begins with the foundation of geography to understand the flows and patterns of contemporary global drug trafficking. Viewing the world through the prism of drug trafficking, geographic divisions emerge among source, transshipment, demand, and hybrid countries. The counternarcotics policies and practices of international organizations and national governments use these divisions to form the contemporary understandings of global drug trafficking.

Source Countries

Source countries are those where major illicit drug production occurs. Identifying drug production countries is done through a variety of methods that demonstrate the connections among states and international organizations. Some nations self-report their drug production through crop monitoring programs supported by the UN and other nations. The United States makes monitoring, reporting, and suppression of drug production a condition of foreign assistance to particular governments. The United States has a "certification" process where it judges the anti-narcotics efforts in source countries as compliant with U.S. counterdrug policies and UN conventions. Those countries that the United States judges not to be in compliance risk being "decertified" and having a variety of sanctions leveled against them.[55]

Another way that drug production countries are identified is through bilateral agreements to conduct surveys of drug crops. The United States and Mexico have institutional relationships that permit the U.S. officials to work alongside Mexican authorities to measure crop yields and their eradication. The European Union (EU) also works with Albania to assist with monitoring and compliance.

For those nations that do not participate in voluntary reporting or work in coordination with other nations, there are alternative ways to identify and measure drug production. From high-altitude overflights and satellite imagery, the intelligence agencies of nations have been able to measure drug crop cultivation. The UN has gained cooperation from various countries to access the data collected from these methods.[56] Satellite imagery from the European Space Agency is used extensively in the UN's Illicit Crop Monitoring Program (ICMP).[57]

By compiling data from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)[58] along with the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs,[59] table 2.1 depicts major source countries of particular drugs and the main type of actors involved in drug production:

Table 2.1 Source Countries

Country	Drugs	Actors*
Afghanistan	Opium, Heroin, Hashish	Organized Crime, Insurgents, Terror Groups, State Agents
Bolivia	Cocaine	Organized Crime, State Agents
Burma	Opium, Heroin, Meth	Organized Crime, Insurgents, State Agents
Cambodia	Opium, Heroin, Meth	Organized Crime, State Agents
Colombia	Cocaine, Heroin, Marijuana	Organized Crime, Insurgents, State Agents
Jamaica	Marijuana	Organized Crime, State Agents
Laos	Opium, Heroin	Organized Crime, State Agents
Lebanon	Marijuana	Organized Crime, Terror Groups, State Agents
Mali	Marijuana	Organized Crime, Terror Groups, State Agents
Mexico	Opium, Heroin, Marijuana, Meth	Organized Crime, State Agents
North Korea	Meth, Heroin	Organized Crime, State Agents
Papua New Guinea	Marijuana	Organized Crime, State Agents
Peru	Cocaine	Organized Crime, Insurgents, State Agents

* "State agents" include politicians, law enforcement officials, and members of the military.

Transshipment Countries

Because traffickers and smugglers seek to evade detection by enforcement agencies (and their competitors), drugs are often transported via indirect and circuitous routes. To lower the risk of having their shipments from source

countries interdicted, traffickers and smugglers often select countries that have weak enforcement institutions where state agents are sparse or can be easily bribed or coerced.

Identifying major transshipment countries is based on the number of drug seizures and significant interdiction operations reported by nations and compiled by specific agencies in the United Nations and within other countries. As part of globalization, which opened numerous countries to the international economy, the number of transshipment countries for illegal drugs has steadily increased over time. Table 2.2 identifies the major transshipment countries and the drugs that pass through their territory on their way to demand countries.[60] West Africa has seen the most acute increase in transshipment, with the presence of Latin American drug cartels in eleven of sixteen countries in the region and a substantial increase in drug seizures emanating from them.[61]

Table 2.2 Transshipment Countries

Country	Drugs
Bahamas	Cocaine, Marijuana
Belize	Cocaine, Heroin
Cambodia	Meth, Heroin
Ecuador	Cocaine
El Salvador	Cocaine, Heroin
Guatemala	Cocaine, Heroin
Guinea	Cocaine
Guinea-Bissau	Cocaine
Haiti	Cocaine, Heroin
Honduras	Cocaine, Heroin
Iran	Heroin, Hashish
Jamaica	Cocaine
Laos	Heroin, Meth
Lebanon	Cocaine, Heroin, ATS
Mali	Heroin, Cocaine, Marijuana
Mexico	Cocaine, Heroin
Nigeria	Cocaine, Heroin
Pakistan	Opium, Heroin
Panama	Cocaine, Heroin
Senegal	Cocaine, Heroin
Thailand	Heroin, ATS
Tajikistan	Heroin

| Uzbekistan | Opium, Heroin, Marijuana, Hashish |
| Vietnam | Heroin, ATS |

Demand Countries

According the UNODC 2014 Global Drug Report, "Globally, it is estimated that in 2012, between 162 million and 324 million people, corresponding to between 3.5 per cent and 7.0 per cent of the world population aged 15–64, had used an illicit drug—mainly a substance belonging to the cannabis, opioid, cocaine or amphetamine-type stimulants group—at least once in the previous year."[62] Most consumers of illicit drugs are in the countries of the developed world with the United States being the largest consumer. However, with the rapid urbanization occurring in the developing world, drug demand has steadily risen in the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) as well as Mexico, Thailand, and South Korea. ATS drugs have increasingly penetrated countries in Asia; the influence of Western nightclub culture has been imported into these societies, including the desire of the youth to take part in the latest drug fad.[63] Cocaine use has increased in Western Europe, notably in the United Kingdom and Spain. Heroin use also continues to plague Russia, Iran, and Pakistan.

Hybrid Countries

Although not recognized by the policy makers involved in counternarcotics, "hybrid countries" are an important addition to the geographic understanding of the illegal drug trade. In varying proportions, these countries are a mixture of source, transshipment, and demand countries. For example, Mexico is a source country for heroin, marijuana, and meth as well as a transshipment country for Andean cocaine and heroin. In addition, it is a growing demand country for cocaine and meth. Transshipment countries have also emerged as demand countries. Drug traffickers will often pay in kind for needed services to move drugs across or through the territory of transshipment countries. Traffickers will trade narcotics in lieu of cash payment for transportation and protection of their shipments. The traded drugs are then sold in these countries for profit, creating the demand for drugs. Cocaine usage has surged in West Africa due to these types of bartering arrangements. Hybrid countries include Cambodia, Jamaica, Laos, Lebanon, Mali, and Mexico.

THE EVER-WINDING LABYRINTH OF CONTEMPORARY DRUG TRAFFICKING

From commercial conquest to free trade to open borders, the drug trade has been driven by the forces of technology, attitudes, and organization. It has

been linked to world order during colonial expansion, modern war, decolonization, the Cold War, the post–Cold War and the post-9/11 world. Through history, drugs have been commodified, then securitized, moved from being a trade issue to being a law enforcement issue as well as a military issue. As demonstrated, drug trafficking has been highly resistant to suppression efforts by international organizations and the most powerful nation-states.

Much like international relations and international security studies, geonarcotics makes the nation-state the central organizing principal for understanding the patterns and flows of drug trafficking. Although geonarcotics begins with the nation-state as the unit of analysis, it provides a starting point to discuss the new referent units and their intersection with international security with greater clarity in the following chapters.

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Chapter Three

Narco-States

In mid-April 2003, police in the Australian state of Victoria spotted a merchant freighter suspiciously close to shore. The police then observed two men with large bundles leave the beach for a nearby hotel. The following morning, police detained the men and upon searching their hotel room, discovered fifty kilograms of high-grade heroin. In a further search of the beach, authorities also found a dinghy launched from the freighter and the body of another smuggler who had drowned the night before.[1] As the arrests were occurring, the freighter attempted to flee into international waters, but after a four-day pursuit, it was boarded by the Australian military. The next month, after discovering GPS coordinates on the vessel, another seventy-five kilograms of heroin was uncovered farther down the shore from where the smugglers had landed. In total, the seized heroin brought into Australia during the botched smuggling attempt was worth $160 million.[2]

Although the freighter, *Pong Su*, was flying the national flag of Vanuatu, a company linked to the North Korean government owned the vessel. In fact, a political commissar of the ruling Korean Workers Party was arrested along with the thirty crewmembers on board the freighter.[3] "The Pong Su incident," as the episode was named, revealed the level of North Korea's state involvement in the trafficking of illegal narcotics beyond its territory.

State involvement in drug trafficking is not limited to the case of North Korea. As discussed in the previous chapters, states have been active participants in the drug trade since its inception, but as the trade evolved, so too has state involvement. Among the assumptions of the global prohibition regime have been that the major participants in drug trafficking are organized criminal syndicates—such as the Italian and Russian mafias, Chinese triads, Nigerian gangs, and the Japanese Yakuza—and that governments are generally committed to suppressing the trade but are often victims of criminal syndi-

cates.[4] However, the emergence of narco-states has undermined these assumptions. Suppression attempts and international agreements notwithstanding, various source, transshipment, and hybrid countries benefit from being a part of the illegal global network of drug trafficking.

Whereas the previous chapter focused on the history of the drug trade and how states originally interacted with each other to exploit it and to eventually seek its suppression, this chapter examines how drug trafficking has shaped the institutions, economies, and societies within states. As the foundational unit of international relations and international security, the state is an obvious topic to begin the discussion on the implications of the drug trade on issues related to global peace and stability. In fact, the transformation of certain states due to the power of the illicit narcotics trade has greatly complicated the international security agenda. This chapter discusses the elements that define a narco-state and the types of narco-states. The chapter then continues by placing types of narco-states in juxtaposition with geo-narcotics to provide a fuller account of the ways that these types of states affect contemporary issues of peace and stability. After the discussion of narco-states and their effects, the chapter concludes with an examination of the broader theoretical and practical implications of narco-states for scholars and policy makers.

DEFINING A NARCO-STATE

The concept of a narco-state has become such an accepted feature of contemporary international relations that it has entered the English vernacular. In fact, the *Collins English Dictionary* has an entry that describes a narco-state.[5] Discussions of narco-states emerged in the late 1980s, prompted by the need to explain the internal conflicts and political upheavals in the cocaine-producing countries of Peru, Colombia, and Bolivia. The cocaine-fueled insurgencies of Peru's SL and Colombia's FARC along with the 1980 Bolivian military coup financed by drug traffickers led to an examination of how drug policies created the conditions for long-running political instability and acute patterns of violence within these nations. In late 1989, the United States invaded Panama to capture its president for transforming his country into a narco-state that was a hub for drug running and money laundering activities in the hemisphere. After the Cold War, discussions of narco-states gained additional strength with events in Afghanistan and Mexico. The Taliban's capture of the Afghan state and its exertion of control over opium production in the territory it controlled were concerns before the United States and its coalition partners intervened in response to the attacks of 9/11. Mexico's change of government after seven decades of one-party rule ushered in new presidents who took a more confrontational stance against drug cartels, lead-

ing to military participation in law enforcement and a dramatic increase in internal violence. A complex picture has emerged of government complicity and state involvement in drug trafficking, existing alongside international agreements to bring the drug trade to heel. While originally limited to source countries in South America's Andean region, narco-states have increased and spread to include transshipment and hybrid countries in new regions.

The complex picture of a narco-state, and the increasing number of them, has included a variety of attempts to define it more precisely. In general, a narco-state has been defined as "a nation that has been taken over and is controlled and corrupted by drug cartels and where law enforcement is effectively non-existent."[6] This definition, however, reinforces the assumption that criminal syndicates are victimizing states that would be otherwise well ordered, with stable institutions and an appetite for transparency and accountability that work to the greater benefit of their citizens. In many cases, narco-states have emerged due to the underdevelopment of government institutions and the feebleness of the national economy and the desire among the political elite to mitigate these conditions. As Kimberley Thachuk has noted, "many developing governments are often less concerned about the source of foreign exchange and more about political survival. . . . The great influx of foreign exchange afforded by criminal activity assists economic development and therefore relieves governments of some of the urgency of meeting citizens' demands."[7] In short, some national leaders welcome the narcotics trade as a source of political power, meaning that drug traffickers can co-opt states through consensual means. "Capturing" the state via coercion tells part of the story about the emergence of some, but not all, narco-states. State agents are often willing facilitators of drug trafficking rather than merely its victims.

Moreover, the lack of effective law enforcement is not a necessary element of a narco-state's definition; law enforcement agencies exist in a narco-state, but they are not impartial and instead work to the advantage of drug trafficking. Contemporary drug trafficking requires a degree of security that corrupt law enforcement can provide to prevent loss and theft from competitors and other government agencies. Smuggling also requires a veneer of legitimacy that the imprimatur of a state institution, like a customs and export control agency, can provide for shipments emanating from a particular jurisdiction. Simple nonenforcement of the law due to corruption of the criminal justice sector can also be a feature of a narco-state. In essence, law enforcement in narco-states is effective, but in facilitating drug trafficking and other criminal activities.

Other scholars have given the definition more specificity by arguing that a narco-state exists when "leaders of the most powerful trafficking groups occupy high-ranking government positions and misuse state structures for their own illicit businesses."[8] While this definition provides better clarity, it suggests that a narco-state can exist only if traffickers replace government

officials and politicians with members of their organization. In that case, this definition is too narrow. In some narco-states, traffickers merely use money to "buy" politicians through campaign donations to do their bidding. In other cases, as previously discussed, the mere penetration of drug money in law enforcement agencies is sufficient for the emergence of a narco-state. Conversely, as will be discussed in chapter 6, members of drug trafficking organizations generally prefer not to take any formal role in government as it detracts from their core activities in making money. Overlooked in this definition, along with the previous one, is the consensual nature of the relationship between traffickers and the political elite.

To challenge the assumption that criminal groups "take over" the government from weak political leaders and their officials, James Cockayne demonstrates how a mutually beneficial relationship between traffickers and politicians comprises a significant part of a narco-state:

> Political actors are using criminal organizations as an aspect of statecraft, and criminal actors are using political privileges as business assets. Traffickers get access to state immunities, passport and diplomatic bags, airspace and maritime approaches, and even state-owned vessels. National political and military institutions are in turn used to tax the trade.[9]

The symbiosis between criminals and government officials is an essential feature of a narco-state. However, the mere cooperation between these two types of actors can only be as strong as the drug linkages to the rest of society. Elites and criminals might benefit the most from the illicit drug trade, but citizens, along with civil society, also reap rewards. Legitimate businesses that provide crop space, transportation, fuel, chemicals, communication equipment, and access to financial institutions all derive some gain from the presence of drug trafficking in their country. In some cases, the illicit drug trade outstrips portions of the legitimate economy. A 2014 UN report estimated that opium cultivation in Afghanistan was worth $850 million, making it the most valuable agricultural product in the country.[10] A single cocaine seizure in Gambia had the street value of $1 billion, nearly half of the country's 2010 gross national product.[11] Drug trafficking provides many citizens with economic opportunities where there are few, laying additional portions in the foundation of a narco-state.

Globalization also plays an important role in the emergence of a narco-state. As discussed in the previous chapter, state enforcement of legal trade flows has been significantly weakened in order to enhance global prosperity. Illicit commodities are intermixed with legal goods and travel along the same routes together from the developing world to the developed world. With demand countries also being developed countries and with legal and illegal commodities continuing to flow from and through developing nations, narco-

states can easily emerge and thrive due to their place in transnational capitalism.

Working from the various definitions of a narco-state, and incorporating other overlooked features, a more complete definition can be distilled. A narco-state *exists where the institutions of government direct drug trafficking activities or actively collude with drug traffickers, creating conditions where the illicit narcotics trade eclipses portions of the country's legitimate economy and where segments of society begin to accrue benefits from drug trafficking. A narco-state thrives due to its ability to exploit qualities of the state's links to the legitimate global economy.* This definition includes the possibility of either a consensual or nonconsensual relationship among drug traffickers, the political elite, and the citizenry. It also includes the possibility of the emergence of a mutually beneficial relationship among these groups and the symbiosis that produces the conditions for a narco-state. The critical role of globalization is incorporated as an essential empowering characteristic for the emergence and durability of a narco-state.

TYPES OF NARCO-STATES

The more complete definition of a narco-state encompasses what David Jordan argues are the "three interrelated phenomena [that] work synergistically to produce the narco-state: organized crime, government policy and transnational capitalism."[12] However, not all narco-states possess the same intensity of this synergy. Some narco-states balance these phenomena in different measures, creating differing types of narco-states. In his book *Drug Politics*, Jordan makes a useful distinction by creating an index of narco-states with five different categories: incipient, developing, serious, critical, and advanced.[13] The categories can be viewed as a spectrum, ranging from the lowest, incipient, to the highest, advanced. With some amending, the index contains useful criteria to help identify the variety of narco-states, how they manifest themselves, their effects on international security, and how they contribute to durable disorder.[14] The following sections provide brief examples of the types of narco-states that fit into Jordan's categories.

Incipient Narco-State: Papua New Guinea

A key feature of an incipient narco-state is the co-opting of low-level state agents by drug traffickers. But also important is the involvement of local gangs and organized crime in drug smuggling. Criminal groups in conjunction with state agents in an incipient narco-state facilitate the movement of drugs across the territory of the state to destinations in demand countries. In some transshipment states, criminal groups will also sell drugs within their borders in a payment-in-kind relationship.

The island nation of Papua New Guinea has several features of an incipi-ent narco-state. Due to its close proximity to Australia and with robust mari-juana cultivation occurring in its territory, local law enforcement assists criminal gangs with smuggling marijuana into Australia in exchange for guns.[15] One undercover police officer in Papua New Guinea was accused of working with smugglers, while several officers have been implicated in drug running activities as well.[16]

Although at the lowest end of the narco-state index, Papua New Guinea's status as a source country for marijuana nonetheless creates security issues in the region. The smuggled marijuana is delivered to outlaw motorcycle gangs in Australia who are known for their criminal violence. They gain profits from drug sales, which are used to sustain their group. For example, drug money is used to pay for attorneys to defend the groups' members from prosecution and to pay for court-ordered fines and restitution. Drug traffick-ing also contributes to arms dealing that fuels the chronic internal violence experienced in Papua New Guinea. Operations by rebel groups and insur-gents have created refugees who have often undertaken dangerous journeys to seek asylum in Australia. This, in turn, has placed additional burdens on Australia's border control agencies, military services, and immigration de-partments.

Developing Narco-State: Senegal

In addition to the features of an incipient narco-state, a developing narco-state has higher level officials participating in drug trafficking. The judicial system, along with other portions of security institutions, facilitates the illicit trade occurring within their jurisdiction. The drug economy also begins to take root where the benefits of drug profits begin to spread into the licit economy of a nation.

The West African nation of Senegal is a developing narco-state; it has played a significant role as a transshipment country for South American cocaine bound for the European market. For South American drug traffick-ers, Senegal is strategically located on Africa's west coast with an estab-lished transportation infrastructure that allows the movement of cocaine to many countries in the European Union. The nation's judicial system has been compromised; police, prosecutors, and judges are often bribed to turn a blind eye to smuggling activities and to free traffickers who have been arrested and charged with drug smuggling.[17] For example, a top police commissioner was found to be working with a high-level Nigerian drug trafficker; the commis-sioner and his conspirators in the police force sold the cocaine seized in drug raids for local and international distribution.[18] In 2007, two separate cocaine seizures in Senegal were worth the equivalent of a quarter of the country's national budget.[19] The influx of drug money has been a boon to portions of

the nation's economy, most notably the construction industry. One Senegalese businessman said that many construction sites were being funded with drug money: "We're talking huge housing developments. Senegal is doing well economically but when you see the pace of construction it doesn't add up. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being smuggled and laundered here."[20]

The penetration of drug trafficking into segments of Senegalese politics and economics has had a number of effects. The introduction of cocaine smuggling has strengthened the nation's underground economy. "In 2012 the UNODC in Senegal's capital of Dakar calculated that the sale of around 30 tons of cocaine generated $1.2 billion profit, more than $500 million of which was laundered and spent locally."[21] Such penetration of the drug economy distorts legitimate development activities by enticing people into the illicit economy because it is more profitable. It also reduces foreign investment opportunities as overseas investors lose confidence in the nation's legal system, and the safety of their investments cannot be guaranteed over time. As has occurred in other transshipment states, a payment-in-kind relationship appears to have emerged in Senegal between traffickers and state agents, with drug addiction and drug-related criminality on the rise in the capital. More young people are using cocaine and heroin, putting additional burdens on the country's fragile public health system.[22] Drug trafficking has also bolstered the illicit cross-border trading networks in Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. Drug trafficking organizations' use of Senegalese territory has contributed to the political instability in Guinea-Bissau, which continues to suffer from political assassinations and extra-legal changes in government due to its role as another important transshipment state for drugs.

Serious Narco-State: Mexico

Although drug trafficking activities worsen the governance and development challenges for incipient and developing narco-states, states from the middle to the highest portion of the narco-state index face significantly deeper issues and radiate more security issues regionally and globally. Serious narco-states not only experience the corruption of police and judicial officials along with penetration of drug money into the economy, as do incipient and developing narco-states, but they also experience large-scale bribery and widespread corruption of public officials along with substantial violence directed toward those who resist them. In addition, the scale of the illegal drug economy is much larger in serious narco-states. The illegal drug economy and the licit economy are bound together to such a degree that disaggregating them would damage the nation's overall economic health.

Mexico is a prime example of a serious narco-state. In geo-narcotics terms, Mexico is a hybrid state—it is a source, transshipment, and demand

country. As a source and transshipment node in the regional drug trafficking network, the illicit trade of narcotics between the United States and Mexico is between $18 billion and $39 billion annually.[23] Drug profits outstrip many areas of the legitimate commerce between the two nations; annual remittances going southbound from the Mexican community in the United States total $23 billion,[24] and the revenues generated by the Mexican tourism industry total nearly $11 billion.[25] The illicit drug economy has undermined police and judicial functions of the state. Only 5 percent of crimes in the country are solved,[26] and only 1 to 2 percent lead to conviction or jail time.[27] In 2014, a local mayor and his wife were implicated in ordering police and drug gangs to kill forty-three college students who were protesting the government's links to drug cartels.[28] Since 2006, nearly one hundred thousand Mexicans have been victims of drug-related homicides and approximately twelve thousand have disappeared.

The penetration of drug trafficking into the economic, political, and social life of Mexico has created a number of serious challenges in the country and in the region. Drug trafficking has significantly reduced Mexican civil society's trust in government. According to a 2013 Latinobarometro poll, only 37 percent of Mexicans believe that democracy works in their country; the lowest score among the eighteen countries surveyed.[29] Attempts at rooting out corruption in law enforcement and the military have been stifled by politicians compromised by drug barons. Portions of the armed forces that demobilized have formed their own violent drug cartel and have enticed active-duty members to desert and work in the drug trade as logistics experts, smugglers, and enforcers. Mexican drug cartels have also branched out in Central American countries, linking up with local gangs and even former and current members of military special forces units. As a result, homicide rates in these nations have spiked and corruption has become endemic. Financial links between the United States and Mexico have also been contaminated by drug money. For example, in 2013, the bank HSBC was fined $1.9 billion for failing to comply with required anti–money laundering practices, thereby permitting hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexican drug proceeds to be deposited in various accounts and transferred to others with impunity.[30]

For the United States, Mexico's status as a serious narco-state has caused a number of adverse homeland security challenges. Among them, spillover crime is a particularly serious issue. In 2008, home invasions surged in Phoenix, Arizona, and kidnappings exceeded one per day as Mexican street gangs sought to enforce agreements or settle grudges from cartel wars in Mexico. In September 2010, a Mexican drug cartel shot and killed a jet skier on Falcon Lake, Texas.[31] One cartel member was wanted in the killing of a Dallas police officer,[32] and armed gang members have routinely crossed the U.S.-Mexico border to protect drug shipments into the United States.[33] Beyond spillover crime is the increased number of Mexicans fleeing into the

United States for safety. Since 2006, tens of thousands of Mexican nationals have sought political asylum in the United States to escape the ongoing drug cartel violence in their home country. These "narco-refugees" have placed greater demands on the already overburdened U.S. immigration system. [34]

Critical Narco-State: Honduras

In a critical narco-state, almost all the important institutions of governance work in favor of the illicit drug trade. In a severely compromised state, corruption exists at the highest levels of national police and judicial systems. National politicians are in the service of the trade while the economic life of the country stagnates due to the rampant criminality brought about by drug trafficking. Civil society is either complicit in drug crimes or cowed by corrupt state agents or criminal syndicates. Drug traffickers and their activities form important political, economic, and social networks at the expense of legitimate economic activity while undermining accountable and transparent political actions.

Honduras has long been a weak state in a dangerous region. However, Honduras became the victim of the balloon effect in the 2000s. Greater success in the interdiction of Andean cocaine in the Caribbean sent Colombian traffickers in search of overland routes. Meanwhile, the Mexican government was placing greater pressure on its cartels. The drug traffickers found in Honduras a weak and compliant state where their interests financially and geographically intersected. The influx of Andean cocaine turned the nation into a major transshipment state and drew in the influence of Colombian, Salvadoran, and Mexican criminal syndicates, which penetrated Honduras's political, economic, and social life. According to the U.S. Department of State, "more than 80 percent of the primary flow of the cocaine trafficked to the United States first transited through the Central American corridor in 2012. The United States also estimated that as much as 87 percent of all cocaine smuggling flights departing South America first land in Honduras." [35] The large number of violent drug gangs that operate throughout the country and work in league with foreign drug cartels made Honduras the country with the world's highest murder rate in 2014. Violence and corruption also extends to senior-level politicians and law enforcement officials. The nation's attorney general was arrested for corruption, while the former police chief was linked to disappearances and extra-judicial killings. [36] In 2009, the head of the nation's counternarcotics agency was assassinated; two high-level law enforcement officials were killed in less than two months in the spring of 2013. [37]

The effects of a critical narco-state have been particularly acute in Honduras. In 2014, the Honduran president lamented his country's persistently high levels of violence linked to drug trafficking: "It is leaving us with such

an enormous loss of life, and young people, generations of young people that we have lost because they entered the world of drugs."[38] To solidify the country's status as an important regional transshipment state, drug traffickers have begun to burn remote forests to create clandestine runways for plane-loads of drugs.[39] For indigenous people who live in these areas, this has led to significant infringements on their rights and a diminishing of their traditional ways of life. Some have fled their tribal lands while many young people have been ensnared in the world of drug trafficking. Companies and individuals who are paid to deforest areas also gain illicit profit by selling off the timber and rare animal species, creating wider zones of illicit trafficking and ruining sensitive ecological areas.[40] In a nation with few job opportunities in the legitimate economy, drug traffickers have stepped in to fill the void by paying between four and eight times the average wage in Honduras.[41] Laundered drug money may comprise between 20 and 60 percent of the Honduran economy.[42]

As a critical narco-state, Honduras radiates instability in the Western Hemisphere. In the 1990s, many countries in Central America were emerging from internal conflicts linked to the Cold War and contained repressive governments. As a result, they possess little solid foundation for democratic institutions or practices. Criminality has now become a lethal threat to the sustainability of democratic gains and personal security in Honduras and its neighbors. "The political institutions are new, democratic legitimacy is problematic, the countries are poor, social problems huge, the military are supposed to be out of domestic roles and missions, and the police are inadequate."[43] In an effort to bring some law and order to the country, Honduran political leaders have brought in the military to patrol the streets. However, the introduction of the army into police work has led to accusations of human rights abuses. Drug trafficking has not only contributed to state fragility in Honduras, but it has also contributed to the deterioration of the health of a number of other states in the region like Guatemala and El Salvador. Similarly to Mexico, the drug violence in Honduras has contributed to the narco-refugee crisis in the region. More than forty-five thousand unaccompanied minors from Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala arrived at the U.S. border in a six-month period in 2014, straining federal resources to the point that some agencies came close to exhausting their budgets.[44] Stable countries in the region, like Panama and Costa Rica, have also experienced similar pressures on their agencies with the upsurge in people fleeing drug violence in Honduras and its neighbors.

Advanced Narco-States: North Korea and Afghanistan

Advanced narco-states possess many of the same features of the previous types of narco-states. The significant difference is in the level of government

direction in drug trafficking activities, the marginalization of legitimate economic activity by the drug economy, and, at times, the merging of political and drug trafficking–related violence. Narco-states in the advanced category have government institutions that are compliant with the dictates of drug trafficking's dynamics and facilitate the manufacturing and distribution of drugs regionally. In these types of narco-states, senior government officials, and in some cases their family members, have active links to the illicit narcotics trade. Senior government officials may also be personally involved in securing the benefits of the trade for purposes outside of their personal enrichment, such as political survival, national interest, and economic prosperity. In cases where the state is challenged by insurgent groups or rebel movements, these actors in advanced narco-states are deeply involved in drug trafficking activity for purposes of personal enrichment and to advance their ideological goals. These conditions in advanced narco-states make attempts to suppress the drug trade by other states exceptionally difficult, as tackling the illegal drug trade cannot be disaggregated from larger political, economic, and social issues. Conversely, political, economic, and social issues are likewise intimately intertwined with drug activities, to the frustration of policy makers, military officials, and aid workers who work with these types of narco-states.

North Korea and Afghanistan are both advanced narco-states. Although they share common features (both are source countries with a criminal political elite, for example), the key differences between the two highlight the perniciousness of the illegal drug trade. North Korea is a long-standing, hereditary communist regime; Afghanistan is a fragile democracy riven by internal violence and entrenched ethnic divisions. High-level drug trafficking in these two different types of states reveals how incidental the type of political system and institutional strength of the state is to the trade. In North Korea, the state directs criminal activity, while in Afghanistan, drug trafficking is carried out by a variety of different state actors and violent non-state actors who often oppose each other over political and social issues but collaborate when generating illicit profits.

North Korea is a unique narco-state. As previously mentioned in chapter 1, North Korea's political institutions do not ignore criminal activity in exchange for kickbacks from organized crime syndicates; the government itself exports criminal activity as an instrument of statecraft. As a means to earn hard currency for the country, Central Committee Bureau 39 of the ruling Korean Workers Party conducts illicit international activities in defiance of international law and the domestic laws of numerous other nations. As demonstrated by the *Pong Su* incident, North Korea actively participates in the domestic manufacturing and international distribution of drugs under the direction of state institutions.

North Korea produces and distributes heroin and methamphetamine with a vertically integrated drug trafficking network. It is a "narco-state in which all aspects of the drugs operation—from school children toiling in poppy fields to government-owned processing plants to state-owned cargo ships and trading companies—are controlled by the Kim [regime]."[45] State-owned collective farms have portions of their land reserved for poppy cultivation, with villages assigned production targets and youth brigades and soldiers assisting with cultivation and harvesting.[46] North Korea is also able to use its industrial base to manufacture methamphetamine that is 99 percent pure.[47] Central Committee Bureau 39 then "facilitates the international distribution of narcotics by using national assets such as military and commercial vessels for transportation, diplomatic personnel to sell to wholesale markets, and state-owned businesses to launder the profits to escape seizure."[48] With international exposure of North Korea's active usage of the advantages of state power to centrally control and direct drug trafficking, the government began to outsource a portion of its drug trafficking activities to organized crime groups, most notably the Japanese Yakuza and Chinese triads.

In a mutually beneficial relationship, the North Korean government and organized groups have gained significant access to security and certainty for drug trafficking. For the North Korean government, working with organized crime groups reduces their vulnerability for detection by providing a degree of plausible deniability. For organized crime groups, working with an advanced narco-state like North Korea lessens some of the inefficiencies associated with portions of drug distribution like the inconsistent purity of drug loads and unreliability of smuggling and delivery methods. This symbiotic relationship also facilitates the laundering of drug money. North Korea has used its banks to launder money from organized crime groups, while these groups have also assisted the regime in moving money to financial institutions in other nations.

North Korea's drug trafficking activities have caused a number of security threats in the Asia-Pacific region and globally. North Korean–produced drugs have spread region-wide; most pernicious has been the spread of methamphetamine. Countries in Europe along with countries as diverse as China, Australia, the Philippines and the United States have found their citizens using North Korean–manufactured meth. By participating in the manufacturing and distribution of drugs, North Korea has been able to mitigate the effects of economic sanctions placed on them by the international community. The ability of the North Korean regime to gain hard currency permits it to continue its political and military activities, including its WMD (weapons of mass destruction) programs. North Korea also contributes to long-running internal conflicts in the region through its drug running. For example, a North Korean vessel laden with small arms was detained by authorities in Myanmar who believed that local insurgent groups were intent on trading

heroin for the arms.[49] North Korea's drug trafficking also enriches organized crime groups, like the Yakuza and triads, but also the Russian maffiya and organized crime groups around Southeast Asia.[50] North Korea's money laundering of drug proceeds through legitimate financial institutions and global networks damages economic activity and places pressure on the credibility of banking systems.

Unlike North Korea, Afghanistan's status as an advanced narco-state is not due to the government centrally organizing and directing drug trafficking activities. Rather, Afghanistan is an advanced narco-state because of the myriad ways that drug trafficking is intertwined with the internal violence and political corruption in the country. A variety of actors participate in drug trafficking activities with impunity, and the opium economy is deeply embedded in the fabric of the country. Afghanistan's opium economy and status as a source country for the bulk of the world's heroin supply is well known. The opium economy's scope and centrality to the country's ongoing internal conflict has hobbled attempts to build a secure and prosperous nation. The profit paradox, balloon, and hydra effects have been bound together and tied to the violent political struggle in the nation. Tackling a particular stage of the drug trafficking network in Afghanistan, such as opium crops, resulted in higher levels of political violence while attempts to limit large-scale violence affected key stages of drug production and distribution.

As the international coalition, along with supportive elements of the Afghan government, engaged in a counterinsurgency campaign against the Taliban and other militant groups, the opium trade proved to be the ultimate spoiler of peace and stability. A counterinsurgency campaign can only be successful if military actions involve "minimum violence through an emphasis on conservative but effective tactics, and, second [designing] a political program focused on splitting the revolutionary elite from their followers."[51] Drug trafficking by insurgents along with individuals and groups linked to the Afghan government have thwarted counterinsurgency efforts by engendering widespread political corruption, entrenching organized crime, sustaining militant violence, distorting legitimate economic growth, and creating public health issues.

Opium cultivation and heroin trafficking have served the strategic purposes of insurgent groups in the nation. The illegality of the trade and the criminality that surround it promote internal disorder that insurgent groups have desired. This disorder has disrupted efforts to build a legitimate economy and has produced more dissatisfaction that eroded governmental authority. Insurgent groups like the Taliban have bolstered their standing among some opium farmers by coming to their defense. The Taliban have also benefited financially from opium and heroin profits. The leadership of the Taliban have directed their commanders to "encourage farmers to plant poppies, lending them seed money, buying the crop of sticky opium paste in the

field, refining it into exportable opium and heroin, and finally transporting it to Pakistan and Iran."[52] The UN estimates that the Taliban may earn as much as $200 million annually from drug trafficking.[53] With these proceeds, the Taliban recruits new members, buys arms and equipment, and pays off state agents.

The opium economy is so deeply engrained in Afghanistan that government and international coalition efforts to tackle the opium economy have only served to engender more dissatisfaction among farmers and encouraged more opium cultivation. Crop eradication efforts using aerial herbicides were indiscriminant, killing legal crops and sickening livestock. As one exasperated farmer complained, "We gave our votes to Karzai so he would bring us help and now he is killing our animals."[54] Such disaffection, once again, has served to boost the legitimacy of the insurgents at the expense of the government legitimacy. Other efforts aside from forcible eradication have also foundered. The UN and aid agencies of other countries sought to entice opium farmers into cultivating alternative crops by paying them to eradicate their own opium fields and substitute legal crops, but this induced other farmers to start growing opium to enjoy the windfall as well.[55] Subsidized wheat cultivation programs undermined the nascent wheat industry, leading those farmers to take up opium farming.[56]

National ministries and provincial councils have been packed with former warlords with deep ties to the drug trade. Even the brother of President Hamid Karzai, Ahmed Wali Karzai, had known associations with drug trafficking activities and criminal smuggling networks as head of the provincial council in Kandahar.[57] Drug monies collected by provincial warlords also made their way into the nation's presidential elections.[58] Drug profits have also been laundered through the nation's fragile financial institutions, real estate, cross-border commodity trading, and Pakistan's Karachi Stock Exchange.[59] Attempts by the international coalition to tackle corruption linked to drug trafficking were hampered by the need to continue cooperation with those high-ranking officials for purposes of prosecuting the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

One of the greatest effects of an advanced narco-state like Afghanistan is the protraction of the internal conflict. As previously mentioned and as will be covered in greater detail in chapter 5, participation in the opium economy has allowed the Taliban and other radical groups to continue their operations against the Afghan government and the international coalition since 2001. The longevity of the Taliban has also benefitted Al Qaeda, which maintains financial and ideological links to the group. The continuation of Al Qaeda as a terrorist organization has aided the expansion of its cause to a number of other countries. The presence and facilitation of drug trafficking by non-state groups as well as state agents has distorted economic and political development, leaving citizens with few alternatives to participating in the illicit

economy. As with other narco-states, Afghanistan also pushes the trade through the territory of neighboring states, corrupting government agencies and financial institutions and creating thousands of new drug users and abusers for fragile public health systems to treat.

COMMON FEATURES OF NARCO-STATES AND THEIR PLACE IN GEO-NARCOTICS

The analysis of the previous examples shows that common definitions of narco-states are incomplete. All of the examples belie definitions of narco-states that include the lack of effective law enforcement as a necessary component. Narco-states from incipient to advanced have police and customs agencies that function in varying degrees, but they serve drug trafficking activities at the expense of the public interest. The examples also challenge definitions that include unwanted "state capture" of governmental institutions by traffickers as a key element. Although criminal groups engage in efforts to corrupt and coerce law enforcement, political leaders, and citizens, the examples demonstrate that there is also a wide-ranging degree of consent among state agents and citizens who benefit from the illicit economy. Most discussions of narco-states overlook how drug trafficking can create mutually beneficial relationships among a number of different private and public actors.

The mutually beneficial ties that drug trafficking has with political, economic, and social systems demonstrate the flexibility and adaptability of the illicit narcotics trade. Drug trafficking, while providing private enrichment for state agents and citizens who participate, can often generate resources to sustain public institutions and creates economic opportunities. Drug trafficking activities can provide important services and employment in a given society. This provision of public goods acts as a type of legitimation of drug trafficking; the examples show that legitimation can occur regardless of the prevailing political, economic, and social conditions of a state. The examples reveal that the type of political system is no shield from the power of drug trafficking. Democracies as well as authoritarian regimes are equally as likely to be narco-states. One-party states (North Korea) and those that have transitioned from a one-party state (Mexico) can be narco-states separated by degree. The type of economic and social system is also no tonic to the power of the drug trade; either free market economies or controlled socialist systems can work to the advantage of drug traffickers. Simply put, drug trafficking in a narco-state represents usable power to allocate resources and determine priorities in society.

The level of political stability also does not determine the power of drug trafficking in society. The examples show that a narco-state can exist in the

shadow of political violence (Afghanistan and Papua New Guinea) or in nations devoid of insurgent or terrorist activity (Senegal, Mexico, Honduras, and North Korea). Actors who participate in drug trafficking in politically stable countries can use its profits in illegitimate ways within established political structures such as financing election campaigns in democracies or satisfying the ruling elite in autocratic regimes. Drug trafficking also advances the agendas of violent non-state actors in politically unstable countries by paying for needed equipment, personnel, and expertise as well as supporting important constituencies who are sympathetic with their cause.

As shown in the examples, what proves to be most significant in the flourishing of a narco-state is not the type of political, economic, or social system. Instead, no matter what category of narco-state, drug trafficking requires that key state capabilities and capacities are made available to move drugs to market via the same links that move legitimate goods to the licit global markets. Whether they are the geographic proximity to demand countries, trade links that extend to markets in the developed world, pliable police forces and customs agencies, viable airports or seaports, territory beyond governmental control, arable land or accessibility to state assets, actors in narco-states have used each of these features or some combination of them to facilitate the production and movement of illicit narcotics around the globe.

When the type of narco-state is paired with the country's place in geo-narcotics, some unique features of contemporary drug trafficking emerge (see table 3.1). Source countries are more likely to be in the highest categories of narco-state. Yet source countries in the highest categories of narco-state produce cocaine or heroin, whereas source countries for marijuana and meth are in the serious and lower categories. Transshipment countries are not entirely immune from becoming critical or advanced narco-states. Mirroring source-country narco-states, transshipment countries in the highest categories of narco-states are used to move cocaine or heroin through their territory. Hybrid countries, as serious narco-states, teeter on the edge and run the risk of falling into the higher categories.

An important observation is that a narco-state's categorization is not static; it can move among categories as it improves or worsens. Colombia, as a long-standing source country, was an advanced narco-state in the 1980s and 1990s, but in conjunction with the United States, OAS, and UN, undertook important reforms in subsequent years to reduce the penetration of drug money into national politics and decommissioned violent non-state actors like paramilitaries that took on left-wing guerrilla movements while simultaneously trafficking drugs. Conversely, Mexico, as a hybrid country, is in jeopardy of slipping into the critical category. Should economic benefits of the drug trade come to outstrip greater portions of the legitimate economy while state agents, particularly national-level political leaders, become less accountable and transparent, Mexico will enter the critical category. Papua

Table 3.1

Country	Trafficked Drugs	Place in Geo-narcotics	Type of Narco-State
Afghanistan	Opium, Heroin, Hashish	Source	Advanced
Bahamas	Marijuana, Cocaine	Transshipment	Incipient
Belize	Marijuana, Cocaine	Transshipment	Serious
Bolivia	Cocaine	Source	Critical
Burma	Opium, Heroin, Meth	Source	Advanced
Cambodia	Opium, Heroin, Meth	Hybrid	Serious
Colombia	Cocaine, Heroin, Marijuana	Source	Critical
Ecuador	Cocaine	Transshipment	Developing
El Salvador	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Serious
Guatemala	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Critical
Guinea	Cocaine	Transshipment	Critical
Guinea-Bissau	Cocaine	Transshipment	Advanced
Haiti	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Serious
Honduras	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Critical
Iran	Heroin, Hashish	Transshipment	Incipient
Jamaica	Marijuana, Cocaine	Hybrid	Serious
Laos	Opium, Heroin, Meth	Hybrid	Serious
Lebanon	Marijuana, Cocaine, Heroin, ATS	Hybrid	Developing
Mali	Marijuana, Cocaine, Heroin	Hybrid	Serious

Mexico	Marijuana, Cocaine, Heroin, ATS	Hybrid	Serious
Nigeria	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Serious
North Korea	Heroin, Meth	Source	Advanced
Pakistan	Opium, Heroin	Transshipment	Serious
Panama	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Incipient
Papua New Guinea	Marijuana	Source	Incipient
Peru	Cocaine	Source	Critical
Senegal	Cocaine, Heroin	Transshipment	Developing
Thailand	Heroin, ATS	Transshipment	Developing
Tajikistan	Heroin	Transshipment	Critical
Uzbekistan	Opium, Heroin, Marijuana, Hashish	Transshipment	Serious
Vietnam	Heroin, ATS	Transshipment	Developing

New Guinea, as a source country, could rapidly move into more intense categories if the drug economy becomes more enmeshed in the legitimate economy or if it becomes a hybrid country that is used as a transshipment point for other narcotics produced in the region. For example, there are reports that Nigerian organized crime has infiltrated Papua New Guinea to assist local crime groups to launder money, move weapons, and distribute ATS drugs.[60]

Another important observation is the longevity and proliferation of narco-states. Under the global prohibition regime, the profit paradox, the balloon, and hydra effects have become institutionalized in the form of the narco-state. Those countries that provided the impetus to define the dimensions of a narco-state in the 1980s and 1990s currently remain narco-states. They may have shifted narco-state categories, but these original narco-states have not been able to shake off the influence of drug trafficking on their societies. Although these states continue to be source countries, transshipment countries are now in higher categories of narco-states. As the examples demonstrate, new narco-states have emerged in subsequent years. The region of West Africa hosts a number of transshipment states that are in the high levels of narco-states. Most notably, Guinea-Bissau has become Africa's first advanced narco-state. Its former president João Bernardo Vieira was assassinated in March 2009 in what was believed to be a dispute over control of drug activities in the country, and the United States has designated the country's

leading military officers as "drug kingpins."[61] Central Asia has also seen a rise in the number of narco-states that are source and transshipment countries. Perhaps more troubling than the emergence of new narco-states is how quickly they have moved into the higher categories of narco-states. Much like the original narco-states, the level of intensity of drug trafficking in the societies of new narco-states may point to their longevity as well.

EFFECTS OF NARCO-STATES ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The quantity and spread of various types of narco-states reflect a new reality in international security. In addition to their increasing number over time, narco-states' enduring presence indicates how they have become fixtures of contemporary world politics. Policy makers and scholars have overlooked these features of quantity, proliferation, and longevity of narco-states in accounts of international instability. As the examples demonstrate, narco-states as states have internal and external dimensions. They have domestic arrangements within a defined territory that are largely recognized externally by other states and organizations. However, the internal and external dimensions of narco-states are distorted, fostering the durable disorder of the present international system.

Within the territory of narco-states, the effects of drug trafficking on a society are wide-ranging. Government institutions become hollow, economies become predatory, and civil society becomes criminalized. As previously mentioned, the most pronounced effect across the types of narco-states is the steady diminishing of law enforcement and judicial systems dedicated to the notion of public safety. Rather than the extinction or neutralization of these institutions, they are transformed to serve clients rather than citizens by acting to protect and promote activities that ease the movement of an illicit commodity. Police and courts come to serve narrow private interests. The result of this transformation is the erosion of human rights within the territory of a narco-state. This can be seen in the high rates of homicides of many narco-states and the expropriation of property from people in areas that are used to support a drug trafficking infrastructure such as crop space or airstrips.

The process of democratization also suffers in narco-states. In a narco-state with democratic institutions, hallmarks of accountability and transparency are replaced with corruption. In the examples of Mexico and Honduras, citizen cynicism has risen about the benefits of democracy. In the national elections of 2012, Mexican voters returned to power the political party that had long-running ties with drug trafficking. Citizens come to view politicians and governmental institutions as illegitimate, prompting extra-legal challenges to their authority. Some narco-states experience internal violence like

insurgencies, terrorism, political assassinations and coups that are linked to the dynamics of the illicit drug trade. In Honduras, a military coup ousted the elected president in 2009. Institutions and portions of society can appear to be at war with each other over control of drug trafficking in the country. As will be discussed in greater detail in chapters four and five, many narco-states are unstable and subjected to prolonged bouts of internal violence like civil wars, insurgencies and terrorism. In narco-states that are not democracies, the drug trade is used to bolster the position of the ruling elite. This further entrenches authoritarian structures and processes to the detriment of democratic reforms.

Compromised government institutions of narco-states have added to the porousness of national borders and the erosion of sovereignty. Not only do illicit narcotics more easily move in and out of narco-states, so do numerous nefarious actors. In tandem with the movement of these actors is the trafficking of weapons. The trade in arms is a common feature among various narco-states for a number of reasons. Drugs can be bartered for arms needed by both organized crime syndicates and violent political groups. Organized crime uses the weapons to maintain the security of their illicit activities and to engage in other money-making activities like extortion, kidnapping and murder for hire. Meanwhile, terrorist and guerrilla groups use the arms to attack the government and other political rivals. In the case of North Korea, the government uses the drug trade to evade international sanctions and fund WMD programs that threaten the stability of East Asia.

There are also detrimental effects on development and the environment in narco-states. Developing countries and emerging economies have found their legitimate economic programs overshadowed by the seductive profits of producing, transporting and distributing drugs. Participating in drug trafficking offers better financial incentives for low-income individuals than programs designed to provide legitimate employment, raise living standards and better integrate a nation into the global economy. In some instances, arable crop space and ecologically sensitive sites have been handed over to cultivate and process drug crops or subjected to the construction of transportation infrastructure like roads and runways.

While the effects within narco-states can be acute, the examples also lay out the ways that these internal consequences have negative effects externally on the international community. The most obvious negative effect of the activities of narco-states is the undermining of drug suppression attempts, which consequently hobbles the global narcotics prohibition regime. Ironically, a greater number of states are responsible in this era for the manufacturing and distribution of narcotics than during the age when the drug trade was legal. Even as the governments of narco-states pledge to honor their commitments that they made under the international agreements to tackle the illegal trade of narcotics, they have been unable or unwilling to do so. The

number, variety and durability of narco-states makes robust international cooperation to control the spread of narcotics impossible. In many ways, narco-states act as a type of conveyor belt for the supply of drugs to enter the global market. As a result, highly dangerous drugs continue to find their way to users around the world.

In addition to the continued trafficking of toxic narcotics worldwide, narco-states radiate instability internationally. Not only do weak political and security institutions in narco-states allow for the trade in arms for organized crime and violent political groups, they permit cooperation *between* organized crime and violent political groups. These groups are able to trade illicit goods as well as share expertise and intelligence with each other. As John Picarelli notes, "a decrease in state legitimacy and authority often leads to an increase in transnational organized crime and increased opportunities for crime-terror interaction."[62] This is especially visible in many narco-states where security institutions are unable or unwilling to deter interactions between criminal and terrorist organizations. As will be discussed in more detail in upcoming chapters, diverse types of violent non-state actors can more easily cooperate with each other in environments, like those provided by narco-states, where state agents will not interfere with, and may even facilitate, their activities.

As a result of weak security institutions and their contribution to the porousness of borders, narco-states provide important networks for the fluid movement of violent non-state actors around the world. Rather than acting as a buffer to the movement of violent non-state actors, narco-states are key enablers for their freedom of movement. In fact, crime and terror groups from one region have affected other regions. As Louise Shelley notes,

> West Africa is influenced by crime groups from Latin America and the former Soviet Union, and East Africa has been shaped by the presence of Italian organized crime groups and the arrival of terrorists from Yemen and elsewhere. Major non-state actors in North Africa have been identified as jihadi guerrillas, in West Africa we have seen numerous terrorist organizations operating, including Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda and others combined with organized crime.[63]

One use of drug profits for violent non-state groups is to fund travel in order to gain training, skills and equipment in narco-states that are not necessarily targets of their violent campaigns.

Overall, narco-states have become important drivers of the global movement of violent non-state actors and of people fleeing criminal violence created by the drug trade. Narco-refugees have also become a part of the contemporary international landscape. This has been most apparent in Latin America where drug traffickers have routinely committed atrocities against those people who stand in their way. This forced movement of people has

taxed the resources of those countries that host them. Through the movement of fleeing individuals and members of violent non-state groups, narco-states affect globalization through the migration of individuals around the world.

The implications of narco-states are stark. Most notably, sovereignty is not as solidly understood a concept as scholars and policy-makers have come to believe due to the existence and effects of narco-states. The shaky foundation of the core organizing principle of international relations creates the conditions for the perpetuation of inchoate theories and policies.

NARCO-STATES AND DURABLE DISORDER

International relations and international security studies have inadequately included narco-states in their analyses. Narco-states are a more enduring and flexible type of state than originally acknowledged by scholars and policy makers. The existence of narco-states challenges prevailing notions of sovereignty. In more advanced narco-states, national interest is difficult to distinguish from criminal pursuits; drug trafficking is entangled with a narco-state's internal governance and international affairs. Some narco-states are in the peculiar position of having limited autonomy to pursue legitimate policies but greater freedom to engage in criminal enterprises. The existence of narco-states adds caveats to notions of "the retreat of the state" as described by Susan Strange.[64] According to these notions, governments have surrendered some sovereignty to legitimate nongovernmental, regional and international organizations in an effort to benefit individuals within their borders. However, this notion overlooks how many national leaders have worked with illicit groups and their collaborators to fill in capacity gaps and function holes of their states.

In the process, sovereignty for narco-states is used to shield criminal purposes from outside intervention. Sovereignty in effect is "criminalized." While organized crime, terrorist, and insurgent groups involved in drug trafficking must normally contend with circumventing state authority and avoiding interdiction at each node of the trafficking network, narco-states can assist them in growing, manufacturing, processing, warehousing, or transporting drugs more freely. Sovereignty in the case of narco-states is used to shield these activities from international efforts to end their involvement in the illicit narcotics trade.

Through the criminalization of sovereignty, narco-states add to deviant globalization and durable disorder by complicating ways to develop international cooperation. Inherent in developing international cooperation is contending with the differing and at times conflicting interests of countries. Different narco-states affect other countries in distinct ways and with varying degrees of severity. Australia as a regional power is more concerned with

Papua New Guinea while the United States as a global power is less concerned about Papua New Guinea than it is about Mexico, Honduras, North Korea, or Afghanistan. By separating drug trafficking from other security issues, the United States, like other nations, balances its other interests with these states, like trade, immigration, nuclear proliferation and terrorism, against the relative importance of illegal narcotics trafficking. In addition, gaining cooperation on these other issues is also affected by a narco-state's credibility in following through on its international obligations, including drug control policies. Narco-states can be the least dependable partners in the international arena. The actions and the effects produced by narco-states discourage alliances and international support due to the unreliability of segments of their political, legal, security, and economic establishments.

International cooperation is further hampered because policy makers have mainly focused on the geo-narcotics of countries, whether they are source or transshipment countries, and not on the types of narco-states. As a result, international efforts to tackle narco-states continue along familiar lines of crop eradication, drug interdiction, and alternative development programs. The global prohibition regime has not caught up to the changes in the dynamics of drug trafficking and how they have changed the nature of sovereign states. Political inertia has had a powerful dampening effect on dealing with narco-states as features of international relations. Gaining widespread international cooperation to boost these programs or alter them to focus more clearly on types of narco-states is difficult to achieve. By focusing solely on drug trafficking rather than its entanglement with other security issues, little can be done to lessen the role of narco-states in affecting issues of world order.

Drug trafficking also intersects with other types of states. The following chapter examines how fragile states are entangled with the illicit global narcotics trade. Glimpses of this entanglement, from corruption to human rights abuses, were discussed in this chapter. For a longer, more sustained examination, the next chapter details the myriad ways that drug activities create the conditions for fragile states and how these states in turn provide a rich environment for drug trafficking.

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Chapter Four

Fragile States

On November 2, 2009, tribesmen from the Tarkint community in the West African country of Mali found a burned-out hulk of a Boeing 727 abandoned in the desert. Investigators believed the jet was flown from Venezuela to the makeshift desert runway, carrying up to ten tons of cocaine with an estimated European street value of $80 million.[1] The jet was set ablaze after landing because it was either unable to take off, or the pilots did not want to fly it back across the Atlantic. This was not the first plane abandoned by traffickers in West Africa; the region is littered with a variety of airplanes that have been used to smuggle drugs. These planes are often referred to as "Coca-Cola planes" because drug traffickers can afford to dispose of the aircraft like empty Coke cans.[2] Although the Boeing 727 was among several abandoned drug planes in the region, it was the largest and most sophisticated aircraft that has been found, representing a qualitative leap in the capacity of traffickers to smuggle larger quantities of drugs by air.

The episode revealed the ways that drug trafficking intersects with a number of issues facing the nations of West Africa. The most fundamental issue is the level of state weakness across the region. The discovery of the jet showed the severe gaps in the capability of West African nations to control their own territory, including their airspace. The year before the discovery of drug jet in the Malian desert, the head of the UNODC provided a foreshadowing of the event by describing the problem of state weakness in West Africa and its significance to drug trafficking:

> Drug planes don't have to fly below the radar, because in most cases there is
> no radar (or electricity). Soldiers sometimes help smugglers by closing airports
> and unloading the cargo. Police cars run out of gas when giving chase or are
> left in the dust by smugglers' all-terrain vehicles. There are no local navies to
> intercept ships coming from Latin America or to chase 2,000-horsepower

boats that speed drugs up the coast to Europe. Traffickers are seldom brought to trial; in some cases, there are no prisons to put them in. Even when they are charged they are usually released because evidence is not collected or needed laws are not in place.[3]

The Boeing 727 episode also showed drug trafficking's deep entanglement in the contemporary political, social, and economic life of Mali. The mayor of Tarkint notified the nation's director general of State Security of the plane's location, who then attempted to cover up the plane's association with drug running for fear of unmasking both of their associations with traffickers.[4] In addition, just over ninety miles away from the location of the burned-out plane was a housing development comprising mansions in the nearby town. The development was called Cocainebougou, or "Cocaine Town"; the owners of the mansions were local drug smugglers who received cocaine shipments like those carried by the jet. The smugglers, in turn, have paid extremist groups like AQIM and MUJAO to protect and move drug loads northward for eventual sale in Europe. The extremist groups then pocketed the money to fund their violent operations against states in the region. In addition to drug running to earn funding for their cause, the extremist groups have also relied on kidnapping Westerners for ransom; one of their main middlemen for negotiations was the mayor of Tarkint.[5]

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter on narco-states, global drug trafficking requires access to certain key features of a state. Fragile states, once referred to as weak and failing states, are a natural fit for drug trafficking activities because they have geographic proximity to demand countries, trade networks that extend to markets in developed countries, pliable police forces and customs agencies, viable airports or seaports, territory beyond governmental control, arable land, or accessibility to state assets. This chapter explores how drug trafficking affects fragile states, how they, in turn, affect international drug trafficking, and how the nexus between drug trafficking and fragile states affects international security.

FRAGILE STATES IN CONTEXT

Since the emergence of the Westphalian nation-state in the seventeenth century and over the course of its evolution, a nation-state is believed to possess de jure sovereignty when recognized by the international community and exercises de facto sovereignty by demonstrating a number of key elements. For example, a nation-state should effectively provide public goods to people living within designated borders while being able to manipulate external forces and influences to the benefit of its citizens, and it can navigate the challenges of the international system.[6] Within the international system, all nation-states are granted a number of rights such as entering into treaties,

obtaining financial assistance, regulating their borders, and participating in international organizations.[7] Within their borders, well-ordered nation-states are able to control their territory and "offer high levels of security from political and criminal violence, ensure political freedom and civil liberties, and create environments conducive to the growth of economic opportunity. The rule of law prevails. Judges are independent. . . . Hospitals and clinics serve patients effectively. And so on."[8] Well-ordered nation-states, in other words, may be considered healthy states.[9]

In contrast, fragile states, like Mali, have difficulty reconciling de jure sovereignty with de facto sovereignty. Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart describe this as a "sovereignty gap" that fragile states exhibit.[10] As members of the international community, fragile states are de jure sovereign by virtue of being vested with the same autonomy to exercise the full range of rights accorded to them. However, fragile states have difficulty demonstrating de facto sovereignty in their domestic relations. Robert Jackson labeled them "quasi-states."[11] These states do not demonstrate many of the basic attributes of a healthy state; most notably, their citizens' security is highly precarious and the effective control of their territory is extremely contingent. In these states, the rule of law and legitimacy are replaced by coercion; swaths of territory are contested by a number of often violent actors that the government is unable to control and who victimize citizens. The national economy is also incohesive and does not provide and sustain the basic level of welfare for the population.[12] High levels of insecurity, poverty, and corruption are all hallmarks of fragile states.

In the wake of the Cold War, the issue of fragile states was viewed as a humanitarian concern. Massive human rights abuses in the Balkans, Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti prompted the international community to take state fragility more seriously. In fact, U.S. vice president Al Gore organized the State Failure Task Force in 1994 to develop a set of early-warning indicators that could be used by policy makers to build more preventive approaches to fragile states before they required broader intervention by the international community. However, the issue of state fragility was more forcefully thrust upon the international security agenda by the 9/11 attacks. Al Qaeda was able to use the fragile state of Afghanistan as a safe haven to plot, train and organize the attacks in the United States. Terror groups using ungoverned territory of fragile states to launch attacks internationally forced policy makers and scholars to see these states as more than humanitarian challenges for the people within their borders. The first U.S. *National Security Strategy*, after 9/11, firmly stated that "America is less threatened by conquering states than we are by failing states."[13] In the years after the attacks, policy makers and scholars have reemphasized the dangers of fragile states. The United Kingdom's former foreign secretary, Jack Straw, argued that "terrorists are strongest where states are weakest."[14] Francis Fukuyama went farther by

asserting that "weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order."[15]

Because state fragility has been identified as a significant international security issue, policy makers and scholars have used a variety of tools to assess the relative fragility of states. Among these tools are the UN's Human Development Index and the World Bank's "Government Effectiveness," "Rule of Law," and "Political Stability and the Absence of Violence" reports. The Fund for Peace (FFP) produces a robust annual study of fragile states. Its Fragile States Index (FSI) is an exhaustive list that is used by scholars and policy makers who routinely deal with issues related to the quality of governance. The index provides a numerical score along with an assessment of the performance of 178 countries. The lower the number, the greater capacity of the state, while the higher the number, the greater fragility of the state. The assessments include varying degrees of state fragility, ranging from healthiest to failed: "Sustainable," "Very Stable," "Stable," "Less Stable," "Warning," "High Warning," "Very High Warning," "Alert," "High Alert," and " Very High Alert."

When state fragility is placed in context with a country's role in geo-narcotics and its type of narco-state, the results show that state fragility intersects with drug trafficking in varying degrees (table 4.1). Mali, for example, is a hybrid country and a serious narco-state that is in the "Very High Warning" category of state failure.[16] To paraphrase Ken Menkhaus, drug trafficking is best served in states that are poorly governed rather than not at all.[17] Although there are countries like Afghanistan, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, and Pakistan at "High Alert" of failure, completely failed states do not play a major role in geo-narcotics or are noticeable narco-states. Countries assessed by the Fund For Peace to be in the "Very High Alert" category—South Sudan, Somalia, Central African Republic, Congo, Sudan—do not play a significant part in the global drug trafficking network. In fact, the source countries that are the most serious narco-states are not the most fragile states. Most transshipment countries in the lower categories of narco-state are fragile, but not failed states. Finally, while all hybrid countries are serious narco-states, only Jamaica is not ranked as a highly fragile state. This pattern reinforces what was demonstrated in the previous chapter—drug trafficking occurs in states that have enough institutional support to aid drug-running activities.[18]

Absent from the table is the other end of the spectrum of state fragility, healthy states in the "Very Sustainable" to "Very Stable" categories. Again, it is instructive that most of these countries are demand countries in the developed world, like the United States, Canada, Australia, the UK, Spain, France, The Netherlands, and Portugal. Most of these countries are the same ones that once engaged in the commercial drug trade for centuries and then subsequently pressed for its prohibition. But these stable developed nations

Table 4.1

Country	Place in Geo-narcotics	Type of Narco-State	State Fragility Score/Assessment
Afghanistan	Source	Advanced	106.5 (High Alert)
Bahamas	Transshipment	Incipient	54.1 (Less Stable)
Belize	Transshipment	Serious	67 (Warning)
Bolivia	Source	Critical	78.9 (Very High Warning)
Burma	Source	Advanced	94.3 (Alert)
Cambodia	Hybrid	Serious	88.5 (Very High Warning)
Colombia	Source	Critical	83.1 (Very High Warning)
Ecuador	Transshipment	Developing	77.3 (High Warning)
El Salvador	Transshipment	Serious	72 (High Warning)
Guatemala	Transshipment	Critical	80.3 (Very High Warning)
Guinea	Transshipment	Critical	102.7 (High Alert)
Guinea-Bissau	Transshipment	Advanced	100.6 (High Alert)
Haiti	Transshipment	Serious	104.3 (High Alert)
Honduras	Transshipment	Critical	77.9 (High Warning)
Iran	Transshipment	Incipient	87.2 (Very High Warning)
Jamaica	Hybrid	Serious	64.9 (Warning)
Laos	Hybrid	Serious	84.3 (Very High Warning)
Lebanon	Hybrid	Developing	86.9 (Very High Warning)
Mali	Hybrid	Serious	89.8 (Very High Warning)
Mexico	Hybrid	Serious	71.1 (High Warning)
Nigeria	Transshipment	Serious	99.7 (Alert)
North Korea	Source	Advanced	94 (Alert)
Pakistan	Transshipment	Serious	103 (High Alert)

Panama	Transshipment	Incipient	55.7 (Less Stable)
Papua New Guinea	Source	Incipient	84.1 (Warning)
Peru	Source	Critical	72.9 (High Warning)
Senegal	Transshipment	Developing	82.8 (Very High Warning)
Thailand	Transshipment	Developing	77 (High Warning)
Tajikistan	Transshipment	Critical	84.6 (Very High Warning)
Uzbekistan	Transshipment	Serious	86.3 (Very High Warning)
Vietnam	Transshipment	Developing	72.7 (High Warning)

are not alone as demand countries; as previously mentioned in chapter 2, the BRICS and other countries with emerging economies are also facing increasing drug demand. These countries are also more fragile than demand countries in the developed world. In addition, retail markets for drug consumption are springing up in transshipment narco-states, placing more pressure on the health of these states.

Overall, the table shows that state fragility is connected to the presence of drug trafficking. However, drug trafficking in fragile states does not imply a direct causal relationship. Drug trafficking does not cause state fragility nor do fragile states cause drug trafficking. The sources of state fragility are often intertwined with the history of these states—many are post-colonial or post-Soviet states that did not inherit solid institutions of governance or strong economies upon their independence. These states have also been subjected to the neoliberal economic policies of the major powers, which have done little to shore up these states' institutions to regulate cross-border flows of people and commerce. Certainly, the presence of illicit narcotics trafficking in these states has not helped compensate for these deficits. There is a complex interplay among drug trafficking and other factors associated with state fragility, which overlap and reinforce each other. Drug trafficking works in conjunction with various factors of state fragility and thus plays a contributing, rather than causal, role in the strength or weakness of certain states.

The Fund for Peace assesses the fragility of states along a range of indicators—social, economic, and political. Each indicator is refined further, bringing the total number of indicators to twelve (table 4.2).[19] Exploring how drug trafficking plays a part in each of the twelve indicators provides a greater

level of detail in understanding the deep connection between the narcotics trade and fragile states.

DRUG TRAFFICKING AND INDICATORS OF STATE FRAGILITY

Although the FSI does not specifically include drug trafficking in each of the twelve indicators, drug trafficking is nonetheless visible in each indicator and in large and small degrees. For certain indicators, drug trafficking is more influential than others as a direct or indirect factor in state fragility. As interconnected as the indicators are, a brief examination of how illicit narcotics activities are woven throughout each indicator will demonstrate the profound influence of the drug trade within the social, economic, and political dimensions of fragile states.

Social Indicators

Drug trafficking activities place additional pressures on the societies of fragile states. Societies in source, transshipment, and hybrid countries are fractured and riven with fissures among a variety of groups. The presence of drug running activities only worsens these fissures.

Table 4.2

Indicators of State Fragility

Social Indicators

—Demographic Pressures brought about by natural disasters and disease

—Refugees and Internally Displaced People that create humanitarian emergencies

—Group Grievances that create violent challenges to the government

—Human Flight and Brain Drain that leave the state with shrinking human capital

Economic Indicators

—Uneven Economic Development based along group affiliation

—Poverty and Economic Decline that strain the ability to provide public goods

Political Indicators

—State Legitimacy under challenge by corruption and criminality

—Public Services deteriorate and function sporadically

—Human Rights and Rule of Law are violated and applied unevenly

—Security Apparatus does not have the monopoly on legitimate use of force

—Factionalized Elites engage in brinksmanship and stalemate

—External Intervention by outside groups to provide services or manipulate domestic affairs

Demographic Pressures

Demographic pressures contribute to state fragility when the population of a country outstrips a government's ability to cope with issues like disease, food scarcity, and population growth. Many fragile states have high populations with a large number of young people living in poverty. These factors have led to the outbreak of disease, food shortages, and the lack of opportunities to build better lives. Opportunities for education and meaningful employment are often scarce, leaving a large percentage of the population at the mercy of criminal enterprises.

Widespread criminality has often led to rising rates of infectious disease in fragile states. Aside from rising rates of addiction and disease associated with intravenous drug use in transshipment countries, development projects designed to improve the legitimate economy can spur drug use and disease. For example, in remote areas where resource extraction occurs, property rights are often insured by private rather than public means. Private actors, such as criminal groups, corrupt companies, or companies run by criminals themselves, will allow or provide prostitutes and drugs at job sites or work camps to boost morale. This pattern includes the subsequent spike in HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis cases that burden an already overwhelmed public health system in fragile states. As a result, many of the infected people go untreated and then continue to infect others. The outbreaks of epidemics are often only brought under control by the intervention of outside organizations.

Drug trafficking is not alone in contributing to rising rates of disease. Food scarcity and drug trafficking are also bound together in fragile states. Because fragile states often have large populations and because economic opportunities are few, individuals' insecurity is heightened due to the lack of access to adequate and stable food supplies. In some countries, the limited availability of land combined with large households can lead to food insecurity.[20] In source countries like Afghanistan, this creates an incentive for families to grow opium as way to guarantee a reliable source of income to purchase food, rather than relying on subsistence farming or cultivating legitimate crops for commercial sale. In other source countries, like those in the Andes, very few legitimate crops will yield enough profit or provide enough sustenance in the altitudes where people live and where coca cultivation thrives.

Refugees and Internally Displaced People

As seen in the previous chapter, drug trafficking can produce conditions that force people to leave their homes for sanctuary in places within their country or in other countries. Drug traffickers that seize land for drug crops, airstrips, processing labs, and roads have often coerced people to work for them or compelled them to leave. Colombia's criminal violence and insurgency have

created approximately 5 million internally displaced people (IDP), making it the country with the highest number of IDPs in the world.[21]

IDPs produced by drug trafficking contribute to fracturing of societies. Many of those who are displaced become unemployed and move to cities or their outskirts in search of jobs. Few of them find employment, while those that do often work in the informal economy for low wages. Their access to education and health care is also very limited. Socioeconomic programs in fragile states to address the plight of IDPs cannot cope with the numbers or the complexity of their challenges. International donors and external programs that seek to aid IDPs are often hobbled by the institutional inadequacy or corruption of the host government, which is a narco-state of one degree or another.

In some cases, drug gangs and their violence have emptied entire towns.[22] This has decimated local economies and affected the growth of national economies. Increasingly, in countries like Mexico, "self-defense groups" of vigilantes have emerged to protect themselves from drug violence. This has also contributed to the fracturing of society, wherein the nation's security forces are viewed as inept, corrupt, or oppressive.

Narco-refugees often transit to neighboring states, which are also fragile. These refugees face the same challenges as IDPs but must contend with additional challenges such as lack of documentation, recrimination by the local population, and suspicions of host governments. Nations that accept refugees are in turn subjected to the introduction of additional people that they must contend with in some manner as they struggle to deal with other domestic challenges.

Group Grievances

Communal violence is often a feature of fragile states. Tensions between groups in society over access to economic resources, political rights, and social welfare have sparked violent confrontations that security institutions cannot adequately address. The inability of the government to guarantee security has prompted groups to engage in anti-government activities to provide for their members' security.

To gain the resources needed to demonstrate their grievances while protecting their constituents, groups have often turned to the drug trade. As will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter, guerrilla groups, terrorist organizations, private militias, and pirate bands have incorporated elements of the narcotics trade to sustain their groups. As seen in the example of Mali, a variety of groups with grievances against the government and other governments in the region participate in the smuggling of drugs in exchange for a lucrative slice of the profit. A large number of private purveyors of violence with links to criminal activity have made resolving their grievances much

more difficult. Over time, these groups are loath to surrender access to a profitable resource in exchange for political, economic, or social concessions. The drug trade acts as a spoiler that can upset negotiations. In the instances where groups have resolved their grievances, such as in the Balkans, their criminal activities have continued, but with the additional protection of state authorities.

An additional complication is the distribution of drugs for use by the armed fighters linked to these groups. In several instances, militants will use drugs in combat to give them the courage to commit violent acts or to give them an advantage over conventional forces that they are fighting. For example, several jihadi groups have encouraged their members to use narcotics when committing acts of terrorism or engaging Western militaries.[23]

Human Flight and Brain Drain

Closely associated with narco-refugees is the migration of educated and skilled individuals that leave a fragile state for better opportunities in other countries. Fragile states contend with the shrinking of the human capital that forms the foundations of solid social, economic, and political structures. The lack of competent individuals to devise and implement agendas that enhance the vitality of a nation creates a vacuum for which few fragile states can compensate.

Drug trafficking and its associated violent and corruptive effects have forced many elite and highly skilled citizens of fragile states to legally immigrate to more stable countries. Political leaders, businesspeople, entrepreneurs, journalists, police officers, and other professionals who form the backbone of stable societies emigrate to avoid being victimized.[24] The departure of state agents and members of the media make dealing with drug trafficking and criminality more difficult to tackle. The lack of competent individuals in these fields allows drug activities to occur unreported in the shadows and go unpunished. This adds to the culture of impunity within society.

Professionals such as engineers, lawyers, accountants, and others with technical and financial skills have been targeted for abduction or coercion. Drug cartels and gangs have forced these professionals to work for them to innovate in their smuggling and money laundering activities. In such an atmosphere, many decide to flee for other countries. Members of the "ownership class" take their capital, investments, and ideas with them, to the detriment of their home countries that need their resources and skills to build more stable and prosperous societies. These are the same types of individuals who can assist their home nations in ways that better integrate them into the global economy while ameliorating globalization's negative effects on their societies.

Economic Indicators

In close association with social indicators are economic indicators, which also illuminate the health of a state. Indicators of economic strength are not immune from the influence of drug trafficking; a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and criminal activity is visible in many fragile states. The activities associated with drug running diminish the performance of the licit economy of fragile states and create distorted incentives for greater participation in the criminal economy.

Uneven Economic Development

In fragile states, economic disparities overlap with social cleavages that contribute to group grievances. Disparities can exist between ethnic, religious, and political groups or between the countryside and the cities. The government may play an active role in perpetuating these divisions in order to please a core constituency and to suppress opposition. The government may also lack sufficient resources to bridge the economic gap among groups.

As discussed in the previous chapter, some national leaders have participated in drug running as a way to bring in needed capital to generate economic activity that will placate constituents and opponents. Conversely, the drug trade has been a logical substitute for people who have been displaced by legitimate development programs supported by the government. In either case, the influx of drug money into a fragile state has added to uneven economic development by stimulating a parallel economy. For example, in Colombia, peasants who were forced from their land because of land reform were pushed into more remote parts of the country and became ensnared in the economy of the drug trade.

> There, communities with very weak social cohesion were set up, in locations with only a scarce presence of state institutions. Those areas were especially ideal for the flourishing of a parallel economy based on the cultivation and trafficking of cocaine and marijuana. There, the drug dealers filled the space left by the state; they constituted for thousands of Colombians a social security system that provided income through assuring transportation and the prices that no one guaranteed to the small peasant producers. [25]

A parallel economy further fragments a state's economy by creating greater divisions among various groups in society. Drug traffickers also emerge as an important new economic class that bargains for state cooperation, like legislation that favors their interests.

Poverty and Economic Decline

Fragile states face high rates of poverty and unemployment that hamstring these governments' ability to provide for their citizens. Friction between the "haves" and "have nots" is a regular feature of fragile states. Drug trafficking reinforces the drag on the economies of fragile states while contributing to the friction between economic classes. A declining economy is also closely linked to the social indicator of human flight and brain drain. Although there is no systematic tracking of how much brain drain is occurring globally or the precise cost to nations where it occurs, a study by the World Bank estimates that migration caused by criminal violence and drug trafficking shaves several percentage points from a nation's economic growth and GDP.[26]

The high lootability and low obstructability of drug trafficking is well suited to provide opportunities for unskilled labor. In fragile states, youth unemployment is typically high. Drug trafficking creates a number of jobs for young people, jobs that do not require a great deal of education or technical knowledge. Beyond growing and harvesting drug crops, individuals can be put to work as couriers, lookouts, drivers, guards, and supervisors, among other positions that do not include complicated tasks. Although individuals who work for drug traffickers are employed and are paid a wage, they are part of a parallel, or shadow, economy. In such an economy, no taxes are collected on their income, and cash transactions also go largely untaxed. Without collecting revenues, state treasuries do not benefit from the labor of these individuals, and government spending power is diminished further.

Employment in the parallel economy of the drug trade also contributes to cycles of poverty. Low-skilled jobs in drug trafficking rarely translate into advancement in the legitimate economy. Although jobs in the drug trade may pay better than some jobs in the licit economy, workers in the drug economy are often trapped in the low-paid world of criminal activity and are unable to lift themselves into the middle class. They may advance in drug trafficking organizations, but these opportunities are rare and still contribute little to strengthen the national economy. Moreover, due to the profit paradox and hydra effect, there is a large reservoir of willing individuals who can be replacement workers at any given moment. As a result, wages are kept low and job security is nonexistent.

The result of this cycle is an additional source of friction between economic classes. The wealthy and middle class view the poor as inherently criminal. In some countries, business owners have pooled some of their money to pay private groups to handle youths accused of vandalism and robbery; the bodies of murdered children are then dumped on the outskirts of the city.[27] The poor view extrajudicial killings as persecution. Laws that are aimed at curtailing crime and drug running are also perceived as inherently

biased against them. In Peru, laws that sought to eradicate more hectares of coca cultivation were described as "a witch hunt against coca growers."[28]

Political Indicators

Intertwined with social and economic indicators are political indicators that demonstrate the strength of public institutions in fragile states. Corruption and criminality empower one another to the detriment of the political health of a state. The political indicators are more numerous than either social or economic indicators, largely because the political realm is where state fragility is more noticeable; it is where the gap between de jure and de facto sovereignty is most pronounced.

Contested State Legitimacy

High levels of crime and corruption take a toll on the ability of the state to be perceived as a fair and equitable arbiter in the eyes of its population. Beyond the insecurity that crime and corruption engender in society, political officials engaging in criminal and corrupt practices alienate the populace. Illegal activity by politicians allows them to retain their positions of authority and to wield the institutions of government in their favor. The lack of representation in the halls of government and the inadequate institutional avenues to participate in crafting policies produce movements that seek structural reforms to the political process.

Because many fragile states are also narco-states of some degree, crime and corruption are endemic in their government institutions. As mentioned in the previous chapter, regardless of whether a narco-state is a democracy or a dictatorship, drug trafficking infiltrates its political life. Citizens adjust their expectations of governance to include corruption as a routine part of politics. For example, during the 2012 elections in Mexico, many voters sought a return to the corrupt seven-decade rule of the PRI party in hopes of lessening the drug violence gripping the country. As one woman explained her vote for the leader of the PRI, "He'll stabilize the cartels. He'll negotiate so they don't hurt innocents."[29] Drug trafficking has been historically enmeshed in the political life of Mexico with normalized pay-offs to politicians for access to territory based on a "1-2-3 system" of set prices: $1 million for an interior location, $2 million for a coastal area, and $3 million for a U.S.-Mexico border crossing.[30]

Political corruption due to the influence of the drug trade helps create an atmosphere for large-scale protest movements to emerge. Without transparent processes to participate in the political life of a state, citizens form organizations to pressure the government to meet their demands to clean up corruption. At times, these organizations have become alternative sources of political power, draining more legitimacy from the state. In some instances,

political movements have turned violent, creating social disorder and further challenging the legitimacy of the state.

Deteriorated Public Services

Through a variety of institutions, structures, and processes, healthy states provide a measure of security, education, health, and sanitation to people in their territory. Critical to these tasks is a viable infrastructure that allows for the transportation of people and goods along roads, railways, and waterways; other key pieces of infrastructure facilitate communication among people via phone and Internet service and deliver access to potable water and reliable power. These public services are hobbled or nonexistent in fragile states. Drug trafficking activities benefit from deteriorated public services and, in some instances, compensate for them.

As demonstrated previously in other examples, scarce social and transportation infrastructure in many fragile states has been favorable to those engaged in illicit activities like the illegal drug trade. Drug traffickers have filled the gap by bringing in scarce services and resources to areas where drug production and smuggling require better logistical conditions. Drug traffickers have not only helped construct roads and airstrips but have also brought communication technologies to remote areas. Mexican drug cartels in Mexico "hide radio antennas and signal relay stations deep inside remote and hard-to-reach terrain, connect them to solar panels, and then link the facilities to radio-receiving cellphones."[31] The provision of these services form an infrastructure that is criminalized and largely beyond the control of the institutions of fragile states, which are unable to regulate such activities.

However, drug traffickers have utilized legitimate infrastructure projects funded by external organizations and foreign countries. An example is Afghanistan's Ring Road project. Funded and constructed by several nations, the Ring Road is a nearly 1,400 mile (2,200-kilometer), two-lane highway that connects the major cities in Afghanistan. It was a centerpiece of a larger goal of constructing a network of roads to improve the unity of the Afghan state by providing key infrastructure that better linked the country's disparate population. In addition to improving the mobility of many Afghans, the Ring Road and other transportation infrastructure projects have made the transportation of opium and heroin more efficient. The internal opium and heroin economy has been streamlined, as have exports to neighboring countries because of the improved roads in the country.[32]

Violations of Human Rights and Rule of Law

Fragile states have difficulty in respecting the human rights of their populations and applying the rule of law in an evenhanded, impartial manner. Institutions of justice are often compromised because of corruption and criminal-

ity. The illegal narcotics trade both contributes to and benefits from inconsistent application of the laws and the trampling of human rights in fragile states.

To control the rampant criminality associated with drug running, many fragile states have turned to suppression strategies that have included the use of the military to round up drug gangs and patrol dangerous neighborhoods. Some governments have declared a number of states of emergency, suspending some constitutional guarantees and using troops, to fight violent crime.[33] States of emergency and the use of the military in police functions have led to charges of human rights violations in these nations.

In many countries, drug gangs and criminal organizations are powerful enough to survive suppression attempts and have actively bargained with governments over their activities in society. Gang truces have been negotiated with governments in Central America and the Caribbean. In exchange for better conditions in prison and the relaxation of anti-gang legislation, drug gangs have agreed to reduce killings and recruitment in some areas. Government interaction has elevated criminal interests into the political realm. This was apparent in Guatemala with the intercession of the Organization of American States (OAS) to negotiate parameters of a potential agreement between gangs and the government. This gave local gangs a larger national (and regional) profile and put pressure on the government to participate in mediation efforts in ways that it had previously resisted. In Trinidad and Tobago, the news media often treat gang leaders as though they are community leaders by interviewing them on TV after meetings with politicians.[34] Some gang leaders in El Salvador have offered policy recommendations via televised press conferences from prison.[35] As a result, negotiations with criminal groups in society undermine the search for justice by many victims of their violence; governments and gangs have been unwilling to discuss punishment for previous crimes as a condition for reducing further violence.

Contested Security Apparatus

The security forces of fragile states lack the monopoly on the legitimate use of force when criminal groups like gangs and drug cartels are able to dictate the terms of their activities with the government and when other violent non-state actors like terrorist organizations and guerrilla movements attack political institutions. Drug trafficking empowers these groups and is empowered by them, to the detriment of state health.

It has been well established that a variety of non-state actors have involved themselves in the illicit narcotics trade. In addition to these actors, the security conditions of fragile states have also sparked

> the intensified growth of and employment of private security (or military) organizations, businesses and regimens in various forms. Whether formed to

fill critical gaps in a government's ability to deal with dangerous or complex security environments, or to provide value-added services for the government, large corporations, or other enterprises, they are a business mainly formed to earn money and operate in accord with business models designed to accomplish that end.[36]

The United States has routinely hired private contractors to handle portions of its counternarcotics operations. This outsourcing has included activities such as surveillance, crop eradication, and intelligence gathering.

However, some private security firms in fragile states have at times been as guilty of engaging in criminal activities as the adversaries they were hired to control. In fact, some criminal organizations have formed their own "security firms" to gain a measure of legitimacy and to make some suspicious activities tacitly acceptable.[37] Adding to the complicity, many security firms comprise former members of a country's security apparatus or moonlighting police and soldiers. These private security firms have carried out kidnappings, extortion, and murder at the behest of drug cartels.[38]

Factionalized Elites

Political and economic elites in fragile states engage in brinksmanship and stalemate to enhance the power of their own factions and to carve up national resources for their narrow interests. In countries that permit elections, the process is often flawed due to corruption or attacks on opponents. These attacks can be done via media that is a wholly owned subsidiary of a political faction, or the attacks can take the form of coercive activities aimed at candidates and their supporters.

Beyond the use of drug money to finance their campaigns or to pay off key constituencies, elites have been influenced by drug trafficking in other ways. In order to maintain their political and economic power, elites in some fragile states have chosen not to rely on formal processes enshrined in law, but have colluded with other non-state groups in society to meet their interests. Criminal organizations, militia, vigilante groups, and death squads have been employed at the behest of elite groups in fragile states. These groups have acted as "unofficial henchmen" of elites as a way for them to maintain plausible deniability of aggressive illegal activity.[39] Many of these groups have active links to the drug trade; they are rewarded for their service with political favors that permit (or enable) them to continue their illicit activities. In Colombia, paramilitary self-defense groups have been linked with legislators and the military. At one point, forty serving and former congressmen were charged with collaborating with a right-wing militia group with deep ties to the cocaine trade.[40] Legislators, along with portions of the Colombian army, have used informal ties as a way to boost their operations against left-wing guerrillas and their political sympathizers.[41]

External Intervention by Outside Groups

Due to the internal disorder and lack of de facto sovereignty, fragile states are often subjected to external intervention by various actors in the international community. International organizations, regional organizations, NGOs, private foundations, neighboring countries, and major powers have intervened in fragile states to provide services or manipulate their domestic affairs. As a result, these states have diminished autonomy, and the commitment of the population to the government is tempered. Drug trafficking is a contributing factor in many of these interventions.

At the highest end of external intervention is the use of military force by an outside power or group of states. The most conspicuous example of drug trafficking's ability to spur external intervention is the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989. The transformation of the country into a critical narco-state by its dictator Manuel Noriega prompted U.S. action to capture him and put the country on the path to democracy. However, a fragile state's transformation into a critical narco-state is not the only condition under which drug trafficking can prompt a military intervention. In the case of Mali, drug profits reinforced several rebel groups, including MUJAO, a breakaway group of AQIM, enabling them to launch major offensives to capture a large northern part of the country in 2012. This led to France's acceptance of the Malian government's request to launch a military campaign in 2013 to retake several cities from rebel hands.

In addition, outside powers have felt compelled to intervene and stop human rights emergencies that were fueled in part by the drug abuse of violent non-state actors. Giving drugs to members of irregular forces has been part of a common approach to "tease out someone else's latent prejudices and inflame it with scapegoating rhetoric, mobilize gangs of thugs and criminals and unemployed, arm them, stoke them with drugs and drink, and loose them upon defenseless civilians."[42] This was witnessed in the 1990s when drug-fueled atrocities in Yugoslavia sent waves of refugees throughout Europe and eventually led to a Western military response to end the humanitarian catastrophe unfolding in the heart of Europe.

BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF DRUG TRAFFICKING'S INTERSECTION WITH FRAGILE STATES

The social, economic, and political indicators of state fragility all show an overlapping and reinforcing relationship between drug trafficking and the weakening of states. The ways in which drug trafficking directly and indirectly influences state fragility show how it flourishes in the environment of these types of states. Drug traffickers and their collaborators treat fragile states as a type of à la carte menu, picking and choosing among institutions,

resources, and people that can be most useful to their operations while ignoring or undermining those aspects of the state that pose obstacles. Those who participate in the illicit trade of narcotics can operate more effectively and efficiently where public services are feeble and compromised but not completely absent. Once again, it appears that undergoverned areas are preferable to ungoverned territory as drug trafficking still requires access to some services and resources of the state.

Nonetheless, as seen in the discussion of the twelve indicators, while drug trafficking is nurtured in these states, the overall strength of the state is diminished. The sum of drug trafficking's influence on social, economic, and political indicators is the fragmenting power of the state. This is apparent in significant ways: parallel economies that are more lucrative than legitimate commerce, non-state actors that outgun conventional police forces and militaries, organizations with more legitimacy than governments, and individuals with competing and overlapping allegiances. This shearing of power away from the state has a number of serious implications for scholars and policy makers.

A significant implication of drug trafficking's influence on the fragmentation of power in a fragile state is the emergence of sources of order and disorder that challenge the primacy of public institutions of governance. For the state, these sources contribute to disorder because they operate in ways that are contrary to established patterns of institutional authority. However, these sources provide a degree of order for their clients and constituents, who benefit from their illicit activities. While the issue of state fragility is a prominent challenge in international security, these sources of order and disorder are manifested in fragile states as specific geographic sites of increasing concern to those in the field of international security. For example, Richard Norton developed the concept of a "feral city," or a metropolis with a population of more than a million people where the government has lost the ability to maintain the rule of law within the city's boundaries yet remains a functioning element in the greater international system.[43]

> Imagine a great metropolis covering hundreds of square miles. Once a vital component in a national economy, this sprawling urban environment is now a vast collection of blighted buildings, an immense petri dish of both ancient and new diseases, a territory where the rule of law has long been replaced by near anarchy in which the only security available is that which is attained through brute power. . . . Yet this city would still be globally connected. It would possess at least a modicum of commercial linkages, and some of its inhabitants would have access to the world's most modern communication and computing technologies.[44]

Such feral cities are filled with "no-go zones" where government authorities are outmatched by local power brokers and overwhelmed by the lack of

recognizable, conventional order. Nonetheless, feral cities function sufficiently to connect the licit and illicit worlds as pipelines for people, capital, and goods. Robert Bunker and John Sullivan have added to the feral city concept by discussing how some cities have "deinstitutionalized," or fully collapsed, and have "reinstitutionalized" around the economic, social and power interests of criminal organizations that are deeply involved in drug running activities.[45] For example, Ciudad del Este is a city that lies at the intersection of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay; it is an international hub for smugglers, counterfeiters, gangsters, and terrorists. Hezbollah, Nigerian organized crime groups, Chinese triads, among other violent non-state groups, freely operate beyond the effective government authority of the three countries bordering Ciudad del Este. Understanding, reforming, and preventing the phenomenon of feral cities is especially urgent, with more than one hundred countries at some level of state fragility, over half of the world's population living in cities, and the continuing urbanization of the planet.

Beyond feral cities, other sites of order and disorder in fragile states are prisons. In those fragile states that have penal systems, the scale of criminality has frequently overwhelmed them. In countries with widespread drug trafficking, the minimal institutions of justice cannot adequately absorb the numbers of criminal actors. Court cases surge and swamp the capacity of penitentiaries. In attempting to confront El Salvador's rising numbers of drug gang membership, the Salvadoran Minister of Justice and Public Security declared, "I can't put 400,000 people in prison."[46] While many criminals avoid detention, those who eventually become incarcerated are able to turn prisons into another area of contested authority where they continue to run their illegal enterprises, develop new criminal skills, forge new alliances with other crime groups, and co-opt prison officials. Many gang and low-level cartel members meet in prison where their trust is built over time and where their "credentials" and bona fides are established in order to commit future crimes.[47]

In other instances, significant violence has been orchestrated from prisons as inmates are powerful enough to force prison authorities to become their accomplices. In 2010, officials of one prison in Mexico released inmates at night and allowed them to use prison vehicles and weapons to commit contract killings of 17 people in another city.[48] In Sao Paolo, Brazil, a powerful prison gang, First Command of the Capital (PCC), organized a wave of mass attacks across the city from May 11 to 14, 2006 to protest the treatment of their members. Nearly 300 sites were attacked in the city, including 40 police stations and the city's transportation system. By the end of the attacks, approximately 261 people were killed.[49]

Both feral cities and prisons represent the fragmentation of power in states, which reflects what Moises Naim calls the emergence of "micropower."[50] Emanating from smaller, largely overlooked actors that were once

negligible, micropower thwarts large bureaucratic organizations that previously controlled their fields.[51] Micropower is "unburdened by size, scale, asset and resource portfolio, centralization and hierarchy" and outflanks larger, more established actors.[52] Feral cities and their labyrinth geography, complex sociology, and shadow economies have been able to remain outside the ostensible control of broader government authority. These cities are thus able to serve as powerhouses for transnational criminal enterprises like illicit narcotics trafficking. Prisons, rather than institutions of justice, have become locations of political and social power. The powerful dynamics of the drug trade have created conditions where prisons no longer epitomize the symbol of state control. Rather, they often serve as corporate headquarters for criminals who help run a portion of an illicit international enterprise while undermining the viability of the state.[53]

Paradoxically, the fragmenting of power within states and the emergence of micropower, represented by the rise of geographic sites of disorder and order helps bind fragile states to one another. For instance, even a functional airport in a feral city can be the point of departure for drugs being flown to an airport in another feral city; the drugs can be transported to safe houses operated by criminal syndicates whose leaders call the shots from penitentiaries on cell phones procured for them by prison guards. What the FFP Fragile States Index does not assess (nor do other measures of state fragility) is the degree to which fragile states affect each other's fragility. One weak and failing state enfeebles another state. Or a group of fragile states can affect a single state or vice versa. So too can a group of fragile states undermine a group of states. To compartmentalize and separate one fragile state from another (or from a group) is fraught with difficulty in a globalized world.

The difficulty in compartmentalizing fragile states becomes apparent when reorganizing table 4.1 into a regional grouping of countries. In table 4.3, the nature of drug trafficking's influence on the larger relationship among fragile states with one another becomes more visible. With the exception of Africa, each region has at least one source country that is a critical or an advanced narco-state with a high degree of state fragility in a group of very weak states. Africa may appear to be a unique region; however, as seen in the example of Mali, Africa's major source countries are located in South America due to the regions' proximity to one another by air. In fact, Dakar, Senegal, is closer to the city of Recife on Brazil's east coast than Recife is to Lima, Peru.[54] The table shows how the power of drug trafficking enables the radiating of state fragility. The dynamics of the illegal drug trade—the profit paradox, balloon effect, and hydra effect—combine to push drug routes through favorable jurisdictions and infiltrate new territory, weakening states along the social, economic, and political indicators discussed in this chapter.

Drug trafficking interacts dialectically with some states by contributing to their falling into greater disorder internally as it contributes to their integration into greater order externally. Although a largely uncoordinated and unregulated international industry, drug trafficking is nonetheless able to connect disparate nations while undermining their domestic institutions. This type of international integration based on an illegal commodity serves to reinforce the drivers of internal fragmentation. Governments in fragile states are thus squeezed between an illegal global industry and non-state groups operating from sites of order and disorder. Far more than a sovereignty gap between de jure and de facto sovereignty, a tight vice of powerful opposing forces trap the governments of fragile states, draining their power, authority, and legitimacy away.

FRAGILE STATES, DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND EFFECTS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The influence of drug trafficking on fragile states demonstrates the inability of a large number of nation-states to fend off the challenges of micropower. Pressures from the external dynamics of the international drug trade and from internal challenges like sites of order and disorder create the conditions for the unstable international system of the contemporary world. Drug trafficking knits together fragile states in a network that forms much of deviant globalization and reinforces the durable disorder being witnessed in today's international security environment. As Naim argues, "the decoupling of power from size, and thus the decoupling of the capacity to use power effectively from the control of a large Weberian bureaucracy [such as the nation-state], is changing the world."[55] The ramifications on international security are stark: the future effective use of power "lies in disruption and interference, not management and consolidation."[56] A world of stable, legitimate, and cooperative states would help promote the goals of management and consolidation that form the basis for order, stability, and predictability in the international security environment. However, the influence of the drug trade on fragile states serves to disrupt and interfere with efforts to build such a world.

Disruption and interference are already occurring and the effects for the future will be stark. It is likely that sites of order and disorder like prisons and feral cities will be increasingly integrated within a network of criminal enterprises and will compete for a stake in the licit and illicit global economies.[57] With the world rapidly urbanizing along with the growth of megacities occurring in fragile states, the forces of deviant globalization and durable disorder are boosted. As Bunker and Sullivan argue, "the rise of networked criminal enclaves and feral cities coordinating black and gray market

Table 4.3

Country/Region	Place in Geo-narcotics	Type of Narco-State	State Fragility Score/ Assessment
Latin America/ Caribbean			
Bahamas	Transshipment	Incipient	54.1 (Less Stable)
Belize	Transshipment	Serious	67 (Warning)
Bolivia	Source	Critical	78.9 (Very High Warning)
Colombia	Source	Critical	83.1 (Very High Warning)
Ecuador	Transshipment	Developing	77.3 (High Warning)
El Salvador	Transshipment	Serious	72 (High Warning)
Guatemala	Transshipment	Critical	80.3 (Very High Warning)
Haiti	Transshipment	Serious	104.3 (High Alert)
Honduras	Transshipment	Critical	77.9 (High Warning)
Jamaica	Hybrid	Serious	64.9 (Warning)
Mexico	Hybrid	Serious	71.1 (High Warning)
Panama	Transshipment	Incipient	55.7 (Less Stable)
Peru	Source	Critical	72.9 (High Warning)
Central Asia/Middle East			
Afghanistan	Source	Advanced	106.5 (High Alert)
Iran	Transshipment	Incipient	87.2 (Very High Warning)
Lebanon	Hybrid	Developing	86.9 (Very High Warning)
Pakistan	Transshipment	Serious	103 (High Alert)
Tajikistan	Transshipment	Critical	84.6 (Very High Warning)
Uzbekistan	Transshipment	Serious	86.3 (Very High Warning)

Africa

Guinea	Transshipment	Critical	102.7 (High Alert)
Guinea-Bissau	Transshipment	Advanced	100.6 (High Alert)
Mali	Hybrid	Serious	89.8 (Very High Warning)
Nigeria	Transshipment	Serious	99.7 (Alert)
Senegal	Transshipment	Developing	82.8 (Very High Warning)
Asia-Pacific			
Burma	Source	Advanced	94.3 (Alert)
Cambodia	Hybrid	Serious	88.5 (Very High Warning)
Laos	Hybrid	Serious	84.3 (Very High Warning)
North Korea	Source	Advanced	94 (Alert)
Papua New Guinea	Source	Incipient	84.1 (Warning)
Thailand	Transshipment	Developing	77 (High Warning)
Vietnam	Transshipment	Developing	72.7 (High Warning)

transactions via illicit economic circuits is an emerging reality."[58] Drug trafficking is already a prominent feature of this emerging reality.

Drug trafficking's influence in fragile states makes dealing with this emerging reality more complicated, reinforcing durable disorder in the international system. Much as the existence of narco-states makes international cooperation more difficult, drug trafficking hobbles approaches to repair or contain fragile states. Those who seek to fix these states, like international organizations, regional organizations, NGOs, individual nations, and donors, must compete with micropower emanating from the diversity of actors who participate in drug trafficking and benefit from its presence in a country. As demonstrated in this chapter, because drug trafficking's influence can be felt among the twelve indicators of fragility, efforts to counteract its permeation by building stronger government institutions accountable to the citizenry, vibrant legal economies with opportunities for most, and a greater sense of national identity in society are exceptionally daunting. Successful cases where fragile states have been pulled back from the brink of collapse—such as Mozambique and Timor-Leste—and those states that avoided significant state fragility—like Botswana and Costa Rica—were not narco-states.

Drug trafficking also vexes those organizations and groups that seek to contain the negative effects of fragile states, such as sudden humanitarian

emergencies, spread of refugees, rises in infectious disease, and the exporting of criminality and terrorism. These effects are made worse by drug trafficking; they have become more abiding issues that have greater longevity and continue to recur. Seeking to contain these effects individually or in total requires more commitment of time and resources than the international community has appeared to be willing to make. Once again, like the existence of narco-states, gaining greater international cooperation is made more difficult by the power, scope, and scale of the contemporary global drug trade.

Direct intervention by outside powers to repair fragile states or contain their negative effects have had mixed results in light of the power of drug trafficking. The international coalition assembled to do nation building in Afghanistan is the most prominent example. Not only did the international coalition have a mandate to take on the Taliban and its terrorist allies as well as build effective institutions of governance, the nations of the coalition were empowered to tackle the country's opium trade. "This confluence of events could not be more conducive to eradicating a major supplier of the global drug trade—a sustained international military presence, backed by nations opposed to drug trafficking, that operates freely inside the borders of a country that grows the overwhelming majority of crops used to produce a dangerous narcotic."[59] Yet the trade has only thrived and Afghanistan remains one of the most fragile states in the international community.

The example of Afghanistan, along with many other fragile states, also demonstrates how internal conflicts and terrorism are linked not only to state fragility but to drug trafficking. Many violent non-state actors are key players in the narcotics trade and thus contribute to deviant globalization and durable disorder. The next chapter examines these connections in greater detail.

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Chapter Five

Intrastate Conflict and Terrorism

By the end of the two-year, joint U.S. and Colombian investigation dubbed Operation Titan, authorities arrested 130 people, seized $23 million in assets, deployed 370 wiretaps and monitored 700,000 conversations. Among those arrested in 2008 was Chekry Harb, a Lebanese man living in Bogota, Colombia. Going by the alias "El Taliban," Harb was a key figure in a drug trafficking and money-laundering network that spanned three continents. Alarmingly, Harb was an operative of the Lebanese terrorist group Hezbollah. Over a number of years, he routinely took a percentage of the money he was laundering for Colombian drug runners like the FARC to fill the coffers of Hezbollah. In addition to money laundering, Harb and his associates assisted in the smuggling of tons of cocaine into the United States and Europe. The lead investigator from the special prosecutor's office in Colombia described the case as "an example of how narco-trafficking is a theme of interest to all criminal organizations, the FARC, the paramilitaries and terrorists."[1] Operation Titan and the case of Chekry Harb represented the first time the United States tied a terrorist organization to a major cocaine cartel.

Since 1964, the FARC has continued its violent campaign against the government of Colombia. As a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla organization, the FARC has sought to implement an economic and political agenda that emphasizes agrarianism and anti-imperialism. The FARC has committed a number of terrorist and guerrilla attacks to coerce the Colombian government to accept its terms. With the end of the Cold War and the weakening of several key Colombian drug cartels in the early 1990s, the FARC began to more directly fill a void in the cocaine trade to earn funds needed to sustain its organization and its activities. The FARC was often referred to as the "third cartel," after the Cali and Medellin cartels, due to its deepening activities in the drug trade.[2] However, the group has been described in various ways to

highlight its evolving nature; it has been described as a "narco-guerrilla" organization that has been engaged in both "narco-insurgency" and "narco-terrorism."[3]

While the FARC's ideological goal is to undermine the government of Colombia, Hezbollah's operations have not been limited to its home country of Lebanon but have included attacks against Israel, support for the Syrian regime of Bashar Assad, and deep ties to the Iranian government. Hezbollah has also orchestrated attacks in other nations like the 2012 bombing of a bus full of Israeli tourists in Bulgaria. In addition, prior to the Al Qaeda attacks of 9/11, Hezbollah was viewed as responsible for the deadliest terrorist attack against Americans—the 1983 Beirut Marine barracks bombing that killed 241 service members.

Hezbollah and the FARC possess differing ideological goals that they have pursued against different governments located in different regions. Nonetheless, their need to secretly earn money drew them together. The two groups have blended interests in the sale and smuggling of drugs while reaping the profits to use in their separate ideological struggles. Both continue to be responsible for spreading violence regionally and internationally, extending the drug trade into numerous countries in several continents and thus contributing to the weakening of public institutions and civil society.

The growing nexus between drug trafficking and violent non-state actors like guerrillas and terrorists is a prominent feature of the international security environment. The vast majority of contemporary wars are internal to states, rather than between them, and involve sharp asymmetries where one party wields a conventional military while the other side comprises irregular forces. Today's wars are structured differently from traditional, large-scale interstate wars; political, social, economic, religious, and psychological dimensions generally overshadow the military dimension of current conflicts. To participate in these dimensions and to compensate for the lack of a conventional military, violent non-state actors with a political agenda have turned to the drug trade to generate the resources needed to advance their goals.

The previous chapters discussed the evolution of the drug trade and how its powerful dynamics have led to the creation of narco-states and have contributed to state fragility, while alluding to non-state groups, who also drive the trade in illegal narcotics. So far, this book has emphasized states and their activities more than non-state actors and their participation in drug trafficking. This chapter turns its focus to violent groups and organizations within the nation-state and those that operate transnationally. It discusses the various ways that violent non-state actors like guerrillas, insurgents, terrorists, militias, paramilitaries, and self-defense groups use drug trafficking to further their objectives and sustain violent conflicts. From the purchasing of weapons and expertise to providing a recruiting incentive, drug trafficking

aids the operation of many of these groups. In addition, the drug trade can serve the purposes of violent non-state actors who espouse a political agenda—from smuggling drugs to harm an adversary's society to consuming them for combat purposes. This chapter also examines how these activities add to the prolonging of conflicts and the effects that the protraction of intrastate wars have on international security.

VIOLENT NON-STATE ACTORS IN CONTEXT

Violent non-state actors like criminal syndicates, guerrillas, insurgents, militias, and terrorists share common organizational characteristics. According to Mitchel Roth and Murat Sever,

> They 1) are involved in illegal activities and frequently need the same supplies; 2) exploit excessive violence and the threat of violence; 3) commit kidnappings, assassinations and extortion; 4) act in secrecy; 5) challenge the state and the laws (unless they are state funded); 6) have back up leaders and foot soldiers; 7) are exceedingly adaptable, open to innovations, and are flexible; 8) threaten global security; 9) quitting the group can result in deadly consequences for former members.[4]

In addition to these qualities, violent non-state actors have a network structure, commit a wide range of profit-making criminal activities, and are increasingly adept at using the Internet to enhance their operations. These groups are often described as "dark networks" due to the way they structure themselves and carry out their clandestine activities.[5]

However, the similarities of violent non-state actors pertain to their "methods, not motives."[6] This is a critical distinction when examining the role that drug trafficking plays in intrastate conflicts. Criminal groups seek to make profits from illegal enterprises for the personal enrichment of their members. The other types of violent non-state actors commit crimes to make money as a means to meet their political objectives. For criminal groups, making money is the goal, while for the other violent non-state actors, money is only a tool, "one that is necessary but not sufficient to achieve the groups' goals."[7] In the case of the cooperation between the FARC and Hezbollah, their criminal activities were in the service of financing a larger political cause rather than to enrich their membership. Although insurgent, terrorist, and criminal violence each challenge the authority, legitimacy, and capacity of the state, they do so for differing reasons that should not be conflated. By violently challenging the authority of a government, all terrorists and insurgents are criminals, but not all criminals are insurgents or terrorists. Intrastate conflicts are largely characterized by fighting between the government and these types of violent non-state groups.

Another key difference between criminal groups and politically moti-
vated, violent non-state groups is the degree of consensus on their defini-
tions. There is a significant amount of agreement in the international commu-
nity on the definition of organized crime, particularly transnational organized
crime. As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, the UN
Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime signed in 2000 carefully
lays out the elements that constitute a transnational organized crime group
and the offenses such a group commits. There is also significant agreement in
the EU and other regional organizations about the contours of organized
crime. However, there is no equivalent UN agreement signed by the vast
majority of nations on the definitions and activities of guerrilla, insurgent, or
terrorist organizations. Due to political disagreements among states about the
legitimacy of the grievances and acts of violent non-state actors that espouse
a political agenda, the impasse over an acceptable definition of terrorism, in
particular, has continued years after the attacks of 9/11.[8] This reflects the
commonly used adage that "one person's terrorist is another person's free-
dom fighter." In fact, by one count, there are over one hundred definitions of
terrorism.[9] There is also less agreement and little scholarship on militias,
paramilitaries, or self-defense groups.

Even with the lack of consensus in the scholarly community and among
political leaders on the definitions of politically motivated, violent non-state
actors, common elements can be used to forge some degree of clarity. Insur-
gent groups generally seek to subvert the status quo of a country or resist an
invading country through the use of organized violence and propaganda;
guerrillas are more overt forces that often wear uniforms, seek formal recog-
nition as combatants and are attached to the political apparatus of an insur-
gent group. Terrorist organizations, in order to advance their ideological
objectives, use violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear in society.
Despite attempts to distill clear definitions, these groups blend into one an-
other—an insurgent group may resort to terrorism and a terrorist can be part
of a guerrilla organization. The U.S. Department of Defense places insur-
gents, guerrillas, and terrorists in the category of "irregular forces," who are
not part of the formal conventional military of a recognized nation.[10]

Militia, paramilitary, and self-defense organizations are not grouped
under the category of "irregular forces," but nonetheless share many of their
qualities. They are groups that are not formally part of the conventional
military of a recognized nation, although there may be shared organizational
links. For example, members of these groups may also be active or former
members of a state's military and train alongside them. They may also re-
ceive weapons and intelligence from government sources. What separates
these groups from insurgents, guerrillas, and terrorists is the defensive incli-
nation of their ideology. Rather than seeking to overturn the status quo,
militia, paramilitary, and self-defense organizations view themselves as de-

fending or protecting society from harm. In fact, they are often organized to fight against guerrilla, insurgent and terrorist groups whom they view as harming society.

However, while the FARC can be placed more firmly in the category of "irregular forces," Hezbollah spans many categories. It is a terrorist organization, a militia as well as a political party and social organization. It has deep connections in the Lebanese political sphere and strong links with the country's military. The definitional slipperiness of politically motivated, violent non-state actors is exacerbated by their participation in criminal enterprises as revealed in the example of Operation Titan. Over half the groups designated by the United States as "foreign terrorist organizations" are deeply involved in drug trafficking as a means to fund their operations.[11] The end of the Cold War and the response to the attacks of 9/11 led to the near extinction of state sponsorship of terror groups; only three countries—Iran, Sudan, and Syria—are listed by the U.S. government as state sponsors of terrorism.[12] The criminal enterprises of politically motivated, violent non-state actors have prompted a discussion on "hybrid groups" that are "full-service" organizations that possess political and criminal characteristics or on politically motivated, violent non-state groups that have "devolved" into organized crime as their primary reason to exist.[13]

Regardless of how particular groups are categorized, their active involvement in drug trafficking is no longer novel but typifies intrastate conflicts of the early twenty-first century. As Peter Andreas describes, "military success on the battlefield can significantly depend on entrepreneurial success in the illicit economy."[14] By the early 2000s, drug trafficking had become deeply engrained in intrastate wars with 95 percent of the world's production of hard drugs taking place in contexts of armed conflict.[15] In fact, studies have established that civil wars occur at a much higher rate among drug-producing and drug-transshipment countries than non-drug-producing and non-transshipment countries.[16] Political instability, rather than poverty, appears to have a greater link to the cultivation of drugs. For example, portions of Afghanistan that have had periodic declines in opium cultivation have lower average incomes than areas where opium has flourished and the Taliban are most active.[17] Organizations that are involved in the trafficking of drugs not only do so for funding, but also have the means to effectively manufacture, smuggle, and sell narcotics and use their participation in the trade as another tool to undermine their adversaries.[18]

DRUGS AS A FINANCIAL TOOL

Politically motivated, violent non-state groups require funds for more than conducting operations. Money is needed for a wide range of activities be-

yond violent acts, such as the recruitment of personnel, purchase of arms and materiel, payment of bribes, provision of social services to their constituents, payment of protection from state security forces, and funding of their veterans and the families of members who died while conducting operations for the group. Although the costs of conducting a specific operation may be low, the costs of maintaining the organization can be high, thus requiring an adequate and reliable revenue stream.

Because of these requirements, politically motivated, violent non-state actors typically choose revenue streams based on six criteria: quantity, legitimacy, security, reliability, control, and simplicity.[19] Depending on the group, drug trafficking meets each criterion. To maintain a violent political movement, organizations must find sources that provide a sufficient quantity of profit. As seen in previous chapters, drugs are the most lucrative illicit commodity and have provided an adequate amount of revenue over time for many groups. Because these groups also have constituencies to please, and those they seek to win over, they often find ways to legitimize their financial activities, particularly if they are illegal. "In this sense, crime and drugs are instrumental in enabling a group to threaten the state at its very foundation—the monopoly on the use of force and control over territory."[20] Having a source of funding that is relatively secure from disruption is also important. Drug trafficking can provide enough profit to bribe law enforcement and governmental officials to turn a blind eye to a group's activities. Or, drugs are manufactured in remote areas that are difficult for state agents to access. The more reliable the revenue stream, the more predictable and consistent is the financing for a group. If a group is close to the source of drug production, controls territory in a transshipment state, or is close to the consumer market, drug proceeds are more reliable. Maintaining control over its funding also gives an organization the ability to act more autonomously; state sponsors or charities can exert pressure on an organization's leadership in unwanted ways. By trafficking drugs, a group can act more independently by self-financing its activities rather than relying on others. Finally, politically motivated, violent non-state groups want their profit making to be as simple as possible. The drug trade's high lootability and low obstructability allow for simple enterprises to fill a group's coffers.

In a globalized world, meeting these criteria by relying on drug trafficking is relatively easy as the drug trade provides many points of entry along a vast network for politically motivated, violent non-state actors. Drug crops that are used to make heroin, cocaine, and marijuana must be grown, harvested, transported to labs for processing, aggregated and moved to distribution points, sold and transported to wholesale markets, and purchased at the retail or street level. Synthetic drugs, because they are not botanical, have a more compressed production and distribution chain and therefore do not require large areas of land to grow crops.[21] Regardless of the type of drug,

profit-making opportunities exist at each stage of the enterprise, creating multiple sources of funding that meet the six criteria. For irregular fighters, each stage of drug trafficking represents the potential for the "accumulation of power, or military force."[22] A group does not require a monopoly over all aspects of the trade in a particular narcotic; it does not need to control the distribution of a drug from crop cultivation to street sales. In fact, there is little desire, or ability, for any group (including an organized crime syndicate) to own a monopoly over an entire drug trafficking enterprise.

Rather than a hierarchical, centrally directed process, a drug trafficking network is flat and composed of many dispersed, interconnected nodes. As such, in order for a group to make money, it merely needs to participate in one of the nodes or a key linkage between nodes (such as transportation) that comprise a particular drug trafficking network. Contemporary international drug trafficking continues to resemble a flexible exchange network that expands and contracts according to economic principles like market opportunities and barriers.[23] As a result, a politically motivated, violent non-state group can form various relationships with criminal traffickers, such as joint ventures, strategic alliances, subcontracting, franchising, and brokering.[24] These relationships have also been bounded by time; they have ranged from one-time collaborations to enduring partnerships that last over a number of years.

Those politically motivated, non-state groups that participate in drug trafficking are most active in providing protection services along portions of the network. As previously discussed, the drug trade is unlike the trade in legal commodities because the product is surrounded by the possibility of detection, interdiction, and confiscation while its employees are subject to arrest and death. These grave risks can be mitigated by the superior firepower provided by politically motivated, violent non-state groups. The ability to provide a degree of security for drug production and distribution is a transactional relationship between an organization and drug traffickers. This reinforces the notion that an organization only needs to participate in a particular part of the drug trafficking network, but does not necessarily need to control all portions of it.

PARTICIPATION IN CULTIVATION AND PROCESSING OF NARCOTICS

Guerrillas, insurgents, terrorists, militias, paramilitaries, and self-defense groups are active in providing protection in the "upstream" part, or the crop cultivation and production phases, of the drug trafficking process. These groups charge a fee for their services and legitimize the money by calling it a "revolutionary tax" or a "religious obligation" (such as "jizya," that jihadist

groups require). The FARC, ELN, SL, Taliban, and United Wa State Army have all been involved in exacting this fee from farmers and drug barons. Before the American-led intervention into Afghanistan in October 2001, Afghan drug kingpin Bashir Noorzai was not only paying the Taliban for protection but also supplied Al Qaeda with $28 million worth of heroin annually.[25] The Pakistani Taliban has gone so far as to publish a "tax schedule" that lists fees for the various activities.[26] Some groups have been active in other ways in the upstream portion of a drug trafficking network. Members of these groups have also made up for any shortfall in the labor needed to harvest drug crops.

These types of groups can gain legitimacy by protecting portions of a particular drug trafficking network. Not only do criminal syndicates benefit from the services of these groups, but farmers are often grateful for the protection of their way of life. In areas where drug crops are grown, insurgent and guerrilla groups have gained what Vanda Felbab-Brown describes as "political capital." More than the funds needed to procure needed resources for their organizations, participation in drug trafficking allows a group to obtain freedom of action as well as legitimacy and support from the local population. According to Felbab-Brown, "by supporting the illicit economy, belligerents both increase their military capability and build political support, whereas belligerents who attempt to destroy the illicit economy suffer on both accounts."[27] Warring groups have sought to protect drug farmers from harsh governmental eradication measures and excessive use of force. When the Peruvian government conducted vigorous counternarcotics operations in the 1980s, it included arbitrary arrests, confiscations, looting, and other abuses. Coca farmers sought protection from SL; the rebels worked with local coca growers to construct liberated zones, and, as their first action in their newly acquired territory, attacked the local office of the government's coca eradication project.[28] In Colombia, the FARC has seized territory to convert it to coca cultivation for unemployed peasants as a way to gain support from the local community.

The accrual of political capital has worked to a certain degree in many areas of drug production in Afghanistan, Myanmar, Colombia, and Peru. However, groups that control territory where drug trafficking occurs have a complicated relationship with criminal activity, using a mixture of confrontation, cooptation, and cooperation to deal with it. Violent non-state actors with a political agenda have sought to institute their policies in the territories they control by creating alternative law enforcement and judicial systems to confront crime. They will arrest and punish criminals that challenge their authority, but also co-opt the activities of organized crime and cooperate with criminal syndicates in areas beyond their control to assist with smuggling and other needed services. When it comes to the upstream portion of a drug trafficking network, politically motivated, violent non-state actors have acted

oppressively against farmers by coercing them to grow more drug crops, instead of food crops, and punishing them for hoarding parts of a harvest.

Another area of the upstream portion of a drug trafficking network where warring groups have used their coercive authority is the control of drug processing labs. Rather than outsourcing the processing of drug crops into finished narcotics, some groups engaged in internal armed conflicts have established processing labs to refine the product, which allows them to be involved in what was once the intermediate stages of trafficking. In some cases, the criminal middlemen have been completely cut out of this portion of the trade, leaving more profits for the warring group. During the Cold War, opium grown in Afghanistan was transported to labs run primarily by organized crime in Pakistan. However, the Taliban have established many of their own labs in Afghanistan to process opium into heroin. The processing reduces the bulk of the product by 90 percent, aiding in smuggling it outside the country. These labs often exist in remote areas where there is no access to roads, making overland transportation of the finished product difficult. Once again, various members of guerrilla and insurgent groups have provided the security and transportation through these very limited routes as the product makes it way to warehouses, ports, and airstrips for the next stage of the distribution process.

ATS drugs have somewhat different production and distribution qualities. They can be manufactured in almost any environment in small laboratories no larger than an automobile, making them very difficult to destroy at the source. The home manufacturing of ATS offers a better hedge against detection than large fields of poppy, coca, or cannabis. This makes protection and taxation schemes almost infeasible. In addition, instead of waiting for a harvest to be ready and then transporting the crops to a lab for processing, ATS drugs can be produced and ready for distribution in two to twenty-four hours. Because meth is home manufactured, for example, there are very few choke points that can be targeted by counternarcotics operations. As a result of few middlemen, unlike the trafficking in plant-based narcotics, the manufacturer receives nearly 100 percent of the profits from the sales of ATS drugs. Rather than offering protection for drug loads, groups have engaged in producing the drug on their own. Al Qaeda and sympathizers to its cause have already taken advantage of the ATS trade; Spanish authorities believe that those responsible for the March 2004 train bombings financed their operations in part through the sale of ecstasy.[29] According to Iranian sources, ISIL has been engaged in manufacturing meth and ecstasy after seizing a pharmaceutical factory in the Syrian city of Aleppo.[30]

The participation in the initial stages of drug trafficking helps meet the six criteria for funding a politically motivated, violent non-state group. In the areas where drug crops are grown, there is a sufficient quantity to tax for protection and the possibility to compensate for shortfalls in labor. With

access to precursor chemicals, ATS drugs can also provide an abundant amount of profit for a group. By providing protection for drug crops, these groups gain legitimacy in the form or political capital. In those cases where they are more oppressive, the group is still able to demonstrate its legitimacy as an alternative authority to the government. Because drug crops and labs are in remote areas, they are often secure from state agents. Depending on weather and cultivation techniques, drug crops are a more reliable illegal commodity than gems, timber, or wildlife. The manufacturing of ATS drugs is also reliable, but is very dependent upon access to precursor chemicals. Drug crop cultivation and processing into narcotics as well as the production of ATS drugs permit a warring group to better control its revenue stream than suppressing the trade or relying on outside support. Finally, as demonstrated, the provision of protection for drugs, their transportation, and their processing is a low-skill activity and works in concert with a group's capacity to use violence.

Participation in Transportation of Drugs to Consumer Market

Politically motivated, violent non-state groups are also active in transshipment countries along smuggling routes that cross into areas that they control. Using these routes is necessary for drug loads to reach consumer markets; therefore smugglers and traffickers are dependent upon the permission of armed groups that have an active presence in these areas. Much like groups who participate in the upstream part of a drug trafficking network, groups involved in transshipment activities use not only their presence in critical pieces of geography but also use their advantage in the capacity for organized violence to charge fees to protect drug shipments or charge tolls to allow them to pass through their territory. For example, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) has been deeply involved in the smuggling of heroin from southwest Asia into Europe for years. By some estimates, 80 percent of drugs on European streets have some connection to the PKK.[31] Another example is the central facilitator for drug trafficking and other illicit activities of AQIM, Moktar Belmoktar. Before his death in 2015, Belmoktar was also known as "Mr. Marlboro" for his vast cigarette smuggling network that he also used to smuggle drugs in eastern Mauritania, northern Mali, and southwestern Algeria.[32]

Although insurgent and terrorist groups who wield authority over key parts of drug smuggling terrain have earned a great deal of profit, they are also under pressure to maintain the security of the routes. Smugglers and traffickers may seek more secure routes or the assistance of rival insurgent or terrorist groups to better guarantee the drugs' movement to market. As a result, some insurgent and terrorist groups have mounted operations to ensure control of drug routes. When insurgents, terrorists, or security forces of

the state create pressure or obstruction on one route, it can translate into advantages for other warring groups (or even state agents) who want to ensure their parts of the trafficking network are secure. [33] An obstruction along the routes because of military activity or actions by another rebel group has led to increased violence among market participants, who tend to be heavily armed and willing to use force. For example, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) has routinely conducted small-scale incursions in the months after the opium harvests in Afghanistan as diversionary tactics designed to confuse and divert law enforcement and military operations, thereby permitting the transit of heroin through several mountain passes. [34] Rather than military operations to meet a military or ideological objective, groups like IMU have conducted armed campaigns to keep a valuable resource moving and thus profits flowing.

A politically motivated, violent non-state group can meet the six criteria for funding by participating in the transshipment stages of drug trafficking. In areas where drug loads must move to market, they are critical enough to gain a high quantity of taxation for accessing routes and providing protection. By paying people in their territory who can help move drug loads, these groups gain legitimacy from communities. As seen in those cases where groups are more oppressive in the upstream portion of a network, a group that coerces people to help in the transshipment stage is also able to demonstrate its legitimacy as an alternative authority to the government. Taxation of drug loads is a reliable source of income as long as the routes continue to be secure from state interdiction or violent challenges from rival groups. The ability to maintain the secure access to efficient drug routes is perhaps the weakest of the six criteria for a group that participates in this stage of drug trafficking. As demonstrated, the group may have to expend some of its own resources in weapons and personnel to keep the territory viable for smuggling activities; these resources could be better put to use in operations that further their political goals. However, assisting in the smuggling of drugs does permit a warring group to better control its revenue stream than relying on outside financial support. Finally, much like the provision of protection for drug crops, permitting access to territory and guaranteeing the safety of drug loads is a low-skill activity and works in concert with a group's main expertise in the ability to use violence.

Participation in Retail Sales

Politically motivated, violent non-state groups are least active in the retail stage, or street level, of drug trafficking. This is largely because of the lack of these groups' physical presence in the main drug-consuming marketplaces within developed countries. The IRA, ETA and PKK are the most cited examples of terror groups participating in the retail sales of drugs. However,

lack of a physical presence in a market has not completely obstructed retail sales; ties between violent political groups and organized crime in developed countries can also aid the retail distribution process. The significant flows of global migration and the growth of ethnic networks transcend numerous national boundaries and facilitate retail sales, and their profits to return to the coffers of groups who are committed to an armed struggle. For example, Hezbollah actively smuggles drugs into the United States and Europe, rely-ing on portions of the Lebanese diaspora community to sell drugs and move the profits to the organization's vast array of financial accounts.

However, drug sales in developed countries are not the only places along the trafficking network where these groups operate. As seen in previous chapters, traffickers have also paid in kind with supplying drugs rather than cash, stimulating retail markets along smuggling routes in developing and underdeveloped nations. The result has been "the creation of new markets for cocaine and crack cocaine (base) in West Africa, where these homegrown groups can set and control retail prices with the cocaine they have received as payment for their services, expand into surrounding countries, and further corrupt already weak governments."[35] Criminal groups and other violent non-state actors benefit from the creation of retail markets in these nations.

Another key dimension in retail sales is its intersection with the self-financing of more independent terrorist acts by individuals who are not cen-trally directed by a terrorist group. The Madrid train bombings of 2004 were an early indication of a group of individuals who were able to raise money through criminal activities like drug sales to pay for needed materiel. The two brothers responsible for the January 2015 Paris attacks against *Charlie Hebdo* magazine were reportedly drug dealers from an area of the city known for criminal activity.[36] In another instance, the leader of a criminal network in Belgium, Khalid Zerkani, used the group's proceeds to finance trips of recruits from Europe to join ISIS in Syria and Iraq; one notorious recruit of Zerkani's was Abdelhamid Abaaoud—the ringleader of the November 2015 Paris terrorist attacks.[37]

Retail sales of drugs is the weakest activity that a violent group can participate in to meet the six criteria of funding a violent group. Street sales of drugs are lucrative and have provided a large quantity of funding to particular groups. However, the legitimacy of these sales in countries far beyond the zones of conflict is often limited. Security forces and political leaders in countries where these groups sell drugs routinely assert that these groups are filled with criminals, thereby overshadowing the political mes-sages of the group. As a source of funding that is relatively secure from disruption, drug sales can confuse law enforcement and governmental offi-cials into thinking that a group is more criminal than political in inclination. This has changed; as the drug running activities of many violent groups have become more noticeable, more law enforcement and intelligence agencies

have broken down institutional barriers to focus on apprehending drug dealers and tracing flows of money. This has also affected the reliability of the revenue stream, making it less predictable and consistent than in the past. At the retail level, maintaining control over a group's funding is usually predicated upon working in concert with local organized crime, which raises the risk of detection by state agents. Nonetheless, selling drugs and gaining the expertise to move money is relatively easy. Due to the weakness in meeting all six criteria, a group that is active at the retail level is doing so as a way to diversify and supplement its other funding streams. Rather than abandon activities at the retail level, groups still see the gains as outweighing the risks of continuing to sell drugs.

What makes retail sales for a large, sophisticated violent non-state group more difficult may not be the same if terrorist operations continue to trend toward more independent and "lone wolf"–style actions that involve few people. Small-scale drug sales by an individual or handful of individuals can escape the attention of state agents and be used to fund smaller operations against soft, or weakly defended, targets. For example, Spanish police were keeping one of the Madrid train bombers under surveillance for drug sales but were unaware that proceeds from these sales were being used to fund the plot.[38] Authorities may view the selling of drugs as petty crime, unworthy of follow-up or deeper investigation, permitting individuals who have become radicalized by jihadist and other extremist groups to put their funds to use in violent operations aimed at citizens in an array of countries.

DRUGS AS WEAPONS

Beyond trafficking drugs to raise funds to pay for violent operations that advance a group's political objectives, some groups have encouraged drug use among their adversaries to harm their societies through addiction and crime. In hopes of causing additional harm against their adversaries' populations, these groups transport and distribute drugs into enemy territory.

Some Islamic terrorist groups participate in the smuggling of drugs as another part of their war against the West. Some jihadist groups have been able to rationalize their participation in drug trafficking, even though they hold a religious belief that prohibits drug use. Hezbollah leaders even went so far as to issue a fatwa, a religious decree, that stated, "We are making these drugs for Satan America and the Jews. If we cannot kill them with guns, so we will kill them with drugs."[39] As one Taliban member proclaimed, "Jihad would be performed since [the Taliban] send [heroin] to America. . . . May God eliminate them right now, and we will eliminate them too. Whether it is by opium or by shooting, this is our common goal."[40] Afghan guerrilla groups have a history of using drugs as an attempt to under-

mine their enemy. During the Cold War, the encouragement of drug use among enemy forces was perpetrated against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The mujahedin ran covert supply lines of heroin to Red Army troops in Afghanistan, creating numerous military and political problems for Soviet leaders.[41]

These pronouncements combined with the activities of these groups to justify the smuggling of drugs to sow dissent, harm public health, and burden law enforcement may be viewed as a type of chemical warfare. However, the effectiveness of these efforts for politically motivated, violent non-state groups in advancing their agenda is mixed. More effective is the political veneer that the group can place over their profit making from drug smuggling activities. Moreover, although a seemingly contradictory practice, groups have used their own drug smuggling as a recruitment tool by pointing to drug abuse they have helped inflict as an indication of the degeneracy of their adversaries' societies, justifying attacks against their decadence and moral corruption.

DRUG CONSUMPTION AS A COMBAT ADVANTAGE

Other than participating in drug trafficking to earn money or to undermine an adversary's society, members of politically motivated, violent non-state groups can consume drugs as a way to gain an advantage against conventional security forces. Unlike other illicit commodities, drugs can be ingested as an edge in the conduct of violent operations. Groups who have moral strictures against drug use, but nonetheless participate in drug trafficking, also use the same rationalization when members of these groups have ingested drugs to commit their violent attacks. The ends justify the means. Ideological, moral, and theological proscriptions against intoxication can be absolved by hewing oneself to the larger cause.

The reasons that individuals choose to use drugs reveals what sociologists have labeled the "set and setting." What an individual believes the drug will do to him or her is known as "set" while the physical and social environment in which the drug is taken is considered the "setting."[42] Placed together in the context of contemporary violent conflicts, *set* is the desired effects of consuming a drug by a politically motivated, violent non-state actor and the *setting* is irregular conflicts that undermine the structures of a targeted country.

Individual fighters use drugs for four main reasons—stimulation, reward, recruitment, and relaxation. Drugs can stimulate a person's will to fight and to ignore the possibilities of injury and death. According to a CNN report, a former ISIL fighter held in a prison run by Kurdish militants in northern Syria claimed, "They gave us drugs. Hallucinogenic pills that would make

you go to battle not caring if you live or die."[43] Rather than stimulating the will to engage in violence, drugs are often used to fend off the boredom that accompanies being a part of a group that, when not fighting, is waiting to fight, hiding, or carrying on the mundane duties that are required to keep a group effective. Groups will also offer members drugs as rewards for conducting hazardous or unpalatable operations. John Mueller describes the phenomenon as "carnival," whereby groups take a territory and celebrate by looting medical buildings for drugs and then following up with orgies of rape, torture, and murder of local residents.[44] The use of drugs or the promise of intoxication aids recruitment; the provision of drugs can sway an individual's decision to join the ranks of a warring group. Warring groups also addict children to drugs to force them into combat as child soldiers. The stress of combat can also increase the desire to seek mental escape; depressant drugs can alleviate the stress felt by a combatant and help him to avoid reflecting on his circumstances.

The demand for drugs by combatants must also be juxtaposed with the availability of drugs to belligerents. Typically, politically motivated, violent non-state groups gain access to drugs that fall into at least one of four categories: transshipped, looted, manufactured, and traditional. Much like "payment in kind" relationships can stimulate a retail drug market in transit countries, members of violent organizations can consume these same drugs. RUF fighters in Sierra Leone regularly consumed crack cocaine and "brown-brown" (heroin) that were transshipped through the territories under their control.[45] In Mali, jihadist fighters have taken advantage of cocaine being trafficked through their territory. Not only do they earn profits from "taxing" shipments as they transit through areas they control, they have also used the drug. Witnesses watched the rebels who had captured their town regularly use cocaine.[46]

As described in "carnival" activities, these actors can also obtain drugs by looting them from pharmacies, clinics, and hospitals. These narcotics are prescription drugs manufactured by pharmaceutical companies for ailments unrelated to combat. Nonetheless, they can alter the consciousness of a fighter for the four reasons related to set. During the Iraq War in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Hussein regime, several violent non-state actors abused numerous pharmaceutical drugs like Captagon (stimulant), Benzhexol (relaxant), Benzodizeapines (a stimulant when abused) and Valium (relaxant), which were looted from clinics, pharmacies, and hospitals in the chaos that ensued.[47]

Manufactured drugs like methamphetamine have been prevalent in a number of violent encounters between insurgents, terrorists, and conventional security forces. In Iraq, evidence of methamphetamine production was found in insurgent hideouts linked to Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). Numerous returning military field commanders have substantiated claims of drugged

insurgent fighters from AQI led by Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi; hideouts used by Zarqawi's fighters were frequently found littered with drug paraphernalia like pipes and needles.[48] The Syrian civil war that began in 2011 has been the scene of widespread drug manufacturing and consumption by pro-Assad forces, extremist militias, and other rebel groups. According to one report, "Syria has seen a huge rise in the use and manufacture of amphetamines as fighters on either side of its civil war use the drugs for staying power in battle."[49]

Other members of these groups ingest traditional drugs because their use is part of the long-standing cultural practices of society, and the drugs are readily available in the territory where conflicts take place. For example, the botanical drug *khat* (a stimulant) is part of the social landscape of east African societies, and combatants in Somalia and Sudan incorporate its use. Some fighters in Sierra Leone believed in mystical *juju* spirits, which could be strengthened in an individual by ingesting drugs and give them protection from their enemies.[50]

DRUG TRAFFICKING AND THE PROTRACTION OF CONFLICT

As seen in the previous chapter, the drug trade contributes to sustaining a number of fragile states that do not possess the structures to manage political discontent and are less capable of repressing violent political movements that emerge as a consequence. The discussion in this chapter demonstrates the ways that violent political movements thwart attempts to repress them by using the drug trade to keep their organizations viable and to launch attacks that further their goals. As previously mentioned, contemporary wars are now more easily sustained with drug funding and other illicit trade, making the expected length of conflicts more than double that of conflicts that started prior to 1980.[51] This can be attributed to the accessibility of drug resources and revenues that permits militarily weaker groups to maintain their viability rather than being swept from the battlefield. Direct participation in segments of the illicit global drug trade creates a strategic link to financial resources that used to be filled by an external patron like a state sponsor.

The diffuse and complex involvement of politically motivated, violent non-state actors in the global trafficking of illegal drugs makes many contemporary conflicts uniquely resistant to time-honored conflict resolution measures such as capturing resource areas from belligerents and imposing economic sanctions. These approaches are largely infeasible, given the illicit status of narcotics, the ways that drug crops are grown and amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) are manufactured, the multifaceted manner in which they are transported to market, and the vastness of the international trafficking network that now exists.

Capturing territory where drug resources exist is a nearly impossible task. Fragile states by themselves or with partners like international organizations and major powers do not possess the resources that could be used to capture and hold an entire area where drugs are grown or manufactured and where violent groups operate. Identifying where drug crops are grown has proven to be daunting enough. Because of the balloon and hydra effects, attacking portions of a drug network infrastructure like processing labs or transportation nodes or interdicting shipments has had minimal impact as a counternarcotics strategy and therefore has not been a useful part of any potent coercive military operations.

Aiming sanctions against irregular groups has proven to be exceptionally difficult; targeting sanctions at individuals and their companies has disrupted many operations of these groups. However, the groups have adapted and continue to evade state attempts to curtail their activities. Efforts at "naming and shaming" groups by exposing the groups' connections to the illicit economy, in hopes of eroding their support among their sympathizers, are rarely effective. As previously discussed, many supporters either already know about the connections (and even benefit from them) or see the activities as essential to the achievement of the groups' objectives.

Violent groups' participation in drug trafficking to raise money also complicates command and control issues of their members, lessening the ability to induce fighters to accept the parameters of ceasefire agreements or political settlements. In some cases, a type of "bandit rationality" has taken over members of the group; the drug trade has created numerous opportunities for fighters with varying levels of political commitment to earn money by extracting or transporting drugs themselves or to extort money from those who do.[52] As a result, there is "a reduced level of discipline and central control in the armed forces of the party that controls the resource."[53] In the 1990s, elements of SL involved in coca production consistently rejected the codes of conduct set down by the national leadership and would desert the movement, "fleeing soon after collecting taxes on the coca trade."[54] The erosion of authority allowed the leadership of these wayward groups to resist efforts by the national movement to constrain their behavior.[55]

The inability to defeat these groups or to bring them to the negotiating table has created a vicious cycle that has nurtured the protraction of many intrastate wars. Ann Hironaka describes the dynamics of this cycle.

> If the opposition can neither be fully destroyed nor fully placated, how can wars truly end? Sadly, in many weaker states they never do. A number of countries experience perpetual low-intensity conflict. In some years, perhaps owing to a temporary military stalemate or a fragile cease-fire, casualties may be low enough to consider a war to be over. When fighting returns, we may say that a war has recurred. But it might be more accurate to say that such wars never really ended.[56]

Another complication for attempts to bring intrastate conflicts to an end is the presence of drug-intoxicated fighters. Raids and carnival activities degrade the internal cohesion of a group and challenge coherent efforts to achieve valuable political or military objectives. A strung-out fighter is not likely to be fully committed to a military goal, let alone a more abstract political objective. Command and control of the group degenerates not only during the war, but warring groups devolve into criminal gangs during ceasefires and negotiations. Access to drug resources also increases the likelihood that warring groups will abuse the human rights of civilians uninvolved in open hostilities. Widespread drug abuse, child-soldier recruitment and atrocities against civilians further erode societal norms. Such effects during a conflict mean that dealing with the aftermath of widespread human suffering serves as additional complications for governments and outside agencies who are involved in implementing the conditions of conflict resolution agreements. By failing to come to grips with wartime atrocities, criminality, and the breakdown in social norms, popular discontent has rekindled in many cases to ruin newly gained but fragile political stability.

Many societies that have experienced conflict involving varying degrees of drug use by politically motivated, violent non-state actors are leery of the drug habits they gained on the battlefield, fearing these individuals would be a source of disorder. As a generally accepted part of conflict resolution, ceasefires and the decommissioning of extralegal armed groups are required to set a foundation for greater political stability and personal security. However, decommissioning intoxicated combatants can be perilous because of the effects of intoxication, long-term abuse, or withdrawals.

Drug funding and drug consumption by these types of groups have distorted the character of many types of intrastate conflicts. Another key dimension of their protraction is the growing subordination of political goals to the pursuit of illicit profit and personal enrichment. Instead of war being an extension of politics, it is the promotion of financial and personal reward. The continuation of violence in many conflicts has come to be a rational economic decision; sustaining the disorder with a thin veneer of political legitimacy ensures that profits will still flow. The aim in many of these conflicts is "the control of people and acquisition of booty more than to control territory in the conventional military manner."[57] Peace, on the other hand, would mean that the group would be punished for the activities that they were freely engaging in during the conflict. Rather than seeking to resolve a grievance, the group continues its violent acts out of greed.

PROTRACTION OF CONFLICTS AND EFFECTS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Drug trafficking as a crucial driver of deviant globalization contributes to durable disorder by prolonging intrastate conflicts and fueling transnational terrorism. The resistance of intrastate conflicts to resolution because of the combatants' participation in the illegal global trade of narcotics has frustrated international organizations, major powers, and NGOs. Military intervention by external powers has often been fraught with unexpected difficulties. Despite having the predominance of military might, nations that have fought against irregular fighters have not experienced large scale and enduring successes. Political leaders in the developed world and their military officials prefer conflicts that are "rapid and decisive rather than prolonged and ambiguous."[58] This is the inverse of contemporary intrastate wars and leaves an international security landscape littered with turmoil created by conflicts within states.

As demonstrated, this persistent turmoil has added to human suffering and the impoverishment of nations. In many ways, groups involved in the drug trade are more violent than those groups who remain more ideologically pure in their motivations. Drug trafficking removes many constraints—the need for local support, the desire for international recognition and the call for ideological cohesion—on the employment of violence.[59] Coercion of farmers to grow drug crops is one way drug-financed violent groups contribute to greater abuses of human rights. In some conflicts, children are traded to drug barons as payment to pay off debts when drug harvests fail or are eradicated by state agents.[60] Politically motivated, violent non-state groups with access to natural resources like drug crops are more likely to commit atrocities against noncombatants because there are no external patrons that can pressure them to rein in their violence.[61] Violent groups involved in the drug trade have also participated in the international trafficking of human beings. Transportation networks and transactional relationships that are key parts of the illicit drug trade are also equally useful for smuggling migrant laborers, sex industry workers, and illegal immigrants. These people are regularly transported by many of the same criminal and violent groups that participate in drug trafficking and via the same narcotics transshipment points.

The creation of a shadow economy further diminishes economic development by lowering incentives for investment by legitimate businesses. Numerous alternative socioeconomic arrangements and vested interests emerge outside the parameters of the licit economy. Economies that emerge around internal conflicts and that have links to the drug trade create commercial patterns resembling "mercantilist [activities] that [are] largely uninterested in long-term productive investment, involved with the control and apportionment of wealth, dependent on maintaining differences and discrete forms of

control for profit, and likely encourages informal protectionism."[62] Political-
ly motivated, violent non-state actors and other stakeholders who are in-
vested in the drug trade want to maintain advantages in the shadow economy
by combining their vast resources "with a frightening ability and willingness
to use deadly force."[63] International organizations, NGOs, and donors that
have sought to create and implement reforms to improve long-term national
economic health in countries experiencing internal conflicts have found their
efforts resistant to durable success.

Extending human suffering and impoverishing societies are not the only
ways that drug trafficking's connection to intrastate conflicts contribute to
durable disorder. Trafficking in drugs for financial gain and as part of delib-
erate effort to harm the well-being of citizens in an adversary's society en-
ables the continuation of the global drug trade. The presence of armed groups
along various parts of a drug trafficking network provides greater security
from efforts to suppress the trade. Conflict environments are less conducive
to law enforcement efforts; groups like guerrillas and insurgents outgun po-
lice forces. Military operations have contributed to the balloon effect; violent
groups have merely shifted their trafficking activities to other areas or have
returned after the operations have concluded. Wars and drug trafficking now
reinforce one another. A 2005 World Bank report described the cycle of
conflict and the drug trade:

> The drug industry financially supports warlords and their militias, who in turn
> undermine the Government—which is also corrupted and captured at different
> levels by bribes from the drug industry. As a result the state remains ineffec-
> tive and security weak, thereby perpetuating an environment in which the drug
> industry can continue to thrive.[64]

Protracted intrastate conflicts that are infused with drug trafficking also
add to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Increasingly, vio-
lent groups have been able to acquire more sophisticated technology. To
communicate with each other and to monitor law enforcement and military
countermeasures, these groups use equipment like laser range finders and
digital encryption devices.[65] The situation in Latin America represents a
familiar pattern of drugs, conflict and arms:

> Colombian insurgents are buying arms from . . . Central America with drugs to
> propagate their own ferocious civil conflict. Central America is awash in
> weapons leftover from Cold War conflicts and they are now being bartered for
> cocaine from neighboring Colombia, which in turn will be shipped to the U.S.
> "The drugs trade and the arms trade are the same. They use the same infra-
> structure," says Rosendo Miranda, chief drugs prosecutor of Panama, across
> whose slender territory both commodities pass.[66]

These wide-ranging and deep-reaching effects of drug trafficking and contemporary international security show little sign of abating. With groups using drugs for financial gain, individual members consuming drugs for violent operations and groups distributing drugs to undermine an adversary's society, drugs are the most fungible, or most interchangeable, illicit commodity for politically motivated, violent non-state groups. Other trafficked commodities cannot be used in as many different ways as illicit drugs. This fungible quality has made drugs a critical strategic resource for groups engaged in violent political struggles.

Other violent non-state groups also value the fungible quality of illicit drugs. Organized criminal groups have a long legacy of being involved in the global drug trade since its prohibition. As will be discussed in the next chapter, organized crime has also kept pace with globalization, making its threat a more pervasive feature of the international security landscape.

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Chapter Six

Transnational Organized Crime

When the leadership of the Russian Federation annexed the Ukrainian territory of Crimea in March 2014, it relied on unconventional tactics. The nearly bloodless annexation of the peninsula was accomplished by using a combination of Russian special forces and marines, local police units, and so-called self-defense forces to foment unrest and seize key pieces of territory. Dressed in mismatched fatigues and red armbands, these self-defense forces were instrumental in securing strategic locations like government buildings, key roads, and several important businesses.[1] Unlike the armed forces and the police, members of the self-defense forces were civilians, many of whom were local gangsters drawn from Crimea's organized crime groups.

Closely associated with one of the organized crime groups—the Salem group—was Sergey Aksyonov, who was instrumental in the seizure of Crimea's parliament building. Going by the nickname "the Goblin," Aksyonov has a record of extortion, graft, and smuggling that enabled him to be a power broker in local politics.[2] Aksyonov was successful in integrating former and existing members of organized crime into his pro-Russian political party prior to the moves by the Russian Federation to take the peninsula from Ukraine. Russian president Vladimir Putin used these local pro-Russian organized crime groups, along with their political and business connections, to give him plausible deniability. Because Putin did not use conventional military forces against Ukraine, he did not appear to be committing an open act of international aggression, allowing him to deny being directly involved in provoking internal unrest in the country. As a result of Aksynov's ability to exert influence on the streets, in politics, and in business, he was tapped by Putin to be the new leader of the Crimean government and to steer the territory into the Russian Federation.[3] In essence, Putin relied on organized

crime to midwife Crimea from Ukraine and move it into the possession of Russia.

The Kremlin kept Aksyonov and his associates in their political positions after Crimea's absorption into Russia, content to "leave power in the hands of the very elites who presided over the corruption and misrule of previous years. . . . Even notional agencies of control [in Crimea] are dominated by locals closely associated with the very people they are meant to be supervising."[4] In the aftermath of Crimea's annexation, organized crime has gained a stronger foothold. The promise of a massive influx of Russian money into the territory has been limited by the sanctions the United States and EU placed on the Russian Federation in response to its annexation. In addition, Ukraine has severed all financial and political ties with its former territory. As a result, Crimea has become more vulnerable to illicit activities to make itself more financially viable. Crimea, as a peninsula, is an ideal port for illicit trafficking, in particular, drug smuggling. With a third of Afghan heroin trafficked through Russia, the political-criminal elite of Crimea is poised to deepen its power in the region. In fact, during the first months of its new status under Russian sovereignty, Crimea experienced a nearly 10 percent rise in illegal trafficking and violent crime.[5]

The seizure of Crimea from Ukraine demonstrates the linkage of organized crime, business, and politics across international borders. The interconnected nature of these elements points to the critical role that transnational organized crime plays in affecting international security in profound ways. Not only did the Russian Federation rely on organized crime to violate international law by annexing the territory of a sovereign state, but their action also raised tensions with the United States, the EU, and NATO to levels not witnessed since the Cold War. Nations put their militaries on high alert and initiated a flurry of diplomatic activity to reduce the risk of an escalation that could lead to a violent confrontation between nuclear-armed powers. Again, these reactions were due in part to the power of non-state groups in helping to reshape the political map of Europe, not seen since the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s.

The power of one type of non-state group was examined in the previous chapter. Politically motivated, violent non-state groups like terrorists, guerrillas, and insurgents were seen as deriving a considerable amount of their capabilities from their participation in the international drug trade. Other violent non-state groups like transnational organized crime are also crucial actors in illicit drug trafficking. This chapter examines how transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) differ from politically motivated, violent non-state groups and how active they are in drug trafficking. The chapter also covers how other criminal activities like corruption and money laundering are strongly linked to TCOs and drug trafficking. The cauldron of drug trafficking, money laundering, and corruption creates a perfect brew for the

emergence of criminal patronage networks like that of Aksyonov's. The effects on international security are powerful and represent clear challenges to understandings of sovereignty.

TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME IN CONTEXT

Organized crime is a term that refers to a type of *organization* as well as types of illegal *activities*. As John Picarelli explains, "one can speak of smuggling or fraud as organized crime just as one can speak of a [drug cartel] or a mafia family as organized crime."[6] As such, Sergey Aksyonov was a member of organized crime (the Salem group) who participated in organized crime (extortion, graft, and smuggling). Taking into account both elements of organization and activities, there is a large degree of consensus on what defines transnational organized crime; the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime states:

> "Organized criminal group" shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit. . . . [A]n offence is transnational in nature if: (a) It is committed in more than one State; (b) it is committed in one State but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another State; (c) It is committed in one State but involves an organized criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one State; or (d) It is committed in one State but has substantial effects in another State.[7]

In many ways, transnational organized crime is not a new phenomenon; most activities covered in the UN definition are linked to the smuggling of prohibited commodities across borders. Peter Andreas argues that "'transnational organized crime,' in other words, is in some respects simply a new and flashier (but less clear) term for a long-established clandestine transnational economic practice."[8] Although smuggling is as old as attempts to restrict certain goods from entering a particular territory, transnational organized crime differs because globalization increases the scale and scope of illicit commerce. Illegal goods and services "are being exchanged in unprecedented variety, volume and velocity."[9] For transnational organized crime groups, today's borders are "obstacles not obligations;"[10] these groups and their members are what James Rosenau termed "sovereignty-free actors" that are not bound by the constraints and strictures of nation-states.[11] As demonstrated in chapter 3, fragile states can only offer the "illusion of inspection" when it comes to preventing the production and transit of goods in their jurisdictions.[12] Additionally, as discussed in chapter 2, the promotion of neoliberal trade policies has also aided the proliferation of transnational organized

crime because of their emphasis on the reduction of barriers to the flow of goods across borders. The data compiled by Stewart Patrick in table 6.1 reflects the varying types and sheer profitability of the most common transnational illicit activities. [13]

As the table demonstrates, the most valuable illicit global commodity remains illegal narcotics. TCOs, like the Italian Mafia groups, Japanese Yakuza organizations, Chinese triads, Mexican cartels along with other various groups, participate along all the points of the global drug trafficking network for reasons largely associated with the enrichment of their members. Unlike other violent non-state groups discussed in the previous chapter, TCOs generally do not participate in drug trafficking to finance ideological causes, to undermine the society of an adversarial nation-state, or to ingest drugs for combat effects. [14] Terror and insurgent groups have constituents that they are trying to persuade with their violence, while organized crime groups have clients for their products and services that they are attempting to satisfy by circumventing or undermining the state. [15] Unlike politically motivated, violent non-state groups, TCOs are not motivated to create a homeland to call their own, substitute their ideology for the existing one, or achieve any other sort of political goal that is routinely associated with armed groups who instigate social upheaval. Instead, TCOs exist to accrue profit.

As a result, TCOs mirror business organizations such as multinational companies or firms more than they do the politically motivated, violent non-state actors examined in the previous chapter. As Pino Arlachi puts it, "there are buyers and sellers, wholesalers and retailers, go-betweens, importers and distributors, price strictures, balance sheets, profits and, though less frequently [than legal businesses], losses." [16] TCOs are involved in all parts of the global drug trafficking network, including cultivation of drug crops, processing into narcotics, movement to wholesale markets, retail sales, transportation, and profit taking. TCOs are entrepreneurial in the most traditional sense

Activity	Approximate Annual Revenues
Illegal drugs	$300–500 billion
Counterfeit goods	$200 billion
Human trafficking	$10 billion
Endangered species trafficking	$10 billion
Unrecorded oil sales	$8 billion
Art and antiquities theft	$6 billion
Illegal small arms and weapons	$3–10 billion
Cigarette smuggling	$5–10 billion

Table 6.1 Major Transnational Organized Criminal Activities

because they have exploited change in order to create new service and business opportunities. They have engaged in what business expert Peter Drucker has called "purposeful innovation" by managing risky ventures in new and systematic ways and by creating novel capacities that generate steady, and in some cases, increasing wealth.[17] TCOs involved in drug trafficking shift production, transit, and distribution sites based on risk and profitability. The UN has also recognized how TCOs share common characteristics with legitimate business organizations: "Like any business, the business of crime requires entrepreneurial skill, considerable specialization, and a capacity for coordination, and this is in addition to using violence and corruption to facilitate the conduct of activities."[18] TCOs may be viewed as "vicious firms" and "illicit logistics organizations."[19]

However, unlike legitimate businesses, TCOs' involvement in illegal activities is surrounded by the potential for violence. To reflect the business logic of TCOs and the violence they use, Russian sociologist Vadim Volkov describes them as "violent entrepreneurs" that create "a set of organizational solutions and action strategies enabling organized force (or organized violence) to be converted into money or other valuable assets on a permanent basis. . . . Violent entrepreneurship is a means of increasing the private income of the wielders of force through ongoing relations of exchange with other groups that own other resources."[20] For violent entrepreneurs, the use of force is the extension of private profit making in the illicit world, rather than the extension of a political agenda. Violence itself is a means, not an end; it is "a resource, not the final product."[21]

TCOs as violent entrepreneurs are especially active in hypercompetitive illegal markets like drug trafficking. An illegal market is hypercompetitive largely because the commodity is "vulnerable to lawful seizure as well as to theft; property rights cannot rely on written records and are generally poorly defined; liability is restricted to the physical person; individual mobility is greater; and agents are tougher, more prone to risk, and more secretive than their law abiding counterparts."[22] The markets for marijuana, heroin, cocaine, and methamphetamine are the sine qua non of a hypercompetitive illegal market. The avenues for conventional legal dispute settlement are not available to participants involved in drug trafficking. The lack of legal standing is another critical difference between TCOs and legitimate business. Disputes among drug traffickers can arise over price, purity, delivery times and location, personnel, territory, payment, seizure, theft, and secrecy. When a deal involving a drug transaction is broken or contested, the parties cannot seek remedy through legal avenues such as courts. The main consequence for those operating in illegal markets is far-reaching: because there is no legal arbiter or legitimate enforcer to guarantee an agreement among the participants to produce or deliver the commodity, all transactions related to illegal narcotics are surrounded with violence, or its potential use.

Hypercompetitive markets like drug trafficking also spawn spinoff markets. Enforcer groups such as gangs are often hired to extort, kidnap, or kill those who have reneged on a deal or to extort, kidnap, and kill the relatives who are related to the participants involved in the dispute. These activities become another source of illicit income and profit with all the consequences, pressures, and points of contention that exist in the main market of illicit narcotics. These ancillary activities, in effect, emerge as another market to fight over. For example, a portion of the violence in Tijuana, Mexico, during 2008 was related to a dispute over one cartel's expansion into kidnapping.[23] With the expanding influence of drug trafficking organizations, street gangs in fragile states have taken more active roles in these spinoff markets. One example of drug trafficking organizations' greater use of street gangs and the subsequent effects on violence is the cost of hiring their members as assassins. Jose Luis Pineyero, an organized crime analyst from Mexico City's Metropolitan Autonomous University, studied the pay rates for hired guns and found that "they're hired for an average of U.S. $500 to $650 a month to kill an unlimited number of people or to carry out other acts of violence. Ten years ago, a hired assassin charged U.S. $12,000 to $13,000 to kill just one person."[24] This price decline reveals that there are not only a large supply of willing recruits and a large number of targets, but that killing someone is a relatively cheap option for drug traffickers. Such low prices also contribute to the violence because the expense to a cartel is not an obstacle while the supply of assassins is large. The result of these additional submarkets is the exacerbation of the intensity and scope of violence that often exceeds what occurs in war zones.[25]

THE CORPORATE LOGIC OF TCOS

TCOs are organized to pursue different goals and operate in a different environment from militaries, guerrillas, or terrorists. Because their motivations are different, they also act in differing ways. To succeed in navigating within the environment of the hypercompetitive illegal market of drug trafficking, TCOs' corporate logic dictates that they fulfill five key obligations in source, transshipment, and demand territories to sustain their enterprise and protect themselves from internal fragmentation, external challenge, and potential elimination. TCOs must act to fill a demand; use purposeful, directed violence; corrupt state agents; cultivate intragroup trust; and exert community control.[26] Although TCOs are active internationally, they must still act locally.

Act to Fill a Demand

As seen in table 6.1, TCOs exist to satisfy a demand for difficult-to-acquire products or difficult-to-provide services, thereby earning profits greater than those from legitimate sources and through legal means. As covered in earlier chapters, the global demand for narcotics remains high and illegal, leaving little question about the profitability of the commodity. TCOs involved in drug trafficking are able to exploit the profit paradox, while the balloon and hydra effects help insulate them from substantial shocks to their organizations. The TCOs' goal is to continue to supply this demand, or customer base, and reap the profits.

Rather than relying on existing demand for illicit drugs, TCOs will often create their own markets. "In situations where demand is low, organized criminals have learned the tricks of merchandising and advertising to create markets and hook consumers. Free samples, underselling the competition, or eliminating it, and product names and 'quality' logos are all part of the sales program when organized criminals need to promote demand."[27] In other circumstances, TCOs can engage in local activities like extortion, blackmail, kidnapping, and assassinations that are not necessarily connected to providing highly sought after commodities to a wanting public. As violent entrepreneurs who wield coercive force as a resource, TCOs can shake down businesses for "protection" money, kidnap businessmen and professionals for ransom, along with murder for hire schemes, all occurring without any linkages to the drug trade. These standalone profit-making activities often act as an incentive for these groups to perpetuate their violence.[28]

Use Purposeful, Directed Violence

The second obligation of a TCO's corporate logic is the preference for purposeful and directed violence rather than random and capricious violence. As discussed earlier, a TCO uses violence to enforce a deal. But criminal organizations also use force for a number of other strategic and operational reasons. It will use violence for issues of internal security; its members will engage in violence against each other to move up in the organization; a criminal group will resort to force to compete for market share against other groups; and it will use violence to enhance its reputation.[29] In a hypercompetitive illegal market where paranoia and mistrust over possible detention or death permeate a TCO, higher levels of violence have occurred.

Violence is often used for internal security reasons. Because a TCO's activities are subject to detection by law enforcement and challenge by rivals, loyalty within the organization is highly prized. The presence of an informant, defector, or self-interested member can undermine the ability of the group to make a profit or lead to its possible elimination. It is a "villain's

paradox" where a "criminal needs partners who are also criminals, but these are typically untrustworthy people to deal with."[30] The use of violence is a logical option to coerce a possible turncoat into confessing his status or removing him from the organization in a more permanent manner.

Violence used in this manner may also serve as a deterrent to other members of the group who might also consider defecting. Yet these warnings are not always heeded; disputes over promotion and succession within the group can still lead to killings among its members. If an individual feels frustrated or dissatisfied with the current leadership or the distribution of benefits among the group, there is little to prevent a violent challenge. Lower-level members can use violence for upward mobility.[31] Violence has often increased because succession issues among the remaining members are open to competition. The larger these "vacancy chains" become, the greater the uncertainty about succession, roles, and responsibilities within the group and the greater the uncertainty about relationships external to the group.[32] This can lead to splits within the TCO and violence among the members.

The challenge of maintaining loyalty is at times as important as, and yet also intertwined with, the imperative of competing with other TCOs. Preventing traitors is often predicated upon ensuring that money is still flowing to members of the organization so that they remain satisfied with their participation and stay committed to the group. To do so, a criminal group must maintain its share of the illegal marketplace, expand it, or move into new areas. In the case of Crimea, the new status of organized crime in the political class of the peninsula that contains the seaport of Simferopol may lead to competition with organized crime groups in the Ukrainian port city of Odesa.

> Simferopol could begin to challenge the Ukrainian port of Odesa as a smuggling hub. Until [2014], Odesa handled the lion's share of not just Ukrainian but also Russian smuggling over (and very occasionally under) the Black Sea. Whether or not Simferopol could ever emerge as a credible rival, especially in light of Western sanctions, is in a way irrelevant: the very possibility that it might have forced Odesa's godfathers to lower the "tax" they levy on criminal traffic through the port, an example of black-market economics at its most basic.[33]

Should organized crime in Odesa begin to lose ground to Crimean groups, the outbreak of violence is a distinct possibility. This occurred in Colombia during the 1980s when the Medellin cartel began to expand its influence against the Cali cartel, leading to a violent conflict among the drug trafficking organizations.

When the state takes a more confrontational stance against criminal activities, TCOs have resorted to violence to maintain their profit making. Widespread violence has been more noticeable in cases where long-running collusion between TCOs and the state has occurred. In Colombia during the 1980s

and 1990s, the Colombian government launched a crackdown against the Medellin cartel by passing laws that would extradite high-level drug traffickers to the United States rather than keeping them in Colombia where they could use their power to evade harsh prison terms.[34] In response, Medellin drug lord Pablo Escobar declared war against the government and attacked a wide array of civilian and state targets. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in 1991 removed social and political control mechanisms, which had allowed exploitation of organized crime by the elite. New more entrepreneurial criminals challenged the traditional Russian mafia groups; competition erupted among ethnic criminal groups (Slavic groups versus groups from the Caucasus), and competing organizations fought for dominance in particular sectors of the economy. The Sicilian mafia in the early 1990s attacked the Italian state in retaliation for a betrayal of the long-term exchange relationship with the Christian Democrat Party in which political protection was traded for electoral support. This breakdown resulted in the killings of judges and a broader campaign of intimidation targeting innocent civilians and some of Italy's historic monuments.

Closely related to competition with rivals and the breakdown of the criminal-political nexus is the final reason a TCO will resort to violence: to enhance its reputation. Violence is often meant to send a message; "a primary goal of communication, namely to modify people's beliefs about a situation or a person, is often better achieved by deeds than by words. Actions send signals and are often meant to."[35] In Mexico, horrific acts like decapitations in discos, displaying heads in soccer fields and sewing a rival's face to a soccer ball, all serve as signals to rivals and to the government.[36] The effect is to gain a reputation for ruthlessness that will make a criminal group more credible, perhaps forestalling the future need to use violence and to achieve a level of security to continue its operations.

Corrupt State Agents

The second obligation of directed violence is linked to the third obligation of TCOs' corporate logic, which is to corrupt state agents. As seen in previous chapters, drug trafficking enterprises require access to state resources and must avoid state obstructionism. To continue their actions unobstructed by the state, a TCO will corrupt public officials through incentives or punishment. Latin American TCOs label the approach of corrupting state agents as "*plata o plomo*," meaning the "silver" of money symbolizing a bribe or "lead" of a "bullet" symbolizing injury or death. Bribery is the cost of doing illegal business. In one report, Mexican authorities claim that drug trafficking cartels pay around 1.27 billion pesos (some $100 million) a month in bribes to municipal police officers nationwide.[37]

The reliance on corruption is what distinguishes organized crime from "ordinary criminality."[38] Drug trafficking's links to corruption take many forms in society: predatory, parasitic, and symbiotic.[39] TCOs involved in drug trafficking can engage in predatory forms of corruption, which are aimed at deriving immediate gains and not part of a long-range strategy. Bribing or coercing a border guard to ignore a shipment of smuggled drugs is an example of predatory corruption. Parasitic corruption has greater long-term and deeper effects; criminal groups begin to penetrate legitimate sectors of society. TCOs are known to invest the proceeds of their drug money in legal businesses, real estate, and stocks. Symbiotic corruption occurs when the political, economic, and social systems begin to rely on the profits generated by illegal activities. The use of drug money in political campaigns is one example of a symbiotic corruption.

Cultivate Intragroup Trust

In order to perpetuate a TCO, another obligation is maintaining group cohesion while drawing in new recruits. Because a TCO is not a military force or an insurgent group, no ideology binds it together. While the threat of violence or its actual use can keep a group together for security, a TCO must offer a compelling set of incentives to an individual for him or her to endure a life filled with the possibility of incarceration, injury, or death. Trust among the members is integral and "long term relationships between illegal entrepreneurs as well as stable criminal partnerships prove to be easier to establish and to maintain among people already bound by blood ties, by membership to a brotherhood or by common ethnic, religious, or political background."[40] To create a greater sense of affinity, criminal groups have developed mythologies of how their groups were founded, elaborate initiation rituals, and, in certain groups like the Russian mafia and Japanese Yakuza, tattooing to connote their membership and rank in the organization. Incarceration in prison can also function to generate trust within groups.

Recruitment into the organization is also key to the sustaining of a TCO. As demonstrated in the discussion of fragile states, drug trafficking provides the opportunity for recruitment amid widespread poverty. The ability to earn a living and the opportunity to be viewed as a person of status are powerful incentives for many youth to join and stay in a criminal group. One resident of Reynosa, Mexico, summed up the powerful combination of incentives that drug trafficking offers young people:

> They're doing it to show that they can wear this T-shirt by this designer worth this much money. It's like stripes on a military uniform. You walk around and everyone knows what rank you are, because your T-shirt is worth $300. It's a system of rank: if you have this T-shirt, you get a cute girl to show off; if you have an even more expensive T-shirt, you get an even cuter girl. But you can't

be seen in the T-shirt you wore last year, which has gone out of style—that would mean you hadn't climbed the ladder. Same with the mobile phone and the SUV—you have to have the latest. [41]

To create a sense of belonging and to increase bonding within the group, members of some organizations post videos on YouTube and Facebook to celebrate activities they consider to be laudable, to showcase their spoils and market their merchandise.

Exert Community Control

The final obligation of a TCO is to maintain a relationship with the community at large so that citizens permit, or at least do not actively obstruct, criminal activities. Many TCOs build links within the community in order to gain support and to shield its members from harm. "[Criminal groups] build schools, health care clinics, lending services at decent rates; they pay for funerals of widows—all of this gives them legitimacy. So people begin to 'protect' criminals. . . . People buy into the community that gives these kind of protective structures."[42] Many TCOs seek to demonstrate their benevolence by throwing festivals, donating items to the poor, and standing up for residents who have been wronged by the government authorities. TCOs are also adept at providing relief to communities affected by natural disasters. With their sophisticated, flexible, and adaptive networks, the Yakuza was able to bring in much needed relief supplies to areas affected by the 2011 earthquake and tsunami before the Japanese government was able to organize a response. [43]

However, much like their interaction with state agents, criminal groups will also use coercion to instill fear in a community to gain acquiescence and freedom of action. Witnesses to crimes and their family members are routinely threatened and attacked. Cartels in Mexico use "*narcomantas*," or banners that are displayed in public places with messages for the community, for rivals, and for the government. Corpses left in public are also displayed with messages describing why the victim was killed.

THE GLOBALIZATION OF CRIME: DEBATES AND DILEMMAS

The ethnic composition of these groups can often obscure the degree to which they operate in a number of countries and cooperate with one another to move drugs to market. The nature of drug trafficking requires TCOs in drug-producing countries to engage in cooperative relationships with other TCOs in transit and consumer countries and vice versa. Chinese triads operate in diaspora communities that exist in a number of countries, and Russian mafia groups have subgroups in the United States, Ukraine, Moldova, Geor-

gia, Turkey, Italy, and Spain.[44] Nigerian organized crime groups are believed to be present in over sixty countries.[45] As international businesses, TCOs involved in the drug trade must also take geography into consideration. Much like their counterparts in the legitimate world, drug trafficking TCOs rely on geographic hubs to move merchandise. As seen in chapter 4, these hubs are often in fragile states and are very often the same hubs for legitimate commerce. Bangkok, Thailand, has long been at the center of drug smuggling and other illicit activities "precisely because it is a regional hub for legitimate transportation and a prominent shipping center with a major international airport."[46] Geo-narcotics requires that certain territories have a degree of developed infrastructure, forcing these areas into broader networks of drug trafficking pipelines. The need for a degree of linkage to the licit global economy reinforces the notion that drug trafficking TCOs require fragile states, but not completely collapsed or failed states. In fact, TCOs "might be repelled by a degree of state failure that results in isolation from the broad currents of global communications and commerce or an unacceptable level of anarchy and uncertainty on the ground."[47] In short, TCOs seek areas of governance but do not seek to govern areas.

However, the degree of stability and certainty that TCOs need is the subject of debate. An emerging argument is whether newer TCOs are less interested in the stability and security of their operating environments than more traditional TCOs like the mafia. Transnational organized crime groups have typically benefited from state stability because they have invested in the legitimate economy. In corrupt relationships that are parasitic or symbiotic, when the licit economy does well, so too do the investments that organized crime groups have made in legitimate business endeavors. TCOs in non-conflict countries have typically used violence against the state to force it to back down from adopting more confrontational approaches like increased arrests, prosecutions, incarcerations, and extraditions. They have not used violence to bring about a collapse of state institutions, using violent tactics "to prevent criminal procedures—not to alter the basic political system which [they] favor."[48] Ascendant TCOs, in contrast, originate in conflict-prone countries and act in ways to keep the state weak and pliant so that they can continue to extract resources like drug crops or protect key transit routes for drug loads. As seen in previous chapters, intrastate wars and state weakness provide ample opportunities for transnational organized crime, particularly drug trafficking. War economies benefit these organized crime groups by providing a wide range of opportunities to exploit insecurity for the accumulation of profits from illicit commodities such as narcotics. The result, according to Louise Shelley, is that new transnational organized crime groups have different time horizons, avoiding long-term investments in the legitimate economy of the areas where they operate.[49] Instead, they move their

profits offshore with little consideration of the endurance of the state where they gain their illicit profits.

Many of these new TCOs are comprised of former members of guerrilla groups, law enforcement, and the military. They are active in drug trafficking, particularly in Latin America. The BACRIM (a Spanish abbreviation for "bandas criminales" or "criminal groups") in Colombia are almost solely made up of former self-defense groups and specialize in trafficking cocaine to Mexico. The Zetas drug cartel in Mexico comprises former members of the country's special forces, and it continues to recruit from current military and police forces in the country while working closely with Guatemala's Kaibiles who are part of the special forces of that nation. For Guatemala, the infiltration of new TCOs in the drug economy has meant that the country has the same homicide rate as it did during the country's thirty-six-year-long civil war.[50]

The willingness to accept and at times instigate instability in a country by new TCOs has created concerns among policy makers and scholars about the lengths to which they will cooperate with terrorist groups. John Picarelli sums up the dilemma: "On the one hand, traditional criminal groups are rooted in a nationalist pride that often precludes them from collaborating with terror organizations for fear of harm to their fellow countrymen. On the other hand, globalized crime groups have an active hostility to the state and thus are more prone to collaborate with terror groups."[51] Many TCOs have been leery of cooperating too deeply with politically motivated, violent non-state groups because it undermines their desire to remain beyond official scrutiny. By teaming up with a terrorist or insurgent group, a TCO runs the risk of violating its commitment to use only purposeful and directed violence. Doing so would bring unwanted, additional attention from authorities and interfere with a TCO's ability to continue to derive illicit profits.[52] However, there have been exceptions, such as the Medellin drug cartel paying M-19 guerrillas to attack Colombia's Palace of Justice in 1985. The attack was part of the Medellin cartel's larger campaign to coerce the government to reverse its decision to extradite drug kingpins to the United States. In this case, the interests of a TCO and an insurgent group coincided to violently strike out against the government. In one instance, nationalist pride has led members of TCOs to play active roles within a politically motivated, violent non-state group. For example, Albanian organized crime figures were also part of the Kosovo Liberation Army, and both organizations had "an interchangeable membership and recruitment base"[53] that were involved in drug smuggling. In contrast, a terror group's shift in its ideological stance caused a crime group to break off the relationship. When Chechen terror groups shifted their cause from an ethno-nationalist cause to one that embraced Islamic fundamentalism, Chechen criminal groups in Russia ceased their collaboration for fear of bringing additional state and international scrutiny.[54]

Another analysis has suggested that collaboration between TCOs and terrorists occurs among the members at lower levels of these organizations rather than as part of the senior leadership's larger strategic decision making.[55] The willingness of lower ranking personnel to cooperate across organizations may be evolving as many violent non-state groups have become less centralized as security and intelligence agencies have become more adept at tracking them and their activities. Financially weakened criminal groups with decentralized structures may become more willing to engage in collaborative activities with terrorists, guerrillas, and insurgents—such as creating fake identity documents, smuggling terrorist personnel, or smuggling WMD—that were once viewed as "out of bounds" by their leadership.[56]

There is also growing attention on third-party actors who are used by both TCOs and politically motivated, violent non-state groups and who often bring these two distinct types of organizations into contact with each other. Policy makers and law enforcement officials have begun to call actors occupying the common nodes between criminal and terror groups, in particular, "facilitators."[57] More than just middlemen, these individuals act as the connective tissue between organized crime, terrorism, and other types of transnational threats.[58] Facilitators specialize in providing highly technical expertise or specific knowledge of local jurisdictions. Money launderers, providers of fraudulent documents, experts in encryption technology, and owners of shell and front companies all exist along the same networks that TCOs and other violent non-state actors use to keep their activities secret and their operations viable. Facilitators provide common connections that enhance collaboration along this network, particularly in the trafficking of drugs. Colombia's BACRIM groups appear to be using money launderers linked to Hezbollah and various Mexican drug cartels.[59] But facilitators also act to ease shipments of weapons and personnel, key elements for TCOs and other violent non-state groups.

Other than the debates over the degree of stability and security preferred by TCOs and their willingness to cooperate with politically motivated, violent non-state actors is the argument over the mobility that these groups possess. Federico Varese argues that organized criminal groups have limited geographic agility because there are large constraints on their ability to transplant themselves in new areas. A criminal organization would have difficulty in maintaining internal cohesion if many of its members were operating abroad. It would also struggle with credibility issues in new areas; corrupting police outside its home region and exerting community control would be exceptionally difficult without having a long-standing reputation for violence in the areas where it seeks to establish itself.[60] Varese argues that when a criminal group's personnel do cross borders with illicit goods like drugs, it is part of the flow of illicit trade rather than transplantation.[61] Being that the term *transnational organized crime* encapsulates both the groups and their

activities, it is reasonable to conclude that illicit drugs and trafficking activities cross borders more than their personnel do. Even relatively stationary TCOs may not move to establish "franchises" in other countries, but they are dependent upon the movement of goods across borders in order to supply the customers in the territory where they reside.

While the degree of geographic mobility among TCOs is an open question, drug trafficking may have aided the social mobility of women in cross-border criminal enterprises. TCOs involved in drug trafficking may have also opened more doors for the participation of women in the wider world of deviant globalization. In the 1990s, the flourishing of drug trafficking drew many women into criminal organizations to earn easy money; drug traffickers relied on women to act as drug couriers, or "mules," because they were less likely to be searched by authorities.[62] The initial entry into cross-border drug activity allowed women to rise in the ranks of drug trafficking TCOs in several ways. First, government arrests and incarcerations of senior and mid-level male leaders from these organizations paved the way for competent women to step in and run certain aspects of cartel operations. Second, to guarantee a degree of cohesion and certainty, the importance of family and trust were key enablers for the participation of women leaders. Third, many activities of these groups escaped detection because law enforcement officials were not conditioned to think of women as leaders of drug trafficking organizations, but as victims who were pawns of their male relatives or husbands. These "queenpins," such as Sandra Avila Beltran, known as La Reina del Pacifico (Queen of the Pacific), Edith Lopez-Lopez, or La Reina del Sur (Queen of the South), and Ivonne Soto Vega, or La Pantera (the Panther), became prominent leaders in Mexican drug cartel circles.

Clearly, the various debates and dilemmas over the dynamic nature and evolving characteristics of TCOs demonstrate that they do not all behave in the same ways and that they do not exist in stasis. TCOs involved in drug trafficking take a number of different shapes, with some having longer-running histories and deeper roots in the politics and economics of a society, while others are less institutionalized, more disperse, and less willing to cooperate with other violent non-state actors. Despite these varying shapes and behaviors of TCOs, the effects of these groups and their activities on international security are far-reaching.

TCOS, DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND THE EFFECTS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The dynamics of globalization and drug trafficking form the profit center of transnational organized crime. Attempts to stop all transnational organized crime, especially those involved in drug trafficking, would grind much of

globalization to a halt. As demonstrated, the global logistics infrastructure has intertwined licit and illicit commerce; to declare a war on transnational organized crime would be waging a war on globalization. [63] The inability to disaggregate transnational organized crime from globalization adds a greater degree of permanence to the conditions of durable disorder.

The most significant contributions of TCOs to durable disorder in the international security environment are in the area of corruption. Much as transnational organized crime cannot be separated from globalization, drug trafficking and corruption are enmeshed. As previously discussed, criminality and its connection to terrorist, insurgent, and guerrilla groups is a serious side effect of corruption. Corruption has also gone global, and an international focus has emerged on the abuses of official positions for personal financial gain and the damage that these abuses cause to a vast array of societies and their citizens. UN agencies, regional organizations like the EU and OAS, international organizations like the World Bank and IMF, as well as nongovernmental organizations such as Transparency International, have all found common cause in tackling the issue of corruption.

Money laundering, or the hiding, moving, and integration of criminal proceeds into the legitimate economy, is one of the most glaring issues of corruption. The UN estimates that between $800 billion and $2 trillion, or between 2 and 5 percent of global GDP, of illegally earned money is laundered every year. [64] Like profits from legitimate business, illegal profits from criminal enterprises such as drug trafficking must be converted to use. At this stage, drug trafficking TCOs intersect more directly and more visibly with the licit financial world. Carolyn Nordstrom prefers to spell these connections as "il/legal" as a way to connote their near inseparability. [65] Financial institutions, like banks, are particularly susceptible to the influx of drug profits. Wachovia Bank and Bank of America have admitted to failing to properly monitor money transfers; Mexican cartels deposited illicit funds in Bank of America accounts in Atlanta, Chicago, and Brownsville, Texas, from 2002 to 2009. Wachovia admitted that it failed to monitor and report suspected money laundering activities to the tune of $110 million. [66] HSBC was fined $1.9 billion for failing to comply with required anti-money-laundering practices, thereby permitting hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexican drug proceeds to be deposited in various accounts and transferred to others with impunity. [67]

Often, laundered drug money finds its way into the political system of a country. One of the most daunting manifestations of corruption is the rise of criminal patronage networks like those discussed in the example of Sergey Aksyonov. Narco-corruption between politicians and criminals threatens the legitimacy of governments by creating impunity and empowering violent non-state actors. Through the use of illicit drug money, criminals pay off governmental officials to turn a blind eye to their activities. At times, these

corrupt officials are "recycled"; they are removed from their positions because of corruption but take new positions in government or return to their former position after a period of time and continue to protect drug traffickers.[68] At other times, law enforcement agencies refuse to arrest political power brokers, or the judiciary fails to try them in court. With the bribes and kickbacks they receive, these officials can pursue interests on behalf of their constituents, earning popularity and further cementing themselves in power. As one Mexican politician is reputed to have said, "a politician who is poor, is a poor politician."[69] In such countries with extensive criminal patronage networks, members of criminal organizations do not fear arrest or detention because they are aware of their importance to governmental officials.

In contrast, those who attempt to follow the law or challenge criminal patronage networks are disadvantaged. Legitimate businesses find it difficult or impossible to compete in such an environment, knowing that corrupt officials more heavily favor certain individuals and enterprises that provide these officials with pay-offs. Honest officials and reformers are frequently fired, moved to undesirable jobs, demoted, sent out of the country, coerced, or killed. The result is a deeply compromised state with institutions that lack transparency and accountability, an economy that is depressed because foreign companies are chased away by the lack of fair and open competition, and a society that lacks impartial justice and is subjected to spates of political and criminal violence. Peter Gastrow depicts what criminal patronage networks and narco-corruption do to a country:

> The impact of grand corruption on that state and its institutions is like slow biological warfare or radiation. It is hard to tell how much danger the state and its institutions are in at any given time. The poison or the effects of radiation accumulate and the impact may be delayed. The infrastructure and the appearance of institutions appear to remain intact, but there is a slow degeneration until it becomes clear that they have become so contaminated that they are no longer functional and unable to enforce their rules.[70]

A growing environment of impunity for corrupt practices made possible by the drug wealth of many TCOs provides an ever-worsening condition for international peace and stability. By producing a number of avenues for corruption to take root, drug trafficking TCOs destabilize areas of strategic importance, like Ukraine. The ability of TCOs to penetrate societies has interfered with international efforts to design strategies that seek to reduce the more visible effects of durable disorder like intrastate wars. Attempts to use economic sanctions against governments to bring about a change in the behavior are weakened in light of the ability of TCOs to sidestep enforcement mechanisms. Governments that are the target of sanctions have chosen to seek the assistance of TCOs to generate revenue and seek supplies in order to ward off the sanctions' more damaging effects and therefore to remain in

power. According to a study by Peter Andreas, sanctions can, in effect, criminalize a society.

> At the economic level, the most profound criminalizing result of sanctions can be to push economic activity underground and dramatically inflate the profit-ability of illicit commerce. Aboveground trading relationships can be sup-planted by underground trading relationships, creating clandestine region-wide sanctions-evading networks that reshape the political economy of the region and that may endure beyond the sanctions. . . . At the societal level, the most significant criminalizing consequence of sanctions is the potential of fostering "uncivil society," reflected in a higher level of public tolerance for lawbreak-ing and an undermined respect for the rule of law. Smuggling may not only become perceived as "normal" rather than deviant, but it may even be celebrat-ed as patriotic. [71]

The "patriotism" of organized crime syndicates has in several cases trans-lated into political power. When the target government has fallen, those who assisted in providing for the needs of citizens during the sanctions period are often elevated to positions within the new government through elections. Even those individuals in organized crime who helped the government evade sanctions are among the few that have the power to coordinate and harness the resources needed to mobilize people in society to support their rise to positions of authority. Groups with ties to drug trafficking became new polit-ical power brokers in countries like Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

When the international community has engaged in peace and stability operations in specific countries, political power brokers with links to orga-nized crime have used criminal patronage networks to extend their influence. Drug-related criminal patronage networks have often been powerful enough that UN peacekeepers must engage with them to meet other critical mission demands like brokering disarmament and demobilization agreements among combatants. This was apparent, for example, in Kosovo, where members of the KLA, who were also part of the Albanian mafia, were viewed as the legitimate political voice of Kosovo-Albanians at the end of the Kosovo War in 1999. The KLA could not be ignored as a key partner for peace and was thus integrated into post-conflict political structures while retaining many of its criminal ties. [72] In some instances, peacekeepers themselves have become directly involved in drug trafficking activities. Organized crime co-opted a portion of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and it was eventually withdrawn from the Balkans when it was discovered that some peacekeepers were assisting drug smugglers. Peace operations are often not designed to cope with the challenges of criminal patronage networks in particular, or the activities of TCOs in general. Drug trafficking has affected the political will to reform the institutions of government to make them more accountable and

transparent. This has complicated efforts to build security in unstable states. For example, the Haitian political elite, with its use of armed gangs and the police to aid cocaine smuggling, undermined UN efforts at police reform and capacity building throughout the 1990s.[73] Hence, the use of peace operations, one of the primary tools of the international community to deal with weak and failing states, can be weakened by the influence of drug trafficking TCOs.

TCOs and their association with criminal patronage networks have also proven to be strategic surprises in cases when nations have been involved in forcing regime change. Organized crime in Iraq after the 2003 U.S. invasion proved to be a major spoiler for efforts to engender stability in the country. The same networks of organized crime that helped the country evade international sanctions facilitated the looting, oil smuggling, antiquities smuggling, and drug trafficking that increased insecurity and instability in the aftermath of Saddam Hussein's fall. As Phil Williams described, "Indeed, the economy of Iraq had been so devastated by successive wars, sanctions and economic mismanagement that organized crime was one of the few sources of employment after March 2003."[74] Organized crime groups in Iraq also began to flood the streets with drugs looted from hospitals, clinics, and pharmacies. Many Iraqis pointed to drug addicts as the initial source of Iraq's rampant crime problem. Omar Zahed, the head of the Iraqi police anti-drug squad in 2003, told the BBC World Services that "most of our criminals take these [pills] before they act. . . . It has caused a huge increase in crime."[75] Many of these drugs did not stay in Iraq but were trafficked across borders in exchange for money or weapons that were sold to Iraqi insurgent groups. Similar events occurred in Libya after NATO forced longtime dictator Moamar Gadhafi from power in 2011.[76]

TCOS, OTHER NEW REFERENT UNITS, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

TCOs continue to expand their influence over sovereignty by challenging the norms and institutions that provide the structure for the state system of international relations. They flout national laws and international law while undermining jurisdictional authority of states. Through their active participation in drug trafficking that crisscrosses the globe, TCOs have become powerful players in many contemporary international security debates. Their power has made them almost the peers of nation-states because of their ability to affect the internal and external dimensions of sovereignty.

The ability of TCOs to hobble key principles of international relations created an impetus to reframe security issues. As discussed in chapter 1, TCOs, narco-states and politically motivated, non-state actors are among the

new referent units in international security studies. The combination of these groups and their participation in the trafficking of deadly and habit-forming narcotics that undermine individual health across the globe has contributed to discussions of "human security," a concept that transcends the nation-state. The intersection of drug trafficking and global health as a human security issue will be the subject of the following chapter.

NOTES

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Chapter Seven

Human Security and Global Health

Pakistan consumes an estimated forty-four tons of heroin a year, making it the most drug-addicted country in the world.[1] Heroin in regions of the country that border Afghanistan is cheaper than food; it costs as little as fifty cents to get high. A local Pakistani research doctor described how easily heroin can be purchased in these areas. "The way you place an order with Pizza Hut for pizza, it's even easier than that to place an order for drugs."[2] The low cost of heroin and its widespread availability means that Pakistan consumes two to three times more heroin than the United States. Consequently, with approximately 4.25 million drug addicts and only 30,000 spaces at treatment facilities, Pakistan is overwhelmed by the burden of drug abuse.

Closely linked to the sheer volume of heroin abuse in Pakistan has been the rising numbers of infectious disease. According to a representative of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "A majority of the population doesn't have any idea about the risk of sharing needles and women also entered prostitution to make money to buy drugs."[3] In a five-year period, HIV infections among people who inject drugs increased rapidly from 10.8 percent in 2005 to 37.8 percent in 2010.[4] Although the HIV epidemic is concentrated among intravenous drug users and prostitutes, Pakistan is at significant risk of its expansion.[5]

Along with Pakistan, the countries of Central Asia have also been saturated by heroin, leading to sharp rises in HIV/AIDS infections. The region of Central Asia has an intravenous drug use rate four times the global average; one report concluded that no less than a quarter of a million people in Central Asia are regular heroin users.[6] In Kyrgyzstan, 15 percent of the prison population lives with HIV. In repressive Turkmenistan, the country denies that it has a single case of HIV/AIDS and launched a crackdown on medical profes-

sionals who acknowledged the extent of the disease or its link to the rising use of injected heroin.[7]

The flood of heroin overwhelming the region is coming from the opium fields of neighboring Afghanistan. However, heroin has also affected Afghanistan in profound ways. "The number of drug users in Afghanistan is estimated to be as high as 1.6 million, or about 5.3 percent of the population, among the highest rates in the world. Nationwide, one in 10 urban households has at least one drug user. . . . In the city of Herat, it is one in five."[8] The use of heroin along with marijuana and hashish has plagued the Afghan security forces: in 2009, an estimated fifteen percent of Afghan soldiers were drug addicts;[9] 60 percent of the police force in Helmand Province were heroin users[10] and in 2013, sixty-five members of Afghanistan's national intelligence agency were fired for heroin addiction.[11] Drug abuse in the nation and among the security forces of Afghanistan has challenged the goals to build a stable, prosperous country that can confront the Taliban insurgency and prevent the establishment of terrorist safe havens in its borders.

The health effects related to heroin production and distribution in South and Central Asia show how drug trafficking compounds numerous international security issues. From overwhelming health facilities to enfeebling police and armed forces, from triggering greater repression to playing into the hands of violent non-state groups, heroin use and attendant diseases outbreaks add to the security woes of diverse nations and individuals within them. Additionally, heroin is not only a problem for the fragile countries in South and Central Asia—the highest reported heroin use occurs in the United States, the UK, China, and Russia, four of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Because of the ways that drug trafficking contributes to the deterioration of public health around the globe, this chapter examines how widespread drug use and its attendant diseases not only affect the functions of the state, but increase individual suffering and burdens society. The focus on the health and well-being of individuals, rather than the sovereignty of state, falls under the relatively new paradigm of international security known as "human security." With a focus on individuals rather than the state, human security encompasses a wide range of transnational issues.

THE HUMAN SECURITY PARADIGM AND GLOBAL HEALTH

As detailed in the previous chapters, the study and practice of international security has broadened considerably with the end of the Cold War. New referent units beyond the state, along with new challenges emanating from them, have forged new intellectual paths for scholars and practitioners to explore. Among the intellectual explorations is the controversial paradigm of human security. The human security paradigm attempts to reframe interna-

tional security discussions around the individual as the most important level of analysis while attempting to lessen the role of national security as the key emphasis in the crafting of policy decisions. In short, human security advocates argue that security has evolved to include the protection of individuals and groups as well as territory or, in some cases, the protection of individuals and groups supersedes the sanctity of territorial integrity (see table 7.1).

The concept of human security first emerged from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report when it stressed that "the world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives. Future conflicts may often be within nations rather than between them—with their origins buried deep in growing socio-economic deprivation and disparities. The search for security in such a milieu lies in development, not in arms."[12] Fifteen years later, the UNDP reemphasized human security as "the liberation of human beings from those intensive, extensive, prolonged and comprehensive threats to which their lives and freedom are vulnerable . . . the object of threat in the case of human security is individuals' lives, freedom or both."[13] Under the human security paradigm, threats to individuals include hunger, disease, crime, and violence, which are often the result of the underdevelopment of state structures, war, and poverty. Therefore, approaches to meet these threats include an emphasis

	International Security	National Security	Human Security
Main Focus:	Interactions in the Global System	State Sovereignty and Security	Basic Individual Needs
Main Threats:	Destabilizing Wars due to Aggressive States, Rogue Regimes	Loss of Government Authority and Autonomy due to Hostile Rival States and Violent Non-State Actors	Undermining Physical, Psychological, and Economic Well-being of Individuals, caused by Violence, Crime, Poverty, and Disease
Preferred Policy Approaches:	Balance of Power, Democratic Peace, or International Stability Based on Shared Norms	Effective Integration and Employment of Elements of Power to Secure National Interests	Transnational Activities to Provide Stable Guarantees of Physical, Psychological, Economic Well-being

Table 7.1

on efforts that protect and promote conflict resolution, human rights, democracy, food availability, environmental sustainability, and health care. Human security thus lies at the "intersection of security studies, political violence and human rights."[14] Approaches to establish human security are designed to increase the basic safety and well-being of individuals across borders with the ultimate goal of greater global peace and stability.

These efforts and goals may seem like a tall order; human security is often perceived as advocacy rather than a theoretical paradigm for serious academic inquiry. The fact that a development agency of the UN first posited the notion of human security transcending borders bolsters this perception. By placing almost every threat to individuals and their quality of life under a human security paradigm, it creates the perception that the concept is empty. Essentially, if everything is a threat, then nothing is a threat. Another line of criticism argues that the paradigm merely securitizes human rights and humanitarian law; thereby securitizing concepts and approaches that have been traditionally considered as soft politics.[15] This criticism bolsters the notion that the attempts to place elements of soft politics under a security umbrella appear more like efforts to develop a political, economic, and social agenda than a desire to conduct scholarship.

Regardless of the criticisms and unfolding controversies, human security continues to evolve as a paradigm in policy and academic circles. Indeed, its integration into the policy making of NGOs, states, and international organizations has reinforced rather than diminished the framework of issues, challenges, and strategies linked to human security. The Human Security Network includes over a dozen countries that promote and implement activities aimed at stemming threats that affect individuals and groups, through international organizations and NGOs. Human security has contributed to international relations and international security studies by shifting the focus away from the security of the nation-state and toward the security of individuals and the groups that they comprise.

Global health falls under the human security paradigm because of how it transcends borders and affects individuals and societies. Although there are many definitions of global health, it can be thought of as "a field of research and practice that examines how factors of global, national and subnational origins converge on a health issue, problem, policy or outcome in an identified local social arena."[16] Public health is a network of individuals and institutions within a country that conduct activities to achieve the goal of a healthy population. Global health, therefore, can also be conceived as the various ties and networks of public health systems among countries. In fact, the history of public health is "that of the processes of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one part of the world have health effects on peoples and countries far away."[17] The focus on health is a "fulcrum" for international security studies.[18] Health is the ultimate existen-

tial issue for human beings, states, and the international system. Other security issues fall by the wayside when widespread outbreaks of contagious diseases go unchecked in a society. As Frederick Burkel Jr. argues, potential public health crises "will make sovereignty a moot point when a fragile nation-state epidemic accelerates . . . into a continent-wide pandemic."[19] Without the most basic human needs of physical health and survival being met, individuals cannot focus on the achievement of other higher order needs. In many ways, a physically healthy population should be categorized under "high politics" because few other security issues can be placed above it.

Policy makers and scholars have often viewed public health issues as domestic concerns, in contrast to foreign policy concerns such as rising state challengers, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and interstate wars. Many countries began to realize the important link between national security and health in the 1990s. For example, in the 1998 *National Security Strategy of the United States*, President Bill Clinton included infectious diseases among issues that "have serious implications for American security."[20] However, "each year, millions of people die from preventable, curable and treatable diseases."[21] Societies continue to sustain negative effects on stability, peace, and prosperity due to the lack of adequate medical resources.

As discussed in chapter 2, the negative effects of narcotics on people and societies prompted early international public health activity to control their production and consumption; a total of nine international treaties on the control of narcotics were signed between 1912 and 1953. Other chapters demonstrated that drug trafficking intersects with a number of security concerns that fit under the conceptual umbrella of human security, including public health. The situation of heroin addiction and attendant diseases in South and Central Asia shows how drug trafficking's link to global health is part of the human security paradigm. First, because the world is "epidemiologically interdependent,"[22] the spread of heroin from Afghanistan and the health consequences in the region and beyond have occurred irrespective of the territorial limits that are important in international relations theory and much of international security studies. Domestic issues, like drug production and trafficking, can snowball into larger issues, such as health crises, that become regional and international challenges. Second, heroin addiction and attendant disease create vulnerabilities in important structures of the state like security and medical institutions. As seen in Afghanistan, state agents are not immune from the effects of disease, while in other parts of the world, 25 to 50 percent of health care workers will die from AIDS.[23] Public health crises like those in South and Central Asia have compounding effects that further weaken already fragile states by shifting resources away from controlling violent non-state challenges. Internal conflicts also act as "disease amplifiers" that lead to the emergence, spread, and mutation of pathogens

among combatant and noncombatant populations.[24] Finally, heroin addiction and its links to the spread of disease in countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan have affected the multilayered, international activities to bring security to the region. The security forces of Afghanistan have been compromised by drug addiction, and the health facilities of countries in the region buckle under the burden of heroin abuse and HIV/AIDS.

The direct and indirect consequences of drug use and attendant diseases on human security are far-reaching, especially in a globalized world. Increases in crime, loss of productivity, strains on medical facilities, and declining rates of life expectancy are among the many other negative effects of drug abuse, addiction, and attendant disease. Moreover, approaches to tackle the global spread of drug use and attendant diseases have not advanced at a concomitant pace. In fact, "global health governance [has] remained largely unchanged since the 19th and early 20th centuries."[25] To treat drug use worldwide, it would cost between $200 billion and $250 billion (0.3–0.4 percent of global GDP) and, according to the UN, "the actual amounts spent on treatment for drug abuse are far lower—and less than one in five persons who needs such treatment actually receives it."[26] According to the World Health Organization (WHO), illicit drug use accounts for four deaths out of every 100,000 people in the world.[27] The lack of an advanced, sophisticated global health system that is designed to match the ever-expanding drug trade leaves individuals and societies vulnerable to greater risks associated with drug use and addiction.

DRUG ABUSE, ADDICTION, AND GLOBAL HEALTH

Drug abuse is the habitual use of an intoxicating substance; addiction, also called "drug dependence," is the physical need for a particular intoxicant. Both abuse and dependence are closely linked, but there are currently no means of predicting which individuals will move from drug use to abuse to dependence before or after taking a particular narcotic. The degree of drug use, abuse, and dependence among individuals worldwide, much like the global production and distribution of drugs, is challenging to measure and assess due to its clandestine nature. The behavior of drug use is not only illegal in most societies, but it is also very often culturally stigmatized. Many people are unwilling to admit to their own drug use or that of their relatives and loved ones. Governments in fragile states are unable to count drug users due to lack of resources or are unwilling to report the numbers out of fear of losing tourism and foreign investment. This combination of individual and government inability or reluctance makes gathering accurate data to conduct research, provide assessments, and generate conclusions or policy recommendations highly challenging endeavors. As a result, the methods to collect

data and generate metrics are imperfect when conveying the prevalence of global drug use and dependence.

The inability to collect precise numbers of drug users in the world has created wide-ranging estimates. For example, the UNODC estimated in 2012 that there were between 162 million and 324 million people aged 15 to 64 who used illicit drugs worldwide. Of those people, between 16 million and 39 million were problem drug users.[28] Among drug users, approximately 12 million people engaged in highly risky intravenous drug use.[29] The lack of precision also leads to debates over whether global drug use is stabilizing, increasing, or decreasing. A study in the British medical journal *The Lancet* reported that the UNODC indicated that drug use had stabilized or decreased between the years 1997 and 2008, while the RAND corporation argued that it had stabilized or increased over the same period of time.[30] The World Health Organization (WHO) uses the metric of disability-adjusted life year (DALY) to assess the global burden of drug use and disease, which is based on the years of life an individual loses due to premature death and years of life lived in ill health.[31] Using the DALY metric, the WHO estimates that drug use accounts for an annual loss of 8.37 million years of healthy life.[32] No matter the measurement or assessment of drug use trends, drug use occurs in every country and cuts across source, transshipment, demand, and hybrid countries in the structure of geo-narcotics as discussed in chapter 2.

Although measurements of global drug use and its effects on public health are imprecise, it is generally recognized that studies tend to underestimate the contribution of drug use on global health "because they do not include all adverse outcomes of illicit drug use."[33] For example, financing illegal drug use leads some individuals into sex work or other crimes, exposing them to violence; some users also engage in risky intravenous drug use to escape detection by law enforcement and avoid seeking treatment out of fear of negative consequences such as imprisonment.[34] Many anti-drug policies limit access to certain types of interventions that have been shown to reduce health risks, such as needle exchanges and methadone treatment. This has led to continued health crises. Anti-drug policies that include incarceration of drug users expand potential health risks because prisons are often incubators of infectious disease and greater drug use.

Bearing in mind the difficulties of accurately estimating global drug use and dependence, there are four general types of detrimental health effects associated with illicit drug use: "the acute toxic effects, including overdose; the acute effects of intoxication, such accidental injury and violence; development of dependence; and adverse health effects of sustained, chronic regular use, such as chronic disease (e.g., cardiovascular disease and cirrhosis), blood-borne bacterial and viral infections, and mental disorders."[35] Individuals who use opiates, particularly individuals injecting heroin, suffer the great-

est health consequences across the four types and place the greatest burden on societies.

Acute Toxic Effects

Acute toxic effects of drugs include overdose, which can result in death or disability. Toxic effects can be the result of the inability of users to judge the purity of the drugs they consume. Without government assurances of the content and safety of the drugs they are using, drug users are at the mercy of those from whom they purchase their intoxicants. In many cases, drug dealers at the retail level will mix adulterants in drug doses to increase their supply and their profit. Some of these adulterants are toxic, such as industrial chemicals or even other cheaper, more available drugs.

According to a 2013 report by the National Center for Health Science, there were 43,982 fatal drug overdoses in the United States, which topped the category of injury-related deaths in the country.[36] The same report also concluded that fatal heroin overdoses had tripled in the United States between 2010 and 2013.[37] The Russian Federal Drug Control Service also reported that its country experienced a tripling of heroin overdoses in a two-year period, killing approximately 100,000 people per year.[38] In developed countries, the level of poverty is a strong predictor of fatal drug overdoses. For example, there was a 69 percent variance in fatal drug overdoses that were linked to poverty in an urban New York community.[39]

Acute Effects of Intoxication

Aside from the toxic effects of drug use, accidents, and injury, as well as violence, there are also negative health consequences. The acute effects of intoxication form the nexus between public health and public safety. Drug-induced stupors are abiding causes of workplace injuries and deaths. Drug users are more likely to die as a result of traffic accidents, falls, and drowning than non–drug users.[40]

Often overlooked is the fact that an individual drug user is not the only person whose health and safety are affected by the acute effects of intoxication. Relatives of drug users also suffer, and the extent of family pain is also a burden on societies. Drug abuse is associated with a large proportion of child abuse and neglect cases.[41] For example, in testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, FBI special agent-in-charge Charles Goodwin reiterated that 90 percent of confirmed child abuse cases in the state of Hawaii were linked to the use of meth.[42] More broadly, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) of the United States estimates that there are 8.3 million children who live in a home with a parent who uses or is dependent upon drugs.[43] By one estimate, the average social

cost per instance of child abuse in the United States is approximately $93,000, creating a substantial cost of child abuse from drug use in households.[44]

Development of Dependence

Drug dependence in an individual occurs when he or she experiences: a strong desire to take the narcotic; an inability to control its use; physical withdrawal symptoms when the drug is not taken or taken in small doses; tolerance to the effects of the drug; the need for greater doses to achieve intoxication; the need to spend large amounts of time obtaining and using drugs as well as recovering from their use; and continued use despite experiencing negative consequences such as those previously discussed.[45] Using the DALY metric, the UN estimates that opioid dependence is responsible for 55 percent of years lost due to premature death and 44 percent of years lost due to disability.[46] More broadly, the development of drug dependence also compounds the negative consequences of acute toxic effects and acute effects of intoxication while expanding the consequences over time. Opioid dependence, in particular, contributes most to the burden of disease.

Criminal behavior is one negative consequence that is compounded by drug dependence. Child abuse and domestic violence are not the only crimes associated with drug use and dependence. In order to pay for their habit, drug addicts will often engage in other illegal activities such as burglary, theft, robbery, and prostitution. These activities carry a substantial societal burden. One British study suggested that "the costs associated with drug-related crime (fraud, burglary, robbery and shoplifting) in England and Wales were equivalent to 1.6 percent of GDP, or 90 percent of all the economic and social costs related to drug abuse."[47]

Demand countries have the largest share of drug-dependent individuals. However, because these countries are largely in the developed world, they may be more able and willing to collect statistics and report them than developing countries. The lack of precise studies in some countries of the developing world does not mean that that source and transshipment countries are immune from the issues of drug dependence. Recognizing the difficulty in collecting accurate data, one report on drug use in West Africa stated that "the real extent of drug use—particularly problematic drug use—is still largely unknown, although there are strong indications that it is increasing and creating additional health problems."[48] The report went on to conclude that, because cocaine, heroin, and ATS are being transshipped across several countries in West Africa, drug usage rates have increased, especially among the younger generations.[49] In the source country of Thailand, the increase in ATS consumption has had significant consequences for the criminal justice

system; by 2002, more than 60 percent of court cases were linked to narcotics.[50]

Chronic and Infectious Disease

The abuse of narcotics, as well as the abuse of tobacco and alcohol, is generally viewed in the public health field as a lifestyle choice and behavioral practice that contain risk factors for contributing to non-communicable diseases (NCDs). Unlike the infectious diseases such as hepatitis, STDs, and HIV/AIDS that are associated with drug use, NCDs are not spread by pathogens. The use, and especially the abuse, of illegal narcotics can increase the risk of cancer, heart disease, liver disease, and many other chronic non-communicable conditions.

More pernicious than the link between drug use and NCDs is the link between drug use and infectious diseases. These diseases are especially of concern due to their ability to spread beyond the population of drug users and for their effects on the wider society. Of individuals who use drugs, those who use them intravenously have the greatest risk of contracting an infectious disease. Among countries, the United States, China, and Russia account for 46 percent of the global total of intravenous drug use, while the United States, China, Russia, and Pakistan account for 62 percent of people worldwide who inject drugs and live with HIV.[51] These proportions may reflect better reporting and collection of data. Nonetheless, other countries in other regions struggle with the link between intravenous drug use and HIV. The continent of Africa has struggled with containing and reducing the sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS.[52] By the year 2000, the HIV/AIDS epidemic was the major contributor to the steep drop in life expectancy in Africa that eliminated the gains in increasing life expectancy that occurred over decades of development.[53] In the subsequent years, through concerted international efforts, the HIV epidemic linked to sexual transmission has been controlled on parts of the continent. However, intravenous drug use, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, has threatened to undo much of the progress made against HIV/AIDS.[54]

> These findings are alarming in light of the fact that the 2013 Global Report of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS) reported a decline of 34 percent in the annual number of new HIV infections among adults in sub-Saharan Africa since 2001. In fact, HIV incidence declined by more than 50 percent between 2001 and 2012 in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Senegal. However, the UNAIDS report notes that the world is not on track to meet its stated goal of reducing HIV transmission by 50 percent by 2015 among people who inject drugs. There has indeed been little change in the HIV burden in this population over the past years, the report states, because "HIV prevention coverage for people who inject drugs remains low."[55]

Furthermore, of special concern to transshipment countries in West Africa, many studies have suggested that the non-intravenous use of cocaine and ATS is linked to an increased risk of HIV infection as a result of unprotected sex.[56]

AIDS upends death rates because it strikes those between the ages of fifteen and forty-five harder than the elderly.[57] The result is, as the head of UNAIDS noted, that AIDS has been an especially devastating epidemic because it has killed the most productive members of society "with an efficacy history has reserved for great armed conflicts."[58] With mature adults dying of the disease, "AIDS orphans" have emerged. By 2013, the UN estimated that there were over 13 million AIDS orphans worldwide, with the majority living in sub-Saharan Africa.[59] Not only have AIDS orphans placed even greater burdens on the societies of fragile states, but these children have also been forced into the sex trade or have been recruited to fight as part of terrorist and insurgent movements.

DEBATES ON LINKS BETWEEN DRUG USE, HUMAN SECURITY, AND GLOBAL HEALTH

The paradigm of human security and its place in international security studies is not the only area of contention when exploring the issues of drug use and global health. The importance of global drug use as a health and security issue is also the cause of much debate. The relative significance of negative health effects associated with illicit drug use—such as the acute toxic effects, acute effects of intoxication, development of dependence, and the effects of regular use—is subject to controversy within the field of public health. These continuing debates are relevant to research and policy agendas that must determine the best approaches to contend with drug use and its connection to global health, human security, and international security. Choosing one side or another in the debates helps to shape priorities and develop outlines for action.

One area of debate is the degree to which drug use affects individual health and well-being in comparison to the usage of licit substances such as alcohol and tobacco. The use of illegal narcotics does not cause as many health-related deaths worldwide as the use of alcohol and tobacco. Indeed, more people use alcohol and tobacco than illicit narcotics. Therefore, many question why the consumption of illegal drugs should be elevated to a security issue if its effects on global health are no worse than the use of products that are legally distributed by nations and companies. In fact, "illegal drugs (mainly opioids) account for one-fifth as much harm as alcohol and tobacco."[60] Tobacco use is much more widespread around the world, creating a

greater share of negative consequences on public and global health than alcohol or illegal drug use.

Alcohol and tobacco do have significant health consequences that over-shadow those of illegal drugs. However, illegal drug use does undermine public health in distinct ways. The consumption of illegal drugs claims a higher share of DALYs and deaths among younger people, while alcohol and tobacco claim more lives among middle-aged and older adults. Moreover, as previously discussed, illegal drug use, particularly of intravenous drugs, is a significant contributor to the spread of infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS. In addition, the illegal status of particular narcotics also creates second and third effects on the stability of societies and government institutions in ways that alcohol and tobacco do not. From creating additional burdens on health facilities to hamstringing the effectiveness of security forces, the use of illegal drugs creates compound and cascading problems for a number of fragile states.

The criminal status of the drug trade is a second area of debate regarding the place of narcotics usage on the health and security agenda. One side of the debate contends that criminalization of production, distribution, and use has created many of the health issues and negative consequences for societies and states covered in this chapter. The global prohibition regime has not led to an appreciable reduction in illicit production or consumption of narcotics. When it comes to individual health, the current regime "has arguably worsened human health and wellbeing of drug users by increasing the number of drug users imprisoned, discouraging effective countermeasures to the spread of HIV by injecting drug users and creating an environment conducive to the violation of drug users' human rights."[61] Ironically, subjecting drug users primarily to criminal sanctions, rather than treating drug users as first and foremost a public health issue, has been in accordance with international conventions that were created to limit the harm to individual health and wellbeing. The treaty stipulations of anti-drug conventions have constrained the actions of governments to experimenting with alternative ways to handle drug use and dependence in their societies. The United States and its heavy emphasis on a punitive model to control the international drug supply has also extended to drug consumption abroad. The United States has used diplomacy to pressure its allies to abandon more liberal domestic drug policies for drug users. For example, the Clinton administration threatened to seek the revocation of Australia's UN license to grow legal opium if the state of Tasmania approved a heroin maintenance program and the administration of George W. Bush warned that vehicle traffic from Canada into the United States would be slowed if that nation passed a marijuana decriminalization law.[62]

However, fundamentally altering the legal status of drug use may not produce the desired positive effects on global health. While the final chapter

will examine alternative drug control options, it must be reiterated at this stage that the consumption of legal substances such as alcohol and tobacco has many greater and more widespread negative consequences on individual health and well-being than illegal narcotics use. The current level of illegal drug use and dependence around the world should not be considered as a high-water mark. Thus, legalizing the use of drugs such as cannabis, cocaine, heroin, and ATS may lead to similar widespread usage as alcohol and tobacco while creating a greater number of the attendant health consequences that come with it. In 2014, the United States began to back away from its hardline international stance on the criminalization of drug use. In a press conference at the UN, the director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) for the United States stated that "things have changed since 1961. We must have enough flexibility to allow us to incorporate those changes into our policies . . . to tolerate different national drug policies, to accept the fact that some countries will have very strict drug approaches; other countries will legalize entire categories of drugs."[63] Much of this change was sparked by changes in the laws of several U.S. states that removed criminal penalties for the use of marijuana, which the director of the ONDCP referred to as "experiments."

A third area of debate is over the degree of personal responsibility attributable to individuals who use narcotic substances for non-medical purposes. Individual drug consumption is a voluntary behavior and is not a communicable disease; those who use drugs and those who develop a dependence on narcotics assumed the risks when deciding to take a drug for intoxicating purposes. If individuals are largely responsible for the decision to take drugs, should societies divert resources from more important public health issues that affect individuals who are not ill because of lifestyle choices? Rather than stronger restrictions on drug use or innovative health initiatives, placing more responsibility on individuals for their health choices, including the consumption of intoxicants, may be more equitable.

On the other side of the debate lies the argument that many factors surround an individual's decision to take drugs. There are psychological characteristics that dispose people to accept the risks of drug consumption; teenagers and young adults are more prone to risky behaviors as they often lack the cognitive maturity to more thoroughly weigh their consequences. Additionally, as previously mentioned, unhealthy behaviors such as drug use are strongly linked to poverty in childhood and beyond.[64] In societies of fragile states, there is a high proportion of young people, and poverty is rampant; drug use offers a way for many individuals to cope with their circumstances. Some have argued that the desire for intoxication is a type of fourth drive in human nature that exists alongside thirst, hunger, and sex.[65] Even if these contributing factors are dismissed and the negative consequences are presumed to be the fault of the individual drug user, the negative effects rarely stop with the

drug user. As demonstrated, the effects of an individual's drug use and dependence extend to family members, victims of crime perpetrated by users, and victims of accidents caused by users. A society shares the burden of an individual's poor choices, making the degree of collective action to mitigate negative effects an area of continuing discussion.

DRUG TRAFFICKING, GLOBAL HEALTH, AND EFFECTS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

In addition to the well-formed debates over the importance of global drug use as a health and security issue under the human security paradigm, there are areas in international security where drug use and health merit exploration. For example, the extent that new referent units in international security studies—narco-states, fragile states, TCOs, and politically motivated, violent non-state actors—negatively affect global health because of their participation in trafficking illegal narcotics should be evaluated. As suppliers of the narcotic substances that create the adverse effects on individuals and societies, they share responsibility for undermining global health efforts and worsening public health in many countries. Individuals and societies in fragile states appear to be especially vulnerable to the most severe negative consequences of drug use and dependence. This, in turn, has implications for the rest of the globe. As Clive Bell and Maureen Lewis argue, nation-states that "cannot or will not perform basic public health functions place the rest of the world at risk."[66]

Another area for exploration is where drug use and its effects on global health play a part in international instability. Although drug use affects the health of individuals and produces negative consequences for numerous societies, drug use has not led directly to the profound destabilization of countries or to severe turbulence in the international system. Drug use and dependence may be viewed as playing an indirect role in political instability. To paraphrase Andrew Price-Smith, drug use and dependence are additional stressors on economies, societies, and institutions of governance.[67] Even with its link to health crises, drug consumption, rather than drug production and transportation, appears to play a small contributing role in affecting state stability or public perceptions of state legitimacy.

While the effects of drug use and dependence on an individual country is contextually based on the scope and scale of drug consumption, they have not directly led to the breakdown of internal cohesion or the erosion of nation's ability to defend itself or undermined its capacity to engage in basic international behavior. In those cases discussed in chapter 5 where politically motivated, non-state actors have trafficked drugs with the hope of subverting their adversary's society, these efforts have not created significant pressure

that has forced any government to change its policies or to capitulate. Moreover, in light of the horrific toll of HIV/AIDS, which did not bring about many of the forecasted scenarios of state collapse, increased internal violence, greater migration, or the inability of a state to project power, it is difficult to see how drug use and addiction could directly lead to any greater consequences than imagined in these scenarios.

However, the contention that drug consumption is not an important component in undermining state stability reignites the debate over whether drug demand drives the violence in areas of drug production and transit as examined in previous chapters. This would increase an individual drug user's radius of responsibility for health consequences beyond himself, his family and his society to include others affected by violence in the upstream part of the narcotics trade in distant countries. Closely related to the extent of an individual drug user's culpability in upstream drug violence is, given the scale of injuries and homicides surrounding drug trafficking in many countries, whether drug violence is a global health and human security issue in its own right.

Drug consumption and its link to global health and human security serves to frame complex and multidimensional cross-border issues in broader ways that break away from the traditional conceptions of security challenges in international relations theory. As seen, the human security paradigm differs from national and international security with their "emphasis on formal actors (mainly states), defined tools (largely military, economic and diplomatic power), and tendency towards a binary divide between peace (security) and war (insecurity)."[68] Global health and human security include non-anthropomorphic threats such as drug use and disease, highlighting the ways that threats to individuals and communities can exist without enemies. In other words, there can be "threats without threateners."[69] Moreover, unlike the other international security issues covered in previous chapters, the link between drug trafficking and public health places the individual in a dual role as the central agent and the main victim of insecurity. Drug consumers, due to their behavior, place themselves (and others) in jeopardy of greater harm to their health and thus to their security. In its totality, the global nature of drug trafficking undermines international security by helping to weaken public health in developing and developed nations and eroding global health.

Apart from the effects on global health, drug consumption is being increasingly enabled by the Internet. In fact, drug trafficking from supply to demand is an increasing feature of cyberspace. The reach and anonymity provided in cyberspace are desirable characteristics for those involved in the types of clandestine activities surrounding drug production, distribution, and use. The next chapter explores how drug trafficking is empowered by cyberspace, the effects of drug trafficking on cybersecurity, and the consequences for international security.

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Chapter Eight

Cyberspace and Cybersecurity

Dread Pirate Roberts is not only the name of a fictional character in the movie *The Princess Bride*, but it was also a pseudonym shared by a number of individuals who owned and operated a website known as the Silk Road. Two of the most notable users of the name were Ross Ulbricht and Blake Benthall; both were arrested and charged for numerous crimes related to their administration of the site, including drug trafficking. The Silk Road hosted various postings for illegal commodities such as narcotics and false driver's licenses. In its first iteration, the website had nearly one million customers and facilitated $1.2 billion worth of illicit trading.[1]

Hidden in the shadows of the "the surface web" populated by Google, Facebook, Instagram, Amazon, and other familiar parts of ordinary online life, is the Deep Web, which is estimated to be many times larger in volume. The Silk Road existed in an intentionally secretive part of the Deep Web known as the Dark Web, or Dark Net, that is only accessible through software encryption programs such as The Onion Router (TOR). Carolyn Nordstrom and Lisa Carlson describe the Dark Net as

> made up of roiling contradictions and myriad actors. It is the sanctuary of people seeking a voice under repressive governments, a haunt of criminals, the fox-holes of cyber soldiers, the library of the latest scientific advancements, and the living room of file-sharers swapping media, music and camaraderie. It is the protectorate of Internet-creators and supporters dedicated to freedom of communication.[2]

Portions of the Dark Net contain cryptomarkets, such as the Silk Road and its successor sites. Several of them are, as the title on the cover of *Time* magazine described, "Where Drugs, Porn and Murder Hide Online."[3] Cryptomarkets host sites where buyers and sellers can meet anonymously online

and conduct clandestine transactions among themselves for illicit goods such as drugs, fraudulent documents, stolen credit card information, and child pornography. Illegal services like money laundering and assassination are also included in some cryptomarket offerings. Thus, cryptomarkets do not sell illegal items but act as a type of brokerage agency that facilitates exchanges.[4] They are a type of Craigslist for contraband.

Because of the anonymity provided by encryption and the clandestine nature of the goods and services available, the Dark Net and cryptomarkets are "part of the grid that can be considered off the grid."[5] There are no precise numbers on how many of these sites exist, but they appear to be growing due to increasing Internet access around the globe combined with the demand for the availability of these sites in more languages. This makes the value of the content on the Deep Web incalculable. Encryption, along with the vastness, complexity, and increasing dimensions of the Dark Net, makes the activities in cryptomarkets exceptionally difficult for law enforcement to keep pace with or even trace. When law enforcement has been able to track and eventually shut down Dark Net sites that host cryptomarkets, they are quickly replaced by others; when Ross Ulbricht was arrested and the Silk Road was dissolved, Silk Road 2.0 emerged with another site administrator assuming the Dread Pirate Roberts persona. The qualities of Dark Net sites make them especially attractive to drug traffickers and drug dealers.

Drug trafficking and cyberspace is a comfortable pairing. In fact, the first transaction on the rudimentary Internet in the 1970s was between college students at Stanford and MIT for marijuana.[6] With the anonymity provided by the Dark Net and the need to clandestinely provide narcotics to drug users, the Internet provides a conducive environment. The Internet also enables drug trafficking activities by easing the ability of drug traffickers to communicate about their activities and spread information about how individuals can produce their own drugs. As chapter 2 examined, technology, organization, and attitudes have been the three main drivers of the evolution of drug trafficking and its intersection with international security. The Internet as an evolving technology is influencing the ways in which trafficking of narcotics is organized and also reinforces some shifting attitudes about the illegality of drug consumption. Its relative newness has also exposed areas where drug trafficking and security intersect in unique ways. Whereas the previous chapter examined how drug trafficking is linked to the new paradigm of human security via global health, this chapter examines how drug trafficking is linked to a new domain, cyberspace, and how this linkage is affecting the international security agenda.

THE EMERGENCE OF CYBERSPACE AND CYBERSECURITY

The Internet first emerged in the 1960s from research sponsored by a Department of Defense organization then called Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA). Scientists with ARPA were dissatisfied with the inefficiency of communicating, coordinating, and synthesizing large amounts of data; the early Internet grew out of a "frustration that there were only a limited number of large, powerful research computers in the country, and that many research investigators who should have access to them were geographically separated from them."[7] As a way to overcome this frustration, the ARPA researchers built a network of interconnected computer systems that could communicate with one another. The early uses of the Internet were for military and government purposes before it was made more widely available to others. In fact, it was illegal to use the Internet for commercial purposes until 1992 when the U.S. Congress changed the law. In the ensuing years, the Internet grew exponentially and came to be a global force in the lives of an ever-growing number of individuals.

The term "cyberspace" first appeared in a work of science fiction literature from 1982, but was unrelated to the technical accomplishments of the ARPA researchers. Cyberspace encompasses an interconnected network of computers, servers, routers, switches, and fiber optic cables that digitally link information systems including various smart devices. As a manmade domain, cyberspace has qualities that distinguish it from natural domains of land, sea, air, and space.[8] Cyberspace depends on the electromagnetic spectrum, is constantly replicated by human interaction, and requires objects made by human beings while having few obstacles to human participation in the domain.[9] It also lacks sovereign national boundaries, creating many complications for governments that seek to control activities occurring online.

The unique features of the cyber domain mean that making it safe and reliable, as well as ensuring the safety of the services and societal infrastructure that depend on cyberspace, is a complex endeavor. *Cybersecurity* is a commonly used term that includes the variety of ways that governments, businesses, and individuals attempt to protect their critical data and infrastructure from instances of cyber activity aimed at compromising their ability to function in the physical and digital worlds. There have been differing efforts at building cybersecurity around the globe. For example, the United States and EU have different attitudes about securing the cyber domain from being attacked and being used for attacks. The United States views cybersecurity through the lens of national security, while the EU views it as a national infrastructure issue.[10] The ability of differing actors to challenge and threaten cybersecurity is contestable. Some see clear differences among malicious actors and their acts in cyberspace, while others believe that the

Internet has brought about a leveling of the relative power among actors. Peter Singer argues,

> When it comes to talking about cyber attacks, senior defense leaders have lumped together teenagers defacing public [Department of Defense] websites, disgruntled soldiers leaking documents, hackers stealing industry secrets, terrorists using YouTube and foreign military agents accessing classified networks to plant worms, as if they were all one and the same, simply because their activities all involved a digital series of 0s and 1s. This is akin to treating the threat posed by a teenager with a bottle rocket, a robber with a revolver, an insurgent with a bomb or a state with cruise missile as the same simply because they all involve gunpowder.[11]

However, the former secretary-general of the UN International Telecommunications Union saw fewer distinctions in cyber threats, arguing, "there is no such thing as a superpower in the cyberspace because every individual is one superpower in itself because it's a human brain that makes a difference in this field. And this is one natural resource that is equally distributed everywhere in the globe."[12] The uncertainty of what constitutes power in the digital domain and who can wield it effectively enough in cyberspace to challenge international and national security are some of the chief concerns for policy makers.

Much of the concern among policy makers is the outbreak of cyber war or a cyberattack that devastates key parts of a nation's infrastructure or economy, such as the power grid or stock market. According to Richard Clarke, a cyber war encompasses "actions by a nation-state to penetrate another nation's computers or networks for the purpose of causing damage or disruption."[13] Government agencies and militaries routinely hack the vital computer systems of another country, but so far none of these cyberattacks has caused injury or death.

Drug trafficking in cyberspace tangentially affects cybersecurity and is not likely to be a large factor in a cyber war or a destructive cyberattack. Instead, drug trafficking is more likely to be part of cybercrime, or where a computer is used as a tool to commit a criminal act. The sale of drugs on cryptomarkets of the Dark Net is one example of cybercrime with participants ranging from crime syndicates to individuals. Transnational organized crime is involved in selling drugs online as a portion of other cybercrimes like weapons sales, money laundering, and prostitution. Several organized crime groups have forums on the Dark Net where they advertise their services.[14] There are also Internet-based organized crime syndicates such as the Russian Business Network (RBN) dedicated almost exclusively to cyber-based crimes like hacking, selling of malware, spam, and phishing. Many wholly online criminal entities such as cryptomarkets have also emerged that do not share any ties to real-world TCOs or engage in activities like the

RBN; they are a type of Internet-based organized crime and are active in portions of downstream narcotics trafficking networks that supply drugs to consumers.

EFFECTS OF CYBERSPACE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

Whether on the surface web or the Dark Net, the most sought-after illicit commodity online is drugs. Drug sales still occur on the visible surface web, through social media or through hidden advertisements that users must follow through a series of links. Retail sales also routinely occur through the use of dating and relationship apps like Tinder and Grindr. However, these ways of moving and acquiring drugs via the surface web remain risky. Law enforcement can trace these transactions, while buyers and sellers of narcotics can commit fraud against one another. The possibilities of arrest and loss of assets are abiding concerns of those engaged in both virtual and real-world drug activity.

Cryptomarkets mitigate these risks through the creation of reliable and discrete transactions. The use of encryption technology has aided the ability of drug sales to avoid widespread law enforcement pressure. Another key element for transactions on the Dark Net has been the invention of crypto currencies such as Bitcoin, Litecoin or Zerocash, which are not government issued but are virtual currencies generated via complex algorithms. However, the existence of encrypted software and crypto currencies has not been the reason cryptomarkets are successful. The use of escrow accounts and a rating system of buyers and sellers provided by administrators of cryptomarkets have also reduced the potential for fraud. Through the escrow system, the buyer deposits crypto currency in an account to make a purchase; the money is only released when the buyer acknowledges receipt of the drugs. Sellers use the postal system and "stealth packaging" to conceal the drugs in innocuous looking items such as free sample shampoo bottles attached to magazines that are shipped in large bundles.[15] As one drug buyer described the shipment, "It generally looks like junk mail or information about moving here, or moving there, or consultation stuff."[16] The sheer volume of mail delivered in the developed world also makes detection of small amounts of illicit drugs unlikely; for example the Royal Mail in the UK delivers nearly 16 billion pieces of mail every year to 29 million addresses.[17] Concerns about fraud are eased with a viewable ratings system of sellers and buyers, much like what is found on legal consumer websites such as Amazon and eBay. As one user of a cryptomarket explained, "When deciding whether or not to go with a vendor, I read the feedback on their page and also ratings from a few months ago. . . . [D]epending on the substance, I'll go to the 'avengers' thread where

people from the Silk Road community post lab results for individual products."[18] If transactions go awry, cryptomarkets also have processes to resolve disputes between buyers and sellers.

Buying and selling drugs through cryptomarkets has been increasingly popular. According to the UNODC, "the value of transactions, as well as the range of drugs available [via the Dark Net], appears to be growing."[19] One study by Trinity College in Ireland discovered that the majority of the Silk Road's sixty thousand daily visitors were seeking to buy or sell drugs.[20] In another case, Dutch authorities were able to shut down a nine-day-old cryptomarket, Utopia, which had already acquired thirteen thousand listings for narcotics.[21] All types of narcotics are available online, including marijuana, cocaine, heroin, ATS, and a wide range of pharmaceuticals that are diverted from legitimate medical facilities. In addition to ready-made drugs, there are listings for precursor chemicals and instructions that can be sold to customers who can then manufacture their own stimulant or hallucinogenic drugs. Many of these chemical formulas are for new drugs that governments have not yet classified as illegal; some formulas slightly alter the composition of illegal drugs like ecstasy, making them unclassified on the schedule of banned substances and therefore legal in many countries. Much as selling drugs on the surface web raises the potential for arrest, publishing or selling drug formulas without the benefit of cryptomarkets invites greater scrutiny from law enforcement. In fact, due to the Internet, governments are finding it difficult to classify newly home-manufactured drugs as quickly as they become available to users.

Current research by policy makers and academics, along with the assertions by advocates of cryptomarkets, suggests that drug transactions on the Dark Net are less violent than in the physical world. The lack of physical interaction between buyer and seller has eased the possibility of organized crime groups using directed and purposeful violence as described in chapter 6. As organized crime expert Misha Glinny explains, "You don't need to deploy violence to get into the game. You don't need a baseball bat" to engage in cybercrime like online drug dealing.[22] Another way that virtual drug transactions have a lower likelihood of becoming violent is via the compressed logistics trail. Drug trafficking activities in cryptomarkets "are distinguished by direct (or at least more direct) connections between drug producers and consumers, the participation of far fewer intermediary nodes and a higher overall level of network efficiency. . . . This dramatically alters the dynamics of network association and reduces the necessity for deterrence or competition premised on the use of force."[23] Purchasing drugs online is also safer for drug buyers who do not have to engage in dangerous street transactions. In addition, the quality of drugs sold via cryptomarkets tends to be higher; in one FBI investigation, drugs purchased on cryptomarkets showed "high purity levels."[24] High quality drugs and a rating system there-

fore remove another potential source of dispute that could lead to violence. In fact, when disputes arise on Dark Net sites, settlements are handled through an online adjudication process. In general, the need or even the ability to resort to violence in the Dark Net ranges from minimal to none.

In sum, the Dark Net and cryptomarkets appear to represent a substantial criminal innovation in drug trafficking. They have provided drug dealers, in particular, with "1) a worldwide market for their products, 2) the capacity to sell to customers not already known to them, 3) the ability to trade anonymously and 4) in a relatively low risk environment."[25] However, the relative newness of cryptomarkets, their anonymity, along with their connection to a clandestine activity such as drug trafficking, has challenged the ability of policy makers and scholars to accurately assess their attributes or the assertions of advocates of cryptomarket sites. As a result, several nuances are needed when assessing cryptomarkets' innovative qualities.

First, the global reach of drug trafficking via Dark Net sites still appears limited to consumers in demand countries of the developed world and in emerging powers like China and India.[26] This limited market may change as more people in more nations in the developing world are able to gain access to the Internet and encryption software. Currently, there is no reliable data on the number of drug transactions that occur via the surface web or the Dark Net.[27] Instructions on manufacturing new psychoactive drugs are dependent upon access to precursor chemicals, which may also be purchased via cryptomarkets. However, there is a lack of data on how chemical formulas of new drugs purchased via the Internet are affecting patterns of drug consumption in specific countries, let alone overall global patterns of drug consumption.

Second, although many who have studied cryptomarkets suggest that the global nature of the Dark Net has expanded the customer base of drug sellers and has increased the choice of drug users beyond locally available narcotics, this is an untested proposition. It remains unclear whether sellers on cryptomarkets are reaching a new segment of drug consumers or whether these sites are replacing or even bolstering traditional street-level drug dealing. A substantial portion of drug sales on cryptomarkets is for bulk orders at high prices beyond those typical for personal use. This suggests that the most profitable drug sales are between drug dealers, rather than between dealers and users.[28] Online buyers appear to be dealers who are resupplying their stocks or perhaps attempting to offer new products in an existing local marketplace where they already operate. There is also little evidence beyond the sales of marijuana that cryptomarkets enable a "farm to user" connection. Groups in areas where botanical drug crops are cultivated, for example coca farmers in Peru or opium farmers in Afghanistan, are unlikely to have access to the Internet and a secure postal system to sell their products via cryptomarkets.[29] Therefore, cryptomarkets appear to be of greater value in connecting wholesalers, middlemen, and retail-level sellers.[30] As for expanding custom-

er choice beyond locally available drugs, there is anecdotal data suggesting that existing users of one type of drug are turning to the Internet to find other narcotics to try. There are a number of online social networks that are dedicated to drug users sharing their experiences of experimenting with various types of newly available drugs.[31] However, the quantity of these drugs acquired online, as opposed to purchased locally or manufactured at home, remains an open question.

Third, anonymity is not foolproof for individuals using the Dark Net. This is evident with arrests of high-profile site administrators, drug dealers, and customers. Law enforcement has adapted, albeit slowly. In late 2014, Operation Onymous, involving law enforcement agencies in seventeen countries, took down approximately fifty cryptomarkets, including Silk Road 2.0.[32] Crypto currencies are traceable when they are traded for government-issued currency and enter legitimate financial institutions. Brokers of crypto currencies on the Dark Net who have helped launder proceeds of drug transactions have been arrested and prosecuted.[33] Banks have also become more vigilant to transactions of crypto currencies and the proceeds that enter particular accounts.[34]

Finally, the risk of violence is apparently low in drug transactions that cryptomarkets enable. As previously discussed, the reliance on violence in illegal drug transactions in the physical world is often to mitigate fraud and used as a dispute-resolution mechanism. However, the apparent lack of the ability to use violence in cryptomarket transactions has not led to the elimination of the potential for violence in order to maintain anonymity, prevent blackmail, or engage in extortion. For example, among the charges filed against Ross Ulbricht was one for commissioning the murders of six people: an associate who could have potentially identified him as the Dread Pirate Roberts to law enforcement, individuals who had threatened to expose him online, and vendors who had challenged the Silk Road's credibility by engaging in Bitcoin scams.[35] Due to the relative newness, the anonymity, and the evolving nature of Dark Net sites, the extent of violence related to the administration of cryptomarkets, rather than violence related to drug transactions, is unknown. Aside from the potential for violence related to operating a cryptomarket, there continue to be unique risks of rivalry, theft, and fraud that exist on Dark Net sites. Competing cryptomarkets have engaged in digital "turf wars" with one another; the Silk Road was taken off-line for a week by a sustained cyberattack from a rival cryptomarket, Atlantis.[36] Theft of Bitcoins has also occurred on these sites: the Sheep Market cryptomarket stole $40 million worth of customers' Bitcoins, and the Silk Road was hacked in February 2014 and lost nearly $3 million in Bitcoins.[37] There are also a number of sham sites on the Dark Net that exist to steal crypto currencies and engage in phishing activities.

EFFECTS OF CYBERSPACE ON ATTITUDES ABOUT DRUG CONSUMPTION

The technological innovation of the Internet has not only affected organizational segments of drug trafficking, it has also played a role in attitudes about drug distribution and consumption. Drug use has long been associated with countercultural attitudes about society, particularly in the developed countries of the West. This countercultural perspective has dovetailed with a political worldview of many activists who want cyberspace to be free of government control. A type of cyber libertarianism has been ascendant as the cyber domain has expanded. Hacker groups like Anonymous and public disclosure websites like WikiLeaks see themselves as pioneers seeking to achieve the goal of "Internet freedom." They also believe in the widespread use and availability of cryptography to protect and foster human liberty against intrusive state surveillance. The ethos of this movement is that 1) all information should be free; 2) people should distrust the centralization of information; and 3) therefore people should promote its decentralization.[38] Rather than viewing the political spectrum as left versus right, adherents view the world through the lens of individual versus institution.[39] In essence, Internet freedom is also human freedom.

The operators and many users of cryptomarkets echo the elements of the cyber libertarian ethos. Although profit may be part of the motive for individuals to start a cryptomarket as well as to buy and sell items on it, another reason has been an antigovernment perspective of politics that cyberspace should reflect. The founder of the Silk Market claimed in an interview, "What we're doing isn't about scoring drugs or 'sticking it to the man.' It's about standing up for our rights as human beings and refusing to submit when we've done no wrong. Silk Road is a vehicle for that message. All else is secondary."[40] One user on the site reinforced this anti-establishment sentiment by claiming that many other users "came for the drugs, stayed for the revolution."[41] In fact, many creators, administrators, and patrons of cryptomarkets see themselves as pioneers and freedom fighters while they see law enforcement as the "real criminals" because of the surveillance the state uses against individuals in the digital and physical worlds.

Those who share a cyber libertarian worldview believe the War on Drugs is another manifestation of the heavy hand of an oppressive state. Enabling drug sales, publishing ways to manufacture drugs on the Internet, as well as using drugs and comparing them in online discussion forums, are portrayed as a way to undermine tyrannical state authority and empower the individual. As one drug vendor on a cryptomarket explained, "Public drug markets [online] are a giant middle finger to many powerful interests."[42] Internet activists, drug dealers, and drug users believe they have "declared an inde-

pendent state online" rather than waiting for laws on Internet privacy and drugs to change. [43]

The extent of this independent online state that is organized along the lines of cyber libertarianism has not been widely studied. Nonetheless, a number of political parties dedicated to both increasing Internet freedom and reforming drug prohibition have emerged in a variety of nations. For example, the Internet Party in New Zealand and the Pirate Party in Australia, the United States, and a handful of European countries all espouse the twin goals of ensuring individual freedom of action in the cyber domain and easing individual access to narcotics. The ability of these political parties to substantially shape the public debate in their favor has been limited, meaning that the demand for cryptomarkets and their goods will continue to be robust.

DRUG TRAFFICKING VIA CYBERSPACE AND THE EFFECTS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Perhaps there is nothing more emblematic of deviant globalization than cyberspace being used to facilitate a worldwide black market of contraband where national sovereignty has little power. Drug trafficking via the Dark Net represents what Moises Naim has called "micropower." As discussed in chapter 4, micropower is the ability of decentralized and non-hierarchical groups that are smaller in size and scale with fewer assets and resources to outmatch their centralized, hierarchical, larger, and more heavily resourced rivals. A vast network of computer-savvy individuals who are able to keep drug trafficking adaptable for the twenty-first century is hobbling nation-states and their institutional reach. The emergence of cyberspace as a domain for drug trafficking activities demonstrates new ways that national and international drug control efforts are being effectively undermined. Governments and the international community are playing catch-up as prohibited narcotics are more easily finding their way to users and as new drug formulas are being published and sold on the Web at a rapid pace. Meanwhile, criminal groups continue to be enriched; societies and individuals continue to be placed in jeopardy. Cryptomarkets continue to adapt and thrive even in the face of arrests, confiscations, theft, and scams; a process of recovery and reconsolidation has routinely followed setbacks. [44] History has shown that illicit markets shape criminal actors as much as criminal actors shape illicit markets.

Unlike criminal groups, the various political actors with links to drug trafficking, explored in previous chapters, have not used cryptomarkets and the Dark Net to buy, sell or distribute narcotics. Currently, there is no evidence that narco-states are using cryptomarkets to move drugs to different trafficking nodes or to sell drugs to users. Furthermore, there is also a lack of evidence that any government has been an active participant in cryptomar-

kets or has colluded with criminal syndicates to use cryptomarkets in the selling or purchasing of illegal narcotics. Evidence is also scant that politically motivated, violent non-state actors have turned to the Dark Net to earn money from drug sales. Actors in real-world drug trafficking continue to use the Internet and encryption technology for routine purposes like communication, movement of product, support for transportation logistics, and the hiding of profits.

Much like the fears of threat convergence between TCOs and politically motivated, violent non-state actors in the physical world, scholars and policy makers are concerned about the connections these groups may be making online. As seen in previous chapters, facilitators have used the Internet to move illegal proceeds from drug sales to terrorist and insurgent organizations. Terrorist and insurgent groups have used information on public disclosure websites to mount violent operations. It is possible that cybercrime could be used to enable acts of terrorism through the provision of classified information hacked from government servers. Terrorists can easily purchase malware and software exploits on cryptomarkets that could be used in a potential attack. Drug sales and crypto currencies could be used to pay for these resources. However, a violent attack that was planned using hacked information gained from the Dark Net and paid for in crypto currencies earned from online drug sales has not occurred and, at this stage, remains conjectural.

The Dark Net and cryptomarkets are not the only areas where drug trafficking and cyberspace have intersected with security concerns. Cyberspace has also figured into drug trafficking violence in the real world. Despite the claims that cryptomarkets eliminate violence in the downstream portion of drug trafficking, the proliferation of markets do nothing to lower violence in production or transshipment portions of illegal narcotics networks. For example, drug cartels in Mexico have threatened and killed bloggers and people who have posted on blogs about the activities of gangs and traffickers. The moderator of a website that posted news of shootouts and other cartel activities was murdered and left mutilated at an intersection; the message left on his corpse said, "This happened to me for not understanding that I shouldn't report on the social networks."[45] Cartels were able to track down these activists because they have routinely kidnapped computer engineers and university students in the information technology sector. Cyber-vigilantism has also occurred when the hacking group Anonymous threatened to expose the names and personal information of members of Los Zetas cartel and those who collaborate with them.[46] These battles over the control of information in cyberspace have significantly raised the stakes of violence and added a new dimension to the drug wars in the country.

Drug trafficking via cryptomarkets has not altered the fundamentals of geo-narcotics as discussed in chapter 2. Cyberspace may extend the motives

for violence into the physical world as seen in the cases of blogger killings in Mexico and as demonstrated with the allegations of murder-for-hire against Ross Ulbricht. All illicit markets, whether they are in the physical or digital world, share the universal pressures of the lack of trust among participants, the rivalry of competitors, and the threats of state punishment. Dispute mechanisms aside, cryptomarkets still lack the consumer protections that exist in the legitimate world of online sales and also lack avenues for resolution of disputes that exist in the illicit world of criminal activity. Murders to silence opponents who make online comments against drug traffickers and killings to protect cryptomarkets may become a more familiar part of twenty-first-century drug trafficking. If so, this would represent a new and further burden on law enforcement agencies and an additional challenge to public safety.

Another cyberspace challenge for law enforcement, and the state more broadly, is the criminal use of not only the previously discussed crypto currencies, but of virtual currencies, virtual credit cards, and e-commerce sites. Not every online transaction involving these currencies and sites is for the commission of a crime. In fact, many legitimate online retailers and online games accept these currencies as payment. However, these currencies are also used as "obfuscators" to hide and move the proceeds of illegal activities such as drug trafficking. A report by the UNODC notes that criminals have used the virtual currencies on massively multiplayer online role playing games (MMORPGs), such as Second Life and World of Warcraft, to launder drug money on the surface web.[47] The same report also discusses, "micro laundering" of large amounts of money reduced to smaller amounts, which are then sent through thousands of electronic transactions on sites like PayPal or used to purchase numerous virtual credit cards.[48] These online monetary tools are another example of micropower eroding state authority and compromising legitimate online environments used for leisure and commerce. The micropower of drug trafficking in cyberspace may harm the more benign online activities.

Undermining benign online activities may pale in comparison to the health effects of online drug trafficking. Depending on how cyberspace grows and expands, online drug trafficking may affect human security and global health in ways described in the previous chapter. If drugs become more widely available worldwide due to online accessibility, what will be the links to the types of detrimental health effects associated with illicit drug use such as acute toxic effects, the acute effects of intoxication, development of dependence, and adverse health effects of sustained, chronic, regular use? Many substances and formulas for new narcotics available on the Dark Net are untested compounds; their short-term and long-term effects on human health are unknown to scientific researchers and health officials as well as to those who choose to purchase, sell, and consume them. Cryptomarkets are not without health dangers as they have been implicated in many drug deaths,

especially of young people.[49] This may add to public health issues of many societies as they grapple with new cases of drug dependence, intoxication, overdose, and death.

Uncertainty is a key feature of any discussions of the future direction of cyberspace. As of now, there are a number of ways to view how governance of cyberspace can be understood—as a type of cyber anarchism favored by cyber libertarians where private interests dominate and where information and commodities are freely accessible to all regardless of their activities; as a global commons that is governed with broad-based international cooperation and is relatively accessible to all people with certain limits on their activities; as a domain where governments can extend their sovereignty and govern its content effectively and with legitimacy; as a space that is cooperatively managed by a wide range of actors, public and private; or as an as of yet unknown conception organized and operating under a paradigm of various approaches. Therefore, the influence of cyberspace on drug trafficking and the overall consequences on international security due to the linkage between them will continue to unfold. How governance of the Internet is conceived and eventually implemented will be key to determining the ways that online drug trafficking will figure into conversations about international security. Under the conception of cyber anarchy, drug trafficking would likely be more present online as authorities struggle to contain it. A global commons conception would likely lead to more attempts to circumscribe online activities that are inconsistent with existing international laws and norms; therefore, finding new ways to prohibit online drug activities would be priorities for international cooperation. Cyber sovereignty would mean that online drug activities would likely cleave closely to a particular nation's drug laws, yet enforcing them would require more intrusive online actions by national law enforcement agencies. A cooperative arrangement or some other speculative paradigm would have effects on drug trafficking based on the contours of the norms that their adherents construct.

The history of the drug trade has evolved from being the province of empires and powerful companies to being accessible to almost anyone with Internet connectivity. This chapter reflects this culmination in drug trafficking's evolution into its contemporary form. With the advent of the "wearable web" like Google Glass, the Apple Watch, and even the potential for wi-fi from a spray can,[50] the intertwined nature of cyber technology and daily life will become tighter. These new ways to interface with the web may affect the organization of drug trafficking or shift people's attitudes about intoxicating narcotics, meaning the evolution of the illicit drug trade could take a variety of directions in the future. The effects on international security will also continue to evolve and will be felt in an ever-expanding circle of issues. The next chapter explores what the future holds for drug trafficking and its inter-

section with international security as well as examining areas for future inquiry on the effects of the linkage between the two.

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Chapter Nine

Ways Forward

Imagine a not-so-distant future when an individual would be able to wear an Internet-connected device that has enough genetic and biometric information to detect when the wearer desires a mood-altering substance. The device would also know what drugs the individual has consumed in the past and what the effects were on the individual. With a small alert, the device would allow the individual to choose among a variety of drugs and place an order that would then be sent directly to a 3D printer where it would generate the narcotic in the individual's home.

In this imaginary future, drug traffickers would begin to diversify their business models to meet the growing demand for homemade drugs. Rather than trafficking only finished narcotics, traffickers would have discovered ways to increase the supply and sale of precursor chemicals for the burgeoning home manufacturing of drugs. Narco-states and fragile states would play a role in gaining access to precursor chemicals. The traffickers would also employ aerial drones to deliver drugs and precursor chemicals, as these shipments would easily blend in with the skies filled with the delivery drones of legitimate companies.

The rise in home-manufactured narcotics would contribute to undermining stability in the areas where crops for botanically based drugs have been traditionally grown. In this imagined future world, due to climate change and the greater ability of individuals to genetically modify plant life, coca might well be cultivated in regions beyond the Andes. Instead of relying on Latin American cartels for cocaine, local criminals, terrorists, and elements of the governments from West African countries could grow coca crops themselves for local retail markets and for European drug consumers. This would lead to a steep economic decline of Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia because vast sums of drug proceeds would no longer enter the legitimate sectors of their soci-

eties. A greater brain drain from these countries would logically follow as more educated professionals sought better lives elsewhere; drug farmers and peasants who relied on the coca trade would organize to seek relief from their governments. If these governments were unable to provide the farmers and peasants with adequate relief, organized criminal syndicates and insurgent groups could rush to recruit them into their ranks. Political instability in South America would begin to grow.

Meanwhile, in the main consumer countries, politicians would debate whether to allow children and adults to receive newly invented vaccinations that prevent drug addiction. Private companies would also develop apps and nanotechnology specifically tailored for an individual, which could be used to track and control the dosage of the narcotic, thus preventing overdose, sickness, or dependence.

The preceding scenarios are highly speculative, but may not be as far-fetched as they sound. One futurist sees that "scientific advances such as Nano-Bio-Info-Cogno (NBIC) Convergence could deliver ever more powerful, targeted and complex narcotics which will enable total customization of the hallucinogenic effect and its duration. . . . The technology will evolve so that eventually even these complex drugs will be manufactured at home."[1] Experiments for 3D printers that can be used to manufacture narcotics at home—"chemputers"—have already begun for the production of legitimate pharmaceutical drugs.[2] Climate change has permitted opium growing in new parts of southern and east-central Russia.[3] Coca growers and traffickers have routinely modified differing strains of the plant to make it hardier; in 2014 Mexican authorities discovered the first coca plantation in their country, stoking the fears of many crime experts that the plant's migration to sub-Saharan Africa could be next.[4] Coca farmers in Bolivia and Peru have routinely demonstrated against their respective governments when eradication efforts have cost them their livelihoods.[5] Mexican drug cartels have used drones to deliver drugs over the U.S. border.[6] Pharmaceutical companies are working on vaccinations and chemical treatments that can block the effects of drugs and break addictions.[7] App developers are working to create apps that will be able to monitor a drug user's level of intoxication.[8]

With elements of this imagined future already present in today's world, they create a number of questions for scholars and policy makers. The main questions are whether the drivers of the drug trade—technology, attitudes, and organization—will coalesce around some aspects of these scenarios, and what the effects on international security would be. The central claim of this book is that drug trafficking has evolved to become enmeshed in the most serious issues affecting international security. As this book has demonstrated, drug trafficking activities are significant stressors on individuals, economies, societies, states, and the international system. Regardless of what the future of drug trafficking comes to resemble, it will continue to play a role in how

international security is conceived and pursued. This chapter outlines a number of guiding assumptions about the future of drug trafficking and its intersection with international security. These guiding assumptions suggest the need for a reexamination of the strong ties that International Relations theory has to the study of international security studies. Because drug trafficking and its connection to international security will endure, issues of narco-states, fragile states, intrastate conflicts, terrorism, transnational organized crime, global health, and cybersecurity will be regular features of global politics. In light of the persistence of these issues and the need to reexamine the parameters of international security studies, this chapter offers a number of areas for future research and study.

GUIDING ASSUMPTIONS AND TRENDS

It is logical to deduce that reforming the current global drug prohibition regime will reduce, if not eliminate, many of the international security challenges covered in this book. If drug trafficking fosters narco-states, weakens already fragile states, emboldens insurgents and terrorists, empowers transnational criminal organizations, sickens individuals, and pollutes cyberspace, then relaxing the existing drug laws and conventions would appear to be a natural first step. However, because of the complexity of the global drug trade and its deep enmeshing with international security, composing solutions that will bring about the end of drug trafficking as well as usher in a stable international order are impossible. Rather than viewing drug trafficking and security challenges as problems to solve, they should be seen as issues to be managed with sound policies and strategies that are aimed at limiting as many negative consequences on the international system as possible. Threat management, rather than problem solving, is a more beneficial perspective when dealing with the complex issues explored in this book.

Discussing the international drug trade is intellectually hazardous; controversial topics have the potential to lurch between alarm and resignation. H. B. Morse, an early scholar of China's opium trade, explains the dilemma:

> Opium is a thorny subject to handle for any writer. If he is a partisan of the opium trade, his tendency is strong to leave the ground with which he is familiar, that of commercial dealings and statistics, and try to demonstrate the innocuousness of the drug. . . . If his mission is to denounce the opium traffic, he invariably seems impelled, by an irresistible inclination, to leave the high moral ground on which he is unassailable, and descend into the arena of facts and figures, with which he is not likely to be so familiar, and among which his predisposition will lead him to pass by or to misinterpret those which make against his case. [9]

Therefore, the preference for managing, rather than solving, drug trafficking and international security issues engenders a number of guiding assumptions about the status of the drug trade and the trends in global politics.

The first guiding assumption is that the global drug trade is not going to disappear in the immediate or even foreseeable future. The global prohibition and illicit status of the drug trade is a small snapshot of the history of mind-altering substances. The process by which drugs now play an international role in a vast array of economic, political, and security issues is not one that occurred suddenly; it evolved over time and through the efforts, intentional and unintentional, of numerous legitimate and illegitimate actors. Worldwide demand for narcotics will grow as urbanization increases; it is expected that by 2030 two-thirds of the world's population will be living in cities and by 2050 three-quarters will be.[10] Added to the growing urbanization of the world is the increasing popularity of new psychoactive substances (NPS) other than marijuana, heroin, cocaine, and ATS. The UN reports that "of 103 countries for which information on new psycho-active substances was available as of December 2013, 94 countries reported the emergence of such substances on their markets, up from 70 out of a total of 80 countries as of July 2012."[11] Once again, the Internet is aiding the spread of NPS in these nations. For example, some drug dealers in Shanghai, China, rely on an online messaging service to send ketamine to users within one hour.[12]

Moreover, the international community has spent billions of dollars on counternarcotics programs, ranging from supply-side strategies of crop eradication and crop substitution while also using demand-side efforts ranging from punishment to public education. On balance, the constellation of narcotics control treaties and international organizations have dedicated more resources to suppression of drug markets than to bolstering efforts aimed at protecting public health.[13] Yet such international efforts over decades have not created the desired reduction of drug production or drug use. Curbing global demand for drugs to an extent that would significantly diminish the drug trade would mean an unlikely change in the nature of human beings who routinely seek out some form of intoxication. In fact, there has been only one society that has not engaged in the cultivation of crops used for intoxication—the Eskimo.[14] Not even the harshest of penalties have brought an end to drug trafficking. Currently, over twenty countries implement the death penalty for drug trafficking–related offenses; however, even punishment by death has not served as a deterrent. Drugs continue to enter these societies, and individuals still risk death to use banned substances.

If it were somehow possible to eliminate or substantially reduce the global drug trade, the side effects would still contribute to the types of international security challenges explored in this book. The potential negative consequences for source countries highlight these dangers.

> If the cocaine industry disappeared tomorrow, the results could be catastrophic, at least in Peru and Bolivia: the evaporation of hard currency reserves, massive unemployment, and increase in crime and subversion in rural areas, a flood of new migrants to the cities and so on. Such a situation could only play into the hands of extremist groups on both the left and right. For example, how long would democracy last in Bolivia if 200,000 dispossessed coca farmers decided to march on La Paz?[15]

The geo-narcotics of the global drug trade means that the same effects can be anticipated in other source countries such as Colombia, Afghanistan, and Peru as well in transit countries that are growing more dependent on drug trafficking for economic opportunities.

Although the drug trade will endure, its legalization remains unlikely. A second guiding assumption is that the illegal status of the international trade of hard drugs is not likely to change in significant ways. Along with prohibition, there are three other models of drug control:

- Prescription systems in which licensed medical professionals control access to drugs.
- Market regulation in which governments grant licenses to drug producers and retailers to sell their products under certain limitations.
- Consumer regulation in which governments set age limits, provide ration cards and/or prohibit certain behaviors like driving under the influence of drugs.[16]

While national governments may experiment in various ways with these models, illicit trafficking and black markets will still result. Certain source countries may legalize the growth of certain drug crops, and governments of demand countries may decriminalize and legalize the use of certain drugs, like marijuana, but the parameters of the international prohibition regime will remain largely intact. The clock cannot be turned back to the era of empire building and mercantile expansion when drugs were treated like any other commodity such as cotton, tea, or coffee.[17] The inability to turn back time, however, has not prevented contemporary legalization advocates from believing that an end to the global ban of narcotics would reduce many contemporary international security challenges and ameliorate the harmful effects of today's powerful drugs. An editorial in *The Economist* lays out the case in favor of legalization:

> Legalization would not only drive away the gangsters; it would transform drugs from a law-and-order problem into a public-health problem, which is how they ought to be treated. Governments would tax and regulate the drug trade, and use the funds raised (and the billions saved on law-enforcement) to educate the public about the risks of drug-taking and to treat addiction. The

sale of drugs to minors should remain banned. Different drugs would command different levels of taxation and regulation.[18]

Though logical, the arguments in favor of legalization overlook or downplay significant drawbacks about their approach to drug distribution and consumption. Not all drugs have the same intoxicating or addictive properties; marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamine are all different from one another. Would governments permit a multinational company to introduce a brand of methamphetamine into society? If commercial manufacturing and distribution of a drug like methamphetamine were permitted, governments would likely restrict the level of intoxicating and addictive chemicals in legal drugs for public health and public safety reasons, much as they do for prescription medication. As a result, a black market would still emerge for drugs with higher concentrations of intoxicating compounds than allowed by governments. For example, in the U.S. state of Colorado, legal marijuana sales have not dampened the market for cannabis that delivers a stronger level of intoxication.

Replacing the current global prohibition and enforcement paradigm with one that emphasizes "harm reduction," which judges the harm caused to society by keeping drugs illegal rather than decriminalizing them and possibly lessening the harm, would require nearly universal agreement among national leaders on the metrics used to judge harm. Would harm be judged by "addiction rate, acute risk, economic cost, family breakdown, crime rates?"[19] Furthermore, if one country retains punitive measures against the drug trade while others adopt more permissive laws, the profit paradox as well as the balloon and hydra effects would still prevail. With the increased risk of smuggling drugs into a more prohibitive environment, trafficking opportunities would be seductively lucrative. A similar dynamic currently exists with the smuggling of low-cost cigarettes into territories where they are highly taxed.

It is doubtful that some sort of new global drug legalization regime, in whatever form, would reduce or eliminate many of the international security challenges described in this book. The illicit trade in legal commodities like oil, timber, and gems, as well as the black market trade in legal intoxicants like alcohol and cigarettes by many of the same actors covered in previous chapters, still contribute to the undermining of international security. In fact, even a commodity as seemingly trivial as charcoal that allows the smoking of tobacco through water pipes, popular in many parts of the Arab world, is profitable enough for the Somali insurgent group, Al Shabab, to make an estimated $25 million per year in profit through extorting traders.[20] This all strongly suggests that making the drug trade legal would not necessarily lessen its role in organized violence.

As a result of the drawbacks and unknowns related to drug legalization, the international system will continue to work at cross-purposes to contain drug trafficking. Scholars and policy makers have to accept an uncomfortable paradox—there will always be some presence of the drug trade existing alongside continued prohibition of its sale and restrictions on its consumption. Prohibition has not, and will not, eliminate the production and use of illicit narcotics, yet it is equally unlikely that the international community will accept widespread legalization. With growing use of the Internet and the emergence of cryptomarkets on the Dark Net, drug use may expand and render many parts of the prohibition paradigm moot. Nonetheless, governments will continue with their efforts to clamp down on drug production and drug dealing. Like the arcade game Whac-a-Mole, governments will continue to strike at traffickers who will dodge the blows and pop up elsewhere until they get hit. In other words, the profit paradox, balloon, and hydra effects of drug trafficking will endure. As a result, approaches designed to understand the drug trade's intersection with international security must take into account the abiding presence of drug trafficking in the face of efforts to ban it.

A third guiding assumption is the global trend toward micropower in drug trafficking and the international system. The history of the illegal drug trade is not one of greater centralization in the control of fewer hands, but of greater decentralization and dispersion. Much as globalization has spread power among a variety of actors, drug trafficking is also a reflection of this same trend. The drug trade and international security will be intertwined in a world of fragmented sovereignty, overlapping allegiances, and innumerable types of actors. Furthermore, the illicit nature of the drug trade cannot be peeled away from the licit economy without the acquiescence of legitimate actors who are complicit in the trade. As the previous chapters have shown, the drug trade needs banks, business, communications, and transport; legitimate commercial firms are adept at providing these with a great deal of indifference about their contribution to peace and stability. A telecom entrepreneur summed up the attitude of many businesses that operate in countries of conflict: "They may be Taliban; they may be warlords, who cares? We are apolitical—they are customers."[21]

Micropower means that the future's most severe and persistent threats will continue to arise, not from conflicts between nation-states but from increased discord within them and whose effects will be felt across a number of borders. Weaker actors are able, in some cases, to compete, challenge, and threaten stronger actors. Drugs will likely be part of these conflicts as politically motivated, violent non-state groups earn money from trafficking narcotics, collude with drug traffickers and, as individual fighters, ingest drugs. TCOs will also continue to corrupt states and undermine governance with amassed wealth from drug sales. The integration of the Worldwide Web into

the daily lives of a growing number of people on the planet will serve to create more venues of micropower as easy-to-use technology and low barriers to acquiring it push power into many more hands than in previous eras. The fragmentation of power, rather than the centralization of power, will create new and unexpected security challenges based on the convergence of many issues and actors that were once considered separate and distinct from one another.

REEXAMINING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

These guiding assumptions—the abiding presence of the drug trade in the face of its continuing international prohibition and as micropower flourishes—mean that the drug-security nexus will continue to confound the International Relations theories of realism, liberalism, and constructivism while complicating and crowding the agenda of international security studies. As alluded to in chapter 1, a main pitfall of contemporary International Relations theories in the contemporary era is the nearly exclusive focus on legitimate actors who follow rational interests as well as how these actors interact with one another and the structure of the international system. Based on this focus, drug trafficking and its intersection with various international security issues slip largely outside the theoretical approaches of realism, liberalism, and constructivism. For example, is an insurgent group acting in a realist manner when it uses drug crops as funding in a war against the state while relying on legal companies (who are the backbone of the liberal economic world order) to provide transportation to a country whose customs officials are waiting with false manifests (a form of corruption that challenges the "construction" of sovereignty)? International Relations theory is only tangentially helpful in analyzing the power of global drug trafficking. Realism and its emphasis on power and the security dilemma can be useful in understanding when and why violent non-state groups fight over drug spoils. Liberalism can place a needed spotlight on the human rights abuses of peasants, farmers, and child soldiers caught in the spiral of violence associated with violent conflicts. Constructivist theories may add a deeper conceptual richness to understanding the contribution of the drug-security nexus to the evolution of sovereignty.

However, none of these theories captures the phenomenon of deviant globalization or the condition of durable disorder in the international system. International Relations theory and its tight relationship with international security studies has not aided in finding a paradigm that can corral the myriad new referent units, the power of drug trafficking, and the varied dimensions of the international system. The purpose of this book is not to radically

restructure International Relations theory or to upend international security studies in light of the global presence of drug trafficking. Any attempts to build new concepts and paradigms with an emphasis on drug trafficking should not lead to a type of material determinism where drugs are viewed as the cause of international instability or of global insecurity. Drug trafficking empowers many types of groups, but it does not determine their actions or lead to predictable outcomes in all cases. Avoiding material determinism is as important as avoiding the reification of drug trafficking, meaning that drug trafficking should not be treated as an actor in and of itself or as a type of physical site used in the construction of theories and concepts. Drugs are a commodity and drug trafficking is an activity; they are not actors or agents with motivations of their own. As this book has shown, drug trafficking is a dynamic, resilient, and adaptive system, involving many actors located around the globe who have varying effects on international security.

When new research is able to place deviant globalization and durable disorder into an analytical context, the intersection between drug trafficking and international security will become better understood. International security studies will have to become more open to insights from other disciplines. As political historian John Lewis Gaddis has admonished, scholars have been adept at constructing "the intellectual equivalent of fortified trenches from which we fire artillery back and forth, dodging shrapnel even as we sink ever more deeply into mutual incomprehension."[22] International security studies is already predisposed toward interdisciplinary approaches and is therefore well poised to further break down the trenches and seek greater cooperative relationships with a variety of other disciplines.

KEY AREAS FOR FUTURE STUDY

International security studies will have to contend with how the issues raised in this book are now enduring parts of the international system and how to incorporate them into new research agendas because: 1) the new referent units since the end of the Cold War have gained some degree of power from their connections to drug trafficking; 2) the contending paradigm of human security views drug trafficking as a threat, especially to global health; 3) the growing cyber domain is the newest dimension of both micropower and drug trafficking; 4) sovereignty as the main organizing principle of international relations is a compromised concept in light of the effects of drug trafficking; and 5) international cooperation as currently understood is under assault by the subnational and transnational activities surrounding drug trafficking.

Combining these reasons with the three guiding assumptions strongly suggests that the issues of narco-states, fragile states, intrastate conflict, terrorism, transnational organized crime, global health, and cyber security will

be persistent features of the international security environment. The perpetuation of the international security issues covered in the preceding chapters leave open many new avenues of intellectual exploration. The suggested areas for further study and the research questions raised below are not meant to provide an exhaustive list. Rather, the suggestions and questions are meant to stimulate preliminary discussions in the discovery of new approaches to wrestle with these enduring international security issues. There are areas of overlapping inquiry because the issues themselves naturally overlap with one another. Nonetheless, because the suggestions and questions are not definitive, gaps will exist. Such gaps can also stimulate new thinking about directions for innovative concepts and theories.

Narco-States

The durability and proliferation of narco-states require more attention in international security studies. Most importantly, a more refined and generally accepted definition of what constitutes a narco-state is essential in laying an intellectual foundation. As seen in chapter 3, drug trafficking can create mutually beneficial relationships among a number of different private and public actors, giving rise to a narco-state. Regardless of political system, democracies as well as authoritarian regimes are equally as likely to be narco-states. The type of economic and social system is also not a distinguishing element in the emergence of a narco-state; free market economies or controlled socialist systems can serve the interests of drug traffickers. The level of political stability is also irrelevant to the emergence of a narco-state. A narco-state can also exist where there are intense levels of political violence or in nations that do not experience insurgent or terrorist activity.

Narco-states challenge international security; they permit the trade in arms for organized crime and violent political groups. They also provide a hospitable environment for the cooperation between organized crime and violent political groups. These types of states are unreliable partners in efforts to build international peace and stability. In fact, they radiate instability to other states, adding to patterns of durable disorder.

Future theoretical work can be directed at determining the sovereignty issues related to narco-states. Should they be analyzed and assessed like any other state in international security studies? Is it enough to use the term "criminalized sovereignty" when describing a narco-state? Do narco-states mean that new categories of a nation-state should be conceptualized beyond current concepts based on political and economic systems? How do connections among narco-states lessen prospects for legitimate international cooperation in tackling a variety of global security issues?

Fragile States

One of the main areas of emphasis for future studies on drug trafficking and its effects on fragile states is alternate sites of order and disorder. As discussed in chapter 4, cities and prisons have slipped out of the full control of these types of states. In these areas, various non-state groups do not compete to control the levers of national power. Rather, they compete to gain informal monopoly over spaces once thought to be synonymous with state authority. This is one more way that micropower has negatively influenced formal state governance.

With the dispersion of micropower, adding a focus on narco-*cities* may prove more theoretically beneficial. Greater urbanization is occurring across the planet—urban populations are increasing by approximately 65 million people per year, or the equivalent of seven new Chicagos annually.[23] For drug trafficking and its infrastructure of transportation, finance, communication, and information technology, it will be important for future research to determine the regional and global influence of these cities. In order for drug trafficking to occur, it must have links to the upper world of legitimate economies. Fragile states with regionally or globally important cities provide the links with less scrutiny. Within cities in fragile states, there are "enabling archipelagos" where functioning banking systems, ports, and methods of shipment exist and are globally connected for the benefit of licit and illicit actors. As Alice Hill underscores, "cities appear remarkably resilient regardless of decaying infrastructure, social and environmental degradation, corruption, crime and war."[24] Understanding the ways that cities support global drug trafficking may form the basis for a reconceptualization of geo-narcotics, providing an intellectual richness for new research agendas.

As part of many urban landscapes, criminal gangs are also important security actors in fragile states. "Gangs frequently act as neighborhood militias to police public space, enforce (or resist) ethnic and racial borders, and, thereby control access to jobs and housing. . . . [M]ost combine elements of both predation and welfare."[25] However, the research on gangs has lacked a cross-cultural and global perspective until recently.[26] Do street level gangs provide some of the strongest forms of governance in fragile states? If so, is it worthwhile to cease viewing gangs as marginalized social groups that inhibit the development of healthy state capacity? How does drug trafficking enable gangs to connect with each other between cities within the same nation-state or between cities across different nation-states? Will transnational gangs emerge and, if so, will they cooperate, challenge, or replace TCOs? In what degree should international security studies incorporate gang studies into future analyses and conceptualizations?

Intrastate Conflicts and Terrorism

In many cases, war and crime are blurring. As seen in chapter 5, drug trafficking is a significant contributing factor to this blurring. Intrastate wars are where "liberation armies, political projects, local protection and banditry come together."[27] In many contemporary intrastate wars, groups engage in drug trafficking to compensate for their military weaknesses in the face of a militarily superior adversary. Many irregular forces begin a conflict without access to the type of military hardware required to mount a successful challenge against better armed government forces. Drug funding can provide a group with more weapons and more recruits, which sometimes has outstripped the troop strength and firepower of government forces. Irregular forces garner support from peasants by allowing them to grow their traditional drug crops free from government eradication efforts, encouraging them to grow drug crops rather than less profitable crops, negotiating prices with traffickers, as well as transporting and protecting harvests. In transit countries, transshipped drugs offer employment opportunities in areas where governments have been unable to provide opportunities for meaningful employment. Irregular groups who were active in drug trafficking have demobilized after conflict settlements and then degenerated into organized criminal groups that are linked to political movements and parties.

The protraction of many intrastate conflicts is linked in varying degrees to drug trafficking. Chapter 5 demonstrated the need to view drug trafficking as separate and distinct from other resources. The dimensions of the illegal trade of an illegal commodity, the consumable nature of drugs by combatants, and the compartmentalization of the trade generate political, economic, and social pathologies that are less susceptible to traditional conflict-resolution techniques or coercive measures. International security studies can benefit from research that analyzes how bandit rationality and the villain's dilemma intersect within politically motivated, violent non-state groups. Are there ways to create new conflict-resolution measures that the international community can use to create greater stability? Other research agendas can also be directed at finding new methods to monitor global drug trends and patterns of conflict. Such monitoring can support better concepts and theories, which can strengthen the ability of numerous actors to appropriately respond to intrastate conflicts.

Transnational Organized Crime

TCOs and their association with criminal patronage networks have proven to provide an ever-fertile environment for corruption. Laundered drug money routinely infiltrates the political system of many countries. Through the use of illicit drug money, criminals pay off governmental officials to turn a blind

eye to their activities. Narco-corruption between politicians and criminals creates impunity and undermines the legitimacy of the state. These criminal patronage networks hollow out institutions of the state, creating space for other actors, such as insurgents and terrorists, to provide zones of authority and governance. In addition, as discussed in chapter 6, international peace operations have been weakened by the influence of drug trafficking TCOs. UN peacekeepers have had to engage with them to broker disarmament and demobilization agreements among combatants in intrastate wars. Organized crime groups have also co-opted peacekeepers to assist with criminal activities like drug smuggling.

The study of drug trafficking TCOs and their adverse effects on peace and stability continues to unearth more insightful observations that have aided scholars and policy makers. Among the insights is the fluid nature of TCO operations, structure, and membership. More research and study should be directed at understanding the significance of facilitators. These individuals are one more expression of micropower in a globalizing world because they serve as the connective tissue between a range of transnational threats such as organized crime, terrorism and insurgency while contributing to the emergence of narco-states, the undermining of fragile states, the deterioration of public health, and the growing criminality in cyberspace. Facilitators' highly technical expertise or specific knowledge of local jurisdictions provide points of common connections that enhance collaboration of nefarious actors who challenge international security.

Due to the new focus on particular types of individuals, such as facilitators, there are several ways to explore their influence. It may be worthwhile to develop a typology of facilitators—those that are more inclined toward personal enrichment than political commitment, or those that are "hybrid" facilitators. To what degree are they transnational? Are they internationally mobile actors; are their operations transnational? Given the existence of criminal patronage networks, to what degree do certain politicians become facilitators themselves? How does this affect the concept of sovereignty? How can international efforts, such as peacekeeping, take into account the role of facilitators as partners or opponents?

Global Health

As seen in chapter 7, drug trafficking has significant deleterious effects on global health. The acute toxic effects of drug use, acute effects of intoxication, development of dependence, and the effects of regular drug use have become of greater concern because the world is epidemiologically interdependent. Drug use and attendant diseases such as HIV/AIDS create vulnerabilities in security and medical institutions, thereby weakening already frag-

ile states. Drug use also challenges many international activities designed to bring security, stability, and prosperity to fragile states and regions.

Because global health is a new issue, there are also many questions surrounding its future study.

> What information about health, for example, should be deemed relevant for assessing international policies, institution and rules? Should these be designed to promote life expectancy, the receipt of healthcare resources, opportunities for good health and access to healthcare resources, or rather to secure the informed consent of patients and minimize the incidents of coercion within health systems? And what distributive considerations are relevant? Should we aim to establish some universal health standard? Should we strive to achieve equal opportunity for health within or across societies? Or something else still?[28]

Addressing these questions will provide ways to consider how drug use and dependence intersect with global health. For example, finding ways to build "early warning systems" for new drug epidemics or epidemics of new drugs can aid efforts to understand which health care resources can increase the quality of life across nations. Programs aimed at preventing and reducing drug consumption can be assessed for their contributions to reducing the spread of infectious disease. A global health focus on drug use may also aid efforts to find new ways for the international community to allow countries to experiment with approaches to lessen drug consumption beyond the current punitive paradigm that relies on law enforcement. Forms of micropower may also permit the increased awareness among individuals in less developed countries to better understand the dangers of illicit drug use. Micropower may also be used to build better ways to treat individuals for drug dependence.

Cybersecurity

Futurist Roy Amara is known for creating the axiom, "We tend to overestimate the effect of a technology in the short run and underestimate it in the long run."[29] In the contemporary era, the cyber domain has led to innovations in drug trafficking through the creation of cryptomarkets, which circumvent law enforcement and many institutions of state control. These narrow effects portend greater turbulence in the future of drug trafficking.

As discussed in chapter 8, activities in cyberspace have provided the motives for violence in the physical world, challenging law enforcement agencies. The blogger killings in Mexico and the allegations of murder for hire against Ross Ulbricht are examples of how all illicit markets, whether they are in the physical or digital world, cannot compensate for the lack of trust among participants, the rivalry of competitors, and the threats of state

punishment. Drug sales and the sale of chemical formulas for new drugs have also led to the sickening and deaths of individuals in a number of societies. Those who have a cyber-libertarian worldview and believe that drug laws equal state oppression are part of the future landscape of drug trafficking. For them, drug trafficking is viewed as a way to undermine tyrannical state authority while empowering the forces of individualism.

New research agendas can focus on the potential intersection of drug sales, crypto currencies, criminals, terrorists, and hackers. New threat matrices with these elements could prove to be useful to scholars and policy makers. Is there the potential for a violent attack, planned with hacked information gained from the Dark Net and paid for in crypto currencies earned from online drug sales? What will be the links to detrimental health effects if illicit drugs become more widely available worldwide due to online accessibility? How will the ideology of cyber libertarianism contribute to the evolution of international drug trafficking?

Other Issues for Exploration

Although this book has examined how drug trafficking intersects with singular issues that vex international security, many of these issues are entangled with one another. Insurgent and terrorist groups trade and sell drugs for weapons and expertise in the territory of fragile states, contributing to the protraction of intrastate wars. Narco-states emerge in conditions where violent non-state actors co-opt institutions of governance; drug use and attendant diseases also radiate outwards and cross borders. Non-state groups, state agents, and individuals that rely on the drug trade to finance violence are "adaptive competitors" that take advantage of the wide-ranging opportunities to connect with other groups in varying locations. Adaptive competitors "address problems, change practices, and create identities in response to knowledge and experience, sometimes improving their performance and aiding their bureaucratic survival."[30] To tackle adaptive competitors, research can be designed to make them face disincentives like lessening demand, lowering profit margins, and raising risks.[31]

The issues covered in this book are not definitive; drug trafficking intersects with other areas of the international security agenda. Climate change may bring new challenges for botanical drugs that add to the political instability of some nations. Drug trafficking activities negatively affect environmental security through the destruction of pristine parts of the natural world to plant drug crops and build transportation infrastructure to move them to market. Patterns of migration are also subject to the criminality and violence of traffickers and state agents who collude with them. As history has shown, the range of security issues will evolve along with drug trafficking.

THE OUTLOOK FOR DRUG TRAFFICKING AND
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

International security studies can no longer be narrowed to debates and discussions over military power and the challenge of wars between states. The discipline has become wider and deeper since the end of the Cold War. Deviant globalization and durable disorder require thinking that focuses on new referent units and new domains rather than exclusively on actors such as nation-states and international organizations. Drug trafficking occurs against the backdrop of a different international system where state sovereignty is increasingly challenged by the forces of globalization. Instead of presupposing that large, hierarchical groups make rational decisions based upon achieving an identifiable goal, new theoretical work should "seek the network, when attempting to explain, and eventually anticipate and prevent, troubling world developments."[32] Looking for connections among narco-states, criminal groups, and insurgents as well as smaller-scale actors, such as gangs and facilitators, that operate in smaller cites like cities may go farther toward understanding how to adapt international security studies for the future. Focusing solely on individual groups operating in a particular nation-state also misses larger processes that are at work in a globalizing world. Knowing why some links among actors are "strategic and others tactical, the way they are created and maintained, their life cycle and the distribution of benefits" create a richer and fuller picture for those who are seeking to understand their influence on international security.[33] For scholars, research can be directed at finding approaches that focus on the ways to slow the regeneration of networks that benefit from drug trafficking and reduce their ability to exploit market opportunities.

Deviant globalization and durable disorder may not become accepted parts of the international security studies lexicon, but their underlying premises will remain relevant—illicit commodities will provide actors with the power to challenge established institutions and structures of governance, enhancing threats to international peace and stability. The future is wide open to new research and scholarship that explores the intersection between drug trafficking and international security. Continuing the exploration will help fulfill the promise of international security studies in finding ways to create a more stable, peaceful, and prosperous world.

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Index

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