

Working with Mexico on Counter-Narcotics and other Cross-Border Crime



E. Anthony Wayne
Career Ambassador (ret.)

Public Policy Fellow, Wilson Center

wayneea@gmail.com

 **@EAnthonyWayne**

www.eawayne.com

Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control, June 2019

Important Ties with Mexico



- **U.S.-Mexico ties touch more U.S. lives daily** than any other country via trade, border connections, tourism, and family ties as well as illicit flows. The same is even **more true for Mexico**.
- An estimated **35 million U.S. citizens are of Mexican heritage**.
- The shared **1990-mile border** (3,201 km) creates overlapping security, economic and environmental interests.
- 2010-2016, government-to-government collaboration, including against crime, was unprecedented.

US-Mexico Trade

Mexico is the US':

- 2nd largest export market
- 3rd largest trading partner
- 3rd largest Ag export market: \$19 billion in 2017
- 1st or 2nd export market for 28 U.S. States
- 1st export market for U.S. Southern Border States



US-Mexico Trade



Exports

\$300 Billion



Imports

\$378 Billion



2018 Trade in goods and services:

\$ 678 Billion

Over 1 million dollars per minute that supports 5 million US Jobs

US-Mexico Border Crossings

Each day there are over

1 million

border crossings



Serious Challenges to Address

U.S. drug demand and cross-border
criminal networks

Migration & border
Management

Finalizing USMCA

Surging Criminal Violence in Mexico

Strengthening Mexican law
enforcement institutions and
bilateral cooperation

Central American migrants

Potential Terrorism

Countering Corruption

Negative public perceptions

Reducing poverty in Mexico

U.S.-Mexico Border States

- In 2017, the U.S.-Mexico Border States' GDP reached **\$5.07 trillion**
- GDP from both sides of the border would constitute the **3rd economy in the world** and represents over **25% of both countries total GDP.**



Largest economies in the world (2017)



United States: \$19.49 trillion



China: \$12.01 trillion



Japan: \$4.87 trillion



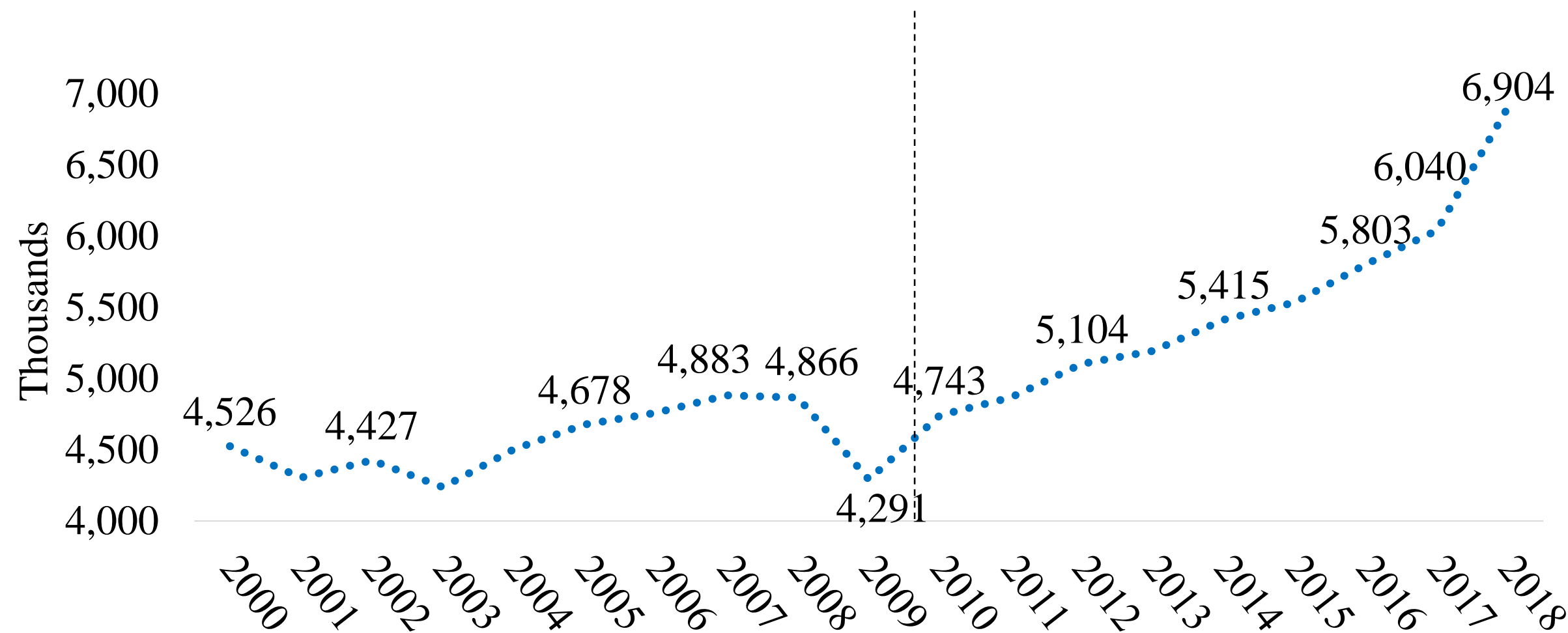
Germany: \$3.7 trillion

Border Management: Licit and Illicit Flows

Moving toward Co-Management of the Border



Trucks Crossing the US-Mexico Border



Source: Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2017

2012-2016 from blame to “shared responsibilities”

- Making the border more open to legitimate travel and commerce.
- Working to align customs regulatory frameworks; increase joint use of customs facilities on the border.
- New mechanisms to communicate, coordinate and more effectively counter illicit trade and travel: drugs, guns, money and people.
- Steps to increase security and reduce cross-border violence.
- New programs to share information on potential border crossers.
- Working to create a Trilateral Trusted Traveler Program.
- **Cooperation slowed in 2018: in flux in 2019 over migration.**

Migrant Flows

- Mexican immigrants to the U.S. are at the **lowest levels** since the 1990s.
- Numbers of Undocumented Mexican immigrants in the U.S. **have been dropping** since 2007.
- In FY 2018, apprehensions of Mexican unauthorized immigrants declined **20.18%** from FY 2016.



Addressing Central American Migration

The US and Mexico enhanced cooperation in response to the 2014 surge of child and family migrants, **including work at Mexico's southern border against smuggling of people & drugs.**

In 2017, the US and Mexico hosted a **Conference on Prosperity and Security in Central America.** Commitments include:

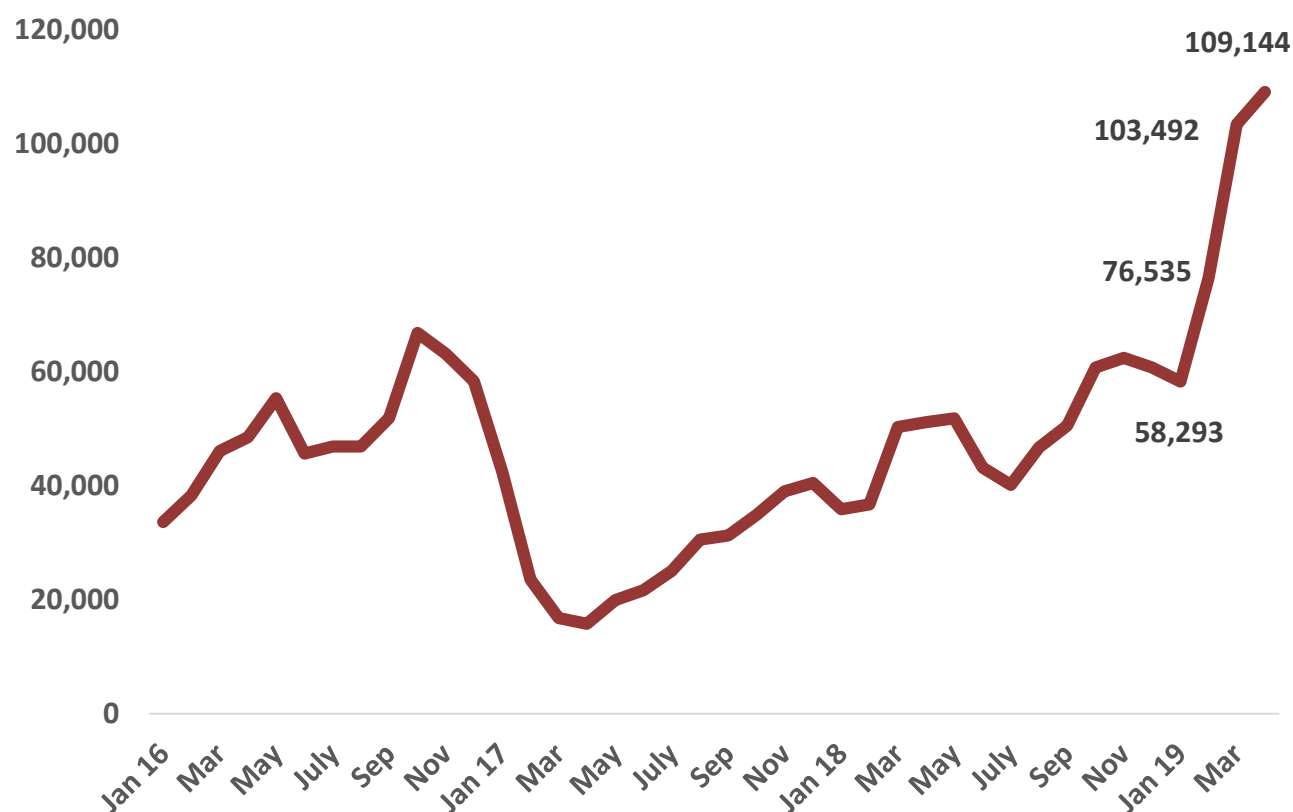
- U.S. FY 2018 budget request for **\$460 million** for the Northern Triangle (NT).
- Create a **migration observatory** to study and share information on regional migration flows.
- **Improved cooperation** to combat **transnational criminal organizations.**
- **\$53 million from Mexico** for three **NT infrastructure projects.**

Mexico's Senate condemned U.S. policies in June 2018 and called the government to end security and immigration cooperation.

In **December**, U.S. & Mexico **agreed a long term strategy; June forged a broader accord.**

Sharp Rise in U.S.-Mexico border apprehensions

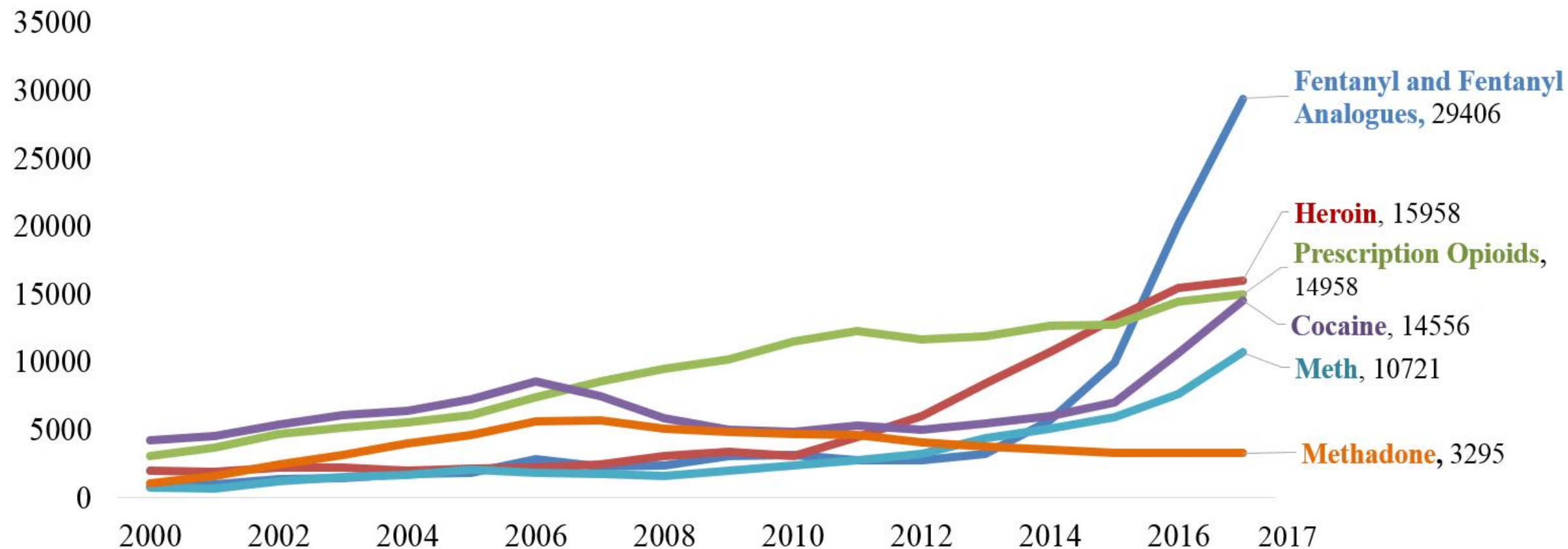
Apprehensions at the southwestern border 2016 - 2019



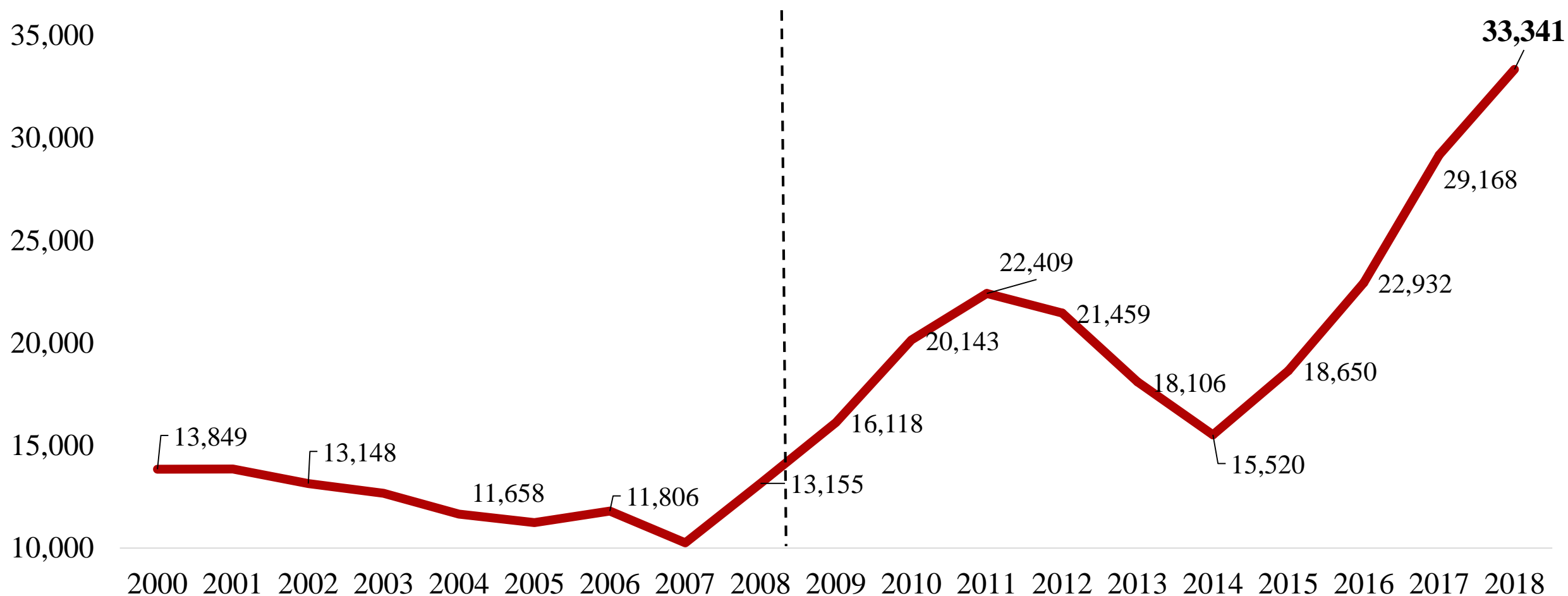
- In **2018: 467,000 border apprehensions**, most since 2012.
- In **2019**, **record numbers** of migrant families crossing: breaking records.
- **109,000** unauthorized migrants **in April** and **over 140,000 in May**.
- **Need to implement June US-Mexico agreement**, which includes deploying more Mexican National Guard to southern Mexico.

Cooperation Against Crime: Pending Review

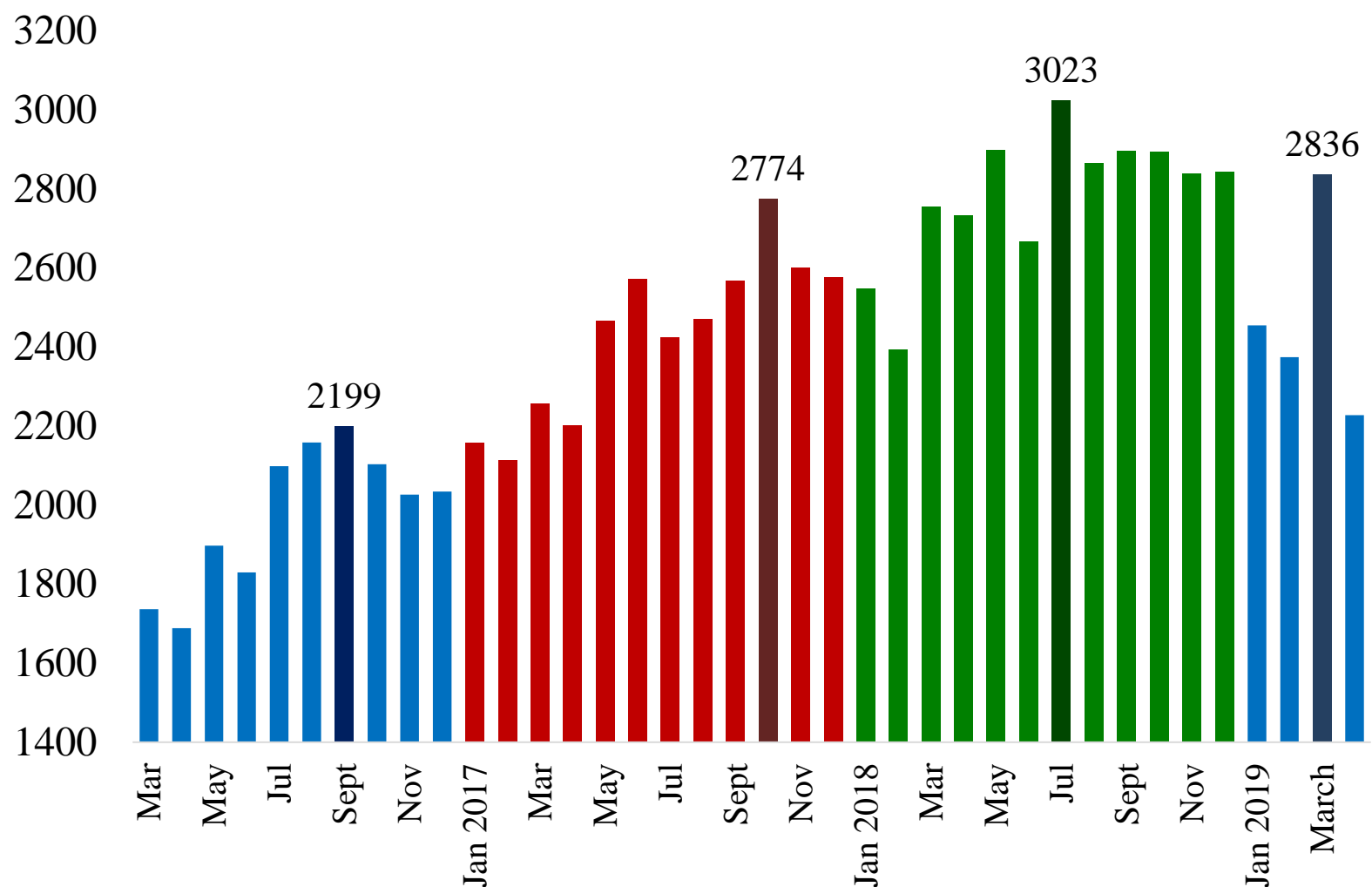
Driver: US Drug Overdose Deaths 2000-2017



Driver: Homicides in Mexico



Homicides in Mexico: Criminal Surge



33,341 homicides in **2018**; with an average of **90 homicides a day**.

July 2018: most violent month since 1997. Early **2019 months** continued the trends.

Violence cost up to 24% GDP.

Cartels fighting for territory and routes; types of crime expanded and affects more states. But key driver:

\$19-30 billion to criminal groups from US illegal drug sales

Mexico's Peace Index 2019



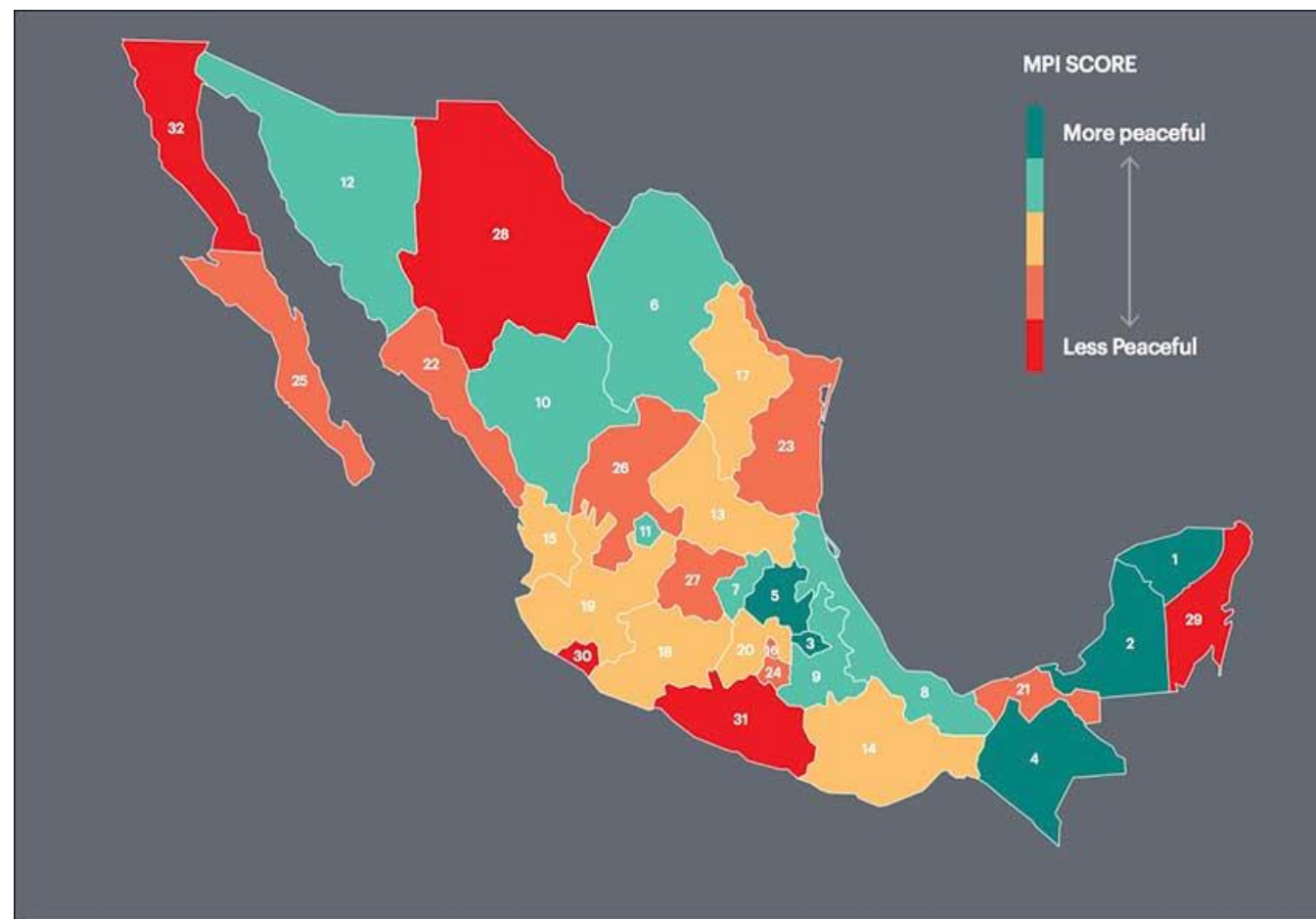
Least Peaceful States

1	Baja California
2	Guerrero
3	Colima
4	Quintana Roo
5	Chihuahua

More Peaceful States

1	Yucatan
2	Campeche
3	Tlaxcala
4	Chiapas
5	Hidalgo

- Peacefulness in Mexico declined by 5%, the third consecutive year.
- Economic impact of violence increased by 10% last year to 5.16 trillion pesos (US\$ 268 billion).



Source: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019.

US-Mexico Law Enforcement/Security Cooperation

Mérida Initiative Programs &
Agency-to-Agency Cooperation

Defense Dialogues & Cooperation

Security Coordination Group

2017 US-Mexico Agreements on Illicit Drugs

- Partner against criminal organizations – “Unprecedented” cooperation.
- Address demand for illicit drugs among US citizens as well as supply.
- Necessary tools: physical barriers, technology, patrolling, eradication, enhanced law enforcement cooperation, anti-addiction programs.
- Go after all elements in the chain: means of production, cross-border distribution networks, flows of profits, weapons procurement.
- In 2018, AMLO ordered a review of Mexican policies & cooperation with the U.S. Mexico is implementing a new public security policy. AMLO questions Merida cooperation. Mexico’s review of it still underway.

Mérida Initiative: AMLO to End or Repurpose?

1. Disrupting the operational capacity of **organized crime**.
2. Institutionalizing reforms to sustain the **rule of law** and respect for **human rights** in Mexico.
3. Creating a “**21st Century Border**”.
4. Building strong and resilient **communities**.

\$2.9 billion appropriated by the US **since 2008**.

\$1.6 billion already spent on training and equipment via over 100 programs to bolster Mexican capacity.

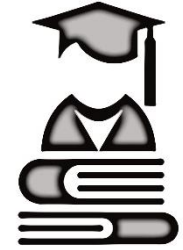
Mexico has spent over **10** times more.

AMLO's Security Proposals and Goals



Security Proposals:

- **End to the War on drugs** and “**prohibitionist**” policy.
- Consider reforms in treatment of currently illegal drug production and use.
- **Weaken crime's social base with social, education and jobs programs**; provide alternatives to illicit income from drug cultivation and fuel theft.
- Generate peace through **non-violent methods, transitional justice and amnesty**.
- Establish a **Council on Peace Construction**; Emphasize **human rights**.
- **Reduce homicides and car theft by 50%.**
- **Strengthen the judicial system**: close wage gaps for employees.
- **Deploy up to 140,000 National Guard Officers** across 226 regions.
- **Reduce crime rate by 15%.**
- **Reduce the public perception of insecurity from 80% to 39.4%.**
- **Boost World Justice Project's Rule of Law Index score** from 0.45 to 0.60 by 2024.



Key Work Areas for U.S.-Mexico Relations

Trade:

- Complete **USMCA** approval; begin implementation.
- **Renew work to enhance facilitation of trade and travel.**

Bilateral Security Cooperation:

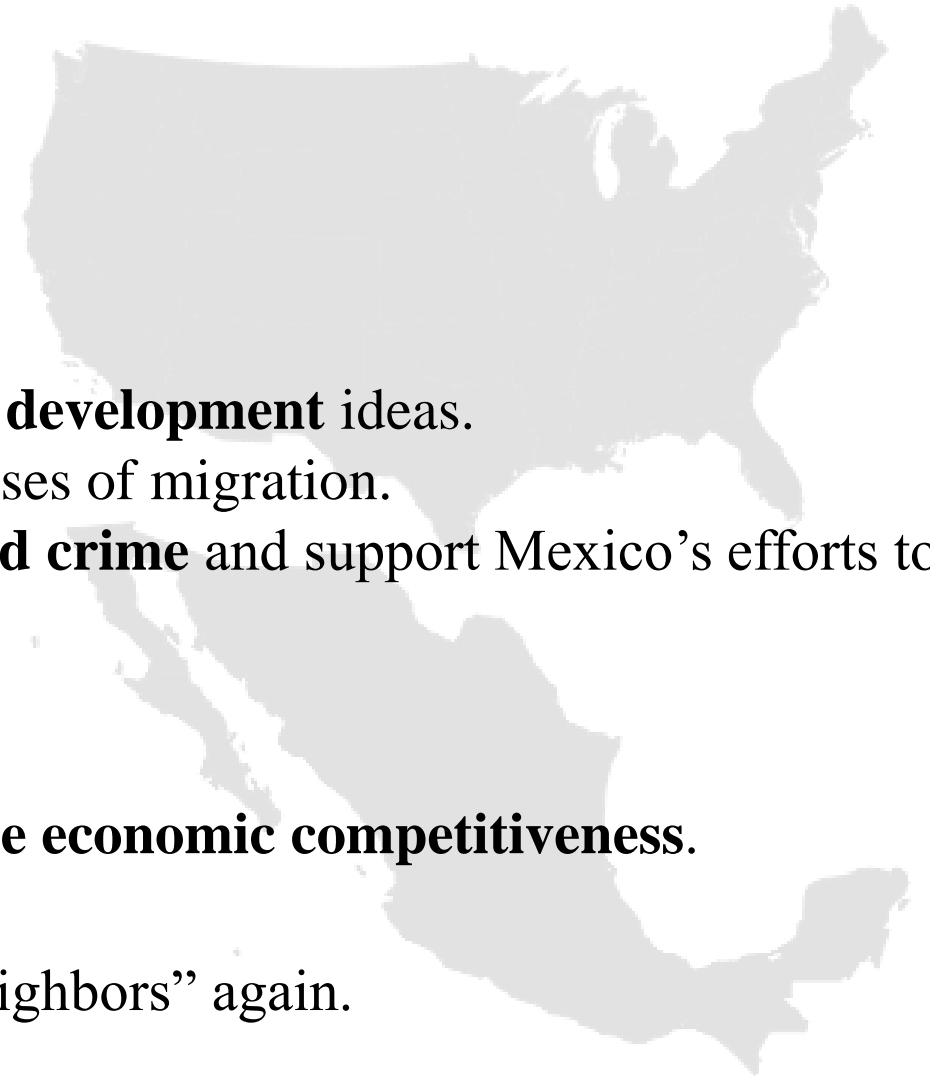
- **Avoid further deterioration** in cooperation.
- Better manage **migration**; integrate and pursue AMLO's **development** ideas.
- Deepen support for **Central America** to address root causes of migration.
- **Review/Renew/Energize cooperation against organized crime** and support Mexico's efforts to reduce crime and violence.
- Continue close cooperation against terrorism.

Improve Competitiveness:

- Revive a bilateral and North American agenda to **enhance economic competitiveness.**

Rebuilding Confidence:

- Take steps to **rebuild trust**; avoid becoming “Distant Neighbors” again.



Working with Mexico



E. Anthony Wayne
Career Ambassador (ret.)

Public Policy Fellow, Wilson Center

wayneea@gmail.com

 **@EAnthonyWayne**

www.eawayne.com

Senate Testimony Information Slides, June 2019