

The Mexican Cartels: Not just Criminals but Terrorists

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Abstract

Since the 1980s the Drug Cartels of Mexico have systematically devastated the nation's infrastructure and political system effectively carving up the state dividing it between the major Drug Trafficking Organizations (DTOs). In recent years the conflict has spread into grounds that exceed criminal activity including beheadings, kidnappings, gun battles near preschools, and political assassinations. Unfortunately for the United States not only have these conflicts escalated in Mexico leading to the U.S. State Department and American businesses to decide to send their families and non-essential personnel home, but the terror tactics have spread to include the murder and mutilation of American tourists, ICE agents and Border Patrol Officers, as well as Consulate employees. Despite all of this the American political system has been slow to respond not being able to agree on a best course of action. Without declaring the Mexican Cartels terrorists the hands of the international community are bound, as are those of the American military, and police officers along the US – Mexico border. The non-designation of Cartels as terrorists seems to be a political one and needs to be remedied immediately if this growing threat in America's backyard is to be dealt with efficiently.

Key Terms: Mexico, Cartels, US Border, US State Department, Transnational Criminal Organizations (TCO), Drug Trafficking Organizations (DTOs), Terrorism, Torture, Criminals, Smuggling.

Mexico: Denial and Chaos

Mexico has recently come into severe internal conflict with drug trafficking organizations (DTO) to a degree that threatens the security of the United States and the sovereignty of the Mexican state. Since the 1980s Mexico has seen an influx in the capabilities of the DTOs - aka Cartels. Seven predominant Cartels have effectively and violently split up the country primarily around their drug trafficking routes but have actively engaged in conflict with one another and the Mexican government to gain more ground. The Cartels are known for using tactics on par

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with the worst terrorists the world has to offer making them far worse than the common criminal organization that so many politicians want to believe they are.

"In July 2010, the Mexican government announced that more than 28,000 people had been killed in drug trafficking-related violence since December 2006" (Beittel 2011). The Cartels engage in "beheadings, killing of innocent bystanders including young people and children, car bombs, torture, the assassination of numerous government officials, and at least 30 journalists in Mexico have been murdered or disappeared according to the international Committee to Protect Journalists" (Beittel 2011). These actions show that the Cartels are more than willing to engage in tactics far more extreme than those used by average international criminal organizations. This is not to say that criminal organizations do not use these tactics once in a great while, but when an organization uses them with the frequency that the Cartels use them, they move on from one classification (criminal) to another (terrorist).

"On June 28, 2010 Tamaulipas gubernatorial candidate Rodolfo Torre Cantú of the PRI party was killed, the highest level political assassination in 15 years, allegedly by the drug trafficking organizations. Over the next three months, several sitting mayors were executed (a total of 12 between January and the end of October). In late August 2010, 72 Central and South American migrants passing through Mexico were found massacred in Tamaulipas. According to a survivor, Los Zetas—one of Mexico's most violent DTOs—attempted to recruit the migrants to assist in moving drugs and killed them when they refused. The Zetas are reported to be significantly involved in human smuggling" (Beittel 2011).

The Mexican authorities declare that these groups are not terrorists and if they were that American citizens would have to be charged with supporting these groups due to the fact that they are buying from the terrorist's narcotics and weapons. Mexican Ambassador to the U.S. Arturo Sarukhan fired back at supporters of declaring the DTOs terrorists stating "if you label these organizations as terrorist, you will have to start calling drug consumers in the U.S. 'financiers of terrorist organizations' and gun dealers 'providers of material support to terrorists'" (Romo 2011).

Unfortunately, American politicians aren't handling the situation much better than their Mexican counterparts as there are members on both sides of the American political spectrum calling for the Cartels to be declared terrorists and others stating they are nothing more than criminals regardless of the tactics they utilize. In a House Homeland Security subcommittee hearing Grayling Williams Director of Homeland Security's counter narcotics enforcement stated "there already are enough laws to combat drug trafficking in the United States. Do we call gangs on the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant terrorists because they engage in rival gun battles?" (Ramstack 2011) According to the New York Post in 2008 there were 207 murders in the city that includes the Bedford-Stuyvesant boroughs (NYP) and in Los Angeles there were 5,750 deaths due to gang violence in a 10 year span (Behrens 2009), "the homicide rate in Tijuana in the first half of 2008 was eleven times that of Los Angeles during the same period" (Longmire 2008), the war in Mexico has killed over 28,000 individuals, including 12 mayors, police officers, military personal and a number of Americans including tourists, ICE agents, Border Patrol officers, and consulate employees all within four years prompting the Mexican

government to deploy 50,000 military soldiers to its cities. As of yet the American military has not deployed to Brooklyn or Los Angeles to deal with the gangs.

President Obama currently appears to be on the side of Director Williams in refusing to declare the Cartels terrorists but William Wechsler, the Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary for Counter Narcotics and Global Threats, described the threat posed by Transnational Criminal Organizations (TCO) and outlined all the points that make an organization terrorist without specifically pointing at Mexico and its Cartels. Assistant DEA administrator Steven Casteel on 23 May 2003 stated that "the biggest common denominator of the plurality of organizations on the State Departments list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations is that they fund themselves through drug trafficking. All we're asking is that the State Department do with Mexico's drug Cartels what it did with the major armed groups in Colombia: put them on the terrorists list" (Robberson 2011). It appears that the politicians are of a split mind on whether to designate the Cartels terrorists or not, but the law enforcement community appears to be unified.

For a group that has killed American ICE Agents, Border Patrol officers, tourists, Mexican police officers, politicians, and thousands of civilians, and employs tactics such as torture, indiscriminate bombings, and open warfare on the streets, what would make politicians and the counter terrorism community not declare them terrorists. Perhaps the Mexican authorities fear the political ramifications, perhaps they are owned by the Cartels, or maybe they are legitimately trying to keep the Americans' out of their affairs. However, a line has been crossed and it is time that America realizes the threat in its backyard.

"Killings, kidnappings, and other violence has dramatically increased in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico's third largest city and an industrial hub that lies 135 miles from the United States (slightly longer in distance than Long Island, New York from point to point or a 2 hour drive). Following a spate of kidnappings, the murder of a mayor in a wealthy suburb, and a grenade exploding in front of the offices of broadcast channel *Televisa* in Monterrey, in August 2010 business and civic leaders from the area published an open letter to President Calderón urging him to send *three army battalions and a battalion of marines* to combat the drug traffickers...also two bodyguards were killed in a shoot-out in front of an elite school where American expatriates and wealthy Mexicans send their children. The U.S. State Department has granted danger pay to the staff of the five border consulates and the consulate in Monterrey. In addition, the State Department evacuated all employee minor dependents in Monterrey beginning in September 2010. As a result, other Americans living in Monterrey are leaving and some businesses are allowing their employees to send their families back to the United States. Armed DTO road blocks and informal curfews are changing the way of life in what had been one of Mexico's safest and most modern cities" (Beittel 2011).

Mexico is responding to this non-terrorist threat by sending in Marines and Army battalions, and the US State Department offers hazard pay to its employees and allows employees to send their families home. "In 2008, drug trafficking-related violence was concentrated in a few cities and states. About 60% of the killings took place in three cities: Tijuana (Baja California), Culiacán (Sinaloa), and the highly contested Ciudad Juárez (Chihuahua). By far, the largest number of drug trafficking related deaths took place in Ciudad Juárez, a city of approximately 1.3 million inhabitants that lies directly across the border from El

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Paso, Texas" (Beittel 2011). This just goes to show that the terrorist threat really is in America's backyard.

Even more reason for America to be concerned along with the lack of motivation by the Mexican authorities is the connection that is emerging between the Cartels and radical Islamic groups like Hezbollah and Hamas. These Islamic radical organizations have had a long history in the tri-border region of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, it is a strong possibility they have finally moved north, as there have been mixed reports of Cartel members sporting Farsi tattoos and other indications that Hezbollah is in Mexico training drug traffickers in tactics crossing the border and how to properly use explosives and small arms. After all there has been a long history of cooperation between mixed ideological groups including the Catholic IRA and Muslim extremist groups. If the Cartels are this successful at transporting people, drugs, and arms what stops them from helping these great threats from getting into America. "Trained fighters from al-Qaida, Hezbollah (Party of God) Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) have been seen in Mexico and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has reported cells from these terrorist organizations are believed here in the U. S. as well" (Admin 2010)

Not declaring the Cartels terrorists or a hybrid terrorist - criminal organization binds the hands of the American military and financially causes difficulties for the law enforcement community on the Mexican border. "Were the United States government to formally recognize the Mexican Cartels as the terrorists they are—or at least hybrid organizations that employ terrorist tactics — a more effective range of options would become available for combating the Cartels and curtailing the violence that today engulfs the US/Mexico borderlands" (Longmire 2008).

The Cartels

According to the Mexican government there are seven drug cartels operating in Mexico. Arellano Felix organization, Los Zetas, Beltran Leyva, Familia Michoacana (LFM), Sinaloa Cartel, and the Gulf Cartel/New Federation. The Cartels are described as "global businesses with forward and backward linkages for supply and distribution in many countries. As businesses, they are concerned with bringing their product to market in the most efficient way in order to maximize their profits" (Beittel 2011). This is strikingly similar to terrorist organizations throughout the Middle East that engage in legitimate business, charity fundraising, and other means to finance their operations legally or illegally in countries throughout the world.

The Gulf Cartel in northeast Mexico is perhaps the most powerful in terms of territory and profit, the Los Zetas whom are quite possibly the most dangerous are made up of military deserters from the Mexican Airborne and hire themselves out as enforcers and assassins, the Sinaloa DTO "has fought with brutal force for increased control of routes through Chihuahua and Baja California with the goal of becoming the dominant DTO in the country" and the LFM is "a hybrid fusion of criminal drug enterprise entity and Christian evangelical beliefs... combining social, criminal, and religious elements in one movement and is known for leaving signs on corpses and at crime scenes, describing their actions as *divine justice*. It also has reportedly made donations of food, medical care, and schools to benefit the poor in order to project a Robin Hood

image” (Beittel 2011). The diversity of the Cartels is astounding and they are as different as the numerous other terrorist movements throughout the world. This trend again shows similarities to terrorist groups that attempt to portray the image that they are out to help those suffering from a damaged infrastructure and an inefficient government.

Unfortunately for the law enforcement community fighting the Mexican Cartels are often capable of forming alliances when threatened by another Cartel or an outside force and are often times more effective than the legitimate police and military. "In order to fight Los Zetas the Gulf Cartel has allied itself with two former enemies—La Familia Michoacana (LFM) and the Sinaloa Cartel—creating an environment of urban warfare with commando-style raids on state prisons, abduction of journalists, murder of police, and attacks on military posts. They have organized elaborate road blockades during their violent operations to prevent legitimate police from responding"(Beittel 2011).

Defining terrorism

Perhaps one of the most pressing issues involving international terrorism and the response of the global community is the inability to define terrorism itself. Every agency in the United States and quite possibly including many of those within the counter terrorism community around the world each have their own definition of what they believe makes up a terrorist act. This usually coincides with the agencies direct mission statement applying the definition of terrorism to their individual needs. However, no matter what definition one uses to define terrorism the Cartels so often meet the criteria.

Black’s Law defines terrorism as:

activity that... appears to be intended—(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping.

The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military Terms defines terrorism as:

The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as:

the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

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And perhaps most importantly, because the State Department is the agency that declares organizations terrorist, Title 22 of the U.S. Code, Section 2656f(d) (U.S. Department of State, 2007) defines terrorism as:

premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

Then there is the relatively new term Narcoterrorism "coined by former Peruvian President Belaunde Terry in 1983 to describe terrorist-type attacks against his police forces by members of *Sendero Luminoso*, or Shining Path" (Longmire 2008).

The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) defines a narco-terrorist organization as an organized group that is complicit in the activities of drug trafficking in order to further, or fund, premeditated, politically-motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets with the intention to influence (that is, influence a government or group of people

"The massacres of young people and migrants, the killing and disappearance of Mexican journalists, the use of torture, and the phenomena of car bombs have received wide media coverage and have led some analysts to question if the violence has been transformed into something new, beyond the typical violence that has characterized the trade. For instance, some observers have raised the concern that the Mexican DTOs may be acting more like domestic terrorists" (Chesney 2011). Perhaps their overall ambition is financially motivated however, they are political in their agenda to disrupt Mexico's government, police and military and a steady attack on Mexico's journalists inspiring the leading newspaper in Ciudad Juárez to seek a truce with the DTOs it identified as the *de facto authorities* in the city (Beittel 2011).

Designating Terrorists

In order to be declared a Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) a group must meet certain criteria falling within guidelines set forth by the US State Department, specifically Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f, "which requires the Department of State to provide an annual report to Congress on terrorism... The Department of State continually monitors the activities of terrorist groups active around the world to identify potential targets for designation. When reviewing potential targets, the Department looks not only at the actual terrorist attacks that a group has carried out, but also at whether the group has engaged in planning and preparations for possible future acts of terrorism or retains the capability and intent to carry out such acts" (US State Department 2010). "The Secretary of State designates Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO's), in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury. These designations are undertaken pursuant to the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. FTO designations are valid for two years, after which they must be redesignated or they automatically expire. Redesignation after two years is a positive act and represents a determination by the Secretary of State that the organization has continued to engage in terrorist activity and still meets the criteria specified in law" (Taylor 2001) "The Secretary of State makes decisions concerning the designation and redesignation of FTO's following an exhaustive interagency review process in which all evidence of a group's activity, from both classified and open sources, is scrutinized.

The State Department, working closely with the Justice and Treasury Departments and the intelligence community, prepares a detailed *administrative record* which documents the terrorist activity of the designated FTO. Seven days before publishing an FTO designation in the Federal Register, the Department of State provides classified notification to Congress. Under the statute, designations are subject to judicial review. In the event of a challenge to a group's FTO designation in federal court, the U.S. government relies upon the administrative record to defend the Secretary's decision. These administrative records contain intelligence information and are therefore classified" (Taylor 2001).

Legal Criteria for Designation under Section 219 of the INA as amended:

1. It must be a *foreign organization*.
2. The organization must *engage in terrorist activity*, as defined in section 212 (a)(3)(B) of the INA (8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(3)(B)), or *terrorism*, as defined in section 140(d)(2) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989 (22 U.S.C. § 2656f(d)(2)), or *retain the capability and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism*.
3. The organization's terrorist activity or terrorism must threaten the security of U.S. nationals or the national security (national defense, foreign relations, or the economic interests) of the United States.

It is important to designate these organizations as terrorists for several reasons:

Effects of Designation Legal

1. It is unlawful for a person in the United States or subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to provide funds or other material support to a designated FTO.
2. Representatives and certain members of a designated FTO, if they are aliens, can be denied visas or excluded from the United States.
3. U.S. financial institutions must block funds of designated FTO's and their agents and report the blockage to the Office of Foreign Assets Control, U.S. Department of the Treasury.

Other Effects

1. Deters donations or contributions to named organizations
2. Heightens public awareness and knowledge of terrorist organizations
3. Signals to other governments our concern about named organizations
4. Stigmatizes and isolates designated terrorist organizations internationally

It is important to designate the Mexican Cartels as terrorists for financial reasons, and the ability of the United States to properly respond *when* the Cartels finally move into the southern United States in force. Without defining them as terrorists the United States military is not able to legally respond to the Cartels. Also without the designation American police forces are not

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financed properly to respond to the issue, including hiring more officers. The “terrorist organization designation gives U.S. police broad authority to crack down on suspected terrorists, such as by seizing their bank accounts or imposing harsher prison sentences for gun possession” (Ramstack 2011).

Mexican Response

The Mexican response to the emergence of the Cartels has been less than promising as the government seems to feel that the Cartels are no different than any other criminal group. The ambassadors to the United States are dismissive of claims that they are terrorists and make outlandish responses, corruption is running rampant through the Mexican infrastructure, and convictions of Cartel members are non-existent. "Arrests have a 1 to 2 %chance of leading to a conviction or time served" (Beittel 2011).

The Cartels often use bribery from their narcotics trafficking to bribe officials, police officers, and members of the military and when this fails violence is their favorite alternative. Corruption is such an issue that "in August 2010 there was a firing of 3,200 officers, about 10% of the 34,500-federal force, by Mexico’s Federal Police Commissioner after they failed basic integrity tests. Another 465 officers were to lose their jobs, including a police chief, for failing to carry out their duties [probably due to fear] in May 2009, federal authorities arrested ten Mexican mayors and 18 other state and local officials in the President’s home state of Michoacán for alleged ties to drug trafficking organizations" (Beittel 2011) although all but one was released due to insufficient cases, or more realistically corruption. There has even been some indication that Sinaloa Cartel has been favored by the corrupt government in that their arrest rates are far lower than that of other Cartels.

The police and the government are not the only aspects of Mexico's anti-cartel forces that are corrupt. The military has its issues with loyalty as well. "Osiel Cárdenas Guillén, successfully corrupted elite Mexican military forces sent to capture him. Those corrupted military personnel became known as Los Zetas and fused with the Gulf cartel. Cárdenas was arrested by Mexican authorities in 2003, but he successfully ran his drug enterprise from prison" (Beittel 2011).

In order to hide its corruption and the true scope of the violence in Mexico inflicted by the Cartel's the government has failed to supply foreign observers with accurate numbers depicting casualties. "The Trans-Border Institute (TBI) at the University of San Diego in California and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have made repeated requests to the Mexican government for detailed information to substantiate these totals, but the requests have been resisted to track the violence, TBI and others have turned to Mexican media reporting" (Beittel 2011).

American Response

The American response to the issue of Cartels emerging and engaging in terrorism is relatively a split decision that could be considered unsatisfactory. President Obama and many on the left side of the aisle feel that the label is unjustified. However, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (Democrat), members of the law enforcement community, and many Republicans

especially from the southern states, led by House Representative Michael McCaul (Republican from Texas) feel the title is warranted, justified, and needed. The U.S. government continues to define the Mexican DTOs as "the greatest organized crime threat to the United States today" (Beittel 2011).

Congress has shown some concern with the conflict in Mexico and the possibility of "spillover" on to the American side of the border, but have performed little action. This spillover by the Cartels has been reported to include " a beheading in Phoenix in October, a firefight in a rural Arizona town between drug cartel rivals and the shooting of an agent from the attorney general's office" (Ramstack 2011). The 111th Congress held more than 20 hearings dealing with the violence in Mexico, U.S. foreign assistance, and border security issues. In September 2010, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations said that the violence by the DTOs in Mexico may be "morphing into or making common cause with what we would call an insurgency." Many U.S. government officials have concerns about the Mexican government's ability to lower the violence in Mexico and control terrorist tactics being employed by the DTOs. The concern about Mexican drug cartels has also been expressed by Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano. At a U.S. Senate Committee hearing on March 9, Napolitano said that the U.S. government remains "very concerned about drug cartel violence in Mexico and we must vigorously guard against potential spillover effects into the United States." (Romo 2011)

Even though he is a staunch critic of titling Cartels terrorists, President Obama is engaging Mexico with a plan called *Beyond Mérida*. "The four pillars of the new strategy are outlined in the FY2011 request as 1) disrupting organized crime groups; 2) institutionalizing the rule of law; 3) building a 21st century border; and 4) building strong and resilient communities. The Obama Administration's funding priorities are moving away from providing equipment to Mexican security forces to supporting institutional reform programs in Mexico" (Beittel 2011).

Representative Michael McCaul whom is perhaps the champion for labeling Cartels as terrorists is leading the way with a proposed bill. If the bill is approved, it would allow law enforcement agencies to have increased powers to limit Cartels' financial property and travel interests and impose harsher punishments on anyone who provides material support to cartels (Romo 2011). Representative Michael McCaul proposed this bill to the 112th Congress 1st Session the introduction of a bill that would be "to direct the Secretary of State to designate as foreign terrorist organizations certain Mexican drug cartels, and for other purposes" (House rep bill). The bill proposes that the six Cartels - The Arellano Feliz Organization, The Los Zetas Cartel, The Beltran Leyva Organization, La Familia Michoacana, The Sinaloa Cartel, The Gulf Cartel/New Federation be declared terrorist on four justifications.

Representative McCaul's bill is as follows:

1) The Office of Counterterrorism of the Department of State has stated, "FTO designations play a critical role in our fight against terrorism and are an effective means of curtailing support for terrorist activities and pressuring groups to get out of the terrorism business." Foreign drug cartels have used brutal tactics of violence and the threat of violence against United States citizens to protect and expand their drug trade and as well as their areas of

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operation, When Americans at home and abroad, including agents assigned to protect United States borders and national security, are targeted, threatened, and attacked by such foreign entities, it serves a continual threat the safety and security of the United States and its people.. The Mexican drug cartels meet all of the legal criteria for designation as foreign terrorist organizations under section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1189) which states A: the organizations are foreign organizations B: The organizations engage in terrorist activity (as defined in section 212(a)(3)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)(B)) or terrorism (as defined in section 140(d)(2) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989 (22 U.S.C. 2656f(d)(2)), or retain the capability and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism). (C) The terrorist activity or terrorism of the organizations threatens the security of United States nationals or the national security of the United States (McCaul 2011)

What Next

"Mexican officials have repeatedly said that drug cartels are neither an insurgency nor terrorist organizations because their purpose is neither to destabilize the government nor promote a political ideology. Their level of cruelty is unprecedented, but they don't hate a particular group. Their only motive, Mexican authorities say, is hard, cold cash"(Romo 2011). It should be argued that they realistically are impacting the political structure of the state. The Cartels have disrupted the infrastructure of Mexico, have killed government officials, effectively taken control of cities, and have driven out American interests. Hillary Clinton and others compare the issue in Mexico with that of Columbia 20 years ago. They argue that the goal of FARC was to overthrow the government and to use narcotics trafficking to finance their operations. The DTO are not out to overthrow the government but they are actively seeking to weaken the state to continue their operations.

The Cartels engage in the "trafficking of billions of dollars' worth of illicit narcotics; the illegal movement into Mexico of assault weapons purchased in US border states; human smuggling rings bringing special interest aliens (illegal immigrants from countries the US Government deems are of special interest, e.g. Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, etc.) into the United States; the potential for terrorists to enter the United States via the southwest border; and ultimately, the effect of DTO-related violence that has spilled over into US border communities" (Longmire 2008).

What really makes the Cartels terrorists is their tactics (kidnapping, assassinations, mass murders), their weaponry (high powered assault rifles), and the fact that they target Mexican government officials. Although they are not ideological or seeking out to overthrow the Mexican government they are out to damage the government's ability to effectively control the country. There are reports of towns in Mexico that fear to fly the government's flag and the population is at the complete mercy of the Cartels.

Although there is a confused illusionary belief that in order to be a terrorist one must have an ideological agenda the designation of many organizations that lack ideological or political goals by the US State Department, and the tactics that are employed are what make a group terrorist. The Cartels in Mexico of today share much with the radical Muslim movements

in the Middle East and are very similar to previous movements from Central and South America like FARC, the Shining Path, and the AUC (the United Self Defense Forces of Colombia) all were designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the State Department.

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