

# **Argentina: The citizen security issue under democracy and its regional implications**

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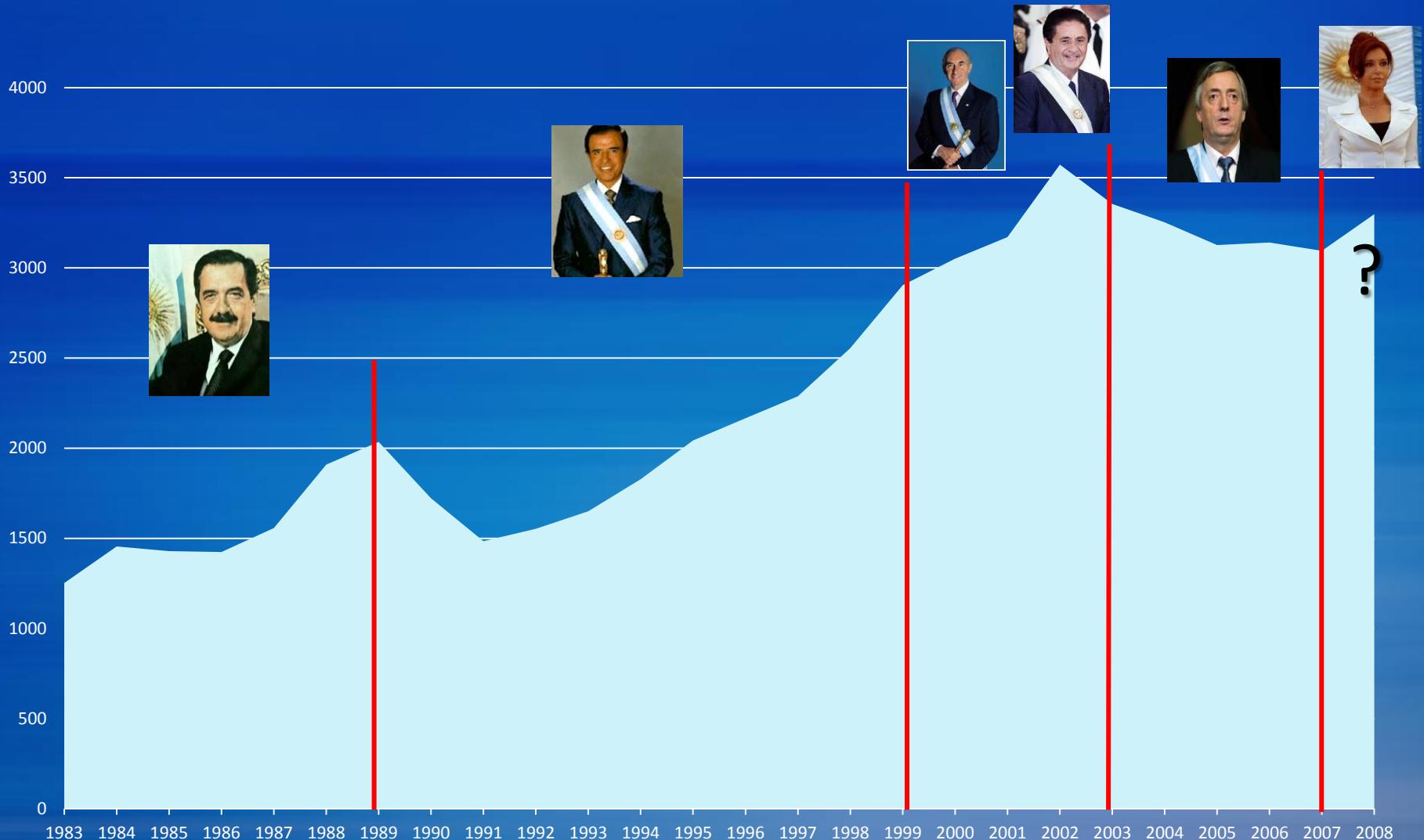
Since democratic recovery (Dec 10th, 1983) to date:

*Some questions, some hypothesis*

- What happened with the citizen security issue in the past 30 years?
  - *First Argentine paradox:*
    - *While political parties and leaderships have been able to face the “military issue” and performed a successful reform in civil-military relations that in turn promoted democratic consolidation....*
    - *...They have been unable to address the citizen security issue and perform a comprehensive reform on criminal justice system and police agencies.*

- Two facts have shown up as a result of the *Argentine paradox*,
  - *First, a sustainable trend of crime rates growth for the past 30 years.*

# National Crime Rates, 1983-2008



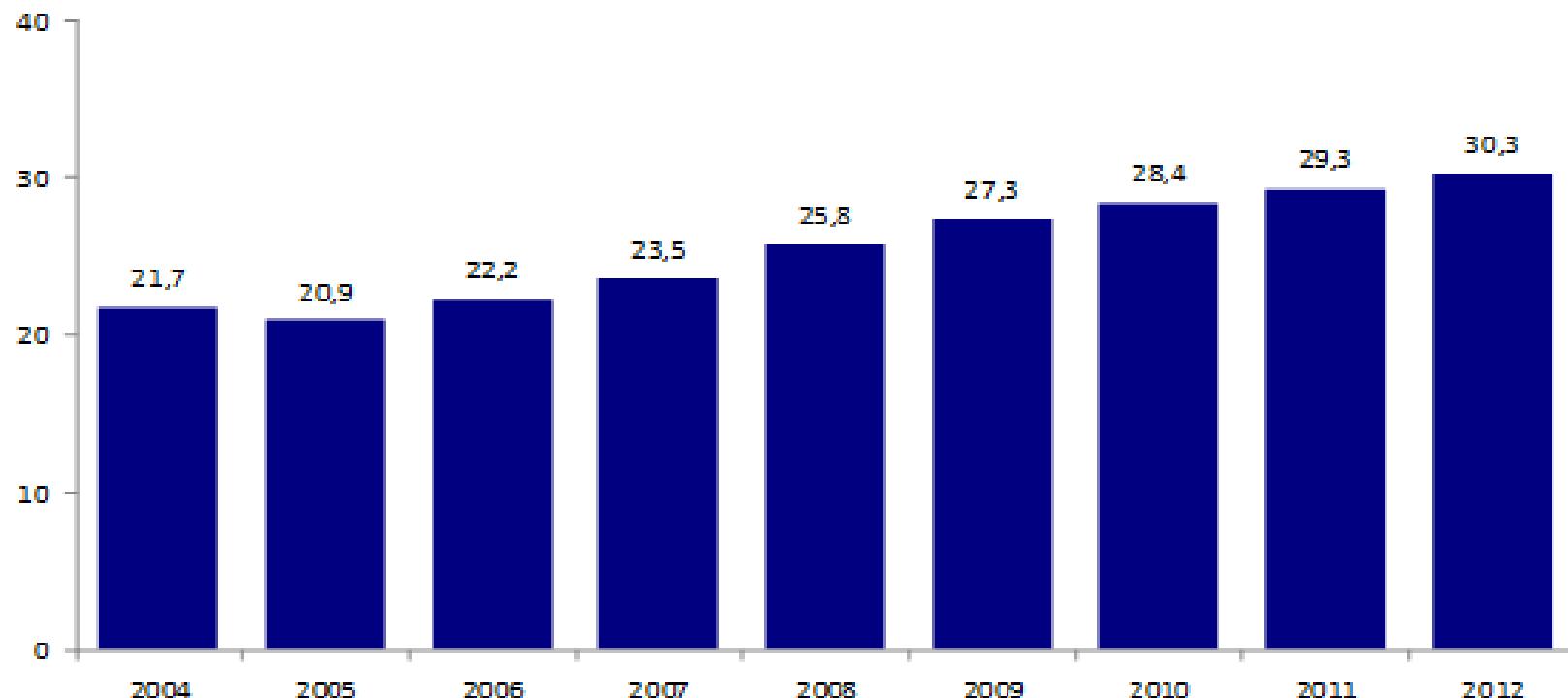
Source: Registro Nacional de Reincidencia y Estadística Criminal, and Dirección Nacional de Política Criminal, Ministerio de Justicia, República Argentina

# Victimization Survey, Urban Centers

FIGURA 1: HABER SUFRIDO UN HECHO DE DELINCUENCIA

Evolución 2004-2012

Población de 18 años y más . En porcentaje



Fuente: ED SA(2004-2009) y ED SA-BICENTENARIO (2010-2016), OOSA, UCA

# • The second result of the *Argentine paradox*

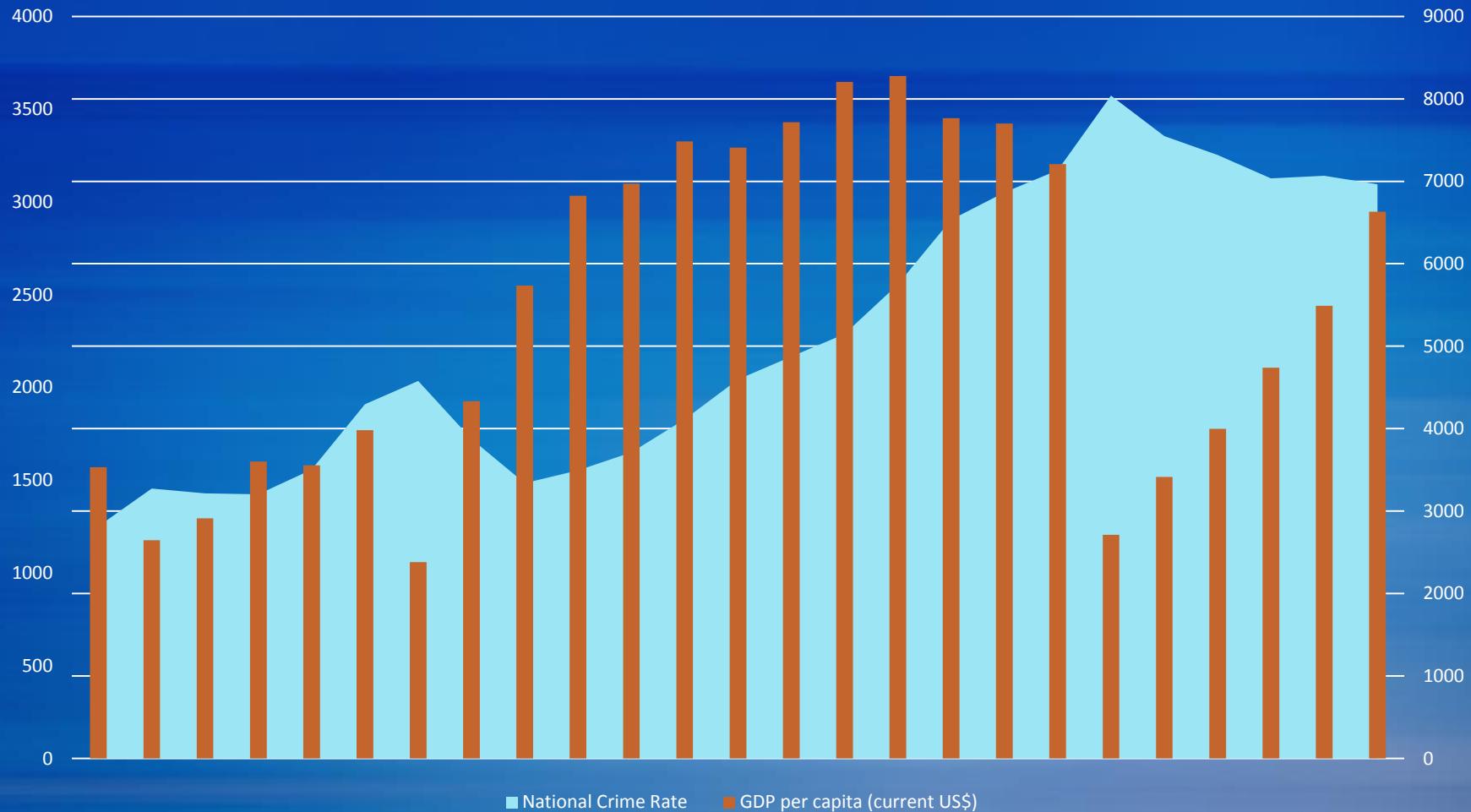
- *Organized crime has been dramatically expanding for the past ten years*
- *Levels:*
  - *Organizations: international, regional, local*
  - *Networks*
  - *Groups*
- *Markets:*
  - *Stolen auto industry*
  - *Smuggling*
  - *Stolen goods industry (“Pirateria del asfalto”)*
  - *Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation*
  - *Piracy and counterfeiting (La Salada)*
  - *Kidnapping*
- *Illegal drugs*

- Is there any linkage between the sustainable growth of “common” crime and the spread of “organized” crime?
  - *Hypothesis #1: Lack of proper (police and judiciary) general deterrence partially explains both trends (Effectiveness of law enforcement)*
  - *Could that explain the Second Argentine paradox?: crime (both common and organized) increased even in a context of economic growth.*



# *Second Argentine paradox?*

## Economic growth along with crime growth



## • *Hypothesis #1: Lack of general deterrence*

Having occurred 1,000  
crimes...

Only 200 are reported...

Probability of  
being  
arrested

Only 40 are arrested...

Prob. of being  
prosecuted

Only 20 are  
prosecuted...

Prob. of  
being  
sentenced

Only 4 are found  
guilty and sent to  
prison...



# **Hypothesis #2: Lack of general deterrence...Why?**

- **Ineffective institutional design**

- ID for federal forces were established 60s
- Large, unfocused, inward-looking, bureaucratic organization, poor at internal communication or cooperation
- Chronically unresponsive to intelligence from the outer world.

- **Distorted incentives systems**

- Salary, career, social rating
- Police forces do not want high performance; they want to stay out of trouble and avoid conflicts with politicians
- The key to career success for a low-ranked officer is to shun risk and avoid failure.

- **Lack of accountability**

- **Corruption** is widely spread among police forces
- Cases of Cordoba (Sep-2013: Chief of Drug) and Santa Fe (Oct-2012: Chief of Police, Feb-2014: Chief Drug Unit)
- Police strikes in Dec-2013: 18 of 23



## **Hypothesis #2:** Lack of specific deterrence partially explains the rapid growth of drug trafficking issue in the past ten years

*Research Project UCA/KAS (preliminary results):*

*Measuring performance of federal courts on drug cases  
(2009-2012)*

*Who is sending to prison?*

- Each of those cases involved an average of only **three** defendants;
- the origin of the investigation was mostly due to an **anonymous complaint**
- **none** of those investigations used the strategies of “**undercover agent**”, “**protected witness**” and/or “**protected delivery**”;
- the range of the sentences were **4 to 8 years**;
- and the main **evidence** against them was drug possession for trading.
- Moreover, although the country has legislation to confiscate the **assets** of drug dealers, **no seizure** has been taken place to date



## *Hypothesis #2: Lack of specific deterrence*

### *Is the border secure?*

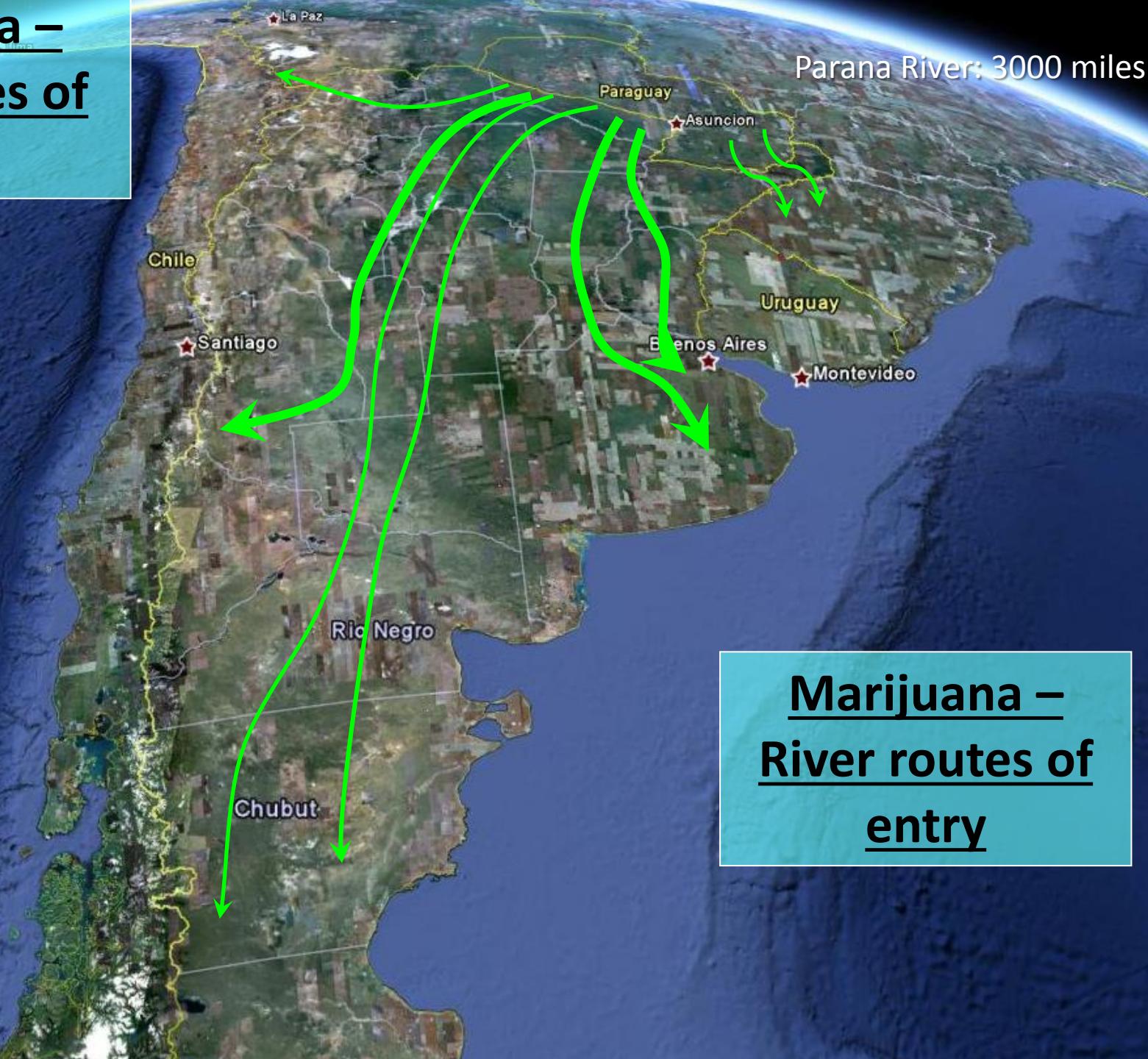
- While Argentina shares 1,546 miles with two big drug producers –Bolivia (cocaine) and Paraguay (marijuana)–,...
- ...there are serious **flaws in Argentina's ability to monitor land, air and water borders.**

# Cocaine – Land routes of entry

- GNA: 25% was redeployed to Great BsAs;
- GNA-Oran Unit: 50 officers to cover 130 miles of borderline
- 5 federal courts in Salta and Jujuy have 30,000 open drug cases.
- 1 federal prosecutor for Oran, Tartagal, Mosconi, Aguaray y Salvador Mazza must work on 300 open drug investigations.



# Marijuana – Land routes of entry



# Cocaine & Marijuana – Air routes of entry

- Large quantities of drugs come by illegal flights
- Lack of modern radar devices to monitor the entire northern frontier
- Lack of legislation to intercept them.
- Operation “Northern Shield” detected 1.2 illegal flights per day.





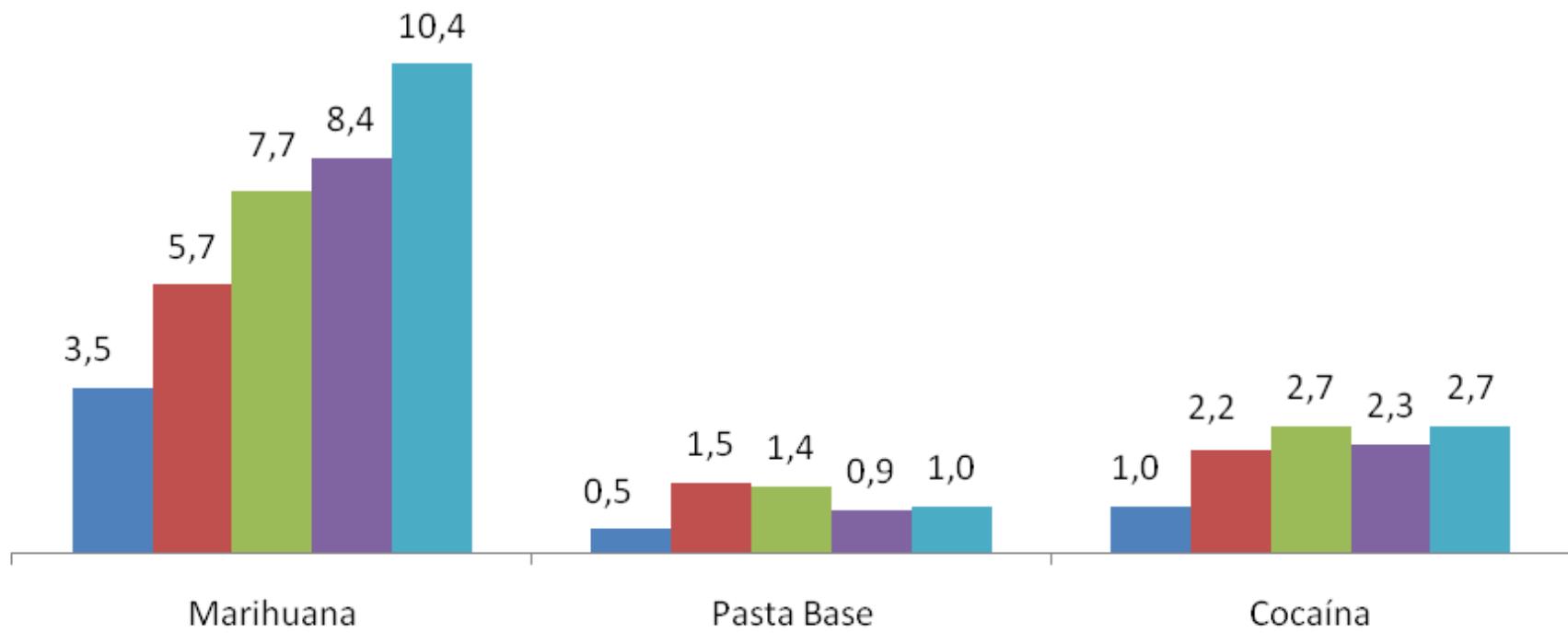
# *As a consequence of H#2, Argentina has become in...*

- Drug-consuming,
  - Drug-manufacturing, and
  - Drug-exporting country.
  - Plus, appealing money laundry destination
- 
- First official statement of Catholic Church, Nov-7, 2013  
<http://www.episcopado.org/portal/actualidad-cea/oficina-de-prensa/item/845-el-drama-de-la-droga-y-el-narcotrafico.html>
  - First official recognition by Argentine government, Feb-14, 2014  
<http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1664188-agustin-rossi-reconocio-que-la-argentina-paso-a-ser-un-pais-de-consumo-y-elaboracion-de-drogas>
  - First official disappointment, Feb-17, 2014  
<http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1664802-el-gobierno-busca-apoyo-provincial-en-la-lucha-antidrogas>

# National Drug Consumption Survey, High School Students, 2001-2011

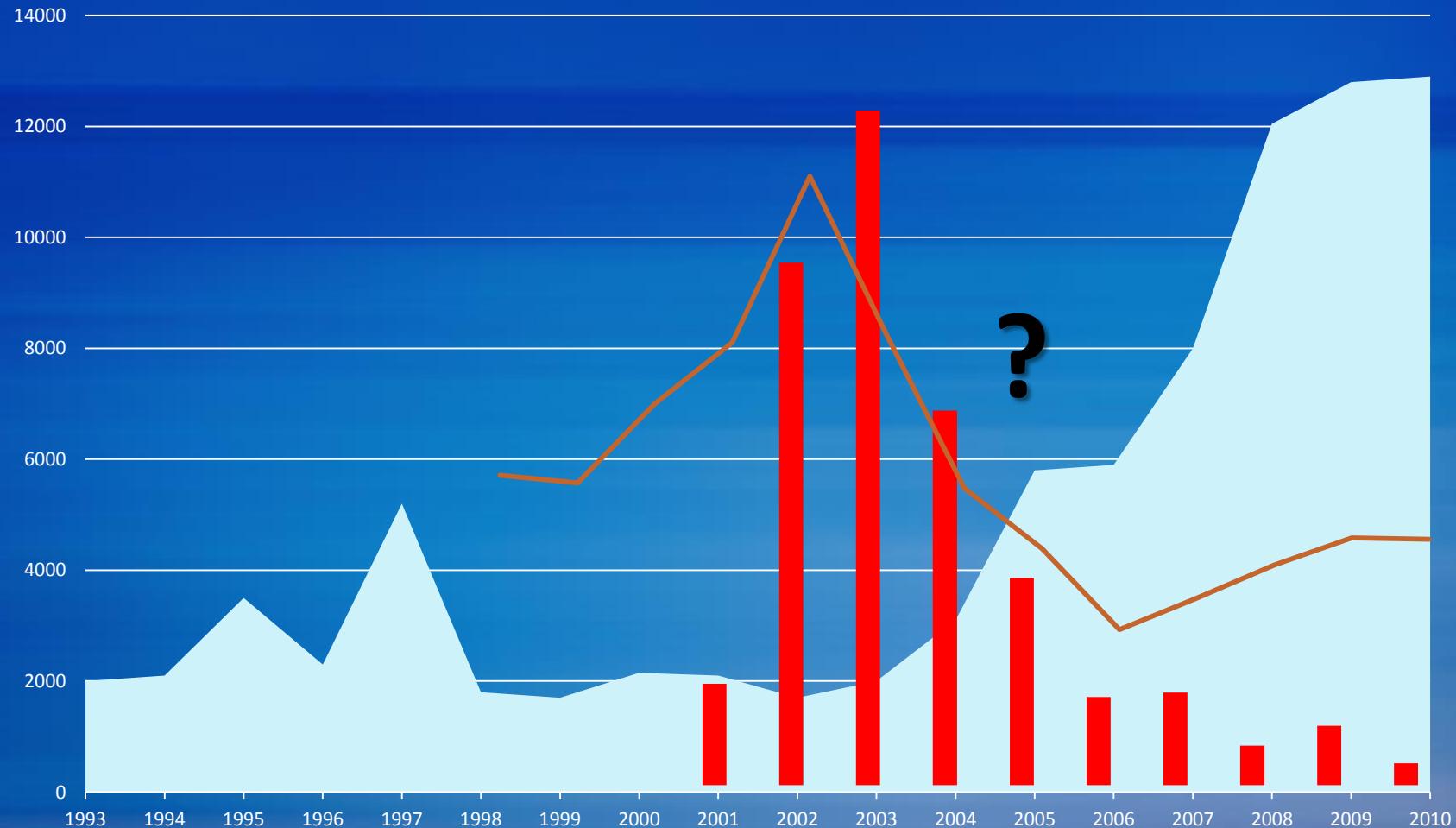
*Consumption in the  
last year*

■ 2001 ■ 2005 ■ 2007 ■ 2009 ■ 2011



Source: SEDRONAR, 2012

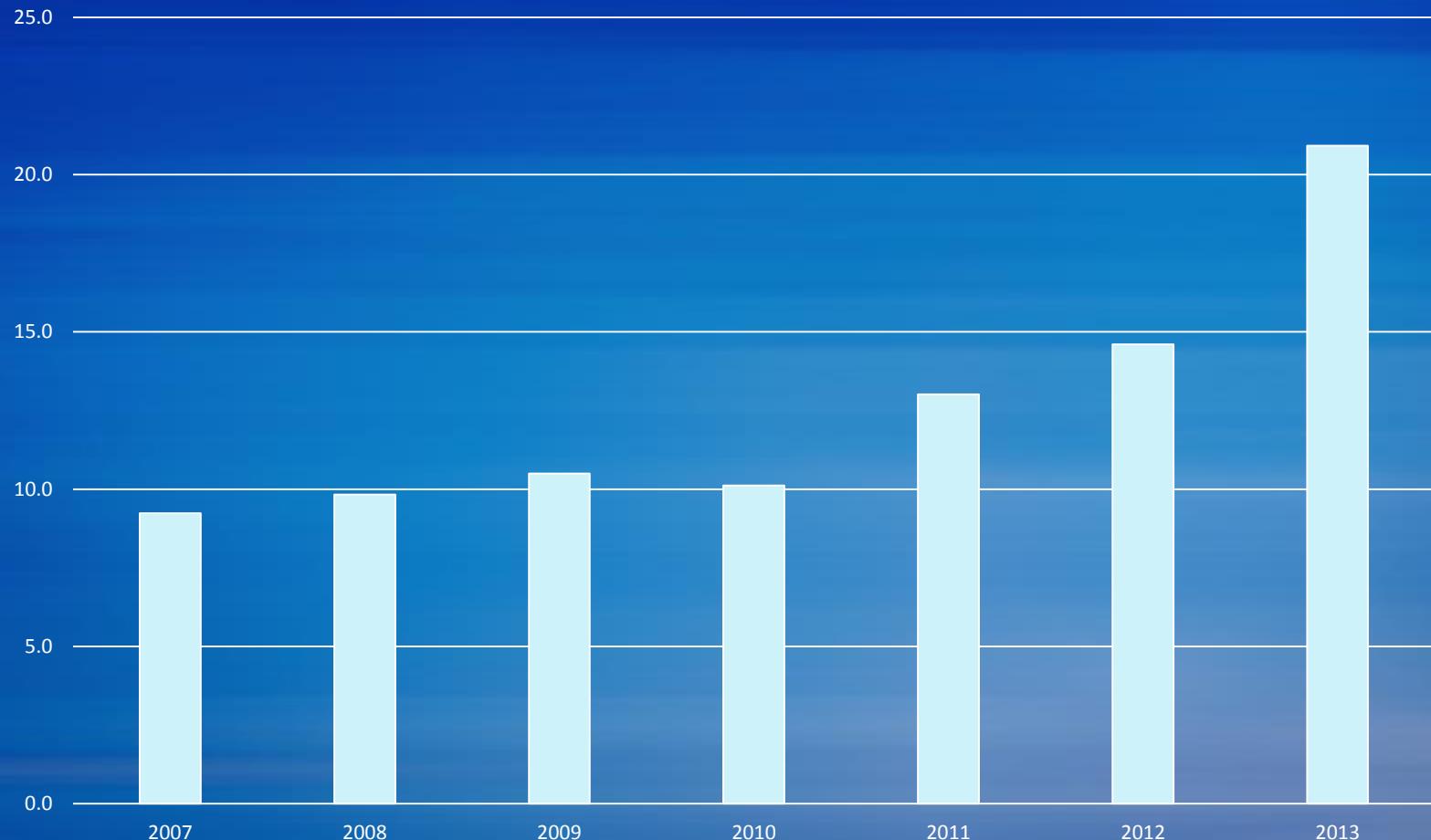
# Cocaine seizure in Argentina (kg. per year)



Source: UNODC

A growing domestic market means higher level of violence.

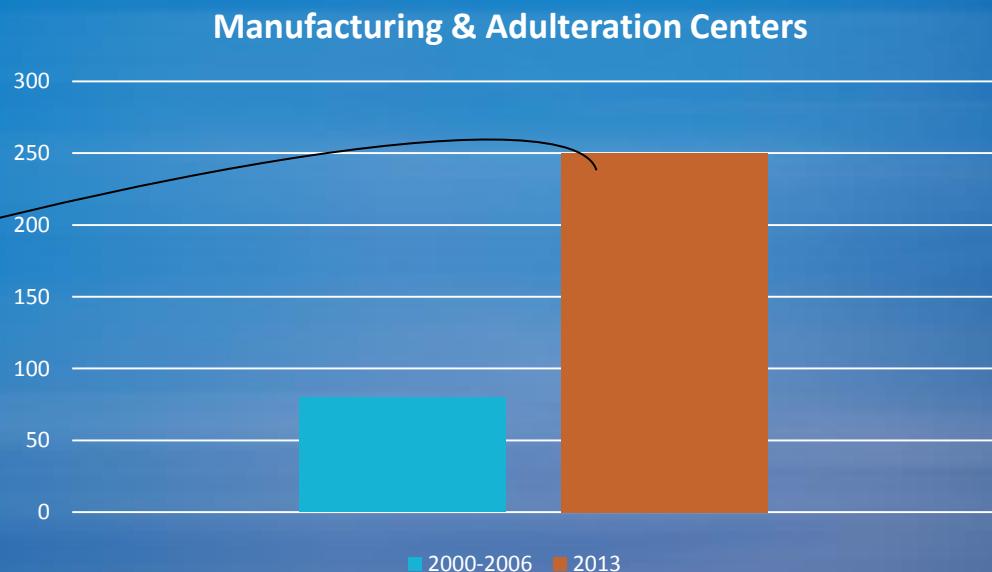
## The case of Rosario (Santa Fe), Homicide Rate

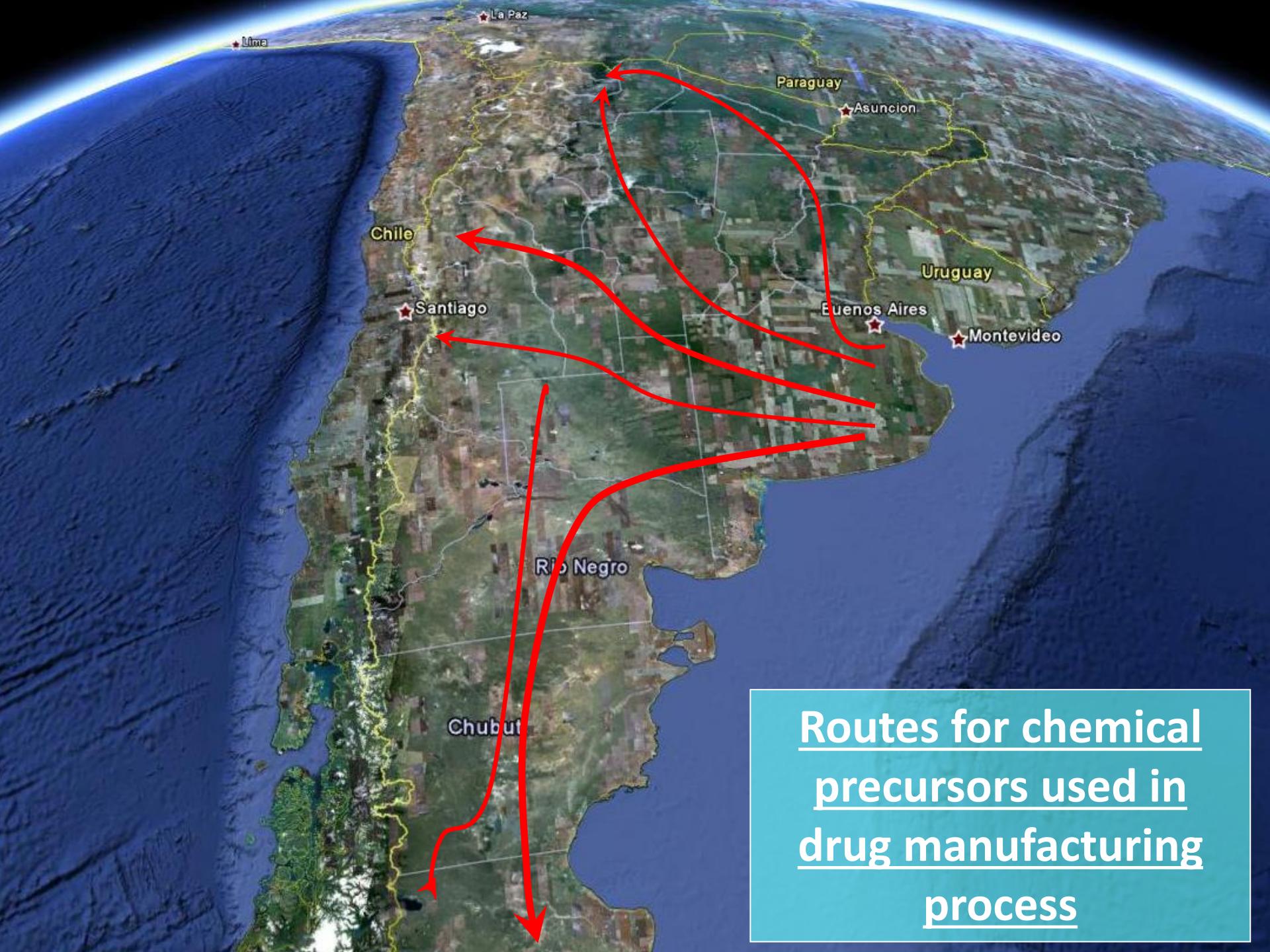


# Drug-manufacturing

- Production Centers or 1<sup>st</sup> step: Peru & Bolivia (cocaine), Paraguay (marijuana), Argentina (MDMA)
- Manufacturing Centers:
  - For purification or 2<sup>nd</sup> step
  - For crystallization or 3<sup>rd</sup> step
- Adulteration Centers
- Breaking-up Centers

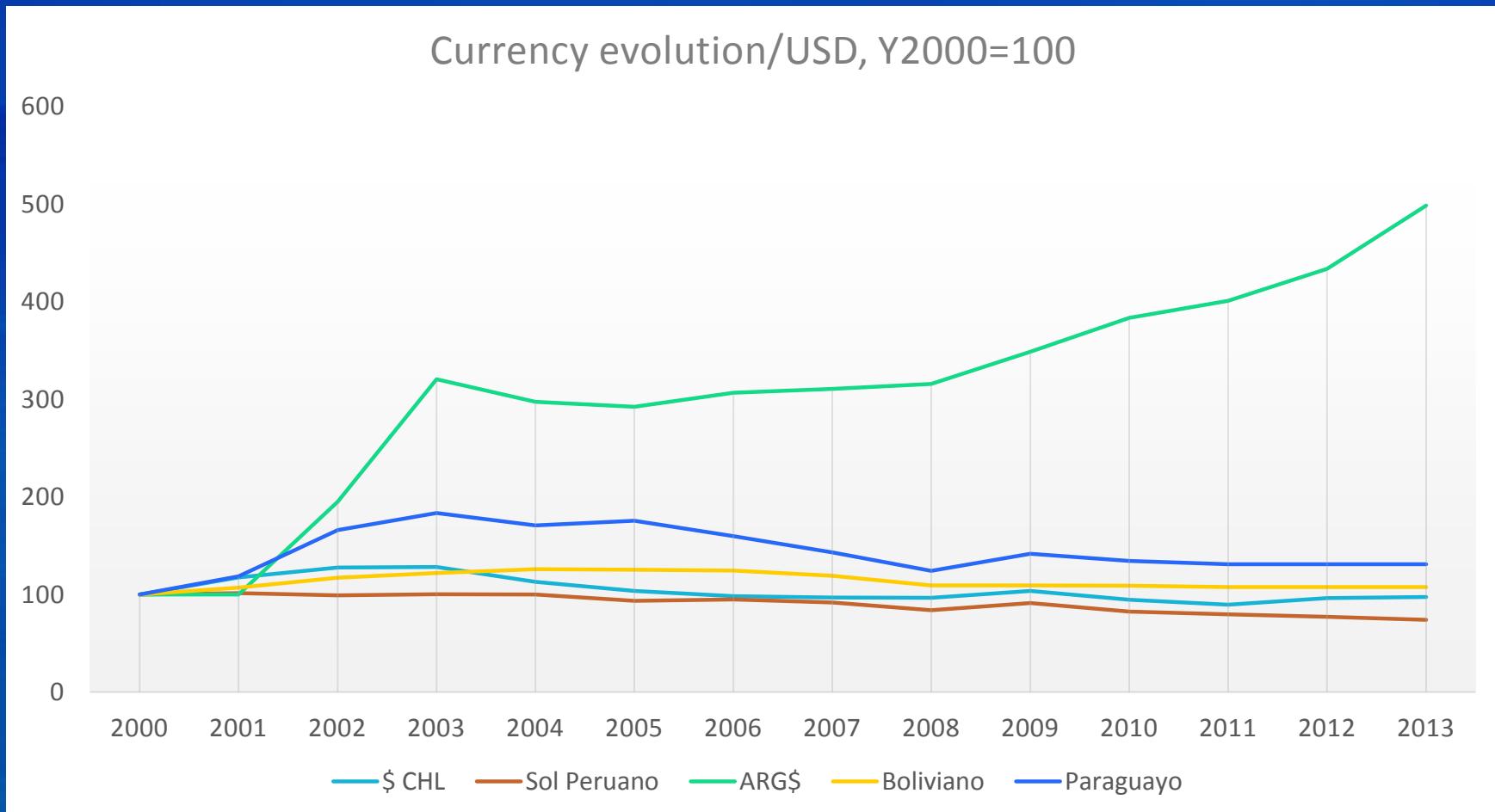
Only two of those manufacturing centers had the capability of producing an amount of cocaine equal to the annual national seizures



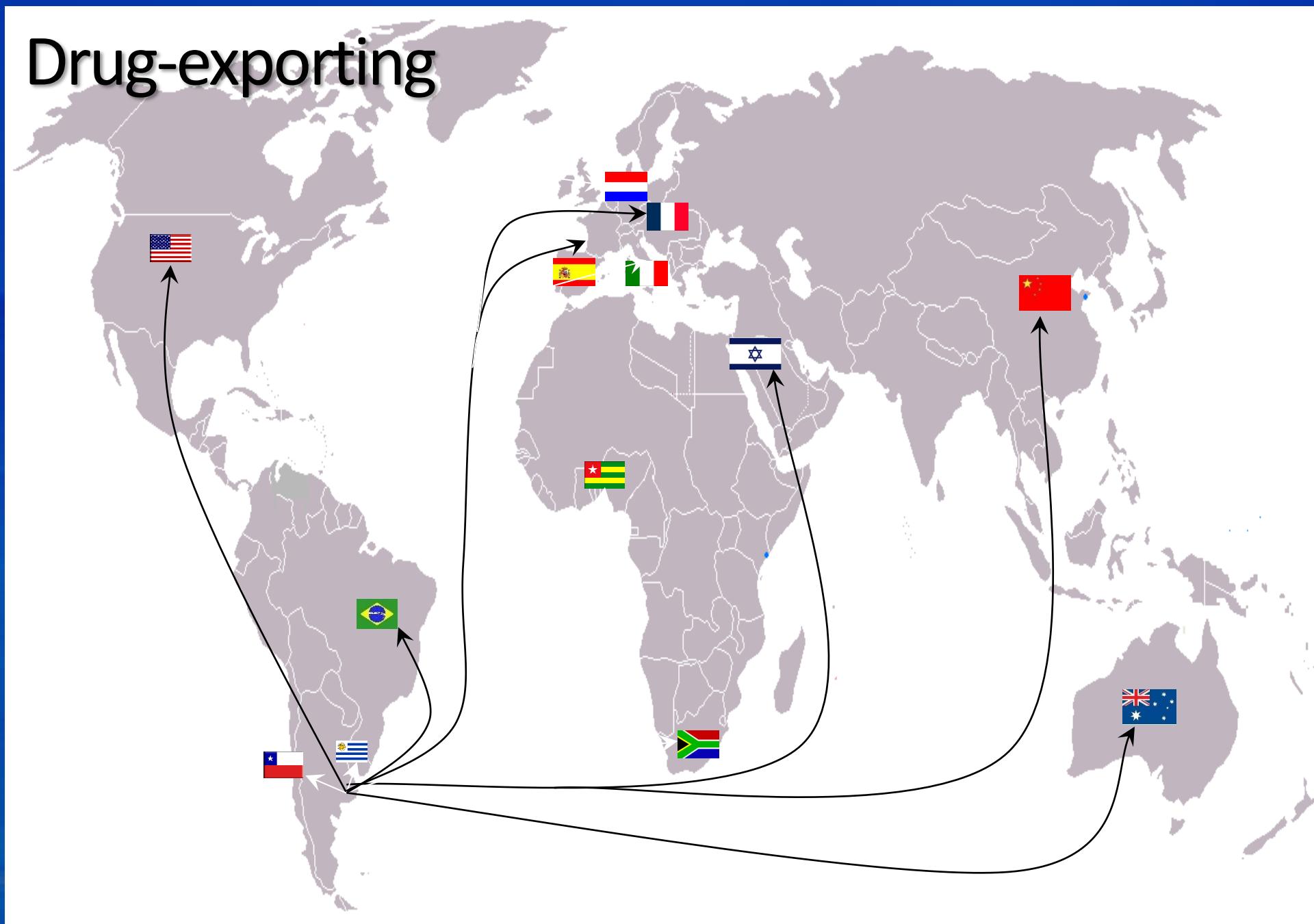


Routes for chemical  
precursors used in  
drug manufacturing  
process

# Drug-manufacturing: an economic approach



# Drug-exporting



# Operaciones del narcotráfico al desnudo

Detalles de distintos procedimientos realizados por las fuerzas federales de seguridad argentinas, en los que se descubrieron conexiones de bandas narcos colombianas

## ○ Detenidos



Lavado de activos provenientes del narcotráfico

Parte operativa

# Summing up...

- Fact #1: Long wave of growing crime rates in 1983-2013
- Fact #2: organized crime has been dramatically expanding in 2001-2013
- Hypothesis #1: there is a common explanatory factor: lack of (general & specific) deterrence

# Summing up...

- Hypothesis #2:

*poor specific deterrence + economic factors + regional changes =*

Argentina as an **appealing location** for regional DTOs and local networks

- Governmental response:

- Increasing use of **Army** in low scale operations
- *Focus in drug seizure* instead of dismantling DTOs and searching for manufacturing centers.
- Next step (Feb-17): engage **provinces** (local police + judiciaries) against minor traffic networks (26052 Act).
- And, *legalization* of drug possession.

- Regional implication: negative externality = regional efforts can be undermined by the existence of a large and safe haven for DTOs

Thank you!

Gracias!