

Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13)

And

Its Violent World

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Abstract

This paper follows the beginnings of one of the most notorious transnational street gangs in existence today. We will trace the growth of Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) from their emigration from El Salvador to Los Angeles, California.

El Salvador had just suffered a civil war that had claimed an estimated 100,000 people. This gang's transformation from a local sureno street gang (southern street gang) to a transnational gang happened when the United States got tough on immigration laws and deported many of these MS-13's back to El Salvador. At this juncture, they used their knowledge from what they had learned back in the U.S. and created the MS-13 in Central America and Mexico.

This paper will prove from the research just how the MS-13 and Los Zetas, a Drug Trafficking Organization (DTO), have collaborated in a criminal enterprise in those countries and now domestically back in the United States.

This writer also explores anti-gang legislation in Central America and alternative models used by the Boston Police Department and Fairfax County Virginia's Northern Virginia Regional Gang Task Force. The Virginia Task Force utilized a large grant to put together a formidable gang task force consisting of law enforcement on the federal, state and local levels. This was coupled with different adult mentoring programs like the Boys and Girls Clubs, to mention just a few.

In conclusion, our politicians need to support our laws, such as the law in Arizona. These laws are vital so that we send a strong message to all of our law enforcement agencies who risk their lives daily that they are supported by their government and are part of a united front to keep our citizens safe from any of these DTO's, such as Los Zetas and street gangs like the MS-13.

I. Introduction

The United States Congress House Committee on Government Reform provided the following definition for a street gang (2006):

“Criminal street gang” means any ongoing organization, association, or group of three or more persons, whether formal or informal, (i) which has as one of its primary objectives or activities the commission of one or more criminal activities; (ii) which has an identifiable name or identifying sign or symbol; and (iii) whose members individually or collectively have engaged in the commission of, attempt to commit, conspiracy to commit, or solicitation of two or more predicate criminal acts, at least one of which is an act of violence, provided such acts were not part of a common act or transaction (p-27).

In the 1980’s and early 1990’s, super street gangs like the Latin Kings, Bloods, Crips, and Gangster Disciples exploded onto the Los Angeles, California scene (Savelli, 2001).

During this juncture, back in Central America, El Salvador had just suffered a civil war that had claimed the lives of an estimated 100,000 people. This civil war also created a deluge of emigration of one to two million Salvadorians settling in the Rampart area of Los Angeles, California. There was already a large contingent of a Mexican-American population living in this area. This area had a considerable large gang presence and criminal activity that was rampant. The Salvadorians were not accepted and were victimized by the gang population. These newly settled immigrants organized a new gang that they called Mara Salvatrucha, which is also known as MS-13. This name is rumored to be taken from a violent street gang named La Mara from El Salvador which has been combined with the term Salvatrucha. The English translation of the Spanish word Salvatrucha means “clever Salvadorian”. This expression is derived from gang members from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. The Salvadorian peasants were trained as guerilla fighters. The Mexican Mafia prison gang is by far one of the most powerful and dangerous prison gangs in the California Department of Corrections prison system. For the Mara Salvatrucha’s gang members to survive when they were incarcerated, they needed to pay homage to the Mexican Mafia. Here

they added the number 13 to show respect (Mara Salvatrucha MS-13, ND). The number thirteen is representative of the alphabet with its 13th position for the letter M or La Eme in Spanish. The MS-13 provides cash to the Mexican Mafia which furnishes more protection when gang members are incarcerated and placed in the California prison system. The leadership for the Mexican Mafia took full advantage of the MS-13's skill set for murder by having the gang share its best hit men when the opportunity presented itself. This deal was brokered and the MS-13 was now a member of the sureno street gang. When translated to English it means (southern street gang). MS-13 is now a member of the California Alliance which is part of a truce with the other Latino Gangs (Logan, 2009).

The MS-13 has exponentially expanded across the United States exceeding over 10,000 gang members and transcending the borders of 40 states (Logan, 2009). This figure in some estimates reflects numbers closer to 20,000 members.

As MS-13 grew the gang earned the reputation of taking part in every criminal activity that was made available to them. The MS-13's reputation among the gangs grew as one of the most notorious and dangerous mara cadres. The MS-13 has established itself with a firm foothold across the United States. However, as the laws toughened in the United States immigration policies, MS-13 members were deported back to Central America. Here, they took advantage of their circumstances and utilized all the knowledge and experience that they had learned back in the United States and took control of those cities throughout El Salvador in a scourge of gang-related violence. There also exists a large contingent of MS-13 gang members in the Peten Region of Guatemala (Elkus, A & Feffer, J (Eds) (2007).

This transnational gang has established its tentacles firmly in the United States, Central America and Mexico. According to the *USAID Central America and Mexico Gang Assessment*, the USAID Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean Office of Regional

Sustainable Development (LAC/RSD) introduced a gang assessment in a 2005 study which identified the MS-13 as solidly entrenched in the following five countries:

- 1). El Salvador
- 2). Guatemala
- 3). Honduras
- 4). Mexico
- 5). Nicaragua (USAID, 2006).

In Mexico, for example, drug trafficking organizations (DTO's) such as Los Zetas, who were formerly Mexican military special operations, now turned into assassins for the Gulf Cartel. There are reports that they have recruited MS-13 and Guatemalan Kaibiles (Special Forces) members. This information was discovered through the U.S. Congressional Research Service where it had been reported by a Mexican Federal Investigation. Although, Mexican and U.S. law enforcement have denied that there is significant data to corroborate these claims (Schaefer, A.G., Bahney, B., & Riley, K.J., 2009).

Lastly, in October 2005, it was reported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) that Juarez, Mexico, which borders El Paso, Texas, has a large contingency of 17,000 gang members living there. The MS-13 and 18th Street gangs dominate that figure (Schaefer, A.G., Bahney, B., & Riley, K.J., 2009).

When defining the problem, cities like Los Angeles and Juarez, Mexico and Central America, illustrate what a significant impact a powerful gang such as MS-13 has on a community.

II. Define the Problem

In the United States, when a gang such as MS-13 establishes itself and takes root, there are many problems attached with the blight that is protracted on a community. In a highly educated, opulent community such as Fairfax County, Virginia MS-13 creates a significant problem. This suggests that any community can find itself susceptible to and victimized by gang activity.

By crossing the borders, we can also examine the problems that a country such as El Salvador and their cities experience. A strong presence of the MS-13 criminal enterprise happened after the deportation of many MS-13 from the United States back to El Salvador and throughout Central America and Mexico. These gangs present a regional problem for Central America and Mexico. The number of these gangs in these Central American countries can now be measured ranging between 50,000 and 350,000. The cost economically alone for this crime and gang violence is astronomical (USAID, 2006).

According to the USAID Report:

Estimates of the direct and indirect costs of violence suggests that the costs of crime are roughly 12 to 14 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), although only a portion of this cost can be attributed to gangs(p-6).

Especially in the poorer areas, gangs like MS-13 get their foothold through violence, intimidation and criminal activity. These gangs steal our most precious asset, our children. These predators steal today's youths and mold them into a criminal by their standards and all in the name of their mara cadre. These mara cadres offer a carrot and stick approach by offering the youths a sense of security from other rival gangs. The stick, blood-in, blood-out!

When analyzing Fairfax County, Virginia the result of the significant damage is reflected on how a gang like MS-13 can negatively impact a community. We will consider this in retrospect. Fairfax County, Virginia had a reputation of being one of the nation's most

successful and well-educated communities in the United States. Apparently, even a county like Fairfax with their stature is not exempt from gang activity, as indicated by the large gang presence in their community and school district. The gang presence dwells in every high school. These gangs are also threatening other suburban school districts in areas like: Dale City, Manassas, Herndon, and even the pastoral Shenandoah Valley. Some streets have become war zones because of the turf wars between the gang factions. This violence claims their youth and the innocent victims who become collateral damage through this gang warfare. Headlines in the newspapers can be read daily about the youths of Fairfax. There are reports about youths being assaulted by machete attacks and there was a case that was reported about a MS-13 on a bicycle who shot to death a 17 year old from Herndon. There is also another example of a 22 year old citizen from Reston, Virginia who was beaten and murdered in a park by a group of MS-13's (United States Congress House Committee on Government Reform, 2006).

Lastly, violence again struck in Prince George County when three youths had also been murdered (United States Congress House Committee on Government Reform, 2006).

Violence and criminal activity are a constant major problem when a gang takes root in your neighborhood. Part of the problem with gangs is their poor home life. This creates susceptibility for recruitment and the individuals who lack family support fall prey to the gang life style. According to Fairfax County police statistics, in 2005 it was recorded that there were 1,500 gang members in their community. Also, the Fairfax County police department reported that over the past five-years there have been other identifications made of another 100 gangs had been identified. Their existence lasted only for a short period of time (United States Congress House Committee on Government Reform, 2006). Usually, from this writer's experience and perspective with street gangs and Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs (OMG) like the

(Hells Angels), these more powerful street gangs can absorb the smaller gangs under their moniker like the MS-13.

Crime and gangs respect no lines of demarcation and can transcend all borders. In the Adams Morgan area, for example, which is part of the District of Columbia, it was estimated that there exists 500-600 gang members. Seventy-five of these active gang members were discovered to be MS-13. Through the regionalization of these gangs, you can find methamphetamines in some areas and crack cocaine and heroin in other areas. It was estimated that in Fairfax County the gang participation in criminal activity was responsible for 10 percent of all violent crimes. These crimes consisted of homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny and the theft of motorcycles. The crimes committed were by one gang member against another gang member. Forty-percent of the crimes committed in Fairfax resulted in property damage caused by gang graffiti. The most prevalent gangs in this area are MS-13, which has the largest membership of any gang including “South Side Locos,” “CRIPS,” “BLOODS,” Folk Nation,” “People Nation,” and finally, “18th Street,”(United States Congress House Committee on Government Reform, 2006).

The cost of the exercise when fighting this gang problem is high. Congressman Frank Wolf secured a payment for Northern Virginia of \$12 million dollars in federal grants of which a portion pays for the coordination of a multitude of law enforcement agencies working together collaboratively on the federal, state and local levels. An example is Federal agencies like Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE), Federal Bureau of Investigation, (FBI), Alcohol, Tobacco, Fire Arms and Explosives, (ATF), Customs and Border Patrol, U.S. Marshals Service, Department of Justice, (DOJ) and the State Department. These agencies would operate under the moniker of Northern Virginia Regional Gang Task Force (NVRGTF). The (NVRGTF) has contributed to a very productive result which led to 1,524 gang members being arrested. Since its formation, there has been an increase of 20 %, or 303 secured arrests

with violations in criminal and administrative immigration violations (United States Congress House Committee on Government Reform, 2006).

In Central American countries like El Salvador, the MS-13 is a powerful force that the government and the law enforcement community must contend with. The causation of the following factors leads to gang activity and can dominate urban areas. The isolation of these areas leads to these gangs maintaining complete control of these sections and having little fear from law enforcement intervention (USAID, 2006).

- Poverty and the family breakdown that exists in these areas are main contributors to the ongoing gang activity. These breakdowns are contributing factors lacking in basic services and the inadequacy of employment opportunities and insufficient recreational activities (USAID, 2006).
- There were several studies conducted all over El Salvador and it was determined that a direct correlation exists with gang activity and school dropout assessments. These studies reported that this youth deficiency is related to poor attendance records and discouraging grades. This led to their lacking in the ability of recollection, thus making the material much more difficult to comprehend. The Salvadoran children school dropout rate was significantly higher -- it equaled 40-percent before reaching grade-5. Other interviews were conducted on some of the gang members who at least reached and concluded the ninth-grade (USAID, 2006).
- There is a problem in El Salvador with the corruption that exists with the police, criminal and the judicial systems. This has created a safety net for gangs like the MS-13 that operates with total boldness and a cavalier attitude of lawlessness through their alleged collaboration with members of corrupt police departments who involve themselves in these illegal activities. The MS-13's criminal activities include extortion

of taxes from businesses, bus drivers, and any business who might want to operate and set-up in their neighborhoods. These gangs in extreme situations bring out their own brand of justice for those individuals who do not comply with the MS-13 extortions (USAID, 2006).

In conclusion, the problems that associate with gangs are evident. Youths who lack strong family ties and a sense of belonging are acclimated toward a gang life style. The absence of education in their lives is another manifestation of a failed system. They are lacking the basic skills set to survive in a society without the helping hand of the local gang. There must be harsh legislation against these gangs like “MS-13”, “CRIPS”, “BLOODS” and etc. There must be other alternatives offered by the community for after school activities such as recreational centers to keep these individuals off of the streets. Points will be explained in the anti-gang legislation and alternative models in the United States sections in combating these gang criminal activities by providing alternatives for the lifestyle.

III. Structure of the MS-13

The *USAID report, Central America and Mexico Gang Assessment* provided a detailed pyramid structure design on page-65 in their report. (Please refer to Appendix-A). Their structure is initiated from the top of the pyramid to the bottom of the pyramid and is explained by the following information taken from their following document:

- ***Organized Crime and International Narco-Activity (international):*** The top block is the representation of the highest levels of the criminal organizations leadership and the networks involved in narco-activity. Most intelligence analysts do not believe to a direct ascent from lower level street gangs in a neighborhood to an organized criminal enterprise. At the national and regional levels in general, no communication transpires through these bosses.

- ***Transnational Gang Leadership (regional)***: This part of the hierarchy is indicative of the representation of the MS-13, 18th Street, or other leaders of gangs that have an international presence. These gang cell members are overseen through communication of the extensive networks by the leaders of these well connected cells. The cells engage in criminal activity like extortion, drugs, and arms trafficking. There are definitive controls over expressed territories in certain selected neighborhoods and or other structures such as nightclubs. When the gang members are arrested, they usually have attorneys on retainer to help them avoid prison sentences.
- ***Gang Cell Members (national)***: This block defines the MS-13 and 18th Street *clickas* (cells) that have control over the barrios and supervises smaller territories. Their involvement has a lower-level of trafficking. Orders are handed down from the regional leaders who direct the gang members to collect *impuestos de guerra* (war taxes) which are extorted from taxi cab drivers, bus drivers and small business owners. Often, when these gang members are sent to prison, they are extended special treatment by other gangs who are also incarcerated. The same members communicate up and down the chain of command to the leaders and back down to the lower level gang members.
- ***Neighborhood Gang Members (local)***: In the Appendix-A section, it determines the following information provided by the *USAID report on Central America and Mexico Gang Assessment*, (2006):

“Maras de Barrio (neighborhood gangs) are not necessarily members of 18th Street or MS-13 gangs, but they may imitate these two gangs. They often fight for territorial control over barrios, have tattoos, consume alcohol and drugs such as crack, and carry homemade arms or arms in many cases acquired through robbery private security guards. These gangs typically comprise youths from marginal neighborhoods. They do not receive special privileges from other gang members while in prison and are often viewed

as illegitimate by gang members who consider themselves true members of specific gang clickas” (p-67).

- ***Vulnerable Youth at Risk of Joining a Gang:*** This part of the pyramid highlights a group of large risk factors of poor Ladinos who live in a marginal existence in urban areas. The largest portion of this population is between 8 and 18 years old. This group is deemed to be the most vulnerable for gang recruitment.

According to the Farlex Dictionary, the definition ladino is as follows:

1. A nearly extinct Romance language, descended from medieval Spanish, spoken by Sephardic Jews especially in the Balkans, Turkey, and the Near East. Also called *Judeo-Spanish*. 2. also **ladino** In Central America, a Spanish-speaking or acculturated Indian; a mestizo. (Farlex Dictionary, 2010)

- According to the ***USAID report on Central America and Mexico Gang Assessment***, this group can be further broken into three subsets (2006):

- “The first group of at-risk youth are often referred to as “simpatizantes,” or sympathizers. This group includes at-risk youth who are exposed to gang activity, may have a relative who is in a gang, are somewhat familiar with certain aspects of gang culture (e.g., gang symbols, graffiti), and often display allegiance to one gang over another; that is, they are sympathetic to one particular gang, but have not been officially inducted, or “jumped into” a gang. This group is perceived to be the group of youth most at risk of making the decision to join a gang” (USAID, 2006).
- “The second group of at-risk youth, often referred to as “aspirantes,” or aspirants, includes often the youngest youth who have some exposure to gang activity but have not yet become very familiar with specifics of gang culture. With continued exposure, this group of youth will become well-versed and more sympathetic to gang life” (USAID, 2006).
- “Finally, the third and largest subset includes the broader at-risk youth population that includes youth living predominantly in poor, urban areas without access to education, employment, and other opportunities. While this group has not yet been exposed to any significant level of gang activity, the likelihood does exist that they will be drawn to gang life in the future if their basic needs such as income and fulfilling social ties are not satisfied in other ways. Making a clear distinction between these subsets is critical in order to be able to target activities to prevent full-fledged gang membership” (USAID, 2006).

Finally, the FBI reported that MS-13’s structure is loosely documented and has no real hierarchical leadership which has been established nationally. As we know, the gang was

established in Los Angeles when some of the MS-13 members migrated back eastwardly and began to form *cliques* or (*clickas*) that operated as independent appendage. The communication was coordinated on a regular basis with members from the regions for the purpose of new member recruitment and criminal activity. The communication's purpose was to deescalate any conflicts. The FBI also believes that the Los Angeles MS-13 has an elevated place of consideration across the nation and with this respect factor in place; the MS-13 gang is heading toward a national leadership grouping (Webster, 2008).

The MS-13 activities will be explained in the following section and will show just how ruthless this gang has become. As the MS-13 becomes more organized domestically and bound internationally, it will escalate to a much more powerful force with a hierarchy structure in place.

IV. MS-13 Activities

MS-13's reputation with other gangs resounds in unison that these surenos' are the best killers. Their trademark and choice of weapon is the machete. They will not hesitate to behead their adversaries. The film "Sin nombre" takes place in Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. Sin nombre, when translated from Spanish to English, means (without name or nameless). This film gives a vivid, graphic explanation about just how violent is the world of the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13). This film is a real life depiction of this notorious gang and exposes their daily methods of violence.

When initiated into the gang you must be "jumped in". This film shows a new inductee who is twelve years old and goes by the name Smiley. The MS-13 gang encircled Smiley and issued him a severe beating that lasts for 13 seconds. The candidate is not permitted to defend him or herself. The gang leader in the film, Lil Mago, is shown counting off in a very

deliberate count of 1 thru 13 seconds. The candidate is severely beaten by all of the gang members. If the candidate survives, he or she is accepted with open arms from the gang.

Another scene shows that the MS-13 has captured a rival gang member known as a Chavala (bitches or rival gang members). A Chavala is from any rival gang that they are sworn to kill. They captured this Chavala for the purpose of executing him. This is the way Smiley can earn his stripes with the gang. The newest member (Smiley) who was just “jumped-in” needs to get his first killing. A new member must kill a rival gang member so that he or she can become a fully accepted member of the MS-13. Casper, another MS-13 member who sponsored Smiley into the gang, assisted Smiley in keeping his hand steady so he could shoot the Chavala in the head. This graphic scene then switches to the gang leader, Lil Mago of the MS-13, who feeds the murdered Chavala’s entrails to his dog (Fukunaga, 2009).

Sam Logan’s book titled: This is for the Mara Salvatrucha: Inside The MS-13, America’s Most Violent Gang, tells a tragic story about a teenager by the name of Brenda Paz whose young life was snuffed out by the gang she loved, MS-13. Brenda Paz, after moving from Honduras at the age of 15, was sent to the United States by her father to live with her uncle in Carrollton, Texas. Here she became a member of the MS-13 gang by being “jumped-in” and became the girlfriend and lover of the gang’s leader, Veto. Veto was the leader of the clique of MS-13, the Normandie Locos from Dallas, one of the larger cliques from the national network of Mara Salvatrucha (Logan, 2009).

When it comes to a woman joining the gang, there are two ways for them to enter through initiation. The first one is by being “jumped-in,” just like the men, and the second way is being “sexed-in”. This latter method of their entrance into the gang is by being raped viciously over and over until each gang member has been satisfied sexually. Women are considered to be second class citizens in the gang membership. There is a higher standard of

consideration given to women who are “jumped-in” versus being “sexed-in”. A woman who is sexed-in usually is reduced in the gang members’ eyes as sub-human status and ends up as a prostitute working for the gang (Logan, 2009).

Brenda Paz had told authorities that sometimes these girls are trafficked from state-to-state. The girls are sometimes moved to Colorado from Idaho to Virginia and then Virginia back to Idaho. The trafficking from L.A. to Nevada happens because there are a lot of girls that join the gang who are from L.A. originally. They are then brought to Las Vegas and prostituted there. Paz also told the detectives that recently there had been many L.A. girls who were being trafficked to Nevada for prostitution (Logan, 2009).

Lastly, Brenda Paz was informing the authorities on her ex-lover and her gang leader, Veto, of the Dallas clique, of the Normandie Locos Salvatrucha. On December 17, 2001, Veto murdered Javier Calzada in Grand Prairie, Texas. He shot Calzada in the temple just to show everyone in his gang that he was the boss and would even kill a stranger in cold blood because this is MS-13’s way. Dennis Rivera, who was eighteen years old when he became the MS-13 leader of the “Biggie Gangster Locos” out of Northern Virginia, was Brenda Paz’s new boyfriend and lover. Rivera described to Brenda a murder that he had committed on a rival gang member by the name of Joaquin Diaz. On September 6, 2001, Rivera carried out his murder of Diaz in a federal park in Daingerfield Island, which is located in Washington, D.C. Rivera stabbed Diaz 13 times and finished off Diaz by horrifically cutting out his victim’s larynx (Logan, 2009).

Brenda Paz was afforded a chance to have a new life, and a new identity, but could not give up the gang life style. She became a rat (informant) for the authorities against the gang that she loved. This betrayal, in the eyes of the MS-13, is an unforgivable act along with an immediate death sentence. The FBI, the Gang Units for the police departments in Texas and Virginia, Brenda Paz’s guardian Gregg from Arlington County, and the U.S. Marshal Service,

took the responsibility of protecting Brenda from the MS-13 very seriously to keep her safe. Rumors of Brenda becoming an informant for the FBI had been circulating for some time through the ranks of MS-13, but Dennis Rivera kept Brenda safe from these rumors. Brenda, who had become a key witness for the FBI on the MS-13 criminal activities, was finally placed into the Federal Witness Protection Program. First stop, she was taken to a hotel in Philadelphia with others in the Witness Protection Program where she met a Latino boy who was not in the MS-13. She took him as her lover and got pregnant. She then was moved to Kansas City and given a new identity. She became depressed and lonely for the life and compromised the Kansas City safe house and her new identity by returning back to Virginia. After she returned back to the federal witness protection program, the Marshals then moved her to Rosemont, Minnesota. Brenda became bored and grew tired with Minnesota, and as usual, she left Minnesota to return back to Virginia to hook-up with her homies and party. She spoke to Dennis Rivera who was jailed at the Arlington County Jail on a homicide charge of killing Joaquin Diaz on a three-way telephone call. Dennis informed Brenda of his plan to escape custody during a transfer from the jail. After the plan was foiled by the police, it became evident to Dennis that Brenda was definitely a rat as the rumors did indicate. She was no longer that special person to Dennis and, to him, she was dead (Logan, 2009).

Brenda, with some persuasion, went back to the witness protection program in Minnesota and was housed in a hotel. She again made the fatal mistake and contacted her friend Diablito of the Centrales MS-13 clique in Virginia to come and visit with her. They made the 14 hour trip from Virginia to Minnesota. During their stay, others left the house while Diablito stayed back to search for evidence that would prove Brenda's betrayal. In her room he found business cards from police and a blue spiral notebook that she used as a diary with the evidence that they needed to support a luz verde (green light) (Logan, 2009).

A clique meeting is called a *misas*. At this emergency misas a request was called for a **luz verde (a green light)** on Brenda Paz. This is a formal request up the chain of command to make a sanctioned hit. After all of the evidence was provided at the meeting, a letter had been provided and read from Texas to everyone at the misas. Everyone assumed that it had been sent from Veto. In this letter, the person who wrote it also sanctioned a luz verde. Dennis Rivera, who had protected Brenda in the past, had also sanctioned the luz verde. It was agreed that the green light would proceed. Pantera at the misas volunteered to assassinate her and, because of his close relationship with her, he felt she would never suspect him. Brenda Paz was taken on a fishing trip to the Shenandoah River with her friends. She was stabbed to death by her friend Pantera. They left her pregnant body, which was found by a fisherman, on a riverbank. The fisherman contacted the authorities. As Veto told her years ago, this is the MS-13's way (Logan, 2009).

Finally, the MS-13 has been branching out with its criminal activities by going internationally. It is engaging in kidnapping, robbery, extortion, assassinations, and the trafficking of people and contraband across the borders.

These methods of drug trafficking and dealing with Drug Trafficking Organization (DTOs) will be covered in the following section.

1. Drug Trafficking Organizations (DTOs) and MS-13 Affiliation

This high-end of gang violence can be linked to many reports of gangs like MS-13 and 18th Street in countries like Central America and Mexico who are attempting to establish their own corridors of these drug routes through collaboration with DTOs like the Los Zetas and the Sinaloa Federation drug cartels in those countries. The MS-13 has made contact with Colombian narco-traffickers. There have been reports circulating through Tapachula, Mexico that the MS-13 had collaborated with the leader, Max Aregon, a.k.a. Joaquin Guzman-Lorea,

a.k.a. El Chapo Guzman of the Sinaloa Federation drug cartel. The speculation continued that the Boss “El Chapo” has contracted their services to help him combat his rival DTOs. These reports also noted that these DTOs use the lower level gang members of these organizations to distribute their drugs (USAID, 2006).

According to a report by Colleen Cook back in 2007, Los Zetas are a drug enforcer for the Cardenas Gulf Cartel. Los Zetas were cultivated from Mexico’s military which was composed of 30 lieutenants and sub lieutenants who were part of the Mexicans’ Military Special Air Mobile Force Group (Grupo Aeromovil de Fuerzas Especiales, GAFES). The Los Zetas were formed by their leader, Osiel Cardenas Guillen. At the time, he was the leader of the Gulf Cartel and was brought in to safeguard the Gulf Cartels’ interests, shipments, and trafficking routes (Longmire, 2009). Los Zetas are elitists in special tactical operations and are skilled in the most modern day weaponry. There are press reports that indict Los Zetas of being a very vital part of enforcement for the Gulf Cartels which has contributed to their dominant presence in the region. One of the main attributes that the Los Zetas bring to the table is that they act as assassins for the Gulf Cartel. The Los Zetas control 50% of the drug trafficking routes on the eastern U.S. Mexican border. Their expertise is in trafficking of arms, kidnapping, and collecting payments for the cartel on its drug routes as part of their major responsibility (Cook, 2007).

The Gulf Cartel’s organization’s parameters of operations are located in the eastern states of Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas, Mexico. Los Zetas, who were enforcers for the Gulf Cartel, have parted ways and are now entangled in a major dispute with their former bosses, the Gulf Cartel. This dispute is over their customary strongholds (Dudley, 2010). These disciplined elitist ex-military forces are staking out their claim for new territory throughout Central America and Mexico, (Dudley, 2010).

The Salvadoran federal police reported on towns that are located in Central American countries such as El Salvador and several of their municipalities. In Laguna El Tigre in Guatemala, it was disclosed that there were 40 gang members participating in a training camp from several countries. Twelve of these participating members were from the MS-13 cliques. This training camp was sponsored by Los Zetas (Reynolds, 2009).

According to Dudley (2010)

“Another cell, the *Fulton Locos Salvatruchas* (FLS), had sent 40 members to a farm in the Petén, Guatemala, near the Mexican border, to receive training from the *Zetas*. FLS are known as some of the most violent of the *MS-13* cells. The document quotes an *MS-13* leader warning authorities that in January 2010, an offensive would begin. The leader did not specify what he meant but authorities are linking this threat, made last year, with a February 6 massacre in Tonacatepeque, just north of San Salvador in which masked men armed with M-16 semi-automatics and 9 mm pistols shot and killed six people in a restaurant. The massacre came a day after seven people were killed in a similar manner in Suchitoto, just northeast of Tonacatepeque. Another police intelligence report obtained by the author said one of the victims in the Tonacatepeque massacre was linked to a drug trafficking organization along the border with Guatemala, along the same corridor police suspect the *Zetas* may be aiming to control” (p-22).

In 2008 when the Los Zetas were still connected with the Gulf Cartel, there was a news account that MS-13 met with the Zetas inside a bar in November of 2008. The purpose of this meeting was to execute a transportista who did not pay the Zetas what he owed them. It has not been substantiated that the massacres from Tonacatepeque or Suchitoto had any relation to this meeting. Other reports from law enforcement also disclosed that these meetings had taken place in Guatemala with the Los Zetas. The MS-13 worked as an intermediary with gangs in Ahuachapan and Sonsonate. These intermediary meetings were for the purpose of connecting with drug traffickers. This mission was to achieve their objective for their resoluteness of trafficking solely. During this meeting, contract killing was not tabled according to the law enforcement intelligence reports (Dudley, 2010).

Law enforcement intelligence reported that MS-13 has made some significant strides in gaining control in the San Miguel and La Union territories. These provinces on the eastern border were perceived to belong to the transportistas Los Perrones federation (Dudley, 2010). According to Dudley who reported the following theory (2010):

“MS-13s expansion in that area is that it is related to their attempts to gain control of the bulk distribution market along that border as well. Salvadorans from the MS-13 may also be reaching abroad. In August, Costa Rican authorities arrested MS-13 gang leader, Ivan Paz Jiménez, with six kilos of cocaine. They charged him with drug possession and attempted kidnapping. Police intelligence sources say that Salvadoran gang leaders have been located in Juarez and arrested in Nicaragua in drug cases but did not reveal their identities as they form part of ongoing investigations in the United States” (p-22-23).

2. Los Zetas Drug Trace Routes into the United States

According to the U.S. State Department’s 2009 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (2009):

“About 90 percent of the cocaine that enters the United States is trafficked through Mexico (p-XVI).

The United States government estimated approximately (2009):

“15,500 metric tons of marijuana were produced in Mexico in 2007, primarily for export to the United States, making it the United States’ primary foreign supplier. In addition, the vast majority of methamphetamine produced in Mexico is exported to the United States. Drug trafficking in Mexico has historically been dominated by four major drug trafficking organizations (DTOs): the Gulf Cartel, the Sinaloa Cartel, the Juárez Cartel, and the Tijuana Cartel. However, the constellation of DTOs in Mexico is changing as these larger cartels break into atomized units. These smaller, decentralized DTOs have waged an increasingly violent turf war over key trafficking routes and “plazas” (border crossings for trafficking drugs into the United States), ports of entry, and territory. In response, Calderón has deployed an estimated 40,000 troops since 2006. However, this unprecedented use of the military has raised concerns from both domestic and international human rights organizations (p-xvi).

Los Zetas is a group that was an enforcer for the larger Gulf Cartel, and since broke away to form their own cartel. The Los Zetas are attempting to control the borders of the Guatemala corridor for drug trafficking purposes.

The USAID report states the following about Narco-Activity (2006):

“The international drug trade is closely connected to gang activity in Guatemala. Guatemala serves as a critical point of trans-shipment of drugs originating in Colombia and destined for United States markets, which has created thriving narco-trafficking and organized crime networks in the country. As a result, there is a constant flow of drugs entering Guatemala which has given rise to high levels of drug consumption and addiction in the country, which in turn is linked to a rise in gang and other violence”(p-77).

These cartels (DTOs) run these organizations like a business and concern themselves by limiting costs and how they can maximize their profits. They work on scaling down their numbers of persons who participate, times that they cut across the borders, and the corrupt officials they need to bribe. Counter drug intelligence has stated that in recent years land routes are being used significantly. The cheapest means of transportation is by sea and in go-fasts or cigarette boats. The use of fishing trawlers is exponentially on the rise, as well as the use of semi-submersibles and flown-in by aircraft that is equipped with single or dual engines (Dudley, 2010).

According to Dudley (2010):

“U.S. officials in Guatemala say that 70 percent of the drugs passing through the country arrive via its Pacific Coast. Honduran intelligence officials say the majority of the drugs going through Honduras arrive via boat as well. The seafaring traffic leaves Ecuador’s Pacific Coast and Colombia’s Pacific and Caribbean coasts in mostly go-fasts and semi-submersibles. A go-fast can make it to Honduras’ Gracias a Dios province in six hours, officials said. To maximize efficiency, traffickers hollow out the boats, loading them with the gasoline/oil mix they use as fuel and drugs. Along the way, they reportedly use the Corn, Blue and San Andres Islands off Nicaragua, or the Roatan Islands off the coast of Honduras, to rendezvous with other boats, aircraft or to leave the load at a temporary storage point. They offload along both Nicaraguan and Honduran coasts, although U.S. authorities believe that most of the traffic moves straight through Honduras. There, smaller vehicles take the cargo to depots or waiting trucks where they continue their journey north through Guatemala and Mexico.”(p-16).

The Los Zetas have become the most dangerous DTOs in cities of Matamoros, Reynosa, and Nuevo Laredo located in Tamaulipas. The visibility of Los Zetas are showing throughout the Gulf Coast region, and showing up in the southern locality of states like Tabasco, Yucatan, and Quintana Roo. They also are showing up in cities of Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Michoacan Pacific Coastal states as well as Mexico City. They have been very active in Texas and perhaps in other United States cities (Grayson, 2008).

Los Zetas consider a key point for their transportation of the distribution of drugs, and the pursuit of their criminality in Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Brownsville, Laredo and Del Rio, Texas (Grayson, 2008). In these Texas towns, Los Zetas drug routes come into the United States through Interstate 35 and Highways 59, 359 and 83. These Texas state highways are major entry points for narcotics distribution annually which calculates out to be billions of dollars. These outlets for distribution for Los Zetas stretch from southern Texas to northern Canada (Carter, 2008).

Finally, in June of 2005 it was formally confirmed by the Department of Justice's FBI, that the MS-13 was in fact a transnational gang. After their fact-finding mission to Mexico, the FBI procured 180 fingerprint records and 46 of those gang members had been identified back in the United States. At the time, it was undetermined what the gang's direction was. They were unsure of their purpose, as to if they were heading north or south (USAID, 2006). According to Grayson, the FBI stated in (2010):

“That Los Zetas have control over such U.S. based gangs as the Mexican Mafia, the Texas Syndicate, MS-13, and the Hermanos Pistoreros Latinos” (p-6).

The MS-13 has come a long way since 2005 when the FBI certified them as a transnational gang. They are now considered by most as one of the most ruthless transnational gangs in existence today. Los Zetas, by having control of MS-13 and other street gangs, is a

very dangerous combination that exists for law enforcement and places any and everyone in immediate danger as a perspective victim or target.

Now the question exists “*What Do We Do Now?*” There is some drastic anti-gang legislation being used in Central America. We will look at these laws and also some alternative models being used in other cities throughout the United States.

V. What Do We Do Now

1. Anti-Gang Legislation

Anti-gang legislation is analyzed in Central American countries like El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua. In El Salvador and Honduras, for example, they have imposed a severe anti-gang legislation in their country. El Salvador even instituted much more of severe anti-gang legislation than Honduras. This legislation is called *Super Mano Dura* (“super firm hand”). This law has been legislated to purge the streets for the purpose of making them safer. The result of this law has created a problem with overcrowding of their prisons (USAID, 2006).

Honduras has enacted the *Mano Dura* (firm hand) approach. This law is a zero tolerance approach which assists law enforcement in its criminal enforcement of dealing with gang violence. Countries like Nicaragua use a different approach by enacting a law laden towards prevention, intervention, and more geared toward a more weighted approach by law enforcement. On the other hand, Guatemala still remains on the fence when it comes to *Mano Dura* law. The Guatemalans seems to be more directed towards prevention and intervention methods. Some have accused them of social cleansing methods on undesirable gang members like the MS-13 (USAID, 2006).

According to Aizenman who reported on Santiago Atitlan, Guatemala for the Washington Post Foreign Service (2006):

“People here call it *limpieza social*, Spanish for "social cleansing." But the recent surge in armed abductions and murders by self-appointed anti-crime squads throughout Guatemala is leaving a messy trail of blood and tears” (p-1).

Lastly, in El Salvador’s prison system, the Super Mano Dura law has created a major problem for prison overcrowding. At year’s end there were a total of 12,073 prisoners who were incarcerated in 24 correctional facilities. These prisons have a maximum capacity of 7,312 prisoners. El Salvador is recently seeking other alternatives, such as treatment. The feasibility of bringing these treatment programs to the prison system has to be investigated (USAID, 2006).

2. Alternatives Models Used in the United States

As we have learned, these predatory gangs ply their trade on the youth of today. They target elementary and high school students. As we have also learned, the poorer areas of the cities in the past have been their hunting grounds. Now, they are no longer limiting their recruitment to poorer areas in the cities. They have expanded into suburbia like Fairfax, Virginia which had the reputation of being an affluent highly educated area before it was overrun by the MS-13. There has to be accountability issues addressed. Unfortunately, some of these kids are basically left on their own to fend for themselves on the streets because of various reasons as mentioned earlier in this paper.

In 1990, the Boston Police Department, (BPD) organized a community policing approach by formation of an Anti-Gang Violence Unit. This unit, along with probation officers and leaders from the community, took charge by using a hands-on-approach in a cooperative effort back in 1994 by identifying the following four goals:

1. “Identify the incorrigibly violent youth and deal with them;
2. Enforce the law;
3. Offer alternatives and opportunities to vulnerable youth; and
4. Follow through on both threats and promises” (USAID, 2006).

Also, in the same year, the Anti-Gang Violence Unit evolved into the Youth Violence Strike Force (YVSF). This elite unit of 40 officers and detectives had expanded its powers from concentrating on not only controlling gang violence, but had added duties in controlling the deterrence of generic youth violence (Braga, Hureau, and Winship, ND).

Under a new mayor and Police Commissioner, Boston intensified and broadened its approach by using three key principles:

1. “In-service community policing training program aimed at giving greater voice and influence to people working at the community level.
2. The BPD ensured that everyone on the force passed through the training program.
3. The BPD invited hundreds of community groups and social-service agencies to participate in a year-long process of strategic planning, precinct by precinct, to address the special needs of each individual neighborhood” (USAID, 2006).

From the Boston case study, these approaches grew into the following initiative called “Operation Cease Fire”. This initiative was a localized approach which happened on a broad methodical city-wide implementation of their mission. This process was to continue until all the gang violence and their criminal activity was discontinued. As soon as there was any violent gang incident occurring, the anti-gang unit responded by the enforcement of all of their resources to impose their will and enforce the law. “Operation Cease Fire” also was focused on the running of any illegal firearms trafficking. In 1995 statistics for “Operation Cease Fire” impacted the Boston area with a decrease in the following crimes: Youth homicides fell by

two-thirds and until 2001 remained at a very low figure. However, back in the year of 2001, homicides increased by two-thirds, which mirrored the 1990's. In addition, back in the year of 2002, homicides again decreased, and in 2003, Boston recorded that violence had lessened when compared to other cities in similar size with shootings that have been steadily on the rise (USAID, 2006).

In Northern Virginia, Congress provided \$2,375,000 for the planning of its anti-gang efforts. As mentioned earlier, this effort was to coordinate a large law enforcement task force on all levels from federal, state and local law enforcement. Also, part of this initiative consisted of reward mechanisms which offered a carrot and stick approach to these gang members. These methods consisted of a formal and informal approach to supervise these "at risk" youths who needed this special undivided adult attention. This was a very significant way of bolstering the youth to pull him or her away from gang activity and criminal activity. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's (OJJDP) approach was to target disturbed kids and steer them away from gang life. These alternatives were like Functional Family Therapy (FFT). This was a means to an end to be used with families who were experiencing youths who were at risk. These kids' families experienced a more effectual way to engage their children by cultivating new managing skills so they could use a yardstick measuring approach to guide their children's conduct. Some other important after school programs were the Boys and Girls Clubs. There were also programs such as adult mentoring programs, and a program on anti-bullying initiatives which assisted these youths on how to deal with gangs (USAID, 2006).

The Police Departments in their localities used the following tools

- "Conducting public education and awareness campaigns
- Providing gang awareness training in schools
- Organizing gang graffiti removal programs
- Providing gang coordinators in each district police station, and

- Encouraging and participating in youth mentoring programs in schools” (USAID, 2006).

These alternatives seem to address two of the most important components like Boston Police Department’s “Operation Cease Fire” and Northern Virginia’s “Anti-Gang Task Force”. This comprehensive participation of all levels of law enforcements involvement has shown success. The other significant components would be to address the youth by the programs offered from the Functional Family Therapy {FFT}, Boys and Girls Clubs, adult mentoring and etc. These programs can be vital and effective in directing youth(s) away from the gang life style.

Lastly, the successful program in Boston, “Operation Cease Fire”, came to a crashing halt when Lieutenant Detective Gary French left (YVSF) to lead the Sexual Assault Unit in January of 2000(Braga, Hureau, and Winship, ND). After the halt of this successful program, during the years of 2000 through 2005, the Boston Police showed unsuccessful results by using uncustomary approaches. The lack of the Boston Police Department’s ability to continue with the crime prevention in the community was attributed to the lack of staffing and funding (Braga, Hureau, and Winship, ND).

After a hiatus of 6-years, Boston Police Commissioner Edward Davis, III promoted Gary French to Deputy Superintendent to direct the YVSF, the school police unit, and the tactical bicycle unit. “Operation Cease Fire” was implemented once again by Deputy Superintendent French as an interagency undertaking, with a goal in mind to crush a path of gang violence (Braga, Hureau, and Winship, ND).

According to Braga (2010):

“Boston stopped doing Ceasefire in 2000, gang violence eventually returned, and, when they eventually started doing Ceasefire again in 2007, gun violence decreased. Homicides and shootings are down roughly 40% each from 2006 through 2009. More rigorous evaluation is pending”.¹

¹ (A. Braga, personal communication, August 29, 2010)

VI. Conclusion

If you approach the problem of gangs from a correctional standpoint, you have to look at the causes of recidivism. You can provide as many programs from the treatment side of the equation for the offender who will eventually enter the main stream of society. The ex-offender will be rehabilitated only if he or she truly wants to be rehabilitated.

In correctional facilities there are some very good programs offered to inmates, such as the General Equivalent Diploma (GED), as well as programs on life skills, vocational and trade programs. In some state and federal correctional facilities, inmates are provided opportunities to achieve an Associates Degrees, and, in some cases, Bachelor Degrees. Even with these opportunities afforded to inmates, recidivism remains high with over 2 million men and women incarcerated in our prison system.

This writer's experience is from a career spanning over a thirty-year period and working at the Allegheny County Bureau of Corrections facility located in Pittsburgh, PA where this writer held the rank of Captain. During the 1980's as a Lieutenant, part of my duties was to deal with the gang population. I was to identify these gang bangers by taking profile shots, taking pictures of their tattoos, conducting interviews, and recording all of this pertinent information in our gang book to share with other law enforcement agencies. In the 1980's, the primary gangs in the Pittsburgh, PA area were the CRIPS, BLOODS and the Larimer and Wilksburg Gangs (LAW), just to name the main players in the city. In reference to the LAW gang, it had been targeted by the FBI and was indicted and brought down on federal charges under the Racketeer and Influenced Corrupt and Organizations Act (RICO).

After communicating with many of these gang members, it seemed to this writer that their vulnerability for recruitment was that in a lot of these cases, these young men and women

lacked a nuclear family and were left to fend for themselves and run the streets. These individuals had no role models, except for the gangs in their own neighborhoods with their Rolex Watches and driving of their Cadillac and Lexus automobiles around their neighborhood. Their own parents were either in and out of jail with substance abuse problems or deceased. Some of these juveniles were raised by their grandparents or other family members. In a substantial number of these cases, they were just turned over to one foster home or another. The predators seize this as an opportunity when the potential youth gang recruit seems to be the most vulnerable by lacking a family support system (family members who might be incarcerated or deceased and basically these youths are left on their own). These gang members take full advantage of this by offering a sense of belonging to these youths and a sense of security inside the arms of a new family, a gang. These communities can quickly turn into a criminal haven of activity by a gang life style.

The idea of community programs can be an effective means of attempting to solve this problem. It is the responsibility of our political leaders to get more involved with their communities instead of remaining behind their desks. They need to go on ride-alongs with their police departments to see what the police are dealing with on a daily basis. This way they can see first-hand what needs to be dealt with and formulate a plan that will be a realistic approach to deal with this blight on their community.

In this writer's opinion as a part of the law enforcement community for 30-years, it is a vital measure that because our federal government devolves its authority to the state, it must not handcuff our law enforcement agencies as in the case of the new Arizona law. Our borders are a war zone and laws like the one in Arizona is a means to help fight the flight of some of these dangerous illegals that enter our country. On Friday, May 21, 2010, President Calderon of Mexico was invited to deliver a speech in front of our Congress. He accused Arizona's law of racially profiling, when, in fact, this law is mirrored after our own federal laws. The

enforcement of this law is to keep our citizens safe, not like the poor citizens who live in Juarez, Mexico.

In Charles Bowden's book, Murder City: Ciudad Juarez And The Global Economy's New Killing Fields, he lists a Monthly Murder Tallies Chart for Ciudad , Juarez for the years 2008-2009. Here, in 2008 alone, it is reflected in his chart that there were over 1,607 murders committed. These figures do not include the 45 bodies that were found in two houses by federal agents back in February and March of 2008. If you add these bodies to 2008's total, increases the total from 1,607 to 1,652. In 2009's murder tallies listed, which is reflected only from January to October, it has exceeded 2008 figures by 503 murders bringing its total to 2,110. Please refer to Appendix-B for a monthly breakdown (Bowden, 2010).

The city that borders El Paso, Texas is Juarez, Mexico, a lawless city and anyone who steps up to take on a law enforcement role is immediately murdered by cartels or street gangs. In Juarez, Mexico, according to Bowden (2010):

“There is a phantom living in Juarez, and his name is on everyone's lips: *la gente* He is a collective unconsciousness of the city, a hoodoo conjured up out of murder, rape, poverty, corruption, and deceit. Everyone in the city-man, woman, and child, professor and street alcoholic- knows what *la gente* thinks. This collective mind that is wise and knowing-is a crutch because the police are corrupt, the government is corrupt, the army is corrupt, and the economy functions by paying third-world wages and charging first-world prices. The Mexican newspapers dance around truth because, one, corrupt people who are rich and powerful dominate what can be printed and, two, any reporter honest enough to publish the truth dies” (p-20-21).

This being said, President Felipe Calderon's comments in front of the United States Congress on May 21, 2010 received arousing applause and was supported by the two most powerful law enforcement officers in the United States: Attorney General Eric Holder and Department of Homeland Security Secretary, Janet Napolitano (Sheppard, 2010).

This writer does concede the point that President Calderon has taken on the cartels by unleashing 40,000 military soldiers to attempt to neutralize the horrific crime and violence in his country like no other predecessor has done before him.

Our Attorney General and Director of Homeland Security needs to become more engaging in this fight and impose our federal laws so that border states like Arizona, doesn't need to legislate laws like Senate Bill 1070 to accomplish on a state level what the federal government should have accomplished. What kind of message does this send to our law enforcement who risks their lives to enforce our laws?

The message of this paper is that we live in a dangerous world and, no matter where you live; you are not exempt from being touched by this violence.

Finally, there are many illegal immigrants who are living in our county. Some of these illegals are law abiding citizens who want to come to the United States to improve their families' quality of life and have a piece of the American Dream. On the flip-side, there are others like Los Zetas and MS-13 whose purpose is to disrespect our laws and kill any law enforcement or Border Patrol Custom agents who attempt to stand in their way. As the research uncovered, there are no geographical borders from gang violence and these DTOs in Texas are using our interstates as part of their drug routes. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania are not exempt from these geographical borders. According to the National Drug and Intelligence Center they reported that in these two cities alone, there are drug cartels doing business. Below you will find these DTOs named by this report:

- Philadelphia, PA:
 - Federation
 - Gulf Coast
 - Juarez
 - Tijuana

- Pittsburgh, PA:

-
- Federation
 - Juarez (NDIC, 2008).

The MS-13 and Los Zetas alone are dangerous forces to contend with, let alone to handle as one group. Los Zetas, from most reports, show that they have 200 members, but, the Mara Salvatrucha has 10,000 to 20,000 members in the United States alone. When combining their forces, this will make them a much more formidable adversary. To combat this enemy we must be one America so we can battle them on a united front as we did after the September 11, 2001 attacks. Our politicians, instead of being politically correct, need to support our laws and law enforcement so they have the tools and support to fight these drug trafficking organizations. We need to stamp out this threat to our youth, our citizens and law enforcement.

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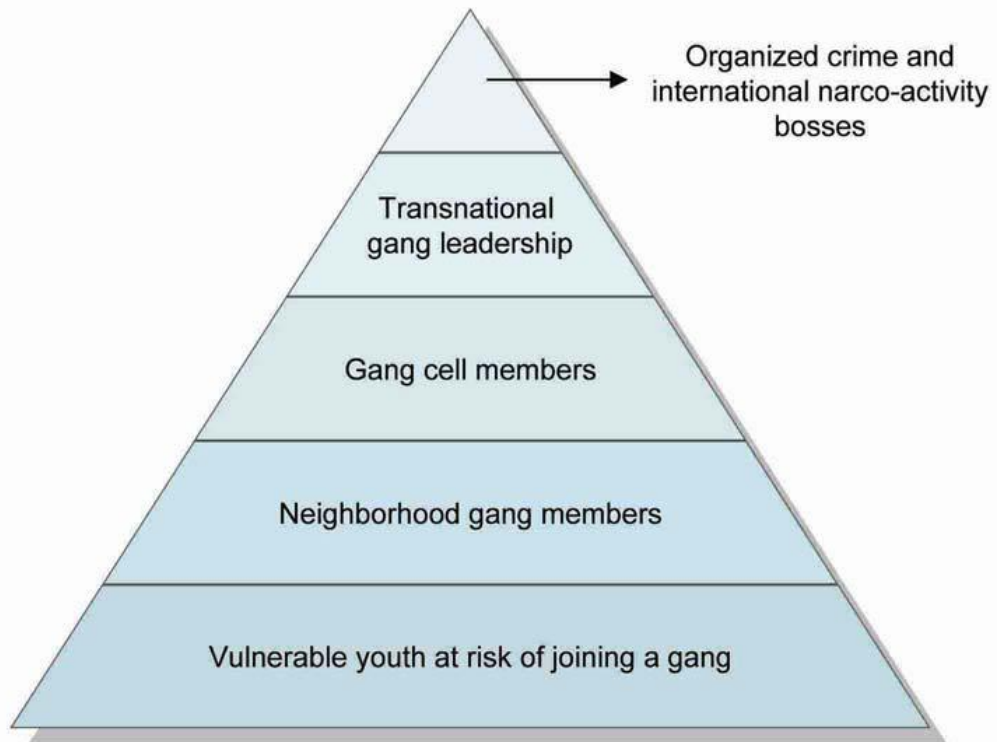
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Appendix-A

USAID Central America and Mexico Gang Assessment²



² United States Agency for International Development (2006, April). Central America and Mexico gang assessment, United States Agency for International Development Bureau for Latin and Caribbean Affairs Office of Regional Sustainable Development, p-66, Retrieved on May 14, 2010, http://www.usaid.gov/gt/docs/gangs_assessment.pdf

Appendix-B**Monthly Murder Tallies For Ciudad Juarez, 2008-2009 ³**

Month	2008	2009
January	46	154
February	49	240
March	117	73
April	55	85
May	136	127
June	139	221
July	146	260
August	228	316
September	118	310
October	181	324
November	192	0
December	200	0
Total	1,607	2,110

³ Bowden, C. (2010). Murder city: Ciudad Juarez and the global economy's new killing fields, Nations Books, New York, New York, p-234