

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Albanese, J. (2000). The Causes of Organized Crime: Do Criminals Organize Around Opportunities for Crime or Do Criminal Opportunities Create New Offenders? *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 16(4).
- Albanese, J. S. (2012). Deciphering the linkages between organized crime and transnational crime. *Journal of International Affairs*, 1-16.
- Alcocer, M. (2022). *Drug Wars, Organized Crime Expansion, and State Capture: Evidence from Mexico*. August.
- Associated Press. (2021). *Caribbean & Mexico police collaboration*. <https://apnews.com/article/caribbean-mexico-police-f6ea7798ca3cc171ac13b3a5a6a6c266>
- Associated Press. (2023). AMLO dice que la lucha antidrogas en EEUU ha fracasado. <https://apnews.com/article/4a3a28bd717308f052e11c4669311ea4>
- Associated Press. (2024). *Mexico's first nationalistic policy on drug cartels*. <https://apnews.com/article/mexico-first-nationalistic-policy-drug-cartels-6e7a78ff41c895b4e10930463f24e9fb>
- AP News. (2021). *In Mexico, cartels are hunting down police at their homes*. <https://apnews.com/article/caribbean-mexico-police-f6ea7798ca3cc171ac13b3a5a6a6c266>
- AP News. (2022). *Drug lord Rafael Caro Quintero captured in Mexico*. <https://apnews.com/article/drug-lord-rafael-caro-quintero-captured-mexico-dea-7ff3005d4c848697458d73c669a72e6f>
- AP News. (2023). *Ebrard pressures Blinken on extradition policy*. <https://apnews.com/article/marcelo-ebrard-antony-blinken-mexico-mexico-city-extradition-2888a649cafd2add9d1a096c302ba13c>
- AP News. (2024). *Mexico's president says he won't fight drug cartels on US orders, calls it a 'Mexico First' policy*. <https://apnews.com/article/mexico-first-nationalistic-policy-drug-cartels-6e7a78ff41c895b4e10930463f24e9fb>
- AP News. (2022). *AMLO dice que la lucha antidrogas en EE. UU. ha fracasado*. <https://apnews.com/article/4a3a28bd717308f052e11c4669311ea4>
- Atuesta, L. H., & Pérez-Dávila, Y. S. (2018). Fragmentation and cooperation: the evolution of organized crime in Mexico. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 21(3), 235–261. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-017-9301-z>

- Bailey, J. (2014). 5 Drug trafficking organizations and democratic governance. In *The politics of crime in Mexico: Democratic governance in a security trap*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Barreda Vidal, P. Z. (2016). La cooperación bilateral México-Estados Unidos contra la delincuencia organizada transnacional en el marco de la Iniciativa Mérida*. *Revista Ius*, 8(34). <https://doi.org/10.35487/rius.v8i34.2014.121>
- BBC. (2019). "Ya no hay guerra" contra el narco: la declaración de AMLO que desata polémica en México. BBC Mundo. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-47082267>
- BBC News. (2019). Mexico violence: What happened after the arrest of El Chapo's son. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-50092641>
- BBC. (2019). *Trump floating terrorist label for Mexican cartels brings fears of drone strikes*.
- BBC News. (2019). *U.S. may label Mexican cartels as terrorist groups, experts warn*.
- Beittel, J. S. (2020). Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations (CRS Report R41576). Congressional Research Service.
- Beittel, J. S. (2023). Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Violence (CRS Report R41576). Congressional Research Service.
- Benitez Manaut, R. (2010). The militarization of public security and the role of the army in Mexico.
- Boerman, T. (2021). Arms Trafficking and Organized Crime. Oxford University Press.
- Brands, H. (2009). Mexico's narco-insurgency and U.S. counterdrug policy. Strategic Studies Institute.
- Bunker, R. J., & Sullivan, J. P. (2022). Cartel Car Bombings in Mexico. *Small Wars Journal*—El Centro.
- Becker, S. (2013). *The Effects of the Drug Cartels on Medellín and the Colombian State*. May, 70. <http://bir.brandeis.edu/handle/10192/25053>
- Bohdanova, T., & Tikhonenko, I. (2023). The Priorities of Mexico's Foreign Policy at the beginning of 21 century: Overview of Amlo Administration. *Консенсус*, (3), 5-17.
- Bryman, A. (2012). Social research methods. In *Oxford University Press*. (4th ed.).
- Camp, R. A. (2019). Armed forces and drugs: Public perceptions and institutional challenges. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 35(2), 224–247.
- Carpenter, T. (2013). Undermining Mexico's Drug Cartels: The Kingpin Strategy. Cato Institute.
- CBS News. (2023). *Mexico cartel leader arrested in California who faked his own death*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/mexico-cartel-leader-arrested-california-faked-own-death-justice-department/>
- Center for Strategic and International Studies. (2019). *Abrazos no balazos: Evaluating AMLO's security initiatives*. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/abrazos-no-balazos-evaluating-amlos-security-initiatives>

- Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). (2021). *The Bicentennial Framework for Security Cooperation: A new approach or reshuffling the pillars of Mérida?* <https://www.csis.org/analysis/bicentennial-framework-security-cooperation-new-approach-or-shuffling-pillars-merida>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.). *Understanding the opioid overdose epidemic.* <https://www.cdc.gov/overdose-prevention/about/understanding-the-opioid-overdose-epidemic.html>
- Chomczyński, P. A., Guy, R., & Azaola, E. (2023). Beyond money, power, and masculinity: Toward an analytical perspective on recruitment to Mexican drug trafficking organizations. *International Sociology*, 38(3), 353–371. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02685809231168579>
- CNN Español. (2023). *AMLO cuestiona a directora de la DEA.* <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2023/07/28/amlo-cuestiona-directora-dea-cartel-droga-trax>
- Cooper, J. (2018). *Willamette University College of Law The United States , Mexico , and the War on Drugs in the Trump Administration Author (s): James Cooper Source : Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution , Vol . 25 , No . 2 Published by : Willam.* 25(2), 234–301.
- Creswell, J. W. (2018). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches (5th ed.). In *SAGE Publications*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429469237-3>
- Cruz, J. M. (2022). *Organized crime and violence in Mexico.* University of Notre Dame.
- Drug Enforcement Administration. (2014). *2014 National Drug Threat Assessment: Unclassified Summary.* U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-07/dir-ndta-unclass.pdf>
- Drug Enforcement Administration. (2018). *DEA Intelligence Report: 2015 National Drug Threat Assessment Summary.* <https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-07/dir06515.pdf>
- Drug Enforcement Administration. (2022). *DEA launches new initiative to combat drug-related violence and overdoses in communities across America* [Press release]. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2022/02/07/dea-launches-new-initiative-combat-drug-related-violence-and-overdoses>
- Drug Enforcement Administration. (2024). *National Drug Threat Assessment 2024.* U.S. Department of Justice. https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2024-05/NDTA_2024.pdf
- Dell, M. (2015). Trafficking networks and the Mexican drug war. *American Economic Review*, 105(6), 1738–1779.

- Domínguez, J. I., & Fernández de Castro, R. (2010). *The United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict*. Routledge.
- DW. (2019). *Mexico rejects US intervention on cartel terrorists*.
<https://www.dw.com/en/mexico-rejects-us-intervention-cartel-terrorists/a-51441726>
- El Universal. (2020). *Abril, tercer mes más violento; hubo 83 homicidios dolosos al día*. <https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/seguridad/abril-tercer-mes-mas-violento-hubo-83-homicidios-dolosos-al-dia/>
- Felbab-brown, V. (2013). *Peña Nieto 's Piñata : The Promise and Pitfalls of Mexico 's New Security Policy against Organized Crime*. February.
- Felbab-Brown, V. (2019). AMLO's "hugs not bullets" policy: A failed approach? Brookings Institution.
- Felbab-Brown, V. (2022). *How the Sinaloa Cartel rules*. Brookings Institution.
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-the-sinaloa-cartel-rules/>
- Finckenauer, J. O. (2005). Problems of definition: What is organized crime? *Trends in Organized Crime*, 8(3), 63–83. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-005-1038-4>
- Flores-Macías, G. A., & Zarkin, J. (2021). The militarization of law enforcement: Evidence from Latin America. *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(2), 519-538.
- Freeman, L. A. (2006). State of siege: Drug-related violence and corruption in Mexico. The Washington Office on Latin America.
- Gottschalk, M. (2023). The Opioid Crisis: The War on Drugs Is Over. Long Live the War on Drugs. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 6, 363–398.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-030421-040140>
- Hagan, F. E. (2006). "Organized crime" and "organized crime": Indeterminate problems of definition. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 9(4), 127–137.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-006-1017-4>
- Hayes, M. D. (2019). *Latin America and the US national interest: A basis for US foreign policy*. Routledge.
<https://www.hhs.gov/surgeongeneral/reports-and-publications/addiction-and-substance-misuse/index.html>
- Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Mexico. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/mexico>
- Hunt, E. (2019). Staying the course in Mexico: the role of the US in the drug war, 2006–present. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(6), 1184–1205.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1574562>

- Idris, M., & Togatorop, B. L. (2023). Upaya Kerjasama Meksiko dan Amerika Serikat dalam Mengatasi Kartel Narkoba di Meksiko sebagai Transnational Organized Crime. *Global Political Studies Journal*, 7(2), 101-115.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies. (2024). *The expansion and diversification of Mexican cartels: Dynamic new actors and markets*. In *Armed Conflict Survey 2024*. IISS. <https://www.iiss.org/publications/armed-conflict-survey/2024/the-expansion-and-diversification-of-mexican-cartels-dynamic-new-actors-and-markets/>
- Isacson, A. (2023). After the Kingpin Strategy: U.S. Security Assistance to Mexico. Washington Office on Latin America.
- Jelita, A. F., Rizki, K., & Bustami, S. Y. (2020). Analisis Kerja Sama *Mérida Initiative* Antara Meksiko dan Amerika Serikat Dalam Mengurangi Drug Trafficking Organizations di Meksiko. *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse*, 2(2), 52-73.
- Jones, N. P. (2018). The strategic implications of the *Cártel de Jalisco Nueva Generación*. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 11(1), 19–42. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.11.1.1661>
- Jones, N. P., Chindea, I. A., Argomedeo, D. W., & Sullivan, J. P. (2022). A Social Network Analysis of Mexico's Dark Network Alliance Structure. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 15(4), 76–105. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.15.4.2046>
- Juárez, G. L., & Oliveira, F. (2022). “¿ La mejor política exterior es una buena política interior?”: Reflexiones sobre la actual estrategia de política internacional de México. *Campos Neutrais-Revista Latino-Americana de Relações Internacionais*, 4(2), 06-25.
- Kellner, T., & Pipitone, F. (2010). Inside Mexico's drug war. *World Policy Journal*, 27(1), 29-37.
- Kenney, C. (2021). Firearms Trafficking: U.S. Efforts to Disrupt Gun Smuggling into Mexico Would Benefit from Additional Data and Analysis. *U.S. GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE: A Century of Non-Partisan Fact-Based Work, February*. <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-21-322>
- Kilmer, B., Caulkins, J. P., Bond, B. M., & Reuter, P. H. (2010). Reducing drug trafficking revenues and violence in Mexico. RAND Corporation.
- Kloppe-Santamaria, G. (2022). Mexico's Long War on Drugs: Past and Present Failures of a Punitive Approach to Drugs. *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development*, 4(2), 223–229. <https://doi.org/10.31389/jied.115>

- Luna-Monsivais, A. O., del Castillo-Mussot, M., de la Lama García, A., & Aldrete, J. A. M. (2020). US drug policy and perpetual war against the drug trade in Mexico. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 19(1-2), 237-255.
- Lupsha, P. A. (1996). Transnational organized crime versus the nation-state. *Transnational Organized Crime*, 2(1), 21–48.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Mexico News Daily. (2023). *Firearms from US used in 7 out of 10 high-impact crimes—and rising*. <https://mexiconewsdaily.com/news/firearms-from-us-used-in-7-out-of-10-high-impact-crimes-and-rising/>
- M., & Alarcón Gil, C. (2023). Las paradojas de la cooperación antidrogas México-Estados Unidos: el “Entendimiento Bicentenario”. *Estudios internacionales (Santiago)*, 55(205), 139-161.
- Morris, S. D. (2019). Corruption in Latin America. *Corruption in Latin America*, 207–233. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94057-1>
- National Institute on Drug Abuse. (2022). *Overdose death rates*. National Institutes of Health. <https://nida.nih.gov/research-topics/trends-statistics/overdose-death-rates>
- NBC News. (2019). *New ‘Chapo’: Inside look at hunt for El Mencho, Mexico’s bloodiest drug lord*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/new-chapo-inside-look-hunt-el-mencho-mexico-s-bloodiest-n1113761>
- NBC News. (2020, January 6). *New ‘Chapo’: Inside look at hunt for El Mencho, Mexico’s bloodiest drug lord*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/new-chapo-inside-look-hunt-el-mencho-mexico-s-bloodiest-n1113761>
- NPR. (2013). *Why Operation Fast and Furious failed*. <https://www.npr.org/2012/06/21/155513757/why-operation-fast-and-furious-failed>
- NPR. (2019). *Trump floating terrorist label for Mexican cartels brings fears of drone strikes*. <https://www.npr.org/2019/11/27/783371799/trump-floating-terrorist-label-for-mexican-cartels-brings-fears-of-drone-strikes>
- Osuna, S. (2021). Securing Manifest Destiny: Mexico’s War on Drugs, Crisis of Legitimacy, and Global Capitalism. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 27(1), 12-34.
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence. (2024). *2024 Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community*. Office of the Director of National Intelligence. <https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf>
- Paoli, L. (2014). *The Oxford handbook of organized crime*. Oxford University Press.

- Pie de Página. (2021). *Goodbye Mérida Initiative*. <https://piedepagina.mx/goodbye-merida-initiative/>
- Pergolizzi, J., Magnusson, P., LeQuang, J. A. K., & Breve, F. (2021). Illicitly Manufactured Fentanyl Entering the United States. *Cureus*, 13(8), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.7759/cureus.17496>
- Reuters. (2019). *Trump says he will hold off designating Mexican drug cartels as terrorist groups*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/trump-says-he-will-hold-off-designating-mexican-drug-cartels-as-terrorist-groups-idUSKBN1YA2M9/>
- Reuters. (2022). *Mexican lawmakers approve extending army's street presence until 2028*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/mexican-lawmakers-approve-extending-armys-street-presence-until-2028-2022-10-13/>
- Reuters. (2023). *Mexico's Culiacán suffers night violence with gunfire, blockades*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/mexicos-culiacan-suffers-night-violence-with-gunfire-blockades-2023-01-05/>
- Ríos, V. (2013). Why did Mexico become so violent? Trends in Organized Crime, 16(2), 167–180.
- Rodríguez Sumano, A. (2018). Challenges and contradictions: Mexico and the US in North American security cooperation. *Advanced Sciences and Technologies for Security Applications*, 44–54. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90978-3_4
- Rotella, S. (2015). *Midnight in Mexico*. Penguin Press.
- Seelke, C. R. (2013). Mexico's new administration: Priorities and key issues in U.S.-Mexican relations. *Mexico Outlook and U.S. Relations*, 1–26.
- Seelke, C. R. (2023). U . S . -Mexico Security Cooperation : From the *Mérida Initiative* to the *Bicentennial Framework*. *Congressional Research Service, October 2021*. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/IF10578.pdf>
- Seelke, C. R., & Finklea, K. (2017). *U . S . - Mexican Security Cooperation : The Mérida Initiative and Beyond*.
- Serrano Carreto, M. D. C. (2019). La estrategia de seguridad de AMLO.¿ De la pacificación a la militarización?. *Revista IUS*, 13(44), 207-228.
- Shirk, D. A., & Wallman, J. (2015). Understanding Mexico's drug violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(8), 1348–1376.
- Smith, B. T. (2021). *The dope: The real history of the Mexican drug trade*. Random House.
- Snyder, G. H. (1996). Process variables in neorealist theory. *Security Studies*, 5(3), 167–192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636419608429279>

- Snyder, G. H. (2014). Mearsheimer's world: Offensive realism and the struggle for security. In *The Realism Reader* (pp. 188-196). Routledge.
- State, U. D. of. (2007). *Report to Congress: Section 1206(f) of the 2006 National Defense Authorization Act*. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/spec/90867.htm>
- Sullivan, P. L., Tessman, B. F., & Li, X. (2011). US Military Aid and Recipient State Cooperation. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7(3), 275–294. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2011.00138.x>
- Teague (2024). Responsibly Demilitarizing U.S.–Mexico Bilateral Security Relations. *Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft*. Diakses 25 Juni 2025, dari <https://quincyinst.org/research/responsibly-demilitarizing-u-s-mexico-bilateral-security-relations/#the-merida-initiative>
- The Associated Press. (2021). *Mexico's president continues to blast US investigation*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/latin-america-mexico-7b6d9f8899c54b5e1f62f33da5beccc3>
- The Guardian. (2016). *Mexico's drug cartels: Sinaloa and Jalisco vie for control*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/28/mexico-drug-cartels-sinaloa-jalisco-colima>
- The New York Times. (2019). *El Chapo trial: How did he launder billions?* <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/07/nyregion/el-chapo-trial-money.html>
- The New York Times. (2020). [Archived article]. <https://archive.ph/HEr4a#selection-927.0-951.297>
- The New York Times. (2023). *Mexico's ex-top security official is convicted of cartel bribery*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/world/americas/genaro-garcia-luna-guilty.html>
- The Wall Street Journal. (2022). *Mexico Captures Drug Lord Rafael Caro Quintero, Convicted in Killing of DEA Agent*. <https://www.wsj.com/world/americas/mexico-captures-drug-lord-rafael-caro-quintero-convicted-in-killing-of-dea-agent-11657919154>
- The Washington Post. (2024). *Mexico's Sinaloa cartel power struggle*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/11/16/mexico-sinaloa-cartel-power-struggle/>
- The White House. (2020). *President Donald J. Trump is strengthening efforts to combat drug trafficking and protect our communities* [Press release]. The White House. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-strengthening-efforts-combat-drug-trafficking-protect-communities/>
- The White House. (2024). *Memorandum on Prioritizing the Strategic Disruption of the Supply Chain for Illicit Fentanyl and Synthetic Opioids Through a*

- Coordinated, Whole-of-Government, Information-Driven Effort* [Memorandum]. The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2024/07/31/memorandum-on-prioritizing-the-strategic-disruption-of-the-supply-chain-for-illicit-fentanyl-and-synthetic-opioids-through-a-coordinated-whole-of-government-information-driven-effort/>
- The Wilson Center. (2021). *US-Mexico Bicentennial Framework* for Security, Public Health, and Safe Communities.
- United States Sentencing Commission. (2021). Quick facts on fentanyl trafficking offenses. Retrieved from https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/quick-facts/Fentanyl_FY21.pdf
- UNODC. (2023). *World Drug Report 2023*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Surgeon General. (n.d.). *Addiction and substance misuse: Reports and publications*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Retrieved June 2025, from <https://www.hhs.gov/surgeongeneral/reports-and-publications/addiction-and-substance-misuse/index.html>
- U.S. Department of Justice. (2018). *Narcos: Transnational cartels and border security* [Congressional testimony]. Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Border Security and Immigration. https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/testimonies/witnesses/attachments/2018/12/20/narcos_transnational_cartels_border_security.pdf
- U.S. Department of Justice. (2019). *Joaquín “El Chapo” Guzmán, Sinaloa Cartel Leader, Convicted of Running a Continuing Criminal Enterprise*. Office of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/joaquin-el-chapo-guzman-sinaloa-cartel-leader-convicted-running-continuing-criminal>
- U.S. Department of Justice. (2024). *ATF Report: Firearms Trafficking and Drug Cartels*.
- U.S. Embassy in Mexico. (2021). *The Mérida Initiative*. Retrieved from <https://mx.usembassy.gov/the-merida-initiative/>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2021). *Firearms Trafficking: US Efforts to Combat Firearms Trafficking to Mexico*.
- Vanda Felbab-Brown. (2020). *The problem with the militarization of Mexico’s war on drugs*. Brookings Institution.
- Velasco, O. C. (2023). Unintended consequences of state action: how the kingpin strategy transformed the structure of violence in Mexico’s organized crime. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 0123456789. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-023-09498-x>
- Wojczewski, T. (2020). Trump, Populism, and American Foreign Policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16(3), 292–311. <https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz021>

Yeh, S. S. (2012). Is an International Treaty Needed to Fight Corruption and the Narco-Insurgency in Mexico? *International Criminal Justice Review*, 22(3), 233–257. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1057567712457027>