

**Political Science 145a**  
**The Political Economy of the Drug Trade**  
**Winter 2012-13**

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“Drugs” are everywhere and policies to control them differ across time and place. The legal drinking age in some European countries is 16, while in the US it is 21. In Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, England, and South Australia personal possession of marijuana is illegal but unlikely to produce a criminal conviction. In The Netherlands a small amount of cannabis can be bought and consumed openly in coffee shops; shop owners, however, cannot advertise, sell large quantities or to minors and must pay taxes. As a result of its “drug wars,” the United States has now become the democratic country with the highest proportion of its citizens behind bars; China and Singapore execute traffickers of illegal drugs. In 1999 New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, a Republican, called for a debate on the legalization of drugs; in 2012 Colorado and Washington voters legalized marijuana at the state level and in 2013 Uruguay may become the first country to legalize the substance nationally.

Why is there so much disagreement over how to deal with the consumption of drugs? Why have drugs become such an important aspect of international politics that it would lead the U.S. President to authorize an invasion of a small neighboring country (Panama 1989) and Congress would impose sanctions on a fellow democratic nation (Colombia 1996-97)? How have the anti-drug policies adopted by different consuming and producing countries varied and why? How might international cooperation in dealing with the drug trade be increased and made more effective?

This course examines the domestic and international aspects of the drug trade in a search for answers to these and other questions. We investigate the drug issue from the perspective of consumers, producers, traffickers, money launderers, law enforcement, and crime victims. The course draws on the experiences of various countries throughout the world and across time with consumption, production, trafficking and money laundering.

**Course Requirements:** Grading will be based on a midterm (40%) and final exam (60%). The final exam is take-home; it will be distributed on the last day of class and is due at the time of our regularly scheduled final exam. You will need to use Turnitin.com; instructions will be provided in class. Please plan accordingly. You are responsible for material in the readings and that which is presented in lecture. *Cheating on exams will result in failure of the entire course.*

*Please be advised that make-up finals are offered only if a student has a valid reason for not taking the final at the regularly scheduled time. Valid reasons include: serious illness and family disasters. Conflicting finals (either multiple finals on the same day or two finals at the same time) are NOT considered a legitimate reason – students are aware of the final exam schedule when scheduling their courses. The Academic Senate has also rejected early departures from San Diego for internships, Officer Training courses, family vacations and the like as legitimate excuses; please plan accordingly.*

**Readings:** Readings are distributed among web sites, a book (David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses*) and a xerox packet available through University Reader Printing Service; you can reach them at [www.universityreaders.com](http://www.universityreaders.com) or 858-552-1120. One course packet and three copies of my book will be on reserve at the library. You should also peruse the statistics on drug use in the US: <http://monitoringthefuture.org/> for 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> graders and <http://www.drugabusestatistics.samhsa.gov/> for the population aged 12 years and older. We will examine the statistical evidence for other countries, but no other country has as extensive an empirical record across time, substance and geography (urban/rural and national in scope).

## Introduction

### Week 1: Conceptualizing the Issue

Douglas Husak and Stanton Peele, “One of the major problems of our society’: symbolism and evidence of drug harms in U.S. Supreme Court decisions” *Contemporary Drug Problems* 25/Summer 1998 pp. 191-233 <http://peelee.net/lib/supreme.php>

James B. Bakalar and Lester Grinspoon, *Drug Control in a free society* Cambridge University Press, 1984 Chapter 1 “Questions about risk and liberty” pp. 1-34

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapters 1 and 2

### Part One: Thinking About Drug Markets

#### Week 2: The Consumer

Avram Goldsetin, *Addiction: From Biology to Drug Policy* Oxford University Press, 2001, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Pp. 1-6; 99-114 **READER**

CATO Institute, “Drug Decriminalization in Portugal” Policy Forum, Friday, April 3, 2009 <http://www.cato.org/event.php?eventid=5887>

UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) “Amphetamines top drug threat in many East and South-East Asia countries”  
<https://www.unodc.org/eastasiaandpacific/en/2011/09/global-ats-assessment-2011/story.html>

UNODC, *World Drug Report 2011* pp. 22- 34  
[http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/WDR2011/World\\_Drug\\_Report\\_2011\\_ebook.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/WDR2011/World_Drug_Report_2011_ebook.pdf)

Dickson-Gómez, Julia; Convey, Mark; Hilario, Helena “Hustling and Housing: Drug Users' Strategies to Obtain Shelter and Income in Hartford, Connecticut” *Human Organization Society of Applied Anthropology* Fall 2009 online via UCSD libraries

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapter 3

#### Week 3: Production Dynamics

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapter 4

UNODC, *World Drug Report 2011* sections on production pp. 19-22; 99-105; 146-153; 189-192

Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook 2009* “Field Listing: Illegal Drugs”  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2086.html>

### **Week 4: Domestic Trafficking**

Dan Waldorf and Sheigla Murphy, "Perceived Risks and Criminal Justice Pressures on Middle Class Cocaine Sellers" *The Journal of Drug Issues* (25)1 1995 pp. 11-32

**READER**

Steven D. Levitt and Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, "An Economic Analysis of a Drug Selling Gang's Finances"

<http://pricetheory.uchicago.edu/levitt/Papers/LevittVenkateshAnEconomicAnalysis2000.pdf>

Mangai Natarajan and Mathieu Belanger, "Varieties of Drug Trafficking Organizations: A Typology of Cases Prosecuted in New York City" *Journal of Drug Issues* (28(4) 1998 pp. 1005-1026 **READER**

Edward R. Kleemans, "Organized Crime, Transit Crime, and Racketeering" *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Crime and Justice in the Netherlands (2007), pp. 163-215 via JSTOR

Michael Tonry and Matthew Melewski, "The Malign Effects of Drug and Crime Control Policies on Black Americans" *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2008), pp. 1-44 (access via JSTOR from a UCSD site)

### **MID-TERM EXAMINATION (Tue Feb 5)**

### **Week 5: International Trafficking**

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapter 5

Philip Robins, "Back from the Brink: Turkey's Ambivalent Approaches to the Hard Drugs Issue" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Autumn, 2008), pp. 630-650 JSTOR

Vanda Felba-Brown, "The Violent Drug Market in Mexico and Lessons from Colombia" Brookings Policy Paper 12 March 2009

[http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2009/03\\_mexico\\_drug\\_market\\_felbabrown/03\\_mexico\\_drug\\_market\\_felbabbrown.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2009/03_mexico_drug_market_felbabrown/03_mexico_drug_market_felbabbrown.pdf)

### **Week 6: Money Laundering**

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapter 6

Michael Levi, "Money Laundering and Its Regulation" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* July 2002 pp181-194 JSTOR

Financial Action Task Force (FATF), "40 Recommendations" and "Interpretative Notes on 40 Recommendations" [http://www.fatf-gafi.org/document/28/0,2340,en\\_32250379\\_32236930\\_33658140\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.fatf-gafi.org/document/28/0,2340,en_32250379_32236930_33658140_1_1_1_1,00.html)

U.S. Department of State, “2012 INCSR: Major Money Laundering Countries”  
<http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2012/vol2/184112.htm>

## **Part Two: Policies for Dealing with the Drug Trade**

### **Week 7: International Cooperation**

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapter 7

Ethan A. Nadelmann, “Global prohibition regimes: The evolution of norms in international society” *International Organization* 44:4 Autumn 1990 pp. 479-526 (access via JSTOR from a UCSD site)

European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Addiction, *Responding to drug problems in Europe — an overview* <http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/themes/drug-situation/responding>  
 AND

*European Drugs Action Plan 2009-2012*  
<http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/html.cfm/index66221EN.html>

Cesar Gaviria, Ernesto Zedillo, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, et. al., “Drugs and Democracy: Toward a Paradigm Shift”  
[http://www.drogasedemocracia.org/Arquivos/declaracao\\_ingles\\_site.pdf](http://www.drogasedemocracia.org/Arquivos/declaracao_ingles_site.pdf)

### **Week 8: Domestic Control/Prohibition**

Astrid Skretting, “On Writing a White Paper on Drug Policy” (Norway) *Contemporary Drug Problems* 25 (2) summer 1998 pp. 235-252 **READER**

Barbara Ann Stolz, “Creating a Drug Czar: A Study of Political Rationality and Symbolic Politics” *The Journal of Drug Issues* 25(1) 1995 pp. 195-207 **READER**

Robert MacCoun & Martin, Karin D., “Drug Use and Drug Policy in a Prohibition Regime” 02-04-2008 <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/5dz3f135> (you may need to download this from a UCSD site)

Winston Ross, “Inside Obama’s ‘War on Weed’” September 27, 2012 *The Daily Beast*  
<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/09/27/inside-obama-s-war-on-weed.html>

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapters 8 and 10 (U.S. and Sweden)

### **Week 9: Domestic Liberalization/Harm Reduction**

Robert J. MacCoun, et. al., “A Content Analysis of the Drug Legalization Debate” *The Journal of Drug Issues* 23(4) 1993 pp. 615-629 **READER**

[Maia Szalavitz](http://healthland.time.com/2012/11/07/two-u-s-states-become-first-to-legalize-marijuana/), “Two U.S. States Become First to Legalize Marijuana” *Time* November 7, 2012  
<http://healthland.time.com/2012/11/07/two-u-s-states-become-first-to-legalize-marijuana/>

Patt Denning, Jeannie Little and Adina Glickman, *Over the Influence: The Harm Reduction Guide for Managing Drugs and Alcohol* 2004 pp. 1-21 **READER**

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* Chapter 9 (The Netherlands)

### **Week 10: Unilateral Policies**

Peter Reuter, "Assessing U.S. Drug Policy" 2008  
[http://www.drogasedemocracia.org/Arquivos/peter\\_reuter\\_ingles.pdf](http://www.drogasedemocracia.org/Arquivos/peter_reuter_ingles.pdf)

Robert H. Dowd, (Lt. Col, ret. USAF), "Nuke the Drug Cartels" *The Enemy is Us* p.48-63  
**READER**

Peter Reuter, "The Limits of Drug Control" n.d., <http://www.afsa.org/fsj/jan02/reuter.cfm>

Jacob Sullum, "Uruguay May Have Legal Pot Shops Before Colorado or Washington Does" Reason.com November 19, 2012 <http://reason.com/blog/2012/11/19/uruguay-may-have-legal-pot-shops-before>