

**Political Science 145a**  
**The Political Economy of the Drug Trade**  
**Winter 2015-2016**

David R. Mares  
 SSB 366  
 Office Hours: Tu 1-2 and by appointment  
[dmares@ucsd.edu](mailto:dmares@ucsd.edu)

T, Th 11-12:20  
 PCYNH 121  
 858-534-4205

<http://weber.ucsd.edu/%7Edmares/>

“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 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. Portugal de-penalized the consumption of any illegal substance, but an addict who is considered to be a threat to himself can be committed to a rehabilitation center. 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.

The world is moving in the direction of a new strategy for dealing with the fact that power psychoactive substances exist and are used in non-officially prescribed manners. With some major exceptions, drug policy today is no longer focused on prohibition but rather combines elements from a prohibitionist and harm reduction strategy. But the popularity of harm reduction among drug policy reformers begs important questions. Harm reduction is not harm elimination, which is embodied in the concept of drug prohibition – so what level of harm reduction is sufficient to justify the policy? Which substances should be subjected to a harm reduction regime and which should continue to a prohibitionist regime – and why the difference? Prohibitionist policies were financed in the context of popularly supported ‘law and order’ strategies, but harm reduction policies belong to less popularly supported public health strategies - so how will a harm reduction strategy be financed? What are the challenges of pursuing a harm reduction strategy at the level of the consumer but continuing with a prohibitionist and punishment oriented strategy at the level of the producer and distributor of these substances? Which harm reduction policies should be integrated into a legalization strategy for marijuana?

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.

**Course Requirements: TopHat software:** students are required to purchase a license. A license good for five years and useable across classes, or for this quarter use only can be purchased. To get started please go to <https://support.tophatmonocle.com/hc/en-us/categories/200000744-Student-Orientation> . You can also find a quick start tutorial at <https://s3.amazonaws.com/thm-corporate/Support/Guides/Student+Quick+Start+Guide+-W2014-.pdf>

Grading will be based on class participation (10% via TopHat in-class software) a midterm (40%) and final exam (50%). You are responsible for material in the readings and that which is presented in lecture. PowerPoints summarizing the lectures will be available on the course web site, but lectures are not PodCast. *Cheating on exams will result in failure of the entire course.*

**Readings:** Readings are available through the internet. 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

Jonathan Caulkins, “Is Responsible Drug Use Possible?” *Cato Unbound* September 10, 2008 <http://www.cato-unbound.org/2008/09/10/jonathan-caulkins/responsible-drug-use-possible>

Jacob Sullum, “True Temperance” *Cato Unbound* September 12, 2008 <http://www.cato-unbound.org/2008/09/12/jacob-sullum/true-temperance>

Mark Kleiman, “Drug Policy in Principle, and in Practice” *Cato Unbound* September 15, 2008 <http://www.cato-unbound.org/2008/09/15/mark-kleiman/drug-policy-principle-practice>

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 [via UCSD Libraries – look for the journal](#)

### Part One: Thinking About Drug Markets

#### Week 2: The Consumer

UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *Patterns and Trends of Amphetamine-Type Stimulants and Other Drugs: Challenges for Asia and the Pacific 2013* [https://www.unodc.org/documents/southeastasiaandpacific//Publications/2013/ats-2013/2013\\_Regional\\_ATS\\_Report\\_web.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/southeastasiaandpacific//Publications/2013/ats-2013/2013_Regional_ATS_Report_web.pdf) pp. 9-28

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

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

#### Week 3: Production Dynamics

UNODC, *World Drug Report 2013* pp. 17-58 [http://www.unodc.org/unodc/secured/wdr/wdr2013/World\\_Drug\\_Report\\_2013.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/unodc/secured/wdr/wdr2013/World_Drug_Report_2013.pdf)

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

#### Week 4: Domestic Trafficking

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>

Edward R. Kleemans, "Organized Crime, Transit Crime, and Racketeering" *Crime and Justice*, 35: 1, Crime and Justice in the Netherlands (2007), pp. 161-215 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 JSTOR

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

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

Republic Of Turkey, Ministry Of Interior, *Action Plan For The Implementation Of National Policy And Strategy Document On Counteracting Addictive Substance And Substance Addiction*

2010 [http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/attachements.cfm/att\\_138746\\_EN\\_Turkey%20Action%20Plan%202010-2012%20English.pdf](http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/attachements.cfm/att_138746_EN_Turkey%20Action%20Plan%202010-2012%20English.pdf)

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

2009 <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2009/03/mexico-drug-market-felbabbrown>

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

Peter Alldridge, "Money Laundering and Globalization" *Journal of Law and Society*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Dec., 2008), pp. 437-463 access via UC-eLinks

Michael Levi, Peter Reuter, "Money Laundering" *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2006), pp. 289-375 JSTOR

Financial Action Task Force (FATF), "40 Recommendations" [http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/recommendations/pdfs/FATF\\_Recommendations.pdf](http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/recommendations/pdfs/FATF_Recommendations.pdf) pp. 11-31

U.S. Department of State, "2014 INCSR: Major Money Laundering Countries" <http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2014/vol2/222471.htm>

## **MID-TERM EXAMINATION (Thu Feb 11)**

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

#### **Week 7: Domestic Control/Prohibition**

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

[http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/condp25&div=21&g\\_sent=1&collaction=journals](http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/condp25&div=21&g_sent=1&collaction=journals)

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Robert MacCoun & Martin, Karin D., “Drug Use and Drug Policy in a Prohibition Regime” 2008 <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/5dz3f135> (download via 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>

### **Week 8: Domestic Liberalization/Harm Reduction**

Mike McCarron “Drugs: which policies work?” *RSA Journal*, Vol. 153, No. 5521 (February 2006), pp. 28-33 via JSTOR

Cesar Gaviría, 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)

Maria Fernanda Boidi, José Miguel Cruz, Rosario Queirolo, and Emily Bello-Pardo, *Marijuana Legalization in Uruguay and Beyond*. Florida International University [http://news.fiu.edu/wp-content/uploads/14561\\_SIPA\\_Marijuana-research\\_REPORT2.compressed.compressed.pdf](http://news.fiu.edu/wp-content/uploads/14561_SIPA_Marijuana-research_REPORT2.compressed.compressed.pdf)

### **Week 9: Issues in Harm Reduction**

Drug Policy Alliance, “Harm Reduction” <http://www.drugpolicy.org/harm-reduction>  
click on all the links

Will Carless, “Uruguay’s Year In Marijuana: 3 Successes, 3 Burning Questions” *Globalpost* <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/uruguays-year-marijuana-3-successes-3-burning-questions-n281311>

Rocky Mountain High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area, *The Legalization of Marijuana in Colorado: The Impact*. Vol 2, August 2014 pp. 1-18; 59-87; 135-150  
<http://www.rmhidta.org/html/August%202014%20Legalization%20of%20MJ%20in%20Colorado%20the%20Impact.pdf>

John Hudak, “Colorado’s Rollout of Legal Marijuana Is Succeeding: A Report on the State’s Implementation of Legalization” *Brookings Institution* July 2014  
<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/07/colorado-marijuana-legalization-succeeding/cepmmjcov2.pdf>

### **Week 10: International Cooperation**

Ethan A. Nadelmann, “Global prohibition regimes: The evolution of norms in international society” *International Organization* 44:4 Autumn 1990 pp. 479-526 JSTOR

European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Addiction, *The New EU drugs strategy (2013–20)* <http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/topics/pods/eu-drugs-strategy-2013-20>