Political Science 145a The Political Economy of the Drug Trade Spring 2007

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"Drugs" are everywhere and policies differ across time and place. In Denmark, Belgium and South Australia personal possession of marijuana is illegal but unlikely to produce a criminal conviction. In The Netherlands a small amount of cannibis can be legally bought and consumed in coffee shops; shop owners cannot advertise, sell large quantities or to minors and must pay taxes. As a result of the drug wars, the United States has now become the democratic country with the highest proportion of its citizens behind bars. In 1999 New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, a Republican, called for a debate on legalization of drugs. Why is there so much disagreement on how to deal with consumption of drugs? Why have drugs become such an important aspect of international politics that the President would 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 consuming, producing and trafficking countries throughout the world.

Course Requirements: Grading will be based on a midterm (40%) and final exam (60%).

Readings: Readings are distributed among web sites, a book (David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeehouses*) and a xerox packet available through University Reader Printing Service; you can reach them at www.universityreaders.com or 858-552-1120. One course packet and one copy 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 8th, 10th and 12th 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

William W. Mendel and Murl D. Munger, "The Drug Threat: Getting Priorities Straight" *Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly* Summer 1997 pp. 110-24 http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/97summer/inunger.htm

David R. Mares, Drug Wars and Coffeehouses Chapters 1 and 2

Part One: Thinking About Drug Markets

Week 2: The Consumer

David R. Mares, Drug Wars and Coffeehouses Chapter 3

Jerald W. Cloyd, "People and Problematic Meanings: The Existential Effects, Social Contexts, and Class Conflict Surrounding Drug Use" pp. 17-58 in his Drugs and information control

Peter G. Bourne, "Issues in Addiction" in his Addiction Academic Press, 1974 pp. 1-19

Nualnoi Treerat, Noppanun Wannathepsakul, Daniel Ray Lewis, Global Study on Illegal Drugs: The Case of Bangkok, Thailand United Nations Drug Control Program, http://www.unodc.un.or.th/material/document/Thailand.PDF pp. 1-5, 28-36, 50-61

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2005. Statistics on Drug Use in Australia 2004, AIHW Cat. No. PHE 62. Canberra: AIHW (Drug Statistics Series No. 15). http://www.aihw.gov.au/publications/phe/sdua04/sdua04.pdf pp. xv-xix, 3-25, 31-41, 50-52

Week 3: Production Dynamics

David R. Mares, Drug Wars and Coffeehouses Chapter 4

UNODC, World Drug Report 2006 Chapter 3 "Production" http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/world-drug-report.html

Peter Reuter, "After the Borders Are Sealed: Can Domestic Sources Substitute for Imported Drugs?" in Peter H. Smith, ed., *Drug Policy in the Americas* pp. 163-177

Week 4: Domestic Trafficking

Treerat, Wannathepsakul, and Lewis, Global Study on Illegal Drugs: The Case of Bangkok, Thailand http://www.unodc.un.or.th/material/document/Thailand.PDF pp. 6-27;

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

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

Week 5: International Trafficking

David R. Mares, Drug Wars and Coffeehouses Chapter 5

Treerat, Wannathepsakul, and Lewis, Global Study on Illegal Drugs: The Case of Bangkok, Thailand http://www.unodc.un.or.th/material/document/Thailand.PDF pp. 68-99

Ada Becchi, "Italy: 'Mafia-dominated' Drug Market?" in Nicholas Dorn, Jorgen Jepsen and Ernesto Savona, eds., European Drug Policies and Enforcement pp. 119-130

Week 6: Money Laundering

David R. Mares, Drug Wars and Coffeehouses Chapter 6

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

Ernesto Savona, "Money Laundering, the Developed Countries and Drug Control: the New Agenda" in Dorn, Jepsen and Savona, eds., European Drug Policies and Enforcement pp. 231-241

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

MID-TERM EXAMINATION TUE

Part Two: Policies for Dealing with the Drug Trade

Week 7: International Cooperation

David R. Mares, Drug Wars and Coffeehouses Chapter 7

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

William B. McAllister, Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century, Chapters 7 & 8, pp. 185-239

Week 8: Domestic Control

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

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

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

Week 9: Domestic Liberalization

Ethan Nadelmann, "Drug Prohibition in the United States: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives" in Thomas Mieczkowski, ed., *Drugs, Crime, and Social Policy* pp. 299-322

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

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

Week 10: Unilateral Policies

Raphael F. Perl, "International Drug Policy and the U.S. Congress" in Perl, ed., *Drugs and Foreign Policy* pp 61-78

Maria Celia Toro, "Unilateralism and Bilateralism" in Peter H. Smith, ed., *Drug Policy in the Americas* Westview, 1992 pp. 314-328

Robert H. Dowd, (Lt. Col, ret. USAF), "Nuke the Drug Cartels" in his The Enemy is Us pp. 48-63