

Political Science 145a
The Political Economy of the Drug Trade
Spring 2008

David R. Mares
SSB 366
Office Hours: Tu 2-3 and by appointment
dmares@ucsd.edu

T, Th 11-12:20
WLH 2001
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 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; no Democratic governor seconded his proposition. Conservatives in the US admire the late William F. Buckley, but few followed his conversion from proponent of drug prohibition to legalization advocate.

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 on June 11. 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.

*Please be advised that requests for alternate exams must be made via a Department memorandum to the Academic Senate’s CEP (Committee on Education Policy). **Make-up finals are offered 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) is NOT considered a legitimate reason – students are aware of the final exam schedule when scheduling their courses. CEP has also rejected early departures from San Diego for internships, Officer Training courses, family vacations and the like as legitimate excuses.***

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 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

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

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

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

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 Coffeeshouses* Chapter 4

UNODC, *World Drug Report 2007* Chapter 1 sections on production pp. 38-45; 64-70; 96-105; 124-134 http://www.unodc.org/pdf/research/wdr07/WDR_2007.pdf

Kim Bolan, “[Ecstasy production soaring, police say after 4 sentenced](http://fightforjustice.blogspot.com/2008/02/ecstasy-production-soaring-police-say.html)” *Vancouver Sun* February 27, 2008 <http://fightforjustice.blogspot.com/2008/02/ecstasy-production-soaring-police-say.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

MID-TERM EXAMINATION TUE April 29

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

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

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 Coffeeshouses* 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

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

David R. Mares, *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses* 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