

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Fall 2019 IR 290/HI 331: Drugs and Security in the Americas

MWF 9-9:50am
Location: PHO 205

Professor Rachel Nolan

rbnolan@bu.edu
Office: 152 Bay State Road, Room 444
Office Hours: M 3-4pm and W 10am-noon

Course Description:

Drugs can be anything from cocaine to caffeine, Adderall to opiates, alcohol to marijuana. This course will examine the politics and history of buying and selling substances that alter the way the body feels and responds, with a special focus on the U.S. and Latin America.

After a general introduction to the theme, we will begin by exploring the origins of the international narcotics trade. The first half of the course focuses on the three drugs that historically have had the greatest consumer use and impact in the Americas: marijuana, cocaine, and opiates. We will study the rise of international trafficking and evaluate the “War on Drugs” launched by the United States to combat the growth, distribution, and sale of drugs. We will also study the participation of Latin American governments in the War on Drugs. We will track how which substances were considered drugs and which drugs were illegal for whom changed over time, and examine the role of governments and corporations in maintaining the distinctions between the black and open markets for drugs.

We will spend the second half of the semester studying the consequences of drug trafficking and the War on Drugs in both the US and Latin America, including but not limited to militarization, violence, destabilization, and international tensions. We will conclude by analyzing how drugs have been portrayed by scholars and the media, and exploring possible alternatives to the War on Drugs.

Learning Objectives:

1. You will gain knowledge about the history and contemporary characteristics of drug trafficking and attempts to repress it in the Americas.
2. You will develop reading, writing, and communication skills that will serve you in your college career and beyond.

Grading:

1. **1) Mid-term exam:** (15%)
2. **2) Final Exam:** (25%)
3. **3) Book Review of *Women Drug Traffickers*:** (20%)
4. **4) News Story Analysis Paper:** (20%)
5. **5) Attendance and Participation:** (20%)

Assignment Descriptions:

1. Midterm Exam: In-class, short ID questions. I will distribute a list of possible ID terms one week before the exam. **Oct 9.**
2. Final Exam: Take-home, essay questions that will require you to think critically about the course content as a whole. **Date TBD.**
3. Book Review: Write a 4-page review of Elaine Carey's book *Women Drug Traffickers*. Your review should provide an overview of the book and evaluate its strengths and weaknesses. **Oct 25.**
4. News Story Analysis Paper: Write a 4-page analysis of a news story about drugs and security in the Americas. Analyze the story's framing, significance, and contribution to public understandings of drugs and security. **Dec. 4.**
5. Attendance and Participation: Active participation will account for a large proportion of the final grade. This means not only coming to classes but also actively participating in class discussions. I will subtract 5% from your attendance and participation grade for each unexcused absence after the first. If you are sick, please do not come to class or office hours. Let me know, and I will mark your absence as excused.
6. **Participation: (20%)** The quality of your involvement in:
 - a. student groups (novel or testimony, country, and U.S.-Latin American relations issues)
 - b. class presentations
 - c. class discussions
 - d. you are also warmly invited to attend Latin American Studies Program events

All assignments should be double-spaced in Times New Roman size 12 font with a one-inch margin on all sides. Number your pages. Use Chicago Style footnote citations (for guidelines on proper citation format, see guide on Blackboard under Content and http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html). **Turn in your assignments on time—there will be a penalty of 5% for each day that an assignment is late.** You will only be allowed to turn in an assignment late without penalty if you have a documented emergency.

Office Hours:

Office hours are a valuable space for intellectual discussion. If you cannot make these, you can schedule alternate hours by appointment. I always welcome conversations in class or office hours about historical questions, upcoming assignments, readings, class performance, professional mentorship, and your overall writing and research approaches. If you have a question, I prefer that you come meet with me during office hours, though I will also answer emails—but within 24 hours and only on weekdays. If the answer to the emailed question is already in the syllabus, I will write back a one-liner: "See the syllabus."

Expectations:

- Participation. I expect you to do the readings, bring the readings to class, and participate in discussions. **Every Friday we will talk about current events. Please bring in one sentence summarizing a news article and noting the source.**

- Attention. I expect you to close your laptops and put them away during lectures and presentations. Same with cell phones and any other electronic devices. **No laptops, tablets, or phones in class.** Please take notes by hand. You will remember more when it comes time for exams. Promise. See me if you have a reason for which you need to use a laptop and we can find an accommodation.
- Communication.
 - a. If you have a question, don't hesitate to raise your hand and ask or contact me privately. If you have a problem or an emergency arises, let me know and I will be very willing to work with you.
 - b. If you need an accommodation for any type of physical or learning disability, medical needs, or any other reason, you should meet with the student disability services office and then meet with me privately to discuss the modifications necessary to ensure your full participation in the course.
- Proper Academic Conduct. It is your responsibility to know and understand the provisions of the College of Arts and Science's Academic Conduct Code, available at: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>. I will refer cases of suspected academic misconduct to the Dean's Office.
- General guidelines: In this space, we treat each other with respect. We think through one another's ideas. We strive to be an inclusive learning environment, listening to each other at all times. We are committed to acknowledging, respecting and celebrating differences and commonalities. We are guided by respect for all learners, regardless of race, nationality, place of origin, religious beliefs or disbeliefs, political beliefs or disbeliefs, gender, sexual identity, gender identity, gender expression, economic status, ability, disability, or immigration status or indeed any difference you can imagine. We are committed to practicing empathy. We engage fellow students with the intent to learn about them respectfully.
- This course affirms people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is on the class roster, please let me know. Feel free to correct me or your classmates on your name or preferred pronouns, or email me or meet with me and I will do the in-class correcting. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Required Reading:

- Elaine Carey, *Women Drug Traffickers: Mules, Bosses, and Organized Crime* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014). Available as an e-book through the BU Libraries website.
- News coverage of current events related to drugs and security in the Americas. We will discuss current events at the beginning of class every Friday.
- In addition, there are a number of articles and book chapters assigned for specific classes. These may be found on the class Blackboard web site under Content or in specified library databases (noted in syllabus).

Week 1 - Introduction

Wed, Sept 4 Course Overview – What is a Drug?

Syllabus

Lecture/Discussion – Substance or commodity?

Fri, Sept 6 Demand

Current events—please come to class with one sentence explaining one news article and citing source.

Courtwright, David T., *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 91-111 (Blackboard).

Morley, Jefferson, “What Crack is Like,” *The New Republic* (October 2, 1989), 12-13

Week 2 – Origins of Cocaine and Opiates

Mon, Sept 9 Cocaine

Naranjo, Plutarco, “Social Function of Coca in Pre-Columbian America,” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 3:2 (1981), 161-172 (Elsevier)

Grinspoon, Lester and James B. Bakalar, “Coca and Cocaine as Medicines: An Historical Overview,” and Naranjo, Plutarco, “Coca and Cocaine as Medicines: An Historical Overview,” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 3:2 (1981), 149-172.

Primary Source: Images from *The Art of Precolumbian Gold: The Jan Mitchell Collection* (Lime spatulas, coca paraphernalia)

Wed, Sept 11

Lecture – Prohibition and the Border

Fri, Sept 13 Opiates

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Courtwright, David T., *Dark Paradise: A History of Opiate Addiction in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 1-34 (ProQuest ebrary)

Week 3 – Origins of Marijuana

Mon, Sept 16

Campos, Isaac, *Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 1-38 (Blackboard)

Primary Source: "The 1915 Harrison Narcotics Act and the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937"

<http://legisworks.org/sal/38/stats/STATUTE-38-Pg785.pdf>

<http://www.legisworks.org/congress/75/publaw-238.pdf>

Wed, Sept 18

Lecture – Founding of the Drug Enforcement Agency

Fri, Sept 20

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Campos, Isaac, *Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 39-66 (Blackboard)

Week 4 – Early Crackdowns

Mon, Sept 23

Campos, Isaac, "Degeneration and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26:2 (Summer 2010), 379-408 (JSTOR)

Primary Source: Lyrics of "Contrabando y Traición" (1972), Los Tigres del Norte

Wed, Sept 25

Lecture – Narcocultura, and what is cocaine?

Fri, Sept 27

Musto, David F., *American Disease: Origins of Narcotic Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1-23 (ProQuest ebrary)

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Week 5 – Origins of Cocaine

Mon, Sept 30

Gootenberg, Paul, "Cocaine's Long March North, 1900-2010," *Latin American Politics and Society* 54:1 (Spring 2012), 159-180 (EBSCOhost)

Wed, Oct 2

Scott, Peter Dale and Jonathan Marshall, *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 23-50 (Blackboard)

Primary Sources: CIA's own account of cocaine-trafficking as part of Iran-Contra.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/report/intro.html>

National Security Archive, Selected documents on cocaine-trafficking for Iran-Contra

<https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB2/index.html>

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Fri, Oct 4

In-class **Documentary "Cocaine"**

Week 7 – Beginning of the War on Drugs

Mon, Oct 7

• Kuzmarov, Jeremy, "From Counter-Insurgency to Narco-Insurgency: Vietnam and the International War on Drugs," *Journal of Policy History* 20:3 (2008), 344-378 (EBSCOhost)

Wed, Oct 9

****MIDTERM****

Fri, Oct 11

Thompson, Heather, "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History" *Journal of American History* 97:3 (December 2010), 703-734 (EBSCOhost)

Primary Source: Photo Requests from Solitary: <http://photorequestsfromsolitary.org>

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article

Week 8 – The War on Drugs: Spreading the Model Abroad

Mon, Oct 14: NO CLASS—MEET ON TUESDAY INSTEAD

TUESDAY, Oct 15

Bagley, Bruce Michael, "U.S. Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs: Analysis of a Policy Failure," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 30: 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1988), 189-212 (JSTOR)

Wed, Oct 17

Lecture – War on Drugs at home and abroad

Fri, Oct 19

Tate, Winifred, *Drugs, Thugs, and Diplomats: U.S. Policymaking in Colombia* (Stanford University Press, 2015), 83-108 (Blackboard)

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article

Primary Source: Photo essay on Colombians affected by drug trade

Week 9 – Trafficking

Mon, Oct 21

Women Drug Traffickers, p. 1-115

Wed, Oct. 23

Women Drug Traffickers, p. 115-end

Fri, Oct. 25

Lecture – El Chapo, La Reina del Sur, and the populist appeal of narcos

****BOOK REVIEW OF WOMEN DRUG TRAFFICKERS DUE****

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article

Week 10 – U.S. Military, CIA, and Corruption

Mon, Oct. 28

Isacson, Adam, "The U.S. Military in the War on Drugs," in Coletta A. Youngers and Eileen Rosin, eds., *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 15-60 (Blackboard)

Wed, Oct. 30

Lecture – Foreign Policy Hypocrisy and Manuel Noriega

<https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB2/index.html>

<https://www.nytimes.com/1986/06/12/world/panama-strongman-said-to-trade-in-drugs-arms-and-illicit-money.html>

Fri, Nov. 1

Maingot, Anthony P., “Laundering the Gains of the Drug Trade: Miami and Caribbean Tax Havens,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 30: 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1988), 167-187 (JSTOR)

Thoumi, Francisco E., “The Economic Impact of Narcotics in Colombia” in Peter H. Smith, ed., *Drug Policy in the Americas* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 57-71

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article

Week 11 – Marijuana Legalization and Environmental Effects

Mon, Nov. 4

Nick Johnson *Grass Roots: A History of Cannabis in the American West* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017), selections

Wed, Nov. 6

Lecture – Debates over Legalization

Fri, Nov. 8

Nick Johnson *Grass Roots: A History of Cannabis in the American West* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017), selections

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Week 12 – Cocaine and Trafficking Through Mexico and Colombia

Mon, Nov. 11

Knight, Alan. “Narco-Violence and the State in Modern Mexico,” in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, Wil G. Pansters, ed. (Stanford, 2012), 115-134

Wed, Nov. 13

Lecture – Drugs and Modern Mexico

Fri, Nov. 15

Ginger Thompson, “How the U.S. Triggered a Massacre in Mexico,” *ProPublica* June 12 2017

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Week 13 – Opioids, Race and Money - Opioids Part II

Mon, Nov. 18

Donna Murch, Response, “How Race Made the Opioid Crisis” *Boston Review*,
<http://bostonreview.net/forum/donna-murch-how-race-made-opioid-crisis>

Max Mishler, Response, “How Race Made the Opioid Crisis,” *Boston Review*,
<http://bostonreview.net/forum/how-race-made-opioid-crisis/max-mishler-race-and-first-opium-crisis>

L.A. Kauffman, Response, “How Race Made the Opioid Crisis,” *Boston Review*,
<http://bostonreview.net/forum/how-race-made-opioid-crisis/la-kauffman-absolution-accountability>

Wed, Nov. 20

Lecture – The Business of Drugs in the U.S.

Fri, Nov. 22

Patrick Radden Keefe, “The Family that Built an Empire of Pain: The Sackler Dynasty’s Ruthless Marketing of Painkillers has Generated Billions of Dollars- and Millions of Addicts,” *The New Yorker*, October 2017.

“McKinsey Advised Johnson & Johnson on Increasing Opioid Sales” *New York Times*
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/25/business/mckinsey-johnson-and-johnson-opioids.html>

Primary Document: Nan Goldin, “Sackler Pain,” *Artforum*, Slideshow, 2017. Accessible at:
<https://www.artforum.com/print/201801/nan-goldin-73181>

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Week 14 – Alternatives to the Drug War – Local Policing

Mon, Nov. 25

MacCoun, Robert and Peter Reuter, “Interpreting Dutch Cannabis Policy: Reasoning by Analogy in the Legalization Debate,” *Science, New Series*, 278: 5335 (Oct 1997), 47-52 (JSTOR)

Haaga, John G. and Peter Reuter, “The Limits of the Czar’s Ukase: Drug Policy at the Local Level,” *Yale Law and Policy Review* 8:1 (1990), 36-74 (JSTOR) F, Apr 27

Wed, Nov. 27: NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING BREAK

Fri, Nov. 27: NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING BREAK

Week 15 – Alternatives to the Drug War – Community Policing and Legalization

Mon, Dec. 2

Robert MacCoun and Peter Reuter, “The Varieties of Drug Control at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 582 (July 2002), 7-19 (JSTOR)

Enrique Desmond Arias and Mark Ungar, “Community Policing and Latin America’s Citizen Security Crisis,” *Comparative Politics* 41: 4 (July 2009), 409-429 (JSTOR)

Primary Source: “Cartel Land” clip

Wed, Dec. 4

Lecture

****NEWS STORY ANALYSIS PAPER DUE****

Fri, Dec. 6

Michael Specter, “Getting a Fix,” *New Yorker* October 10 2011

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/10/17/getting-a-fix>

Nicholas Kristof, The New York Times, “How To Win A War On Drugs”
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/22/opinion/sunday/portugal-drug-decriminalization.html>,
September 2017.

Current events—come with one sentence explaining one news article.

Week 15 – Conclusions

Mon, Dec. 9

Wed, Dec. 11 Lecture – The Drug War Today

FINAL EXAM DATE TBD