

Contents

Tables, Figures, and Boxes ix

Preface xi

Part I Thinking about Illicit Drugs

1. **The Drug Trade as a Global and National Phenomenon** 1
The Politics of Policy 5
Psychoactive Substances: What Are They and How Do They Work? 10
A Commodity Systems Framework 13
Summary 17
2. **Analytical Perspectives for Explaining the Drug Trade** 19
Four Analytical Perspectives 20
Combining Perspectives on Drug Policy 28
Explaining National Strategies 31
Summary 34

Part II The Phenomenon, Its Dynamics, and Policy Options

3. **Conceptualizing Consumption: Drug Use and Drug Users** 35
Thinking about the Data and the Questions We Want to Answer 38
The Illegal Use of Psychoactive Substances 39
Effects and Probabilities 52
Summary 58
4. **The Production of Psychoactive Substances** 61
The Role of Production in the Psychoactive Substance Commodity System 62
What Types of Psychoactive Substances Are Produced? 66
Where Does Production of Illegal Psychoactive Substances Occur? 69
Why Do People Produce Illegal Psychoactive Substances? 71
Summary 74
5. **Distribution: Linking Producers and Consumers** 78
The Role of Traffickers in the PASCs 79
Why Is Someone a Trafficker? 87
Summary 91

6. **Money Laundering: Money Makes the World Go 'Round** 94
The Role of Money Laundering in the PASCs 95
The Process of Money Laundering 96
Pursuing Money Launderers 102
Summary 105
7. **The Political Economy of International Drug Strategies: Going It Alone or Working Together** 109
Cooperation and Conflict 110
Unilateral International Policies 111
The International Politics of Plan Colombia 116
Summary 119

Part III National and International Experiences

8. **The United States: From Crime Reduction to Drug War, 1968–1982** 121
Summary 121
The Context for Modern U.S. Drug Policy 122
Crime Reduction: 1970–1974 124
Harm Reduction Stillborn: 1975–1980 127
The Road to the Drug War 130
9. **The Netherlands: From Drug War to Dynamic Harm Reduction, 1960–2002** 135
Summary 135
The Context for Modern Dutch Drug Policy 135
Drug War: 1960–1965 137
De Facto Harm Reduction: 1967–1976 138
Official Harm Reduction: 1976–1995 141
Dynamic Harm Reduction: 1995–2002 143
10. **Sweden: From Harm Reduction to Drug War, 1965–1993** 147
Summary 147
Background 147
The Context for Modern Swedish Drug Policy 148
Harm Reduction: 1965 149
Prohibition with Harm Reduction: 1968 151
Pursuing the Drug-Free Society: 1976 152
Pursuing the Drug War: The 1990s 154

Notes 159

For Further Research 177

Index 179

Tables, Figures, and Boxes

Tables

1.1	Hypothesized Impact on the Policy Process of the Concentration of Benefits and Costs	10
1.2	Substance Use and Dependency Rates	12
2.1	Analytic Perspective Hypotheses Regarding Adoption of National Drug Strategy	32
2.2	Analytic Perspective Explanations for International Policy Process	33
3.1	Psychoactive Substance Use	41
3.2	Substances Most Used Illegally, 2000 (other than marijuana, alcohol, and cigarettes)	42
3.3	Last Year Prevalence of Use of Illicit Drugs among Students by Country	43
3.4	Use of Any Illicit Drug, 2002	44
3.5	Cannabis Consumption in Western Countries in the General Population	46
3.6	Cocaine Consumption in Western Countries in the General Population	46
3.7	National Survey on Drug Use in Chile, 2002	47
3.8	Current Illicit Drug Users by Race/Ethnicity in 2003 (U.S.)	48
3.9	Illegal Drug and Alcohol Use at Time of Offense, Self-report by State and Federal Prisoners	57
4.1	Production–Consumption Relationships	67
4.2	Illegal Production of Psychoactive Substances: Some Comparative Evidence	70
5.1	Heroin Prices throughout the Psychoactive Substance Commodity System, 1994	89
6.1	Cocaine Price Breakdown, 2001	97
9.1	Cannabis Consumption, Amsterdam	142

Figures

1.1	The Policy Cycle	6
1.2	Psychoactive Substance Commodity System: Illicit Drugs	15
1.3	Psychoactive Substance Commodity System: Licit Drugs	16
3.1	Any Illicit Drug: Trends in Annual Prevalence among High School Seniors and Adults through Age 45	45
3.2	Example of Lab Tests	54
4.1	Producer Phase of Psychoactive Commodity System	63
6.1	Hypothetical Process of Money Laundering by Foreign National Using U.S. Bank	100

Boxes

2.1	Realism, Foreign Governments, Drugs, and U.S. National Security	28
3.1	Class Discussion Questions	39
3.2	Zero Tolerance?	49
4.1	Protecting Your Illegal Crop	64
4.2	The High Peaks of Europe: On the Ground in the New Stoned Switzerland	68
4.3	Paris Cannabis Market	71
5.1	The Underpublicized Career of John Gotti Sr., U.S. Drug Lord	84
5.2	Marijuana Violence in New York City	86
5.3	Phillip Morris Tries to Convince Czech Government It Is Better Off Financially If People Smoke	88
6.1	The Black Market Peso Exchange System	98
6.2	Example of CHIPS Transaction	102
6.3	Who Is a Money Launderer?	104
6.4	U.S. Bank Fined \$25 Million for Lax Money Laundering Efforts	104
6.5	Pursuing Suspicious Assets	106
7.1	Andean Cooperation Plan for the Control of Illegal Drugs and Related Offenses	114
7.2	Some Major International Conferences and Conventions	117