**THE POLITICS OF DRUG POLICY**

**Instructor**: Prof. Julia Buxton, buxtonj@spp.ceu.edu

**Academic Unit:** SPP

**Semester/term, year:** Fall 2018

**Course level (MA, PhD):** MA, 2 credits

**Course Description**

The contemporary institutions, norms and approaches of international narcotic drug control are now over a century old. The record of progress toward a ‘drug free world’ is however poor, with 2018 figures for global narcotic drug use, production and drug crop cultivation (coca for cocaine, opium poppy for opiates such as heroin and morphine) at record highs, as are figures for the manufacture and use of synthetic drugs (MDMA, amphetamine, methamphetamine), ‘legal highs’ and misuse of prescription pharmaceuticals.

This course examines the structure, decision making processes and record of international drug control in order to understand why policy approaches persist despite a record of evident failure. It focuses on the treaties, laws, institutions and organizations responsible for decision making on drugs issues, and the stakeholders who are involved in (or excluded from) the design, monitoring and evaluation of drug policies. Particular emphasis is placed on the challenges of researching illicit economies and behaviors for evidenced based policy approaches, how ‘progress’ is evaluated in drug policy and on the impact of enforcement on related policy areas such as security, development and public health.

The course assessment contains formative (ungraded) and summative (graded) elements.

* Submission of a 1,000 word discussion paper on a drug policy related issue of your choice -uploaded to moodle by OCTOBER 19TH
* Comments on the discussion papers of a minimum of 2 of your peers by NOVEMBER 2.
* Submission of a 2,000 word fully referenced policy brief based on your discussion paper for deadline of 6pm December 10th

*Your final policy brief will not be graded unless you have commented on the discussion papers of 2 class peers by the November 2nd deadline.*

**Learning Outcomes**

*On completion of this course students will be able to demonstrate*

* Detailed knowledge of drug control frameworks, drug policy decision making processes, the drug policy ‘cycle’, official metrics for evaluation and prospects for system reform;
* Understanding of the impacts of drug policy enforcement in relation to security, health and development rights and goals;
* Comprehension of illicit market dynamics and the methodological challenges of researching ‘hidden populations’

**Course Requirements**

Delivery of the course is based on fortnightly double sessions. It will be based on interactive lectures using media resources and outlining key themes, issues, and literatures, followed by class discussion and analysis of concepts, materials and policy debates. Students must prepare for each session ***and from the beginning of term***. Before the first class, students must have read the [1961 Single Convention](https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/commissions/CND/conventions.html) and [Booklets 2 and 3 of the 2018 UNODC World Drug Report](https://www.unodc.org/wdr2018/)

**Course Schedule**

The course is delivered in a condensed series of 6 sessions that are intended to deliver high learning impact. The course will run from the afternoon (3.30-7pm – with plenty of breaks) of Tuesday 18th September on alternate weeks (2nd October, 16th October, 30th October, 13th November and 27th November)

Core internet resources include:

* United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/publications.html>
* Transnational Institute (TNI)

<http://www.tni.org/work-area/drugs-and-democracy>

* International Harm Reduction Association

<http://www.ihra.net/>

* Open Society Foundations Global Drug Policy program

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/global-drug-policy-program>

* Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

<http://www.wola.org/program/drug_policy>

* GDPO Swansea

<http://www.swansea.ac.uk/gdpo/gdposituationanalysis/>

For an historical overview of drugs and drug control issues see J Buxton (2006) *The Political Economy of Narcotics* – it is dated but provides historical and institutional context. Please buy second hand if you purchase and note Zed the publisher is a collective so there is no financial benefit on the part of the author. Core journal is International Journal of Drug Policy <http://www.journals.elsevier.com/international-journal-of-drug-policy/>

The readings and breakdown of the schedule of teaching are listed below. *Students must read a minimum of six of the listings for each of the sessions* (bare in mind the sessions are fortnightly). Many of the readings overlap different sessions.

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| **Session, dates, topics and reading** |
| 1. **Sept 18th**

**Interpreting current drug market trends** **Global treaty framework; drug control institutions, principles and approaches*** What is the drug ‘problem’?
* What are the most significant trends in international drug markets?
* What are the core principles and approaches of drug control and how does national level legislation reflect international obligations?

Booklets 2 and 3 of the 2018 UNODC World Drug ReportThe 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs <https://www.unodc.org/pdf/convention_1961_en.pdf>J. Buxton, The Historical Foundations of the Narcotic Drug Control Regime (World Bank) <http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/abs/10.1596/1813-9450-4553>D Bewley-Taylor and M Jelsma, *The UN drug control conventions: The Limits of Latitude,* (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute & International Drug Policy Consortium, Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies, Nr. 18, 2012) <http://www.tni.org/sites/www.tni.org/files/download/dlr18.pdf>D. Bewley-Taylor, ‘The Contemporary International Drug Control System: A History of the UNGASS Decade,’ LSE Ideas, *Governing the Global Drug Wars,* Special Report, SR014, October 2012, pp. 49-55 <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/SR014/Bewley-Taylor.pdf>H. Levine, ‘Global Drug Prohibition: Its Uses and Crises,’ *International Journal of Drug Policy,* 14, 2 (2003), 145-153 C. Fazey The Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme: politics, policies and prospect for change (International Journal of Drug Policy) [http://www.ijdp.org/article/S0955-3959(03)00004-5/pdf](http://www.ijdp.org/article/S0955-3959%2803%2900004-5/pdf) J Buxton and T Bingham (2015) The Rise and Challenge of Dark Net Drug Markets<http://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/The%20Rise%20and%20Challenge%20of%20Dark%20Net%20Drug%20Markets.pdf>EMCDDA (2016) The Internet and Drug Markets<http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/news/2016/2/internet-drug-markets> |
| **Session 2 2nd October****Metrics, Process and Enforcement*** How is progress in meeting drug control targets measured, what are the limitations of these indicators?
* What are the key methodological challenges in evaluating drug related data, including UNODC data
* How do we account for the primacy of criminal justice approaches in drug policy (over health, education specialists etc) and what are the consequences of policing prohibition?

R. Muggah et al *Measurement Matters, Designing new metrics for a drug policy that works*, Igarape, <http://ceulearning.ceu.edu/pluginfile.php/169193/mod_resource/content/0/AE-12-Measurement-mattes-07h-jan_.pdf>Z. Sloboda (2002) ‘Drug abuse epidemiology: an overview’ *Bulletin on Narcotics*, vol. LIV, Nos 1 and 2. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/bulletin/bulletin_2002_01_01_1.pdf#page=8> D Bewley Taylor, GDPO 2016, *The 2016 United Nations General Assembly Special Session on the World Drug Problem: An opportunity to move towards metrics that measure outcomes that really matter*<http://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/GDPO%20UNGASS%20Metrics%20Working%20Paper%20Jan%202016draftBravo.pdf>ICSDP 2016, A Call for A Reprioritization of Metrics to Evaluate Illicit Drug Policy<https://www.unodc.org/documents/ungass2016//Contributions/Civil/ICSDP/ICSDP_Open_Letter_EN_Web.pdf>Peter Reuter, Harold A. Pollack and Bryce Pardo *If Tougher Enforcement* *Cannot Reliably Raise Drug Prices, What Are Appropriate Goals and Metrics?* in LSE (2016) After the Drug Wars <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf>P Reuter ‘Systematic Violence in Drug Markets’ <http://faculty.publicpolicy.umd.edu/sites/default/files/reuter/files/systemic_violence.pdf> M. Shiner *Drug Policing: What is it Good For? (2016) LSE After the Drug Wars* [*http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf*](http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf)J. Csete (2015) *Drug courts: Equivocal Evidence on a Popular Intervention*<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/drug-courts-equivocal-evidence-popular-intervention-20150518.pdf>P. Gallahue, Drugs and the Death Penalty, OSF 2016<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/drugs-and-death-penalty-20151009.pdf>Harris G, *Threshold Quantities for Drug Policy: Conviction by Numbers,* TNI Drug Law Reform Series No. 14 2011, <http://www.tni.org/briefing/conviction-numbers> |
| **Session 3 16th October****Impacts: Criminal Justice, Race and Gender*** What accounts for the steep rise in international incarceration rates for non-violent drug offences, and what are the implications of this trend?
* How, if at all, are men and women differentially impacted by drug policy enforcement?
* Is the drug ‘war’ a ‘race’ war?

K Malinowska and Olga Rychkova ‘Measuring the Impacts of Repressive Drug Policies on Women’, LSE (2016) After the Drug Wars <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf>IDPC Briefing Paper - *Women, drug offences and penitentiary systems in Latin America* <http://idpc.net/publications/2013/11/idpc-briefing-paper-women-drug-offenses-and-penitentiary-systems-in-latin-america>Flavin, J., & Paltrow, L. (2010). Punishing pregnant drug using women: Defying law, medicine and common sense. *Journal of Addictive Diseases*. Special Issue on Women, Children and Addiction, Volume 29, Issue 2. <http://advocatesforpregnantwomen.org/publications/Flavin_Paltrow2010_Journal%20of%20Addictive%20Diseases.pdf> K. Malinowska[Women, Harm Reduction, and HIV, Key Findings from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Ukraine. Open Society Foundations, International Harm Reduction Development Program, 2009.](http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/wmhreng_20091001.pdf)Bickman, J. (2012). Should addicts be sterilized? *The Fix.* <http://www.thefix.com/content/project-prevention-barbara-harris-sterilize-addicts8510?page=all> WOLA Project, Coletta Youngers: Women Drug Policy and Incarceration<http://www.wola.org/commentary/women_drug_policies_and_incarceration_in_the_americas>The War on Black Women with Dinah Ortiz. <http://wearemany.org/v/war-on-black-women>**Media:**[BALKA: Women, HIV, and Drug Use in Ukraine. Open Society Foundations.](http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/balka-women-hiv-and-drug-use-ukraine)[- Project Prevention: Mothers and Children Speak Out. National Advocates for Pregnant Women.](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8sbnDjj7WbU)Barbara Harris Founder of Project Prevention in Oklahoma. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Edt10iuePlY&spfreload=10> **Race**Alexander M, *The New Jim Crow:* *Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness,* 2012, The New Press, New YorkDrug Policy Alliance, *The Drug War, Mass Incarceration and Race, 2014,* [*http://www.drugpolicy.org/sites/default/files/DPA\_Fact\_Sheet\_Drug\_War\_Mass\_Incarceration\_and\_Race\_Feb2014.pdf*](http://www.drugpolicy.org/sites/default/files/DPA_Fact_Sheet_Drug_War_Mass_Incarceration_and_Race_Feb2014.pdf)Eastwood N, Shiner M & Bear D, *The Numbers in Black and White: Ethnic Disparities in the Policing and Prosecution of Drug Offences in England and Wales,* Release, 2013, <http://www.release.org.uk/sites/release.org.uk/files/pdf/publications/Release%20-%20Race%20Disparity%20Report%20final%20version.pdf> Edwards Ezekiel et al.,*The War on Marijuana in Black and White*, ACLU, 2013 <https://www.aclu.org/criminal-law-reform/war-marijuana-black-and-white-report>Fellner et al*., Decades of Disparity: Drug Arrests and Race in the United States,* Human Rights Watch, 2009, <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/us0309web_1.pdf>Levine et al, *Arresting Latinos for Marijuana in California: Possession Arrests in 33 Cities, 2006-08,* Drug Policy Alliance, 2010, <http://www.drugpolicy.org/sites/default/files/ArrestingLatinos_English.pdf> |
| **Session 4 30th October****Enforcement Impacts: Development and Security*** What are the causes and consequences of illegal drug crop cultivation in the coca areas of South America and the opium poppy areas of South West and East Asia?
* Why have Alternative Development (AD) programs had limited success in moving drug cultivating communities into the formal economy
* Why is coca and opium poppy cultivation in Colombia and Afghanistan at historic highs?

Buxton, J. (2015). Drugs and Development: The Great Disconnect. Global Drug Policy Observatory. Swansea University. <http://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/The%20Great%20Disconnect.pdf> UNODC Alternative Development homepage and reportshttps://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/alternative-development/index.html?ref=menusideGoodhand, J. (2005). ‘Frontiers and Wars: The Opium Economy in Afghanistan’, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 5 (2) https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2005.00099.xPhilip Keefer and Norman Loayza (Eds), *Innocent Bystanders: Developing Countries and the War on Drugs,* The World Bank, 2010, pp. 61-93.<http://www.drugslibrary.stir.ac.uk/documents/536410PUB0Inno101Official0Use0Only1.pdf>  UNDP (2015) *Perspectives on the Development Dimensions of Drug Control* <https://www.unodc.org/documents/ungass2016/Contributions/UN/UNDP/UNDP_paper_for_CND_March_2015.pdf>W. Byrd and D. Mansfield, *Licensing Afghan Opium for Medicinal Use: Why It Won’t Work*, Peacebrief 179 (Washington, D.C.: USIP, 2014).D. Mansfield (2016) *(Mis)understanding the Intersection Between Development Policies and Data Collection: Case Study, Afghanistan in LSE, After the Drug Wars* <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf>Javier Sagredo, Rebecca Schleifer and Tenu Avafia (UNDP) *Addressing the Development Dimensions of Drug Policy* in LSE After the Drug Wars <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf>E Gutierrez (2015) *Drugs and Illicit Practices: Assessing their impact on development and governance, Christian Aid Occasional Paper*http://www.christianaid.org.uk/Images/Drugs-and-illicit-practices-Eric-Gutierrez-Oct-2015.pdfGlobal Drug Policy Observatory:<http://www.swansea.ac.uk/gdpo/projectpages/drugsandconflict/>TNI Drugs and Conflict <https://www.tni.org/en/drugs-conflict>Brookings<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/22-drug-policy-middle-east-felbabbrown-trinkunas-barakat> |
| **Session 5** **13th November** **Health Impacts** **Access to Essential Medicines** * What is the relationship between drugs, drug policy and the spread of infectious diseases like HIV and Hepatitis B?
* What are harm reduction based approaches, provide examples of successful programs and explain why they are contentious.
* Why do over 90% of the global population not have access to WHO essential medicines opioid analgesics for the relief of chronic pain and disease, including in relation to terminal illness?

Lancet special edition <http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736%2816%2900619-X/abstract> and International Harm Reduction Association <http://www.ihra.net/>UNICEF Blame and Banishment *The underground HIV epidemic affecting children in Eastern Europe and Central Asia*<http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/UNICEF_BlameBanishment_WEB_final.pdf>D Wolfe and J Csete (2015) *Harm Reduction* <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/harm-reduction-20151014.pdf>J. Csete (2016) *Public Health Research in a Time of Changing Drug Policy:**Possibilities for Recovery?* In LSE After the Drug Wars <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/LSE-IDEAS-After-the-Drug-Wars.pdf>The Global Commission on Drugs. (2012). The War on Drugs and HIV/AIDS: *How The Criminalization of Drug Use Fuels the Global Pandemic*. <http://globalcommissionondrugs.org/wp-content/themes/gcdp_v1/pdf/GCDP_HIV-AIDS_2012_REFERENCE.pdf> The Global State of Harm Reduction. Harm Reduction International. https://www.hri.global/global-state-of-harm-reductionD Lohman and N Burke Shyne (2016) *The Impact of International Drug Policy on Access to Controlled medicines*<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/impact-international-drug-policy-access-controlled-medicines-20151203_0.pdf>ESMO: ‘Global Action for Pain Relief’ <http://www.esmo.org/content/download/14123/252826/file/Global-Access-to-Pain-Relief-Evidence-for-Action.pdf> INCB, (2010) *Report of the International Narcotics Control Board on the Availability of Internationally Controlled Drugs: Ensuring Adequate Access for Medical and Scientific Purposes* <https://www.incb.org/documents/Publications/AnnualReports/AR2010/Supplement-AR10_availability_English.pdf>C. Hallam (2014) The International Drug Control Regime and Access to Controlled Medicines<http://www.tni.org/report/international-drug-control-regime-and-access-controlled-medicines?context=595>IFHHRO (2012) ‘Poor Access to Pain Treatment: Advancing a Human Right to Pain Relief’<http://www.ifhhro.org/images/stories/ifhhro/Books_reports_articles/ifhhro_poor_access_to_pain_treatment_2012.pdf>Lohman, D. (2009). “Please, do not make us suffer anymore…: Access to pain treatment as a human right.” Human Rights Watch report. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2009/03/02/please-do-not-make-us-suffer-any-more> Pettus, K. (2012). Rhetoric and the road to hell: The international narcotics control regime and access to essential medicines. Bulletin of Health Policy and Law. <http://www.bullhpl.org/resources/Publications/Pettus-Oresearch.pdf> |
| **Session 6 27th November****Rights Based Approaches: Global human rights frameworks and obligations****Alternative Models in Drug Policy*** Does the enforcement of prohibition based drug policy approaches violate human rights? If so, which and how?
* How can drug policy better integrate rights based approaches?
* Review recent examples of drug policy reform, including from Uruguay, Czech Republic, Switzerland, Bolivia, Jamaica, Canada, Norway, Georgia, Portugal and relevant US states. Bring your observations to the class with a view to the benefits and limitations of the reform initiatives.

S Takahashi, ‘Drug Control, Human Rights, and the Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health: By No Means Straightforward Issues’, Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 31, no. 3, August 2009, pp. 748—776 UN Office on Drugs and Crime, ‘UNODC and the promotion and protection of human rights’, 2012 <http://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/UNODC_Human_rights_position_paper_2012.pdf> D. Bewley Taylor Emerging policy contradictions between the United Nations drug control system and the core values of the United Nations (International Journal of Drug Policy)[http://www.ijdp.org/article/S0955-3959(05)00092-7/pdf](http://www.ijdp.org/article/S0955-3959%2805%2900092-7/pdf)D. Barrett, R. Lines, R. Schleifer, R. Elliott & Bewley-Taylor, D. (2008). Recalibrating the Regime: The Need for a Human Rights-Based Approach to International Drug Policy. <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/beckley0308exec.pdf> R. Lines, A 'Most Serious Crime?' – The Death Penalty for Drug Offences and International Human Rights Law, *Amicus Journal, No. 21, pp. 21-28, 2010* [*http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=1837551*](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1837551)J. Amon, R. Pearshouse, J. Cohen, & R. Schleifer (2013). Compulsory drug detention centers in China, Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos: Health and human rights abuses. *Health and Human Rights Journal. 15/2.* <http://www.hhrjournal.org/2013/12/05/compulsory-drug-detention-centers-in-china-cambodia-vietnam-and-laos-health-and-human-rights-abuses/> D. Barret (2011) Children of the Drug War: Perspectives on the Impact of of Drug Policies on Young People <http://www.ihra.net/files/2011/08/08/Children_of_the_Drug_War%5B1%5D.pdf>N. Eastwood, E Fox and A Rosmarin (2016) Drug decriminalisation around the world: A quiet revolution, Release. <https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/a_quiet_revolution_march_31_2016.pdf> A Dills and S Gofford (2016) Dose of Reality: The Effect of State Marijuana Legalizations, Cato Institute<https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/dose-reality-effect-state-marijuana-legalizations>J. Csete and P Grob Switzerland, HIV and the power of pragmatism: Lessons for drug policy development (International Journal of Drug Policy) [http://www.ijdp.org/article/S0955-3959(11)00134-4/pdf](http://www.ijdp.org/article/S0955-3959%2811%2900134-4/pdf) JP Grund & J Breeksema “Coffee Shops and Compromise: Separated Illicit Drug Markets in the Netherlands”, Open Society Foundations (2013)<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/coffee-shops-and-compromise-20130713.pdf> Zabransky T, Mravcik V, Gajdosikova H, Miovskù M. *Impact Analysis Project of New Drugs Legislation Summary Final Report*. Prague: Secretariat of the National Drug Commission Office of the Czech Government, 2001<http://www.druglawreform.info/images/stories/documents/Czech_evaluation_2001_PAD_en.pdf>[Domoslawski, A. *Drug Policy in Portugal. The Benefits of Decriminalizing Drug Use*, June 2011](http://sunlearning.ceu.hu/file.php/139/Kasia_Malinowska-Sempruch/Drug_Policy_in_Portugal.pdf)M. Jelsma (2016) Prospects for treaty Reform UNGASS 2016 <https://www.tni.org/files/download/treaty_reform_drug_policy_ungass2016.pdf>D Bewley-Taylor, T Blickman and M Jelsma, *The Rise and Decline of Cannabis Prohibition: The History of Cannabis in the UN Drug Control System and Options for Reform,* TNI-GDPO March 2014, <http://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/TNI-GDPO_Rise-and-Decline_web.pdf>  |