

## SYLLABUS

### Drug Trafficking in the Americas (INS 542 BX)

Fall 2008

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Office Hrs. M 8:30-9:30 am  
Class: M 9:30 am-12 pm, AF 126

#### Course Objectives

This course will examine the political economy of the U.S.-Latin American drug trade and the dynamics of the U.S.-led “War on Drugs” in the Western Hemisphere and beyond during the Twentieth Century and the first decade of the Twenty First Century. Special emphasis will be given to the contemporary phases of the drug war (since 1969) and to the post-September 11, 2001, transformations in U.S. anti-drug and anti-terrorist policies.

The class will meet 13 times in all. The first session will be primarily organizational. The following two classes will explore the economic and social history of cocaine, heroin, and marijuana and of drug use and addiction in American society. Session 4 will focus on the initial emergence and subsequent evolution of U.S. and international narcotics control efforts during the late 19th and the first six decades of the 20th centuries. Sessions 5 -10 will concentrate on the political economy of the cocaine trade in the Andean region (Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia), Brazil, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Sessions 11 and 12 will review the Reagan/Bush/Clinton Administrations’ conduct of the modern war on drugs in Latin America. The final session will review the strategies and tactics adopted by the G.W. Bush Administration (2001-2009) during his first and second terms, the impact of 9/11 and its aftermath on U.S. drug control policies in the region, and the implications for U.S. anti-drug policies of the ongoing U.S.-sponsored “Global War on Terrorism” (GWOT).

#### Requirements

The class will be conducted as a seminar. Each student will be expected to complete the required weekly readings (200-250 pages in English and/or Spanish) prior to each class

meeting. Every student will be expected to serve as rapporteur for one class session. Rapporteur assignments will be made during the first organizational meeting. A written version of the rapporteur's report (5-8 pages) covering **all of the required readings** for a given session must be distributed by e-mail to all members of the class at least 24 hours in advance of the relevant class session. Failure to do so will result in the loss of one grade point.

The student rapporteur(s) will then present his/her report orally to the class and help lead a discussion of the materials assigned for that session. More than one student may sign up for any given session. Hence, **student oral reports may focus on only part of the required readings even though each student's written version must cover all of the required readings for the assigned session.** Students should meet and discuss their oral presentations with the professor the week prior to the date of their assigned session. Following the oral presentation (s), each student will have one week to correct/improve and then submit a final version of their written rapporteur report by email for a final grade on their written report.

In addition, each student in the seminar will be required to write a research paper (15-20 pages in length for undergraduates; 20-25 pages for graduates). The topic of the research paper should be selected in consultation with me but need not focus on drug issues and or policies in the Western Hemisphere. There will be no final examination option in this seminar.

Final grades will be weighted as follows:

- 1) Written rapporteur's report (revised) (30%);
- 2) Oral presentation (20%);
- 3) Research paper (50%).

The books required for this course include the following:

1. Musto, David F. **The American Disease. Origins of Narcotics Control.** New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, 414 p. ISBN 0-19-512509-6.
2. Mares, David R., **Drug Wars and Coffeehouses: The Political Economy of the International Drug Trade.** Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006, 188 p. ISBN 1-56802—862-8.
3. Vellinga, Menno, ed., **The Political Economy of the Drug Industry: Latin America and the International System.** Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004, 350p. . ISBN 0-8130-2701-2.
4. Mark Galeotti, ed., **Global Crime Today: The Changing Face of Organized Crime.** New York: Routledge, 2005, 166 p. ISBN 0-415-36699-2.
5. Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann, **Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations.** New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 333p. ISBN- 0-19-508948-0.
- 6 Carpenter, Ted Galen, **Bad Neighbor Policy: Washington's Futile War on Drugs in**

- Latin America.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 282 p. ISBN 1-4039-61379
7. Thoumi, Francisco E. **Illegal Drugs, Economy and Society in the Andes.** Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. ISBN 0-8018-7854-3 (pbk).
8. Brian Loveman, ed., **Addicted to Failure: U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region.** New York: Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers, Inc., 367 p. ISBN – 1: 0-7425-4098-7 (pbk.).
9. Coletta A. Youngers and Eileen Rosin, eds., **Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy.** Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005, 415p. ISBN: 1-58826-254-5 (pbk)
10. Enrique Desmond Arias, **Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks and Public Security.** Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 2006, 279 p., 2006. ISBN-10: 0-8078-5774-2 (pbk.).

## CLASS SCHEDULE

### 1. Sept. 8. Organizational Session.

No required readings.

### 2. September 15. The Economic and Social History of Marijuana and Heroin

#### Required

David F. Musto, The American Disease: Origins of Narcotics Control (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1999), pp 1-200.

#### Supplementary (Marijuana and Heroin)

Michael K. Steinberg, Joseph J. Hobbs and Kent Mathewson, eds., Dangerous Harvest: Drug Plants and the Transformation of Indigenous Landscapes. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 115-132, 133-152 and 232-248.

Alfred W. McCoy, The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade (Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill, 1991).

Ronald Bayer, "Heroin Decriminalization and the Ideology of Tolerance," American Sociology Review, Vol. 12 (1978).

Anthony Haden-Guest, "The Young, The Rich, and Heroin," Rolling Stone, (7 July 1983).

Richard J. Bonnie, Marijuana Use and Criminal Sanctions (Charlottesville, VA: Michie, 1980).

Robert I. Dupont, et.al, Handbook on Drug Abuse, (Washington, DC: US Govt. Printing Office, 1979).

J. Kaplan, The Hardest Drug: Heroin and Public Policy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

V. Rubin, ed., Cannabis and Culture (The Hague: Moulton, 1975).

### **3. September 22. The Economic and Social History of Coca and Cocaine.**

#### Required

David F. Musto, The American Disease: Origins of Narcotics Control (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1999), pp 201-401.

Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann, Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 3-58.

#### Supplementary (Coca and Cocaine)

James A. Inciardi, The War on Drugs: Heroin, Cocaine, Crime and Public Policy (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Col, 1986), pp. 1-174.

Timothy Ploughman, "Coca Chewing and the Botanical Origins of Coca in South America," in Deborah Pacini and Christine Franquemont, eds., Coca and Cocaine: Effects on People and Policy in Latin America (Cultural Survival Report #23, June 1986), pp. 1-34.

Catherine J. Allen, "Coca and Cultural Identity in Andean Communities," in Pacini and Franquemont, eds., pp.35-48.

John Murra, "Notes on Pre-Columbian Cultivation of Coca", in Pacini and Franquemont, eds. pp. 49-50.

Theodore MacDonald, Jr., "From Coca to Cocaine: The Political and Economic Implications for Tribal Amazonian Indians," in Pacini and Franquemont, eds., pp. 145-161.

Steven Wisotsky, Breaking the Impasse in the War on Drugs (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986) pp. 3-36.

Scott B. MacDonald, Dancing on a Volcano: The Latin American Drug Trade (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 1-26.

W. Golden Mortimer, History of Coca, "The Divine Plant of the Incas" (San Francisco: And/Or Press, 1974).

George Andrews and David Solomon, The Coca Leaf and Cocaine Papers (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).

T. Ploughman, "The Ethnobotany of Coca," Advances in Economic Botany, 1:62-111 (1984a).

T. Ploughman, "The Origin, Evolution and Diffusion of Coca," in D. Stone, ed., Pre-Columbian Plant Migration, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. 76:125-163.

L. Grinspoon and J.B. Bakalar, Cocaine: A Drug and Its Social Evolution (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

### **4. September 29. The Political Economy of the US-Latin American Drug Trade: Drug Trafficking and US Policy Responses –19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.**

#### Required

Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann, Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 59-188.

Michael K. Steinberg, Introduction," in Michael K. Steinberg, Joseph J. Hobbs and Kent Mathewson, eds., Dangerous Harvest: Drug Plants and the Transformation of Indigenous Landscapes. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 3-10.

Kent Mathewson, "Drugs, Moral Geographies, and Indigenous Peoples: Some Initial Mappings and Central Issues," in Ibid, pp. 11-23.

Alfred W. McCoy, "The Stimulus of Prohibition: A Critical History of the Global Narcotics Trade," in Ibid, pp. 24-114.

### Supplementary

Walker, William O., III, Drug Control in the Americas. Rev. Ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

William O. Walker, III, Opium and Foreign Policy (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

L. Gooberman, Operation Intercept: The Multiple Consequences of Public Policy (New York: Pergamon Press, 1974).

E.J. Epstein, Agency of Fear: Opiates and Political Power in America (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977).

## **5. October 6. The Political Economy of the Andean Drug Trade: Bolivia**

### Required

Thoumi, Francisco E., Illegal Drugs, Economy and Society in the Andes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 1-140.

Kathryn Ledebur, "Bolivia: Clear Consequences," in Coletta Youngers and Eileen Rosen, eds., Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005, pp. 143-184.

Kenneth Lehman, "A 'Medicine of Death'? U.S. Policy and Political Disarray in Bolivia, 1985-2006," in Brian Loveman, ed., Addicted to Failure: U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region. New York: Rowman& Littlefield, Publishers, Inc., 2006, pp. 130-168.

### Supplementary (Bolivia)

Clawson, Patrick L. and Rensselaer W. Lee III, **The Andean Cocaine Industry**. New York: St Martins Griffin, 1998.

Barbara Leons and Harry Sanabria, eds., Coca, Cocaine and the Bolivian Reality. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Sewall Menzel, Fire in the Andes: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cocaine Politics in Peru and Bolivia. New York: University Press of America, 1996.

Hugo Rodas Morales, Huanchaca: Modelo político empresarial de la cocaína en Bolivia. La Paz: Plural Editorial, 2001.

Eduardo A. Gamarra, Entre la droga y la democracia: La cooperación entre Estados-Unidos-Bolivia y la lucha contra el narcotráfico. La Paz: ILDIS, 1994.

Roberto Laserna, ed., Las drogas y el ajuste en Bolivia: Economía clandestina y políticas públicas. La Paz: CEDLA, 1994.

Herbert S. Klein, "Coca Production in the Bolivian Yungas in the Colonial and Early National Periods," in Pacini and Franquemont, eds., pp. 53-65.

Kevin Healy, "The Boom within the Crisis: Some Recent Effects of Foreign Cocaine Markets on

Bolivian Rural Society and Economy," in Ibid, pp. 101-145.

Kevin Healy, "Coca, the State and the Peasantry in Bolivia," in Bruce Bagley, ed. Assessing the America's War on Drugs, Special Issue Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs (JISWA), Vol. 30, Nos. 2 & 3, (Summer/Fall 1988) pp. 105-126.

Richard B. Craig, "Illicit Drug Traffic: Implications for the South American Source Countries," JISWA, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer 1987), pp. 1-34.

R. Lee, The White Labyrinth: Cocaine and Political Power, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1989).

W. E. Carter, Coca in Bolivia (La Paz: US National Institute of Drug Abuse, 1980).

G. Flores and J. Blanes, Donde va el Chapare? (La Paz: CERES, 1984).

Comité Cívico Pro-Cochabamba, Coca: Foro Nacional Sobre la Problemática Coca-Cocaína (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Editorial Arol, 1988).

A. Canelas Orellana and J.C. Canelas Zanner, Bolivia: Coca-Cocaína, Sub.-desarrollo y Poder Político (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Los Amigos del Libro, 1983).

## **6. October 13. The Political Economy of the Andean Drug Trade: Peru**

Note: During this class session a film entitled **The Frontier Trilogy** by the British documentary filmmaker Brian Moeser will be shown.

### Required

Thoumi, Francisco E., Illegal Drugs, Economy and Society in the Andes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp.141-264.

Isaias Rojas, "Peru: Drug Control Policy, Human Rights and Democracy," in C. Youngers and Eileen Rosen, eds., Op cit., pp. 185-230.

Enrique Obando, "U.S. Policy toward Peru: At Odds for Twenty Years," in Brian Loveman, ed., Addicted to Failure: U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region. New York: Rowman& Littlefield, Publishers, Inc., pp.169-196.

### Supplementary Reading

Clawson, Patrick L. and Rensselaer W. Lee III, The Andean Cocaine Industry. New York: St Martins Griffin, 1998.

James F. Rochlin, Vanguard Revolutionaries in Latin America: Peru, Colombia, Mexico. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003, 291.

Steve Stern, ed., Los Senderos Insólitos del Perú. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1997.

C.J. Allen, "To be Quechua: The Symbolism of Coca Chewing in Highland Peru," American Ethnologist, 8(1) pp. 157-171.

NACLA, "Coca: The Real Green Revolution" NACLA Report on the Americas, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (March 1969) pp. 1-40.

J. M. Salcedo, "Informe Especial: El laberinto de la coca," Quehacer, No. 59 (Junio-Julio, 1989) pp. 36-67.

C. McClintock, "The War on Drugs: The Peruvian Case," in B. Bagley, ed., pp. 127-142.

Alejandro Deustua C., El Narcotráfico y el interés nacional: un análisis en la perspectiva

internacional, (Lima, Perú: CEPEI, Documentos de Trabajo 10, 1987), 66 p.

J. A. Gagliano, "A Social History of Coca in Peru," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Georgetown University.

M. R. Daneri Pérez, "El Cultivo de la Coca en el Perú," Unpublished thesis, Universidad Nacional Agraria (Lima, Perú).

Felipe McGregor, et. al., eds., Siete ensayos sobre la violencia en el Perú (Lima, Perú: Fundación Friedrich Ebert and APEIPP, 4a Edición, 1989).

## **7. October 20. The Political Economy of the US-Andean Drug Trade: Ecuador**

### Required

Thoumi, Francisco E., Illegal Drugs. Economy and Society in the Andes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 265-300.

Freddy Rivera Velez, "Ecuador: Untangling the Drug War," in Coletta Youngers and Eileen Rosen, eds., Op cit., pp. 231-262.

Adrian Bonilla, "U.S. Andean Policy, the Colombian Conflict and Security in Ecuador," in Brian Loveman, ed., Addicted to Failure: U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region. New York: Rowman& Littlefield, Publishers, Inc., pp. 103-129.

### Supplementary (Ecuador)

Adrián Bonilla, "Alcances de la autonomía y la hegemonía en la política exterior ecuatoriana," en Adrián Bonilla, ed., Orfeo en el infierno: Una agenda de política exterior ecuatoriana. Quito: FLACSO, CAF, Academia Diplomática, 2002, pp. 11-46.

Bruce Bagley, Adrián Bonilla and Alexei Paez, eds., Economía Política del Narcotráfico: El Caso Ecuatoriano (Quito, Ecuador: FLACSO and the North/South Center, 1991), pp. 1-169.

Manuel Salgado Tamayo, Drogas, terrorismo e insurgencia: Del Plan Colombia a la Cruzada Libertad Duradera. Quito: Ediciones La Tierra, 2002, 420p..

L.A. Leon, "Historia y extinción del cocaísmo en el Ecuador: sus resultados," América Indígena, No. 12, pp. 7-32.

P. Naranjo, "El cocaísmo entre los aborígenes de sud-América: Su difusión y extinción en el Ecuador," América Indígena, No. 34, pp. 605-628.

Paul Bonilla S. and Pablo Andrade A., "Resumen: El consumo de drogas en el Ecuador," (Quito: Fundación Nuestros Jóvenes, 1989) 14 p.

Alexei Paez, "Política y narcotráfico: La ambigüedad del estado," (Quito: FLACSO-SEDE Ecuador, enero 1989) 24p.

Adrián Bonilla, "Ecuador como actor internacional en la guerra de las drogas." A paper prepared for "The International Symposium on Money Laundering," GSIS, University of Miami, October 26-28, 1989.

Pablo Andrade y Paul Bonilla, Encuesta Epidemiológica sobre el consumo de drogas en el Ecuador (Quito: Fundación Nuestros Jóvenes, 1988).

## **8. October 27. The Political Economy of the US-Andean Drug Trade: Colombia I**

### Required

Crandall, Russell, Driven by Drugs: U.S. Policy toward Colombia. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002, 240 p.

Eduardo Pizarro and Pilar Gaitan, "Plan Colombia and the Andean Regional Initiative: lights and Shadows," in Brian Loveman, ed., Addicted to Failure: U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers, Inc., pp. 53-79.

### Supplementary (Colombia I)

Charles Bergquist, Ricardo Peñaranda, and Gonzalo Sanchez G., eds., Violence in Colombia 1990-2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace. Wilmington, Delaware: SR Books, A Scholarly Resources, Inc. Imprint, 2001, pp. 274 p.

Juan G. Tokatlian and Bruce Bagley, Economía y Política del Narcotráfico (Bogota, Colombia: CEREC, 1991) pp. 57-150

Nazih Richani, Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia. New York: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Augusto Pérez Gómez, Historia de la drogadicción en Colombia, (Bogota: Ediciones Tercer Mundo and Ediciones UNIANDES, 1988) pp. 9-132.

M. Arango and Jorge Child, Narcotráfico: Imperio de la cocaína (Medellín: Editorial Percepción, 1984) pp. 15-150.

B.M. Bagley, The State and the Peasantry in Contemporary Colombia, (Meadville, PA: Allegheny College, Latin American Issues Monograph Series, No. 6, 1989), 86 p.

Robert Dix, The Politics of Colombia (New York: Praeger, 1987) 250 p.

Robert Dix, Colombia: the Political Dimensions of Change. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Jonathan Hartlyn, The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

I. Pérez de Barrades, "Antigüedad del uso de la coca en Colombia," Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, No. 3, pp. 323-326. (1940).

R.E. Schultes, "Coca in the Northwest Amazon," Journal of Ethnopharmacology, No. 3, pp. 173-194 (1981).

A. Pérez G., Cocaína: Surgimiento y Evolución de un Mito (Bogota: Catalogo Científico, 1987).

Jorge Bejarano, Nuevos capítulos sobre el cocaísmo en Colombia (Bogota: Universidad Nacional, 1952).

## **9. November 3. The Political Economy of the US-Andean Drug Trade: Colombia II**

### Required

Bruce Bagley, "Drugs, Violence and U.S.-Colombian Relations in the 1990s and Beyond." Miami, FL: Unpublished Manuscript, University of Miami, 2003, 32p.

Maria Clemencia Ramirez Lemus, Kimberly Stanton and John Walsh, "Colombia: A Vicious Circle of Drugs and War," in C. Youngers and Eileen Rosen, eds., Op cit., pp. 99-142.

Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, "After Iraq: next Colombia? The United States and (In)Security in South America," in Brian Loveman, ed., Addicted to Failure: U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region. New York: Rowman& Littlefield, Publishers, Inc., pp. 239-258.

### Supplementary (Colombia II)

Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Globalización, narcotráfico, y violencia. Bogota: Editorial Norma, 2000, 228p.

Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, compilador, Colombia y Estados Unidos: Problemas y perspectivas. Bogota: TM Editores, COCIECIAS, IEPRI, 1998, 488 p.

Bruce Bagley, "Hablando duro: La política internacional antinarcóticos de los Estados Unidos en los años noventa," en Ibid., 103-118.

Mauricio Aranguren Molina: Mi Confesión: Carlos Castaño revela sus secretos. Bogota: Editorial Oveja Negra, 2001, 343p.

Jaime Rocha, Fernando Cubiles y Myriam Jimeno, Las violencias: Inclusión creciente. Bogotá: CES, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1998, 331p.

Alonso Salazar J., Drogas y narcotráfico en Colombia. Bogota: Editorial Planeta, 2001, 198p.

R. Craig, "Domestic Implications of Illicit Colombia Drug Production and Trafficking," JISWA, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1983) pp. 213-230.

Álvaro Camacho Guizado, Andrés López Restrepo, y Francisco Thoumi, Las drogas: Una guerra fallida. Visiones críticas. Bogota: TM Editores, IEPRI, 1999, 206 p.

Ricardo Vargas Meza, Drogas, mascararas y juego: Narcotráfico y conflicto armado en Colombia. Bogota: TNI-Acción Andina, 1999, 214p.

Francisco Leal Buitrago, ed., Los laberintos de la guerra: Utopías e incertidumbres sobre la paz. Bogota: TM Editores, Universidad de los Andes, 1999, 335p.

Francisco Leal Buitrago: El oficio de la guerra. : La seguridad nacional en Colombia. Bogota: TM Editores-IEPRI, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1994.

Francisco Leal Buitrago, Tras las huellas de la crisis. Bogota: TM Editores.-IEPRI, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1996.

Alfredo Rancel Suárez, Colombia: Guerra en el fin de siglo. Bogota: TM Editores-Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de los Andes, 1998.

Alonso Salazar J. y Ana Maria Jaramillo, Medellín: Las subculturas del narcotráfico. Bogota: CINEP, 1996.

Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Drogas, dilemas y dogmas: Estados Unidos y la narcocriminalidad organizada en Colombia. Bogotá: TM Editores-CEI, Universidad de los Andes, 1995.

F. Thoumi, "Some Implications of the Growth of the Underground Economy in Colombia," JISWA, Vol. 29, No. 2, (Summer 1987), pp. 35-48.

Eric Hobsbawn, "Murderous Colombia," The New York Review of Books, (1986), pp.

G. Gugliotta and J. Leen, Kings of Cocaine (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 344 p.

B. Bagley and J. Tokatlian, "Colombian Foreign Policy in the 1980s: The Search for Leverage," JISWA, Vol. 27, No. 3, (Fall 1985), pp. 27-62.

B. Bagley, "Colombia and the War on Drugs," Foreign Affairs, (Fall 1988) pp. 70-92

J. Tokatlian, "National Security and Drugs: Their Impact on Colombian-US Relations" JISWA, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1988) pp. 133-161.

R. Pardo and J. Tokatlian, Política Exterior Colombiana, De la Subordinación a la Autonomía

(Bogota: Tercer Mundo y Uniandes, 1988) pp. 113-237.  
Macdonald, pp. 27-51.  
P. Eddy, et.al, The Cocaine Wars (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988).  
M. Arango J., Impacto del narcotráfico en Antioquia (Medellín: Editorial J. M. Arango, 1988).  
Bruce Bagley, "The Colombian Connection" in Pacini and Franquemont, eds., pp. 89-101.  
J. E. Jaramillo, et.al., Colonización, coca, y guerrilla (Bogota: Alianza Editorial Colombiana, 3 ed., 1989).  
A. Molano, et.al., Selva Adentro (Bogota: El Ancora, 1987).  
A. Camacho G., Droga, corrupción y poder: Marihuana y cocaína en la sociedad Colombiana (Cali: U. del Valle, 1981).  
A. Camacho G. Droga y Sociedad en Colombia: El Poder y Estigma (Bogota: U. del Valle and CEREC, 1988).  
GAO, "Drug Control: US-Supported Efforts in Colombia and Bolivia," (Washington, DC: GAO/NSIAD-89-24, November 1988).  
Presidencia de la Republica, La lucha contra el narcotráfico en Colombia (Bogota: Presidencia de la Republica, Octubre, 1988).  
Carlos G. Arrieta, et.al., Narcotráfico en Colombia (Bogota, Colombia: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1990).

## **10. November 10. Brazil, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean**

### Required

Vellinga, Menno, ed., The Political Economy of the Drug Industry: Latin America and the International System. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004, pp. 3-126.  
Laurie Freeman and Jorge Luis Sierra, "Mexico: The Militarization Trap," in Coletta Youngers and Eileen Rosen, eds., Op cit., pp. 263-302.  
Jorge Rodriguez Beruff and Gerardo Cordero, "The Caribbean: The "Third Border" and the War on Drugs," in C. Youngers and Eileen Rosen, eds., Ibid, pp. 303-338.  
Enrique Desmond Arias, Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks and Public Security. Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 2006, 279 p.

### Supplementary

Laurie Freeman, Troubling Patterns: The Mexican Military and the War on Drugs. Washington, D.C.: Latin America Working Group, September 2002.  
Jesús Blancornelas, El Cartel: Los Arellano Felix: la mafia mas poderosa en la historia de América Latina. Barcelona, España: Plaza Janes, 2002, 284p.  
John Bailey and Jorge Chabat, eds., Transnational Crime and Public Security: Challenges to Mexico and the United States. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Publications, University of California at San Diego, 2002.  
John Bailey and y Roy Godson, eds., Crimen organizado y gobernabilidad democrática: Mexico y la franja fronteriza. Mexico: Editorial Grijalbo, 2000, 332p.  
Carlos Loret de Mola A., El Negocio: La economía de México atrapada por el narcotráfico. México: Editorial Grijalbo, 2001, 193 p.  
Jorge Fernández Menéndez, Narcotráfico y poder. Mexico: Rayuela Editores, 1999, 235 p.  
Maria Cecilia Toro, Mexico's 'War on Drugs': Causes and Consequences. Boulder: Lynne Rienner,

Publishers, 1995.

Manú Dornbierer, La Guerra de las Drogas. Mexico: Editorial Grijalbo, 1991, 278 p.

Guadalupe Gonzalez and Marta Tienda, The Drug Connection in U.S.-Mexican Relations (San Diego, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1989), 134 p.

Samuel I. Del Villar, "The Illicit U.S.-Mexico Drug Market: Failure of Policy and an Alternative," in R. Roett, ed., Mexico and the United States: Managing the Relationship (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 173-190.

G. Treverton, "Narcotics in U.S.-Mexican Relations," Ibid, pp. 209-222.

Bruce M. Bagley, "Interdependence and U.S. Policy toward Mexico, in Ibid, pp. 223-242.

Peter Reuter and David Rondfeldt, "Quest for Integrity: The Mexican-U.S. Drug Problem," (Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, June 1990), 62 p.

Mark B. Rosenberg, "Narcos and Politicos: The Politics of Drug Trafficking in Honduras," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 30 (Summer/Fall, 1988) pp. 143-165.

Peter A. Lupsha, "Drug Trafficking: Mexico and Colombia in Comparative Perspective," in Journal of International Affairs, vol. 33, no.1 (spring/summer 1981).

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## **11. November 17. The U.S. War on Drugs: The Reagan/Bush/Clinton Years I**

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## **12. November 24. The U.S. War on Drugs: The Reagan/Bush/Clinton Years II**

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### **Fall Calendar**

**Dec. 5**      **Classes end**  
**Dec. 6-9**    **Reading days**  
**Dec. 10-17** **Final Exams**  
**Dec. 17**    **Semester ends**  
**Dec. 20**    **Final grades release by faculty**  
**Dec. 23**    **Final grades available on myUM**