

Drugs & Drug Policy in the Americas

I. Drug Use in the Americas

II. Drug-Trafficking in the Americas

III. U.S. Drug Policy

I. Drug Use in the Americas

➤ A. What's a Drug? (e.g. U.S.)

➤ Legal Drugs: *alcohol; tobacco*

➤ Illegal Drugs: *marijuana; cocaine; heroin; ecstasy*

➤ B. Measurement Issues

➤ *Methods:*

➤ surveys; possession charges; ER admissions

➤ *Problems*

➤ surveys hide use (esp. when gov't/social pressure is higher) & only households are asked

➤ hospital & judicial figures capture only a minority

I. C. Cocaine Use in the U.S.

	<i>1979</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2010</i>
% of pop. >11 that used in the last month	2.6%	3.0%	1.0%	0.8%	0.8%	0.6%	1.0%	0.6%

➤ Alternative Use & Supply Measures

➤ estimates based on ER and criminal justice information place “hardcore” users at around 2 million throughout the 1990s & 2000s

➤ estimated supply in the U.S. remained between 400 & 550mt between 1986-2002; dropped slightly in 2003-2004; rose back up in 2005-2007 (peaking that year); then fell back to prior levels in 2008-2009

➤ usually over 500mt

➤ reached 626mt in the 2007 estimate

➤ D. Trends

➤ Drug use up in Latin America during 1990s

➤ Casual use down, hardcore stable in U.S.

➤ U.S. consumes 75% of world cocaine w/ 5% of the world population....

II. Trafficking in the Americas

➤ A. Marijuana Crops bound for U.S.

➤ divided among producers in Canada, Colombia, Mexico, & the U.S.

➤ B. 2010 Coca Leaf Production

➤ Peru: 35% -- share more than doubled since 2007, but below 40-45% trend line

➤ Colombia: 41% -- down from peak in mid-decade of over 70% share

➤ Bolivia: 24% -- share nearly doubled since 2007 → back to historical trend line

III. U.S. Drug Policy

➤ Supply-side

- eradication
- interdiction
- arrest & “decapitation”
- following the money trail

➤ Demand-side

- drug education
- social pressure
- addiction treatment
- reduced alienation

III.B. Reagan (1981-1989)

- *1981 PL 97-86 & 1982 DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT*
 - authorized military to provide intelligence, equipment, & logistical support to federal agents by amending the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act
- *1986 NSDD 221 & OMNIBUS DRUG CONTROL ACT OF 1986*
 - drug-trafficking deemed a “lethal” threat to national security
 - authorized extended use of U.S. military forces abroad in anti-trafficking efforts
 - DOD drug budget nearly doubled to \$379m for FY 1987
- *1986 also saw the “certification amendment” to the Foreign Assistance Act [more later...]*

III.C. Bush & Clinton (1989—2001)

- *George Bush’s “ANDEAN STRATEGY” (1989-92)*
 - increased military aid to Bolivia, Colombia, & Peru, but found it hard to gain support from Andean presidents at 2 drug summits
- *Bill Clinton’s initial move away from militarization (1993-95)*
 - more rhetorical stress on demand-side policies
 - shifted supply-side mix toward domestic law enforcement (over int’l spending)
- *CLINTON II: back to militarization (1996-2000)*
 - called for more supply-side efforts
 - named Gen. Barry McCaffrey “drug czar” (i.e. head of ONDCP)
 - increased spending on all 3 main areas by around 10 percent
 - demand reduction
 - domestic law enforcement
 - int’l spending & interdiction
 - doubled the part of the intelligence budget dedicated to drug policy
 - backed proposal for \$1.3b on Plan Colombia in 2000

III.D. George W. Bush (2001-2009)

- *Andean Regional Initiative*
 - GWB proposed \$.5b in new military & economic aid to the Andean region in 2001
 - Aid then doubled in 2002, leveled off mid-presidency, & fell to \$.7b in 2008
- *new Mexican Initiative*
 - In late Oct. 2007, GWB & Felipe Calderón agreed on plans for \$1.4b in U.S. countertrafficking aid for 2008-2010
- *Overall shift further toward supply-side*
 - From 54% of spending in 2001 to 65% in 2009

➤ III.E. Barack Obama (2009-present)

- *To date, the Obama presidency has left the GWB approach largely in place*
 - *Andean & Mexican initiatives continue*
 - *Supply-side emphasis modified slightly by adding into the drug control budget 15 (previously unreported) programs*
 - This reporting change reduced the supply-side focus from 65% of spending in the inherited FY 2009 budget to 60% under the new rules
 - Since then, supply-side spending has remained stable at 59% to 60% from FY 2010 through FY 2012

III.F. THE CONTINUED ROLE of “CERTIFICATION”

- President must “certify” every year whether a country has “cooperated fully” with U.S. and/or taken adequate measures to combat drug production, trafficking, & money laundering.
 - If decertified by the President (or by Congress):
 - **most of any promised U.S. aid must be withheld**
 - except for food and counternarcotics aid
 - **U.S. must oppose new loans & extensions of old ones in multilateral financial IGOs**
- CERTIFICATION has been the key stick used to try to gain (often grudging) cooperation re: supply-side strategy abroad.
 - In 1993 Clinton signed a directive calling for a tougher stance on certification.
 - In 1996 Clinton decertified Colombia in the wake of Pres. Ernesto Samper's campaign scandal but
 - in most presidencies the “yellow-light” warning is used to signal U.S. discontent to pressure for policy changes
 - e.g. Haiti in 2002-2004; Venezuela since 2006; Bolivia since 2008

III.G. The Results of the Supply-Side “War on Drugs”

➤ **SUCSESSES**

- Cocaine seizures rose 37x (1.9 mt to 71.6 mt) while overall spending rose 9x over 1981-90
 - seizures stable at around 100mt/year during 1991-2000
 - then increased to 140 to 170mt during 2001-2009
- Coca eradication rose 40x from 2 mt to 80 mt over 1986-90; was stable in early 1990s; & has risen sharply since 1999
- Leaders of the Medellín cartel were mostly dead or imprisoned by 1991

➤ **FAILURES**

- World cocaine production rose 36% (218 mt) over 1986-90
 - **it remained between 700-800mt since 1990 (700mt in 2008; nearly 750mt in 2010)**
- Medellín cartel’s 80% of U.S. cocaine market (1980s) was taken over by the Cali cartel
- *Cali cartel’s share has been handled since late 1990s by a variety of Colombian (including portions of Cali cartel) & Mexican operations*