

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
HUNTER COLLEGE

POLSC 281, Day Session [Codes 5122 & 5174] Spring 2017

Prof. K. P. Erickson

Drugs, Politics, and Public Policy

This course examines, through reading, discussion, and research, the political factors and the public policies that have shaped the contemporary drug crisis. It considers historical precedents, cultural determinants, economic incentives, international dynamics, and the contradictory public policies that have, paradoxically, contributed to the rise in narcotics trafficking and use in recent times. Topics include the implications of the "War on Drugs" for US foreign policy and for democratic institutions in both supplying and consuming countries.

The following are required texts:

Bertram, Eva, Morris Blachman, Kenneth Sharpe, & Peter Andreas. *Drug War Politics: The Price of Denial* (U of California Press, 1996).

Levine, Michael. *Deep Cover: Inside Story of DEA...* (Any edition).

McCoy, Alfred W. *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade, Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, Central America, Colombia*, revised ed. (Lawrence Hill Books, 2003).

Additional readings will be available via the internet or posted on Blackboard or on electronic reserves (ERes) <http://hunter.docutek.com/eres/>. Blackboard is accessed through the CUNY Portal (instructions at <http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/icit/help-docs/the-cuny-portalid>), and readings may be found in Course Documents, not Course Materials. There is an alternate login link on the Blackboard info page, along with other helpful information at <http://bb.hunter.cuny.edu/>. If you seem blocked from Blackboard (usually because there is a problem at the Portal), try the link above. URLs sometimes change. If the URLs for the assigned readings below do not work, please let me know and I will find a new URL or post the reading on Blackboard.

Course requirements include a mid-term exam (20% of final grade), a final exam (40%), a research paper or a comparative book review (comparing at least two books not already among the required readings) (30%), and participation in class discussion on the assigned readings (10%). The final exam will be comprehensive, covering all material treated in class and in reading assignments during the semester. To help students prepare for exams, this syllabus includes a sample list of comprehensive essay questions.

In any field of scientific inquiry, scholars employ explanatory concepts and theories to organize data and to interpret phenomena. One goal of this course is to use evolving drug policies to show students how academic disciplines develop dominant explanatory paradigms composed of such concepts and theories, and how, over time, these paradigms are challenged, refined, and/or replaced by new paradigms.

Dominant paradigms also shape the ways that political leaders, policy practitioners, and citizens more generally approach contemporary problems. The relationships among academic paradigms, policy paradigms, public-opinion currents, and political processes provide an important theme for this course. Understanding these relationships not only helps one explain why certain policies are followed at any given moment, but it should also enable critics and opponents to assess these policies more effectively in order to propose alternatives.

Students must consult with the instructor about research topics or books to review. A tentative choice of books or topic for the paper must be emailed to the instructor by April 4, with a copy to Turnitin.com. It should be well written and should contain a paragraph or two explaining why you chose the topic, what questions you seek to answer, and key sources that you have located in your bibliographic search. The emailed copy should be written in or pasted into the body of the email, **not** attached to it. The research paper or book review will be due on May 12. The paper must be submitted in hard copy and also in an electronic copy via Turnitin.com. I will read and offer comments on a complete (i.e., not hasty or partial) first draft of the term paper if it is submitted by April 7.

POLSC 281 is combined (cross-listed) with LACS 434.76, the Latin American and Caribbean Studies seminar. Students registering for this course as the LACS seminar must produce a seminar-level research paper, i.e., a project that goes beyond the papers described in this syllabus for POLSC 281.

Useful bibliographic sources for research materials or books to review are EBSCO and Lexis-Nexis on the Hunter Library website <http://library.hunter.cuny.edu/find/databases> ; CUNYPLUS; the Columbia University Library catalogue <http://clio.cul.columbia.edu:7018/vwebv/searchBasic?sk=CLIO> ; Google Scholar <http://www.scholar.google.com> , and amazon.com and bn.com . Keywords identifying your interests (e.g., k=narcotic, k=drug and colombia, k=drug and mexico and policy, k=forfeiture) will bring up many recent books and articles. Where the catalogue offers you the option to select by descending date, i.e., by most-recent first, as in Columbia's CLIO, choose that option. You can quickly build a working bibliography by saving, copying, and then pasting the results into a document file. Google.com can provide links to excellent source material.

Useful websites on drug-policy and drug-reform issues include www.drugpolicy.org , <http://stopthedrugwar.org/> , <http://www.csdp.org/> , <http://www.druglibrary.org/> , <http://www.sentencingproject.org/> , <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/> , <http://www.ihra.net/> , The Office of National Drug Control Policy <http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp> , <https://www.drugabuse.gov/related-topics/trends-statistics> , <http://qcpages.qc.cuny.edu/~hlevine/> , <http://www.drugwarfacts.org/cms/toc#sthash.XmlVg5q8.dpbs> , <http://marijuana-arrests.com/> , <http://www.idpc.net/> , <http://www.justicepolicy.org/> , <http://www.drugscope.org.uk/> , <http://cjpf.org/> , <http://www.narconews.com/> , <http://famm.org/> , <http://www.druglawreform.info/> , www.beckleyfoundation.org/ , <http://www.erowid.org/> , <http://www.maps.org/> , <http://www.samhsa.gov/data> , <http://insightcrime.org/> , <http://idpc.net/> , <http://www.briancbennett.com/> , <http://www.amsterdam.info/drugs/> , <http://www.safeaccessnow.org/> , <http://www.undrugcontrol.info/en/un-drug-control> , <https://www.wola.org/program/drug-policy/drug-policy-debate-and-reform-in-the-americas/> , <http://www.insightcrime.org/latest-investigation> . Your research will turn up many others.

The instructor has designed this course with the following objectives: to enable students to develop their abilities to read critically; to think comparatively and logically; to write critically and analytically, organizing their thought into effective analyses or arguments; and to understand the domestic and international processes that make it so difficult to create a truly coherent and effective drug policy. Guidelines for effective critical and analytic prose are offered in the writing tipsheet that accompanies this syllabus.

For reporting and analysis of relevant current events that we may discuss in class, students are expected to follow appropriate media sources. Let me point out the often neglected (in this age of television) and truly outstanding news coverage of WNYC radio (AM 82 and FM 93.9). Weekdays, FM carries "Morning Edition," the two-hour National Public Radio newscast from 5 to 9 a.m., and AM carries it from 6:30 to 9 a.m. AM presents "The Takeaway," from 9 to 10 o'clock. They play "All Things Considered," the NPR evening news program from 4 to 6:30 p.m. and 7 to 8 p.m. WNYC-AM broadcasts "The World," a joint PRI-BBC world news magazine from 3:00 to 4:00 p.m., and BBC newscasts overnight and at other hours. AM runs the audio feed of the televised PBS NewsHour from 11 p.m. to midnight. At other hours AM presents excellent current-affairs interview and talk shows. Most of these provide podcasts or downloadable versions.

And WBAI, the Pacifica Foundation station (FM 99.5), presents news and analysis weekdays on "Democracy Now" from 8 to 9 a.m. Major media websites (www.nytimes.com, www.salon.com, www.washingtonpost.com, cnn.com, etc.) make it easy to follow recent current events. Lexis-Nexis, on the Hunter Library website, allows one to search many media at once.

My office hours are: Tuesday, 3:40-4:10, and 7:00-7:30; Thursday, 4:30-5:00; and by appointment, in room HW1720 (tel. 212-772-5498). My e-mail addresses are: Kenneth.Erickson@hunter.cuny.edu and

kerickso@hunter.cuny.edu . If you have a junk-mail filter in your email account, please be sure to program it to accept email from my address. When corresponding with me, please include the course number "281" in the subject line, to route your message into a priority inbox for this course.

COURSE OUTLINE AND ASSIGNED READINGS

I. INTRODUCTION: PARADIGMS, PERCEPTIONS, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS.

Jan. 31. Introductory Session.

Feb. 3. Read and reflect on syllabus.

Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed., (U. of Chicago Press, 1996), 10-21; and "Erickson's notes on science and paradigms," 1-7; and K.P. Erickson, "Drugs," in *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, 2nd ed. (Oxford U.P., 2001), 227-229 and; David Sheff, "My Addicted Son," *New York Times Magazine*, Feb 5, 2005; and pasted follow-ups in Bb posting.

Deborah Sontag, "Heroin's Small-Town Toll, and a Mother's Grief," NYT, 2-10-2014.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/11/us/heroins-small-town-toll-and-a-mothers-pain.html>

For data: <http://www.drugabuse.gov/publications/drugfacts/nationwide-trends>

II. THE DEMAND SIDE: DRUG CONSUMPTION, US PUBLIC POLICY, AND COSTS AND BENEFITS TO SOCIETY.

A. The Evolution of US Drug Control Policies.

Feb. 7. Bertram et al., *Drug War Politics* (abbreviated below as DWP), ix-31; 264-267.

B. The "Drug-Law Addiction:" Human Costs, and Costs to Democracy.

Feb. 10. **Collateral Damage:** DWP, 32-54.

Feb. 14. **Erosion of Constitutional Protections: Forfeiture and Privacy:**

Eric Blumenson and Eva Nilsen, "The Drug War's Hidden Economic Agenda," *The Nation*, 3/9/1998, 11-16; and

Graham Boyd, "Collateral Damage in the War on Drugs," *Villanova Law Review*, 2002; and Erickson's Updates on privacy and forfeiture:

ForfeiturePoliceNewsBrief.doc and PrivacyDrugLawNewsBrief.doc .

- Feb. 17. **The Drug War and the Racialized Caste System:**
The Vortex: The Concentrated Racial Impact of Drug Imprisonment and the Characteristics of Punitive Counties (Justice Policy Institute, 2007), 2-11; and *A 25-Year Quagmire: The War on Drugs and Its Impact on American Society* (The Sentencing Project, 2007), 3-4.
One in 100: Behind Bars in America (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2008), 3-8, 35, 34.
Selections from Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, revised edition. (The New Press, 2012), Preface, 1-15, 69-80, 97-98, 137-139.

Feb. 21. Discussion.

C. The Evolution of the Punitive Paradigm: US Politics, and US Public Policy.

- Feb. 24. DWP, 55-133.
Feb. 28. DWP, 134-176; and Erickson's notes, NtPolicyProcessDrugs.
Mar. 3. DWP, 177-203.

D. Alternatives: The Legalization Debate.

- Mar. 7. Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Drug Prohibition in the United States: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives," in Craig Reinerman & Harry G. Levine, eds., *Crack in America: Demon Drugs and Social Justice* (U. of California Press, 1997), 288-316.

James B. Jacobs, "Imagining Drug Legalization," *The Public Interest*, No. 101 (Fall 1990), 28-42.

Charles Murray, "How to Win the War on Drugs," *New Republic*, 5/21/90, 19-25.

Timothy Egan, "The Nation: Hard Time, Less Crime, More Criminals," *NY Times*, 7 March 1999; and Fernanda Santos, "Plan to Close Prisons Stirs Anxiety in Towns That Depend on Them," *NY Times*, 1-27-08; and related articles on costs of incarceration, (Filename: PrisonsEgan1999.doc).

Randal C. Archibold, "California, in Financial Crisis, Opens Prison Doors," *NY Times*, 23 March 2010.

E. Data for the Debate over Marijuana.

Mar. 10. Drug Policy Alliance, *Marijuana: the Facts* (DPA, 2014),
<http://www.drugpolicy.org/resource/10-facts-about-marijuana>

ONDCP, “Marijuana Myths & Facts: The Truth Behind 10 Popular Misconceptions,”
1-12. https://www.ncjrs.gov/ondcppubs/publications/pdf/marijuana_myths_facts.pdf
[Read quickly, for main arguments.]

“Marijuana: Know the Facts,” ONDCP, 2010,

https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/ondcp/Fact_Sheets/marijuana_fact_sheet_jw_10-5-10.pdf .

Harry G. Levine and Loren Siegel, “Marijuana Madness: The Scandal of New York City’s Racist Marijuana Possession Arrests,” in *The New York City Police Department: The Impact of Its Policies and Practice*, edited by John A. Eterno. New York: CRC Press: 2015, 117-161.
http://qcpages.qc.cuny.edu/~hlevine/Marijuana_Madness_NYCs_Racist_Marijuana_Arrests

“NYC Marijuana Arrests 2015.” Filename: NYCMarijArrests2015DPAFrederique.doc

Brendan Cheney, “Marijuana arrests in city increased in 2016, with large racial disparities”
<http://www.politico.com/states/new-york/city-hall/story/2017/02/marijuana-arrests-in-nyc-increase-in-2016-still-large-racial-disparities-109306>

Bill Keller, “How to Legalize Pot,” NY Times, May 19, 2013.

Mark Kleiman, “How Not to Make a Hash Out of Cannabis Legalization: Leaving it to the States is a Recipe for Disaster,” *Washington Monthly*, March 2014, 32-37.

“Legalising cannabis: Reeferegulatory challenge; A growing number of countries are deciding to ditch prohibition. What comes next?” *The Economist*, 2/11/2016.

<http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21692873-growing-number-countries-are-deciding-ditch-prohibition-what-comes?zid=319&ah=17af09b0281b01505c226b1e574f5cc1>

Mar. 14. Review.

F. An Alternative Approach: The Public-Health Paradigm.

Mar. 17. MID-TERM EXAM; and read DWP, 204-263.

Mar. 21. Tiggey May & Oonagh Skrine, “Impact of changes in Netherlands coffee shop policies on local markets: politics, policies, confusion and chaos: the problems associated with implementing the Dutch weed pass,” in *Further insights into aspects of the illicit EU drugs market*,” European Union, 2013, 425-444;

Winston Ross, “Holland’s New Marijuana Laws Are Changing Old Amsterdam,”

Newsweek, 2/22/15, <http://www.newsweek.com/marijuana-and-old-amsterdam-308218>

- Mar. 24. Lisa Berger, "Drug Policy in Portugal: An Interview with Helen Redmond," *J of Social Work Practice in the Addictions*, 13: 216-222 (2013); and "Drug Decriminalization in Portugal: A Health-Centered Approach," DPA, Feb 2015, https://www.drugpolicy.org/sites/default/files/DPA_Fact_Sheet_Portugal_Decriminalization_Feb2015.pdf, and Tiggey May & Oonagh Skrine, "Impact of decriminalisation of personal possession offences in Portugal," in *Further insights into aspects of the illicit EU drugs market*, European Union, 2013, 425-444; and (recommended, not required) Caitlin Elizabeth Hughes & Alex Stevens, "A Resounding Success or a Disastrous Failure: Re-examining the Interpretation of evidence on the Portuguese Decriminalisation of Illicit Drugs," *Drug and Alcohol Review* (January 2012), 31, 101-113.

G. The War on Drugs in Action: Inter-Agency Rivalry and Policy Implementation.

- Mar. 28. Mark L. Goldstein, "Drug Wars, Turf Wars," *Government Executive* (Jan. 1990), 22-28; and Levine, *Deep Cover*, Chs. 1-6.
Due today: Choice of paper topic or book review, with copy to Turnitin.com .
- Mar. 31. Levine, Chs. 7-12, and Epilogue.

III. THE SUPPLY SIDE: US FOREIGN POLICY AND DRUG TRAFFICKING.

A. OPIUM, IMPERIALISM, AND ASIAN SUPPLIERS.

- Apr. 4. McCoy, ix-45.
Recommended: G. C. Ward and Frederick Delano Grant, Jr., "A Fair, Honorable, and Legitimate Trade," *American Heritage*, Vol. 37, No. 5 (Aug.-Sept. 1986).
- Apr. 7. McCoy, 46-76, 283-331.
- April 11 - April 18. Spring Recess: See the film, "*Traffic*," for discussion on April 21.
- Apr. 21. Discuss the film, "*Traffic*," and McCoy, 331-386.
- Apr. 25. McCoy, 387-443.
Apr. 28. McCoy, 443-487.
May 2. McCoy, 487-531.

B. COCAINE AND US FOREIGN POLICY.

- May 5. Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall, *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America*, updated ed. (U. of Calif. P., 1998), vii-30 [To save time, read Erickson's notes, filename NtCocainePoliticsScott1991Snips]; and Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy, "Drugs and Democracy: Toward a Paradigm Shift" 2009, pp. 5, 7-14, 17-18.
http://www.drogasedemocracia.org/Arquivos/livro_ingles_02.pdf
David Bewley-Taylor et al, "Cannabis Regulation and the UN Drug Treaties: Strategies For Reform," WOLA et al, June 2016.
https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/dpb_45_04072016_web.pdf

- May 9. James Jones, "We're Targeting a Colombia We Don't Fully Understand," *Washington Post*, 2 April 2000; and María Clemencia Ramírez Lemus, et al., "Colombia: A Vicious Circle of Drugs and War," in Coletta A. Youngers and Eileen Rosin, eds, *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy* (Lynne Rienner, 2005), p. 136-7, plus Erickson's notes on this chapter, filename NtColRamirez2005; and Adam Isacson, "Even if Glyphosate Were Safe, Fumigation in Colombia Would Be a Bad Policy. Here's Why,"

http://www.wola.org/commentary/even_if_glyphosate_were_safe_fumigation_in_colombia_would_be_a_bad_policy_heres_why

C. COCAINE TRAFFICKING AND THE EROSION OF THIRD WORLD POLITICS.

- May 12. Barry Chevannes, "Criminalizing Cultural Practice: The Case of Ganja in Jamaica," in Axel Klein, et al, *Caribbean Drugs: From Criminalization to Harm Reduction* (Zed Books, 2004), 67-81; and Marlyn J. Jones, "Jamaica's Marijuana Decriminalization Conundrum," *Canadian J. of Law and Society*, 18, 2 (2003), 91-114; and Steve Davenport & Bryce Pardo, "The Dangerous Drugs Act Amendment in Jamaica: Reviewing goals, implementation, and challenges," *Intl J of Drug Policy*, 37 (2016), 60-69. WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT DUE MAY 12.

IV. CONCLUSION.

- May 16. Review.

- May 23. FINAL EXAM, 11:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m. (Tuesday: Note different starting time.)

POLSC 281, Spring 2017

Drugs, Politics, and Public Policy

Exam Preparation

Prof. K. Erickson

The mid-term exam will consist of four short essays (out of five), in which you will identify the terms presented (generally concepts treated in readings and class discussion) and show their relevance to political analysis and/or to the understanding or formulation of drug policy. The short-essay part (20 percent) of the final exam has the same format as the mid-term exam, with terms drawn from materials covered since that exam. The long-essay part (for 80 percent) of the final exam is cumulative, covering the entire semester.

Below are some questions on material we cover during this course, to help you recognize issues considered important by the instructor. These are typical of long-essay questions. You are encouraged to form study groups to discuss the materials and prepare for the final exam. You may bring one letter-size sheet of notes (8.5"x11") to the final exam with you, but not to the mid-term. Bear in mind tips from the writing tipsheet about writing essays, in particular the importance of illustrating generalizations with examples.

1. Identify and evaluate US domestic and foreign policies since 1898, with principal emphasis on the last sixty years, in so far as they affect drug supplies and drug consumption. Identify the principal alternative policies, and the positive and negative implications of each policy alternative. If you were in a position to influence policy makers, what advice or suggestions would you offer? Since the logic of the war on drugs rests on economic reasoning, be sure to present and evaluate this reasoning, illustrating especially with policy goals toward heroin, cocaine, and marijuana, and with evidence of policy effectiveness.

2. A number of observers argue that an escalating War on Drugs may have very dangerous implications for certain fundamental components of the US political system, including individual rights, institutional accountability, political integrity and legitimacy, and civilian supremacy. Discuss, illustrate, and evaluate the principal arguments on these issues, showing the data on which these arguments are based.
3. Most of our authors this semester conclude that current drug-control policies are not effectively reducing the harms of drug abuse and crime and that they are imposing unacceptable costs to individuals and, more broadly, to our society, economy, and political system. The authors of *Drug War Politics* and the Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy propose an alternative approach, that of the public-health paradigm. Compare and contrast the logic and the presumed consequences of this approach to those of the punitive and legalization paradigms. What political factors and processes account for the long-term primacy of the punitive paradigm? What factors, according to these and other authors, might ultimately enable the public-health paradigm to replace the punitive paradigm as the framework for drug policy in the United States? Considering experiences and evidence from the United States and other countries, evaluate the prospects for such a policy change.
4. Policy analysts agree that policy making must be conceived of as a process rather than a single event. Describe the stages of the policy process, the principal institutions or arenas in which each stage takes place, and the types of outcomes that this kind of process usually creates. Illustrate these phases by showing how the advocates of the punitive paradigm succeeded in getting their policies enacted and enforced. What factors have made it so hard to enact an alternative, and what other factors might open a window for advocates of alternatives? In what ways does drug policy not conform to the standard model of incremental change and self-correction, and why?
5. Analyze international drug trafficking and show why it is so difficult to bring it under control. Be sure to treat economic, social, and political aspects and to include Alfred McCoy's analytic model in your discussion. Include as well an evaluation of the argument that US drug policy has been subordinated to other policies that have had a higher priority for policy makers. Illustrate with examples from at least two regions of the world. What factors, circumstances, or policies might contribute to bringing trafficking under control, and what major domestic and international changes since 1990 make that task more difficult? How do you evaluate the role of the international conventions in addressing the problem?
6. US drug control policy has focused principally on seeking to block the supply of drugs from foreign sources. This has led many Americans, including policy makers, to blame foreigners for drug addiction and crime in the United States and to feel that individuals and institutions in the United States are being sacrificed to greedy or irresponsible foreign interests. Evaluate this US position by comparing and contrasting the sacrifices made by US individuals and institutions with sacrifices made by those in at least four of the following countries: Laos, Burma, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Jamaica, and any other countries you wish to consider.
7. In preparing for debate events, debaters usually know in advance the topic they must discuss, but they often do not know the side they must argue until the last minute. Present the arguments and evidence that you would develop to prepare for both sides of a debate on the following proposition: "Drug possession and drug use should be decriminalized in the United States." As this is preparation, rather than an attempt to outperform the other side in public, you should frankly assess the weaknesses as well as the strengths of each side on the issue. Finally, after presenting both sides, you should exercise your own judgment as to which side you would support or which combination of elements from the two sides you would advocate, and why.

8. The Netherlands and Portugal have experimented with harm-reduction policies based on decriminalization of drugs. Describe their motivations and their experiences. What lessons have their policymakers drawn from these experiences, and what lessons do you draw? In what ways do you think US policymakers could apply those lessons in shaping policy here?

A reminder: In a good essay, all generalizations and arguments should be supported with illustrations and data. And a good essay should be so organized that it has an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. See the writing tipsheet for guidelines.

WRITING TIPSHEET, K. P. Erickson

HANDOUT FOR STUDENTS, ON WRITING PAPERS AND EXAMS (Updated January 2008)

All essays should have an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. Essays should make a point or an argument, and illustrate it with supporting evidence.

Consider the argument of a book review. In most cases, monographic studies address a debate in their discipline. They take a position that accepts, illustrates, and perhaps refines the prevailing wisdom (dominant paradigm) in the field, or they criticize that prevailing wisdom and present data to support an alternative explanation of the phenomenon under study. Reviewers should present the main point or argument of the book or books they treat, along with their evaluation of the arguments, logic, evidence, coherence, and clarity of the book or books. Student reviewers should be able to reread their reviews two years after writing them and effectively recall the key ideas and substance of a book, as well as their evaluation or criticism of it.

Writers should always make the logic of their thought explicit, on the level of overall organization, on the level of paragraphs, and on the level of sentences. They should also make explicit the logic of the processes they describe or analyze. One effective way to make clear the overall logic of a paper, chapter, or dissertation/book is to begin it with an introductory "roadmap" paragraph or section.

Paragraphs should begin with topic sentences, and long paragraphs should be broken into smaller ones, each with its own topic sentence. One of the reasons why long paragraphs usually do not make their thought as clear as shorter ones is that long paragraphs include more than one component of a thought, but they contain only one topic sentence. Breaking up a long paragraph into two or more smaller ones, therefore, is not simply responding to esthetic desires for more white space on a page. Rather, when writers break up long paragraphs, they necessarily must link the components of an argument with more topic sentences, thereby making their logic more explicit.

Illustrations, preferably brief, should be provided for each generalization.

Writers should write for a hypothetical intelligent but uninformed reader, so that they are forced to make explicit the logic and the data on which they make their argument.

In selecting words for strong and effective argument, remember that verbs are much stronger than nouns or other types of words, and that transitive verbs (those that force the reader to include a subject and an object, i.e., to state who did what to whom) in the active voice are the strongest. Avoid passives and intransitive verbs (for they tend to lose information, because passives do not require a subject and intransitives do not require an object) and impersonal constructions where nouns replace verbs. For example, "there was a meeting where it was decided that..." conveys less information and thus is not as strong as "party leaders held a meeting where they decided that...."

Fernando Fajnzylber's phrasing below, for example, in his brilliant but difficult to read (and therefore impossible to assign as required reading) *Unavoidable Industrial Restructuring in Latin America* (1990), p. 47 relies on nouns that he could have replaced with verbs: "In Japan and in large U.S. corporations, estimates have prognosticated a duplication in the production during the next fifteen to twenty years, with a reduction in employment of between 25 and 40 percent."

A sharp copyeditor could have forced him to check his data and change his formulation to something like: "Japanese and US corporate studies predict that, over the next fifteen to twenty years, production will double while employment will decline by 25 to 40 percent."

Students are expected to proofread their papers before submitting them, so that typographical errors and spelling errors have been corrected. Students should routinely do such proofreading, out of self-respect as well as out of respect for their instructor.

In the case of papers submitted for this course, those averaging more than three spelling or typographical errors per page over three or more pages will be returned ungraded. The corrected version, when resubmitted, will be graded two-thirds of a letter grade below the grade the work would otherwise earn (e.g., a B+ would become a B-, and a B would become a C+). Students who are not strong spellers should be attentive to prompts from their word processor's spelling checker.

Papers for this course should be typed, double-spaced, stapled, and not in plastic or other folders. Hand-written exams should also be double-spaced.

I grade papers on the basis of their organization, logic, coherence, originality, evaluative criticism, data, and clarity.

Some symbols I use in my penned comments:

Circled words or letters indicate spelling errors. A line linking circled words suggests overuse of a word, inconsistency or contradiction in use, or some other problem.

[] **Brackets** indicate a word choice that I question. Reconsider the word, even though you may choose to stick with your original word. Brackets also may indicate a passage that I have commented on in the margin. I sometimes add delete marks to brackets, suggesting that you drop the passage.

d A lower-case "d" in the margin is for diction, i.e., to signal that the sentence next to the "d" does not say well what it seeks to say, perhaps for reasons of grammar or simply due to confusing construction or word choice (e.g., Fajnzylber's sentence above).

ant "Antecedent," raises questions about the antecedent of a pronoun or adjective, i.e. ambiguity or error in attribution, as with "they" to refer to a singular noun earlier in the sentence. I also use it also to indicate that you are treating a topic as if the reader is already familiar with it, when in fact it has not yet been introduced.

logic When I write "logic" in your ms., it is to signal some break in the internal logic that your exposition seeks to develop.

trans Transition needed between components of a thought.

Parallel upright lines, with diagonal line through them. Grammatical structures or arguments are not parallel.

SYLLABUS ADDENDUM: GUIDELINES FOR ORGANIZING SCHOLARLY PAPERS

Notes drafted for inclusion on syllabi (graduate and advanced undergraduate courses), as guidelines for organizing scholarly papers:

Political science, like any other discipline in the natural or social sciences, seeks to identify patterns, processes, or phenomena and to explain how and why they work the way they do. To explain or illuminate such processes or phenomena, political scientists use analytical concepts to organize data and to formulate and assess explanatory theories and hypotheses. Students writing in the discipline of political science therefore should focus their research and write-up on a key conceptual/theoretical issue of importance to them and to the discipline.

Ideally, in papers, theses, and dissertations, and later in journal articles, one should (1) begin with a brief review of conceptual/ theoretical interpretations or explanations of how some political process or phenomenon works, then (2) show how the prevailing explanation or concept falls short in some way, and finally (3) propose some new concept or refinement of a hypothesis that would better explain the phenomenon. Then one can (4) move to specific, operationalizable hypotheses that can be examined with real data in order to infer the answer to the overarching, broader hypothesis.

Within this framework, one can then elaborate a case study that assembles the data to answer one's questions. And as one proceeds with the case material, one needs to make systematic, explicit reference to the theories or hypotheses that the case material helps one address. That is, one should provide the reader with explicit connective tissue that integrates the empirical components of the study with its theoretical and conceptual framework. This task of making a writer's logic explicit, addressed in the writing tipsheet, is what distinguishes an inspired, outstanding manuscript from an inspired but merely good one, and this increases its likelihood of being accepted for publication by the editors of a journal or press.

The identification of shortcomings or needed refinements in a theory or hypothesis usually comes after some work in graduate school, so students at earlier stages are more likely to draw upon a prevailing concept or hypothesis to gather and organize data to illuminate some specific problem or issue. In comparative politics, for example, one might use a generally accepted hypothesis to organize the questions asked and the data gathered about some process in a country or context of one's choosing, for example, the role of elite pacting in democratization or the impact of electoral or parliamentary rules on party accountability.

Well designed case studies of this type have considerable academic value. When preparing a manuscript to submit for publication in comparative politics, one should keep in mind that the board of a journal will surely prefer a manuscript that seeks to refine an accepted concept or to develop a new one. Such a journal, however, will also consider seriously a case study applying an accepted concept in a way that can be replicated, cumulatively, in other contexts for the development of comparative analysis. And journals devoted to specific regions or nations explicitly seek out such case studies.

[Revised January 2008]

Academic Dishonesty and University Policies [Current as of 1-1-2017]

The Hunter College Senate passed the following resolution on May 11, 2005: “Hunter College regards acts of academic dishonesty (e.g., plagiarism, cheating on examinations, obtaining unfair advantage, and falsification of records and official documents) as serious offenses against the values of intellectual honesty. The college is committed to enforcing the CUNY Policy on Academic Integrity and will pursue cases of academic dishonesty according to the Hunter College Academic Integrity Procedures.”

The College and University policy on academic honesty and dishonesty is set forth in the Hunter College Undergraduate Catalogue, 2007-2010 (p. 71): “The use of material (whether or not purchased) prepared by another and submitted by students as their own will result in disciplinary proceedings.” Section 15.3.a of the Student Disciplinary Procedure Bylaws of CUNY (on p. 275 of the same catalogue) instructs members of the college community: “Any charge, accusation, or allegation...must be submitted in writing in complete detail to the office of the dean of students promptly by the individual...making the charge.” The dean’s office then investigates and disposes of such cases.

The reason that academic communities consider academic dishonesty such a serious offense is that scientific research and learning—and hence the very life of the academic enterprise—are built on a foundation of truth. Without that foundation, academic institutions would lack the integrity that permits critical analysis and that, from a utilitarian perspective, fosters scientific, economic, and social progress.

To make the case that academic honesty is indispensable to scholarly work in the social sciences, let me begin with a discussion of the natural sciences. Students who perform laboratory experiments must carefully record their procedures in their lab reports. This enables them, and their instructors, to verify that their findings are correct, or, if not, to know why not. Such record keeping is not simply a make-work exercise. Students follow the same procedures as professional scientists, who must keep careful records of their work so that their colleagues, critics, or successors can replicate the original experiments to test their work and verify (or, depending on the results, qualify or reject) their findings.

For library research in the social sciences, correct and complete citation is analogous to rigorous laboratory procedure in the physical sciences. Scholars in the social sciences take careful notes so that their evidence can be checked and their work replicated or challenged by other social scientists. This enables knowledge and understanding to evolve as researchers confirm, refine, or reject prevailing paradigms of explanation. And, just as laboratory experiments and lab notes must represent a student’s own work, so too must research papers or other written work—properly documented—be the student’s own.

Web links to the Hunter College and CUNY policy on academic integrity are posted on line. This policy is consistent with, but not identical to, the regulations above, and can be viewed in detail at:

<http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/provost/academic-integrity> and
http://www.cuny.edu/about/administration/offices/la/Academic_Integrity_Policy.pdf

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