PUBP 764-001 Transnational Crime and Corruption Spring 2018– Monday (4:30pm – 7:10pm) Rm.322

Professor Louise Shelley

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Course Description:

The course will analyze the nature and impact of transnational crime and the increasing links among crime groups, corruption and terrorism. The diverse range of activities of transnational crime groups in both the legitimate and illegitimate economy will be analyzed. This is an overview class of a broad range of topics, some of which are addressed more directly in other courses offered in the Schar School.. It focuses on the public policy directed to transnational crime and its increasing role as a national and international security concern.

The impediments to effective control of transnational crime and corruption will be considered in the context of increasing globalization and the technological revolution. The class will examine the diverse dimensions of transnational crime and corruption not only from the perspective of American specialists but from those in other parts of the world. The most recent developments in drugs, money laundering, environmental crime and the use of technology to facilitate organized crime will be discussed. Legal, political, and law enforcement responses at the national and international levels will be analyzed, including the role of transparency, free press, and rule of law.

Texts:

There will be one required text. All other readings will be available on blackboard or through links...

Louise Shelley, Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Recommended Journals:

Trends in Organized Crime (Springer) Global Crime Cass (Taylor and Francis Publishers)

Recommended Websites:

1) See Professor Mark Galeotti's syllabus for his class on transnational crime that has many fine references on it

https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B47Vp6fcXiaoZTUzZTg5NWItNTAxYS00NGQ4LThm MjQtNmVkOGI3NWQ4ZjFl/edit?pli=1 (some of this now dated but some good sources)

- 2) See Global Initiative on Transnational Organized Crime http://globalinitiative.net/
- 3) See Links and publications section of TraCCC website: www.traccc.gmu.edu
- 4) Klaus von Lampe's website: http://www.organized-crime.de/
- 5) National Criminal Justice Reference Service, many publications on transnational crime: https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/AlphaList.aspx
- 6) See newsletters and past issues of this Dutch based group: http://www.ciroc.nl/en/home.html
- 7) United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: www.unodc.org
- 8) US State Department narcotics reports: https://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/index.htm
- 9) Organized crime in Latin America, WOLA website: http://www.wola.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=viewp&id=588&Itemid=2
- 10) Bertil Lintner's writings on organized crime in Asia: http://www.asiapacificms.com/articles/
- 11) International Crisis Group: http://www.crisisgroup.org/
- 12) International Crisis Group (Latin America and Crime and Politics): http://blog.crisisgroup.org/latin-america/
- 13) Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project: www.reportingproject.net/ https://www.occrp.org/en/projects
- 14) Organized Crime in the Americas: www.insightcrime.org/
- 15) Silk Road Studies Institute: https://www.silkroadstudies.org/
- 16) Institute for Security and Development Policy (Central Asia and Baltic Region): www.isdp.eu/
- 17) Traffic, http://www.traffic.org/general-topics/
- 18) Unicri (United National Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute http://www.unicri.it/
- 19) Council on Foreign Relations: https://www.cfr.org/
 - a. Global Regime for Transnational Crime, http://www.cfr.org/global-governance/global-regime-transnational-crime/p28656
 - b. International Efforts not up to Combating Transnational Criminals, http://www.cfr.org/international-crime/international-efforts-not-up-combating-criminals-shows-cfr-interactive/p28684
- 20) International Organization for Migration (IOM) (counter-trafficking part of website): https://www.iom.int/counter-trafficking

Course Requirements and Learning Outcomes:

The course is structured to gain a knowledge of the material, to improve your oral presentation skills and your research writing. To achieve these objectives the course requirements are as follows:

Reading:

A significant amount of reading is required for the course. Students who fall behind will have a difficult time catching up. Students are expected to do the assigned reading in advance of the class. The class will presume knowledge of the readings assigned for that week. Students are expected to keep up with news on transnational crime that is reported in newspapers and on-line sources and to discuss recent developments in class each week. Each week students will report briefly on recent transnational crime developments in the press during the past week.

Attendance (20%):

Students will be expected to attend the whole class. Attendance will be taken. Your grade will be reduced for unexplained and unexcused absences. Please inform me if you will be absent from a class.

Exam (25%):

There will be a mid-term exam on April 9th. It will combine short identifications and long essays. The exam will draw on the readings, class lectures, and discussions.

Class Project (20%):

The class presentations begin on Feb. 12th:

Written and Oral Presentations, presentations will be chosen by the student in coordination with the instructor.

Topics can address such diverse topics as: the drug trade in Central America, cybercrime perpetrators, trafficking in elephant ivory, the criminal activity of ISIS

Term Paper Due May 14 (35%):

Length 20-25 pages, standard reference format

The topic will be chosen after consultation with the instructor. It can use insights that are obtained from the oral presentation. It should discuss a topic related to transnational crime and should develop a bibliography of diverse sources. Topics might include such topics as: The rise of drug trafficking in Afghanistan, Examining the role of illicit trade in natural resources in perpetuate conflict? How do crime groups negatively affect the environment? You can choose to focus on a particular area of criminal activity, a region of the world or a strategy or set of strategies used to address the problem.

Special Needs:

If you are a student with a disability and you need academic accommodations, please see me and contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through the DRC.

Grading:

Students will be graded according to the following criteria:

Class attendance and participation 20%

Mid-Term Exam 25%

Class Project 20% Term Paper 35%

Plagiarism

The profession of scholarship and the intellectual life of a university as well as the field of public policy inquiry depend fundamentally on a foundation of trust. Thus any act of plagiarism strikes at the heart of the meaning of the university and the purpose of the School of Public Policy. It constitutes a serious breach of professional ethics and it is unacceptable.

Plagiarism is the use of another's words or ideas presented as one's own. It includes, among other things, the use of specific words, ideas, or frameworks that are the product of another's work. Honesty and thoroughness in citing sources is essential to professional accountability and personal responsibility. Appropriate citation is necessary so that arguments, evidence, and claims can be critically examined.

Plagiarism is wrong because of the injustice it does to the person whose ideas are stolen. But it is also wrong because it constitutes lying to one's professional colleagues. From a prudential perspective, it is shortsighted and self-defeating, and it can ruin a professional career.

The faculty of the Schar School takes plagiarism seriously and has adopted a zero tolerance policy. Any plagiarized assignment will receive an automatic grade of "F." This may lead to failure for the course, resulting in dismissal from the University. This dismissal will be noted on the student's transcript. For foreign students who are on a university-sponsored visa (eg. F-1, J-1 or J-2), dismissal also results in the revocation of their visa.

To help enforce the Schar School policy on plagiarism, all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit student's work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. The Schar policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace it or substitute for it.

Weekly Schedule:

Jan 22, Week 1: Introduction to the Course

Why are transnational crime and corruption important public policy concerns and how do they relate to national security and peace keeping? How does transnational crime figure in our National Security Strategy? How are Transnational Crime, Terrorism and Corruption connected? How does transnational crime affect international commerce? Why does an understanding of these phenomena require a multi-disciplinary (history, political science, economics, sociology, gender and security studies) perspective? How is transnational crime

related to the prolongation of conflict? What are the linkages between transnational crime, corruption and terrorism? How has transnational crime changed in cyberspace?

Required video (to be watched and discussed together): https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-governance-monitor#!/crime

National Security Strategy of the United States, December 2017, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf, pp.7-12, 39, 51.

Week 2, Jan. 29:

Corruption (Frank Vogl, guest speaker)

The problem of corruption and kleptocrats has become a great policy concern in recent years as large amounts of money exit the developing world depriving individuals and societies of the resources they need. Corruption is not only a problem in the developing world but in developed countries as well. Corruption also serves as an incubator of both crime and terrorism.

Readings:

- 1) Louise Shelley, Dirty Entanglements, chapter 2,64-96
- 2) Frank Vogl, Waging War on Corruption: Inside the Movement Fighting the Abuse of Power, 25-32 (see blackboard)
- 3) Sara Chayes, Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security, 67-77.
- 4) Laurence Cockcoft, Global Corruption:
- Money, Power, and Ethics in the Modern World, chap 1-9, 11-32 (see blackboard)
- 5) Laurence Cockcroft and Anne Christine Wegener, *Unmasked Corruption in the West*, 1-7, 135-53, (see blackboard)

Week 3, Feb. 5:

Conceptualizing the Problem: How have non-state actors evolved with globalization and the decline of the state

The rise of non-state actors (criminals, terrorists, insurgents) has been tied to globalization, the retreat of the state and the presence of weak states and conflicts. We will examine the historical roots of non-state actors and their evolution over time.

Choose Class Presentation Topic and Date

Required Readings:

1) Louise Shelley, Dirty Entanglement, introduction 11-19, chap 3 97-131

- 2) Susan Strange, "Organized Crime: the Mafias," Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy, p. 110-121, 1996 (see blackboard).
- 3) UNODC, Globalization of Crime: Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment, p.19-36. http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tocta/TOCTA_Report_2010_low_res.pdf
- 4) DNI statement to Congress in Feb 2010 "Growing Threat from International Organized Crime," pp. 44-45. http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/20100202_testimony.pdf
- 5) Channing May, *Transnational Crime and the Developing World*, 2017, xi-xiv, http://www.gfintegrity.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Transnational_Crime-final.pdf.

Week 4, Feb. 12^{th:} Who are the Transnational Criminals?

We will examine who are the transnational criminals and why they are among the major beneficiaries of globalization. Who are the high level facilitators who make this crime possible? How do political leaders interact with transnational crime? This discussion will analyze the network structure of many of the new groups in comparison with the hierarchical structure of more traditional organized crime groups.

Class Presentations Begin today

Required Readings:

- 1) Moisés Naím, "Mafia States," Foreign Affairs May/June 2012, pp. 100-111 (blackboard).
- 2) Response by Peter Andreas, "Measuring the Mafia-Style Menace," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012 (blackboard).
- 3) Jay S. Albanese, *Transnational Crime and the 21st Century*: Criminal Enterprise, Corruption, and Opportunity, 1-10
- 4) Australian Crime Commission, "Professional Facilitators of Crime," https://acic.govcms.go v.au/sites/g/files/net3726/f/sfca_2017.pdf?v=1513829536, 12-20
- 5) Ivan Briscoe, Chap.4 "Comparative Regional Analysis of the Nexus between Illicit Networks and Politics in Latin America," in Illicit Networks and Politics in Latin America, , 57-71.
 - https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ivan_Briscoe2/publication/301789529_Illicit_Networks_and_Politics_in_Latin_America/links/5728786b08aee491cb441897/Illicit-Networks-and-Politics-in-Latin-America.pdf.
- 6) Rob White, Transnational Environmental Crime, perpetrators, 88-105.
- 7) Peter Gastrow, "Termites at Work," (Summary Report), pp. 3-6 http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Full_Report_2562.pdf

Week 5, Feb. 19:

The Impact of Transnational Crime, Terrorism and Corruption

Submit term paper title, short description and sample bibliography

Transnational crime represents a new form of authoritarianism. Transnational crime affects every aspect of life in the contemporary world, to an extent that is not yet fully recognized. Not only does it affect individual security, but, through the proliferation of narcotics and counterfeit drugs, organized crime groups have a major impact on health.

The financing of elections and the infiltration of criminals into the political process in many countries undermines democracy and citizen faith in government. Intimidation of muckraking journalists by transnational crime groups is presently one of the greatest threats to journalism and independent media. The purchasing of journalists by organized criminals severely compromises the integrity of the press in many countries. Organized crime's exploitation of labor and its evergreater role in the smuggling and trafficking of human beings has led to large-scale labor violations and the reemergence of slavery in regions where it had been eradicated.

Required Readings:

- 1) Louise Shelley, "Transnational Organized Crime: The New Authoritarianism," in The *Illicit Global Economy*, pp.25-6, 30-47 (see blackboard)
- 2) UNODC, Globalization of Crime: Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment, pp. 25-36; 183-93, http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tocta/TOCTA Report 2010 low res.pdf
- 3) Louise Shelley, *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective*, ch. 2, pp.59-67; 76-8 (blackboard)
- 4) Committee to Protect Journalists, Getting Away with Murder, Impunity Index 2017, https://cpj.org/reports/2017/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder-killed-justice.php
- 5) Raymond Fisman and Edward Miguel, *Economic Gangsters Corruption*, *Violence and the Poverty of Nations* Princeton University Press, 2008, ch. 1, pp1-21 (blackboard).

Week 6, Feb. 26:

Convergence of Different Forms of Transnational Crime (guest Lecturer Sharon Melzer)

Different forms of transnational crime often converge as the criminal actors use the same routes to move different substances and function like diversified business people. Therefore, human trafficking and drug trafficking often converge and the same people may traffic in drugs, wildlife arms and people.

- 1) Louise Shelley, "The Relationship of Drug and Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective" European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research: Volume 18, Issue 3 (2012), Page 241-253 (blackboard).
- 2) Global Initiative on Transnational Crime, "Illegal Migration to Europe Consequence of Illegal Fishing and Overfishing in West Africa," May 8, 2015, http://globalinitiative.net/illicit-migration-to-europe-consequences-of-illegal-fishing-and-overfishing-in-west-africa/

- 3) Douglas Farah, "Fixers, Superfixers and Shadow Facilitators: How Networks Connect In *Convergence*, 75-95, http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/convergence.pdf.
- 4) Kleemans E. (2015) Criminal Organization and Transnational Crime. In: Bruinsma G. (eds) *Histories of Transnational Crime*. Springer, New York, NY
- 5) Saul, Ben (2017) The Legal Relationship between Terrorism and Transnational Crime. *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3 pp. 417-452, 2017; Sydney Law School Research Paper No. 17/37. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2962832
- 6) Leuprecht, Christian, Olivier Walther, David B. Skillicorn & Hillary RydeCollins (2017) Hezbollah's Global Tentacles: A Relational Approach to Convergence with Transnational Organized Crime, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29:5, 902-921

Week 7, March 5:

Organized Environmental Crime (Guest Speaker, Jessica Graham, Interpol)

Transnational criminals function as important traders in endangered species, timber and CFCs pose major environmental threats and undermine sustainable development. They are also active in the improper disposal of hazardous waste. They are also involved in illegal carbon trading and defrauding programs for sustainable energy.

Required Readings:

- 1) John M. Sellar, *The UN's Lone Ranger*, 7-28 (on blackboard)
- 2) C. Nellemann, et. al., eds. *The Rise of Environmental Crime A Growing Threat To Natural Resources Peace*, *Development And Security*. A UNEP/INTERPOL Rapid Response Assessment, 2017, http://unep.org/documents/itw/environmental_crimes.pdf, 15-24, 39-51, 57-63.
- 3) World Wildlife Crime Report 2016, http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/wildlife/Exsum_Wildlife_report_2016.pdf, 13-21.
- 4) IFAW, *Killing with Key Strokes 2.0*, 2012, 8-15, http://www.ifaw.org/sites/default/files/FINAL%20Killing%20with%20Keystrokes%202.0%20report%202011.pdf
- 5) Viollaz, J., Graham, J. & Lantsman, L. (2018) Using Script Analysis to Understand the financial crimes involved in Wildlife Trafficking, *Crime Law and Social Change*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-017-9725-z

Suggested Readings:

1) Traffic website—for more research done by Traffic see: http://www.traffic.org/general-topics/

March, 12 Spring Break

March 19, Week 8:

Business of Transnational Crime and Corruption

International organized crime groups and terrorists are now major actors in the international economy. What is money laundering and what are its stages? How is it affected by increasing technology and the increasing sums of money involved? How is offshore havens part of the regulatory problem? Why is it such an important part of the fight with organized crime?

Required Readings:

- 1) Shelley, Dirty Entanglements, ch. 5, 173-217
- 2) Paul Gootenberg, ch. 6 Birth of the Narcos: Pan-American Illicit Networks, 1945-1965 in *Andean Cocaine: The Making of a Global Drug*, 245-289.
- 3) idefense, "Money Mules: Sophisticated Global Cyber Criminal Operations." http://complianceandprivacy.com/WhitePapers/iDefense_MoneyMules_20060329.pdf
- 4) Financial Action Task Force (FATF), Money Laundering Risks Related to Trafficking of Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants, pp. 31-37. http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Trafficking%20in%20Human%20Beings%20and%20Smuggling%20of%20Migrants.pdf

March 26, Week 9: Drug Trafficking

What is the nature of the drug problem? Why is it so prominent in the general problem of organized crime? How do different criminal organizations work together to perpetuate this crime? How has the drug trade affected countries where the traffickers are a dominant political and economic force? What are the new routes and new products?

Required Readings:

- 1) Dirty Entanglements, chap 6, 218-258.
- 2) Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera, Los Zetas Inc., 87-106 (see Blackboard)
- 3) UN World Drug Report for 2017, https://www.unodc.org/wdr2017/index.html, Report 1,; pp.9-32 (https://www.unodc.org/wdr2017/field/Booklet_1 EXSUM.pdf), pp.9-32
- 4) The Opioid Epidemic (see TraCCC Report on blackboard)
- 5) Tom Wainwright, *Narco-Nomics: How to Run a Drug Cartel*, The People Problems of a Drug Cartel, chap 3, 53-76 (see blackboard).

Week 10, April 2:

Transnational Crime and Technology

Transnational crime is able to function because there has been a decline of borders, a rise of ease of communications through the internet and advanced communications as well as high level

facilitators. How does organized crime use the internet and encryption? How does it market its goods through the internet? How does it use sophisticated computer specialists to evade detection?

Required Readings:

- 1) Misha Glenny, Dark Markets, 1-11.
- 2) Ross Anderson, Chris Barton, Rainer Bohme, Richard Clayton, Michel J.G. van Eeten, Michael Levi, Tyler Moore, Stefan Savage (2012). "Measuring the Cost of Cybercrime," http://weis2012.econinfosec.org/papers/Anderson_WEIS2012.pdf
- 3) Marc Goodman, Future Crimes: Everything is Connected, Everyone is Vulnerable and What We can do about it, 171-213.

Week 11, April 9 Midterm Exam

Week 12, April 16:

Illicit Financial Flows and Money Laundering

- 1) Danielle Camner Lindholm and Celina B. Realuyo, "Threat Finance: A Critical Enabler for Illicit Networks," In *Convergence*,
- http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/convergence.pdf, 111-30
- 2) Global Financial Integrity, Illicit Financial Flows to and From Developing Countries, 2005-2014, http://www.gfintegrity.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/GFI-IFF-Report-2017_final.pdf, read the report
- 2) John A. Cassara, Trade-Based Money Laundering, 2-27
- 3) J. C. Sharman, *The Money Laundry: Regulating Criminal Finance in the Global Economy*, chapter 1 (14-33) (blackboard)

Weeks 13 and 14, April 23 and 30 Combating Transnational Organized Crime and Corruption

What is the future of organized crime and what are the US and global strategies needed to address it? The class will address the strategies that are needed to combat the phenomenon in fragile states. We will also examine many other strategies that must be part of this strategy such as free and accountable journalism, following the money trail, and reducing demand for illicit commodities. How can businesses become more involved in combating transnational crime? What can be done to combat the corruption that facilitates transnational crime?

Required Readings:

- 1) Louise Shelley, Dirty Entanglements, Conclusion
- 2) White House, Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime Addressing Converging Threats to National Security, pp.13-28.

- https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/Strategy_to_Combat_Transnational_Organized_Crime_July_2011.pdf
- 3) UNODC, Globalization of Crime: Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment, pp. 275-78. http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tocta/TOCTA_Report_2010_low_res.pdf
- 4) Environmental Crime: Tackling the Greatest Threat to our Planet, https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/655326_4bbc5cdf77384d48adf980c3ec39237a.pdf, 6-17
- 5) Jay S. Albanese, in *Transnational Crime and the 21st Century*, pp. 133-138 (blackboard).
- 6) Global Witness (2009). Ch. 9 "The Problem with the Financial Action Task Force," "Conclusions and Recommendations." Undue Diligence. Pgs. 105-123. http://www.undue-diligence.org/Pdf/GW_DueDilligence_FULL_lowres.pdf
- 7) UN conventions on Transnational Crime (Various treaties). http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/index.html
- 8) Vergara, J.C. (2012). "The Rebellion of Criminal Networks: Organized Crime in Latin America and the Dynamics of Change. Woodrow Wilson Center update on the Americas, pp. 8-9. http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Garzon.Rebellion.ENG__1.pdf

Term Paper Due by May $\,14^{th}$, they should be handed in by the exam time which is 430-715