

The War on Drugs in the United States: Drugs as an instrument to securitize racial minorities (1875-1937)

“By middle age, black men in the United States are more likely to have spent time in prison than to have graduated from college or joined the military, and they are far more likely than whites to be sent to prison for drug offenses despite being no more likely than whites to use drugs.” – Rich et al (2011, p. 2081).

**The War on Drugs in the United States: Drugs as an instrument to securitize racial minorities
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Preface

In front of you is the thesis 'The War on Drugs: A Crusade Against Racial Minorities in the United States.' The thesis is written as final part of my Master program International Studies at Leiden University. Between May 2017 and July 2019, I have been writing on this thesis. Halfway my thesis, I have been doing voluntary work in Latin-America for a vast amount of time. Afterwards, I have been backpacking there, which explains the long period I have been writing on this thesis.

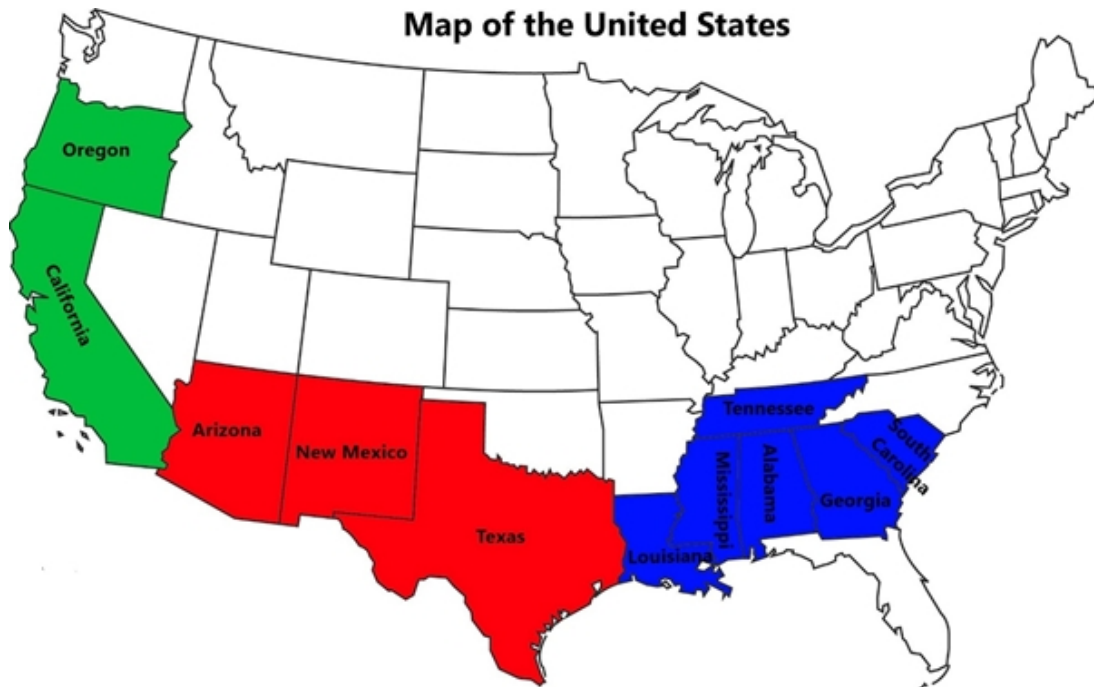
Together with my supervisors MA Nicolas Rodriguez Idarraga and Dr. Salvador Santino Fulo Regilme Jr. I have been working on a research question. After extensive qualitative research, I have been able to answer my research question. During my research, I have always been supported by my supervisors, who helped me when I was facing difficulties.

On that note, I want to thank MA Nicolas Rodriguez Idarraga and Dr. Salvador Santino Fulo Regilme Jr. for their support during this journey. Without their knowledge and expertise, I would not have been able to finish my thesis. When I needed it, they gave me the opportunity to spar with them, in order to advance with my research. On top of that, I want to thank my father. During the whole thesis, he has had endless patience with me and supported me with useful advice and tips. Both my father and friends always counselled me and gave moral support. Thanks to them, I have been able to finish this thesis.

I hope you will enjoy reading this thesis.

Tibor Kraan

Utrecht, 5 July 2019.



- The states where racism against the Chinese population occurred, based on drug legislation between 1875 and 1911.
- The states where racism against the Black population occurred, based on drug legislation between 1908 and 1925.
- The states where racism against the Mexican population occurred, based on drug legislation between 1925 and 1937.

Basemap retrieved from: Our World Maps (2017).
 Information retrieved from: Huffington Post (2013) & Vox (2016).

Map 1: The states where racism against occurred, based on drug legislation.

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Introduction

In 2009, there were 1.3 million civilian arrests for drug use and possession in the United States (US). On top of that, there were 310,000 arrests for manufacturing or selling drugs (Travis et al, 2014, p. 50). During the end of the twentieth century, black Americans made up twelve percent of the United States' population and thirteen percent of its drug users. Nevertheless, the black population accounted for 33 percent of all drug-related arrests, 62 percent of drug-related convictions and seventy percent of drug-related incarcerations (Sandy, 2002, p. 671). The incarceration rate among the black population for drug-related crimes had been six times higher than white people during the Reagan (1981-1989) era (Travis et al, 2014, p. 61). With the high recent arrest rate for white people selling marijuana, this relatively changed (Figure 1).

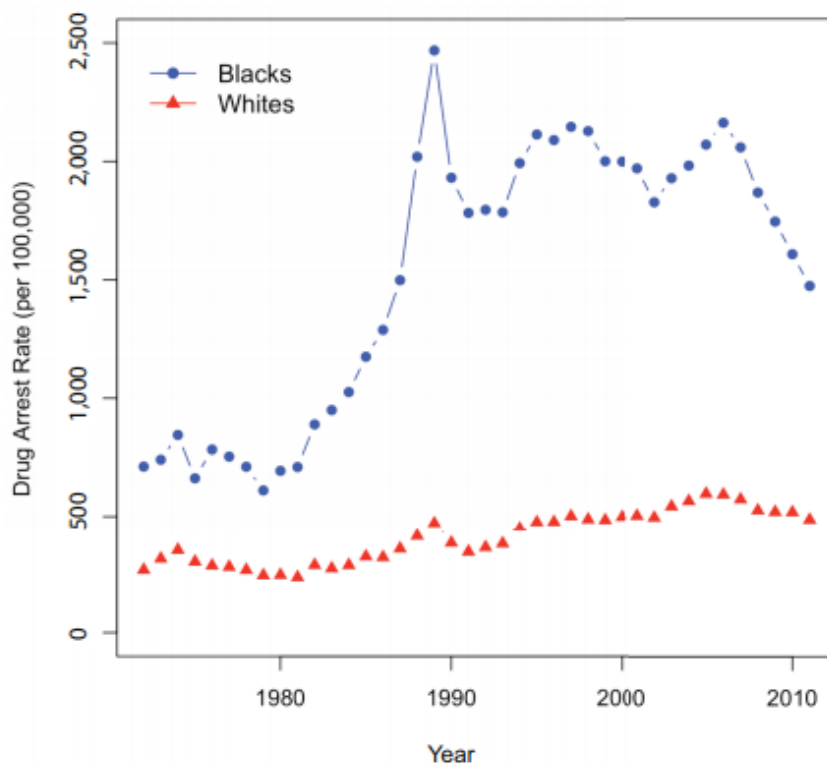


Figure 1: The disparity in drug arrests between the white and the black population (Travis et al, 2014, p. 61).

Unfortunately, it seems that this phenomenon has occurred throughout the history of drugs consumption in the United States. The war on drugs has disproportionately affected Afro-Americans and Hispanic people, contributing to the high incarceration rates in the United States. Although the war on drugs formally started on 17 June 1971, with Richard Nixon announcing that drug abuse was "public enemy number one", the crusade against drugs has a longer history. In 1875, the city of San Francisco passed a local law prohibiting smoking opium. It was the first the anti-drug law in the United States, directly containing a racist message since smoking opium was considered a Chinese habit. To justify the law, politicians argued that Chinese men were luring white women to opium

dens. Furthermore, white men were out of jobs, supposedly because of the Chinese presence (Block, 2013). It would be the first law of several laws that needed to limit the manufacture and use of illicit drugs, but in reality, had a racist motive. Over the years, the popular media contributed to the image whereby certain races were portrayed as main drug abusers. The news stories associated illicit drugs with non-white racial groups, based on the opinions of scientist and politicians. Chinese were 'opium users', the black population was 'cocaine-crazed', and the Mexicans were 'marijuana exploiters' (Block, 2013). By continuously lobbying and presenting their statistics, scientists and politicians effectively constructed an inaccurate image, called up and embraced by the public. Due to the rhetoric used by scientists and politicians, it seemed that certain racial minorities were the only users of main abusers of different substances. Opium, crack-cocaine, and marijuana were identified to be harmful and posed a threat to the society of the United States, with specific racial minorities as the main users and abusers of the substances. In that sense, the securitization of narcotics led to the securitization of racial minorities. Throughout the history that the United States has regarding the consumption of drugs, the white population and drugs are less connected.

The moment that San Francisco passed the first anti-drug law in 1875 can be regarded as the starting point of a campaign against drugs, which was barely more than a crusade against races in the United States. On the other end of the spectrum, the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937, eventually revived in the Controlled Substances Act of 1970, led to the modern war on drugs. Whereas the Marihuana Tax Act placed a tax on the sale of marijuana, the Controlled Substances Act regulated the whole process of manufacturing, importation, possession, use, and distribution of marijuana among other substance (Provine, 2008). Nowadays, it is generally acknowledged that race, drugs, and incarceration rates have a problematic relationship in the history of the United States. However, it seems that contemporary statistics prevail in studies concerning the war on drugs. While, on the other hand, background knowledge and the history of anti-drug laws is often neglected. As a result, it is rather the consequences than the causes that have gained attention. Provine (2008) explained in her book how Chinese, the Black population, and Mexican civilians were the actual target of the war on drugs. She argued how newspapers, scientists, and politicians framed Chinese men as opium users. The fact that the first narcotics law was of local scope in San Francisco, concurs with the over representation of Chinese people on the West Coast (Provine, 2008, p. 68). However, Provine ignores the coincidence that specifically on the West Coast, where the Chinese were present, a campaign was going on. The same can be said for Mexicans and the black population, who were unevenly targeted in the South due to their presence in these parts of the country. Provine limits her research to how the Chinese, Blacks, and Mexicans were the target of racism.

In that sense, using drugs as an existential threat might have been the overture to securitize a whole race. This will function as the approach for my thesis. In light of that, it is interesting to

analyse how the media and politicians cooperated in framing race and drugs. That is to say, how did the popular media create a framework whereby the ‘Chinaman and opiates, the Negro and cocaine, and the Mexican and marijuana’ became a synonym for each other? To understand the contemporary incarceration rates and the huge disparities based on race, the history of these frames is vital. Therefore, this thesis will be based on the following research question:

“How did the American Elites in the United States use the existential threat of drugs to securitize racial minorities between 1873 and 1938?”

The following corollary questions will support the research question:

How are threats securitized by scientists and politicians through social constructivism and securitization?

How did The New York Times associate Chinese and opium, the Black population and crack-cocaine, and Mexicans and marijuana between 1873 and 1938?

By rhetoric of scientists and politicians, a non-existing problem can be created and brought into being. By repeating the danger of an issue, politicians and scientists with influence are able to create a problem. After that, racial minorities can be linked to the problem. This happened in the United States between 1873 and 1938 at the expense of the Chinese, Black and Mexican population.

In order to obtain an answer to the questions that are raised, the research will be divided into two parts. The first part will elaborate on the framework behind securitizing issues, based on social constructivism. In his article, Regilme (2018, p. 79) calls the process of securitization strategic localization. By strategic localization, a political actor can repackage, frame, and interpret again global norms and beliefs for specific audiences. By strategic localization, a political actor can enhance political legitimacy and justification for a transformation of their political agenda. For this thesis, strategic localization can explain how drugs were portrayed as a problem, in order to repackage the norms and beliefs for American citizens. This thesis will elaborate on the possible hidden agenda of the transformation of the political agenda, whereas this transformation could have functioned as a way to target racial minorities.

In addition to the ideas of securitization, the ideas of social constructivism will be guiding for this thesis. Social constructivism and its relation to security is explained in the book of Williams (2008). Williams argues that security is a social construct. By constructing, an object or subject that would otherwise not exist is brought into being. As such, security can be understood as the preservation of core values of a society. These core values stem from historical and social context which are developed through social interaction between actors and contexts. If powerful actors are

able with language to represent an issue as a threat to their audience, the latter will take it as 'reality'. In other words, an existential threat accepted by the public is constructed (Williams, 2008, pp. 59-66). Although drugs can be perceived as an existing problem in the first place, social constructivism can explain how the existing problem of drugs has been linked with racial minorities.

The last aspect stresses the importance of this thesis. The dissertation will discuss whether racist motives were behind drugs legislation in the United States. Although this has often been suggested, concluding evidence is scarce. As such, this thesis might function as a way to identify and battle racism hidden in the political agenda. This theme is increasingly important for the United States again, but has been a red line through the political history of the United States. Especially the cooperation between the press and American elites has largely been ignored, while this can function as an ideal block to change norms and beliefs and integrate hidden agendas in legislation.

The dissertation will focus on the coverage of the *New York Times* on drugs, in the period between 1873 and 1938. Since the first local anti-drug law stems from 1875 and the first traces of the modern war on drugs date from 1937 with the introduction of the Marihuana Tax Act, this time-frame is chosen. This part will explore how the *New York Times* linked opium to the Chinese, cocaine to the black population, and marijuana to the Mexicans in their reports. The choice for the *New York Times* is based on their relatively unbiased way of covering news. Although their editorial office is traditionally slightly left-wing, and the newspaper is moderately liberal, their factual reporting is high and well-sourced (MFBC, 2017). Besides, the New York Times is an internationally praised newspaper, awarded with 122 Pulitzer Prizes, more than any other newspaper (NYTCO, 2017). Considering their wide circulation, international appraisal, and factual reporting, the *New York Times* is a relevant source to derive stances from for this thesis. Nevertheless, the choice for the *New York Times* limits the research, as it is not representative of all the news in the United States. Thus, additional research should focus on other newspapers or mediums.

Between 1873 and 1937, racial minorities have been victim of the transformation in drug policies, enacted by the American Elites. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, there was a transformation in policies surrounding drugs. It started with laws targeting the use and distribution of opiates. However, it can be argued that the Chinese presence was reason for drugs legislation, rather than the use of opiates. The fact that drugs are harmful for the well-being of people, was used as an advantage by the American Elites. By convincing the American audience that the use of opium was conflicting with the norms and values of the American society, the American Elites used the existing problem of opiates as an excuse for their secretive racist policies. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a crusade against crack-cocaine began. The American Elites linked crack-cocaine to a violent Black population, carefully framing the racial minority as a problem to American society. Since the 1920's, the distribution and use of marijuana has been linked to the increased presence of Mexicans

in the US. By convincing the public that marijuana, coming from Mexico and used by Mexicans, was harmful for the white youth, an opening for a transformation in policies was created. The reinterpretation, repackaging, and re-framing of marijuana, linked to Mexicans, legitimized the new policies of the American Elites.

In this thesis, the first part will be an elaboration on the methods and the theories that are used. The thesis will be based on primary sources of the *New York Times*, supported by secondary sources on social constructivism and securitization. In the theoretical framework, there will be a clarification on the ideas of social constructivism and securitization. This will support the results, in which articles of the New York Times are analysed. In this part, there will be evidence provided to the central argument of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature review

In this chapter, the literature for the thesis will be provided. Based on the ideas of social constructivism and securitization, the following research question will be answered: “How did the American Elites in the United States the existential threat of drugs to securitize racial minorities between 1873 and 1938?”

2.1 Social Constructivism

Racial minorities have been the victim of ideas, norms and values that have been developed in the interaction between American Elites. The first time drugs and race could be linked, was in the case of the Chinese population. The rhetoric of American Elites has been successful under American citizens, because economic and culturing tensions were growing. The increased presence of Chinese labourers provoked racial discrimination to flourish. By creating an idea that Chinese men were stealing jobs, visiting prostitutes, and abusing opiates, a strong Anti-Chinese sentiment grew under the American citizens. However, straightforward legislation to deport the Chinese population was not an option. As a result, the American Elites were looking for an instrument to target the Chinese population in a subtle way. By emphasizing the danger of opium dens for American women, an opening for drugs legislation was created (History State Government, 2017). Nevertheless, it can be argued that the Chinese presence was reason for drugs legislation, rather than the use of opiates. The fact that drugs are harmful for the well-being of people, was used as an advantage by the American Elites. The ideas of social constructivism can be closely connected, since strong language and rhetoric of American elites is necessary to convince a public. Based on the norms and values of a society, this can provide the opening for eventual legislation. By convincing the American audience that the use of opium was conflicting with the norms and values of the American society, the American Elites used the existing problem of opiates as an excuse for their secretive racist policies. The American Elites argued that opium legislation was necessary to preserve a healthy society, without exposing their hidden agenda. By convincing the majority of the relevant audience, elites can justify a transformation in their policies (Regilme, 2018a, p. 79).

As for the Chinese population, the black population has been a target of a political axe to grind as well. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the use of cocaine was heavily connected with the black population. The media, as a part of the American Elites, created the idea that most of the attacks against white women were a direct result of the black population using crack-cocaine. It led to the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act of 1914, specifically outlawing opium and cocaine. It can be argued that a collaboration between the American press and Dr. Hamilton Wright an American

physician and the first US Opium Commissioner, led to the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act. By creating the idea that the use of cocaine led to violent and anti-social behaviour of the Black population, a strong racial prejudice was created. In cooperation with scientists William Edwards Huntington and Dr. Graeme Monroe Hammond, Black men were portrayed as 'cocaine-users' with 'violent intentions and sexual desires'. With the help of the American press, Wright and Hamilton used their influential positions to frame cocaine and the black population as a dangerous combination (White, 2014, pp. 8-9). As such, drugs legislation and an anti-sentiment against the Black population was based on supposed norms and values in the history of the US. This is in line with the beliefs of social constructivism, since norms and values are shared expectations concerning appropriate behaviour by actors with a certain identity. Hence, constructivists are able to link perceptions of threat to politics of identities and perceptions of the legitimacy of actors, according to sets of shared norms (Williams, 2008, pp. 60-63).

Finally, the ideas of social constructivism can be traced back in the way Mexicans and marijuana have been framed. In this case, the government official Harry Anslinger used his influence to package a problem in which marijuana was linked to the presence of Mexicans. By carefully constructing the idea that marijuana was introduced used since Mexicans were present in the United States, a racist idea evolved. Anslinger convinced the public that Mexicans sold a dangerous substance to the white youth, resulting in a negative stance against the racial minority. As such, he used the existing problem of marijuana in his advantage to cover up for the hidden racism. Hence, in line with social constructivism, security has been a social construct in the case of legislation of marijuana. This construction is based on the preservation of core values of a certain society. As such, security and its threats are brought into being, rather than measuring up to certain criteria (Regilme 2018b, p. 349).

The dominant framework for this thesis is social constructivism, as it is most applicable to analyse the war on drugs as a social phenomenon. Since the eighties, constructivism has become an increasingly important tradition in the field of International Relations. Nicolas Onuf (1989) first coined the term. Scholars of constructivism believe that the world is constituted socially through inter subjective contact. Furthermore, constructivist believe that agents and structures are reciprocally established. The final core assumption is that norms, identity, and ideas are central to world politics. Constructivists regard their approach to be more sophisticated in understanding security. Famous constructivists such as Friedrich Kratochwil and Alexander Wendt argued that their approach is able to come to terms with periods of structural change enabled by strategic actors in world politics (Williams, 2008, pp. 59-60). Risse (2004, p. 145-146) defines social as "a truism that social reality does not fall from heaven, but that human agents construct and reproduce it through their daily practices." It is a social construction of reality. Risse argues that constructivism is a social

ontology, whereby human agents interact with their social environment and its collectively shared system of meanings. The main belief of social constructivism is that structures and agencies are mutually co-determined. However, in addition to that social constructivism insists on the mutual constructiveness of structures and agents. Human agency creates, reproduces, and changes culture through daily practices. Hence, social constructivism takes stance in the ontological circumspect between individuality and structuralism by claiming that some of the facets of structures and of agents that cannot be intertwined (Risse, 2007, p. 3).

The most common assumption that constructivist approaches share, is their idea of security as a social construction. By constructing, a subject or object that would otherwise not exist is brought into being. We can understand it as the preservation of the core values of a society. On its turn, these core values stem from different historical and social contexts and develop through social interaction between actors. As such, there is no universal definition of security since this depends on different actors and contexts. For example, whereas the military power of one state might be considered a threat, the same military force of another state is not regarded problematic. This is based on social, cultural, and historical factors that give meaning to the intentions of different actors. The relevance of identity underlines the shared assumption for constructivist, since the scholars refuse to believe in materialism as core of security in world politics. Aside from identity, norms are key in constructivist beliefs. Norms are shared expectations concerning appropriate behaviour by actors with a certain identity. Hence, constructivists are able to link perceptions of threat to politics of identities and perceptions of the legitimacy of actors, according to sets of shared norms (Williams, 2008, pp. 60-63). Thus, truth is a product of social factors. This makes truth subjective, rather than an objective unity. All understanding of experience is thereby socially constructed, but different communities can construct different interpretations of their shared experience.

On that note, security is socially constructed since threats are brought into being, instead of measuring up to certain criteria. Regilme (2018a, p. 79) calls this process strategic localization. Strategic localization allows political actors, in this case the American Elites, to repackage, to reframe, and to reinterpret global discourses, beliefs, and norms. This is done in a way that effectively convinces the targeted local audience, in this case the American citizens. Through strategic localization, political actors can convince and justify a shift in general policy strategy. As such, American Elites used this strategy to warrant their sudden change in domestic policy agendas, at the expense of the Chinese, Black, and Mexican population. This change in policy was justified by means of battling the dangers of drugs, while it can be argued that the hidden agenda was to target cultural and economic tensions surrounding the three racial minorities. Strategic localization functions as the legitimization to the overarching policy goal of the American Elites (Regilme, 2018, p. 80). Considering the cultural and economic tensions, the article of Regilme (2018b, pp. 347-348) can be

explained by the considerations that a state can have about non-state threats. In other words, the American Elites saw the cultural and economic tensions, caused by the Chinese, Black, and Mexican minorities, as a threat to the preservation of their society. The American Elites aimed to preserve and promote their regime, ideologies, and common values. The racial minorities at stake were perceived a threat to maintain these ideologies, norms, and values. In line with that, and according to the beliefs of social constructivism, the existing threat of drugs has been linked to racial minorities. In this case, a connection has been made between opiates and the Chinese population, crack-cocaine and the black population, and marijuana and the Mexican population.

However, security discourses are also important in understanding the behaviour of different actors. In other words, conceptions of our norms and values inspire ways of thinking about where threats to these norms and values come from. Subsequently, we decide how we deal with these threats. In other words, security can be understood according to the political function it has in social life. Hence, constructivists focus on how security is given meaning through different contexts. Afterwards, scholars of constructivism analyse the implications these contexts have for political practice. On the one hand, this is done based on an interaction between powerful actor and domestic audiences. On the other hand, different actors identifying values and acting accordingly to them is important. In other words, constructivists regard security as a site where actors claim to speak for a group and its members. Thus, in constructivism the interaction between the audience and the discourses of the political elite is key. Besides, constructivism has eye for the position of members of the public influencing security policy and practices. This distinguishes constructivist approaches from realist and post-structural beliefs, as the latter two pay little attention to the role and influence of the public. For constructivists, the connection between powerful actors and domestic audiences is based on representation. In other words, the language used by the political elite must make sense to the public in order to be taken as 'reality'. Thus, if influential actors represent the identity, norms, and values of a society, these must be recognizable for the members of this society to be accepted. If the representation of security by political elites is accurate, it can direct individuals into particular subject positions. In other words, if delineated right, an actor can transform an issue into an existential threat. Apart from the political elites, constructivist ascribe a role for agents like the media and popular culture in this process. Furthermore, structures of the international system are important (Williams, 2008, pp. 64-66).

Whereas traditionalist of security studies restrict security as a military and political issue Buzan et al (1998) expand the scope of security to economical, societal, and environmental issues. This explains how security issues arose in the cases of the Chinese, Black, and Mexican population, since this can be regarded a security issue based on societal factors. They argue that in the societal sector of security, the referent object of security is large-scale collective identities that can function

independent of a state. Apart from religions and nations, race can be included in this type of objects as well. Nevertheless, as for religions, race is not straightforward. However, the cases of the Chinese, Black, and Mexican population are much more unequivocal. In these cases, the American Elites were scared that the American society would lose its identity. In other words, the Elites saw the racial minorities as a threat to identity, because “they would no longer be the way they were or ought to be, according to their true identity.” In that way, migrants or races are securitized based on their collective identity (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 22-23). Between 1873 and 1937, this happened in the United States with racial minorities, whereby drugs functioned as the referent object, while in reality the racial minorities were the referent object.

2.2 Securitization

Buzan et al (1998, pp. 23-25) described security as “the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or above politics”, thereby viewing it as an extreme version of politicization. The precise explanation and criteria of securitization is established by the inter subjective constitution of an existential threat with a prominence sufficient to have substantial political effects. Wæver (1995, p. 55) described securitization by stating that a state representative moves a certain development into a specific area, thereby claiming the right to use all means necessary to block the now existential threat. Williams (2008) claims that securitization is a procedure in which a securitizing actor defines an object or subject as existential threat to a certain object. When this move is accepted by the relevant audience, the security move is successful.

It will be important to examine how certain people are linked to the use of specific drugs. Consequently, it is necessary to study how the issue of drugs is securitized. On that note, the concept of securitization is able to explain this process. Securitization is a notion developed by the Copenhagen School, of which the most prominent researchers are Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. The scientists mainly contributed to the social aspects of the field of security studies. Ole Wæver was the first to conceptualize securitization, in 1995:

What then is security? With the help of language theory, we can regard “security” as a speech act. In this usage, security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real; the utterance itself is the act. By saying it, something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). By uttering “security” a state representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it (Wæver, 1995, p. 55).

By an effective speech act, a certain issue is moved in a specific area. This gives the actor behind the speech act legitimization to move out of normal policies into exceptional policies. In other words, the actor claims to have the right to use all means to eradicate the existential threat. As Buzan (1997, p. 14) puts it, securitization is an extreme form of politicization. It is a departure from the normal politics, as the result of an intersubjective establishment of an existential threat that has political effects.

The Copenhagen School identified securitization as the process whereby an actor regards a specific issue, dynamic, or actor to be an existential threat to a particular referent object. If the actor can convince the relevant audience of this threat, emergency measures can replace normal politics to solve the crisis. Security is hereby the site of negotiation between the powerful actor and his audience. The influential actor uses the previously discussed concept of speech act to articulate his threat to the public. Then, as reflected in the quote of Wæver above, the actor claims the right to use all necessary means to block the threat. Thus, a speech act is a securitizing move, whereby an issue is securitized if the audience accepts it as such. Apart from the speech act and the actor, historical conditions connected to that threat will determine the success of the security move (Williams, 2008, pp. 68-70).

Building on that, Williams (2003) argued in his article that securitization is a social process. Issues are not objectively securitized, but the outcome of language by a powerful actor. This language is called a 'speech act'. Huysmans (2011, pp. 4-5) argues that speech acts transform a regular issue into an existential security threat. The existential threat allows powerful actors to shift from normal politics to exceptional actions, as the actor will argue that normal procedures are unable to solve the problem. In addition, McDonald (2008, p. 566) defines speech acts as 'security moves' that become securitization through audience consent. Therefore, the framework is shifted from speech acts as 'productive' of security to speech acts as one component of the intersubjective 'construction' of security. In order to successfully securitize an issue, there are two requirements. First of all, the speech act that of an actor must be successful. Secondly, the actor behind the speech act should have a high status and enough power to convince the domestic audience of the need to use exceptional politics (Williams, 2003, pp. 513-514). Huysmans (2011, p. 3) stated that when security becomes an act, the normal rules in politics are broken. This means that the actor creating the act brings certain issues into a relation that challenges the general way of doing things. In other words, the break in normality gives securitization the political dimension. This is done by referring to an existential threat that is unable to be solved by normal procedures. Hereby, accountability is the process in which political judgement in the public debate is legitimized, moving an issue to exceptional politics. In line with that, this is how political legitimization and political responsabilization are practiced institutionally (Huysmans, 2011, pp. 3-5). In his article McDonald (2008) gives a simple

and accurate definition of a speech act in the field of International Relations, based on the ideas of the Copenhagen School. McDonald argues that words are not describing, but constructing situations:

Speech acts were defined as 'securitizing moves' that became securitizations through audience consent. The emphasis in the framework therefore arguably shifted from speech acts as productive of security to speech acts as one component of the inter-subjective construction of security, although this might also be viewed as a tension within the framework itself (McDonald, 2008, p. 566).

This is in line with the ideas of Balzacq (2005, p. 179), who argued that securitization happens in three faces. Successful securitization must be audience-centered, context-dependent and -flexible, and it should be power-laden. Regilme (2018b, pp. 348-349) based securitization on the constructivist approach in International Relation. Hereby, the author nuances the concept of securitization and calls the process strategic localization. He argues that securitization is composed of three important steps: (1) the identification of an existential threat by an actor, (2) the speech act that such a threat requires measures, and (3) the acceptance of the speech act by the majority of the relevant public. It is important to note that powerful actors initiate the act of securitization primarily, and the success of this act depends on whether the relevant public 'accepts' the framing. Thus, in this case, American Elites packaged certain harmful substances, racial minorities and cultural and economic tensions together. Subsequently, the large white middle class in the United States accepted the frame and drugs legislation was rather designed to target racial minorities. Regilme (2018b, p. 349) calls this process strategic localization, since it is an ongoing process. Elites use their resources and socio-political exclusive rights to create and strengthen new public discourses to justify their new policies and create new norms and values in society. The danger of drugs, quickly emerging during the end of the nineteenth century, functioned as the tool to warrant the newly chosen policies of the American Elites to the public, before convincing the public of the threat racial minorities caused. By repackaging, reframing, and reinterpreting the discourses, beliefs, and norms, elites can transform and justify their new policies (Regilme, 2018a, p. 79). In line with that process, US citizens were convinced that opiates were a problem caused by the Chinese, crack-cocaine was a problem caused by the Black population, and marijuana was a problem caused by the Mexicans.

Finally, and closely related to securitization, is the idea of criminalization. Especially with regards to the three cases of drugs, criminalization is important. Provine (2008) wrote in his article how drugs are criminalized. Bluntly, this happens in two stages, which are in line with the securitization theory. First, a drug needs to be gestated as dangerous, illegitimate, and devastating. Subsequently, the user of that substance needs to be identified and illustrated as demoted and ignorant, likely to commit criminal offences (Provine, 2008, pp. 63-64). In the cases of the Chinese,

Black, and Mexican population, socio-economic and cultural tensions were used as a decoy to justify racist legislation.

2.3 Race as a social construct

When taking the argument of social constructivism to the war on drugs, it is important to define the aspects that are subject to debate. First, race is an important concept in the war on drugs. Although in the sixteenth and seventeenth century race was predominantly used to as a biological concept, this is largely obsolete. In these terms, the same person could be classified as black in one society, while another society regards the person non-black. Nowadays, most people refer to race as an 'ethnic group', whereby shared religious, social, linguistic, and cultural identities are used to define race (Bamshad et al, 2004, p. 599).

Fredrickson (2015) describes the modern notion of racism as bilateral. The notion is built on two components: difference and power. It instigates from a mentality that regards "them" as different from "us" in ways that are enduring and unbridgeable. This sense of difference offers a motive or rationale for using power advantage to treat the ethnic-racial 'Other' in ways that we would regard cruel or unjust if applied to members of our group (Fredrickson, 2015, pp. 9-11). Fredrickson acknowledges that biases based on age, gender, or sexual orientation are essential in defining a race. The act of racializing is usually based on differences that are racial. Features of racial are language, religion, customs, and physical characteristics. The latter can be both inborn and acquired (Fredrickson, 2015, pp. 138-139). This provides a valid description for the notion of race, which is a social construct, as gender and class are.

2.4 Methods

The research is descriptive and qualitative, since statistics from this period are scarce. In line with that, this thesis is a literature paper. Three specific cases are discussed to show how opiates were linked to the Chinese population, crack-cocaine to the Black population, and marijuana to the Mexican population. All cases will be discussed apart from each other, since the motives and actors are different for each case. The thesis will be written based on primary and secondary sources. In the next chapter, primary resources of the *New York Times* will be discussed based on the secondary literature on securitization and social constructivism. The primary resources are twelve newspaper articles published in the *New York Times* between 1873 and 1937. In this thesis, twelve newspaper articles from the *New York Times* will be analysed. The newspaper articles were retrieved from the database of Leiden University, which is published online. The newspaper articles will be exclusively on three cases of specific racial minorities, in relation to opiates, crack-cocaine, and marijuana. From

these articles, passages and quotes published in the twelve articles are examined and the synthesis will be guided by the secondary sources on securitization and social constructivism. The ideas of social constructivism and securitization are used to analyse the tone and language used by the American Elites and published in the press. Subsequently, patterns in the articles show how the ideas of social constructivism and securitizing threats have allowed American Elites to transform and justify their policies, which had hidden racist motives.

Chapter 3: The United States, drugs, and legislation: three cases of racism

In this part, the three cases of opiates and the Chinese population, crack-cocaine and the Black population, and marijuana and the Mexican population will be discussed. This will be done based on the research question: "How did the American Elites in the United States use the existential threat of drugs to securitize racial minorities between 1873 and 1938?"

3.1 The Chinese population and opium (1875 – 1911)

The arrival and use of opiates in the China can be traced back to the seventeenth century. Although it was not much used before the 1800's, the Chinese Imperial Government declared the traffic of opium to be illegal in 1796. Given the struggle and several Opium Wars, the Chinese government has always dealt fierce with opium traffic (New York Times, 1906a). As for the United States, the problem of opium emerged around 1850. Soon, the substance was increasingly used for recreational as well as medical use in the United States. When opium smoking became attractive for tourists and the white population, the stance against Chinese began to change. Whereas Chinatown's used to be excluded, legitimate Chinese businesses began to attract white customers. From 1870 on, however, opium dens began to attract small criminals, young whites, and prostitutes, all eager to smoke opium. The opium in the United States originated from India, from where it is trafficked to China. The British empire, colonizing India at the time, forced Indian farmers to grow the poppy plant for recreational and medical use. The presence of Chinese in western states, upsetting them, made the history of opiates irrelevant. Chinese men had arrived in California around 1850 for railroad building and mining. Since their wages were low, but they returned hard and dangerous work, they were welcome at first. It can be argued that Chinese men fulfilled jobs that were refused by native Americans. In that sense, the Chinese presence was not endangering the employment opportunities of the American population. There were thousands of Chinese on the west coast, relatively few moved to the east or south (Provine, 2008, pp. 67-71).

Nevertheless, many of the non-Chinese workers in the United States came to resent the Chinese labourers, who might squeeze them out of their jobs. As with most immigrant communities, many Chinese settled in their own neighbourhoods, and tales spread of Chinatown's as places where large numbers of Chinese men congregated to visit prostitutes, smoke opium, or gamble. American Elites started using this to their advantage, by claiming that the Chinese presence resulted in socio-economic tensions. Some advocates of anti-Chinese legislation therefore argued that admitting Chinese into the United States lowered the cultural and moral standards of American society. Others

used a more overtly racist argument for limiting immigration from East Asia, and expressed concern about the integrity of American racial composition. For the American Elites, this functioned as a justification to socially securitize the Chinese population, by advocating that 'our' identity should be preserved (Risse, 2004, pp. 145-146). However, policies could not be based purely on a racist motive. As a result, American Elites started looking for other ways to target the Chinese population and opiates functioned as a decoy (History State Government, 2017).

Although the opium originates from India and the Middle East, Chinese are increasingly linked to the substances in the United States. Thereby, opiates were transformed into a security issue, whereby China and its population was the evil. As Buzan et al (1998, p. 22-25) claims, societal issues can also be securitized. In this case, the American Elites regarded the Chinese presence as a danger to their own identity. Therefore, the presence of the Chinese population was securitized, by telling the white middle class that the Chinese presence caused socio-economic and cultural tensions. In which social aspects give ground to securitize an issue. In an article published in the New York Times in 1873, the way of life by the Chinese population is described. The article claimed that the Chinese immigrants are living remote and try to avoid contact with fellow New York citizens. On the other hand, the Chinese doctors were praised for their abilities to cure illness. Especially their medicines tend to be very effective:

The drugs and medicines used by Chinese doctors are almost innumerable. Some of them are given in all cases of sickness, no matter of what character, and are claimed to be of remarkable efficacy (New York Times, 1873a).

The same article recalled a case where rooms in miserable alleys were kept especially for opium-smokers. The use of opium is severely linked to the Chinese race. Basically, drugs went from remedy and pain reliever to evil addictive products. This is precisely how the process of securitization works. The actors used the right language and had the power to convince their audience, which developed the matter opium from a relative innocent medicine into a threat for white women (Williams, 2003, p. 514). Someone had to pay for that and the white anxiety for other races was the perfect opportunity to do so and 'get rid of' both. This might prove that opium was not necessarily the problem, but the Chinese presence. Drugs laws functioned as a pretext for racism. Furthermore, and ironically, heroin first functioned as medicine to cure opium addictions. Eventually, the substance became an addictive product itself (Provine, 2008, pp. 63-66). Usage of the opium makes people appear much older. While tobacco "can be smoked standing, walking, and at business. The opium smoker always lies down when indulging his habit and gives all his attention to the process of inhaling the fumes of the drug." In comparison to alcohol, opium is far less innocent according to an

article in the New York Times. Although this is doubtful, it severely draws a line between the proposed opium using Chinese population and the white alcohol abusing population. In order to strengthen this argument, it is claimed that almost every Chinese citizen is smoking opium on the West Coast:

Inveterate smokers live for nothing but the gratification of their appetite. When it cannot be satisfied they suffer tortures of the most horrible character [...] The Chinese in this City admit that the effects of the drug upon the human frame are ruinous in the extreme; they argue, however, that all nations indulge in some dissipation; the Americans, they say, drink whisky until they are drunk, and they ask, if this be so, why is it wrong for a Chinaman to become senseless with opium. Those who live in New-York are, with but few exceptions, devoted to the practice of opium smoking, and, what is far more terrible, a large number of young white girls residing in their neighborhood are rapidly becoming addicted to the same vice (New York Times , 1873a).

The fact that opiates are categorised as far more harmful than alcohol, draws the line that Risse (2007, p. 3) is aiming at. The American Elites try to differentiate the middle-class white men from the Chinese population. In doing so, the idea of 'them' and 'us' is created, which gives ground for policies to preserve identity. An article in 1885 described how the mass immigration of Chinese people to larger US cities on the Pacific Coast was viewed with suspicion. Especially in Portland and San Francisco, native Americans feared the influx of the Chinese population. The Chinese were accused of stealing jobs from native American. Although statistics proved that Americans were unwilling to do these jobs themselves, politicians made clever use of this idea. Using historical and socio-economic arguments, the speech act proved to be effective (McDonald, 2008, p. 572). However, it seems that the biggest problem for American citizens was that Chinese people were unwilling to assimilate. They only came to work and sent money home, not to learn the language and norms and values. The tone soon became very racist, although this hurt the increasing trade with China. Apart from a local law and discrimination, the Chinese population was targeted physically as well. In 1885, over twenty Chinese innocent men were slaughtered in a fabric (Provine, 2008, pp. 69-70). According to the article, Chinese were setting up their shops, opium dens, and gambling houses in the heart of the city centres. The Chinaman posed a real threat to American citizens, as "the race was non-assimilating, had no desire to become American citizens or to even learn the language". The disadvantages this posed to the American citizens ultimately led to the Restriction Act of San Francisco in 1875, which outlawed the smoking of opium and directly targeted the Chinese population (US Drug Enforcement, 2013). In 1909, this law was succeeded by the Smoking Opium Exclusion Act, which banned the importation, possession, and use of 'smoking opium'. It was the first

federal law prohibiting a certain substance (Smoking Opium Exclusion Act, 1909). Earlier, in 1885, an article claimed that fellow Americans pitied the Chinaman, until they visited the West Coast themselves. Whereas Americans from the East Coast regarded the measures racist and point out that the Irish, Germans, Swedes, and Italians are welcome in free America. However, the article claims that the Restriction Act has not done any harm and the Chinese case is not comparable to other nationalities. Although the existence of such an Act, Chinese people still enter the US, often in an illegal manner. There is a passage in the article that illustrates the attitude towards the Chinese population habituating the West Coast. The article claimed that the Chinese population refuse to assimilate and live in filthy places, while they only smoke opium:

It is true that they do not assimilate with Americans, that they [Chinese] even despise us and all other races but their own, and that they only desire to make money out of us and carry it back to China. It is also true that they live in the foulest kind of atmospheres in underground holes and in filthy places with the sickening fumes of opium forever prevalent, and that their quarter is an eyesore in both the cities of San Francisco and Portland (New York Times, 1885a).

Following this passage, there is a text refining the trouble that the Chinese population causes. The Chinese people fill jobs that the white population rejects. Furthermore, the Chinamen is willing to work for lower wages and longer days. Nevertheless, in line with the work of Risse (2004, pp. 145-146) a strong sense of 'Otherness' is created. As a result, the 'Easternization' of the West Coast is considered undesirable (New York Times, 1885a). In Rock Spring, Wyoming, this even leads to a massacre of Chinese. In a carnage, twenty Chinese men are killed. Although it is stated that the Chinese men are slaughtered for no reason except racial prejudice, the article refused to blame native Americans. The seventy-five perpetrators are all portrayed as unnaturalized citizens, the Americans acted all according to the rules (New York Times, 1885b).

On the other side of the spectrum, China itself is harsh in their fight against opium. Dealers smuggling more than a thousand grams of the substance receive the death sentence in China. Even if they are convicted in the United States, they will be deported to China after their time in prison. Once the Chinaman arrived in China, he would receive the death sentence anyway (New York Times, 1938a). Controversially, it appeared that American citizens themselves used in relative and absolute numbers more drugs than any other nation. In 1911, Dr. Hamilton Wright claimed that the United States consumes most habit-forming drugs per capita. Especially opium, which was popular and wide available at the time, terrorized the country. In an article in the New York Times, Wright claimed that opium circulated in the United States in larger amounts as to Europe. In addition, Japan and even China guard their people with much greater care than the United States does. Wright argued that the

fact that American citizens can buy opium in ten percent of the drug stores, only encouraged addiction. He takes it even further by suggesting that doctors and physicians can be held accountable for addiction. This was an effective speech act, as Wright tried to explain how serious the situation was (McDonald, 2008, pp. 567-568). By comparing the situation to that of Russia, the author intends to portray the situation as disturbing:

Our physicians use it [drugs] recklessly in remedies and thus become responsible for making numberless 'dope fiends', and in uncounted nostrums offered everywhere for sale it figures, in habit-making quantities, without restriction. Even in Russia medical practitioners, recognizing the great Sydenham's declaration that without opium their profession would go limping, have guarded it as one might guard a pearl, for use and against abuse. [...] Here physicians often are addicted to the habit, and they continually prescribe opium for insufficient causes or without any real excuse (New York Times, 1911a).

In the United States, doctor Hamilton Wright used racism as a tool to enhance federal narcotics control. In his report in 1910 to Congress, he portrayed opium as catalyser of Chinese men abusing white women. "One of the most unfortunate phases of the habit of opium smoking in this country is the large number of women who have become involved and were living as common-law wives of or cohabiting with Chinese in the Chinatown's of our various cities" (Province, 2008, p. 74). Dr. Wright claimed that most of the doctors and druggists consider their liberty to prescribe and sell as a right to victimize patients with an addiction. Furthermore, he corrects the wide belief that China is the single-most user of opiates, as he stated that the consumption per capita in the United States exceeds every other nation. Moreover, the increase rate in use of drugs in the United States is the highest worldwide. Wright claimed that "our prisons and our hospitals are full of victims" of habit-forming substances, and "it has robbed ten thousand business men of moral sense and made them beasts who prey upon their fellows". On top of that, the illicit traffic of drugs made the pharmaceutical profession lose its dignity according to the doctor (New York Times, 1911a). The article puts the situation of the United States in perspective, but also nuances the inaccurate assumption concerning China and the rest of Asia. Although evidence lacked, the presence of the Chinese has been securitized by American Elites. By convincing the white middle class that the Chinese used opiates and caused socio-economic and cultural tensions, an anti Chinese sentiment developed, based on the ideas of social securitization (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 22-25). It allowed the American Elites to transform and justify opium policies and specifically target the Chinese population.

3.2 The Black population and crack-cocaine (1908 – 1925)

Although the Chinese were still a target of discrimination, there appeared to be a shift early in the twentieth century. Opium was no longer the single-most feared drug, as the use of cocaine increased. The black population was identified as main user of the substance, in the form of crack. Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia considered anti-cocaine bills as early as 1900, driven by fears that cocaine gave younger blacks a new sense of boldness. In a report by the American Pharmaceutical Association it was stated that "the negroes, the lower and immoral classes, are naturally most readily influenced, and therefore among them we have the greater number [of users], for they give little thought to the seriousness of the habit forming" (Province, 2008, pp. 74-75). In doing this, a strong line between 'us', the white middle class, and 'they', the Black population was created by the American Elites. This allowed the American Elites to design an idea of what the identity of 'us' should be, and what a threat 'they' caused. By doing so, the American Elites created ground to defend the American identity (Risse, 2007, p. 3). In 1908, an alarming piece was published in the New York Times. It appeared a cocaine habit was quickly spreading in the larger city of the country. Especially through mail, enormous amounts of cocaine were sent each year. In line with the Pure Food and Drug Act, it would be prohibited to traffic cocaine by post. In the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, misbranding, misleading, and mislabelling products became illegal. In this Act, drugs sold under false names or with false contents were included. Apart from alcohol, this involved morphine, opium, cocaine, heroin, and cannabis Indica. The penalty issued for violating the law could vary from a two-hundred dollar fine up to one-year imprisonment for mislabeling alone. These laws were passed in the fifty-ninth Congress (Pure Food and Drug Act, 1906, 34 Stat. 768).

Much of the cocaine has been sent in the form of medicines. Under the ban of sending cocaine by mail, these 'medicines' will be included. Besides, the black population was increasingly linked to the alarming upsurge of cocaine. This habit was even worse than that of liquor according to the author:

It developed that in the South the habit had fixed itself to an alarming degree on the negroes. The curse of cocaine, in fact, is said to be as great if not a greater menace to the peace of that section of the country than liquor habit (New York Times, 1908a).

It was the beginning of a siege against the black population, inspired by their assumed use of cocaine. Six years later, in 1914, Edward Huntington Williams publishes a famous article in the New York Times, stating that the use of cocaine by negroes causes insanity and murder. Huntington claimed that cocaine can be taken under the eyes of officers unnoticed, while the effects are immediate. According to Huntington, the drug caused insane exaltation, accompanied by hallucinations and disillusion. Eventually, depression conditions occur, which makes the user

continue to use the substance. In the article, Huntington heavily linked the black population to the use of cocaine and the violence as a result of it:

Meanwhile the Chief, out of the corner of his eye, saw infuriated negroes rushing toward the cabin from all directions. He had only three cartridges remaining in his gun, and he might need those in a minute to stop the mob. So he saved his ammunition and "finished the main with his club". [...] Many other officers in the South, who appreciate the increased vitality of the cocaine-crazed negroes, have made a similar exchange for guns of greater shocking power for the express purpose of combating the "fiend" when he runs smuck (New York Times, 1914a).

In the same article, ferocity is closely associated to the use of cocaine. It is suggested that the dangerous effects of cocaine included hallucinations, delusions, increased courage, homicidal tendencies, and resistance to shock. Furthermore, it increased marksmanship among the user of cocaine. While the user of alcohol seems to lose his accuracy, cocaine resulted in higher accuracy and a higher likelihood of shooting:

For a large proportion of such shootings have been the result of drug taking. But I believe the record of the "cocaine nigger" near Asheville, who dropped five men dead in their tracks, using only one cartridge for each, offers evidence that is sufficiently convincing (New York Times, 1914a).

The article went even further, by stating that the black population is much more likely to get addicted to the substance. According to Huntington, part of the explanation for this was that "most of the negroes are poor, illiterate, and shiftless". Furthermore, prohibiting the black population from taking alcohol has made them cocaine addicts. Although concrete evidence was lacking, these statements transformed the opinion on cocaine. Since scientist like Huntington convinced the white middle class of the dangerous combination that the Black population and crack-cocaine caused, securitizing the issue of Black people using cocaine. The majority of the relevant audience was persuaded by the American Elites, which was necessary to justify the new policy concerning opiates by the American Elites (Regilme, 2018a, p. 79). Furthermore, crack-cocaine was portrayed as a bigger problem than alcohol. Thereby, crack-cocaine, used by the Black population, was moved into the direction of an existential threat, more problematic than alcohol used by the white middle-class (Williams, 2008, p. 68). Once a Black person starts using cocaine, he would be useless to society. This is a preview for most of the black population, according to the article:

Once the negro has formed the habit, he is irreclaimable. The only method to keep him from taking the drug is by imprisoning him. And this is merely, palliative treatment, for he returns inevitably to the drug habit when released. For the thousands of negroes who have not yet acquired the habit, but who will do so eventually if present conditions continue, the outlook is scarcely more hopeful. The drug

traffic puts an irresistible temptation in their way, and this traffic continues to flourish (New York Times, 1914a).

This quote was designed to justify new policies by the American Elites. By carefully stating that the use of crack-cocaine by the Black population was a threat to the norms and values of society, the American Elites could convince their public of the socio-economic and cultural threats to the preservation of their society (Regilme, 2018b, pp. 347-348). The impossibility of treating cocaine addiction had been raised before. In an article written in the New York Times in 1908, Dr. Graeme Monroe Hammond concluded that it is impossible to cure the cocaine fiend if the use of cocaine is habit-forming. He discovered that 'Sniff parties' were increasingly common in the city of New York. Monroe Hammond stated that "there is nothing we can do for the confirmed user of drugs". He took it even further by concluding that "the best thing for the cocaine fiend is to let him die" (New York Times, 1908b). By linking cocaine, violence, and race, an effective frame emerged in the United States. According to the American Elites, crack-cocaine using Black population caused violence. Hereby, the Black race was effectively socially securitized (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 23-25). In September 1913, riots in Mississippi Town reached the attention of the New York Times. The headline read "Drug-crazed Negroes start a reign of terror and defy whole Mississippi Town". In the article, events that took place on September 28, whereby two black adolescents supposedly started a riot, are described:

A reign of murder, started early this morning by two negro boys who were crazed by cocaine, developed into a race riot which ended only after three white men, four negro men, and a negro woman had been killed, a score of persons wounded, and the two boys lynched (New York Times, 1913a).

In the article, the race of people involved was one of the central themes. The article described in detail how two black adolescents allegedly terrorized the streets of Jefferson County, victimizing numerous innocent white citizens. In the end, both perpetrators were killed, after they shot and wounded several people (New York Times, 1913a). Four years earlier, tensions were already felt between black and white people. In Pittsburg, riots between members of the black and white population took place on daily occurrence. It seemed that the white population was taking advantage of the popular belief that the black population committed crimes on large basis:

The police have been working hard to rid the city of its alleged "ten thousand bad negroes", but today is apparent that advantage is being taken by white men of the uprising against negroes and are becoming lawless. For several days leading negroes of the city have charged that whites were perpetrating many of the offenses charged to negroes, but the police have held to the assertion that

every one of the three score assaults made on white girls on the streets of Pittsburg have been by negroes (New York Times, 1909a).

Although the article was not directly advocating for the black population, it nuanced the situation. The article sketched some events where the black population was possibly falsely accused of crime committed by Caucasian men. Leaders of the black population complained that the public formed an opinion which was inaccurate. The article concluded that both races were inconvenienced by the violence and riots (New York Times, 1909a).

The problems around cocaine were typical for the southern states, while trouble regarding the substance in the northern states rarely took place. In November 1902, the New York Times reported on the increased use of cocaine in Mississippi. An article named "cocaine evil among negroes: legislation talked of to check the habit in Mississippi", described the alarming growth of the use of cocaine amid the black population. The article, very suggestive in its tone, claimed that laws should be reviewed. According to the author of the article, the medical laws should suppress the evil, which is demoralizing the black race in the South, particularly Mississippi in this case (Huysmans, 2011, pp. 4-5). In the article, it is implied that although there are laws that even though a physician's prescription is needed to obtain cocaine, ninety percent of the druggists ignore this. The article drew a radical conclusion, based on reports of several physicians. In these reports, it is claimed that cocaine might mean the extermination of the black population in the South, as a result of the use of cocaine:

Physicians say that if the habit among the negroes is not suppressed and radical steps this end taken very quickly it will mean the utter ruin and final extermination of the race in the South. Merchants who have closely observed the growth of the habit say that it has almost supplanted the use of snuff among female negroes, and that snuff sales have been falling off very perceptibly for the past three or four years. The press of the State is taking up the subject and urging the adoption of some radical method to save the negro from self-destruction (New York Times, 1902a).

Reading this article, the uproar that was coming is easy to explain. The article, full of questionable assumptions, offered a firm basis for dissatisfaction and violence among the white population. It is sorrowful to conclude that the white population is rarely mentioned as perpetrator of a cocaine crime. On the other hand, when a black man is the criminal, it is mentioned in articles. Before 1950, the white population is generally depicted as victim of cocaine crimes committed by the negro. An article published in 1913 described the situation in which a fifteen-year-old boy spent several days in hospital as a result of cocaine sold by a black man. Instead of writing on a cocaine-crazed white boy, the black adolescent is portrayed as the trespasser and the white youngster is

represented as a victim (New York Times, 1913b). The 23-year-old black man was arrested on the charge of impairing a child's morals. The officer told him:

Such men as you drag this country down to China's level. You are a menace to the country and should not be permitted at large. I really believe that you sold cocaine to this boy, and if you were permitted to remain at large you would not hesitate to induce either children of tender years to adopt the pernicious habit of using cocaine (New York Times, 1913b).

Inspired by a cooperation between the media, politicians, and scientists, the link between race and drugs intensified. Hereby, the existing problem of drugs was portrayed as a social problem, limited to the Black race (Risse, 2007, p. 3). Moreover, crimes allegedly committed by the black population under the influence of cocaine were widely reported. Combined with laws, doctors became extremely important in spreading a message of cocaine-crazed blacks. Carefully, these influential doctors moved crack-cocaine from a normal issue into a security issue, in need of policy (McDonald, 2008, pp. 567-568). They drew 'scientific' conclusions, which were barely more than racial prejudices based on inaccuracies. Even at that time, negative news report on certain races were disproportionately high. Based on exaggeration and pseudoscientific luster, blacks were described in terrifying terms. Carefully, media, politicians, and scientist constructed an image of the Negro cocaine fiend. The fact that police enforced the new laws coincided with race. Most officers would go to places with urban poor and working classes.

This legislation followed by the name of the Harrison Narcotic Tax Act. The Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 resulted in turmoil, as it was uncertain to what extent doctors were free to prescribe drugs (Harrison Narcotics Tax Act, 38 Stat. 785, 1914). However, it soon appeared that law enforcement acted harsh on physicians and addicts, refusing to treat it as a health issue. Confronted by opposition, agents experienced a setback by the Supreme Court in the *US vs. Jin Fuey Moy*, which ruled that they did not have the authority to prosecute addicts or physicians. However, as a result of anxiety over evil "Seductive Chinese" and "Negro cocaine maniacs" the Supreme Court ruled in 1919 that doctors who were wrongly interpreting the law would be arrested anyway. Six years later, all clinics for treatment were closed and all legal narcotic sales were prohibited. This forced addicts to buy from illegal street dealers, a phenomenon which was generally unknown before. It resulted in many drug convictions and a rapid increase in addictive people. In combination with the mass media fearfully reporting on America as most drug-addicted nation worldwide, addicts were depicted as criminals and held accountable for almost every offence. Although responses among doctors were mixed, head of The Narcotics Bureau Harry Anslinger was smart and effective in regulating the terrifying stories. His powerful position allowed him to successfully convince an audience of his point that drugs were an existential threat that necessitated exceptional politics. By carefully framing

crack-cocaine as a problem of the Black population, endangering the American identity, the messages of Anslinger reached the relevant audience (Regilme, 2018b, pp. 347-348). By bending facts and exaggerating numbers, he raised sentences. It was the beginning of a campaign targeting marijuana (Provine, 2008, pp. 79-81). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, blacks have been identified and depicted as cocaine criminals. Apparent is the importance of race when a negro sold or used cocaine, while white people are depicted as sufferers. By constructing an image of the Black population as crack-cocaine abusers, which was not in line with the norms and values of the American society, the racial minority of the Black population was effectively securitized, based on social aspects (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 23-25).

3.3 The Mexican population and marijuana (1925 – 1937)

Beginning in the 1920's, marijuana was framed as the substance that led to violent Mexicans. A police captain in Texas claimed that Mexicans became very violent under the effect of marijuana (Block, 2013). Harry Anslinger, the first commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, started his campaign in 1930. Hence, again the American Elites started framing a racial minority with abusing a certain substance. In their article, Anslinger & Cooper (1937) wrote that marijuana resulted in violence, suicide, and insanity. Anslinger claimed that the substance, coming from Mexico, was posing a threat to the southern states bordering Mexico. He argued that Mexicans introduced and used marijuana, as well as trying to sell the substance. The rhetoric of the American elites was once again successful, because before 1927, only four states banned non-medical use of marijuana. By 1937, 46 out of the 48 states in the US banned the non-medical use of marijuana. (Block, 2013). Although the Indica variant of the plant was included in the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, problems concerning marijuana were barely reported (Pure Food and Drug Act, 1906, 34 Stat. 768). This changed shortly after turn of the twentieth century, when the use of marijuana was linked to insanity. Despising Mexicans and a suddenly hard stance against marijuana seemed to go hand in hand. Once again, the existing problem of marijuana was linked to the racial minority of Mexicans. By stating the danger of marijuana, The Mexican race could be securitized (Risse, 2007, p. 3). In 1925, the New York Times published an article on a situation in the city of Guaymas, located in the north-western part of Mexico. Escrado Valle, a 27-year-old former mariner, ran into a hospital and killed six people. According to the article, he was crazed from smoking marijuana (New York Times, 1925a). It would be the first signal for a crusade against the Mexican population, with marijuana as catalyser and justifier. Considering the fact that marijuana was more accepted for medical use, contrary to the more powerful drugs, it appeared difficult to validate federal legislation. In that sense, marijuana first had to be framed as a dangerous substance, as an existential threat (Regilme, 2018a, p. 79).

Politicians, doctors, and the New York Times effectively worked together to frame supposedly dangerous Mexicans and marijuana. During the Great Depression and in the aftermath of it, this became more successful. By carefully framing the danger marijuana posed for children, fear among the white population spread. Again, American Elites used the danger of a substance and linked this to a racial minority, in order to advocate for preservation of 'our' identity (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 22-23). An article in September 1934 effectively describes how marijuana, the harmful effects of it, and Latin America are linked:

Although as appalling in its effects on the human mind and body as narcotics, the consumption of marijuana appears to be proceeding, virtually unchecked in Colorado and other Western States with a large Spanish-American population. The drug is particularly with Latin Americans and its use is rapidly spreading to include all classes. The poisonous weed which maddens the senses and emaciates the body of the user, is being sold more or less openly in pool halls and beer gardens throughout the West and Southwest and, according to some authorities, it is being peddled to school children (New York Times, 1934a).

The same article, inspired on statements of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, claimed that the government is unable to stop the traffic, because marijuana is not included in the Harrison Act. It continues by saying that "Kin to the loco weed, marijuana when mixed with hay causes death to the horses that eat it" (New York Times, 1934a). It is a powerful rhetoric of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, which functioned to be the starting point for policy. It appeared to be the step to a firmer stance on marijuana and eventually federal policy. In December 1934, the New York Times published an article on their front-page, which described the alarming situation in Cleveland. The author wrote on "a plot to make high school students slaves to narcotics". The events took place in a high school, located between a respectable neighbourhood and a notorious part of the city. Although official numbers lacked, "dozens of letters show the number is considerable". Soon, parents plead to "save our children". Although the article missed facts, it succeeded in its goal to spread fear (New York Times, 1934b). The same week, the New York Times published an article on the dramatic increase in narcotic arrests. In the article, Harry Anslinger predicted that "95 per cent of those arrested would be convicted". Furthermore, it is claimed in the article that New York City functions as the national distribution centre for illicit drugs. Thereby, a security issue was created. This gave Anslinger the opportunity to use all means necessary to block the existential threat of marijuana (Wæver, 1995, p. 55). Anslinger neglects that fact that marijuana was still available for medical purposes, as he claimed that "virtually every ounce of the narcotics sold by peddlers was smuggled". Although specific numbers missed, the key purpose was to raise awareness. In these articles, racism is not as evident

as in the cases of the Chinese and black population (New York Times, 1934c). While marijuana was not regarded a problem before, it could be used as a cover to discriminate the Mexican population. The nature of the drug can explain this, as the public generally accepted the use of marijuana. For opiates and cocaine, considering their powerful effects, this had been different. As a result, before the Mexicans could be discriminated, marijuana would have to be criminalized (Provine, 2008, p. 63). Anslinger was keen to stress that Mexican dealers went to high-schools to sell drugs to the white youth. This spread fear among the white middle class, causing cultural tensions (Buzan et al, 1998, p. 23). In October 1936, shortly before the introduction of the Marihuana Tax Act, the racist tone towards Mexicans is expressed more openly. The article reported that the arrest of two Mexicans led to the discovery of a marijuana farm in Baltimore. The article raised awareness for the alarming situation regarding marijuana:

A well-planned and highly cultivated marijuana farm, disguised to look like a cornfield, was discovered today at the eastern edge of the city by police and Federal agents, who said the leaves on plants would be worth \$1,000,000 on the retail market. [...] The 3,000 drug plants were mostly towards the center of the field, so that they could hardly be observed by a passer-by, according to the agents. The marijuana was of a high grade and the plants had probably been imported here from Mexico, the agents said (New York Times, 1936a).

After arresting two Mexicans, the police had been led to the marijuana farm. Both Mexicans were convicted for either possessing or growing the plants. Harry Anslinger made sure the field would be burned to the ground. Furthermore, he would do everything to prevent another field from growing. This article already assumed that marijuana was a substance that was as harmful as opium and cocaine. Moreover, it directly exposed the nationality of the Mexicans and regarded the Mexicans responsible for marijuana crimes (New York Times, 1936a).

In 1937, the campaign against marijuana is increasingly part of the public debate. It eventually led to the Marihuana Tax Act, which put regulations and restrictions on the sale of marijuana. Although Cannabis Indica was included in the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Sativa variant was left out. The difference between the two plants can be found in origin, cultivation, plant and bud features, and treatment procedures. Whereas the Indica plant originates from Central Asia and India, the Sativa plant comes from Thailand, southern Africa, and Mexico. The Sativa version is taller, thinner, takes longer to grow, is cultivated on outdoor farms and is believed to treat depression, lack of concentration, and fatigue (Elliot, 2018). In the Marihuana Tax Act, the Sativa plant gained the same regulations as the Indica version. The Act imposed taxes on marijuana dealers and was designed to regulate manufacturing and distributing the Cannabis Sativa L. Importers and

manufacturers were obligated to pay twenty-four dollar a year. Furthermore, supervision on physicians prescribing the drug was intensified. Violating the law results in a fine of hundred dollars per ounce of marijuana. Fines could two-thousand dollars or five years imprisonment. The Act was passed in the 75th Congress (Marihuana Tax Act, 1937, 50 Stat. 551). Since the substance was generally not considered harmful by the public, this can be regarded as a huge success by Harry Anslinger.. Anslinger made sure that the fear of the white middle class would cause them to despise Mexicans, enabling to securitize the latter race (Buzan et al, 1998, p. 23). In light of his campaign, the New York Times published an article in January 1937. Once again, presence of marijuana in high schools, as well as the devastating effects it has, is stressed. The article is published shortly before the introduction of the Act, since Harry Anslinger is featured on the problem. The article described marijuana as intrastate problem, and radical reforms should be encompassed:

The Federal bureau has admitted that its hands are tied by the fact that the marijuana weed is indigenous to so many States that its distribution is an intrastate problem. Hope for its ultimate control lies, in the opinion of the government's officers, in adoption by States of the Uniform Narcotic Act. [...] Throughout the country, national educational organizations will be asked to assist in bringing home to young people not already acquainted with marijuana the reasons for its general designation as "the killer drug" (New York Times, 1937a).

In the article, the importance of State cooperation is stressed. If the United States wanted to protect the white youth from marijuana, the government needs to collaborate and stop the traffic of the substance (New York Times, 1937a). This appeared very powerful, as the Act became effective in October that year (Marihuana Tax Act, 1937, 50 Stat. 551). Although the public never regarded the substance to be a problem, within a decade almost every state had some legislation regarding marijuana. By repeatedly stating the danger that marijuana poses to especially the white youth, Harry Anslinger succeeded in designing an act that did not even have public support. Although the Act was quickly drawn and passed, while the scientific and enforcement need was questionable, it lasted. First, Anslinger identified marijuana as a security threat, followed by a speech act that such a threat required measures. By convincing the white middle class of the danger, he reached the relevant audience to justify his new policies (Regilme, 2018b, p. 348-349). In the following years, Anslinger kept telling stories of individuals ruined by drugs, terrorizing civilization, keeping the problem on the security agenda (Williams, 2003). Racism and polarization were central to the campaign of Anslinger, although he carefully evaded these terms literal. However, in his stories, white youth was always the victim of crimes committed by minorities under influence (Buzan et al, 1998, p. 23).

Arguably, marijuana is the best example of how clever experts, with the help of mass media, could shape the public opinion in their favour. In a short time-frame, marijuana transformed from a soft drug curing several diseases into a main contributor of insanity, felonies, and suicide. By carefully linking this to the Mexican population, the race could be securitized (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 22-25). Once again, racism was the starting point for policies. An image of non-whites, high on marijuana and committing crimes against whites, was carefully created. By repeatedly reporting on the crimes that were a result of drug users and drugs itself, fear among whites was generated, creating a sharp cultural division (Risse, 2004, pp. 145-146). Although the substance had long been regarded as relatively innocent, the presence of Mexicans radically changed this. Mexicans arrived during the twenties for seasonal work. For a short time, they were welcomed during the busy harvest time. However, when depression hit the United States, the Mexican population was soon considered to be the evil and their presence was unwanted. Within years, an image was created that Mexicans were likely to be violent because of marijuana. Especially the fact that marijuana use spread among the young white population, created resentment against Mexicans. The danger of the substance was sensationalized, especially in towns bordering Mexico. Men using it were 'dope fiends', a drug addict, a pimp, or a gambler, while women using marijuana were prostitutes. In Texas, authorities created an image that the use of marijuana led to superhuman strengths and a desire to kill (Provine, 2008, pp. 81-83).

The Federal Bureau of Narcotics was in doubt about how to approach the marijuana problem. The anti-Mexican sentiment opened doors to include marijuana in federal control; over 400,000 Mexicans were deported in the thirties. However, marijuana, especially for medical purposes, was largely accepted and widespread throughout the country. This made it difficult to include the substance in federal legislation. In the eyes of Harry Anslinger, by creating a marijuana menace, expert's opinions could be shoved aside (Wæver, 1995, p. 55). By neglecting the inability of the government to control marijuana, Anslinger constructed the image that this evil substance needed to be dealt with. Again, the media was a powerful tool and welcome friend in this campaign. The New York Times abandoned the differences between marijuana and more powerful drugs. By repeatedly insisting that marijuana caused insanity and had appalling effects on the body, Anslinger was assisted in his crusade against marijuana. Anslinger, on his turn, fed stories of suicide and violent crime as a result of marijuana use to the media. Crime by minorities and the use of marijuana became a synonym for each other. Anslinger not only securitized marijuana, but at the same time the Mexican race (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 22-23). By constantly repeating the danger of marijuana and linking this to minorities, Anslinger succeeded in transforming the public opinion on marijuana. In that sense, Anslinger was ahead of his time by effectively using rhetoric. It led to the Marihuana Tax Act in 1937. By that time, every state had some kind of legislation regarding marijuana. The Act

imposed tax on dealing in marijuana and was designed to regulate the spread of the substance. Although the Act was quickly drawn and passed, while the scientific and enforcement need was questionable, it lasted. In the following years, he kept telling stories of individuals ruined by drugs, terrorizing civilization. Anslinger was able to represent marijuana as a security issue, endangering the United States. He advocated for emergency measures in politics to solve this crisis. The emergency measures were taken in the form of the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 (Williams, 2008, pp. 68-70). Racism and polarization were central to the campaign of Anslinger. However, in his stories, white youth was always the victim of crimes committed by minorities under influence (Provine, 2008, pp. 83-86).

Especially the connection between marijuana and the Mexican population has always been debatable. Given the hazardous effects of opiates and crack-cocaine, there was more ground to create a security issue for the latter two. In that sense, politicians, doctors, and the press could justify legislation concerning the substances. In that sense, racism in drug legislation might be most obvious in the case of Mexicans and marijuana. Marijuana had to be fully securitized, before the Mexican race could be securitized. By means of polarization, Anslinger succeeded to create a sharp division between 'us' and 'they'. By claiming that Mexicans and their marijuana were a threat to the norms and values of American society, Mexicans were a subject of securitization (Buzan et al, 1998, pp. 22-23). It is the ultimate proof that there has been more to drug legislation than only eradicating the substance.

Conclusion

In this thesis, there has been done research to what extent the war on drugs has had racist motives. This has been examined based on the following research question: *“How did the American Elites in the United States use the existential threat of drugs to securitize racial minorities between 1873 and 1938?”* Guided by the ideas of social constructivism and securitization, the research is based on articles published in the New York Times between 1873 and 1938. The status of the *New York Times*, by winning 122 Pulitzer Prizes, made the medium a solid choice. Besides, their factual reporting is high. The first victim of the war on drugs that can be identified is the Chinese population. Doctors, followed by politicians and public prosecutors, carefully framed the Chinese population as the foremost user of opiates. By stating that opium was an existential threat to white women, doctors were able to move the opium using race of Chinese into a security issue, in need of policy. By claiming that the Chinese population was threatening the norms and values of the American identity, socio-economic and cultural tensions were created. This eventually led to the first legislative measures concerning narcotics. In 1875, an anti-drug law has been implemented in San Francisco. The San Francisco Opium Den Ordinance attempted to prohibit the smoking of opium. Since American Elites used effective speech acts, they could convince the eligible audience of opium as an existential threat, with the Chinese race as underlying reason for the problem. An article published in the New York Times in 1873 recalled the situation of Chinese people and their opium habit. “Those who live in New-York are, with but few exceptions, devoted to the practice of opium smoking, and, what is far more terrible, a large number of young white girls residing in their neighbourhood are rapidly becoming addicted to the same vice.” It is no wonder that the first anti-drug law was implemented in San Francisco since especially the states of California and Oregon felt the presence of the Chinese. Although they were welcomed for their hard work initially, the American population started to despise them from the moment they were accused to steal jobs of the native population. Although the unwillingness of the Chinese population to assimilate appeared the real problem, opiates functioned as the perfect mean to get rid of the Chinese population. Openly decrying the Chinese population was impossible, but by using the existential threat of opiates, the Chinese race could be securitized.

Although the Chinese kept being subject of racism, a second victim in the war on drugs can be identified. At the beginning of the twentieth century, powder cocaine became one of the most feared substances. Soon, the black population was identified as main abuser of crack-cocaine. In a report of the American Pharmaceutical Association, it was described in unmistakable terms that the black population was keen on using the habit-forming drug. “The negroes, the lower and immoral classes, are naturally most readily influenced, and therefore among them we have the greater

number [of users], for they give little thought to the seriousness of the habit forming.” In 1906, the Pure Food and Drug Act prohibited the unregulated sale of cocaine. Doctor Hamilton Wright underlined the dangers of cocaine in combination with felonies. Wright classified the drug as the most habit-forming substance used in the United States. Moreover, he argued that especially the black population was likely to use the narcotic, thereby becoming likely to commit crimes. By linking the existential threat of crack-cocaine to the Black race, the Black population could be securitized based on social aspects. Since the American Elites convinced the white middle class, the relevant audience was persuaded. Hence, the American Elites could justify their transformation in policies. Reports of the New York Times, doctors, scientists, and politicians reinforced each other. The American population increasingly accepted the message of American Elites, causing them to despise the Black population. The expertise and status of doctors, scientists, and politicians could convince the audience that was needed for laws. It resulted in the Harrison Narcotic Tax Act, which imposed special taxes upon people who produced, imported, manufactured, compounded, dealt in, dispensed, sold, distributed, or gave away opium or coca leaves, their salts, derivatives, or preparations, and for other purposes. Although the law was designed to eradicate crack-cocaine, it reinforced street dealing. Harry Anslinger, head of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, used this to justify his legislation. By pointing out the dangers of the Black population using crack-cocaine, a strong division between ‘us’ and ‘they’ was created. Anslinger pointed out that the Black population was a threat to the American identity, thereby using the existential threat of crack-cocaine as a mean to securitize the Black race.

Starting in the twenties, Harry Anslinger pointed out that Mexicans were excessively using a substance called marijuana. At the beginning of the twentieth century the use of marijuana was linked to insanity. Powerful actors identified the Mexican population as the main perpetrator of the substance. Hence, the drug had to be framed as a dangerous substance in order to justify legislation. By carefully framing the danger of marijuana for the white youth, Anslinger managed to get the issue of marijuana on the security agenda, with Mexicans as the group causing the trouble. Anslinger claimed that the government was unable to stop the traffic of marijuana since it was not included in the Harrison Act. He described the situation by stating that “the drug is particularly with Latin Americans and its use is rapidly spreading to include all classes. The poisonous weed which maddens the senses and emaciates the body of the user, is being sold more or less openly in pool halls and beer gardens throughout the West and South-west and, according to some authorities, it is being peddled to school children.” Hereby he opened up a way to legislative measures and policy. He alarmed the white middle class by claiming that high school students were enslaved to narcotics. These speech acts gave Anslinger the opportunity to transform marijuana into an existential threat, requiring all means to eradicate the substance. During the thirties, Mexicans were increasingly

connected with the smuggle and cultivation of the weed. Soon, the American population accepted the view on Mexicans. Anslinger convinced his public, the white middle class, of the dangerous combination of Mexicans and marijuana. Thereby, he securitized marijuana and the Mexican race. By creating an image of Mexicans using marijuana and selling it to the white youth, a strong division was created. The American Elites convinced the white middle-class that Mexicans were causing socio-economic and cultural tensions, threatening the American identity. It resulted in success for Anslinger, since the Marihuana Tax Act in 1937 put regulations and restrictions on the sale of marijuana. Within a decade the drug transformed from an accepted medicine into a substance leading to criminality. Racism and polarization were central to the campaign of Anslinger, although he carefully evaded these terms. In his stories, the Mexicans and their marijuana destroyed the white middle class. In the end, the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 functioned as the framework for the modern war on drugs.

Hence, the three cases of opiates and the Chinese population, crack-cocaine and the Black population, and marijuana and the Mexican population all have the same features. Although the danger of the substances was generally accepted, American Elites used polarization and socio-economic and cultural tensions to target a specific race. By re-framing and repackaging the substances as a problem of specific races, the Chinese, Black, and Mexican races could be securitized. American Elites used the idea of 'us' and 'they' to create sharp division and convince the relevant audience, to justify their transformation in policy. As such, the existential threat of drugs has been used as an instrument to hide the racist motives, integrated in the transformed policies of American Elites.

Further research could be conducted on the way other news mediums have reported on the war on drugs. This could focus on different newspapers, but also on radio or television. Besides, the similarities and differences in the old and modern war on drugs can be elaborated. Analysing the consumers of the news is an opening to new research as well. This research has been limited, since only the *New York Times* is analysed. Furthermore, the readers of the articles are unknown to me. This research can be seen as the background information to understand the modern war on drugs. As such, there is plenty of research that can be done in the future.

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