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BERKELEY-DUKE
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ON THE SECOND ECONOMY
IN THE USSR

THE MARKET FOR ILLEGAL DRUGS IN THE
SOVIET UNION IN THE LATE 1980S

by Kimberly C. Neuhauser

Preface by Vladimir G. Trembl
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Paper No. 23, November 1990

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ERRATUM

The editors regret that in some copies of BDOP No. 21, the name of co-author Bohdan Wyznikiewicz was omitted from the cover and title page. The correct title should read:

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The Market for Illegal Drugs in the Soviet Union
in the Late 1980s

Kimberly C. Neuhauser

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Preface

Vladimir G. Treml
Editor

Kimberly Neuhauser's excellent pioneering study of the narcotics market in the USSR does not need an introduction as such. There are, however, certain important issues which must be raised at this time concerning our use of Soviet sources and our methodology, issues which are pertinent not only to Neuhauser's study but our future research as well.

The principal investigators of the Berkeley-Duke Study of the Second Economy in the USSR felt that two special markets -- prostitution and narcotics -- were too important for a comprehensive picture of the Soviet underground private economic activities and had to be included in our research program no matter how difficult the subject matter was and how rough the final estimates were likely to be. Clifford Gaddy and Kimberly Neuhauser began their research on, respectively, prostitution and narcotics markets in the summer of 1988. It will be recalled that until recently we had no summary Soviet statistics describing these phenomena and the only information available to us had been scattered anecdotal and often conflicting references in the Soviet media. The Berkeley-Duke emigre survey did not include questions on prostitution and narcotics and hence could not be utilized. Despite these difficulties Clifford Gaddy completed a comprehensive (and well received) study of the prostitution market in mid-1989 [Gaddy, 1990].

In the spring of this year the Soviet State Statistical Agency, Goskomstat, published an estimate of the overall size of the second economy measured in terms of private illegal income of the population for 1988 as 56.5 billion rubles; the combined turnover of prostitution, narcotics, and smuggling was given as one billion rubles. The statistics were offered without definitions of terms and without documentation but were still of great interest because they represented a relatively detailed overall picture of the second economy reported by Goskomstat for the first time [SOTSIAL'NOYE..., 1990, p. 121]. Subsequently we learned that out of this one billion ruble total narcotics accounted for 300 million rubles and prostitution for 700 millions [Shatalin et al., 1990, p. 126]. Ms Neuhauser dismissed the narcotics estimate as unreasonably understated and proceeded with her own study. Her first "clean" draft was finished in early May of this year. In it Ms Neuhauser arrived at an estimate of the overall size of the narcotics market for the mid and late 1980's as ranging from 1.9 to 16.2 billion rubles. Her final estimate, as the reader will see, falls in the range between 5.5 and 18.1 billion rubles.

We circulated her estimates among colleagues in the US and I reported them as well as other second economy estimates made by our group in several lectures and discussions during my visit to Moscow in May, and later at the World Congress of Slavic Studies in July at Harrogate, England.

It should be added that in the past two years, Soviet media and academic sources, having recognized the existence of the second or the "shadow" economy, began referring to "Western scholarly studies" and

offering their own, essentially undocumented, estimates. In 1987, Professor Grossman estimated the private component of Soviet personal incomes by region [Grossman, 1987]. Rough extrapolation of his figures to the entire urban USSR suggests that in the late 1970's, private and mainly illegal income in the USSR comprised about one-third of total urban household money income. Grossman's work thus represented a quantum leap in the Western research as it became clear that the magnitude of second economy transactions exceed 100 billion rubles. As more and more quantitative and summary references to the second economy began to surface in the Soviet literature, many of the published figures appeared to be fairly close to various estimates produced by the Berkeley-Duke project or by other Western researchers.

Western studies of the second economy were also gaining slow recognition by Soviet higher government authorities. At the December 1989 session of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies, the MVD Chairman, V. V. Bakatin, complained about the absence of reliable Soviet research and statistical data on the second economy and referred in very general terms to Western studies [Bakatin, 1989, p. 2]. Bakatin's and other references were neutral without the negative connotation characteristic of Soviet accounts of Western studies in the past. Direct Soviet references to or comments on specific Western scholars and estimates are still, however, rare.

In 1990, Soviet estimates of the size of the second economy and of various illegal markets continued to be revised upward and were becoming more realistic. Thus, in an IZVESTIYA interview in August of 1990, the Head of the Criminal Division of the MVD

reported that the "illegal turnover of narcotics" was three billion rubles [Illesh, 1990, p. 6]. Either because of MVD findings or other reasons Goskomstat concluded that the earlier estimate of 300 million rubles was much too low and reported a revised estimate of 2,500 million rubles in September of 1990 [V. Ivanov, 1990, p. 20].

In an August PRAVDA article the head of the KGB, General Kryuchkov, in a passage citing many other figures related to economic crime, said that the illegal narcotics trade generated 14 billion rubles in income, which was approximately 50 times higher than the original Goskomstat estimate [Kryuchkov, 1990, pp. 1-2]. Parenthetically we should note that Kryuchkov's estimate is not necessarily inconsistent with the MVD findings. As Ms Neuhauser reports in her study a large share of narcotics in the USSR is not bought from dealers but made from various raw materials by users themselves. Estimating the total value of narcotics at the average market price -- as is the standard national income accounting convention in dealing with goods produced and consumed within the same household -- will yield a much higher estimate. Valuing the market at cost or separately estimating the value of commercially and home produced drugs would generate a lower figure.

The latest Soviet disclosures of the large size of the narcotics market do not, of course, detract from the value of Ms Neuhauser's research. In fact, they enhance the significance of her study as she was the first one to conclude that Goskomstat figures are too low and to offer much higher estimates.

Kryuchkov's figure, which is fairly close to the upper range of Ms Neuhauser's estimate poses, however, several questions for her study and our

research of the Soviet second economy generally. Was Neuhauser to assume that the KGB (and the MVD) had conducted their own studies and independently arrived at the estimate? In this case Ms Neuhauser should cite Kryuchkov's 14 billions and use it to support her own conclusions. Or was it possible that KGB analysts had somehow obtained Neuhauser's figures and thus, in fact, our estimates were "being fed back to us" and hence do not constitute a verification of the accuracy of our methodology? As the interaction between Soviet and Western scholars and government agencies expand, these and similar questions are bound to be raised more and more often. At this time they must, however, remain open.

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Vladimir G Treml
November, 1990

Foreword

Perestroyka and Drug Abuse in the USSR

Michael B. Levin¹

Kimberly Neuhauser has provided us with an estimate of the value of the Soviet drug market using information published in Soviet papers, journals and books. As far as I know, this is the first work devoted entirely to this particular subject. For the author, estimating the size of the market for illegal drugs is an important part of the Berkeley-Duke Project on the Soviet second economy. This question (How big is the market for drugs?) is important in other respects. Obviously enough, the answer to this question is absent from the overall picture of drug abuse drawn in the Soviet Union. In addition, it could serve as a starting point for projecting foreseeable developments in the Soviet Union.

As I see it, a general outline for future trends in illicit drug consumption, production and trade, must include the impact of perestroyka on drug abuse. My comments will focus on the reform process and its implications for drug abuse and drug trafficking in the Soviet Union. One major change soon to occur is the rapid development of a market economy which may lead to rapid growth in white collar crime, and the

¹ Michael B. Levin is a Soviet sociologist well known in his country as an expert on social aspects of substance abuse. He is an author or co-author of many articles and three books on alcoholism and drug abuse. At present, he is pursuing graduate study in sociology at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

The editors.

formation of criminal syndicates. This trend is already apparent, but it will rise steadily and rapidly as privately-owned enterprises grow in size and number, acquiring more independence and power. This situation will be ripe for the establishment and growth of mafia-type organizations which control the production and distribution of illegal drugs.

The establishment of a convertible ruble can and will change the Soviet market for illicit drugs, probably more radically than the market as a whole, since the drug market is at present further insulated from the world market than the latter. It is said in my country that "the ruble does not go far," and that is why opiates and cannabis are not exported from the Soviet Union. To be more exact they, along with rubles, go nearly nowhere. When the ruble becomes convertible and the country becomes more open, the millions of hectares of high quality hemp and immensely large areas of poppy plants are likely to become a huge new source of drugs for international traffickers; perhaps another Colombia (although without cocaine) and Golden Triangle combined. Raw materials would be very inexpensive for those who buy, providing an exceedingly beneficial deal for those who sell. This problem will be compounded by Soviet law enforcement agencies, which are nowadays unbelievably inefficient because they know very little about how to enforce the law without violating it, and have so far proved inflexible in their approaches.

Naturally, there are many important peculiarities of Soviet society, little known in the West, which promise numerous unexpected outcomes in a time of restructuring. Of course, something can happen to the reform process itself -- some kind of

dictatorship is still possible in the Soviet Union. But what is already done cannot be completely undone; I do not believe it can revert to the old non-market and totally closed system. Consequently, the developments mentioned above are very likely to occur in some form, either way, and attempts to estimate some basic figures for today seem to be of great and not entirely academic interest.

The reform process has already changed the way that Soviet society perceives the problem of drug abuse. However, the process of opening up of the society is not without certain negative aspects. I was still working for a Soviet journal when the Soviet mass media was first instructed by the Party to write "more openly" about drug abuse inside the country. I could relate in great detail how "the truth about drug abuse" was quickly made up by unscrupulous Soviet journalists. Very few had ever before seen drugs or addicts, but some had heard or read something, and possibly even written, about how horrible drug abuse was in the West, especially in America. Now they were obliged to show how horrible drug abuse was in the motherland. Responding to signals from above, they looked for, or simply invented, stories of horror, and they could use American stories by substituting Moscow for New York City, and Dr. Ivanov for Dr. Smith, and "any addict spends at least 100 rubles a day to support his drug needs" for "100 dollars a day..." This carries an important lesson for all who are studying the Soviet Union and Soviet society in this time of rapid change. It would be naive to treat Soviet media sources with the same level of credibility as American sources, even in this period of openness. A Western study such as Neuhauser's which is based on a

massive survey of the Soviet media is thus bound to reflect some of the inaccuracies and distortions present in original sources.

Kimberly Neuhauser has written a provocative paper. I am grateful to her for this challenging attack upon a very, very dark issue. Her estimates can and should be discussed and questioned, but at least now we have something to start with: pioneers do not always find exactly what they are looking for, but they explore the paths, a contribution that cannot be questioned. She has done this, and now we can see it, and we can think what to do further and how to do it better. I hope this paper is going to be read in my country, too, and that it will provoke thorough and structured investigations on the subject. There are various ways to do so, and Kimberly Neuhauser's estimates are likely to be corrected. But she has already made an important contribution.

The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR
in the Late 1980s

By Kimberly C. Neuhauser¹

SUMMARY

Drug abuse appears to be a rapidly growing problem in the Soviet Union, and is gaining attention from many economists, sociologists and the leadership, especially as the USSR enters a period of rapid economic, social and political change. This study estimates that the number of actual users of illegal drugs is between 600,000 and 1.65 million, and that the market value of the illegal drugs consumed in the USSR was between 5.5 and 18.1 billion rubles in the late 1980's. This makes the market for illegal drugs an important part of the underground economy in the Soviet Union.

¹ I would like to thank Professor Vladimir Trembl for the use of his files, and for extensive comments on earlier drafts. Detailed personal comments by Michael Levin provided important insights and clarifications. Clifford Gaddy, Erik Weisman and Professor Gregory Gleason offered valuable suggestions and criticism. Research assistance by Ms. Irina Rahr at Radio Liberty is gratefully acknowledged. All errors and omissions are, of course, my own.

The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

I. Introduction

Beginning in late 1986, articles began to appear in the Soviet press concerning the problem of drug abuse in the USSR². The Soviet reading public was shocked by the novel "PLAKHA," written by Chingiz Aitmatov, serialized in NOVYY MIR in 1987. The novel provided a graphic description of the world of drug production and distribution, and the accompanying violence and corruption. Drug abuse, a formerly taboo subject, was now being discussed, its causes and solutions being debated, as a result of the new leadership's policy of glasnost. By all accounts, drug abuse is spreading rapidly in the USSR, particularly among persons under age 30 and women. Although the coverage of this issue has increased over the past five years, there has been little summary data and no published estimates of the value of the market for illegal drugs in the USSR. As a part of the Berkeley-Duke Project on the Soviet Second Economy, this paper will consider the market for illegal drugs in the USSR.³

² A lawyer, B. Kozyrev, writing in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, July, 1988, noted that "In an analysis of domestic publications of 1985 and the beginning of 1986, I did not come across a single addict in our country... For an analogous period of the following year on the pages of only the central press about 140 articles appeared on this issue, ... 68.7% or 94 of which concerned the situation in various regions of the USSR."

³ The Berkeley-Duke Project on the Soviet Second Economy has been based in large part on a survey of over 1,000 Soviet emigre households, now residing in the U.S.

The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

Production and distribution of narcotics have been a significant and a rapidly growing component of the second or illegal economy in a number of Western countries and recent evidence from the USSR indicates that the illegal drug market is also a part of the Soviet scene. The market for illegal drugs is probably not large in the USSR, certainly not in comparison with the United States or Western Europe. For obvious reasons estimates of the number of drug users and sellers, and of the drug turnover in monetary terms are difficult to make in any society. As will be discussed below, the difficulties of such estimates are compounded in the Soviet case by secrecy, refusal to acknowledge the existence of the market, naive and simplistic methods of estimation, absence of a shared vocabulary, and fragmented responsibility for collecting and processing relevant information. One problem that plagues a study of this sort is the lack of clarity about measurement. For example, Soviet sources say that about 80 percent of drugs consumed in the USSR are plant based -- but it is not clear whether this is 80 percent of the volume by weight, 80 percent of the value (monetary) or

This paper, however, is not based upon data from the survey, for the questionnaire did not include questions about the use of drugs, or other activities which are also illegal in the West. In preparing the questions for the survey, it was felt that respondents would not wish to engage in self-incrimination. In addition, our sample has virtually no emigres from Soviet Central Asia where most Soviet narcotics originate and where consumption of illegal drugs is above the national average.

Most of the Berkeley-Duke second economy studies and estimates cover urban areas of the USSR. The present study encompasses both urban and rural areas, because the data used to make the estimates is not sufficiently disaggregated. Furthermore most of the second economy estimates in the Berkeley-Duke project refer to the late 1970's while this study focuses on the late 1980's.

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possibly even 80 percent of all drug users. It is likely that the authors themselves do not have accurate figures, and that the values are used to provide a sense of the phenomenon, rather than the actual values.

Despite all these difficulties with the available data, the contributors to the Berkeley-Duke-George Mason project on the second economy in the USSR felt that this important market cannot be ignored, no matter how rough the estimated values might be. In addition, the use of illegal drugs appears to be growing rapidly in the USSR, and this market will likely increase in size and importance. It will also be directly effected by the processes of economic and social reform.

Economic activities are considered part of the second economy if either (a) the activity is directly for private gain or (b) the activity is in some significant respect in knowing contravention of the law.⁴ We exclude purely criminal activities and transactions in our studies on the second economy. Drug addiction, and the provision of illegal drugs, however, fall under the category of "victimless crime," since both parties, the buyer and the seller, voluntarily enter into the transaction. This paper is an attempt to estimate a market value for all drugs consumed illegally in the Soviet Union.

Estimating the value of narcotics transactions is always difficult. One special problem we must deal with is the market price versus the cost. A certain part of the drugs used illegally in the USSR (and probably a significant part) is produced and consumed by individual addicts and hence could be valued at cost. However, an

⁴ This definition was first introduced in Grossman, 1977, p. 25.

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earlier convention agreed upon in the Berkeley-Duke project was that we value all privately produced goods and services at market prices. For example, about 25 percent of all samogon distilled in the USSR is produced for non-commercial purposes, that is, consumed within the producing households [Treml, 1990]. However, for the purpose of valuing the second economy we count all samogon at a uniform average market price. By implication this also means that drug addicts producing and consuming narcotics generate both income (market price less cost) and expenditures.

The data for this paper have been gleaned largely from the Soviet mass media, particularly the general press. Wide-spread drug abuse is a relatively new phenomenon for Soviet society. The leadership and the entire society are still struggling with its ramifications. This is evident in the information that is currently available about illegal drugs and drug abuse. The so-called "moral statistics" -- including crime, prostitution, arrests, alcohol and drug abuse, certain types of mental illnesses and so forth -- are collected and processed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), which has jealously guarded them. Similar data gathered by the Ministry of Health have also not been widely available. The absence of reliable and complete socioeconomic statistics has been sharply criticized in the Soviet Union and suggestions for improvement have been made [Treml, 1988]. In 1988 the State Committee on Statistics (Goskomstat) published a table in a statistical abstract for 1987 with the number of convictions for several categories of crimes, including the number of convictions for offenses related to narcotics, possibly indicating a transfer of responsibility. The MVD still collects the data for "moral" statistics, but

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Goskomstat now has access to these data and is responsible for analysis. Goskomstat has yet to develop its statistical procedures for these phenomena, hence the statistics will remain crude and inaccurate for a period of time.

For the most part, the bulk of the information on the number of drug addicts or users has been available only from scholarly sources or journalists, often based on samples of small size, or incomplete regional statistics. Consequently, even among scholarly work, quality of the data is questionable. This compounds the drug abuse problem that Soviet society is facing; the absence of accurate and timely information makes it more difficult to respond to this social phenomena. Given the above, we probably have a very fuzzy picture of the drug abuse problem in Soviet society. Not only do we have limited information, but the data that do exist are of questionable value as well. This picture is likely to be refined in the future if the current trend toward openness and the willingness to deal with problems continues in the USSR. However, this does not dissuade us from forging ahead and making an estimate on the basis of the available information with strong reservations about its quality.

According to official sources, the number of persons in the USSR who are on the register⁵ as known users of drugs was about 150,000 in early 1989 [Kalachev, 1989]. Based on this official number of known users of drugs, I estimate that the total number of persons who use drugs in

⁵ The register is a compilation of the names of known drug addicts and users that is kept by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. For a discussion of this statistic, see Section II.

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the USSR is in the range between 600,000 and 1.65 million⁶ I estimate that the market value of illegal drugs consumed was between 5.5 and 18.1 billion rubles annually in the late 1980's.⁷ The midpoint of this range is 11.8 billion rubles.

This paper focuses on the production, distribution and use of narcotic and other substances for non-medical purposes, which are strictly illegal in the USSR. In addition to estimating the market value of the drug trade in the USSR and the number of persons involved, the paper discusses demographic and geographic dimensions. Section II provides a general description of drug abuse in the Soviet Union, including a brief background, and factors that have contributed to the growth of the drug problem in the USSR. Section III presents a brief exposition regarding the steps that the government has taken to combat the spread of drug abuse in the USSR. Section IV presents an estimate of the size of the market for drugs. Part A discusses the number of users, demographic characteristics of users, the cost of maintaining a drug habit and information on prices for various types of drugs. Part B turns to the supply side, discussing the regions where narcotics crops are most heavily cultivated for domestic use, as well as the structure of production. Section V briefly describes some social problems associated with drug abuse in the USSR. Section VI concludes. Appendix A consists of additional tables concerning demographic and regional data on drug abuse. Tables on the reported prices for drugs and expenditures by drug users are found in

⁶ Section IV will discuss the basis of these estimates.

⁷ These estimates are derived in Section IV.B.4.

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Appendix B. Appendix C provides a list of slang terms associated with the drug abuse phenomenon as currently used in the Soviet Union.

II. Background

As recently as May of 1980, Dr. Eduard Babayan, head of the Standing Committee on Narcotics of the USSR Ministry of Health, said that drug addiction was not a problem in the USSR, and even claimed that the number of addicts was declining⁸ [NEW TIMES (Moscow), No. 20, May 1980, p. 30]. Eight years later, A.V. Vlasov, at the time USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, stated that there were 130,000 known users of narcotics, of whom 46,000 were diagnosed as addicts [Vlasov, 1988]. The attention now given to this problem in the press is indicative of the change in the official attitude toward drug and substance abuse in the USSR.

It is appropriate at this point to define some of the terms that the Soviets use to describe drug abuse phenomena. The register is a list of individuals known to be addicts or users of illicit drugs. There are two official registers of drug users in the Soviet Union; one is kept by the MVD, the other by the Ministry of Health. A person who uses drugs for non-medical reasons is generally classified into one of two types: "potrebitel'" (user) or "narkoman" (addict). For example, the figure of

⁸ According to Babayan, there were 2,700 cases of registered drugs addicts undergoing treatment in 1979, down from more than 3,000 in 1978. "Most of them are chronic cases and invalids whose addiction is traceable to the use of morphine or codeine as painkillers" [NEW TIMES (Moscow), No. 20, May 1980, p. 30].

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130,000 known **users** of narcotics refers to those on the register kept by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The 46,000 **addicts** on the register have been officially diagnosed by doctors as being addicted to some sort of drug or other substance, and are also found on the medical register kept by the Ministry of Health. The MVD adds to the number of addicts, its list of known users -- including persons who may have only used drugs on one occasion -- to reach a total of 130,000 for 1988. In this paper, the term addict will be reserved for those with the official diagnosis, while the term user will refer to the larger group. "Narkomaniya" is generally used to indicate drug addiction. Strictly speaking, it means that "the life activity of the organism is maintained at a certain level only with the constant intake of a narcotic substance, which leads to the deep impairment of physical and mental functions" [Bogoliubova and Tolpekin, 1987, p. 27]. "Toksikomaniya" (substance addiction) refers to "the stable, difficult-to-overcome dependence of the organism on the systematic use of various substances that are not in their nature narcotic (for example, certain toxic household chemicals)" [Bogoliubova and Tolpekin, 1987, p. 37]. Toksikomaniya straddles the world of substance abuse between drug and alcohol addiction in Soviet terminology. Substance or toxin addicts may sniff glue or household chemicals, (for example, ingesting bug spray to get a "high" [N2N 02-89 MI]⁹), but the term also includes those who drink cologne or other substances that are used as substitutes for alcohol. Finally, "narcotism" refers to "a

⁹ The Berkeley-Duke Project on the Second Economy developed a special code to protect the identity of informants, interviewed in conjunction with the project.

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social phenomenon, the essence of which consists in the habituation of individual groups of the population to the use of narcotics" [Bogoliubova and Tolpekin, 1987, p. 27]. Narcotism encompasses the whole culture of the drug phenomenon, from the so-called "narko-mafia" to the street corner pusher. This paper will try to capture the market value of illegal drugs and other substances that are consumed in the USSR.

1. Legal Developments

Two Soviet scholars at the All-Union Institute for the Study of the Causes and Measures for the Prevention of Crime describe three stages in the development of the legal principles associated with drug crimes. The first stage of state activity was to establish criminal responsibility for the manufacture and storage of cocaine, morphine and other narcotic substances for sale in the late 1920's. The second stage began in 1934 when the sowing of opium poppies and Indian hemp by private individuals was forbidden -- crops were grown only by the state to be used for medical and scientific purposes. The third stage began in 1963 when the USSR signed the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1953. According to the authors, for the next two and a half decades, the measures to control drug abuse became more integrated. At the same time, these authors express the opinion that the focus of these legal measures was misplaced. They believe that too little emphasis has been put on criminal responsibility for the sales of drugs to others and for the attraction of others to drug addiction [Bogoliubova and Tolpekin, 1987, pp. 30-33]. This emphasis on administrative and legal procedures over

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prevention and treatment as a means of combatting drug abuse is only recently changing, and then only slowly.

2. The Portrayal of the Problem in the Mass Media and Popular Press

The legal developments described above indicate that at some level officials were aware of a drug abuse problem, or at a minimum, the potential for a problem. However, this was not the view held by society as a whole. Drug abuse was a "non-problem" as far as the man on the street could tell from the official press. In late 1980, several articles on the problem of drug addiction in the Georgian republic appeared in the Georgian press [RADIO LIBERTY REPORT, 31/81, January 20, 1980]. Despite Dr. Babayan's declaration that there was no drug problem in the USSR, clearly someone in Georgia was beginning to worry. Since that time, and especially since the advent of glasnost the mass media has increased its coverage of the issue. There are several possible explanations for increased attention to this problem in the press: first, the illegal use of drugs may be spreading rapidly, making it impossible to ignore the impact on society; second, the awareness of specialists could have increased, resulting in more writing and publishing on this issue; and third, glasnost by itself may have lead to increased public discussion of negative social phenomena. It is most likely that all three have worked together and as a result, the press coverage of this issue has exploded. Articles range from stern warnings to social groups (especially youth and students) and heart-breaking personal stories, to the best Soviet investigative reporting, with journalists badgering the police and

causing republic officials to write long articles defending themselves.¹⁰

3. Policy of Denial Contributes to the Problem

There is widespread agreement that the state and party policy of denial, called by many "an ostrich policy," has contributed to the growth and spread of the drug problem. Some authors complain that objective information is not available, and that a large percentage of young drug users are not aware that drug use is harmful [Kalachev, 1989; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, August 12, 1987]. One author relates his attempt to publish a story about the spread of addiction in the late 1960's and early 1970's. He gathered materials and approached the editor of KAMCHATSKAYA PRAVDA. The editor raised his hands and said, "Unfortunately, the subject is forbidden" [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, December 3, 1986, p. 3]. In the second half of the 1960's, a group of military doctors raised the issue of narcotics use among soldiers. One of the doctors, E.B. Kagan, estimated that 20% of soldiers began to take narcotics in their military units. However, the Military Commissar stated that narcotics addiction is not a problem in the ranks of the Soviet Army [Kalachev, 1989].

It is not possible to judge whether the state policy was to ignore an actual problem, or if state officials (particularly at the top levels of state and party organizations) simply did not realize that there was a

¹⁰ See for example, "Yeshche raz o narkomanii," IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987; "Zasedaniye i narkomaniya," IZVESTIYA, July 9, 1987; "Zaslou durmanu," IZVESTIYA, February 2, 1987.

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problem -- because "bad news" did not reach the top decision and opinion making level of Soviet society. Whatever the cause, the result is the same: society and social organizations have not been prepared to deal with the problem. On a concrete level, an MVD official stated that the categorical denial of any drug problem in the country in the early 1980's resulted in the absence of funding for a broad based anti-drug campaign ["Narkomaniya s tochki...", 1989, p. 42]. At every level of social organization there have been opportunities to recognize the signs of a drug abuse problem, and these opportunities have been missed:

- Medical personnel have not been trained to recognize or treat the symptoms; adequate facilities have not been built. In Kuybyshev, for example, the militia picked up an addict and called in a doctor. The doctor had never seen an addict before, and did not know how to treat him [KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, June 8, 1986, p. 2]. In Kiev, the capital city of the Ukraine where poppies have long been a part of traditional culture, the hospital does not have a separate section for the treatment of drug addiction. As a result, the young 14- and 15-year old addicts are placed among older experienced addicts, who teach them how to make drugs for themselves [TRUD, August 3, 1988, p. 2].
- Those who work most closely with the groups at risk have not been educated to recognize the signs of abuse or the possibilities for treatment. Since students and youth are those most at risk, this includes teachers, Komsomol workers, the work collective and so forth. The Komsomol has come under particularly heavy

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criticism for not taking action on this issue sooner [KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, June 8, 1986, p. 2]. This is particularly pressing, since the most rapid growth in use of illegal substances is among those below age 25. The Director of the Department of Schools in the USSR Ministry of Education began an interview with UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA with the following words: "It is useless to put one's head under one's wing. We have been silent for too long" [November 27, 1986, p. 2].

- The community has not been made aware of the problem, and so it too is not able to recognize danger signs. One author related the story of a young factory worker who was sniffing chemicals in front of his co-workers. No one said anything to him. As a result, he became totally blind [TRUD, January 15, 1987, p. 4]. Intervention in this case would have been preferred to the outcome, but why didn't it happen? One possibility is that the co-workers did not know that harm would come from these actions. Another possibility is that there were no mechanisms or procedures for getting access to treatment; hence, no one knew what steps to take. Citing another example, not one of the addicts on the register in Kharkov was recognized as such at his place of employment [TRUD, August 3, 1988, p. 2]. Some social organizations appear to refuse any responsibility: The head of a trade union in Kiev said that the problem belongs with the experts, such as the militia and doctors [TRUD, August 3, 1988, p. 2].
- All the way down to the family unit, the lack of education and awareness has contributed to the spread

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of the problem. From parents who cannot recognize the signs of drug abuse, to the young addicts who get involved, many do not know that there is a risk to one's life and health.

4. Culture and Tradition Contribute to the Problem

In the Central Asian part of the Soviet Union, opium has been a part of the culture for centuries. In the Ukraine as well, poppies are part of the cultural heritage [TRUD, August 3, 1988]. In the Tedzhenskiy rayon [district] of Turkmenistan there is a well known drink "tedzhenskiy tea," which is laced with opium. In this region, narcotics were sold almost openly 20 years ago, and it was traditional to distribute opium at weddings [TRUD July 23, 1987, p. 4]. In several other areas of Central Asia, guests at a wedding receive between one-half and one kilogram of opium ["Narkomaniya s tochki...", 1989. p. 46]. Koknar, an opium derivative, is used as a medicine in Turkmenistan and other Central Asian regions. Old men use it in public; so-called "wise women" use it to treat infants [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No. 8, 1989, p. 5]. In the Ukraine, a holiday called "Makovey" is celebrated, during which bouquets of red poppy flowers are exchanged and used to decorate the home [NEDELYA, No. 13, 1987, p. 7]. These traditions are difficult to change, and naturally, these are some of the main areas where the supply of opium is harvested.

Not only is the use of narcotics a traditional part of life in areas of Central Asia, but the traditions themselves can serve as an incentive to become involved in cultivation and trade of illegal drugs. In an interesting round table discussion published by SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE

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ISSLEDOVANIYA, B. F. Kalachev, an Instructor at the Moscow Higher School for the Militia, pointed out that research in Turkmenistan showed that the dowry for a bride was between 20,000 and 40,000 rubles; funerals cost between 3,000 and 5,000 rubles. These expenses cannot be maintained out of average wages, hence people turn to theft and other crimes including "speculation, smuggling and sales of narcotics" [Narkomaniya s tochki..., 1989, p. 46].

5. Urbanization as a Contributing Factor

In "Urbanization and Crime: The Soviet Experience," Louise Shelley discusses rural-urban migration and its contribution to the rising crime rates of Soviet cities. It is not unreasonable to assume that the level of crimes related to drugs will rise as the general level of criminal activity rises in a region. As Shelley points out, one important factor to keep in mind when discussing the distribution of crimes connected with drug use is that, unlike the U.S., the largest cities do not necessarily have the highest overall crime rates, because the residency of less desirable persons is controlled. Hence, the newly industrializing cities and areas where the policy is to increase the labor force (in addition to increasing the Slavic population, as is the case in the Baltic republics) may lead to a higher incidence of crime and drug abuse [Shelley, 1984].

6. The Crackdown on Alcoholism and Production of Alcohol

Numerous sources indicate that alcohol and drugs are substitutes. However, there seems to be no consensus

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regarding the connection between alcohol and drugs. According to a number of Soviet soldiers who served in Afghanistan, many turned to drugs because they were cheap and easily available, while vodka was not [Alexiev, 1988]. An official from the RSFSR Ministry of Health, in an interview in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, said that narcotics addiction goes hand in hand with alcohol addiction, "...in the absence of narcotics he [the addict] tried to compensate with alcohol, and vice versa" [August 20, 1986, p. 20]. Results of a survey presented at a conference in Moscow in 1988 established that the earlier youths are exposed to alcohol, the higher their level of involvement with narcotics [Pozdnyakova, 1988]. In an article in SOVETSKIY SPORT, the author draws a direct connection between the anti-alcohol campaign, and the increase in drug use. The author said the anti-alcohol campaign lead to an outbreak of production of samogon and toksikomaniya, followed by a "poppy epidemic" [July 27, 1987, p. 4].

Data from a survey of convicted drug users in Georgia, however, point in the other direction. According to the survey, the drug users almost always prefer drugs to alcohol. And, although 72% of them said they did drink alcoholic beverages, two-thirds did so infrequently [Gabiani, 1987]. Further evidence that drugs and alcohol are not used as substitutes is provided by the Internal Affairs criminal investigations administration in Leningrad. According to officials, "...previously drug addicts did not use alcohol on principle. Now they often use vodka or its surrogates to 'enhance the effect...'" Here, alcohol is not used as a substitute for drugs when they are unavailable, nor does it appear that the reverse is true [TRUD, May 12, 1990, p. 2].

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A link between alcohol and drug abuse -- that alcohol abuse leads to drug abuse and vice versa -- has not been proven, and yet many Soviet specialists see a relationship. It may be that in the Soviet case, perception is a function of two simultaneous events: the crackdown on alcohol and glasnost', both of which have lead to an increased interest in drug abuse and the appearance of an explosion. There has been no medical conclusion concerning this issue to date.

7. Drugs and the Soviet Army

(a) Soldiers Returning from Afghanistan

Over 500,000 soldiers who served in Afghanistan have now been demobilized. Soldiers were known to sell military equipment in order to obtain money for drugs, or to demand hashish from villagers during raids. According to interviews with former soldiers serving there, a majority of Soviet soldiers used drugs on a fairly regular basis. [Alexiev, 1988] If this is taken literally, and if the former soldiers continue to use drugs, it indicates that there could be over 250,000 users in the male cohort of age 18 to 30 that have not yet begun to show up on the registers in great numbers. It is unlikely that the number would be that high, although a study of the drug use habits of Soviet soldiers who served in Afghanistan is not available. Without a doubt, the exposure of thousands of young men to a region and culture where drugs are readily available has increased the number of users and the public awareness of the problem. The conflict in Afghanistan provided a conduit for the supply of opium into the Soviet Union. See Section IV.B.1.a, for a discussion of foreign sources of drugs.

(b) First Exposure in the Soviet Army

Serving with the Soviet contingent in Afghanistan is not the only way that one could be exposed to drugs while in the Soviet Army. Concerned about drug use in the Soviet Army, Boris Kalachev, published a long article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on precisely this issue. He reports that in the second half of the 1960's a group of psychiatrists raised the issue of non-medical drug use in the military, which was especially prevalent among those serving in Central Asia. One doctor reported that twenty percent of the soldiers began using drugs in the military ranks. The author does not make clear whether this fraction is of those who use drugs, or of all soldiers. The most reasonable interpretation is the former, otherwise, this problem would have been difficult to ignore. Kalachev goes on to report the findings of a survey conducted in 1987, which included over 3,000 respondents in three regions -- Moscow, Kiev and Krasnodar Kray.¹¹ Among students at 20 institutes of higher education in the three regions, it turned out that 26.9% of those who use drugs began use in the army. The author points out that the likelihood of first drug use in the army is inversely related to the level of drug addiction in the respondent's home region. "About half of those from

¹¹ The survey was conducted jointly by the USSR State Inspectorate of Higher Education, the GUUR of the MVD, the Komsomol Central Committee of the Ukraine, and the UVD of the Krasnodarskiy ispolkoma of Moscow, Kiev and Krasnodar Kray in 1987, and included over 3,000 respondents from all social strata, especially youth. The goal of the selective, anonymous survey was to collect data on the outlook of the young generation. The author points out that the military aspect of the drug problem was uncovered in the empirical work [Kalachev, 1989].

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Kiev are of this group; 14.3% from Moscow; and 6.2% from Krasnodar Kray" [as quoted in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, October 26, 1988]. The soldiers surveyed had served both in Afghanistan and on the territory of the USSR, although we do not know the proportions. Hence, we cannot determine which carried more risk of first use of drugs. Still, the findings of the survey make clear that narcotics are available in the Soviet Army for soldiers serving on the territory of the USSR [Kalachev, 1989].

Writing in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, Kalachev gives a detailed description of the results from a subset of the group surveyed in 1987 -- 1132 males living in Krasnodar Kray.¹² An astonishing 53% of these respondents acknowledged using drugs to some extent. Of those, on average 6% had their first exposure while serving in the military. Among different groups the proportion of those with first exposure in the military differed: from 5.2% for kolkhozniki, to 18.7% for employees [Kalachev, 1989]. (See Table 2 in Section IV.A.2.b. for a more complete description of the results.)

8. Unavailability of Anonymous Treatment

Anonymous treatment has not been available to Soviet citizens, and this has been an obstacle to early treatment of addiction. Anyone seeking treatment voluntarily was immediately registered with the MVD. Most addicts and their families have wanted to avoid MVD scrutiny. This has contributed to the problem because it has discouraged early

¹² Krasnodar Kray is a small region of the Russian republic in the Caucasus, bordering the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, with a small shared boarder with the Georgian republic.

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detection and treatment. In addition to the negative effects on the health of the individual, any given addict may in fact, lead to other persons becoming addicted, since Soviet sources say that each addict "infects" between 4 and 15 other persons [IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987, p. 4; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, July 6, 1988, p. 7]. The issue of anonymous treatment is currently being debated in the USSR, with health professionals strongly in favor of such a system.

III. The State and Society's Response to the Problem

1. Medical Facilities

In 1988 there were only 31 hospitals and 410 dispensaries in the country that were solely concerned with drug addiction and drug abuse [TRUD August 8, 1988, p. 2]. The ratio of addicts to facilities is overwhelming. TASS reported that in the Issyk-Kul region of Kirgizia, where drug addiction is a serious problem, there are no facilities for treating drug addicts [Moscow TASS in English, October 4, 1988; as translated in FBIS-SOV-88, October 5, 1988, p. 51]. A great many resources will have to be devoted to the creation of infrastructure for rehabilitation. In addition, treatment programs will have to be developed, for various age groups and types of addiction. One such facility is found in Krivoy rog, Dnepropetrovskaya oblast', where a special psycho-neurological dispensary has been built recently. This facility includes a school with places for 120 addicts of age 12 and above. [MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, August 5, 1990, p. 4].

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One of the problems with the current infrastructure is that it is fragmented. The Ministry of Health does not oversee the treatment centers for drug addiction; they are administrated by a myriad of municipal and MVD offices [Trem1, 1986]. This is partly due to the fact that only recently have attitudes begun to change, and drug addiction is considered more as a disease, not only a crime. The fragmented infrastructure hinders the exchange of information between those treating addicts, and at the same time serves the community less effectively.

2. Campaign Against Drug Abuse, Begun in 1986.

Minister of the Interior Vlasov has stated the following: 77% of registered addicts voluntarily undergo a course of therapy, and every twelfth one quits using drugs [Vlasov, 1988, p. 51]. This implies that out of 46,000 registered users, 35,000 undergo treatment and around 3,000 actually kick the habit.

NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO reported that one Komsomol leader recommended that the minimum working age be lowered to 13, noting that if youths have no free time, they will not be drawn to drugs. This is an interesting approach, but does not get at the factors that contribute to the problem, which were discussed in Section II.

The campaign against drug cultivation is costly. in the Issyk-Kul oblast' in Kirgizia more than 100,000 rubles have been spent on the destruction of wild-growing hemp [TASS October 8, 1988]. In the Chu valley, now known as the "chernaya dolina" -- a region made famous by Aitmatov's novel "Plakha" about drug abuse in the USSR -- hemp grows across a territory of about 60,000 acres. In 1989 the cost

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of operations to destroy the crops reached 365,000 rubles [STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, May 12, 1989, p. 4].

The value of the destroyed crops is high. According to V.K. Pankin, Chief of the Main Administration for Criminal Investigation for the MVD, in 1987 4,000 illegal poppy crops were destroyed. The black market value of those crops was 150 million rubles. Each year the militia confiscates 30 to 40 tons of narcotics and raw materials for preparing narcotics, with a street value of 250 million rubles [IZVESTIYA, June 27, 1988].

3. Organizations to Help Addicts

There are relatively few self-help organizations for addicts and their families in the USSR. An independent organization called the All-Union Society for Rescuing Children and Adolescents from Drugs has recently been founded by the USSR Social Intervention Fund [IZVESTIYA, July 25, 1990, p. 6]. It is still too early to judge the effectiveness of this or any other self-help organizations. The official policy of denial has hampered the development of this type of organization, which are familiar in the West.

IV. Size and Scope of the Market for Illegal Drugs

Every market has two sides, supply and demand. This section, divided into two parts, discusses the market for drugs, first from the demand side, by estimating the number of users and how much they spend to support a drug habit. It surveys various prices for drugs, and the types of drugs that are used in the Soviet Union. Second, this section looks at the supply side -- the sources of illegal drugs consumed in the USSR and the structure of production.

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That there is some sort of illegal drug trade in the USSR is not in dispute. However, there are several views on the importance of the market. According to a Michael Levin, a Soviet sociologist who has studied substance abuse in the Soviet Union, the market is not as important for drug users as it is in the West; drug users are more likely to gather and prepare the substances themselves.¹³ S. I. Gusev, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, writing in SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, says that approximately 65-75% of those convicted acquire, use and store narcotics without the goal of selling [Gusev, 1988(a)]. This would lend some support to the notion that the market is not as important in the Soviet Union as in the West, if there are fewer convictions for sales of illegal substances. However, the conviction data may not be an accurate reflection of the market processes.

A. The Demand Side

1. Number of Users and Addicts

As mentioned above, the most authoritative figures for users and addicts in the USSR come from the MVD. The confusion with respect to the number of addicts is well illustrated by comparing figures for the number of addicts provided in the early 1980's with estimates made later for those same years. In May of 1980, Dr. Eduard Babayan, head of the Standing Committee on Narcotics for the USSR

¹³ Levin estimates that about 90 percent of the drugs used illegally in the USSR are obtained without a cash transaction [1990, personal communication]. See section IV.B.4.a for a discussion of the monetization of all drug related transactions.

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Ministry of Health, said that the number of addicts undergoing treatment in the USSR had fallen from over 3,000 in 1978 to about 2,700 in 1979, but mentioned nothing about the total number of addicts [NEW TIMES (Moscow), No. 20, May 1980, p. 30]. As late as 1985 Soviet officials said that there were some 2,500 to 3,000 addicts in the USSR, with a tendency for the number to decline [Radio Moscow, April 4, 1985, as trans. in FBIS-SOV]. According to data published by Levin in 1988, the number of addicts was approximately 33,600 in 1980, and about 38,000 in 1985¹⁴ [Levin, 1988, p. 18]. According to the MVD, in the early part of 1988, there were 130,000 known users of drugs in the USSR. Of that group, 46,000 were registered as addicts, the so-called "narkomany." In addition, there were some 22,000 known substance addicts [Vlasov, 1988]. Kalachev, an Instructor at the MVD Higher School in Moscow, places the number of users in 1989 at over 150,000 [Kalachev, 1989]. These are the numbers of known users, and they represent only a fraction of the total number of users in the USSR. Because these official statistics are so tightly held by the MVD, it is not possible to verify them independently, nor can we judge the soundness of the methodology for collection and analysis. The accuracy of the estimates made in this paper will depend, then, to a large extent on the veracity of these figures.

In order to estimate the actual number of drug users in the USSR, several pieces of information will be brought to bear. Kalachev discusses the results of a survey of 14- to 17-year olds in schools and PTUs. In this group, 26.3 percent have tried drugs, and 2.9 percent use them

¹⁴ See Appendix A1 for the table of growth rates and estimated number of addicts.

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regularly. There are about 19.7 million young people in this age cohort. Extrapolating from these results, Kalachev estimates that about five million students have tried drugs, albeit only once in some cases, and about 500,000 of those studying would be diagnosed as addicts.¹⁵ My estimate will prove to be quite conservative since it falls well below Kalachev's figure for 14- to 17-year olds alone. This is done purposefully to avoid any possibility of overstating the value of this market.

In order to set the lower bound on the actual number of users in the USSR, I assume that 25% of all users are on the register.¹⁶ This would imply that for 1988 there were a total of 520,000 users in the USSR, and for 1989, 600,000. These are obviously very conservative estimates. For a comparable statistic in the U.S., it is estimated

¹⁵ Although it is not made clear in the round table discussion, it is likely that these results are from the survey Kalachev made in 1987, and discussed above. See Footnote No. 11 for a description of the survey.

¹⁶ I have assumed that 25% of the drug using population is on the register to form this estimate. That value is based on a figure from a report by a deputy Minister of the USSR MVD. A survey of 2,000 students in the city of Rybnitsa (Moldavia, near the Ukrainian boarder) in the upper grades of middle school and students in vocational-technical schools (PTUs) revealed that the number of narcotics users was twice the official number [NEDELYA, No. 13, 1987, p. 7]. This value was considered too low, however, because surveys such as this are likely to have a strong bias, in that people are unwilling (even in an anonymous survey) to admit they are engaging in illegal and immoral activities. Hence the figure of 4:1 (unknown to known users) was chosen as the lower bound. Michael Levin estimates that the ratio should be 5:1 at the least, confirming that I have chosen a conservative value for the lower bound [1990, personal communication].

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that only 1/3 of the active users of heroin were known in the treatment centers in Washington, D.C., and that the number known can comfortably be multiplied by six to give the number for all users, to include the occasional user [Simon and Witte, 1982, p. 141].

Gabiani's research in Georgia lead him to estimate that for every user on the register there are 10 to 12 who are not known to officials. V. V. Gul'dan, Director of the Laboratory for Social-psychological Research for Addiction at the All-Union Scientific Center of Narcology at the USSR Ministry of Health, estimates that there are actually 10 users for each user on the register, based on his work in Latvia ["Narkomaniya's tochki...", 1989, p. 50]. To set the upper bound on my estimate of the actual number of drug users in the USSR, I will follow Gabiani and assume that there are an estimated ten to twelve unidentified users for each known user on the register.¹⁷ Taking the mid-point of eleven unidentified users for every user on the register, provides the upper bound of 1.65 million. The range for the actual number users in 1989 -- between 600,000 and 1.65 million in the USSR -- is now determined and will serve as the basis for estimating the size of the market.

¹⁷ At the upper extreme, one MVD official reported that a survey of young men in Krasnodar Kray revealed that 53 percent of those surveyed used drugs to some extent [Kalachev, 1989]. This was considered unrepresentative, because the Krasnodar Kray is a region that has a high rate of addiction, being located in the Caucasus, and on the Black Sea. For information on that survey, see Footnote 11.

2. A Demographic Look at Drug Users

One of the main reasons for the recent alarm concerning drug abuse in the USSR is the fact that the median age of addicts is falling. According to former Interior Minister Vlasov, 80% of the 46,000 on the register in 1988 with the diagnosis "addict" were under the age of 30, that is 36,800 persons [Vlasov, 1988]. In 1988 2,200 minors (nesovershennoletniye) were sentenced for crimes connected with drugs, half of them for illegal drug use. In that same year, the courts sent 1,000 persons under age 30 for mandatory treatment for addiction [STATISTICHESKIY PRESS-BYULLETEN', No. 9, 1989, p. 60]. According to the chief of the directorate of preventative service B.V. Voronov, adolescents make up 6.1 percent of the total number of those who use drugs. This is more than 7,000 persons [MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, August 5, 1990, p. 4].

The number of young people known as drug users in Moscow has grown dramatically, according to officials. In 1986, 776 adolescents were identified as drug users; that number is five times higher than in 1985 [IZVESTIYA, September 9, 1987]. Projecting on the first nine months of 1987, the number for 1987 would be a 5.6 fold increase over 1985. A survey taken in Moscow showed that 6% of students in the 7th-9th grades in Moscow had tried drugs [RUSSKAYA MYSL' January 8, 1988]. The USSR has about 20 million students in the PTUs and the 7th-9th grades. If Moscow is representative, then approximately 1.2 million children in this age group (14 to 16 years) have already tried narcotics. Within Moscow itself, this is an alarming number. With approximately 944,000 children in the Moscow

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schools (elementary, middle and secondary)¹⁸, 6 percent of students in the 7th-9th grades would be over 15,000! This would indeed be cause for alarm, and is nearly 20 times higher than the 776 known users of drugs on the register in that age group in Moscow.

Moscow is not the only region experiencing rapid growth in the number of young people experimenting with drugs. In Uzbekistan, the number of minors on the register grew from 190 to 443 over four months in 1987 [AGITATOR, No. 16, 1988, p. 29]. In the Russian republic, in a village in the Caucasus in Krasnodar Kray, 70% of the 14- to 17- year olds surveyed said they use hashish [Kalachev, 1989]. Membership in a social organization provides no protection from the dangers of drug abuse either. Authors have been reporting with great concern the high level of involvement of Komsomol members with drugs. In Lithuania, a survey of 21 addicts showed that every third one was a member of the Komsomol. [EDINENIYE, Aug 15, 1987] In the Chu valley, (Dzhambul' oblast', Kazakhstan SSR) one-third of those convicted of possession and sales of narcotics substances were Komsomol members [STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, May 12, 1989, p. 4]. In the Primorskiy kray 18 percent of the minors brought to court for crimes related to narcotics in 1987 were members of the Komsomol [SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No. 1, 1990, p. 70]. However, since nearly two-thirds of the population aged 15 to 28 in those two republics belongs to the Komsomol, it appears that proportionally fewer Komsomol members are involved with

¹⁸ According to VECHERNAYA MOSKVA, February 26, 1986, p. 2.

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illegal drugs.¹⁹ This emphasis on the involvement of Komsomol members may stem from two sources. First, the Komsomol' has been criticized for not taking a more active role in the war on drugs; and second, there is a sense that the whole nation needs to be jolted into action, and these are meant to be shocking statistics. More on this type of scare tactic below.

One of the themes recently sounded on the issue of drug abuse in the USSR, is that drug use is taking on a "group" character. The so-called "informal youth associations" [neformal'nyye molodezhnyye ob"edineniya] have become a subject of much study. Several types have been identified and studied, such as the Metalists (known for listening to heavy metal type rock music), Rockers (similar to a motor cycle gang in the U.S.), Hippies, and Punks (most notable from their outlandish dress and hairstyles). Of these groups, the Punks are most frequently associated with drug use. Drinking and drug behavior is not well developed among the Rockers, and according to the author, there is apparently no use of drugs among the Metalists [Fain, 1990, pp. 24-35].

Many authors emphasize that drug abuse is a social disease that is most easily spread in a group. The groups of young people using drugs form in neighborhoods and schools [Lukacher, et. al., 1990, p. 82]. V. V. Gul'dan, Director of the Socio-psychological Laboratory for Research on Addiction at the Narcology Center of the Ministry of

¹⁹ In 1987, for the USSR as a whole, approximately 65 percent of young men and women ages 15 to 28 belong to the Komsomol. The proportion of membership for this age group varies across republics from a high of roughly 68 percent for the RSFSR to 33 percent for Estonia. Membership in the Komsomol from EZHEGODNIK, BOL'SHAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA, 1987.

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Health said that research shows that up to 90 percent of minors try drugs for the first time in a group of peers, because they don't want to stand out [Narkomaniya s tochki..., 1989, p. 45]. Gabiani noted that this trend toward group use was evident when comparing the results of two surveys he made in Georgia in the 1960's and 1970's. Table 1 shows the location of first use by drug users in the two time periods. The number of users who began in the army

	Mid-1960's	Mid-1970's
Prison	30.1	4.8
Home	15.3	37.2
School	3.4	4.8
Army	.9	1.8

Source: "Narkomaniya c tochki..., 1989, p. 44.

fell by more than six times, while the number of those whose first use was in a home (their own or a peer's) more than doubled. Gabiani made a special note of how the number who began in the Army also doubled.

The increasing involvement of youth with drugs has raised concerns for the Soviet military. During a Red Army Day radio broadcast, Deputy General Staff Chief Grigoriy Krivosheyev claimed that one in every thirty draftees is a convicted drug user [RADIO LIBERTY DAILY REPORTS, February 26, 1990]. The Soviet Armed Forces draft approximately 1.7

million young men every year.²⁰ If Krivosheyev is correct, and one in thirty draftees is a convicted drug user, then the military is drafting some 56,200 convicts annually. This is virtually impossible, since there were a total of 26,849 and 14,442 convictions for the entire USSR for 1987 and 1988 respectively. The alarming figure that Krivosheyev cites most likely signals two things: first, the Soviet Military is deeply concerned about the drug problem that is now widespread in society and is being brought into the military; and second, it is an example of the scare-tactics that are being employed to shake up society and bring about an awareness of the problem's existence.

In connection with the drug problem among draftees, Krivosheyev added that the majority of draftees are graduates of vocational technical schools (PTUs) [RADIO LIBERTY DAILY REPORTS, February 26, 1990]. This would support the general sense that the use of drugs is fairly widespread among students in the PTUs [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, January 17, 1987; N2N 02-90 CP].

According to statistics for Latvia in 1986, published in PRAVDA earlier this year, 2.2 percent of the known addicts were under the age of 18; in 1987 that same group accounted for 32.6 percent [PRAVDA, February 2, 1988]. As with all these figures, some of the apparent growth rates manifested in the statistics may be due to greater vigilance on the part of law enforcement officials, and

²⁰ Assuming 4.5 million men at arms in the late 1980's, one quarter of whom are in the professional cadres. This indicates that 3.4 million conscripts are serving. If the average term of service is two years, then about 1.687 million 18-year olds are conscripted each year [Feshbach and Rapaway, 1976, p. 150].

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awareness on the part of adults who work with youth. Still, it is unlikely that the growth rate can be accounted for solely on the basis of "better accounting."

The following portrait of a narcotics user was drawn by one author: A young person between 30 and 40 years of age, whose life expectancy is much shorter than that of his/her peers. 8.4 percent of addicts are women [IZVESTIYA, May 2, 1987, p. 6]. Most deaths due to drug abuse are for the age group 18 to 21 years [TRUD, November 15, 1987, p. 2]. At a briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, it was reported that almost one-half of those who use drugs constantly die before reaching the age of 30 [IZVESTIYA, July 25, 1990, p. 6].

An anonymous survey of men in Krasnodar Kray made in 1987, adds to the picture of the Soviet drug addict. Out of 1132 respondents 53% admitted some degree of narcotics use. More interesting is the breakdown by occupation:

Table 2: Percent of Those Surveyed Who Use Narcotics, by Occupation

Occupation	Percent Used Narcotics	Percent First Use in Army
Kolkhozniki	73.1	5.2
Workers	58.2	14.1
Students	59.8	6.2
Employees	38.1	18.7
PTU students	42.0	14.2
Prisoners	68.7	5.9
Pensioners	16.7	0.0

Source: Kalachev, 1989. See Footnote No. 11 for a detailed description of the survey.

Many users are so-called "perpetual students" at the institutes of higher education, but a surprising number are

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workers. Often, these people are workers in name only, who come to a city to get a residence permit and then leave the job "for personal reasons" after only a few months [ZARYA VOSTOKA, July 1, 1980].

3. A Regional View of Drug Use in the USSR

The number of persons on the register as drug users in the Soviet republics differs for many reasons. Most important are the availability of the raw materials for preparing drugs and the traditions and culture of the region. On this basis, we would predict relatively high levels of drug addiction in the Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Table 3 presents the number of addicts per 100,000 in each republic and the number of addicts²¹ per republic for the years 1984 - 1988. As we would expect, the levels of addiction are above the USSR average for most of the Central Asian republics and the Ukraine. Specifically, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia and Turkmenistan all had more addicts per 100,000 population than the USSR did on average for all three years. It is striking at first to notice that the number of addicts per 100,000 population in Turkmenistan is so much higher than in the other republics -- over 10 times higher than the level for the USSR as a whole in 1984, and six times higher in 1987, while Tadzhikistan has levels that are

²¹ The figure for the number of addicts per 100,000 in each of the four regions was calculated by the author, based on the population for each year. Note that this table refers to the number of addicts on the medical register, hence this information was most likely provided by the USSR Ministry of Health. For the total number of addicts in each republic and region, see Table A3 in Appendix A.

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Table 3. Number Of Those Ill with Addiction on Medical Register, By Republic

	Number of Narcotics and Toxin Addicts per 100,000 Population				
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
USSR	13.7	14.9	17.1	21.5	24.3
Slavic Regions and Moldavia	<u>11.5</u>	<u>13.0</u>	<u>15.6</u>	<u>20.6</u>	<u>23.7</u>
RSFSR	11.2	11.4	13.4	17.9	20.6
Ukraine	14.9	20.5	24.9	32.4	37.4
Belorussia	1.4	1.7	3.2	4.8	5.9
Moldavia	1.8	2.7	5.7	8.0	8.3
Baltics	<u>5.8</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>15.6</u>
Estonia	5.2	4.8	5.9	10.3	14.0
Latvia	6.0	6.4	12.3	19.0	22.6
Lithuania	5.9	6.2	7.2	10.1	11.2
Caucasus	<u>12.5</u>	<u>12.6</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>14.1</u>
Armenia	12.3	11.2	7.9	6.3	6.5
Azerbaijan	8.3	8.9	7.8	11.1	14.1
Georgia	17.9	18.3	17.2	17.7	19.2
Central Asia	<u>25.8</u>	<u>25.8</u>	<u>27.1</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>31.4</u>
Kazakhstan	17.7	17.2	19.5	26.5	30.9
Kirgizia	33.4	32.8	32.7	29.0	26.7
Tadzhikistan	4.8	4.9	6.2	9.1	10.5
Turkmenistan	162.7	162.0	152.3	129.9	109.8
Uzbekistan	12.3	12.9	15.5	20.8	24.2

Sources:

For 1984: SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE I UROVEN' ZHIZNI
 NASELENIYA SSSR. Moscow: Goskomstat,
 1989, p. 318.

For 1985 - 1988: SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE SSSR,
 Moscow: Goskomstat, 1990, p. 270.

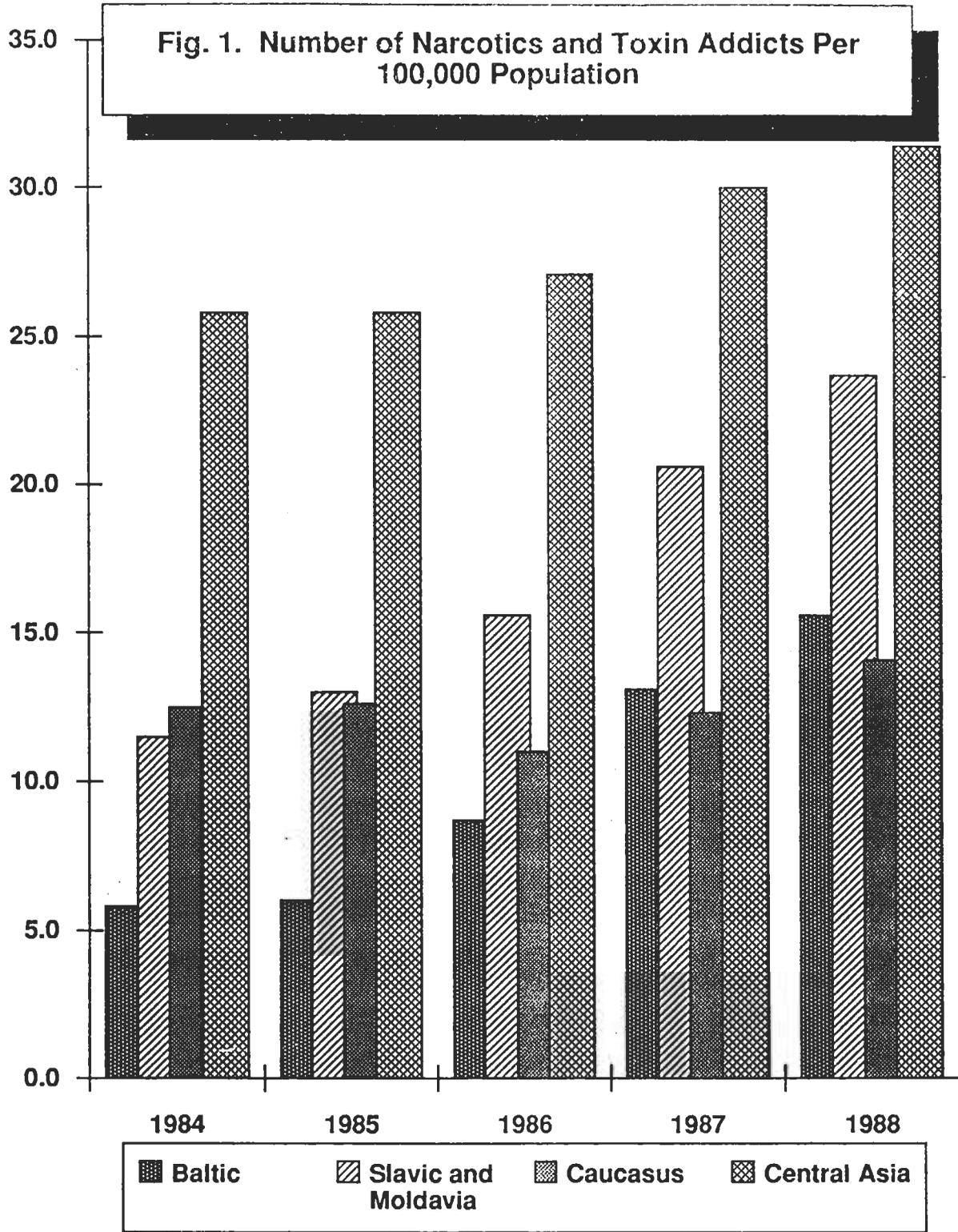
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significantly below the levels of the USSR as a whole, and dramatically below the levels for the Central Asian Republics. Not surprisingly, Belorussia, Estonia and Lithuania had rates that were among the lowest six republics for all three years. Somewhat of a surprise is the fact that Moldavia and Tadzhikistan were also in that same low category. This is not expected because Moldavia has some traditional poppy growing regions and Tadzhikistan is a Central Asian republic. One article mentions that illegal poppy plantings are especially prevalent in Moldavia (among other republics) [STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, January 21, 1989, p. 4]. In regard to Tadzhikistan, the central press has been virtually silent on the issue of drug abuse in this republic, so the number of persons on the register may be more reflective of officials' efforts to conceal or ignore the problem than the actual level of drug use in the republic.

I have placed the Soviet republics into four groups to discuss regional variations in addiction patterns: Slavic regions and Moldavia, Baltics, Caucasus and Central Asia. Figure 1 presents graphically the addiction rate for these regions. The regional pattern of drug addiction stands out clearly for the years 1984 - 1988. The rate of addiction is the highest for Central Asia. The Baltic region had the highest rate of growth, followed the Slavic regions and Moldavia, with the addiction rate in the Caucasus holding relatively steady. Each of these regions is now discussed in turn.

● Central Asian Republics

As can be seen in Table 3, the rate of addiction (as measured by the number of addicts on the medical



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register per 100,000 population) for this region has been the highest for the period under consideration, 1984 - 1988. Like all regions the addiction rate has increased over this period -- here by about one-fifth. The addiction rate in Turkmenistan is much higher than the rate for other Central Asian republics. A great deal of attention has been paid in the press to the problem of drug abuse in Turkmenistan, and republic officials have been criticized for not taking serious action [IZVESTIYA, October 2, 1986; TRUD, July 23, 1987]. In the Karakalpak ASSR of Uzbekistan there were 1,190 persons on the register as users of drugs. The proportion of drug users in that region is 1.6 times the proportion of users for the republic as a whole [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, August 16, 1988, p. 3].

● Transcaucasia

The number of addicts on the register in the republics located in the Caucasus has increased over this period, but at a slower pace than the other regions. This region had the second highest addiction rate in 1984, but has the lowest rate in 1988. Georgia was one of the first republics where the problem was taken seriously. Surveys were conducted already during the 1970's [Gabiani, 1987]. As can be seen from Table 3, the number of addicts per 100,000 population has held relatively steady for Georgia from 1984 to 1987. In the Transcaucasian part of the RSFSR, Dagestan, North Osetia, Chechen-Ingush and Kabardino-Balkar ASSRs are mentioned as places where the addicts number in the "many, many hundreds" [PRAVDA, February 15, 1988, p. 3]. (See Appendix A, Table A4 for the incidence rate

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of narcotics addiction for these ASSRs.) Especially high addiction levels are also mentioned for the Astrakhan oblast' [province] [IZVESTIYA, May 2, 1987, p. 6]. Drugs are so freely available in the Kuybyshev oblast', that according to an official of the local MVD, they flow as freely as water from a tap [KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, June 8, 1988, p. 2].

● Slavic Regions, Moldavia and the Far East

The number of addicts on the register has more than doubled for this region over the years 1984 - 1988. Of this group, the rate for the Ukraine was consistently and significantly higher than that of the other three republics.

In 1987 there were 2,402 addicts on the register at the MVD in Moscow [IZVESTIYA, July 9, 1987, p. 6]. Recently obtained statistics on Moscow show that there were approximately 2,958 addicts on the MVD register in 1988.²² Table A5 in Appendix A provides a breakdown of the number of addicts on the register for each of the rayons in Moscow in 1988. This allows us to estimate that the number of addicts per 100,000 population in Moscow ranged from 16.6 in the Krasnogvardeyskiy rayon to 77.0 in the Leninskiy rayon, with an overall rate for Moscow of 33.3.²³

The head of the chief directorate of criminal investigation of the RSFSR reported that there were

²² SISTEMA KOMPLEKSNOY OTSENKI SOSTOYANIYA MOSKVY, Moscow: TSEMI, 1989. The full table is found in Appendix A5.

²³ As calculated by the author. See Appendix A5 for the complete table.

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50,000 drug addicts registered in republic in mid-1990 [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, June 27, 1990; as translated in FBIS-SOV-90-125, June 28, 1990, p.107] The RSFSR is a large and diverse republic, with large regional variation in the addiction rate. The addiction rate for the RSFSR was 20.6 in 1988, while the number of addicts per 100,000 population in the Autonomous Republics of the RSFSR ranges from 0.4 in the Udmurtskaya Autonomous Republic,²⁴ to 14.2 in the Kabardino-Balkarskaya Autonomous Republic.²⁵ Table A4 in Appendix A presents recently released data on the number of users per 100,000 population for the Autonomous Republics of the RSFSR. These regions account for 14.5 percent of the population in the Russian Republic.

Note that the overall rate for Moscow is higher than that for the RSFSR (20.6 per 100,000), and for the USSR as a whole (24.3 per 100,000) [STATISTICHESKIY PRESS-BYULLETEN, No. 1, 1990, Goskomstat]. In fact, the rate for Moscow seems inordinately high relative to the rest of the RSFSR. One reason for this is that Moscow is a large city, with a more cosmopolitan population. As mentioned above with respect to the relative numbers of addicts per 100,000 in the republics, these figures may be more representative of officials' efforts to cover up or uncover the problem of drug abuse than of actual

²⁴ The Udmurtskaya ASSR, with its capital Izhevsk, is located in the Urals, about 960 km East of Moscow.

²⁵ The Kabardino-Balkarskaya ASSR with its capital Nal'chik, is located in the Caucasus sharing Georgia's northern boarder. It is about 1,500 km South of Moscow.

levels of use and addiction. In addition, the quality and availability of medical facilities in a given region effect the accuracy of the figure. As is well known, the medical facilities are of lower quality and fewer for a given population density in the rural areas. Hence, these statistics may not accurately reflect inter- or intra-republican comparisons.

Drugs were found to be quite freely available on the streets of Rostov by an American journalist [RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER, June 12, 1988, p. D1]. In the Ukraine, Nikolayev and Dnepropetrovsk are mentioned as cities where drug use is widespread [IZVESTIYA, May 2, 1987, p. 6].

High addiction levels are mentioned for the Amur oblast' [province], located in the Far East. [IZVESTIYA, May 2, 1987, p. 6]. An article in notes several reasons for the high levels of addiction in the Primorskiy kray. The first is the easy access to raw materials -- hemp flourishes in the region. A second reason is that Vladivostok is a major port city, providing frequent contact with foreigners. About half of the addicts surveyed said they were drawn to drugs because is represented the typical bourgeois "beautiful life." [SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No. 1, 1990, p. 72].

● Baltic Republics

The Baltic region had the lowest rate of addiction of all four regions until 1987, when it was edged out by the Caucasus. However, at the same time, it saw the most dramatic increase -- from 5.8 addicts per 100,000 to 15.6 -- an increase of more than 2½ times. The most dramatic increase in addiction rate

among these republics was for Latvia, where the rate more than tripled over this period. MOLODEZH' ESTONII reported that the dangerous areas for drugs in Estonia are Tallinn, Narva, Kohtla-Järve [October 2, 1987, p. 2].

4. Types of Drugs Being Used

About 82 percent of all drugs used in the Soviet Union are derived from plants²⁶ [TRUD August 3, 1988 p. 2]. According to ZARYA VOSTOKA, the use of drugs in Georgia in 1988 had the following pattern: hashish, 65.2%; opium, 16.8%; and others, 18.0% [May 13, 1988, p. 2]. The other drugs used are preparations from pharmaceuticals and household chemicals. The most widely used drugs are derived from hemp, followed by opium-based preparations [Kalachev, 1989; Levin, 1990 personal communication]. However, it is becoming more difficult to acquire the plant-based drugs, and addicts and users are turning to chemical preparations, based on pharmaceuticals and household chemicals. Some specialists call this the turn to "vul'garnaya narkomaniya" [IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987, p. 4; Pozdnyakova, 1988, p. 117]. In the IZVESTIYA article cited above, an official of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs for the Moscow Ispolkom, stated that over the past three years the quantity of the pharmaceutical-based self-made drugs has increased from about two percent of the total to 30 percent. Synthetic drugs are appearing more and more. Many preparations are extracted from

²⁶ The problem mentioned above in Section II is evident here. We cannot determine whether this 82 percent is by value, volume or number of users.

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pharmaceuticals; other substances used by toxin addicts are household chemicals, cleaning agents and so forth. One example of a drug substance created from simple household items is "chifir". Chifir is made from tea leaves that are brewed a long time, until the liquid is as thick as sour cream. When consumed it produces a "high." It was brewed by soldiers in Afghanistan, but is also well known among exiles in Siberia [Alexiev, 1988, p. 50; Levin, 1988, p. 131].

Not only is drug abuse increasing in the USSR, but, as noted above the type of substances used is changing as well. The dynamics of change in use may reflect pressures of supply and demand. It is possible that supply has not kept up with the increased demand for narcotics. It may also be that as the median age of the drug user in the USSR falls, or as drug addiction spreads beyond the areas where the materials are traditionally grown, the type of substance demanded has changed. It will be important to monitor this aspect of the drug phenomena in the USSR, for it will have implications for the cost of treatment and prevention, as well as the size and role of the market.

B. The Supply Side

1. Sources

● Foreign Sources²⁷

There is little evidence in the central press that drugs smuggled into the USSR for domestic use make up a significant proportion of the supply.

²⁷ I am indebted to Professor Gregory Gleason for the use of his files in the development of this section.

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According to L. Lozbenko, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs, "Fortunately, for the time being the domestic Soviet market is of no interest to the drug mafia dealers" [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, July 18, 1989, p. 3]. At a recent briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs it was reported that 20 percent of drugs used in the country are brought in illegally from abroad [IZVESTIYA, July 25, 1990, p. 6; as trans. CDSP, Vol 42, No. 31, p.33].

The smuggling that does occur appears to be on a small scale basis. The Soviet military presence in Afghanistan made that country a likely source for smuggled drugs. An article appearing in the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU described coffins returning to the USSR from Afghanistan, containing drugs, rather than fallen soldiers [March 3, 1988]. In ARGUMENTY I FAKTY an article mentioned that at one time the "Afghan" canal was used intensively to bring in drugs. However, it appears as if this supply source closed down as the Soviet Army left the region [No. 8, 1989, p. 5]. Moscow Television reported that in the "Green Triangle" where the borders of the USSR, Afghanistan and Iran meet, that the Afghans would leave bundles of narcotics among the reeds along the river bank. Soviet citizens working in the area would pick the bundles up and leave in their place money, jewelry or other valuables. [Moscow Television Service in Russian, February 27, 1990; as translated in FBIS-SOV-90-042, March 2, 1990, p. 101].

The Chairman of the Turkmenistan KGB said that one of the major drug trafficking channels across the Afghan-Soviet boarder, near Takta-Bazar, operated

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with the knowledge of the local MVD chief [Radio Moscow, in English, November 13, 1989; as translated in FBIS-SOV-89-219, November 15, 1989, p. 73]. Others have misused their position to bring drugs across from Afghanistan. The driver for the USSR Consulate General in Afghanistan smuggled some 37 kilograms of drugs and 1,500 meters of fabric across the boarder, in exchange for 520 gold rings [PRAVDA, January 23, 1990, p. 3; as translated in JPRS-UPA-90-019, April 11, 1990].

Most of the discussion of drugs from outside the USSR concerns drugs in transit, with the USSR as a stopping point. The Soviet Customs authorities confiscate about 40 kg each year of narcotic substances from transit passengers [Gusev, 1988(a)]. S.I. Gusev follows this fact with the comment that according to foreign sources 5 to 7 percent of all narcotics trade is confiscated. If the same is true for the USSR, it implies that something in the neighborhood of 800 kg cross Soviet borders. Another expert, V.K. Pankin, Chief of the Main Administration for Criminal Investigation for the MVD, stated that it is likely that the Soviet customs agents confiscate about 15 percent of drugs smuggled in transit across the USSR, as is true in the West [IZVESTIYA, February 29, 1986]. This would indicate that something in the neighborhood of 266 kg cross Soviet borders. In another interview, Pankin described two major customs operations. One hundred fifty tons of hashish bound for the West were confiscated in one operation. In another operation 3.6 tons of narcotics from the Afghan-Pakistani boarder were confiscated, "valued at

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10 million pounds sterling," and bound for Great Britain [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, June 8, 1988, p. 7].

● Poppies

Poppies are used in the preparation of opiates and have been long grown in the USSR. Since 1934 it has been illegal for private individuals to grow poppies in the USSR. In 1974 opium-based poppies were banned for the state and collective farms as well; only oil-based poppies were permitted. However, these have also proved to be attractive to the narcotics seekers [IZVESTIYA, November 5, 1987, p. 2]. Beginning in 1988 all poppy cultivation was totally prohibited in the USSR. The problems with domestic cultivation was made clear by the fact that Kazakhstan, which had the largest number of acres under cultivation, turned in the lowest official harvest due to the large amounts that were stolen [NEWSWEEK, October 6, 1986]. Before the ban on poppy cultivation it was noted that in the Kuybyshev region farmers did not plow the stems and stalks under. The rubble left in the field served as a source of narcotics for drug preparers [KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, June 8, 1988, p. 2].

At the time of the total prohibition of poppy cultivation, there was some debate about the need for poppies to fulfill legitimate domestic demand, and the desire not to spend scarce hard currency on a crop that could be grown domestically. In 1987 the Ministry of Bakery Products used six tons of poppies per year. The Ministry of Bio-Medical Production placed an order with the State Committee for Agricultural Industrial Production (Gosagroprom) for

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1987-1990 for the purchase of 6.5 thousand tons of poppy bolls [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, July 18, 1987, p. 3]. Before the ban on cultivation, legal sales of poppies brought a profit of 368 rubles per acre in Kuybyshev oblast' (sugar beets brought 667) [IZVESTIYA, August 25, 1987, p. 6]. The number of state agricultural enterprises legally cultivating poppies shrunk from 268 in 1986 to 41 in 1987 to 0 in 1988. Imports now meet all (legal) domestic demand for poppies.

The MVD and Gosagroprom enacted a policy of destroying illegally sown poppy fields. In 1988 over 320 acres of illegally sown poppies were destroyed [Vlasov, 1988]. "Mak-86" was one of a series of campaigns designed to identify and arrest preparers and sellers of drugs, and to find and destroy illegally grown crops. In one operation in Uzbekistan more than 3,000 illegal plantings were discovered and destroyed [EDINENIYE, August 15, 1987, p. 4]. In L'vov oblast' (Ukraine) the number of poppy growing sites was found to be 160,000 [NEDELYA, No. 13, 1987, p. 6]. In the Ukraine much of the illegally sown poppies are on private plots under the watchful eye of a "starik," who, in keeping with a long standing tradition, is supposedly growing them to relieve his aches and pains [NEDELYA, No. 32, 1988, p. 4]. However, he is growing much more than he will ever need, and the rest of the crop finds its way into other hands. Previous to the ban on cultivation, inefficiencies in harvesting poppies contributed to the available supply. According to one source, if 20,000 acres were sown in poppies, then only 13,000 were harvested [IZVESTIYA, November 5, 1987, p. 2].

● Hemp

A similar story can be told about hemp. Hemp is cultivated as a fiber crop for the production of rope. It has been illegal for private individuals to cultivate Indian hemp in the USSR since 1934 [Bogoliubova and Tolpekin, 1987]. Indian hemp has the highest narcotic content among the hemp family. Although it is possible to create strains of the plant with lower levels of narcotics, the new strains begin to lose the ability to resist pests.

The area sown in hemp by state and cooperative farms has been decreasing. The number of state and cooperative farms cultivating hemp fell by 690 in 1986 and by 860 in 1987 [Gusev, 1988(a)]. Since 1980 the area sown has fallen by almost 40 percent; still, it occupies 200,000 acres [TREZVOST' I KUL'TURA, June, 1988]. Again, inefficiencies in harvesting plague the state farms and benefit the illegal manufacturers of hashish. Harvest of hemp takes from one and a half to two months. In some places the unharvested hemp sits in the field until winter. In addition, since the factories for processing hemp are often located some distance from the farm, any point along the route is an opportunity for an illegal drug manufacturer to get access to the necessary raw materials.

Wild-growing hemp is another source of raw materials for narcotics and is a growing problem for the law enforcement organs. It flourishes in the Far East, as well, especially in the Primorskiy and Khabarovsk regions. In 1986 the MVD called upon the state and cooperative farms to cut down all the wild growing hemp. They managed to cut down 57,000 acres.

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In 1987 more than 345,000 acres of wild growing hemp were destroyed [TRUD, August 3, 1988, p. 2].

One issue that the destruction of illegally sown poppies and wild-growing hemp raises, is that of who will bear the cost? The MVD calls upon the state and cooperative farms to take care of it, but they are not always able to come up with the equipment and the manpower. For example, it is estimated that in order to cut the wild hemp in Dzhambul'skaya oblast' no fewer than 10,000 hay mowing machines would be needed. Yet, the farms in the oblast' have a total of only 5,700 hay mowing machines [TREZVOST' I KUL'TURA, June, 1988].

● Pharmaceuticals

The one-fifth of drugs used in the Soviet Union that are not plant based, are from pharmaceuticals or household chemicals. The survey of drug addicts in Georgia conducted by Dr. Gabiani in the 1984-1985, revealed that some 30 percent of the addicts obtained their drugs from pharmacies or personnel working at hospitals [Gabiani, 1987, p. 52; see Table 6, Section IV.B.4.a]. As mentioned above, the use of these types of drugs is becoming more prevalent in the USSR. The medical preparations can be obtained with false prescriptions or theft. There are numerous reports of robberies of medical facilities and pharmacies to obtain pharmaceuticals containing narcotics. Medical personnel become involved by writing "fake" prescriptions, or stealing the preparations themselves [EDINENIYE, August 15, 1987, p. 4]. According to one source, 35% of all narcotics in Moscow came from the

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medical facilities [IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987, p.6]. There have been a series of arrests of medical personnel for drug related crimes [NEDELYA, No. 14, 1987]. Over 18 months beginning in January 1986, 60 criminal cases were brought on the grounds of violation of the laws of storing and accounting for narcotic substances in medical facilities.

2. Prices²⁸

Black market prices for drugs in the Soviet Union vary widely; they differ across republics, depend upon quality and extent of processing, and by quantity. Unfortunately, the information available in the central press is not detailed enough to allow us to determine exact prices for any type of illegal drug. However, even the absence of widespread and consistent prices for the various drugs can provide us with useful information about the market structure. This can be an important indicator of how well organized and comprehensive the market is. This section provides a broad sample of prices for various types of drugs. What we find is that prices vary wildly for the various drug products indicating a very "thin" market where information is not widely dispersed. This is not necessarily because drugs sell in a second or parallel market; several second markets in the Soviet Union function with little variation in price. For example, the prostitution market shows remarkable homogeneity with respect to price for a given service [Gaddy, 1990, p. 10].

²⁸ The sources for the prices of various drugs and raw materials for preparing drugs mentioned in this Section are found in Appendix B1.

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There is strong evidence that prices for some drugs have increased over the past five years or so. Table 4 below summarizes the direct evidence for price increases derived from Appendix B1. Many experts agree that the anti-drug campaigns that began in the late 1980's had a significant impact on the supply of drugs, and consequently, the prices [TRUD, May 12, 1990, p.2]. As can be seen in Table 4, prices have risen, but with a large variation. For example, an ampule of morphine saw an annual increase of 17 percent over five years. Anasha, a product from the hemp plant, saw a 58 percent annual increase over two years.

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Table 4: Ruble Prices for Selected
Illegal Drugs, various years

<u>Substance and Volume</u>	<u>Ruble Price</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Annual Growth Rate*</u> (percent)
1 kg ter'yak	2,500	1978	38
	60,000 - 70,000	1988	
1 glass koknar	10	1985	52
	80	1990	
1 ampule morphine	15	1985	17
	30 - 35	1990	
1 ampule promedol	10	1985	24
	30	1990	
1 ampule omnopon	15	1985	13
	20 - 35	1990	
1 gram codeine	50	1985	20
	100 - 150	1985	
1 matchbox anasha	10	1987	58
	25	1989	
1 kg "marijuana"	300	1985	27
	1,000	1990	
1 gram cocaine	150	1987	14
	280 - 300	1989	

* Growth rates calculated by the author
Sources: See Appendix B1

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● Opiates

There are several types of opiates available in the USSR. Derived from poppies, the drug can be purchased at all levels of preparation for use. A kilogram of dried poppy stalks sells for between 150 and 5,000 rubles. Dried poppies are available by the "sack" (the dimensions of which are not revealed in the press) for between 100 and 150 rubles, and by the glass²⁹ for between 3 and 150 rubles. According to Michael Levin, a Soviet sociologist who studies substance abuse, poppies, 200 ml in volume weigh between 50 and 100 grams. [Levin, 1990, personal communication]. This would imply that a kilogram of dried poppies would cost between 30 and 3,000 rubles. Koknar is an intermediate product that sells for 300 rubles per kilogram.

Opium sells by the gram, kilogram or ampule. The price for a gram ranges from 15 to 300 rubles; for a kilogram, from 8,000 to 30,000 rubles. In Turkmenistan, as well as in other parts of Central Asia, a traditional form of opium called "ter'yak" is sold. In 1982 a kilogram of ter'yak sold for 2,500 rubles. In 1988 a kilogram of ter'yak sold for between 60,000 and 70,000 rubles. An ampule of morphine in 1980 cost 2.5 rubles. In the late 1980's the price of a gram of morphine ranged from 50 to 500 rubles. A kilogram of morphine diverted from the state pharmaceutical supply sold for 200,000 rubles on

²⁹ A glass used as a unit of measure for drug preparation materials is the standard Soviet 200 ml glass [Levin, 1990, personal communication].

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the black market, implying a price of 200 rubles per gram.

● Hashish

Derived from the hemp plant, hashish sells by the gram, teaspoon, match box, glass and kilogram. The price for a match box of hashish between 1987 and 1989 increased from 10 to 25 rubles in Dushanbe. The chief of the militia claimed that the price went up as a result of the campaign to destroy illegal crops [STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, June 14, 1989, p. 4]. The price for a kilogram of hashish ranges from 100 to 700 rubles.

● Synthetic Drugs Taken by Injection

The price of a "pharmaceutical vial" ranges from 2 rubles to 30. This is the area about which we know the least, because the press is not specific about the contents of the vials. Prices for some items are available: in 1980, an ampule of opium went for about three rubles [WASHINGTON POST, May 29, 1980]. In 1987, an ampule of unspecified drugs went for 15 rubles. It is impossible to determine whether the prices of injected drugs have increased or are the same in different parts of the country, because the contents of the vials are usually not specified. A small packet (one gram) sold for 15 rubles, "but who knows what is in the packet?" [IZVESTIYA, August 6, 1987, p. 6]. Substances taken by needle include ephedrine, phenamine, omnopon and promedol.

The above three sections show that the price data for illegal drugs is not consistent or thorough enough to be

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used as a basis for estimating the value of market transactions. Hence, in the next section we turn our attention to the estimates of expenditures on drugs by users in the Soviet Union.

3. Expenditures on Drugs

The data on prices and the amounts used for different types of drugs is too incomplete to allow us to estimate the value of the market from that side. However, there is a fairly good picture of what different addicts spend to support their habits.³⁰ The most complete picture is provided by Gabiani [1987] from a survey of known drug users in Georgia in the 1984-1985.³¹ They described their expenditures as shown in Table 5. Gabiani's work seems to be a reference point for many authors, as these figures are cited frequently with strong emphasis on the 20 percent who spend between 1,000 and 2,000 rubles per month. Some authors put the figure even higher, stating that an inveterate addict requires up to 3,000 rubles per month to satisfy his cravings [LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, July 19, 1987; SOBESEDNIK, No. 46, November 1987, p. 12].

³⁰ See Appendix B2 for various estimates of the cost of supporting a drug using habit in the USSR

³¹ The survey was conducted by Anzor A. Gabiani, head of the Research Laboratory for the Sociology of Criminology, MVD, Georgian SSR during 1984-1985. This survey is rich with details and information about addicts in Georgia. According to Gabiani, almost one out of every two known addicts was surveyed.

Table 5: Monthly Expenditures on Illegal Drugs
By Known Drug Users in Georgia

Expenditure in rubles	Percent of Those Surveyed
up to 20	2.3
20 to 50	5.9
50 to 100	10.8
100 to 200	11.8
200 to 300	6.5
300 to 500	8.4
500 to 1,000	13.7
1,000 to 3,000	22.2
No Answer	18.4

	100.0

Source: Gabiani, 1987, p. 51.

Other figures range from 30 to 60 rubles per day [TRUD, November 15, 1987, p. 2]; up to between 100 and 300 rubles per day for an addict "in the midst of a narcotics bout" [IZVESTIYA, August 6, 1987, p. 6]. One article told of the director of a sovkhos who had a morphine habit that cost between 800 and 1,200 rubles per day [SOTSIALISTICHESTKAYA INDUSTRIYA, April 28, 1989, p. 3]. To place these expenditures in proper perspective we should note that an average monthly wage in the USSR for 1986 was about 200 rubles. However, recently released data shows that average monthly wages vary across republics from a low of 160.6 in Moldavia to 219.3 in Estonia. A look at per capita income across the republics shows an even wider range -- from 78 rubles per month for Tadzhikistan to 186

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rubles per month in Estonia. [As calculated in Alexeev and Gaddy, Table 4.2, Forthcoming, 1990].

4. The Value of the Market for Illegal Drugs

a. Estimating the Market Value

This section provides the basis for the estimated value of the illegal drug trade in the Soviet Union. I estimate that the value of the market was between 5.5 and 18.1 billion rubles annually in the late 1980's. As mentioned above, there is some evidence that a large proportion of users gather and prepare drugs for their own use. At the same time, the findings from the survey conducted by Gabiani in 1984-1985 point to the importance of the "black market" for obtaining drugs. Table 6 below

Table 6: Sources of Narcotics: *

Black Market	70.2
Comrades	53.1
Friends and Acquaintances	39.6
Persons Working in:	
Pharmacies	16.7
Medical Institutions	15.1
Veterinary Institutions	1.2
Relatives	4.5
Prepared Drugs on One's Own	14.4

*Some respondents gave several responses

Source: Gabiani, 1987, p. 52.

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shows the results when respondents were questioned about the source of the drugs they consumed. These results strengthen the case for a market valuation of the illegal drugs consumed in the Soviet Union.

In an efficient market the opportunity cost of gathering and preparing a drug should just equal its market price. For this study I will not differentiate between self-made and purchased drugs to determine the size of the market. It is a standard practice in national income accounting that the value of some goods and services produced in the home are imputed and added to the value of national income produced. For example, food stuffs produced by farm families and consumed at home, and owner-occupied housing are accounted for in this way. Similarly, the value of drugs produced for self-consumption are included in the value of the market for illegal drugs. In addition, although illegal drugs produced by individuals may not be sold for cash, they may be used as payment for other goods and services, or as bribes. This is the case for samogon. Vladimir Treml cites an authoritative Soviet source which found that 15.5 percent of those arrested for making samogon said the reason to produce was to provide "payments to hired workers" [Treml, 1985, p.32] This was especially true for families living in rural areas. Those who use drugs make up a smaller proportion of the population, than those who drink, but it is highly likely that self-produced drugs can be used for payments in certain circles.

The value of the illegal drug market in the Soviet Union is based on the estimated numbers of actual users derived in Section IV.A.1., and the average monthly expenditures of a drug user found below. The ideal measure for the market value of the drug trade in the USSR would

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involve summing over all types of addicts and types of drugs used, the quantities and prices at which they trade in the market. However, as was discussed in Section IV.B.2. above, the available information on prices and quantities of drugs is not detailed enough to be used as a basis for determining the market value. Table 7 shows the

Table 7: Frequency of Use
(in percent)

Three + times per day	26.5
Twice a day	19.4
Once a day	21.2
Three + times per week	16.2
Twice a week	6.2
Once a week	4.6
Several times a month	4.2
No Response	1.7

Total	100.0

Source: Gabiani, 1987, p. 52.

frequency of use of drugs as reported in the Gabiani survey. These data are the most detailed available on drug use, and still do not permit the application of a building-block approach to the estimate of a market value.

To set the bounds on the average expenditure to support a drug habit in the USSR, I will make use of data on expenditure by Georgian users, provided by A. A. Gabiani in the survey cited above (Section IV.B.3.), and the frequently cited value of 30 rubles per day as the cost of a drug habit. The Georgian data provide a weighted average

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expenditure of 765 rubles per month.³² When this weighted expenditure is applied to the estimated number of actual users (600,000 and 1.65 million as the bounds) the total estimated value for one year is between 5.5 billion and 15.1 billion rubles.³³

The estimates for the cost of a drug habit in the USSR vary widely from "several tens of rubles" (which I interpret to mean between 30 and 40 rubles) [TRUD, November 15, 1987, p. 2], to "between 170 and 200 rubles daily" [IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987, p. 4]. Using the lowest value -- an expenditure of 30 rubles per day -- I estimate that the annual value of drugs sold illegally in the USSR is between 6.6 and 18.1 billion rubles.³⁴ Given my estimates for the actual number of users and the average expenditure of a drug user in the USSR, the market value of illegal drugs in the USSR probably falls in the range between 5.5 and 18.1 billion rubles. Goskomstat has recently published a set of estimates of illegal incomes

³² The mid-point of each range given in Table 5 was used, and the percentages were reweighted disregarding the 18.4% who did not respond to the question about expenditure. This was done because it is not possible to make any informed judgement about what value would best represent this group. It is possible that this group spent more than 3,000 rubles per month, and therefore was beyond the range offered for the highest expenditure. It was decided to reweight the figures, spreading the "No Answer" group over the whole sample.

³³ 600,000 users x 765 rub/mo. x 12 months = 5.51 billion;
1.65 million users x 765 rub/mo. x 12 months = 15.15 billion.

³⁴ 600,000 users x 30 rub/day x 365 days = 6.57 billion;
1.65 million users x 30 rub/day x 365 days = 18.07 billion.

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for 1989. According to these data out of the total of 56.5 billion rubles, 1 billion rubles is shown as generated in "Narcobusiness," prostitution, and smuggling [SERIYA: OBSLEDOVANIYE BYUDZHETOV SEMEY I METODY IKH ISCHISLENIYA, Vypusk I, Moscow:Goskomstat, 1989, p. 69]. The Goskomstat figures are not well defined -- for example it is not clear whether they refer to gross or net income -- but they appear to be too low. Gaddy estimates that the prostitution industry in urban areas alone generates between 300 million and 1.8 billion rubles annually in the Soviet Union [Gaddy, 1990, p.34]. Subtracting even the low end of the estimated value for prostitution does not leave a large enough value to plausibly cover both smuggling and the narcotics trade for the entire USSR.

b. Profitability

The profits from the drug trade are difficult to estimate. A few examples will serve to illustrate some of the magnitudes. Based on the figures provided by drug users in Georgia in the mid 1980's, Gabiani estimated that the underground income of drug dealers in Georgia is 36.5 million rubles. The value of hashish increases "several times" (I take this to mean 3 to 4 times) when it is transported from Kazakhstan to Moscow [IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987, p. 4]. The Georgian newspaper KOMMUNISTI reported in 1986 that 7.5 kilograms of hashish with 23 kilograms of raw materials for the manufacture of hashish had a market value of 80,000 rubles [Fuller, 1987]. Six kilograms of raw opium could bring a profit of 300,000 rubles [KROKODIL, No. 25, 1987, p. 5]. During 1985-1986 the population of Mordovskaya ASSR and Gor'kov oblast' sold 2162 tons of raw materials for 793,000 rubles

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[STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, January 21, 1989, p. 4]. Trafficking in drugs in the USSR can be very profitable. In Turkmenistan the head of a ring of smugglers reportedly made 40,000 - 50,000 rubles per month [NEDELYA, No. 27, 1987, p. 20]. It was reported that the head of a pharmacy in Vorkut made a profit of 4,500 rubles by selling off ampules of ephedrine and promedol to addicts [NEDELYA, No. 13, 1987, p. 6].

c. Supply Side Structure

Only recently have the Soviets turned their attention to the structure of the drug trade, so information on this issue is very sketchy. The market for illegal drugs is not well organized or highly structured when compared with the market for heroin or cocaine in the U.S. This is partly due to the fact that illegal drug use is not as wide spread in the USSR, and the fact that most of the raw materials are domestically grown. It is easier to monopolize or cartelize a market like the U.S. market for heroin or cocaine when the materials are imported. For information on foreign sources of drugs supplied to the USSR, see Section IV.B.1.

The information that we have on distribution allows us to draw a fairly primitive picture. One author points out that each "pusher" works with a limited circle of users, about 15. For opium, the experienced supplier usually works with 2 to 3 "seyal'shchiki" -- sowers. This number guarantees an uninterrupted supply, and keeps the conspiracy at a manageable level [NEDELYA, No. 23, 1988, p. 14]. The number of users might be several tens (again, I take this to mean 30 to 40) that are served by this one supplier, with the help of middlemen and distributors.

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It appears that the anti-drug campaigns have changed the structure of production of some illegal drugs. The manufacture of heroine from opium poppies is a fairly simple process, and it is possible to do so on a small scale. As mentioned above (see Section IV.B.4.a.), a certain proportion of addicts produce drugs for their own use. It is not difficult to move from producing for oneself to producing for sale on a small scale. However, the small-scale producers are being driven out by the anti-drug campaigns, in part because the raw materials are more difficult to obtain. Hence, more and more drugs are being produced on a larger scale in underground laboratories.

One such laboratory, operating in Leningrad, was run by two chemists in a rented two-room apartment. The chemists stole raw materials and reagents from their institute, without arousing suspicion, and were able to produce synthetic drugs in value of up to 100,000 rubles per month. One of the chemists also began to produce the drugs at the institute, and two other employees of the institute were used to sell the drugs. This "narcotics syndicate" was uncovered by the militia when one of the wholesale dealers was murdered [TRUD, May 12, 1990, p. 2].

Another drug "syndicate" was broken up in Leningrad in May of this year. Two chemists, who produced the drugs, and seven accomplices were arrested. The authorities confiscated drugs valued at 2.5 million rubles, as well as weapons and hard currency [TASS International Service in Russian, March 19, 1990; as trans. in FBIS-SOV-90-055, March 21, 1990, p. 103]. Evidence of other such "syndicates" in Leningrad have caused the militia to turn its attention to breaking up drug production networks.

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This change in production structure -- from small time individuals to laboratories -- has two results. First, the drugs being produced are much stronger. The synthetic drugs are several times more powerful than heroine. Methadone is considered ten times stronger than phenamine. Second, the prices for stronger drugs produced in a laboratory are much higher than prices for simpler drugs, such as morphine. For example, morphine sells for about 500 rubles per gram, while triethyl-phenthanyl sells for 5,000 rubles.³⁵ If this trend continues, and production of illegal drugs becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, then Soviet drug trade may be ripe for a mafia-type cartel.

V. Social Problems Associated with Drug Abuse in the USSR

The drug abuse problem in the Soviet Union manifests itself in several ways. One indicator of rapidly growing illegal drug use is the number of persons with initial diagnosis of addiction in a region. Table 8 provides the figures for the rate per 100,000 population of initial diagnosis of addiction for each republic and each of the four main regions. Appendix A, Table A6 shows the total number of first time diagnosis for the republics. In 1988 the rates ranged from 1.0 in Armenia to 13.7 in Turkmenistan. Overall the rate of initial diagnosis for the USSR was 6.0. The rates for all republics have increased between 1980 and 1988. Overall the USSR went from 1.3 per 100,000 population in 1980, to 6.0 in 1988. Turkmenistan again stands out with an incidence of initial diagnosis significantly higher than the other republics.

³⁵ See Appendix B1 for the prices of various drugs.

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Figure 2 shows the incidence rate of newly diagnosed addiction in four regions of the USSR. All regions show an increase in the rate for the period 1984 - 1987. The increase continues for the Baltic region in 1988, although the other three regions show a decline. Like the addiction rate depicted in Figure 1, and presented in Table 3, the incidence rate is the highest for Central Asia, and the Baltic regions show the fastest rate of growth.

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Table 8: Number of First Time
Diagnosis of Drug Addiction
per 100,000 Population, by Republic

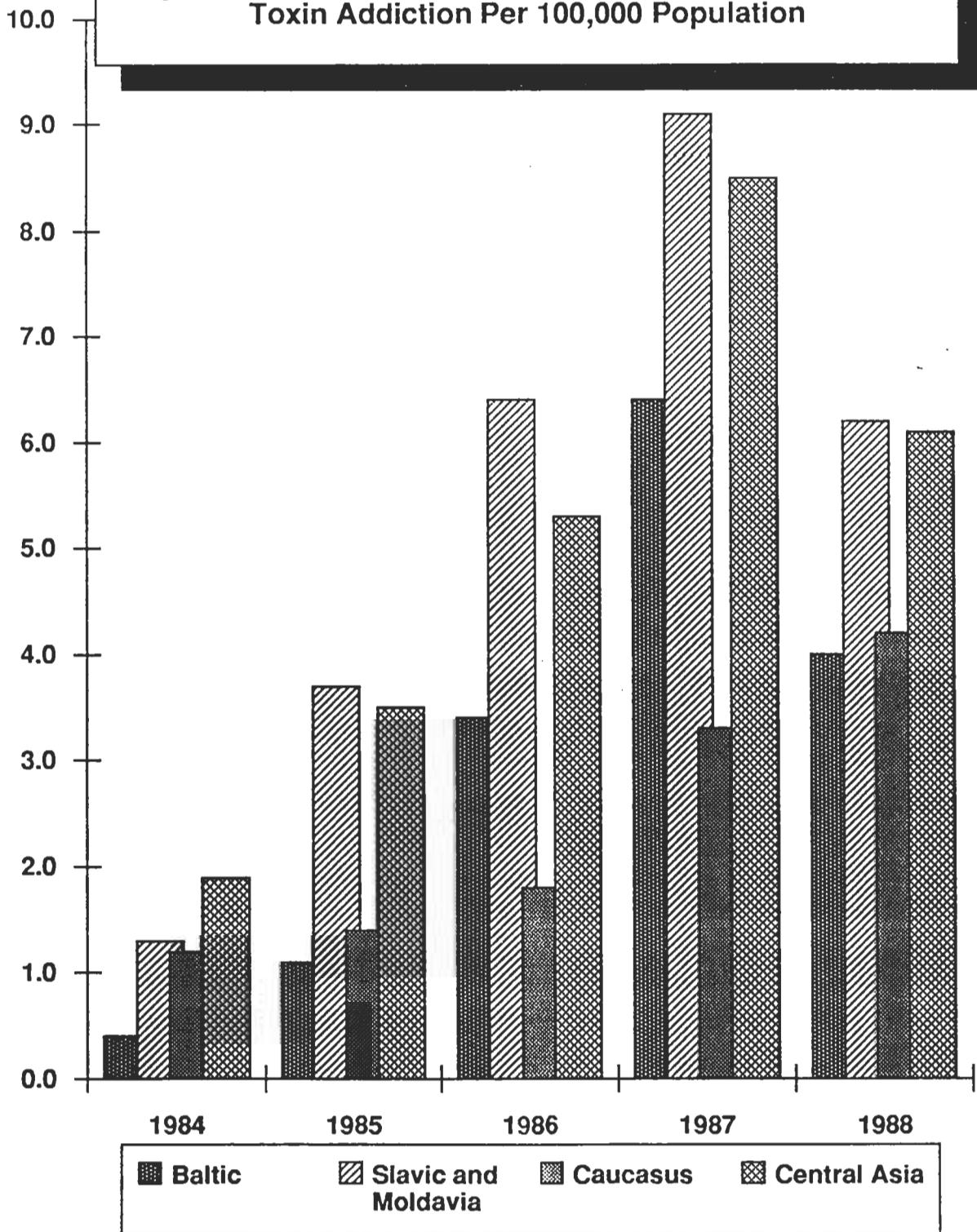
	Narcotics and Toxin Addiction				
	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988
USSR	1.3	3.5	5.8	8.6	6.0
Slavic Regions and Moldavia	1.3	3.7	6.4	9.1	6.2
RSFSR	1.3	2.1	4.5	8.0	5.6
Ukraine	1.5	9.1	13.0	13.9	8.9
Belorussia	0.4	0.5	1.9	2.4	2.4
Moldavia	0.1	1.0	3.4	4.7	2.4
Baltics	0.4	1.1	3.4	6.4	4.0
Latvia	0.4	1.8	5.4	7.8	5.6
Lithuania	0.5	0.9	2.8	6.1	2.9
Estonia	0.2	0.2	1.4	4.6	4.0
Caucasus	1.2	1.4	1.8	3.3	4.2
Armenia	0.6	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.0
Azerbaijan	0.1	1.1	1.8	4.5	6.7
Georgia	3.0	2.1	2.2	3.0	2.9
Central Asia	1.9	3.5	5.3	8.5	6.1
Kazakhstan	1.3	3.4	5.0	9.7	6.6
Kirgizia	3.1	3.4	4.8	9.2	7.0
Tadzhikistan	0.4	0.8	2.0	3.7	2.8
Turkmenistan	12.8	13.1	13.3	21.4	13.7
Uzbekistan	0.7	2.6	5.0	6.2	5.1

Sources:

For 1980: STATISTICHESKIYE MATERIALY OB
EKONOMICHESKOM SOTSIAL'NOM RAZVITII
SOYUZNYKH I AVTONOMNYKH RESPUBLIK,
AVTONOMNYKH OBLASTEY I OKRUGOV
Moscow: Goskomstat, 1989, p. 131

For 1985 - 1988: SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE SSSR
Moscow: Goskomstat, 1990, p. 269

Fig. 2. Number of First-Time Diagnosis of Narcotics and Toxin Addiction Per 100,000 Population



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Another measure of the social cost of the drug abuse problem is the number of related crimes. Table 9 presents the number of registered crimes connected with narcotics. The number of crimes exhibits a general decline over the period as can be seen in the table.

Table 9: Number of Registered Crimes Connected with Narcotics (in thousands)

<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
30.0	40.8	32.0	23.8	26.9

Source: SSSR V TSIFRAKH V 1989 GODU, Goskomstat p. 147

A different, but related statistic is the number of sentences passed in the courts for crimes connected with drugs. These are presented for the USSR and for the fifteen republics in Table 10. Crimes connected with narcotics include theft, manufacture, acquisition, or possession of narcotics for the purpose of sale, or the sale of same. The total number of convictions has fallen in the USSR from a high of 33,574 in 1986 to 14,442 in 1988. Recently released statistics show a further drop in the number of convictions to 12.2 thousand in 1989 [SSSR v tsifrah v 1989 godu, p. 148]. Statistics on crime do not provide a full picture of the drug abuse problem in the USSR. According to the head of the chief directorate of criminal investigation of the RSFSR, only one out of

Table 10: Number of Convictions for
Crimes Connected with Narcotics

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>
USSR	25627	33572	26849	14442
RSFSR	11533	14399	12182	6481
Ukraine	6491	9116	6373	2684
Belorussia	26	52	76	123
Uzbekistan	1470	2647	2305	1434
Kazakhstan	2561	3412	2851	1887
Georgia	776	774	552	365
Azerbaidzhan	445	424	367	321
Lithuania	12	24	75	42
Moldavia	36	155	186	77
Latvia	14	20	84	94
Kirgizia	831	997	714	507
Tadzhikistan	394	504	361	145
Armenia	221	210	123	26
Turkmenistan	881	833	578	242
Estonia	2	5	22	14

Sources: for 1985, 1987, 1988

SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE SSSR, Goskomstat
Moscow: Finansy i statistika, 1990, p. 329.

for 1986

SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE I UROVEN' ZHIZNI
NASELENIYA SSSR, Goskomstat, Moscow:
Finansy i statistika, 1989. p. 317.

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3 or 4 crimes connected with drug abuse is "brought to light" [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, June 17, 1990; as trans. in FBIS-SOV-90-125, June 28, 1990, p. 107].

Both the number of registered crimes and the number of convictions follow the same general downward trend for the period 1985 - 1989, with a peak in 1986. However, the number of convictions fell by more than half, while the number of registered crimes fell by much less -- about 10 percent. At the same time, the number of addicts on the medical register, as well as the rate of incidence of first diagnosis has been climbing steadily. One possible explanation for this puzzle may be that the attitude of the authorities toward drug abuse is changing from that of a crime to that of a disease requiring medical treatment. Further study and more information should shed some light on this issue.

Over this period convictions for drug related crimes have fallen for all but two republics. Those were Belorussia, where convictions more than doubled; and Latvia, where they nearly doubled. There is no obvious explanation for this pattern. Both of these republics have had an addiction rate per 100,000 population that is below the rate for the USSR as a whole; Belorussia had the lowest rate for 1984, 1986 and 1987. There may be many explanations for these two republics going against the trend in the USSR as far as the number of sentences is concerned. They may include things like the zeal of the militia in arresting drug users or the attitude of the courts toward this problem. Neither of these republics have traditions connected with poppies or other drugs, nor

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are they regions where the materials for plant-based narcotics flourish.

As many authors have pointed out, it is impossible to support a drug habit of 500 or 600 rubles a month on a legal salary, hence many addicts turn to crime. The need to support a drug habit has increased prostitution, theft from the state, and other personal and property crimes. According to a professor of law, one apartment theft in a large city nets the criminal 2,500 rubles [PRAVDA, May 14, 1988, p. 3]. In the Primorskiy Kray, addicts commit every tenth property crime. In Aktyubin oblast' in Kazakhstan, more than 50% of theft of personal property is committed for the sake of getting money for drugs or spirits [RUSSKAYA MYSL', January 8, 1988, p. iii]. In Alma-Ata addicts commit more than half of all property crimes and apartment theft [Gusev, 1988(a)]. In Leningrad, according to the criminal investigations department, drugs are used by up to 90 percent of pick-pockets, black marketeers, and burglars [TRUD, May 12, 1990, p. 6]. This is a very strong statement and indicates a very large segment of the criminal population uses drugs. To fully evaluate the validity of this statement, we would have to know how the officials are defining each of the categories, particularly that of black marketeers.

Another way to support a drug habit is for the user to become a dealer himself. It is estimated that each addict can "infect" 15 other people and attract them into the habit [IZVESTIYA, November 22, 1987, p. 4]. Yet another way is to open a drug den. According to Gusev, over the last ten years the number of convictions for running an opium den has increased 5.5 times [1988(a)]. Officials from law enforcement organs have recognized that the drug

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problem has moved off the streets and into the apartments and that makes it more difficult to eradicate.

In Section III the availability of medical facilities for treating addicts was discussed. A rapidly increasing drug addiction problem will strain the already inadequate (by Western standards) health care system of the Soviet Union. This problem will become increasingly acute as the Soviet Union undergoes economic change, and state budgets are squeezed. Murray Feshbach has recently written on the incidence of AIDS in the Soviet Union, putting the number of full-blown AIDS cases at about 2,000. One factor in the spread of this disease is the lack of sterilization equipment for multi-use needles, and a severe shortage in single use needles [Feshbach, 1990, pp. 12 - 13]. If the HIV virus infects the community of interavenous drug users in the Soviet Union, it will compound the difficulties that the Soviet medical system is now trying to cope with.

VI. Conclusion

Drug abuse is growing rapidly in the USSR, although it is not as widespread as in the West. It is estimated by the author that the value of the market for illegal drugs in the USSR is between 5.5 and 18.1 billion rubles. This estimate was made conservatively, based on a low estimated number of actual users, and low average expenditures on drugs. However, this is only the value of the drugs themselves. The cost to society in terms of lost and inefficient work-hours, the cost of treatment and research, and the lowered quality of life are incalculable.

Thanks to the new policy of openness, the drug abuse problem is being discussed and some progress is being made in awareness, prevention and treatment. But it will be a

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slow process. At the same time, the rapid political, economic and social changes in the USSR will have an important effect on Soviet society's ability and resources to combat this problem. On one hand, the move to a market-type economy will place more disposable income in the hands of the population, as fewer goods and services are distributed by the state.³⁶ More disposable income may mean that funds are more readily available for the purchase of illegal substances. On the other hand, the move toward a market economy may well result in a more vibrant economy and society, where job satisfaction is higher and opportunities for recreation and leisure increase. This would help to end the current boredom and dissatisfaction with life in the Soviet Union which contribute to the drug abuse problem. As controls over various aspects of life are relaxed in the Soviet Union, there may be increased opportunities for drug syndicates and foreign drug cartel organizations to take control of the market. The next several years are critical for the Soviet Union, in terms of research on effective treatment and development of the facilities for treatment of addicts, as well as the development of social and legal structures to adequately respond to drug abuse and curb its spread. The Soviet Union may find out that drug abuse is an unavoidable side effect of modernization, urbanization, and economic reform.

³⁶ In a private communication, Professor Gregory Gleason brought to my attention the importance of the transition to a market type economy.

Appendix A: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

Table 1A: Growth Rate and Total Number of Addicts:
1980 - 1986

	Growth Rate in Number of Diagnosed Addicts		Total Number of Diagnosed Addicts*	
	Narcotics	Toxins	Narcotics	Toxins
1980	100	100	33,594	2,488
1981	101	106	33,930	2,637
1982	104	79	34,938	1,965
1983	104	83	34,938	2,065
1984	104	109	34,938	2,711
1985	114	124	38,297	3,085
1986	128	201	43,000	5,000

* Note: The total number of addicts for the years 1980 - 1985 are calculated based on the values published by Levin for 1986. In a personal communication, Levin confirmed that these values are official statistics from the MVD and Ministry of Health.

Source: Levin, 1988, p. 18

Table A2: Growth Rate and Total Number of Initial Diagnosis:
1980 - 1986

	Growth Rate for Initial Diagnosis		Total Number of Initial Diagnosis*	
	Narcotics Addiction	Toxin Addiction	Narcotics Addiction	Toxin Addiction
1980	100	100	3,226	326
1981	111	79	3,581	257
1982	132	89	4,258	290
1983	184	97	5,935	316
1984	193	154	6,226	502
1985	277	193	8,935	629
1986	434	710	14,000	2,314

* Note: The total number of first diagnosis are calculated based on the values published by Levin for 1986. In a personal communication, Levin confirmed that these values are official statistics from the MVD and Ministry of Health.

Source: Levin, 1988, p. 18

Appendix A: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

Table A3: Total Number of Narcotics and Toxin Addicts*

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
USSR	37,516	41,167	47,672	60,563	69,164
Slavic Regions and Moldavia	<u>23,678</u>	<u>27,014</u>	<u>32,561</u>	<u>43,418</u>	<u>50,366</u>
RSFSR	15,917	16,312	19,307	26,011	30,190
Ukraine	7,549	10,422	12,698	16,589	19,227
Belorussia	138	169	320	484	599
Moldavia	73	111	236	335	351
Baltics	<u>443</u>	<u>461</u>	<u>673</u>	<u>1,031</u>	<u>1,236</u>
Estonia	79	73	91	160	220
Latvia	155	167	323	503	604
Lithuania	209	221	259	368	412
Caucasus	<u>1,867</u>	<u>1,912</u>	<u>1,689</u>	<u>1,903</u>	<u>2,217</u>
Armenia	402	372	266	215	225
Azerbaijan	540	589	523	756	975
Georgia	925	952	900	932	1,017
Central Asia	<u>11,502</u>	<u>11,731</u>	<u>12,584</u>	<u>14,267</u>	<u>15,272</u>
Kazakhstan	2,770	2,725	3,125	4,305	5,087
Kirgizia	1,298	1,301	1,325	1,201	1,131
Tadzhikistan	210	220	288	437	522
Turkmenistan	5,073	5,166	4,980	4,366	3,793
Uzbekistan	2,152	2,319	2,865	3,957	4,739

* Total figures calculated by author, based on data presented in Table 3.

Sources:

For 1984: SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE I UROVEN' ZHIZNI
 NASELENIYA, SSSR, Moscow: Goskomstat, 1989, p. 318

For 1985 - 1988: SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE SSSR, Moscow:
 Goskomstat, 1990, p. 279.

Appendix A: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

Table A4: Incidence of First Diagnosis in the Autonomous Republics

	Narcotics and Toxin Addiction		
	1980	1985	1988
RSFSR	1.3	2.1	5.6
Northern Region			
Karel'skaya	0.3	0.3	5.7
Komi	-	1.9	3.2
Volgo-Vyatsk Region			
Mariyskaya	0.1	-	0.9
Mordovskaya	-	-	2.0
Chyvashskaya	0.1	1.9	3.5
Povolzhsk Region			
Kalmytskaya	3.6	1.5	5.9
Tatarskaya	0.3	0.3	1.5
Northern Caucasus			
Dagestanskaya	1.3	2.9	5.6
Kalbardino-			
Balkarskaya	7.2	18.9	14.2
Severno-			
Osetinskaya	19.8	20.6	6.2
Checheno-			
Ingushskaya	2.4	6.4	7.6
Urals			
Bashkirskaya	0.2	0.3	3.2
Udmurtskaya	0.1	0.4	0.4
Eastern Siberia			
Buryatskaya	1.2	2.2	4.3
Tuvinskaya	3.7	12.3	36.6
Far East			
Yakutskaya	0.2	2.7	4.3
Uzbekistan	0.7	2.6	5.1
Karakalpakskaya	0.7	13.1	4.8
Georgia	3.0	2.1	2.9
Abkhazskaya	6.1	2.7	9.2
Adzharskaya	5.8	1.1	0.5
Azerbaidzhan	0.1	1.1	6.7
Nakhichevanskay	-	-	1.4

Source: STATISTICHESKIY PRESS-BYULLETEN' No. 1, 1990, Moscow: Goskomstat, p. 49.

Appendix A: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

Table A5: Number of Addicts in Moscow Rayons, 1988

Rayon	Number of Addicts on Med. Register	Calculated No. Of Addicts Per 100,000	Number of Arrests for Crimes Committed Under Influence of Narcotics	
			Administrative	Grave
Babushkinskiy	77	22.49	3	1
Baumanskiy	35	39.95	4	1
Volgogradskiy	129	38.75	1	0
Voroshilovskiy	132	40.40	0	0
Gagarinskiy	78	27.17	0	0
Dzerzhinskiy	38	24.84	4	0
Zheleznodorozhnyy	64	41.08	0	0
Kalininskiy	69	64.43	1	0
Kievskiy	52	31.25	3	0
Kirovskiy	187	32.14	1	1
Krasnogvardeyskiy	105	16.61	2	0
Krasnopresnenskiy	54	38.05	2	1
Kuybyshevskiy	102	29.08	1	0
Kuntsevskiy	108	28.34	2	0
Leningradskiy	130	40.61	5	0
Leninskiy	85	76.99	4	1
Lyublinskiy	90	29.54	0	0
Moskvoretskiy	34	30.17	1	0
Oktyabp'skiy	88	38.51	3	0
Pervomayskiy	123	32.84	4	2
Perovskiy	130	29.89	0	0
Proletarskiy	78	31.58	4	1
Sverdlovskiy	61	52.27	2	0
Sevastopol'skiy	169	57.84	5	1
Sovietskiy	146	32.81	5	0
Sokol'nicheskiy	27	25.94	3	0
Solntsevskiy	38	38.78	3	0
Taganskiy	54	36.64	4	1
Timiryazevskiy	159	38.41	6	1
Tushinskiy	97	37.77	3	1
Frunzenskiy	68	40.99	4	0
Cheremushkinskiy	91	17.78	3	1
g. Zelenograd	60	37.38	0	0
Moscow	2958	33.27	83	13

Source: SISTEMA KOMPLEKSNOY OTSENKI SOSTOYANIYA MOSKVY, Moscow, TSEMI, 1989.

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Table A6: Total Number of First Time Diagnosis*

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
USSR	3,560	9,670	16,169	24,225	17,077
Slavic Regions and Moldavia	<u>2,651</u>	<u>7,722</u>	<u>13,444</u>	<u>19,180</u>	<u>13,127</u>
RSFSR	1,848	3,005	6,484	11,625	8,207
Ukraine	760	4,626	6,629	7,117	4,575
Belorussia	40	50	190	242	244
Moldavia	4	41	141	197	101
Baltic States	<u>31</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>264</u>	<u>500</u>	<u>319</u>
Latvia	10	47	142	206	150
Lithuania	18	32	101	222	107
Estonia	3	3	22	72	63
Caucasus	<u>181</u>	<u>218</u>	<u>276</u>	<u>516</u>	<u>652</u>
Armenia	20	36	40	51	35
Azerbiadzhan	7	73	121	306	463
Georgia	155	109	115	158	154
Central Asia	<u>863</u>	<u>1,595</u>	<u>2,448</u>	<u>4,034</u>	<u>2,994</u>
Kazakhstan	203	539	801	1,576	1,087
Kirgizia	120	135	194	381	297
Tadzhikistan	17	36	93	178	139
Turkmenistan	399	418	435	719	473
Uzbekistan	122	467	924	1,180	999

* Calculated by the author based on the data in Table 8.
Columns may not total due to rounding.

Sources:

For 1980: STATISTICHESKIYE MATERIALY OB
EKONOMICHEskom SOTSIAL'NOM RAZVITII
SOYUZNYKH I AVTONOMNYKH RESPUBLIK,
AVTONOMNYKH OBLASTEY I OKRUGOV,
Moscow: Goskomstat, 1989, p. 131.

For 1985 - 1988: SOTSIAL'NOYE RAZVITIYE SSSR.
Moscow: Goskomstat, 1990, p. 269.

Appendix B: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

Appendix B1: Prices for Drugs and Materials for Preparing Drugs in the USSR

<u>Quantity/Description</u>	<u>Ruble Price</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Source</u>
<u>Poppies and opiates</u>			
<u>Raw Materials</u>			
1 poppy bush	120 - 200	Tadzhikistan	PRAVDA, June 12, 1990, p. 1.
1 glass poppy stalks ³⁷	3, "several times cheaper than usual"	Ukraine	PRAVDA UKRAINY, July 9, 1987, p. 4.
1 glass crushed poppy bolls	15 - 20		NEDELYA, No, 47, 1986, p. 6.
1 glass poppies	120		MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, June 18, 1989.
1 glass poppies	150	Moscow, on "black mkt"	SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, April 28, 1989, p. 3.
1 kg poppy stalks	33 (30 kg sold for R1,000)	Leningrad	NEDELYA, No. 19, 1987, p. 11.
1 kg poppy stalks	161 (3,100 kg sold for R500,000)	Ashkhabad	TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, July 28, 1987, p. 4.
1 sack poppy bolls ³⁸	100	Kuybyshev Obl.	KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, June 8, 1986, p. 2.
1 sack poppy stalks	100 "according to officials"		BALTIMORE SUN, June 11, 1986.

³⁷ A glass used as measurement for drugs appears to be a standard Soviet 200 ml tumbler [N2N05-90SS].

³⁸ A sack (meshok) appears to weigh between 6.5 and 7.5 kg [TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, July 28, 1987, p. 4].

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<u>Quantity/Description</u>	<u>Ruble Price</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Source</u>
<u>Opium</u>			
1 gram	15	Tashkentskaya Obl.	OGONYEK, No. 44, 1987.
1 gram	75	on "black mkt"	PRAVDA, June 7, 1987, p. 6.
1 gram	200 - 250	Georgia, on "black mkt"	ZARYA VOSTOKA, May 13, 1988, p. 2.
1 gram	200 - 300	Tadzhikistan on "black mkt"	STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA June 14, 1989, p. 4.
1 kg	8,000	Turkmenistan on "black mkt"	ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No. 8, 1989, p. 5.
1 kg	15,000 (6 kg sold for 90,000 R.)	Tashkentskaya Obl.	OGONYEK, No. 44, 1987
1 kg	30,000	on "black mkt"	NEDELYA, No. 37, 1986.
1 kg	50,000 (6 kg sold for 300,000 R.)		KROKODIL, No. 25, 1987, p. 5.
1 kg	100,000	on "black mkt"	"Narkomaniya s tochki..." p. 46.
<u>Other Opium Derivatives</u>			
<u>Ter'yak</u>			
1 kg	2,500 (in 1978) 60,000 - 70,000 (in 1988)		TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, May 28, 1988, p. 4.
1 kg	80,000 - 100,000	Turkmenistan	Moscow Domestic Service (FBIS-SOV-89-173) Sept. 8, 1989, p. 39.
a large amount	53,819		SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST', No. 7, 1962, p. 22.

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<u>Quantity/Description</u>	<u>Ruble Price</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Source</u>
<u>Koknar</u>			
1 glass ³⁹	10 (in 1985) 80 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16
1 kg	300	Tashkentskaya Obl.	OGONYEK, No. 44, 1987
<u>Morphine</u>			
1 ampule	2.5		WASHINGTON POST, May 29, 1980.
1 ampule	3 10 - 50	state retail price on "black mkt"	TRUD, June 6, 1990, p. 1
1 ampule	15 (in 1985) 30 - 35 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16
1 gram	50	Moscow	NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG, October 3, 1986.
1 gram	400 - 500	Moscow, on "black mkt"	SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, April 28, 1989, p. 3
1 kilogram, diverted from pharmaceutical supplies	200,000		L.A. TIMES July 13, 1986..
1 kilogram	1.5 million		IZVESTIYA, July 25, 1990, p. 6
<u>Methadone</u>			
1 gram	400 - 600	Leningrad	TASS Int'l Service in Russian, March 19, 1990 [FBIS-SOV-90-055, March 21, 1990, p. 103]
1 gram	800		TRUD, May 12, 1990, p. 2

³⁹ A glass used as measurement for drugs appears to be a standard Soviet 200 ml tumbler [Levin, 1990, personal communication].

Appendix B: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

<u>Quantity/Description</u>	<u>Ruble Price</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Source</u>
<u>Other Opium Derivatives, continued</u>			
<u>Phenthanyl</u> 1 gram	1,500		TRUD, May 12, 1990, p. 2
<u>Triethyl-phenthanyl</u> 1 gram	5,000		TRUD, May 12, 1990, p. 2
<u>Promedol</u> 1 ampule	.25 state retail price 10 (in 1985) 30 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16
<u>Omnopon</u> 1 ampule	.25 state retail price 15 (in 1985) 20 - 35 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16
<u>Codeine</u> 1 gram	.10 state retail price 50 (in 1985) 100 - 150 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16
<u>Hemp and its Derivatives</u>			
<u>Hemp</u>			
1 glass "prepared hemp"	15	Alma-Ata	TRUD, Sept. 24, 1986, p. 4.
<u>Anasha</u>			
1 teaspoon	10 - 15		KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, June 17, 1987, p. 4.
1 matchbox	10 (in 1987) 25 (in 1989)	Tadzhikistan	STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA June 14, 1989, p. 4.
1 glass	60 - 80	Orenburg	PRAVDA, Feb. 4, 1987. p. 6.
1 kg	100	Moscow	NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG, October 3, 1986.

Appendix B: The Market for Illegal Drugs in the USSR

<u>Quantity/Description</u>	<u>Ruble Price</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Source</u>
<u>Hemp and its Derivatives, continued</u>			
1 kg "marijuana" ⁴⁰	300 (in 1985) 1,000 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16
<u>Hashish</u>			
1 gm	1 (700 gm sold for 700 R.)		SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIA, Nov. 10, 1987, p. 3.
1 kg	700	Dnepropetrov. Oblast'	STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, Jan. 21, 1989, p. 4.
1 kg	750 (4 kg sold for 3,000 R.)	Alma-Ata	THE OBSERVER, September 29, 1986.
7.5 kg hashish 23 kg raw mat'ls for hashish	8,000		Fuller, 1987.
<u>Other</u>			
<u>Synthetic and Injected Drugs (unidentified)</u>			
1 injection	15 - 30	Erevan	KOMMUNIST, June 20, 1987.
1 ampule	2 - 15		SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, Aug. 12, 1987, p. 2.
1 gm powder "for making drugs"	10	Moscow	IZVESTIYA, Aug. 6, 1987, p. 6.
1 small packet "of poison"	15	Moscow	IZVESTIYA, Aug. 6, 1987, p. 6.
<u>Cocaine</u>			
1 gram	.20 state retail price 150 (in 1985) 280 - 300 (in 1990)		EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN', No. 37, Sept 1990, p. 16

⁴⁰ See Footnote 41, Appendix C.

Appendix B2: Expenditure for One Day to Support a Drug Use Habit in the USSR

<u>Ruble Cost</u>	<u>Comments</u>	<u>Source</u>
"several tens of rubles"	in Riga	TRUD, Nov. 15, 1987, p. 2.
30 - 60	in Krivoy Rog	SOBESEDNIK, Oct. 3, 1986.
30 - 150		TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, May 21, 1987, p. 4.
60 - 70	Average urban addict using the services of a dealer	OGONYEK, No. 44, 1987.
75	injections alone	KOMSOMOL'ETS UZBEKISTANA, Mar. 21, 1987, p. 3.
90 - 160	Addict needs 3 - 4 glasses of poppy stems, each costing 30 - 40 R.	KOMSOMOL'SKAYA ZNAMYA, Sept. 4, 1988, p. 2.
100 - 300	"in the midst of a narcotics bout"	IZVESTIYA, August 6, 1987, p. 6.
up to 160		RADIO MOSCOW, Nov. 30, 1986.
170 - 200	inveterate addict	MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Nov. 29, 1987.
800 - 1200	morphine	SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, April 28, 1989, p. 3.

Daily Dosage Required by Amount and Type of Drug

50 ampules		MOLODEZH' GRUZII Jan. 15, 1987.
Addict needs 3 - 4 glasses of poppy stalks costing 30 - 40 rubles		KOMSOMOL'SKAYA ZNAMYA, Sept. 4, 1988, p. 2.

Appendix C: Drug Terminology and Slang

СЛОВО transliteration

Definition [Source]

АНАША anasha

Leaves and stems from plants of the hemp family, usually dried and smoked [Strelkov 1989, p.9]. Anasha is NOT hashish, nor is it marijuana [N2N05-90SS].⁴¹

АНАШИСТ anashist

One who is addicted to anasha [TRUD, January 27, 1987, p. 4; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, December 3, 1986, p. 3].

БАШ АНАШИ bash anashi

One dose or "hit" of anasha [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST', No. 7, 1962, p. 22].

БАЯН bayan

A syringe; from the noun for a type of accordian [Mazurova, p. 77].

БЕЛЫЙ ОМУТ belyy omut

Literally, the "white whirlpool" or "white destruction"; narcotics addiction is referred to this way [Strelkov 1989, p. 16].

БЕЛАЯ СМЕРТЬ belaya smert'

Literally, the "white death"; narcotics addiction is often referred to this way [Strelkov 1989, p. 16].

⁴¹ Anasha is often called marijuana by Western and some Soviet sources, although this is not strictly correct. [For some examples see THE GUARDIAN, September 24, 1986; DIE TAGESZEITUNG, December 2, 1986; SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA, May 13, 1989, p. 11; Strelkov 1989, p. 129; Alexiev 1988, p. 49]. Marijuana is a variety of the hemp plant, cannabis sativa, grown in the Western Hemisphere. It is the least potent of the cannabis family [Encyclopedia Britannica, 1987, Vol. 7, p. 239]. Anasha and marijuana are similar in preparation -- leaves and stems are chopped and dried -- and both are usually smoked.

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- ПРИТОН priton
Den, drug den; a place to purchase and use drugs, usually an apartment or other residence, used for this purpose on a regular basis [Gusev 1988(a); TRUD, January 15, 1987, p. 4].
- ПРОМЕДОЛ promedol
A synthetic pain-killer that acts like morphine [Strelkov 1989, p. 109; KRATKAYA MEDITSINSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA, Vol. 1, p. 71].
- ПУШЕР pusher
Petty trader in drugs [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, August 12, 1987, p. 2].
- ПЫХТЕТЬ pykhtet'
To smoke hemp; from the verb to puff [Mazurova, p. 84].
- САДИТЬ/ПО~ НА ИГЛУ sadit'/po~ na iglu
To inject oneself with drugs [IZVESTIYA, August 6, 1987, p. 6].
- СЕСТЬ sest'
To develop a liking for drugs; from the verb to sit [Mazurova, p. 84].
- СМЕЖНИК smezhnik
Drug preparer and dealer [TRUD, August 8, 1988, p. 2].
- СОПЛЕВИШ soplevish
Ephedrine (nosedrops), injected by needle; from the noun for phlegm [Mazurova, p. 85].
- СПРЫГНУТЬ (СОСКОЧИТЬ) С ИГЛУ sprygnut' (soskochit') s iglu
To cease to use drugs [Mazurova, p. 85].
- ТЕРЬЯК ter'yak
An opiate, not as strong as heroine, traditionally used in Turkmenistan [Levin, personal communication, 1990; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, May 28, 1988, p. 4].
- ТОЛКАЧ tolkach
Petty trader in drugs [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, August 12, 1987, p. 2].

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- ТРАССА trassa
Literally, tracks; the scars on the inside of the arm from the elbow down, the result of injecting drugs via needles [Strelkov 1989, p. 42].
- ТРАВА trava
Hemp and other plants that can be smoked as drugs [Mazurova, p. 85].
- УКОЛ ukol
Injection.
- ФЕН fen
Nickname for phenamine [TRUD, May 12, 1990. p. 2; as trans. FBIS-SOV-90-101, May 24, 1990, p. 115].
- ФЕНАМИН fenamin
An amphetamine that usually takes the form of white powder [BOL'SHAYA MEDITSINSKAYA ENTSKILOPEDIA, Vol 26, p. 246].
- ФЕСТИВАЛИТЬ festivalit'
To gather to use drugs, to "party" [IZVESTIYA, August 6, 1987, p. 6].
- ЧАРС chars
Opium, smoked with a pipe and foil by Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan [Alexiev 1988, p. 49].
- ЧЁРНАЯ ДОЛИНА chernaya dolina
The valley near the city of Chu in Dzhabul'skaya oblast' (Kazakhstan), just north of Kirgizia, is often referred to this way. This region, rich in wild-growing hemp, was made famous by Aytmatov's novel PLAKHA [see references to PLAKHA in NEDELYA, No. 31, 1987, p. 22; STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, May 12, 1989].
- ЧИФИР chifir
Strong tea, brewed to the consistency of sour cream, that intoxicates [Alexiev 1988, p. 49; Levin, 1988, p. 131].
- ХАН khan
Opium [Alexiev 1988, p. 49].

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ХИМИЯ, ХИМКА khimiya, khimka

An opiate, similar to heroin, but more addictive.
Physicians who treat Soviet addicts say that khimiya
addiction is more difficult to treat than morphine addiction
[N2N05-90SS]

ШИРОВОЙ/ШИРОВАЯ shirovoy/shirovaya

Adjective to describe one who is addicted to injections;
from the verb "shiryat'sya" -- to inject oneself [Strelkov
1989, p. 13].

ЭФЕДРОН efedron

1) An amphetamine [BOL'SHAYA MEDITSINSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIA,
Vol. 27, p 332].
2) Derived from ephedrine; nosedrops injected like a
narcotic [Mazurova, p. 85].

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