

iv ~ CONTENTS

16 Times of War: 1987	237
17 Anything and Everything: 1988	250
18 The Hill of the Moment: 1989	262
19 Our Most Serious Problem: 1989	276
20 "Are We Winning?": 1989-1990	291
21 Apologies to None: 1991-1992	311
22 Just Say No: 1992	322
Epilogue: Night and Day: 1993-1994	329
Afterword to the Paperback Edition	338
Notes	341
Bibliography	379
Acknowledgments	383
Index	385

1 282-283 - The Federal Govt Kept Forfeiture profitable

Even when state law contradicted.

2 289 "Greatest threat our nation is facing is drugs?"

No - taking eye off ball - of real problems

1.1 Scientists warning - not in paper

283 - legal to confiscate Lawyers Fees

3 298 Extremism Gates-Taken and shot Bennett - Be headed

306 - Why Illegal - growth industry - Criminal Justice

2 307 - Trained Hotel workers - Airline workers

2 1989 63 mil for snitches one Doctor becomes millionaire

2 The Press - complicity - debate their "role"

2 310 1990 1/4 of All Arrests in US are for marihuana.

2 Bennett quits czar & RNC positions - Not enough

313 - "Forfeiture" Thelling for Assets

314 - 1991 1/2 of oncologists would use pot if 2610 - Harvard

315 Kill all compassionate ND program - Politics - Bad Example

317 All US cash has enough cocaine to make dogs bark

319 - ERPC Donny Clark - Double Jeopardy overruled

Tried twice for same crime - got little Enforcement

321 Racism - many confiscated 4% / 77%

Donald Scott - Enforcement - had wealthy ranch - Killed him

323 - Slight awakening - More black men in prison / college

1/4 in control of criminal justice system.

Beginning of Reaction - Newspapers - Local Bar Assoc

Natl. Assoc. of Counties? - Judges

326 War is inappropriate as a domestic policy.

Prohibition isn't working. Causes
331 CRIME - statistically - can't show Drugs → crime

332 Clinton & Democrats - Just as bad

Marijuana - the most politically important illegal drug.

334 Culture War - Grateful Dead - Harassed with Clinton

336 Black kid picked up - Choice Guilty & walk out on

En Force 3 mo. in jail to wait for trial.

12,000 in cook county jail - presumed innocent.

339 Calif. Ariz Medical Pot victories sent a strong signal. Stonewalled by Feds.

Author's Note

THIS IS A WORK of journalism, the product of more than 200 interviews and many hours poring over documents. Every effort was made to portray the events herein as they occurred. There are no composite characters in these pages, no anonymous sources, and no pseudonyms.

When sources wanted to "go off the record" to tell me something, I asked them instead not to tell me at all. When somebody wants to talk, I've found, they eventually will do so on the record.

Where there was a written record of conversations, or in cases where sources remembered conversation verbatim, dialogue is re-created in quotation marks. Where quotation marks are absent, sources remembered the gist of the conversation, but not its exact wording. Where possible, I asked sources to confirm each others' recollections of shared conversations.

All references to what characters thought, felt, and believed come either from interviews with that person or that person's memoirs.

Notes for each chapter, citing the sources of my information, appear at the back of the book.

193 - Enforcement - \$100.00 reward - 6 H.S. students turn in their best friends"

200 Nancy Reagan Just Say No - ~~WOOD~~ - look at - great of what we are avoiding as we just say no summary Drug war EFFECTS - ENFORCEMENT For bidden speech - legalization talk now is.

203 1984 Brennan (Justice) "The Courts victory over the 4th Amendment is complete. ~~Amendment~~ 1985 No 4th Amendt. Rts. in Schools

207 Why Legal - Drug Testing - Powerful motivation for Keeping Drug War Alive.

208 - Chief toxicologist - knowing Inaccuracy - who would volunteer ~~NAMES~~ die - ~~Cannabis~~ tortured to death - ~~war~~ ~~warmer~~ to piss Kurt Schneiders next friend dies in Baltimore why Copyright © 1996 by Dan Baum Afterword copyright © 1997 by Dan Baum

210 ~~Vlad Johnson~~ with pot use attitude is everything POT PRIDE! MARCH / WALK All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote brief passages in a review.

Johnson - content Originally published in hardcover by Little, Brown and Company, 1996 off supply - buyyou.com First Back Bay paperback edition, 1997 educate kids not to use Camp raids ruled against in court, Continued Anyways!

211 FARCIST Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data BANNED

213 - MDMA Baum, David - Come out - it was bound to happen - Smoke and mirrors: the war on drugs and the politics of failure / Dan Baum. - 1st ed.

215 - Govt goes after law enforcement International travelers p. cm. Includes bibliographical references. ISBN 0-316-08412-3 (hc) 0-316-08446-8 (pb) 1. Narcotics. Control of—United States. 2. Drug traffic—United States. I. Title. HV624.B37 1996 363.4'5'0973—dc20 95-41094

217 - Crack Babies lies Nicotine more addictive than

220 - The Numbers show ~~that~~ Crack cocaine The Press - Newsweek Sensation size sell more copies

222 - Nothing to gain by reporting ~~new~~ Good news

225 - Liberties - of Wm Reagans - Drug war really into high gear.

227 - Now trying to convict the Defense Attorney's

229 - 1986 Henry Manditory minimums - Reagan/Bush - Bill/Hillary fell in a bottle

Basis FALSE of loss due to daily marijuana use in past - Data on current use showed no difference

230 Verbal Absurdities about Threat - Culture War "worse than any nuclear warfare" "biggest threat ever to us"

ENFORCEMENT - Most extreme bills pass - agency does

1996 Worst year - 6 Reagans - 9 yr Presidents addict bill

233 - Blacks Pass whites in Prison pop.

241 - 1987 83% of Americans supported reporting drug using family members to the police - is WITCH BURNING

Supreme Court decides 8th Amendment (bail) does not apply in "drug" cases.

242 - 1987 - list of 155 Suspicions characteristics the DEA had recently used PROFILING - Enforcement

243 - Outrageous for Justice - Judge - there is no defense against forfeiture

249 Racism 99% of drug defendants

252 - LARD - Cotes 1987 Totally out of control - smashing beatings

253 Why Illegal Author's Note Enforcement Budget with pot

268 Crack Babies Introduction legal the illegal drug problem

Dramatis Personae is reduced by 90%.

- C. Baby myth Prologue: Law and Order: produced

1967-1968 good studies showed no harm

PRESS 1 A Practical Matter: 1969 Press & Doctors ignored then

2 The Magic Bullet: 1970 29

3 Pee House of the August

275 Culture 4 Moon: 1971 health consequences - They are dying in

year - it is not the 48 AUTHORITY

276 Enforcement 5 To the Streets: 1972 67

6 Truce: 1973-1976 76

Kill Bruce 6 Civil Punishment: 1977 92

Larvae in high 7 You Didn't Get This found a few joints

Readers Dig from Me: 1978 104 live bums

277 AZ police 8 PRIDE Before the Fall: Buy 1979-1980 just to bust people - entrap 116

73,000 to handsonment to seduce women to buy bust

Existingwhile 9 Hour of the Hard Chargers: 137 ~~get out~~ in own

278 - Real End 10 1981 E.W.B. Blacks can't ~~get out~~ in own neighborhood

Rotten Behavior: 1981-1982 151 neighborhood

11 1982 The Battle Flag: 1982-1983 162

Brennan 12 The Least Dangerous Branch: 1983 177

13 Nineteen Eighty-Four: 1984 186

14 No Such Thing: 1985 206

280 - Bennett 15 Sarajevo on the Potomac: 1986 224

125 Complice 16 Use doubling when it was 1/2 in q

342 - Americans (Poll) willing to turn in their drug using children

334 Crime J. Elders - Stop Drug war - Crime & War

VII Mistrust Those in whom the impulse to ENFORCEMENT punish is strong.

"Drugs" - 1968 - Could be seen as "standin" for host of problems too awkward to discuss plainly.

VIII racism Y3 Black Males in 200 WOD makes drug problem worse - examples

VIII Lose Job/Honey/Family Freedom

We're Stuck - All paths boobytrapped

IX - Why Illegal - List - Racism Poverty Prejudice
Afrocentric Society of Drug War

8 J. E. Hoover - together left on "drug" charges.
Culture war?

9) knew Narcotics Police work most likely to corrupt cops,
wouldn't let FBI handle drug cases.

7) As Culture War (Vastly more) demons + tried pot.

IX - Argument - D.W. Enables us to avoid talking

about other problems, racism, poverty,

Why Illegal? - So we can keep our eye off the ball (s)

XVI W. Bennett quote on Morality & Drug Use.

5 - Kiteback - Johnson Admin - Prejudice against poor/Blackness

3 - Wow Racism - why Illegal - Nixon - Problem is the Blacks

Key - devise a system that recognizes this without appearing to

2 - Dr. David Smith - Operation Intercept - lack of pot leads to the use of harder drugs.

Addiction - Hard Drugs Don't get majority support

35 - Questionnaire on Bill of Rights - Mitchell - citizens don't like Govt.

III - Brownell - Nixon's Staff - has mescaline ENTHED - Quits Job

50 - Heroin Problem in the Vietnam created by Pentagon going after pot!

52 - Nixon - Viet Nam - Said Drug Use Not longer a crime - for Treatment

63 - Right wing young Shaeffer Comm Director realizes - Errors

69 - Nixon - Junkies blamed for 150% of theft nothing wrong.

7) Scheeler - Why Illegal - Cultural War

72 - Press Culpability

76 - C.S.A. - The Right to be let alone - most precious
Enforce Civil Liberties

80 - After Schaefer - Stopped hit the road & got many states to change - decrim.

94 - Culture War - Carter Admin didn't get it down +

94 - Jimmy Carter - Attempt to Decriminalize

104 - Culture war - D.W. Called "conservative cultural revolution"

109 - Sell THC
T Shirts

With chemical map
111 - Errors with Carter Admin Peter Bourne's tenure that
Forfeiture came together

121 - Pig Callahan - made frequent announcements

134 - Pulitzer

Prize
mention for
Totally
Fictitious

Kid/Drag Story

154 - Culture War The War on Drugs and
the Politics of Failure
made explicit
by Turner & Niton

162 - Nst. Academy of Sciences / Commissioned study by

Carter Pres - Ready 1982 (Reagan) -
Dan Baum

167 - Reagan declares war on drugs - Demands Enforcement in
govt. fight drugs - Emperor Carlton Turner

168 - Posse Comitatus Act repealed - Military may be used at home

172 - Democrats - Fall right in for forfeiture - bounty
hunter etc.

175 - Wow - CAM Pinball
was totally out of control

178 - The 4th Army
ENFORCEMENT Judgment - destroyed by the court

fall the cases were about drugs

in the 80's LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

BOSTON NEW YORK LONDON

194 - Legal to bust on basis of unsigned tip.

192 - Nancy Reagan Took the money & restarted from scratch

SMOKE and

MIRRORS

67
sexy
issue

