

- 1) Pot - has led to the expansion of Government Power  
mass incarceration, racism perpetuation
- 16) Smoking marijuana - has very self regulating effect - Eating Marijuana can have "Maureen Dowd effect"
- 18) increasing strength - 3% to 13%
- 26 - Discussion of the term
- 42 - youth movement - made older generations Nervous - Americans worried about the fabric of their society.
- 44 - Eisenhower Report - laid out Criminalization
- 47 Johnson was not too hot on criminalization of users.
- 49 - A threat Nixon despised - the counterculture  
And - "drug factor fueled" hippie movement.
- 50 - A complex reality - fed into his "Southern strategy" - aimed to vilify out groups in society. Racially and culturally motivated.
- 51 W.O.D. was largely to get Nixon re-elected in 1972. He did Schaeffer  
Schaeffer wanted no criminal penalties, "all a misunderstanding" Side lined
- 64 - DEA born & involved in spreading WOD internationally
- 76 - George Bush I was terrible - Starting ONDCP
- 81 WOD has NOT met objectives for any of its stated goals ③ Goals Stated - But Fully accomplished real objective. Social Control
- 90 Circular Situation - Politicians influenced peoples low support for marijuana - & then low support used to justify repression.

- 91 Public exposure to functioning Medical Marijuana systems changed opinions
- 97 - Great Support for legalization - compared to Presidency, Congress, Supreme Court, & All American institutions.
- 100 Scoop - John Adams wrote (under pseudonym) about "hemp's mindaltering characteristics".  
See 201 - Jefferson
- 100 First Top researcher to say that founding fathers did smoke pot. for consciousness change
- 102 M helps people write songs  
long the favorite of musicians  
And the topic of songs.
- 104 60s - pot - a meaningful cultural element signifying a multitude of emotions and ideas.  
Not "just to get high" C.W. - financial control  
just is it in a nutshell.
- 106-107 - Top executives use marijuana - list. Does Not keep you from leading highly successful life
- 120 - Early History - 1970s - Decriminalization
- 136 M - as Schedule I - Perfect Catch 22  
research? - NO
- 143 - marijuana targeted Doctors - the weak link - would Take license if they made recommendation.  
Clinton Administration - Really bad with drug war and with medical marijuana.
- 150-153 - Reasons for Legalization
- 152 M Prohibition is a lost revenue opportunity
- 154 - The major factor behind success of legalization  
Was the professionalization of the movement.  
Statewide Legalization is not a campaign that amateurs can successfully mount.
- A-156 - The Key Issue for Petition Language.  
Wow Right on time

purchasing marijuana on the illegal market are often uncertain about the quality, safety, composition, and potency of the product. Strict regulatory schemes for grow environments, product testing, titration, and sampling help ensure that consumers know just what they are getting and can be confident that the marijuana was grown in a safe environment.

**MEETING CONSUMER DEMAND.** Perhaps the most obvious reason for supporting marijuana legalization—one that is often overlooked in the debate—is that some people just like smoking pot. Quite apart from the many ethical and economic reasons for supporting legal adult use, people demand it. People like it, just as they like having a drink or a cigarette or a cigar. For some people this is likely the primary reason for supporting legalization.

**HOW LEGALIZATION HAPPENED** Advocacy on behalf of marijuana legalization at the grassroots level has been around for some time, but not until 2012 was an initiative successful. Part of the momentum toward legalization grew out of changes in public opinion on the issue nationally and in the states (see chapter 7). And a major factor behind legalization's success was the continued professionalization of the movement.

I just enumerated some of the very good reasons for people to support legalization. But translating those desires and opinions into an effective campaign to pass marijuana legalization is no easy task and is not one that amateurs can mount successfully on a statewide scale. The movement had to bring in professional help. For a

statewide initiative, success requires three important elements (other than funding): issue expertise, general political skill, and an in-depth knowledge of a place and its people. Much of that support came from a cadre of lawyers, fundraisers, communications specialists, pollsters, strategists, and others who brought to the table a unique blend of skills that gave legalization a chance. This brain trust of the marijuana movement included dozens of high-profile, longtime legalization supporters, including two Denver-area attorneys, Brian Vicente and Christian Sederberg; Steve Fox, Ethan Nadelmann, and Rob Kampia, heads of national marijuana advocacy organizations; Alison Holcomb of the ACLU; Pete Holmes, the city attorney of Seattle; Graham Boyd, an attorney and adviser to the late Peter Lewis; and Mason Tvert, a communications professional and field organizer. And many, many others.

This group applied their own political, policy, and strategic expertise to focus on a communications strategy, fundraising, advertising, get-out-the-vote initiatives, and message testing and targeting. The latter activities were among the most important. The groups working in Colorado and Washington learned from past successful and unsuccessful ballot initiatives for medical and recreational marijuana. They understood that crafting an effective message or set of messages and delivering those messages to the right groups of people at the right times was absolutely essential for success. In addition, packaging that messaging in a way that connected with the specific groups was a must. In the process, the teams understood the diversity of views held, not just on whether to legalize marijuana, but on why, and those considerations informed the design of the campaigns.

Any campaign requires coalition building and ensuring that the language of the initiative matches the demands, expectations, ideologies, demographics, and political realities of a given state at a given time. That process begins with an understanding of what the different demographic groups in a state need, want, or must be convinced of, and then crafting an initiative that reflects those considerations. Campaigns that do this effectively are successful. Those that don't, fail, as happened in Ohio's 2015 legalization initiative.

Crafting the language of a marijuana legalization ballot initiative is not simple—it is not an easy yes or no. The wording of the ballot question must reflect a detailed and nuanced set of choices. These initiatives succeed or fail depending on how they handle issues like homegrow rights, local autonomy and opt-out provisions, market structure, jurisdiction of regulation, the scope of regulatory power, tax policy, protections for existing medical marijuana systems, combatting addiction, protecting children, and lowering crime.

What do those choices show? Marijuana legalization is complex, mainstream public policy that has as much to do with good and effective governance as it does with providing legal access to cannabis. So far, in four states and the District of Columbia, the drafters of the initiatives got the language right, and the organizers found the right messaging and strategy to build a successful coalition.

*Colorado, 2012: Amendment 64*

On November 6, 2012, with the support of 55 percent of voters, Colorado approved Amendment 64, a constitutional amendment allowing recreational marijuana in the

state. The amendment itself, subsequent legislation, and regulations combined to create the nation's first system to get off the ground. Marijuana sales from dispensaries began on January 1, 2014. Under the system, any individual twenty-one years and older can purchase marijuana from a state-licensed and -regulated dispensary. Colorado residents can purchase one ounce at a time, and out-of-state residents can purchase one-quarter ounce.

The system functions as a heavily regulated private market in which growers, processors, and dispensaries are private enterprises. Initially the system was vertically integrated, meaning that dispensary owners also had to grow and process at least 80 percent of the marijuana they sold. By the following year, the vertical integration requirement had expired in most parts of the state. In addition, initial licenses to operate in the recreational market were open only to existing medical marijuana enterprises. That requirement also included a sunset provision.

The state implemented a seed-to-sale electronic tracking system, as well as extensive security requirements for marijuana facilities in an effort to prevent theft or loss ("diversion"). The state levies substantial taxes on marijuana transactions at the price point, including a 15 percent special marijuana tax, a 10 percent marijuana sales tax (to be reduced to 8 percent in July 2017), the standard 2.9 percent state sales tax, and any additional county or municipal taxes or fees. Tax collection as well as the regulatory jurisdiction for the recreational and medical marijuana programs rest with the Department of Revenue's Marijuana Enforcement Division.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, Amendment 64 gives Coloradans a constitutional right to have a homegrow, a system under which