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Heroin:

Who Profits?

Who Suffers?

Heroin: Who Profits? Who Suffers?

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Introduction

One of the things that sustains us in struggle is genuine and real peoples' victories. Peoples' victories occur more and more often because capitalism is dying and we're helping to kill it. Advanced capitalism and white racism combine to create conditions that breed and require heroic efforts and deeds.

In recent months in this city, three young, courageous and political brothers showed all of us their understanding of the necessity to engage in self help in order to combat the scourge of heroin that infects this community. I refer of course to Hayward Brown, Mark Bethune and John Percy Boyd.

Hayward Brown is with us here tonight and we're grateful for that because we know that that's important in terms of struggle. He is here because a cross section of good Detroit citizens, democratically constituted as a jury, applied the law and saw that Hayward Brown committed no crime. He is also here tonight because of the work of a brilliant, courageous and political defense team consisting of, among others, Kenneth Vern Cockrel, Geoffrey Taft, Theodore Spearman, Gregory Hicks and Nel Hunt.

I'm going to ask people to remain seated while welcoming Ken Cockrel who in turn is going to introduce Hayward to us.

Atty.

Kenneth Cockrel

I'd like to say to all of you mad dog killers that we are glad to be here. I was able to come here once before and I indicated that we would be on the verge of accomplishing a rather significant victory, but that our ability to accomplish that would be wholly dependent upon the willingness of persons who have a sufficient political understanding to recognize the necessity of working with us materially in terms of actually providing some support to the effort.

Since that visit here we were able to realize a victory from which I think the reverberations haven't even begun to be felt yet inside of this particular community. Obviously it goes without saying that we need to acknowledge and to recognize and to identify most of the persons who are present inside of this room and a sizeable segment of the population of this community which at no time permitted itself to become shall we say "seduced" by the lunatic ravings of the prosecuting attorney of Wayne County, William Cahalan, and of course the insane bleatings of Police Commissioner, General John Nichols.

We all recognize that they did everything in their power to see to it that it would be next to impossible for us to select from this community a jury that would be prepared to function in some way other than merely being a rubber stamp for the prosecutorial objective.

Well, John Nichols added a slogan to American history, and that was "mad dog killers." He was, of course, assisted in that enterprise by the redoubtable Martha Jean of "Buzz the Fuzz" fame, (an individual whose practice, I'm sure, is going to be subjected to some scrutiny inside of our community).

Other than the statements they made, we had the situation for example, of going to Henry Ford Hospital to take testimony of Patrolman Robert Dooley, a survivor of the December 27 so-called shootout. The way that they conveyed us to the hospital - Greg, myself and Hayward riding in a scout car, two scout cars in front, two scout cars in the back, a helicopter hovering overhead. Going down the Chrysler Freeway, every bridge had at least one uniformed policeman with an automatic pump action shotgun!

When we hit Grand Blvd. they had it blocked off and I thought perhaps the president was coming. They had about 150 rollers, or police officers, or minions of the local constabulary, all over the area.

It even got so ridiculous that they wouldn't let all of Hayward's lawyers into the room where the testimony was in fact being taken. I recall Jeff Taft, who sure as hell doesn't look like a lawyer, grabbing the judge who was then presiding, the honorable Clarence Laster Jr., (one of our distinguished black judges endorsed by the Detroit Police Officers Association and the Lieutenants and Sergeants Association), saying, "Look man, I'm one of the cat's lawyers. You ought to let me in the room." The judge said, "I don't care; I got an agreement with the police and there's nothing that I can do about it." Whenever we see Clarence now, he slides up to us and says, "Why don't you cats be cool and don't bust me too much outside in the community."

But they did a number of things to create an atmosphere that would give some credence to suggest that the defendant they were dealing with was not a human being who is perceptive, articulate, intelligent, and who has experienced first hand the conditions that obtain inside of our community.

They even took the position, after the verdict was rendered, not of attacking the jury, but of continuing the line. The line became — Okay, well perhaps Hayward Brown has now been transformed from a mad dog killer to a kind of community Robin Hood. But after all, Robin Hood was in fact a lawbreaker, and Hayward Brown has now been transformed from mad dog killer into the smoothest, the most eloquent con man that has ever sat in a witness chair and ran his game down on a jury. That's the line that they would have us believe.

The truth of the matter is that what Hayward Brown stands for is obviously the unswerving, unwavering opposition to the presence inside of our community of heroin — which will be the subject of this discussion. Obviously it is an extraordinarily complicated question, a question that becomes even more complicated by the upcoming municipal elections.

I think at this time Hayward should come, if he chooses, and personally indicate to you all his gratitude for the position that has been taken. When I stood up here last time I swore that we would have Hayward Brown come here and talk to you himself. With the help of a whole bunch of people, Hayward Brown is here.

HAYWARD BROWN

(Extended applause)

I first want to say that you're beautiful, all of you.

I would like to express my gratitude for the support that you gave, and for the continuation of the struggle that you carried on that needs to be carried on, and for the strength and the dedication that you're showing. All I can say is....Right on!

Heroin:

Opening Remarks

It would be illusory and politically incorrect for any of us to think for a second that there are solutions under capitalism to the human problems that confront millions of people in this country each day — problems such as unemployment, hunger, and the lack of medical, mental and dental care. The list of plagues is long and we can all faithfully recite the litany — housing, transportation, pollution, crime, alcoholism, inflation, mis-education, the Detroit News, the idiot box — and it goes on and on.

The heroin epidemic is merely symptomatic of these many ills. As political people we are easily able to inter-relate these many problems. In short, the alienation and the material want created by these aggregate problems contribute to drug abuse and drug addiction, which in turn exacerbates the levels of alienation and material want.

There are no short term solutions. However, we are capable of understanding and combatting the heroin problem and other problems as well. We are capable of doing this if we are a part, as I know we are, of a growing, mass, independent, radical, peoples' movement which clearly understands that unless we do something, nothing advantageous to us or for us will be done.

During his trial, Hayward Brown capsulized this. He was asked on cross examination by the county persecutor how he, Hayward, knew that police and law enforcement were engaged in conduct protective of heroin dealers in this community. His answer was simple and direct. He said, "It's still out there, isn't it!"

Yes, it's still out there alright. In 1965 the government told us that there were an estimated 57,000 addicts in the United States of America. Now in 1973, the government tells us that there are no less than 560,000 addicts.

In 1972 police and customs agents confiscated somewhere around 900 pounds of heroin, a fair amount of which I'm sure they, after confiscating, resold. This is less than 8 per cent of the estimated quantity of heroin that comes into this country each year — estimated to be at the very least, 12,000 pounds — making heroin one of the

largest consumer imports in the American economy. It is a consumer import that profits the dealers and financeers to the tune of five and one half billion dollars a year.

Yet, who is herded through the courts. It is the victim addicts, those who are sick and victimized by heroin — not the financeers, not the big dealers, not the corrupt police and politicians.

We understand that there are no simple or immediate solutions. Secondly, we understand that locally, nationally and internationally, government is not about to help solve the problem because they're a part of that problem. Thirdly, we understand that there are, however, many things that we can do to advance the day when we shall create real and lasting remedies. That is, a genuinely and fundamentally and radically different society that is geared towards the needs and interests of people rather than to the profit of a few.

Rumor has it that 22 Detroit police officers, "Protectors of Liberty," are about to be indicted or busted for their role in heroin traffic. While this is a step forward — given the fact that they've never done it before and it's been going on for years — we certainly understand that this is no closer to the top and to the source of that criminality that it would be to have held the ground crew at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue responsible for Watergate.

From the Ground Up has initiated an action program that we can get behind and that we can use to help generate mass external political work which can in fact be beneficial to us now. There's a petition at all the tables here. It's a petition to continue the Citizens' Grand Jury investigation of heroin traffic.

I'm of the view that, at a bare minimum, 75 per cent of the population in this tri-county metropolitan area is capable of understanding the positions set forth in this petition, and willing and able to sign it. I believe that we could easily, in fact, gather 100,000 signatures to this petition, and we could take it downtown to the Citizens' Grand Jury and we could demand that they not stop with 22 policemen — and force them to go forward.

The position that we're taking in this petition drive is a little bit different than the position which governs the system that presently exists. What exists now is a system that focuses not on those who profit (a handful of people) but rather upon those who are the super-exploited victims.

The addict population that exists in the City of Detroit numbers at a minimum, 30,000 to 60,000 human beings. There are at present approximately 7,000 of this number who are in what they call treatment programs.

One program that exists in the City of Detroit, with a present treatment program of 700 and a projected near future population of 1,300 people, is the Model Neighborhood and Inner City Drug Abuse Program, located at Woodward and Forest.

It's director, Ed Washington, is our next speaker. Ed has a long and active history in community work — 15 years, as a matter of fact — in New York, in Chicago, and for the last two years, in the City of Detroit.

There are obviously many myths about heroin and heroin addiction and Ed's going to speak to them. Many on the left have (for good reason, I think) opposed methadone or chemical solutions. But it happens that that is the available program that literally tens of thousands of persons are turning to in this country, and I don't think that we can glibly just say we don't like a chemical solution.

Different programs differ in their emphasis, in their regard for human beings, and in the direction that more progressive programs have taken and are capable of taking in the future.

We are very grateful to Ed for taking the time out to come down here tonight and to help advance our political education.



Edward

Washington

I want to talk about methadone maintenance, therapeutic communities and heroin maintenance. I want to talk about all of those modes of treatment but I want to preface some of those things with some feelings and thoughts that I have about the problem.

In both magnitude and solution, probably the least understood problem facing the United States in the 70's is drug abuse, and specifically, narcotics addiction. I want to differentiate between drug abuse and narcotics addiction.

Drug abuse is abuse of all drugs—that is the abuse of cigarettes, alcohol, amphetamines and barbituates. It is the abuse of all external pharmacological properties. My primary concern is heroin addiction, with alcoholism a close second.

If you compare the problem of narcotic addiction with other urban problems such as city development, urban renewal, environmental pollution, etc., we find that much is already known and understood about the scope of the other problems, and there is significant progress already in devising possible solutions to these problems. Vast sums of money are being budgeted for work in these areas, both by private and public sectors.

However, the area of narcotics addiction remains the step-child. It is tokenly financed as a work area, receiving lip service recognition mostly as a major social problem. Since I suggest to you that in fact the nation has turned its back on narcotics addiction, it is not viewed as an universal threat, as is usually projected by the government both federal and local.

The people of the United States as a social group, through their government and the corporate community of the United States as the business sector through its investments, have avered most strongly their belief that this community should and will devote a major portion of its efforts towards solving the social ills and problems. They have not done so in the area of drug addiction.

Narcotics addiction is not denied as being an area in need of help. Politicians and businessmen quite often speak out on the subject of dangers of drug abuse. However, until quite recently the entire subject of narcotics addiction never received anything like the attention given to other problems, and there's a very basic reason why.

In the recent years there has been an increased usage of marijuana. I want to introduce marijuana here and make a separation very shortly. It's significant to bring up the question of marijuana because as more people use marijuana, as it becomes more socially acceptable in many areas, there is still a concern on the part of perhaps the majority of the people that in fact marijuana leads to harder drugs.

With the suburban white families concerned that their children smoking marijuana might eventually begin to use heroin, then the heroin problem becomes an area of concern for the total community, for the total country.

I don't want to get into a discussion of marijuana in this meeting because as far as I'm concerned marijuana is not a narcotic. That's been a myth for years and despite the protestations of the president of the United States, I think that his commission will sufficiently support that concept. (But he's been known to disregard his commissions' advice in the past.)

What happens when one becomes concerned about the narcotics problem and one does not invest in the treatment and solution of narcotics problems, but begins to think in terms of being able to suppress and to maintain the problem? As a result of that, a lot of things begin to happen. It gives a lot of police officers license to walk into peoples' houses and to completely disregard law and order as we would see it, and perpetuate law and order as others might see it. We must be concerned about the disregard for peoples' civil rights in this area of drug addiction.

We also must be concerned about loss of a lot of very bright and able young people because there are no other alternatives into the area of drug addiction.

One of the problems that I have in talking about drug addiction is the discussion of crime. People say that something has to be done about drug addiction because of the crime related problem. I'm out to get more bread for my program and the first thing I latch on to is crime. That's what people respond to and listen to.

In Detroit, a metropolitan area, people move from the outer perimeters into the center for all kinds of activities, drug traffic being one. We have approximately 60,000 drug addicts. The suspected cost of thefts per day in order to maintain a habit is something like \$30. That's the daily cost.

Let's backtrack. One hundred per cent of drug addicts do not steal to maintain their habit. It is more like 15 per cent who commit the crimes to maintain their habit, regardless of what the police department says and regardless of what the press says.

Let's say that the police department and the press are partially right. Let's say that 50 per cent of the drug addicts do steal to maintain a habit. Then in Detroit, with 50 per cent of the drug addicts stealing enough to maintain a \$30 a day habit, then they must steal in aggregate numbers, 1.44 million dollars in order to keep going. That is the amount of money that they must have to keep going. They must therefore steal approximately 525.6 million dollars a year in order to maintain their habits throughout a year.

Clearly that sum is staggering. That does present a major problem to the inner city. Clearly business suffers; businesses move out. Clearly individuals suffer because the victims of the crimes are usually right next door to the addict.

Addiction and Its Treatment

Let me move on to a discussion of treatment. Whether the narcotic addict is a criminal or a sick person; whether his addiction is psychological or physiological; whether he can be cured or is doomed to addiction—these are the types of questions which addiction treatment programs must have answers to before the problem of addiction can be defined.

The answers available to us now are varied. Basically the techniques of addiction treatment have historically been characterized by two approaches, one of which in turn is itself split into two groups. The first schism is the argument of whether the addict is a criminal, not only because of the felonies that he commits but because of his illegal narcotic use itself.

During the 1920's and the 1930's, the federal and state governments cooperated to stiffen the enforcement of the narcotics laws which were already on the books, and to establish a uniform narcotics code. In 1929, the federal government authorized the establishment of the Lexington, Kentucky and Fort Worth, Texas hospitals. They were set up for the treatment of narcotic addiction.

Civil commitment procedures were set up to allow for the incarceration, voluntarily and involuntarily, of addicts for lengthy terms of treatment. Since techniques are termed "rehabilitative" rather than punitive, committed addicts could be denied basic constitutional rights which are granted to criminals receiving due process of law. Over 30 years went by before the courts required that addicts receive a jury trial before they could be committed to such lock-up treatment centers.

In addition however, the law goes on to say that these programs are designed to protect society against the social contagion of

narcotic addiction, and to meet the needs of the narcotic addict for medical, psychological and vocational rehabilitation.

Recidivism among treated addicts is higher than among rehabilitated convicts. Isn't that a gas! In a lock-up program in New York, the cost to the taxpayer of New York is at the rate of \$25,000 per addict treated, and almost \$1 million per addict cured. It would probably be a gross understatement to say that the program was a dismal failure, and yet these are the costs typical of a lock-up system.

Then there is another approach. The opposing argument says that people who abuse drugs are suffering from a sickness and they are in need of help. To the proponents of such an approach, the repressive atmosphere of a prison is enough to neutralize any aid they feel an addict might be receiving.

Instead they propose that the treatment centers be located throughout the urban areas where the addicts or the potential addicts live. Out of this came such places as Synanon, Phoenix House, Odyssey House, Daytop Village, and others. You can identify those as therapeutic communities.

These facilities have a basic belief as follows: the addiction is an entirely psychological phenomenon; the addict is emotionally ill; he feels insecure, scared, inadequate, lonely and isolated from the normal society; the addict's condition has been caused by his family and other background environment.

The treatment requires focusing in on the emotions of the drug addict and the drives that make him the addict in the first place. The basic mechanisms for curing drug addiction are: "encountering" the addicts in groups; highly structured living situations; behavioral psychological reward and punishment techniques.

I want to raise some questions about the effectiveness of such an approach. First of all, it is difficult to get people to accept that mode of treatment. Few people graduate out of that mode of treatment and the cost is relatively high—but not nearly as high as the institutions and prisons.

Another approach is methadone maintenance. The theory is that if you give a person a pharmacological agent that will interact or suppress heroin, then eventually the person will discontinue using heroin and be able to maintain himself on methadone.

There's a problem with that too. If you take it to its logical conclusion, then it's a kind of extermination theory. That is, in order to give up heroin, a person must have tried time and time again to get a high and have failed because of the interaction with heroin.

One of the major problems with methadone maintenance programs is that too frequently they are not very well controlled programs. They try to get along on shoestring budgets and result in giving out only methadone, and no other supportive services which are so critical to treatment and cure.

In all the methadone maintenance clinics that I know of around the world, the client or patient is required to come in more than twice a day, sometimes three, four and as much as six times a day. Clearly you don't stimulate somebody to become involved either socially, economically or politically when they are required to respond to a clinic six times a day.

Another treatment is heroin maintenance. I have an emotional block against heroin maintenance. I don't know whether people should take something that most people have identified with oppression, make it legal, use it and then everything is supposed to be cool.

With heroin it's kind of a learned response that says there's something pleasurable about this. With methadone it's generally accepted that it isn't pleasurable. That in itself provides a basic advantage over heroin maintenance.

Myths About Addicts

Let's talk a little about the drug addict ; I will try to debunk some of the myths. Perhaps some of your best friends are drug addicts. One begins to conjure up a picture of a drug addict as a guy who is down and out, laying in the gutter, dirty, with no place to go but up, and unable to reach above the gutter to begin that ascendancy.

There are many drug addicts who are in that predicament. There are an equally large number of drug addicts who go to work every day, function well, and who you can identify as using drugs.

It is projected that drug addicts are very young bright men and women who chose to use drugs rather than cope with the ills of this society. But there is a wide range of people.

Maybe a little later on I can talk in response to your questions about the addict as an individual and speak in more detail about the treatment modalities and be more specific about what's lacking today.

Judge

Justin C. Ravitz

A materialistic, technological and capitalistic society is always trying to sell happiness and solutions — particularly where they serve the interests of profit. Social problems are allowed to fester, then non-solutions are advanced and packaged by public relations idiots who have no commitment to, faith in, or respect for people.

Morphine addiction was a very serious malady after the Civil War in this country. It was called Soldiers' Sickness. The technological and medical solution advanced was, of all things, heroin. Heroin addiction was allowed to grow but in 1914, the Federal government interceded and passed the Harrison Act outlawing heroin.

That piece of federal legislation did not actually prohibit physicians and doctors who were concerned about treating people from treating patients and using heroin in doing so when they felt in their best judgment that it was well advised. Doctors were able to administer and did have in this country numerous clinics that treated addicts, using heroin. They did so in a way that wasn't really designed to promote profit, but was designed to treat human beings.

Then the Federal Bureau of Narcotics moved in. Literally thousands of doctors in this country were indicted and imprisoned for treating people. Now a half century later, the medical profession has not yet recovered, and the Hippocratic oath, in this sphere and in others, has been transformed into the hypocritical oath — money first. I'm tempted to say money first and people second, but we probably have to say money first and money second also.

Suffering from heroin has lasted for years and has been a part of ghetto life in this country. It never became a concern of the state until it reached the white suburbs. Then it got attention, and it receives attention today. Yet the enforcement and treatment provisions in different sections of the metropolitan area differ widely.

We're all acquainted with how the police break down doors in the inner city and Third World communities, claiming often times a phony claim that they thought it was a dealer's den. We're familiar with the illegitimate stopping and searching of thousands of citizens in this community that isn't exclusively limited to one sector of town but is predominantly focused in the inner city.

The line that we're familiar with now, and the media enjoys putting it out there, is that blacks have taken over the heroin traffic. Obviously, we don't condone for a half a second black profiteers who are engaging in that form of black capitalism, but the proposition is, of course, ludicrous.

How The Police Function

I'm going to digress for a minute and talk about how the police function today (and how they in fact could be functioning today — if we were to make some changes in that department), and to look at the court docket that does exist. I guess that I might have some differences with Ed in terms of how heroin is in fact related to crime in this community and throughout this country.

Anywhere from 16 to 20 per cent of the 14,000 felony cases that are herded through the assembly line of Recorder's Court are cases in which persons are charged with the possession of heroin. In almost all of those cases, the possession charged is infinitesimally small and is a quantity that is possessed by a person who is afflicted by a medical illness known as addiction.

Here's how a case originates. As we know, the police engage in wholesale illegality in terms of stopping people on the street and searching people. If they find contraband such as heroin, they take persons in and do what they can to get folks to become informants. Informants then, in order to help themselves, tell the police where they purchase narcotics. They are unwilling and unable, for understandable reasons, to get any more involved in terms of ever breaking their own cover as informants.

What transpires is, the Narcotics Bureau or the Precinct Narcotics Unit or whathaveyou of the Detroit Police Department searches the informant, finds that the person is clean — that is, does not possess any heroin. They give the person something like ten dollars to go in and buy a dime bag with the marked money, and follow the person; or they go with the person out to the scene where the local pusher deals from. The officers remain outside on surveillance while the informant goes in, makes a buy for ten dollars, and comes back out. They meet at a prearranged location, at which time the informant turns over to the officer the dime bag of narcotics, is further searched, and they ascertain that the person does not have the ten dollars in Secret Service funds.

The police might do that once or twice. At the same time they maintain a stakeout or a surveillance of that pad. They report back

later in a search warrant request that there was heavy traffic of known narcotics dealers who go to that residence daily or every weekend. Then they bring a request for a search warrant to a judge. The search warrant says that an unidentified informant, (and they don't need to identify informants), was taken to the location and made a buy there. We've staked it out; we've seen heavy traffic there, and we would like to be authorized to go out there, to break down the door, to search the premises, and to arrest anyone who we might find in possession of heroin. Judges sign such warrants. I do.

Then they go out and conduct a raid. They've got like a fifty pound battering ram. The law says they're supposed to knock and announce their presence and not break down the door until someone is clearly there and refuses to open the door. But of course the agents understand, and understandably, that folks aren't going to be into opening the door and inviting them in cause they've got a search warrant. So really what happens is they go out there and whisper "police here," and use the battering ram. That's okay. You can wink at the law; law and order is reigning. Then they go in.

Listen to all the risks that are run in terms of not being able to make a case. One, they break into a residence and maybe nobody is home. If no one's home, you ain't going to bust anyone, right? Two, they break into the pad and there's no longer any dope there. No bust, right? Three, you break into the pad and maybe somebody is there but it's not the dealer, and you don't have a case against anyone who's really dealing. Four, you break in the door and it's later discovered by a judge who's willing to follow the law that there was some deficiency in the search warrant and the product of what was found is thrown out. Five, you can break down the door, enter, and find a little bit of heroin and you can charge someone, but you can't prove whose heroin it was because you don't have an informant who can come into court and testify, right? It was just there but they can't link it to any person who lives there because it was concealed, and there's no proof as to who concealed it and when. So the case is thrown out.

Sometimes they make a really sizeable bust. They find it in plain view and bust the owner of the pad who was there. Big case—2.3 grams of powder containing heroin—the dominant possession of heroin cases that really flood the docket. They even make bigger busts - because there were four other people on the premises who don't live there but happen to be frequenting a place of illegal occupation, or whatever they call it. This is a violation of a city ordinance that carries up to 90 days in the House of Corrections; these cases are herded through a kangaroo court known as Traffic Court. That is the modus operandi of the Detroit Police Department, (John Nichols' police department), to solve our problems.

What's the result? The result is that something like 2,500 - 3,000 persons are herded through the revolving door of the criminal injustice system each year, charged with minute quantities

of contraband possession, namely heroin. Many aren't convicted. Many cases are dismissed. Many who are convicted at the expense of something like \$780 a case, (it's detailed in the article in **GROUNDWORK** that Bill King and I wrote), are then placed on probation. And that's it.

Herding addicts through the revolving door of the criminal injustice system is no more a solution in this city where we have 30-60,000 addicts than it is to have been engaged for decades in the process of herding through the revolving door of the criminal injustice system, alcoholics. It doesn't work. I arraigned a man a month or so ago with 68 convictions for being drunk in public.

That's the solution and the approach of the John Nichols' run Detroit Police Department, our "protectors of liberty." It doesn't help us, but you get some good looking "stats," statistics. "Look at how many heroin cases we made in 1972." Big deal!

What STRESS Should Be Doing

Seems that we have in Detroit, regrettably, a specialized, elitist, macho, police unit known as STRESS. Big, bad, brave dudes, who kill people. They kill mostly small people who are inebriated and don't have any weapons, and four cops with .357 magnum's gun them down.

If they're so big and bad, I've got a program to offer them. What they ought to do is go after the bigger dealers. Go after the financiers. What that department of 1,500 men ought to be about is training a specialized, elitist, courageous, (and who cares—maybe even macho), unit of the department that is going to infiltrate the higher layers of heroin traffic in this community.

That's what they ought to do. They say, well we'll lose our cover when we make a case. That doesn't mean anything. With 5,500 officers, when someone loses a cover, transfer him to some other unit and bring in someone else.

I've only seen two cases where the person who came to court and testified was a person making the buy and also who was employed by the Detroit Police Department. If you had trained, courageous agents who went in and got to the level where they could make a buy from bigger dealers you'd have a heavier charge. You'd be charging people, not with possession or frequenting a place that had drugs, (a 90 day misdemeanor), you'd be charging a person with sale. You wouldn't run the risk of no one being home because you would have your courageous officers planted outside; you'd have the officer who went inside wired; you would catch the person by breaking down the door legitimately during the course of the transaction or immediately thereafter when they would still have the marked money on

them. Pretty tight case. They might get some convictions of some bigger dealers but they're not in any way motivated to move in that direction.

We talked about 16 to 20 per cent of the docket. I really don't fully agree with the figures that are advanced in terms of what the economic cost might be in terms of persons who are addicts who have to support a very costly habit who often times, but not always, are unemployed and have to rip off people. I believe that much crime is heroin - related. It doesn't mean that some people wouldn't be involved in crime anyway, but I think it's a qualitatively different level of crime. If what you need is \$30, you're going to have to rip off goods that are valued a lot more than \$30 to go through the "fence" and in order to sell them to get the \$30.

Methadone As A Treatment

As this heroin problem has gotten out of hand, the malevolent government enters the scene. A new wonder drug is marketed, packaged and literally crammed down throats. The drug — methadone. Methadone is addictive. It is I think, probably more addictive than heroin. Its long term effects are not known but then who really cares; we can experiment with "mere junkies." Right?

Richard Nixon, in a campaign speech in September, 1972, said this, "We are presently treating 100,000 addicts in government controlled methadone maintenance programs in this country and I look forward to the day when we can treat a million." That should cause us some real concern.

The Eli Lilly Company has a patent, (monopoly), on methadone. Through these government controlled and financed methadone maintenance centers, tax money is going to support the gigantic Lilly pharmaceutical conglomerate. The addict, meanwhile, remains still physically addicted to a drug — methadone — instead of heroin.

What We Must Do

We must address the programs and the postures taken with respect to their pacification ambitions. We must educate and understand that drug addiction is a societal condition imposing various forms of misery upon the great majority of us so that a few can profit. Addicts, though medically ill and addicted, are in this situation not because they themselves are worthless, evil or weak human beings, but because a worthless, inhumane system guarantees that a certain number of people will become addicts so long as they put the supply out there and profit is put into it.

We have to realistically examine the programs that do exist today. We have to determine if there are some that merit and deserve our support, imperfect as they might be. Our support is

important in the process of building the sort of movement that will make the progressive programs even more progressive. At the same time we attack the programs that are designed to implement King Richard's pacification program.

We have to attack programs that tell human beings to sit in a corner in a diaper. I had a person who I put on probation and sent to Alexandrine House. He came back with his mother yesterday after having fled from Alexandrine House and said he didn't dig too much having to sit in a corner in a diaper. I don't know how therapeutic that can be, (or shaving heads), the isolated therapeutic programs that are built in a vacuum, that really take people out of society and lead people to function in a very traditional and sexist way.

We have to consider what we can do now that will be progressive and that will promote change and that will: 1) attack those who profit and those who are corrupt and profit from our misery; 2) advance some meaningful humane benefits and advantages to literally 600,000 or more persons who are addicts in this country; and, 3) advance the sort of educative process that this program in part exemplifies so that we can demystify the way in which they have conditioned us educationally.

We have a heavy task. I think we are capable of beginning it from the ground up. We have the capability and indeed the necessity for promoting and advancing mass external work that can begin to deal for real with this problem — our motivation being we know that THEY aren't, WE must.

There are a lot of things that we can do now, among them obviously, the heroin petition drive. We have to give serious thought to taking the profit out of heroin, to decriminalizing, at least with respect to use and possession of small quantities by persons who can be medically and scientifically proven to be addicts in possession or using quantities for self consumption.

I'm going to close by reading from the final paragraphs of **THE OPIUM TRAIL.**

"Eliminating poverty and racism, slums and disease, sexism and exploitation, unemployment and alienation, would remove the conditions that encourage addiction in the first place. Junk won't disappear from this society until these conditions are dealt with by the people they harm, and that happens to include us. That will take time, and meanwhile, the powerful men who profit from the status quo will seek to bring repression down on every program and movement that threatens them. China was able to solve its opium problem by starting to build a new society. A revolution for life in this country will hardly be the same as China's, but no matter how long it takes and how hard it seems, fighting for a better life is the only hope there is. It's up to us, millions of people like us."

Thank you.