Standing in the Shadows: The Legacy of Harry J. Anslinger
DEA Museum Lecture Series, October 15, 2014

Sean Fearns: Good day, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Sean Fearns. On behalf of all of us at the DEA Museum I want to welcome you. This program is being live webcast to the world and so a special greeting to those who are watching us over the internet or perhaps watching this program at a future time. A quick note out of courtesy to our speakers and your fellow audience members, if you could please silence your cell phones or other electronic devices we would appreciate it. Today we continue the DEA Museum's fall lecture series themed around the 100th anniversary of federal drug law enforcement.

100 years ago - 1914 Congress passed the Harrison Narcotics Act setting in motion the controls that we still have in place today and the evolution of the Drug Enforcement Administration. Today we're going to spend some time looking at an architect of so much of that history - Harry J. Anslinger and we have some very special guests in the audience and I'm going to leave their comments - introductory comments to them in a moment. But in particular the nephew of Harry Anslinger - William. Welcome. Also, Harry's nephew, Max and nephew, Richard and niece, Jo Ann.

And there are dozens of family and friends who have traveled not just from here in northern Virginia, D.C. area, but from the Altoona and Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania area to be with us today. Welcome. We want to ask to give some opening remarks on behalf of Mr. Anslinger's successor, who is the administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, Michele Leonhart, on her behalf, Special Agent Gary Owen. Gary. [applause]

Gary Owen: Thank you. For those of you who don't know me I'm the Acting Chief of Public and Congressional Affairs for DEA. It's a true honor to be here talking to you today. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Anslinger family and

friends. Welcome. On behalf of DEA Administrator Michele Leonhart, who is with the attorney general this afternoon and could not be here, I thank you for coming to what will undoubtedly be an illuminating and educational program. I want to share a few words with you from a speech.

And I quote, "A part of our effort along international lines has been the completion of numerous extradition treaties and arrangements for direct exchange and police information with many foreign nations. In some cases, we literally have been able to reach around the world to prosecute international drug traffickers either by bringing the offender within our jurisdiction from foreign lands or by securing his prosecution under the laws of his own country." Those words were written and delivered by Mr. Harry J. Anslinger 75 years ago and I can tell you as an agent for the last 20 years I could say those words and they could mean just as much today.

They were delivered in September 1940 when he addressed the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Milwaukee. They could have been delivered today. They could be delivered by the administrator tomorrow or they could be delivered by the administrator next week when she actually goes to talk to the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Florida. The fight against drug trafficking across the globe continues while those who are here today from the Anslinger family - well, you're his literal legacy. To me, the DEA agents who are with Administrator Leonhart receiving words from the attorney general this afternoon and the close to 10,000 men and women working for DEA across the United States and in 80 plus offices around the globe - they are also part of Mr. Anslinger's legacy as well.

When you hear about the investigations and arrests conducted by DEA regarding some of the most notorious, violent criminals and drug traffickers in the world things like the French Connection, investigations into Pablo Escobar, Whitey Bulger, Viktor Bout, Chapo Guzman, you're also hearing about the legacy of Harry Anslinger and I think we can all agree that's a legacy we can be proud of. In my position - I'm going to go off

script here for a second - in my position as Acting Chief for Public Affairs and Congressional Affairs a lot of things that are said in the media, said about us on Capitol Hill are not always complimentary these days. People take it for granted that we're the good guys. That we're wearing the white hats.

And that's a shame and a lot of that started with Mr. Anslinger. I'm very proud of the work DEA does and I'm very proud of the work that he started. So, when I say it's an honor to address you today, I truly do mean that. We must all learn from history. The work of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and the other agencies that today are represented in the Drug Enforcement Administration are lessons for all of us. It is fitting and proper that we have a program like this. We are honored to have the Anslinger family here from Pennsylvania to commemorate a man who stood center stage for decades guiding efforts to control addictive drugs and bring to justice those who traffic them. Today we remember Harry J. Anslinger. Today we continue his important work of making American communities safer. Thank you very much. [applause]

Sean Fearns: Thank you, Gary. Our first speaker today is well known for those who have read about Harry Anslinger because he has written what undoubtedly is one of the biggest and best biographies of man. A recently retired professor - associate professor from Penn State University, John C. McWilliams. He taught American history and criminology classes there and authored the book, The Protectors: Harry J. Anslinger and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 1930-1962, as well as many articles exploring the history of federal drug control policies. Please help me warmly welcome to the podium Professor John McWilliams. [applause]

Professor John C. McWilliams: Harry J. Anslinger is not a name that most people who is in groups of audiences that I've addressed over the years can identify with or relate to or ever heard of. This is a rather unique audience that I'm addressing this afternoon, obviously. So, I'm here today to talk to you with a generally two-fold objective in mind. Who was Harry J. Anslinger and why should we care? Good afternoon. I'm delighted to

be there with you today to talk about this fascinating [00:06:52 unintelligible] individual that as we just heard has been a primary architect of the drug control policy long ago. I didn't - I confess I didn't know Harry Anslinger either as a graduate student at Penn State until one day talking with my advisor trying to figure out what I was going to - how the dissertation topic suggested him - Harry Anslinger.

And of course, my immediate reaction was who? And also, thinking perhaps typical of a graduate student if I haven't heard of him how could he be important? And that was a big mistake that I soon later learned. And then, my advisor informed me that Commissioner Anslinger donated 13 boxes of his personal correspondence and official papers to Penn State. And for a graduate student where time is a concern and especially money and travel and all that goes with it that was enticing. So, I immediately went to our library and started scanning the papers and thinking yeah, this is a very intriguing topic. I think I would like to know more about him and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. And as it would have it making a brief presentation at Penn State shortly thereafter, I was informed after I concluded that there was a DEA agent in the audience who wanted to talk to me afterwards.

I was a little skittish about that, but he kind of liked what I had to say, asked me if I'd be willing to talk to an [00:08:18 unintelligible] group in Philadelphia - there an [00:08:20 unintelligible] group at their national meeting in Nashville and so it went that I quickly developed a network of wonderful resources within FBN and some DEA. So, I'd like to thank each of them for contributing to my research over the years. And almost without exception, they were extremely helpful, encouraging, and supportive of what I was doing. We are here today to commemorate, to observe the 100th anniversary of the war on drugs. It started with the enactment of the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act in 1914. Initially, it was designed primarily as a revenue measure, but eventually through a series of supreme court cases, outlawed the use of cocaine, opiates, heroin, basically everything.

What is important I think that we should understand before I try to take you further into Anslinger and his career is the situation as it existed at that time or actually even immediately prior to that. Through the 19th century into the progressive era - the first two decades roughly of the 20th century these substances were perfectly legal. There were no restrictions against them, maybe on a state level sporadically throughout the country, but nothing at the federal level. It was very easy to find, to buy, to consume any of these substances for anyone. You could buy them through pharmacies, a doctor could write a script for them without a prescription, in grocery stores, general stores.

You could get them anywhere. You could buy - even go on Amazon - actually, for you younger people there really wasn't an Amazon.com., but next best thing Sears & Roebuck you could order in 1897 - advertising a syringe kit with two vials, two needles, and a carrying case for a dollar and a half. You could order God's own medicine as it was referred to then - opium through the mail. No questions asked. No regulatory measures whatsoever. That's the situation as we move into the first decade or so of the 20th century. The first regulatory measure of any kind at all was 1906, the Pure Food and Drug Act, but that didn't restrict buying and selling so much as kind of forcing the manufacturers to at least tell us what's inside here.

And then, Harrison Act was passed as I said 1914 as a combination of American obligations through international anti-drug treaties and a changing - an attitudinal shift at home with respect to drug users. So, that went into effect in 1914 and now - and eventually would fall to the Prohibition Unit in 1920s to enforce and that's getting pretty busy for the Prohibition Bureau in those days, obviously in the 1920s. And that's pretty much where we are as we move into - before Anslinger comes into the position in 1930. One might say Harry Anslinger had a charmed life. Not that he had been born into wealth and privilege, but that a combination of talent, ability, and fate set him on a path to his very successful and long career. He was born in 1892 in Altoona, the bustling railroad town that it was in south central Pennsylvania, about a three hour drive from here where he attended school part-time and also worked on the Pennsylvania railroad.

And it was during that coming of age period for Anslinger that he later recalled two events that shaped his life and we could see this become more manifest in his career as commissioner. One when as a 12 year old he was sent by a neighbor to run down to the neighborhood pharmacy druggist and purchase some morphine for the man's wife who apparently was suffering and addicted to the substance. And that made a deep impression on him as he later related because it was the power of that drug which he began to consider maybe there should be some regulations on that if it has that kind of effect. The other was while an employee on [00:12:29 unintelligible] when he was working alongside of some Italian immigrants speaking in broken Italian about a kind of a secret - what he learned, picked up eventually as a secret terrorist organization called the Mano Nera or Black Hand, a group of Italians who would extort other fellow Italian immigrants.

And that too would shape his thinking and his approach to drug enforcement later on. After high school Anslinger took courses at Altoona Business College for a year or so, then enrolled at Pennsylvania State College where he received an associate degree in some business and engineering courses. His work on the railroad so impressed his supervisor, G. Richard Port, that when the governor asked Port to go to Harrisburg he wanted Anslinger to go along with him and so he did. On September 16th at the age of 24 Anslinger was responsible for reorganizing a field force of 2,500 personnel. He was later appointed deputy commissioner - deputy fire commissioner, excuse me, in charge of arson investigations there. When the United States went to war with Europe in 1914 he applied for officer training school. Was refused admittance there or to enlist because of an eye injury that he sustained as a boy and affected his vision.

He then moved into the ordinance department where as assistant to chief of inspection of equipment was in charge of recruiting civilian personnel. In 1918, the last year of World War I - by the way, they didn't use roman numerals then. Pretty pessimistic if you think about it, but at any rate, at the end of World War I he was

recommended for commission as 2nd lieutenant and opportunity at this point in his life must have seemed like a close companion. With his experience in investigative work and ability to speak fluent German and later Dutch he was assigned as an attaché in the State Department at the Hague. And during his three years in Netherlands he participated in behind the scenes intelligence, reports, and investigation. And it was in this capacity as an intelligence gatherer he attended social affairs, dinners, garden parties where he mingled with nobility and heads of state.

When Kaiser Wilhelm II, the last German emperor, prepared to abdicate his throne in November of 1918 the young attaché was instructed to relay vital information to the right people with orders from Secretary of State Lansing. British operatives then described his counterespionage work as brilliant. And in fact, there is here - I didn't notice until a short while ago the Anslinger family donated his bags here from - it says American legation. You can see that at the end when he was in the Hague. From there, Anslinger was sent on several secret assignments and eventually to Hamburg, Germany to repatriate sailors where he also was exposed to international drug distribution routes and from Hamburg, Germany to Venezuela where he spent an unhappy three years so he wrote later correspondence. And then, to the Bahamas approximately in the mid-1920s where he was to keep an eye on rum runners during prohibition and help formulate some treaties there.

And - excuse me. In 1929, his supervisor there again impressed with his work. On his way to Washington Anslinger to go along with him and he did, where he was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Chief Division of Foreign Control in the Prohibition Unit where there he was involved in international treaties and served his delegates to conferences in London and Paris. By the late 1920s as we all know, the noble experiment was not working according to plan. Treasury officials realized that the Prohibition Bureau was inadequate to handle both narcotics and liquor law violations. And so, with those circumstances Republican congressman from Pennsylvania, Steven G. Porter, introduced a bill to create a new bureau to separate the burden, if you will,

where prohibition would enforce alcohol violations and the new agency he proposed, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, would take care of narcotics offenses.

Anslinger was appointed initially as the Acting Commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. He won out over a dozen other very qualified candidates and it seemed for good reason. His papers contained dozens of letters congratulating and supporting him, including from Harry Smith of the Dollar Steamship Company in San Francisco who promised the new commissioner a system of foreign espionage in cooperation. From Sanburn Young, head of California state level narcotics committee and a close friend of President Hoover. From Mark [00:17:28 unintelligible], a mining engineer who was also a close friend of Hoover and who managed his presidential campaign in California. From Paul Shoup, President of the Southern Pacific Railroad and founding board member of Stanford University School of Business community of Los Altos, California, from several senators.

Most intriguing, however, was a piece of advice the new commissioner received from his old prohibition boss, General Lincoln Andrews, suggesting that Bill Donovan could be of help. September 1930, President Hoover officially made Anslinger's appointment permanent and why not? In eight weeks that he had been acting commissioner he had secured the support of the National Association of Retail Druggists, the AMA, the Hearst Publishing Empire, and New York City Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, who regarded him as the most efficient commissioner who was building a real service of competent men. In a decade, Anslinger rose from clerk in a counselor service to commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. At age 38 he was a very experienced administrator and he was well connected. No one could have anticipated the impact Anslinger would have in federal drug policy. That role has been well documented.

Lesser known, however, is how he also extended his and the bureau's influence well beyond the parameters of drug enforcement. The commissioner's honeymoon at

the Bureau of Narcotics was short lived if it existed at all. As a new commissioner he faced considerable challenges that must have seemed absolutely overwhelming in 1930. His bureau was created and the reaction to widespread corruption in the Prohibition Bureau - meaning it was imperative that his agents maintained high moral ethical standards. There could be no scandals in the Bureau of Narcotics. In fact, he refused to hire agents wanting to transfer from prohibition into the FBN. Because the FBN was a new autonomist agency, every policy Anslinger introduced, every piece of legislation he supported would be subjected to close scrutiny.

This was the 1930s. This was the Great Depression. Nobody has any money, including even the federal government which slashed budgets for federal agencies and employees by 15 percent and Roosevelt's Economy Act and the commissioner would have to be very, very careful with his budget, especially since the FBN, unlike the FBI or customs, for example, was not established or had yet no national reputation. Aware of these economic realities Anslinger promised no budget increase and did not allow his agents to spend great amounts on drug cases. Without question, legislation of Anslinger is most closely associated with occurred during his first decade on the job, if not his career, and that was the historic and controversial Marijuana Tax Act, the second shot fired I would call in the war on drugs. The Harrison Act being the first.

The Marijuana Tax Act is a classic case of study for historians, criminologists, sociologists, legal scholars, political scientists because of the dynamics involved and how it - well, how it came to pass literally, figuratively. Marijuana was not at all a new drug in the 1930s. On the contrary, it had been around longer than those other substances controlled by the Harrison Act. It had been around literally for thousands of years and until the 1930s it's use was confined mostly to the southwest region of the United States where it was commonly associated with Mexican laborers who were usually depicted as one Arizona resident put it, "Criminal types known for brandishing knives, [00:21:32 unintelligible] drunkenness and disorderly conduct." Whatever problem marijuana posed it was isolated. The rest of the country is either ignorant of or

indifferent to its use. There were no laws prohibiting - no federal laws prohibiting it. No one seemed to care much because it wasn't perceived as a problem.

That would soon change. In 1931 a Louisiana physician used the term marijuana menace, claiming that the drug produces excitement, disillusions, hallucinations, and a tendency to willful damage and violence. The New Orleans Commissioner of Public Safety was so alarmed over this new menace he felt it should be put in the same class as heroin. Eugene Stanley, the New Orleans District Attorney, published an article titled Marijuana Has a Developer of Criminals. Stanley wanted federal regulation because he feared the rapid spread of the weed would move to other parts of the country. Well, he was right about its popularity. Like jazz, marijuana moved up the Mississippi River to river ports in the Midwest and branched into northern cities. By the mid-1930s, newspapers and popular magazines were headlining the marijuana menace in nearly every part of the country.

What caused the greatest alarm, however, was how quickly it spread to a new group of users - young people. Make that young White people. The media jumped all over it. Even Popular Science, a technical oriented publication published an article explaining how the continued use of the drug will lead to the delirious rage in which addicts are temporarily irresponsible and inclined to commit the most horrible and violent crimes. Many murders are committed either by persons not responsible while under the influence of the drug or by persons who deliberately smoke it to gain a false courage for the commission of a planned slain. Soon, lured reports documenting marijuana's terrifying effects began to flood Anslinger's office. In 1936 Floyd Baskette, editor of the Courier in Alamosa, Colorado, sounded fearful and desperate when he wrote to Anslinger. "Two weeks ago [00:23:48 unintelligible] degenerate named Lee Fernandez brutally attacked a young Alamosa girl.

Police know definitely that Fernandez was under the influence of marijuana. I wish I could show you what a small marijuana cigarette does to one of our degenerate

Spanish speaking residents. That's why our problem is so great. The greatest percentage of our population is composed of Spanish speaking persons, most of whom are low mentally because of social and racial conditions. Is there any assistance your bureau can offer us in handling this drug? Can you enlarge your department to deal with marijuana? Can you do anything to help us?" Anslinger's papers include dozens of reports like those from Baskette submitted by concerned law enforcement officials or FBN agents. Clearly, something had to be done. The Treasury Department responded by proposing regulatory legislation. And in April 1930 the House Ways and Means Committee opened hearings on the marijuana menace.

But it was soon evident that almost no one in Congress or at least on this House Ways and Means Committee knew anything about the drug. Imagine uninformed members of Congress knew little except what they might have read in the media. Commissioner Anslinger as a principle witness needed to educate unenlightened committee members as they did in this exchange. Question - "Marijuana is as dangerous as a drug as there is, is it not?" Anslinger - "I would say so. Just as dangerous as the other drugs if not more so because it incites the user to cry." Question - "Is it likely to produce a homicidal tendency in a man who uses it? A tendency to kill or inflict violence?" Anslinger - "We have many records of violence and homicidal tendency in the man who uses it" - I'm sorry - "Committed by users throughout the country." Indeed, he did.

He had a whole file of reports submitted by local law enforcement and others. A sampling, for example, from one [00:25:51 unintelligible] students at the University of Minnesota partying with female students - White in parenthesis - smoking and getting their sympathy with stories of racial persecution. Result? Pregnancy. From West Virginia, Negro raped a girl eight years of age. Two Negroes took a girl 14 years old and kept her for two days under the influence of marijuana. At least one committee member was so uninformed about marijuana he had to ask one of his colleagues about the subject of the bill they were considering. Representative Snell - "I do not know anything

about the bill. What is the bill?" Representative Rayburn - "It has something to do with something that is called marijuana. I believe it is a narcotic of some kind." Just one week after the act went into effect in August 1937 the Bureau of Narcotics and the Denver city police arrested the first violator of the legislation - Samuel Caldwell, a 58 year old dealer for possession.

The arrest occurred on a Wednesday night. He was indicted by a grand jury Thursday. Sentenced on Friday. He had been processed through the entire justice system in a period of 48 hours. Caldwell's arrest was the first marijuana conviction under the new law and U.S. Court District Judge Foster Symes sentenced him to four years in Leavenworth Penitentiary and a $1,000 fine justifying his sentence because as Judge Symes saw it, marijuana is the worst of all narcotics, far worse than the use of morphine or cocaine. Under its influence men become beasts. Marijuana destroys life itself. At the end, activities were not limited to enforcing marijuana violations. Because of his State Department experience during World War I, Anslinger developed a special appreciation of intelligence gathering.

And because many of the drugs showing up on American streets originated in another source country, the commissioner established ties with INTERPOL.

He participated as an unofficial observer at the League of Nations drug control conferences. He organized a committee of 100 - a highly secret panel to function as a kind of mini INTERPOL that included narcotics offices from London, Beirut, Cairo, Ottawa, Rotterdam, Paris. His priority, however, was to eradicate domestic drug trafficking, especially where it was organized. Before any of the law enforcement agency, the FBN targeted syndicate drug dealers. Anslinger's papers show that long before any other federal law enforcement official, he was convinced a mafia did exist of no doubt stemming from his encounter with the Black Hand in Altoona. Anslinger launched his anti-mafia campaign as early as 1931 when the FBN investigated and arrested gangster Lonnie Affrenti for operating the drug ring in Kansas City. The arrest

of Carl Caramussa in 1942 was a historic case in which Anslinger first offered hard evidence of a highly organized national network of crime dominated by Sicilian Americans.

In the 1940s the FBN also apprehended Joe “Pip the Blind” Gagliano who operated out of eastside Harlem. Nicolo Impastato - a heroin link between [00:29:09 unintelligible] Kansas City, the Newman brothers $25 million drug operation, the Hildebrand organization in Minneapolis, the [00:29:18 unintelligible] gang in Chicago. And there were other drug domestic operations supplied by international networks such as [00:29:24 unintelligible] organization in France and the Eliopoulos brothers who profited from a privileged position with traffickers in Shanghai as they supplied a virtual who's who of American criminals, such as Lepke Buchalter, "Little Augie" [00:29:38 unintelligible], "Legs" Diamond and Dutch Schultz. "Mendy" Weiss, “Lucky” Luciano, Joe Valachi, Vito Genovese, "Nig" Rosen. The brains behind the French connection were other targets of the FBN.

It's a very long list, actually. A list that Anslinger compiled and distributed to his agents in the form of a small booklet called confidential list of suspected major violators who are profiled and photographed with brief biographical information, including known aliases and pertinent information about their criminal activities. Because the FBN developed an expertise in its investigation of drug trafficking and made so many high profile arrests, Anslinger and several of his agents testified before the celebrated [00:30:25 unintelligible] committee, a special senate investigating committee looking into organized crime held over a two year period in 14 cities beginning in 1950. Many of these hearings were televised nationwide. In 1946, a year after the creation of the United Nations, President Truman named Anslinger's first delegate to the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

In the Cold War when Communism was considered the greatest threat to national security, Anslinger's dual role as FBN Commissioner and UN delegate made him an

influential anti-Communist in Washington and in the media. On numerous occasions including five special congressional investigating committees, Anslinger testified about Communist China's sinister plan to weaken the morale of the free world by flooding it with heroin. At appropriations hearings from 1951 through 1957 committees heard him name Communist China as a primary source of heroin. Through his testimony he had some measure of influence, I would argue, in the UN's decision not to admit China as a member nation and the United States decision not to recognize it as a country until President Nixon did so in 1972.

The commissioner was recognizing the media as an authoritative source on international relations. U.S. News & World Report praised him and was regarded among the world's police as a top expert in dope traffic and was leading the world's battle against Communist's hidden weapon, dope. And in 1955 Time magazine praised him as the person who knew more about the worldwide drug traffic than any other man on earth. At home a post-war increase in juvenile delinquency, a heightened interest in organized crime, and the public's anxiety about drug addictions set the stage for the third shot in this war on drugs - a double shot, actually. The Boggs Act in 1951 and the Narcotic Control Act - NCA in 1956. The Boggs Act let these penalties for various drug offenses - first offense was two to five years, second offense 5 to 10 years, third offense 10 to 20 years.

But the situation became even more intense in the next several years so five years later in 1956 Congress passed the NCA which had the effect of doubling those Bogg penalties. So, the first offense would now be 5 to 10, second offense 10 to 20, third offense 20 to 40, and for someone who sold heroin to a person under 18 could consider the death penalty. Apparently, Congress was thinking if getting tough was good, getting tougher would be even better. Anslinger was not one dimensional, nor were his agents. Under his direction the FBN quickly evolved into a multi-faceted versatile drug enforcement agency. In 1942 Bill Donovan - that's the Bill Donovan that General Andrews told Anslinger could be of help when he was appointed, has just been

named by President Roosevelt the head of the country's first real intelligence gathering agency, The Organization of Strategic Services, the OSS.

And one of the first people Donovan reached out to was Harry Anslinger, knowing his background, and asked him to move over into the OSS. Anslinger declined because he didn't want to leave the FBN. His responsibility laid there, but that was not so for several of his senior agents. That would change. And they expanded the FBN's sphere of influence considerably beyond its intended mission as it became involved in some very sensitive extracurricular activities, if you will, beginning in the war years and continuing throughout the Cold War. Considering the nature of the bureau's work which frequently required proactive undercover investigations, the agents proved to be well suited for wartime clandestine operations. In fact, one could argue, as I have, for several reasons that the FBN had become de facto arm of the intelligence community.

For example, in 1942 several agents transferred to the OSS. At least one [00:35:02 unintelligible] agent was knowledgeable of the nation's operation underworld. The first time to my knowledge that the government jumped into bed with organized crime and the navy's deal with "Lucky" Luciano in which the crime boss would give the okay to his under links to help keep the Brooklyn navy yards safe from sabotage efforts and would also contribute to intelligence to the allied invasions in Sicily. In 1946 Luciano's 30 to 50 year sentence had been commuted. He had served 10 years at that point and he was deported to Italy for his alleged contributions to the war effort. Also, Anslinger and at least one other agent collaborated with a special group in OSS beginning in 1943 to discover a tea drug or a truth drug using initially peyote and later, ironically perhaps marijuana, which was used in experiments in ways to control human behavior.

There are many FBN agents who are involved in sensitive activities, but there was what I identify as a triumvirate of agents who represented a core of the FBN during Anslinger's tenure who merit a brief profile because they exemplified and defined the

FBN as a very unique organization and because their careers paralleled that of Anslinger. Garland Williams was one of the first agents to join the FBN after its inception in during 1930 and during most of his 24 years with the bureau was a district supervisor or what I think DA determined today as SAC. And Anslinger's close confidant made sense as they shared similar interests and intelligence gathering. In January 1941 Williams was recruited to organize a secret police force within the army called the Corps of Intelligence Police that emphasized counter-espionage training at the army war college in Chicago. He was likely the first FBN agent to use dogs - German shepherds and fox terriers to sniff out contraband drugs.

General Donovan recruited Williams at OSS to a facility in Oshawa, Canada just outside of Toronto, the first secret training site in North America. It was called Camp X. Williams prepared agents for subversive warfare and covert action that was brutal, cruel, underhanded action and definite as it must be deadly. At Frederick, Maryland and Quantico, Williams set up a sabotage school for long-term activity behind enemy lines and in captured territory where agents were taught how to kill quickly and quietly. He was instrumental in organizing Detachment 101 which carried out one of the most successful OSS guerilla operations as part of General Stilwell's command to disrupt Japanese communications in Burma. After the war, Anslinger sent Williams to Europe to track down "Lucky" Luciano and other U.S. gangsters living in exile. He spent time in Iran in the 1940s and wrote - sent back reports on narcotics situation there.

During the Korean Conflict he organized and commanded the 525th Military Intelligence Group. In 1954 he retired - I should put that in quotation marks - retired from the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, but remained active in various sensitive operations and I suspect was knowledgeable about the CIA's crew that overthrew Mosaddeq and put in place the Shah in Iran in 1954. And for a period of four or five years in the late 1960s he was actively involved in a little known agency in the State Department within the Agency for International Development called the Office of Public Safety which was training police in foreign nations in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Williams

died at age 90 near Memphis in 1994. Charles Siragusa, more popularly known within the FBN as "Charlie Cigars", was a graduate of NYU School of Business Administration and joined the bureau in 1939 after four years in INS.

During the day he typed reports. At night he learned the other side of drug enforcement by as he put it, running informants and making buys. Like Williams, Siragusa also went into the OSS and was commissioned [00:39:19 unintelligible] in the navy where he completed courses in dirty fighting, handling of explosives and methods of sabotage before he was sent to Rome for counter-intelligence work. According to his biography, The Trail Of The Poppy, his investigations in Puerto Rico, Athens, Hamburg, Marseille, Mexico City, Bangkok and Rome resulted in over 750 arrests. Over his career he worked in 29 countries and seized five tons of drugs. In 1950 he received the Treasury Department's Exceptional Civilian Service of Honor for intercepting clandestine importations from Turkey.

1951 - he organized the FBN's first permanent office outside the United States in Rome where it provided agents with easy access to the important global distribution points in Athens, Beirut, Istanbul, Marseille, and Paris. In the 1950s Siragusa was arguably the bureau's expert on mafia activities specializing in "Lucky" Luciano. He was an investigator for the Kefauver Committee and described in a 1957 Saturday Evening Post article as a character straight out of murder mystery fiction. The kind of shrewd, steel nerved and intuitive undercover agent that detective story writers spend their lives dreaming up. In 1960 Siragusa was appointed Assistant Deputy Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner and in 1963 he retired, took an executive job at the Illinois Crime Investigation Committee in Chicago. He died at age 68 in 1982 in Palm Beach, Florida.

Garland Williams and "Charlie Cigars" had extraordinary careers in the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and were unquestionably two of Anslinger's more versatile, proficient, and trusted agents. But as extraordinary as they were, they don't compare to the career of George Hunter White, almost certainly the most dynamic, flamboyant,

prolific agent in FBN's history who joined the bureau in 1935 after a brief stint as patrol inspector in INS. If ever there was a rogue elephant in the FBN it was White. He was the FBN's most unorthodox agent. He was a loner who did not want to be responsible for a partner. His personality and performance both odd and perplexed Anslinger who saw White as ubiquitous and always ready to shake hands with trouble. Anslinger was ever ambivalent about the agent, but valued him as his best enforcement man standing five feet, seven inches weighing 179 pounds, White reminded Anslinger of a Buddha statue, but White was no Buddha.

The commissioner also described him as a maverick with a strong personality who frequently clashes with many law enforcement agencies. Whatever White's shortcomings he was the FBN's most reliable and toughest agent and some of his exploits are worth noting briefly. He was a principal agent in one of the most extraordinary FBN operations ever conducted when in the mid-1030s it investigated Hip Sing Tong, a Chinese criminal organization. After months of tracking the movement of Hip Sing Tong - members at the various locations around the country - White not only managed to infiltrate the highest levels of the Chinese underworld in the United States he was sworn in as one of its members. A pretty neat trick, I thought, for a Caucasian. In 1937 after a two year investigation the FBN sent 50 agents into action nationwide. White's unusual undercover work resulted in 75 arrests, almost all of them eventually convictions. It's a front page story in the New York Times.

In 1938 he shot New York City drug dealer Albert "Tuffy" Jackson in the head and abdomen while working undercover. Like Williams, White had also worked in the OSS as a Lieutenant Colonel at Camp X which he referred to as the Oshawa school of mayhem and murder. At Camp X he took command of the parachute division and by late summer 1942 he was director of X-2, the OSS division of counter-espionage training. It was also about this time he began frequent contact with James Angleton, later the celebrated counter-espionage in CIA. And when I spoke with Angleton years ago he described White as a different kettle of fish. While in OSS White mortally shot a

spy in Kolkata, later recalling he was about to knife a U.S. soldier. "I had to kill the spy on the spot." He was an investigator for the Kefauver Committee.

He was a district supervisor in Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco twice, New York City, and Boston. In 1953, 1954 he was supervisor at large. To my knowledge, the title had never existed before White or since, probably. I suspect at this point Anslinger just didn't know what to do with him. He made enemies almost everywhere he went. In 1952 he was jailed for contempt by a New York City grand jury for refusing to identify an informer. He didn't help himself there either when he claimed that a member of the USDA's staff was associated with mobster Thomas "Three-Finger Brown" Lucchese. In 1954 he was persona non grata [00:45:05 unintelligible] because a detective was shot dead after talking with him during his investigation of corruption in the city's police department. The police commissioner there and the captain and detectives were eventually removed from their jobs.

His special foreign assignments included Mexico and Central America, Ecuador and Bolivia and South America into Morocco in North Africa, Italy, France and Great Britain in Europe, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey in the Mideast. The West Indies, China, Thailand, Pakistan, India and Indochina and Asia. Anslinger was right. He was everywhere and there's more. The government officially claimed it and terminated its World War II search for a "t" drug, but when the CIA launched MK Ultra in 1853 it resumed these experiments. This time the drug was LSD and the program ran for two decades before it was shut down. Dr. Sidney Gottlieb, a research chemist setting up the experiments, asked to borrow White from Anslinger which the commissioner approved. Gottlieb told me he felt White had the right stuff. MK Ultra's many subprojects involved field testing offensive chemical and biological warfare executive action and mind control.

Under the pseudonym Morgan Hall, White set up two safe houses in Greenwich Village in New York City and another [00:46:30 unintelligible] in San Francisco where he brought subjects recruited by prostitutes and other unwitting subjects giving LSD in

various ways. Sometimes swizzle sticks on one occasion. They tried to put in aerosol cans and spray it. This really was the gang that couldn't shoot straight. White sat for hours on a portable toilet sipping martinis or Jack Daniels watching activity through a one way mirror while listening to conversations on bugging equipment. This all came to a head in 1975 when the Church Committee investigated the CIA and of course MK Ultra. It was fascinating reading through White's diaries which he kept for 30 years detailing these activities. Who knows if White was playing with us, if he was deliberately cynical and facetious when he wrote to Gottlieb in 1970, how he saw himself as a very minor missionary.

Actually, a heretic, but [00:47:23 unintelligible] whole heartedly in the vineyards because it was fun, fun, fun. Where else could a red blooded American boy lie, kill, cheat, steal, rape, and pillage with the sanction of the [00:47:34 unintelligible]? White retired from the bureau in 1965 in part because as he put it there are more clerks, more forms, more meetings, more laterals, more verticals. This serves no purpose, wastes time and money and I don't enjoy it anymore. He was 67 years old when he died of heart problems in San Francisco in 1975. Garland Williams left the bureau officially at least in 1954. Within three years from 1963 to 1965 agent Siragusa, White, and of course, Commissioner Harry Anslinger had retired. No one would emerge within the FBN who possessed the influence, the acumen, or presence of Harry Anslinger. In May 1962 he celebrated his 70th birthday and - excuse me - reached the mandatory age for retirement for federal government employees. As you can see to my left on the stage up here with President Kennedy.

He may not have been ready to leave to end his career, but his wife's health had been deteriorating and the stress of life in Washington had taken a toll. The year 1960 he wrote to a personal friend was the worst year we have gone through, particularly as Martha is confined to her room at all times with nursing care. We spent the summer in Hollidaysburg where we have a home. It is a great relief to be there. Martha died about a year before Anslinger left office and returned to Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania adjacent

to his hometown in Altoona. In 1968, only six years after the commissioner stepped down, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics was on the edge of extinction. A combination of politics, scandal, and President Johnson's concern about the bureau's effectiveness resulted in what was called Reorganization Plan No. 1 which abolished the FBN, merged it with agents from the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control or BDAC into a new agency called the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, BNDD.

BNDD was established in the Department of Justice under the direction of then Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Five years later in 1973 the Nixon Administration submitted Reorganization Plan No. 2, again restructuring drug enforcement by merging the BNDD with ODALE, about 600 customs agents and a smattering of personnel from various other agencies and called it the Drug Enforcement Administration. In Hollidaysburg Anslinger renewed old acquaintances, enjoyed a daily three block walk downtown to pick up his mail at the post office, and spent money and nights at the Blairmont Country Club playing a bit of poker. In 1973 he began to experience his own physical ailments. He had became totally blind and suffered angina and on November 15, 1975 the 83 year old commissioner who Time magazine once called the greatest living authority on drugs succumbed to heart failure.

Anslinger lasted as long as he did - 32 years. A tenure exceeded only by that of J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI because he was the consummate bureaucrat. He was a preservationist and as early as his successfully fought off efforts to merge and/or abolish the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. He clearly understood political realities. Former FBN Administrator George Belk told me on one occasion that the commissioner survived because he was wise enough without the ends and outs of Washington and was able to endure on his congressional contacts because of his years in the State Department. For 40 years very little happened in the world of drugs or global developments Anslinger did not know about. At times it must have appeared that he was omnipresent, whether chasing mafioso across Europe, condemning Communist

aggression before congressional committees, or coordinating a nationwide bust of drug dealers.

The commissioner always took an active role above and beyond bureau affairs. His policies may have been controversial. To be sure, he had his critics, but there's no question he left a powerful and enduring legacy. In nearly 80 years since the passage of the Marijuana Tax Act, a dramatic transformation has occurred with regard to anti-marijuana legislation and much has changed in the world of drug enforcement. What would Anslinger think, I wonder, if he knew medical marijuana was now available in 18 states and the District of Columbia? What would he think, I wonder, if he knew marijuana was available for recreational purposes in two states? And three more states will decide whether to illegalize it next month. I suspect he would call it reefer madness.

What would he think, I wonder, about how the DEA is doing today - its methods of operation, its administration, its size, its budget? During Anslinger's tenure his agent field force averaged roughly 200 agents. It never exceeded 400, but a time he retired as compared to the DEA's, I believe 5,200 agents currently at work here and everywhere. He had a handful of offices in the United States and went abroad and not until 1951 as compared with DEA's if my numbers are right. 221 domestic offices and 86 around the globe and his average budget throughout his three plus decades was maybe 1.4, 1.6 or so million dollars never exceeding $4 million, as compared to the DEA's $2.8 billion.

More recently, Anslinger has gained recognition among scholars for his unique role in federal drug policy. Still, much about his life and the FBN remains obscure. As the inaugural administrator of the nation's first and only autonomous drug agency and one whose tenure spanned five Republican and Democratic presidential administrations over three decades it would seem he merits greater recognition. The commissioner has been standing in the shadows too long. Few people within or outside the DEA may recognize the name Harry Anslinger, but they should. Thank you. [applause]

Sean Fearns: Thank you very much, professor. We're going to wait and have one more speaker and then take some questions. What I want to do is introduce our second speaker, Charles Lutz. Charles Lutz retired as Deputy Assistant Administrator at DEA after 32 years with BNDD and DEA. It included domestic tours in Philadelphia, Reno, Miami, and foreign assignments in Bangkok and Cairo and as he likes to say was sentenced to four terms of hard labor at DEA headquarters.

Mr. Lutz served as Orlando International Airport's first Federal Security Director, the first DEA agent to be drafted to the new TSA after September 11, 2001, and he finished his full-time working career as the State Department's Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program Manager and a Counter-Terrorism Advisor to the government of the Philippines. He has a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from surprise, surprise - Pennsylvania State University where he has - I sense a theme today - where he has mentored criminal justice undergraduates for the past 25 years. Please welcome to the stage retired Special Agent Charles Lutz. [applause]

Charles Lutz: Thank you very much, Sean. And at first I have to wave to my wife, two daughters, and five grandkids who are actually in the room where we're going to have the reception after this lecture. They didn't want to you know, have any disturbance here. But if you want to come in you can. There's plenty of room. You know, I was a little bit nervous about making this speech. Someone asked my wife a few months ago if she'd heard my last speech and she said, "I hope so." There they come now. Two years ago when the citizens of Colorado and Washington state voted to legalize marijuana I said to my wife Joy, you know, "Harry Anslinger is probably rolling over in his grave." A few weeks later we were in Happy Valley to watch a Penn State football game and my wife and I decided to try and find Harry's grave.

It's in a picturesque cemetery overlooking the central Pennsylvania hometown of Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania and in case you're wondering there were no signs he rolled over. But what did surprise me was a small headstone for a man of such remarkable

accomplishment. Then I remembered reading in Professor McWilliam's book that Anslinger had requested a modest funeral. Only family and close friends. There were no government officials or foreign dignitaries to eulogize him. Not even a representative from the DEA was there, no doubt to honor his wishes, but sadly it was an omen of the estrangement between Anslinger and the DEA that was to come.

There are no memorials to Harry Anslinger. There's no building name for him. Not even a picture of him in the DEA lobby. It just didn't seem right to me that J. Edgar Hoover with all of his works is still revered by the FBI while Harry J. Anslinger, the father of international drug law enforcement, could only be found among the relics in the DEA museum. There is a simple explanation. Reorganizations within the nation's drug effort. Reorganizations that the FBI never had to endure. Six years after Anslinger retired the Federal Bureau of Narcotics was uprooted from its bedrock in the Treasury and transferred to the Department of Justice where it was merged with the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control to form the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and few remnants of Anslinger's legacy conveyed.

President Nixon doubled the number of BNDD agents in the early 1970s for his war on drugs and those who had worked for Anslinger became a very small group, indeed, and that was the beginning of the end for Harry Anslinger. But it was the next reorganization - the creation of the Drug Enforcement Administration that sealed his fate. After the shotgun wedding between BNDD and elements of Customs, the DEA leadership didn't want to make anyone in a new agency feel like second class citizens. So, they did identify DEA with a history of any one of his predecessor agencies and that's when Anslinger slipped from view.

Ironically, he may have remained a forgotten man had it not been for the pro-marijuana legalization crowd that kept his name alive. They made him their poster child for what they believe are unjust marijuana laws. The truth is Anslinger never wanted marijuana to be a federal crime. Anslinger focuses agents on the heroin being smuggled

from Europe, the cocaine from Chile, the opium from China, and he feared that his meager staff of 271 agents if given a marijuana law to enforce would be overwhelmed. But by the mid-1930s defense attorneys began using marijuana intoxication as a defense in violent [01:00:15 unintelligible] crime cases. Research was scant and contradictory so it was easy to believe and marijuana quickly became associated in the minds of the public with violent crime.

Anslinger had been campaigning for the states to adopt a model uniform state narcotics act to bring some conformity to drug laws across the nation and it contained a marijuana provision that he knew if it was adopted by the states would get the FBN off the hook. So, Anslinger dramatized the trials where the marijuana defense had been used parading the gory details of self alleged marijuana induced violence before the media and the Congress, but his tactics backfired. Citizens demanded the federal government do more and since most of the marijuana was originating from Mexico, the border states demanded that the feds take charge. When he reluctantly submitted the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 to Congress they asked him why it had taken him so long. The potheads, of course, have never forgiven him. Now, don't get me wrong. Anslinger was an unrepentant opponent of marijuana smoking.

He just didn't want the FBN to have to enforce it. In fact, seven years after he retired Anslinger participated on a Playboy panel entitled The Drug Revolution. And possibly his last public comments about marijuana - Anslinger called it a gateway drug physically and mentally harmful and addictive. And guess what? After 50 more years of experience and study much of modern science now agrees. Harry Anslinger had said nothing for which he needs to apologize. But instead of remembering him for marijuana we should celebrate him for standing against the mafia. The old dons hated him. They referred to him as that old bastard. No wonder. He put more than 300 of them in prison. He fueled the Kefauver hearings of 1951 that unveiled the mafia to the public. He supported the prosecutions that followed the 1957 raid when a mafia convention in Apalachin, New York.

And it was an FBN informant, Joe Valachi, who exposed the mafia before the McClellan Committee that forced a reluctant J. Edgar Hoover to enter into the fray. Shortly before boss of bosses "Lucky" Luciano - before he died he told an FBN undercover agent - while poking a finger at a picture of Anslinger in a magazine he said, "If it wasn't for that guy I'd be back on top in New York." Anslinger created the mafia book with the names of every organization or organized crime person involved in a drug trade. It had photographs, criminal associations, arrest records, and biographical information. And this is one of the few original mafia books known to still exist. [01:03:38 unintelligible] gave this one to Professor McWilliams when he was researching his book and John asked me to see that it finds its way where it belongs. So, Sean, here you go for the DEA Museum. Compliments of Professor McWilliams. [applause]

Anslinger was the founder of international cooperation. One of his first acts as commissioner was to create the committee of 100, a forerunner to today's international drug enforcement conferences. In 1935 he posted the first permanent agents overseas to roam to investigate mafia deportees who were shipping heroin back to the states and to parish the target French Corsican heroin laboratory operators and their sources of opium in the Balkans. After the war he detailed agents to General MacArthur's staff in Tokyo and with our military forces in occupied Germany. And in 1950 he reopened the offices in Rome and Paris and then opened one in Beirut and in 1961 Istanbul. As America's representative to the UN Commissioner of Narcotics Drugs for 24 years he gained passage at a single convention that became the model for drug laws around the world, including our own Controlled Substances Act of 1970.

Anslinger was a patriot leading up to America's entry into World War II. He had the foresight to stockpile enough opium in the Treasury vaults right over here on 14th Street to meet the medical needs of our soldiers and those of our allies. And during the war he assigned 25 percent of his meager workforce to military bases around the country to protect our soldiers from drug abuse. Anslinger was a pioneer at a time in our

nation's history when we separated ourselves from one another not only by wealth, but by ethnicity and color. Anslinger used his [01:05:43 unintelligible] authority to hire minorities. He boasted because criminals come in all sizes, shapes, and colors so do our agents.

In 1930 he hired Chinese American [01:05:57 unintelligible] believed to be the first Chinese American ever hired by any law enforcement organization in America. He hired Italian Americans to work against organized crime - mafia folks. He hired Arab Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native American. He hired a Jewish pharmacist who became a trusted special assistant. And in 1950 before other federal law enforcement agencies saw fit to do so, Anslinger hired the first African American agents - 30 in all during his tenure as commissioner. But to be honest I have to say I was troubled by the allegations that I read in the internet and in some books. It seemed mostly by pro marijuana legalization crowd that he was a racist and to be quite honest I didn't want to champion the man if he was.

My research revealed that most of the statements attributed to him had actually been made by others. Some of them were misrepresented and others totally fabricated, but my epiphany came when I interviewed William B. Davis, one of the first five Black agents hired by Mr. Anslinger and I'm very pleased to say that Bill Davis is here with us today. Bill, will you please raise your hand? [applause] In 1992 Bill wrote a feature article for AFMA's newsletter, The Connection. In it he described the indignities that had been heaped upon him and other Black agents and he'll be the first one to tell you that there were racists in the old FBN. But he'll also tell you as he told me that Harry Anslinger was not one of them. Bill told me that he had met Anslinger on four or five occasions and had always been treated with respect. When Davis was about to resign Anslinger called the journeyman agent to his office in Washington to ask him why. "Because I want to be a diplomat like you," he told Anslinger.

Bill went on to join the State Department. He speaks five languages including Russian where he enjoyed a distinguished career. But I was glad I had the opportunity to speak with Bill not only to get his impressions about Anslinger, but because I was able to bring to Bill's attention an honor that Anslinger had bestowed upon him that Bill knew nothing about. Anslinger devoted almost an entire chapter in one of his books that [01:08:51 unintelligible] exploits of Bill Davis against a notorious 107 street gang of mafia in New York City. He credited Bill with taking down some of its key members and he made Bill out to be the hero that he is. Bill told me that he had been the senior partner and mentor to another one of the FBN's early Black agents. One who had been hired out of the mailroom in New York City. "I taught Art Lewis everything he knows," Bill told me. Well, Bill, you must have done a pretty good job because Art Lewis became the Acting Deputy Administrator at DEA and the Philadelphia Division's Conference Room is named in his honor.

I called Art and told him what you had told me. Art laughed, but he didn't deny what you said. Then I told Art of the reason for my visiting with Bill. I told him that based on my research and particularly on Bill's comments that I was beginning to believe that Anslinger had not been a racist at all. "What do you think?" I asked Art. He said, "I think you're on the right track." I later had the opportunity to speak with another one of his early Black agents, Bill Jackson. My wife and I sat with him and his daughters at the AFMA Conference Banquet last year in Reno. I asked him what he thought of Harry Anslinger and hearing his name Bill smiled, shook his head and said, "He was tough." None of us will ever know what was in Harry Anslinger's heart. We'll never know whether he hired minorities solely for pragmatic reasons to get the job done or if he had some higher purpose in mind.

But what we do know is that Anslinger gave opportunity to many who otherwise would not have had it, but I have to admit Anslinger didn't do so well on the distaff side. He shared his sentiment of the day that drug law enforcement was a man's world. Needless to say, with a female administrator at DEA today he was sorely mistaken.

We've come a long way in the 60 years since Anslinger's retirement. The mafia gave way to the drug lords of Southeast Asia, then the cartel bosses of Colombia, and now the narco-terrorists of South Asia. But it was Anslinger who laid the foundation to help us meet those challenges. DEA has had some remarkable leaders and DEA has accomplished things that Harry Anslinger could never even have imagined, but let's not forget the man who paved the way. I thank DEA, the DEA Museum Foundation, and particularly the DEA Museum staff for starting to bring Anslinger out of the shadows.

Last year, Anslinger was included for the first time as part of DEA's lineage in the 40th anniversary book and I'm confident that this lecture series will go a long way in helping to restore his good name. When he retired from the FBN in 1962 his hometown of Hollidaysburg threw a party. Harry J. Anslinger day. There was a picnic, testimonials, the high school band played and the mayor of Hollidaysburg unveiled a plaque for their hometown hero that he said would hang in the Blair County Courthouse in perpetuity. Last year I traveled to the courthouse to see the plaque for myself.

The security guards shrugged their shoulders. I inquired at the County Commissioner's office. They had never heard of it. I searched the hallways for more than an hour. The plaque was nowhere to be found. He deserves much better. Let us bring this remarkable man out of the shadows for good. Let's embrace him as one of our own. Let's permanently memorialize this American hero and install into his rightful place in the history of international drug law enforcement. We owe it to him. We owe it to his family. We owe it to history. Thank you. [applause]

Sean Fearns: Thank you, very much, Charles. Professor, please come up. We have some time here at the end to open it up for questions. I'll mention to those watching live on the webcast. I know there's a couple hundred on there. There's a section over on the right hand side of your window where you can submit questions to us and Katie Drew, our educator here at the museum staff will field your questions through our iPad. And for those that are here in the audience if you have questions we

have microphones on either aisle. If you could just raise your hand and wait for the microphone so both our speakers and those watching the webcast can hear your questions. Let's open up the questions to Professor McWilliams and retired Special Agent Lutz. Don't everybody jump at once. Okay, right there in the middle.

Male Voice 1: Professor McWilliams, could you talk a little bit more about the MK Ultra and the rise of synthetic drugs and what Anslinger's position was on that, if anything? Thanks.

Professor John C. McWilliams: I'm going to have to stay here. Can I - ?

Sean Fearns: [01:14:32 unintelligible]

Professor John C. McWilliams: I could talk a lot about MK Ultra. It's a book in itself. It has been a book in itself. The purpose of MK Ultra when it opened in 1953 as Gottlieb told me and I spent three hours one afternoon with Dr. Gottlieb and was surprised that he was willing to sit down with me and to talk about all this. But I realized there was good reason for it because when the Church Committee did get into this in 1975 and Ted Kennedy chaired a subcommittee two years later in 1977 also looking into it, the CIA sort of knew it was coming and shredded virtually everything that related to MK Ultra and Gottlieb's name was the only one that showed up on the front page of The New York Times so he's pretty bitter about that.

He was justifying to situate this era in the Cold War context. This is spy versus spy and American foreign policy. The primary objective of American foreign policy - stop the spread of Communism at virtually all costs. And Gottlieb rationalized this project to me as you need to do this in the interest of national security and he told me. He said, "When our State Department people go abroad or any American officials go abroad, if we suspect their drug [01:15:58 unintelligible] Manchurian candidate brainwashed perhaps, we want to know what the effects are." And this had far reach and

repercussions - this MK Ultra. One of his own agents died. His death attributed to this fellow named Frank Olson in 1955 who the Pentagon - who you read, I guess, jumped out of the 10th floor at the Statler Hilton in New York City unknowingly under the influence of LSD and also was despondent at the time and somebody dosed his coffee I guess or whatever.

His relatives - two adult sons by now argue he didn't jump. He was pushed. But at any rate, so that was a major issue there and there were some people - these unwitting subjects who were brought into these safe houses were administered these. They had no idea they were being given LSD and they went - CIA settled you know, a lot of those cases later on. And as I said, it is absolutely fascinating because George White was - he violated a lot of rules. On the one hand, I don't think he cared at all. On the other, maybe he was looking to preserve his legacy. Who knows? But he kept these pocket size diaries for every year he worked with the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and papers and letters and took a read through it and oftentimes his handwriting you cannot decipher it because it's either in code or he's under the influence of something. But you can follow them and you can see what he's doing and who he's hooking up with for all these tests that he's doing. Now, the second part is about the synthetic drugs? The rise?

Male Voice 1: Yes. What role does synthetic drugs play in the 50s and did Harry Anslinger [01:17:41 unintelligible]?

Professor John C. McWilliams: Well, the synthetic drug of course was LSD which is not - didn't become illegal I don't think until 1965 when it kind of spilled into the counter culture and then became - you know? I have argued over the years that none of these substances - marijuana, heroin - none of them that are legal today were criminalized until after they were closely associated with a marginal/deviant/outside group and that follows through LSD as well. Not that they are not dangerous drugs. I don't mean to imply that, but it's more complicated than just declaring laws again. So, I think that's the big reason for that and the exhibit here in the museum. Timothy Leary is out there I

noticed and talked. So, I think it got a lot of - because LSD is such a very, very powerful hallucinogenic like many of these others. More so.

And I think that's one reason contributing to why it was declared illegal then, but Gottlieb and others got - used it because marijuana derivatives weren't doing it for them. And it's the same as experimenting and it's almost hilarious to read in the Church Committee hearings about how these agents were operating safe houses and using an aerosol can as I mentioned here. They couldn't do it because it was a warm day. They had to open the window and sprinkle out the window. It was just hard to imagine, aside from the fact that the CIA violated perhaps the first principle charter that never operate domestically against its own population.

Male Voice 2: Either one of you, I guess. Could you speculate or did you find any evidence of the relationship between Harry Anslinger and J. Edgar Hoover? Because they were both so long serving. I don't know if there was animosity, if there was friendship, mutual respect. Do you have any clue at all?

Professor John C. McWilliams: Hoover - well, for starters Hoover had a head start. The FBI was well established before Anslinger got to the FBI in 1932. And in the 1930s, particularly when the FBI started publishing its Ten Most Wanted list, I mean that just gave it so much publicity throughout The Depression in the 30s so that put him way up front. So, that's one reality I think we should recognize. I think there was a rivalry a bit, but I don't think it was as great as at least I tend to think of, talking to FBI agents.

That the rivalry between FBN and FBI was as great as it was between FBN and Customs where they seemed to encroach on each other's turf more so. Hoover really didn't want the FBI to get mixed up in drugs because it's just messy business. It's a lot of proactive undercover kind of work. Perhaps he didn't trust. It's too tempting for corruption and I think he just - and the rivalry would have [01:20:49 unintelligible]

Anslinger's assistants that there is a mafia. That there is organized crime which Hoover - yeah, Hoover denied for a long, long time. I don't know what you're sense of it is.

Charles Lutz: Well, yeah. I agree with that, but I also know the profession is well, do some research at Penn State Library where all of Harry Anslinger's papers are being held and there's about - there must be a dozen boxes of papers and I did find one memorandum in there where he transmitted one of these mafia books to Hoover. Now, I don't know if it was to taunt him or to educate him. So, you know, there was that kind of professional relationship, but also I have a friend who just informed me a couple days ago that Hoover and Anslinger were members of several social clubs here in Washington together. Now, whether they there - whether they went there at the same times or were friends at all I don't know, but this is new information and I'm just trying to figure out now as to which clubs they were and get some of that documentation. So, they certainly knew each other well.

Male Voice 3: Yes. Thank you. I wanted to ask.

Bill Anslinger: I think of several vignettes about Uncle Harry. His mention of the boxes of material at Penn State Library the first thing I saw in there was a story when Uncle Harry played football for Altoona High School and I have a copy of the newspaper article at home. But unfortunately, Altoona played the Carlisle Indians one year and the score I think was something like 49 to nothing with Altoona having nothing. But in the article it said that Altoona's outstanding play of the day was Anslinger's eight yard loss. Uncle Harry actually traveled with Kaiser Wilhelm's personal staff during World War I as a pseudo spy.

They knew who he was and he knew who they were, but each was trying to get something from the other. Toward the end of the war Uncle Harry happened to be in Kaiser's headquarters in a castle at Ameland in Hollum and was by himself that day and in the Kaiser's bedroom Harry - unfortunately the war - no, not unfortunately, but the war

came to an end soon after that. And he had no use for whatever was in the trunk, but he did donate it to the Smithsonian Institution and among the things that I contributed here - as soon as the Smithsonian got it they had their photographers do glossy photographs of the contents of the chest and you'll find that here somewhere.

I donated that to them. One time Uncle Harry visited my parents and he said to come out and look at the car that he had driven up from Washington and when we toured the outer side of it, it was a bullet-ridden car that had belonged to some gangster. Uncle Harry checked it out of the carpool to drive up from Washington to visit us. Aunt Martha was a stickler for protocol and they came to visit us one time when I was about six or seven years old - or five or six. I forget, but we had a nice visit and they went home and the next week I got a package in the mail. It was a book on etiquette and my son asked me, "What did you do?" "I don't remember, but it must have impressed Aunt Martha." That's about all I had. Thank you very much. [applause]

Sean Fearns: Thank you, Bill Anslinger. Harry Anslinger's nephew.

Male Voice 4: I wanted to ask about Harry Anslinger's role relating to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs in 1961. That's my understanding and I'm curious what your research has indicated how extensive his role was, as soon as I read the United States was sort of the leading nation in moving toward adoption of the single convention. Do you know how hands he was? Was he involved in the actual text of the single convention and to what extent he had influence in the adoption of that?

Professor John C. McWilliams: I know about the single convention. I know Commissioner Anslinger had input in that, but to be honest with you I can't speak much more specifically about the details of how it's constructed.

Charles Lutz: Likewise on that.

Male Voice 5: When my - I don't need a microphone.

Female Voice 1: Yeah, you do.

Male Voice 5: All right. Is it on? When my great uncle was enjoying his retirement years in Hollidaysburg my father would go out and the family would go out quite often and visit him and my father more so in the family because we were spread hither and yon. And he told him going out several times and Uncle Harry would regale him with tales of mobsters and pursued some mobsters in the mafia and he said, "You should write a book about that." And Uncle Harry said, "Well, there would be a lot of people in danger if I did that." Daddy - "Most of the people you talk about aren't here anymore," and Uncle Harry said, "But I am." I sang with the Choral Society and I needed a tuxedo and so I was 122 pounds and Uncle Harry was a large man - yeah.

He wore a 19 - size 19 collar and so he said, "Well, I have a tux you can use." And he gave me his tux and I gave it to John [01:28:49 unintelligible], a tailor in Altoona who was a member of the police department, but was a tailor on the side. He was also a machine gunner in World War II for the Germans and he [01:29:04 unintelligible] to my size and I wore it for years and years. It was an absolutely gorgeous tux, but he told me that he would have rather I brought in raw material to build the tux rather than cut down my Uncle Harry's tux.

Female Voice 2: All right. We do have one question from our web audience. In your opinion, what was the greatest contribution that Harry J. Anslinger gave to our country? Either one or both.

Professor John C. McWilliams: I would say probably just bringing greater attention to drug use and problems associated with it. I would say educating the public as he attempted to do as he did do very successfully during his tenure and eventually result in laws, reminding us we have to be careful about these substances because we're

moving from a situation as I mentioned earlier where none of them were regulated or criminalized to more closely monitor regulations and to warn us about the potential dangers associated with them.

One more on the other side as I also alluded to is lesser known that the work - Charles did I think briefly in his talk a few minutes ago that what the FBN was - Anslinger and the FBN was doing during the war effort during World War II, for example, and even after that with countries and medicinal drugs and regulating that way and making sure around the world that certain countries were supplied what they needed and watching quotas.

Charles Lutz: I would have to say in my opinion actually two things. One is his contributions in terms of internationalizing drug law enforcement. You know, recognizing that we need cooperation from other countries to solve that problem, posting the first agents overseas to work with host nation counterparts. I think that may in my view be the single most important thing, but I also have to say his stand against the Italian organized crime mafia which no one else at the time was even recognizing or doing anything about and I think he led the way in that regard.

Male Voice 6: I was wondering why Harry Anslinger's plaque was removed or never put up.

Charles Lutz: That's a good question. It's something I hope one day to find out and I have a good friend who's an attorney in Hollidaysburg, Bob Donaldson, who's now here today for this lecture and he's helping me to try and run that down.

Sean Fearns: Gentlemen, I want to thank you very much for being here - Professor McWilliams and retired Special Agent Charles Lutz. Again, a note of thanks to the members of the Anslinger family who are with us. Both speakers made reference to Mr. Anslinger's international travels and his impact on global drug law enforcement and

the donation today to the DEA Museum's permanent collection of these wonderful suitcases if we can catch a shot of one of them with a camera. The larger of the two with his name stenciled on it. The American Legation to the Hague. That would put that suitcase in the era of 1918 to 1921 and almost 100 years ago. And so, Harry is with us in spirit today as we remember his life and his contributions and those of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

The other reference that was made here at the closing was to the mafia. And so, I would invite everyone to come back either here in person or via webcast. Our third and final of the museum's fall lecture series on November 6th at 11 a.m. Eastern. We'll be talking about in-depth the mafia and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics going after organized crime in the United States as part of our 100th anniversary of federal drug law enforcement. So, again, to those joining us via the webcast, thank you. This concludes the live program.

End of Recording.