

LIGHT AND SOUND UNDERGROUND:
A STUDY OF RAVE CULTURE

A Senior Honors Thesis

by

SUMMER GIOIA HARRISON

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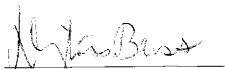
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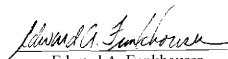
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ABSTRACT

Light and Sound Underground:

A Study of Rave Culture. (April 2002)

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Pulsating colors flash, beat throbs deeper, deeper down, lift me up into this ecstasy: the world of rave. Rave culture is a strikingly significant, subversive subculture of recent and current times. Unique to the subculture are: rave music, rave dance, rave fashion, as well as specific tools and machines (i.e. technology used), behaviors, rituals, mind-altering drugs, jargon, and above all, the ecstatic community events that are raves. A subculture must provide for its participants something that may well be unavailable to them from the dominant culture. This starts with a sense of belonging to a “group” that appeals to them rationally and aesthetically. Rave in particular provides inclusion in an international community, as well as senses of festivity, intensity, emotional release, and collective experience; these in turn invoke alternative ideas/modes of thought and behavior/ways of living. After the death of anti-culture with the punks, effective subculture required a new direction: enter rave, endorsing on one hand a technology-glutted futurism ruled by machine-human interfaces, and at the same time a return to ancient tribal beats and nomadism.

Rave's innovation lies in its extraction from culture of the *essential*: collective experience, festivity, and transcendence; and its exclusion of the superfluous "meaning" centers: politics, ideology, religion, race, ethnicity, even geography. The meaning of rave as a subversive art is not, as many critics claim, merely escapism, but an acute reaction to dominant culture in its offering of the *experience* itself. The cultural value of the rave lies in its construction of a working and contemporary transcendent collective experience, a space for being-in-the-moment. Within and with that act (which is art) a rave gains power to influence the future evolution of human thought and society, and to cut a path back to a once supernatural past, simultaneously in the moment and utterly timeless.

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eternally grateful to my mentors and kindred spirits

Dr. Douglas Brooks and Dr. Victoria Rosner

I've loved being your student, hopefully someday I'll be your colleague

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Pulsating colors flash, beat throbs deeper, deeper down, lift me up into this ecstasy: the world of rave.¹ Rave culture has indeed become its own world, a distinct subculture with rave parties as cultural rituals; I explore this phenomenon by attempting to define and answer questions of gender identity, investigating connections between music and sexuality, and the establishing of rave events as a spiritual meccas for the communities they serve. The new sound of techno/rave music is a manifestation of the rave population's reaction to and against current mainstream society. Thus the music and culture has intrinsic social value, and so becomes a meritable subject for scholarly research.

Researching of rave culture obtains importance because this long-underground group has developed into a major and influential subculture in the U.S. and internationally. As Michel Galliot observes of this significance, "...nothing is in a better position than raves to bear witness to what is happening in and to our time, our community, which now has to invent itself out of the collapse of the myths and ideologies that previously warranted coherence and permanence, and out of the technological development of a world whose boundaries are less and less marked or secured" (20). Cogent critiques inherent in the culture provide insight to perceived shortcomings of dominant society. Although there has been some amount of scholarship

¹ This paper uses the MLA style guide.

devoted to rave culture, many questions about the community have yet to be examined in detail.

CHAPTER II: RATIONALE FOR RAVE STUDY

The study of rave, as a subculture, must begin with at least a general definition of culture and the establishment of present ideas about its study. Cultural studies as a discipline in academia constitute a relatively recent phenomenon emerging in humanities departments in universities across America and worldwide. The field has gained ground as a subject of scholarly study as intellectuals grasp for ways to understand, analyze, and interpret increasingly complex, fractured current cultural realities/events.

Culture as defined by *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, includes:

“the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action, and artifacts and depends upon man’s capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations,” and “the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group.”

Raymond Williams designates culture as a “...particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behavior.” What then does cultural studies encompass? To his previous definition Williams adds that “the analysis of culture...is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life” (57). Cultural studies, as such, is an interdisciplinary field with such objects as popular media, community events/ practices, cultural artifacts, and a society’s thought, speech, behaviors, and physical characteristics. These are thought to be the cultural forms

shaping the meanings of self, identity, ethnicity, race, nationality, class, and gender in everyday existence.

More specifically though, the study of subculture should be the focus of rave research. Dick Hebdige, describes alternative youth subcultures as “the expressive forms and rituals of those subordinate groups...who are alternately dismissed, denounced, and canonized; treated at different times as threats to public order and as harmless buffoons” (2). So depreciated, subcultures, radical youth subcultures in particular, are marginalized not because of cultural “wrongness” (for by being an output of a specific subculture, any cultural object is hence the perfect and genuine expression of that subculture), but because they exist as *opposed* to what is *imposed* on society at large as the innate and/or “right” modes of living. This social oppositionality idea is expounded in the concept of hegemony, “a situation in a which a provisional alliance of certain social groups can exert ‘total social authority’ over other subordinate groups, not simply by coercion or by the direct imposition of ruling ideas, but by ‘winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural” (Hebdige 16). The cultural impact of subversive subcultures then combats the prevailing hegemony, and therefore these marginal communities become crucial living laboratories for alternative ways of being.

Rave culture is one such strikingly significant, subversive subculture of recent and current times. Unique to the subculture are: rave music, rave dance, rave fashion, as well as specific tools and machines (i.e. technology used), behaviors, rituals, mind-altering drugs, jargon, and above all, the ecstatic community events that are raves. Of

course the essential element of any subculture is the people belonging to it, and ravers recognize their position in a distinct subculture outside of what is mainstream and recognize rave as more than an event, but a lifestyle.²

This vibrant and vital community proves a valuable area for scholarly research because it offers to a new generation a new way of thinking about music and community, a new way to relate to technology, a cultural space free of the usual institutions of society, and provides an outlet for the human need for festivity. Rave offers observers and participants a different mode of thought about themselves, human relationships and community, as well as music, emotions, sensuality, spirituality, technology, gender, and infinite other cultural constructs. As compared to pop music, where, as author Simon Reynolds notes, “rock [and any lyrical music] relates an experience (autobiographical or imaginary), rave *constructs* an experience” (9). By not occupying and directing thought to a relatively narrow field of one’s interpretation of specific song lyrics, the mind experiencing rave music becomes free to feel the song in all its colors and shapes, to focus not on the meaning of a series of words or narration, but on the sensations, emotions, and energies wrought of the sounds themselves. Furthermore, rave offers a new way to think about technology in that it removes technology from its traditional role as practical and utilitarian, and turns it into a tool for human ingenuity. A unique situation in society is also provided by rave culture, free of the usual political, class, gender, and racial mores. The very act of being free of all these social institutions/stigmas opens up a new space for being that instead of being focused

² My “Rave Culture Survey,” though not allowed to be used in the field, has been included as Appendix B. Some personal accounts sent to me by ravers have been included as Appendix C.

on a person, or group, or cause, etc. is based, rather, on the *act* of focusing itself. Finally, it is important to study rave culture because it provides a new way for a community to fulfill the human need for the festive. In *Multiple Meaning Techno*, Galliot discusses how festive gatherings purely for a festive purpose are repressed in industrialized societies because purely festive practices are deemed useless, and therefore a threat of disorder. The government gets its power from order, and so the truly festive is replaced by leisure and spectacle, like TV and sports. This reconstitution of accustomed ideals of popular music extends appropriately beyond music to all aspects of the human self and human community, and so forms a new versatile way of life, a life particularly attractive and suited to a technology-whelmed post post modern generation.

CHAPTER III:

RAVE HISTORY: MUSICAL AND CULTURAL ROOTS

Modern “techno” music evolved from a rich background of experimental electronic music pioneers, from John Cage’s avant-garde work combining electronic and concrete sounds to Stockhausen’s experiments with electronic testing equipment.³ However influential the predecessors, the one band generally regarded as the “grandfather of techno” remains unequivocally Kraftwerk. Started in the early 1970’s in Düsseldorf, Germany, Kraftwerk consisted of members Ralf Hütter, Florian Schneider, Wolfgang Flür, and Karl Bartos.⁴ Shortly after forming, they established the famous KlingKlang sound factory, which included tape machines, synthesizers, and other instruments for creating this new brand of industrial electronic music. Infact “kraftwerk” means literally “power plant.” Ralf Hütter and Florian Schneider did not start out their musical careers in the experimental electronic realm though, as both received their educations at traditional Düsseldorf Conservatory. “We were trained on classical instruments, but we found them too limiting,” admits Ralf Hütter in an interview with Andy Gill. “In the old days a pianist would have to practice repetitive mechanical exercises eight hours a day just to keep the fingers supple; with our computers, all this is taken care of, and you can spend your time in structuring the music. Practicing is no longer necessary -- I can play faster than Rubinstein with the computer, so it’s no longer relevant. It’s more about getting closer to what the music is about. It’s thinking and

³ “Concrete” sounds are found real world sounds, like the sound of a train or footsteps. Music made from these sounds was called “musique concrete” in France in the 1940’s and 50’s.

⁴ Wolfgang Flür and Karl Bartos quit the band in the 1980’s to pursue other interests.

hearing, it's no longer gymnastics"(Gill). This attention to "structuring the music" paid off with the 1974 international hit "Autobahn," a track made up of the sounds of driving (i.e. motors, horns, etc), homage to the exhilaration of navigating the Autobahn.

Modern "techno" in a recognized form, arrived with the Kraftwerk-inspired "Detroit techno" movement. Started by three high school friends, Juan Atkins, Derrick May, and Kevin Saunderson, the Detroit scene centered on a black, affluent youth, whose parents held relatively lucrative and secure jobs in the car factories. High school age dance clubs in the city proper became the epicenter for electronic music, clubgoers obsessed with European chic, especially as manifest in Italian disco. The Belleville Three, as the trio became known, started DJing in 1981 (along with various colleagues) at these clubs, under such aliases as Deep Space Soundworks and Cybotron.⁵ Detroit techno music itself evoked an industrialism and minimalism -- the features that would forever define it to purists -- that seemed to seep out of the desperation and emptiness of this decaying post-automotive boomtown, a very cold, hard, and mechanistic inner city environment. "Detroit is such a desolate type city, you almost have to dream of the future to escape the reality of your surroundings," explained Atkins in an interview for the electronic music documentary *Modulations*, "and that was incorporated and instilled in the music."

Almost 300 miles away, in Chicago, another type of electronic music dawned in another type of cityscape. Disco never died in this gay black scene, it evolved into Chicago house. "House didn't just resurrect disco," claims author of *Generation Ecstasy*

⁵ Belleville is their actual hometown, 30 miles outside Detroit.

Simon Reynolds, “it intensified the very aspects that most offended the discophobes: the mechanistic repetition, the synthesized and electronic textures, the rootlessness, the ‘depraved’ hypersexuality and ‘decadent’ drugginess” (24). Chicago’s culture and music fundamentally differed from that of its immediate predecessor in Detroit.

Whereas the Detroit scene comprised a more serious straight black core with almost no drug influence, Chicago housed a flamboyant gay black community with a developed drug culture. As Detroit techno pursued a style more funk-oriented, with its syncopated rhythms, and almost always instrumental tracks, the disco-informed Chicago house produced a more metronomic “four-to-the-floor” beat and often included disco-style diva vocals. This new genre of lush electronica pumped out at blaring volumes to writhing crowds of men at the Warehouse, a gay nightclub, from which “house” music took its name. Soon-to-be-famous DJ Frankie Knuckles had a regular gig there, but later opened his own club Power Plant (probably a reference to Kraftwerk). Though contested, critics generally agree that the first house record is Jesse Saunders’ and Vince Lawrence’s “On and On,” released on vinyl in 1983. Farley Jackmaster Funk and Saunders’s cover of Isaac Hayes’ “Love Can’t Turn Around” in 1986 constituted house’s first international hit. Many of the new house songs became known as “jack tracks,” or tracks to jack to, jack being a type of pogoing jumpy-ish dance. Next came the “acid” sound, acid house characterized by the squelchy bass lines of the Roland 303 bass machine. Today house exists in fragments, splintered into innumerable sub-genres of the original Chicago-born flava.

The last of America's early electronic music hubs is the less well-known New York scene. Frankie Knuckles with friend and fellow DJ Larry Levan had been involved in New York City's disco community in the 1970's, working at the decadent Gallery Club. There the two performed such unconventional duties as spiking the punch, and occasionally the free fruit, with LSD. It was, however, from the Paradise Garage club, a transformed parking garage in SoHo, that Levan made his superstar name, and that spawned the genre name "New York garage." This multi-tiered pleasure palace extended loads of perks to the members-only crowd, including free food, personal lockers, napping areas, the refreshing view of a rooftop terrace, and a stay-as-long-as-you-want door policy. Though the Garage closed in 1987, the still operational Ministry of Sound club in London modeled itself after this New York legend.⁶ Garage music generated by this mostly gay community evokes a comparable (to Detroit and Chicago) focus on a classy and sophisticated style. The genre more closely associated itself with traditional ideas of music (i.e. songs instead of tracks), the influence of soul and R&B, and an adult-oriented maturity.

The Development of a Rave Culture:

Proto-rave culture has its origins on a sun-kissed Mediterranean island far from the European cities that would become its true site of emergence. This dance music fantasyland called Ibiza offered magical open-roof clubs pumping out a *refreshing* variety of tunes for starry-eyed visitors.⁷ A popular vacation spot for English youth, Ibiza introduced many a holiday-seeker to the locally prevalent drug Ecstasy for the first

⁶ Garage DJ Larry Levan died of AIDS in 1992.

⁷ The most famous of these was club Amnesia.

time. Three main DJs emerged from Ibiza paradise to import a version of this island culture to homeland Britain. Now mega-superstar-DJ Paul Oakenfold began his career in the mid 1980's London hip-hop scene as a DJ, promoter, and agent for such acts as Run DMC and the Beastie Boys. But in 1985, he made his first trip to Ibiza and fell in love. Immediately Oakenfold wanted to recreate the magic of the island clubs back home in London, but in 1985 the Ecstasy-dry London club scene seemed unwilling to embrace this kind of culture. The summer of 1987 found Oakenfold again in Ibiza, having rented a villa there. To celebrate his 26th birthday, he invited over friends and fellow DJs Danny Rampling and Nicky Holloway. The trio would never be the same; infected with Ibiza's endlessly alluring lifestyle they "came back in the fall of 1987," having "all taken their first Ecstasy trips in this hippie-ish, under-the-stars, beautiful, open vibe, and wanted to recreate it." They "got back to London, it was probably raining, and they wanted their summer magic back," reflects Push, a music writer and founder of *Musik* magazine, "so they started doing these Ibiza revival nights, playing this Balearic mix, and finding Ecstasy from the few dealers in London or connections back [in Ibiza] to go along with it" (Silcott 31). Each of the three DJs tried their hand at providing a Balearic-style club experience in London, Oakenfold's most successful version being called Spectrum. The event was held weekly on Monday nights at club Heaven starting in April of 1988.

Perhaps the most glorified and legendary of these attempts appeared in the form of Danny and wife Jenni Rampling's soon-to-be-famous club Shoom, which opened in December of 1987 in a gym called the Fitness Center. Shoom seemed part of "this

whole new mentality...It was these suburbanites who'd taken Ecstasy and it was as if they were releasing themselves *for the first time*," remembers Moore, one of the earliest London house DJs (Reynolds 60). In fact the word "shoom" was slang for coming up on E.⁸ Though Shoom had a very strict door policy, inside reined a free-love family-style atmosphere, an atmosphere the Ramplings knew depended on keeping out newbies, hooligans, and the press.⁹ For those lucky enough to be on the inside, Shoom offered nothing less than a deliciously mystical fairy world, with such treats as iced lollies and strawberry-flavored smoke piped into the club. Of it's contemporaries, notes scene author Mireille Silcott, Shoom "was the [club] most rife with the Technicolor back-to-the-sixties, back-to-the-garden, back-to-the-age-of-love idealism" (31).

Last and least insider-cool of these clubs, Nicky Holloway's Trip, developed as the largest one, the most openly druggie, and the establishment easiest to get into. Because of this more open policy, many people from outside the original Balearic group became involved, and therefore attracted much more attention from outside society and the press. Kids would pour onto Charring Cross road Sunday morning, still high, and start dancing to their car stereos. When the police came, they danced to the sirens; the authorities at the time were completely unprepared to deal with this new brand of social deviant.

These new neighbors in London's clubland radically transformed the nature of nightlife, which throughout the 1980's had been dominated by an elitist etiquette. Traditional English clubs involved arriving dressed to impress, according to strict

⁸ E is slang for Ecstasy.

⁹ Newbies are people new to the scene.

fashion codes, drinking, flirting, and posing...but not dancing. The new techno/Balearic clubs changed all that, parishioners turning up in comfortable, baggy clothing, ready to get down and dirty on the dance floor.

Opening winter 1987/spring1988 the clubs were primed for the birth of rave in what would be dubbed the Second Summer of Love. One crucial element in burgeoning rave culture rushed London like fog up the Thames: a small unassuming pill, a revolution called Ecstasy. Suddenly infamous rival soccer hooligans, normally rowdy and violent, would be seen hugging and crying together in the clubs, now so-called "love thugs." The drug seemed to have an overwhelming effect on the English youth and culture, finally loosening an often reserved and inhibited behavior aesthetic culturally in tact there. As this community spread, media attention also expanded, perhaps surprisingly positive at first. Soon, though, scare-tactic articles with titles like "Evils of Ecstasy" began popping up across the country, and reporters claimed E caused horrible hallucinations, panic attacks, and sexual assault, and that it contained such ingredients as rat poison and embalming fluid. Predictably, citizens start demanding its control, and the police inevitably crack down on the popularizing scene.¹⁰ Ironically, the result of extra media and community attention was to bring in more curious and younger suburbanites having just heard of the drug's ecstatic effects. The original Balearic circle, terming the neophyte scenesters "acid teds," felt the ballooning of popularity with these harder-edged, less idealistic kids would ruin the scene they built. Moreover, these very youth would become the next generation of techno-ists, as the old Ibiza crowd retreated

¹⁰ London police later created an "acid squad" with the function of shutting down warehouse parties.

into a more traditional and subdued scene, recoiling toward what at first they rebelled against: flashing trendy designer clothes and doing cocaine instead of Ecstasy.

By that time, people used the word “raving” to describe attending electronic music events at clubs; but the birth of rave in its modern form materialized in part out of the desire of club goers and promoters to subvert the British law that closed nightclubs at 3 am. One early ambitious promoter, Tony Colston-Hayter, organized what could arguably be called the first country rave, titled the Sunrise Mystery Trip, in fall 1988. Bussing partiers from London to Buckinghamshire, his “idea was to turn the confined clubland” of London “into a vast till-dawn fantasticland getaway for thousands of adults” (Silcott 36). Rave events like this quickly spread, increasing rapidly in the summer of ’88. Most of the parties were held in various abandoned buildings and fields along the M25 orbital highway that circles London, and therefore came to be called “orbital raves.”

Colston-Hayter also developed a rave production strategy that would become widely used by promoters. By claiming the rave a private party, he avoided the 3 am shutdown. To advertise, he printed flyers, dishing a lot of hype and giving only a phone number. Ravers would call the number at a specified time to hear a message, left by a cell phone call recorded in the British Telecom Voice Bank system, telling where the meeting point was located. In this fashion, partygoers followed a series of location points that eventually lead to the party site, the idea being that by the time the police arrived the ravers would already be amassed.

Parties grew in frequency and number, and in the summer of '89 the world of raving exploded in London. June 24, 1989, a record 11,000 attended the "Midsummer Night's Dream" rave at an aircraft hangar in Berkshire. As raves gained popularity, promoters began competing, offering bigger and more extravagant events; "as well as brain-frazzling sound-and-visuals, the raves promised sideshows and added attractions like fairground rides, gyroscopes, fireworks, and the soon-to-be-infamous inflatable 'bouncy castle'" (Reynolds 76). Even though the primary Balearic elite opposed the massive "vulgar" raves, they too organized smaller rave events in the country outside London. At "Down on the Farm," a party thrown by Shoom, creative promoters hired a local fire brigade to pump foam onto the crowd.

Inevitably, as raves exploded, so too did police attention. Law enforcement created an immense police database on local ravers, including names, locations, living quarters, license plates and other desired information. The crackdown caused a split in the scene, a portion of the community digging deeper underground, and part going overground; witness the birth of the modern legal commercial rave. Between 1990 and 1992, several commercial rave circuits sprang up in England, including Amnesia, Raindance, Elevation, and many more.

The rave scene would not remain entirely in the London area though. Manchester, already home to a high number of college students and a large gay population, seemed primed to welcome the phenomenon of raves. The district became host for a large rave community, introducing its own species of rave music and transforming into the surreal "Madchester." Madchester fever quickly spread to other

industrial northern towns, all of which materialized around the plethora of abandoned factories and buildings in the post-industrial revolution boom region. Raves took dilapidated and utterly lifeless areas and brought such a raw and vibrant life to them *instantly*, if only for one night. Mancurian sound style, called “scallydelia” (from scallywag), included bands like Happy Mondays and Stone Roses, and focused on a vibe of positivity. Happy Mondays members, then Shaun (vocals), Paul Ryder (bass), Gary Whelan (drums), Mark Day (guitars) and Paul Davis (keyboards), recorded under the influence of Ecstasy, and openly sold E to the crowd at their concerts. They represented the Madchester moment, at the same time scaring everyone else, and the combination exploded their 1990 album Pills Thrills n’ Bellyaches to number one in the UK. Madchester developed a strikingly unified scene, as evidenced by community-made t-shirts reading “And on the Sixth Day God Created Manchester” and “Woodstock ’69, Manchester ’89.” An overall Madchester-ite spirit could be characterized as widespread positivity and a laid back, roll-with-the-punches optimism. This spirit changed as the local police started Operation Clubwatch to monitor drug activity in clubs Hacienda and the Thunderdome, and the scene began to deteriorate from an uplifting vibe to a space gradually invaded by gangs, violence, and harder drugs.

Rave culture in general began losing its once blissfully carefree attitude and heading in a more frenzied mental direction. The new generation of ravers and the sound that came with them was “hardcore;” the insiders’ anthem rang out across the UK: “ardkore you know the score.” Hardcore music, characterized by obvious drug references, looped breakbeats, a proliferation of samples, and the frequent use of sped up

chipmunk and high shrill female voices, took rave to a never-before-seen level of hedonistic insanity. Illegal sampling grew to a rampant height, the hardcore scene introducing a cut-up outlaw culture of bootleg music and pirate radio. Prodigy's 1991 smash "Charly," with its samples from kids TV shows, embodied the hardcore ethos of juvenilia and the recontextualization of popculture icons.¹¹

The hardcore community based itself on a very DIY (do-it-yourself) ethic, which resulted in loads of independent music. A total way of life ensued: DJ's worked in the record store, spun at the club, and made tracks for the tiny independent labels. This cultural aesthetic extended to hardcore ravers, who established all the now familiar staples of rave accessories: white gloves, Vicks Vaporub, surgical masks with the letter "E" painted on them, pacifiers, glowsticks, whistles, beads, etc. Above all though, hardcore culture was a cult of speed. From the fast beat and sped-up vocals to the scene's swiftly changing trends and frantic dance moves, hardcore culture reflected a change from a loved-up E state to the speedy condition of E overuse and the introduction of methamphetamine. In this "emergent anti-culture of instantaneity," the pure rush, the intensity, and the raw energy drew kids seeking a sort of electric shock therapy for otherwise dreary times. A cultural token, Xenophobia's "Rush in the House" commences with the poignant chant "E come alive E come alive E come alive." "It's a quest to reach escape velocity," claimed Reynolds in a 1992 *Wire* article, "speed-freak youth are literally running away from their problems, and who can blame 'em?" Just as the older Balearic and acid house fans were labeled druggie and demented by the

¹¹ Liam Howlett was accused by *Mixmag* of killing rave with kiddie anthems like "Charly."

American inventors of Detroit techno, they in turn branded hardcore an overly drug-riddled and musically perverse scene.

The American Rave-olution:

Techno music originated in America, but only after the cultural development of the scene surrounding the music took place in Britain (and other European countries) was *rave* itself imported back to the U.S. The states did have an early Ecstasy scene in Austin and Dallas nightclubs, where patrons could buy the drug until made illegal in 1985.¹² New York however spawned the first full-bodied American rave scene. DJ/producer and New York native Frankie Bones flew to England in 1989, invited to DJ at a hardcore British Energy Rave for the first time. “When I got up on the stage there were 25,000 people,” remembers Bones in an interview for *Modulations*, “the sun was first coming up and that’s when I went on.” Having had his virgin Ecstasy trip and playing for his first massive audience there, Bones returned home with a passion to bring the world of rave to Brooklyn. With DJ’s brother Adam X and girlfriend Heather Hart, he founded Bones and Co., a rave production company.¹³ The group began throwing illegal “STORM” raves in abandoned warehouses, brickyards, dilapidated stables and construction sites in Brooklyn and Queens. “The early parties were free, but we’d ask for donations to pay for the generator” recalls Dennis the Menace, one of the original DJ/collaborators with Bones, “the less we asked for, the more they gave. That was back when it was *pure*” (Reynolds 145). Brooklyn’s scene enjoyed a short lived-up period

¹² Texas’ scene became tainted when affluent college kids from SMU, who could afford to buy massive amounts of Ecstasy, began taking these massive amounts all at once and unsurprisingly started suffering adverse effects; consequently and also unsurprisingly, their powerful parents began to raise hell.

¹³ Heather Hart published the U.S.’s first rave zine titled *Under One Sky*.

when everyone tried X¹⁴ for the first time, but it was a hard area with a hardened youth and environment, and so the STORM raves adopted a more rough and tough aesthetic. Local police had established the Social Club Task Force to monitor club safety, and then quickly made a Rave Task Force with the mission to shut down parties. In 1992, lighting director Scotto and British DJ DB launched legendary club NASA, acronym for Nocturnal Audio and Sensory Awakening. There kids danced into ecstasy in super baggy pants, with fluffy backpacks, lollipops, flowers in their hair, and smiley faces.

Just as rave spread from the urban center of London to bohemian Manchester, so the phenomenon in New York spread to America's west coast, and particularly to the notably liberal San Francisco area. The first DJ to play house music at a club in San Francisco was Doc Martin, at his weekly club night Recess. However, rave's west coast development derived most of its direction from British expatriates fleeing the "crumbling" scene in England that "was just getting too big and too disgusting and too commercial," recalls expat DJ Jenö (Silcott 52). This group became the Wicked collective, all British expats, including DJ's Jenö, Garth, and Markie Mark, and promoter Alan McQueen, based around an old British sound system crew called Tonka.

Because of the existing culture in San Francisco, the rave community that grew there comprised a more hippie-inspired psychedelic aesthetic than its New York counterpart. Graduate of Berkley and renowned scholar of shamanism and ethno-

¹⁴ X is slang for Ecstasy, a commonly used term in America (while E is used predominately in Europe).

pharmacology, Terence McKenna, briefly got involved with the area rave scene in the early 1990's.¹⁵

The emphasis in house music and rave culture on physiologically compatible rhythms and this sort of thing is really the rediscovery of the art of natural magic with sound, that sound, properly understood, especially percussive sound, can actually change neurological states, and large groups of people getting together in the presence of this kind of music are creating a telepathic community of bonding that hopefully will be strong enough that it can carry the vision out into the mainstream of society. I think that the youth culture that is emerging in the 90s is an end of the millennium culture that is actually summing up Western civilization and pointing us in an entirely different direction, that we're going to arrive in the third millennium, in the middle of an archaic revival, which will mean a revival of these physiologically empowering rhythm signatures, a new art, a new social vision, a new relationship to nature, to feminism, to ego. All of these things are taking hold, and not a moment to soon.

The most legendary of these early Bay Area events were the Full Moon parties thrown by Wicked on secluded beaches outside the city. The first one took place in March 1991; DJ's simply loaded up the sound gear in a truck and drove out to Baker

¹⁵McKenna died of brain cancer on April 3, 2000. He was 53.

Beach. It was completely word of mouth and roughly 80 people showed up. Wicked began holding a monthly Full Moon party, and attendance steadily grew, eventually reaching into the thousands. Free access, the outdoor setting under a full moon and stars, with a hippie-like commune with nature vibe and the raw energy of the gathered people bestowed a surreal magic on these events, unforgettable for participants who appeared “united by this new, euphorically pagan experience. We felt acutely alive,” recalls raver and scene writer Amanda Nowinski; “we were highly conscious of being in this moment together.” Perhaps the most reminisced of the Full Moons occurred in late '92 at Bonnie Dune when a mass hallucination of aliens and a spaceship enveloped the subconscious-fused crowd.

Another Bay Area rave group, the Toon Town production company, consisted of Mark Heley, a philosophy graduate from Cambridge, and Diana Jacobs and Preston Lytton, previous rave promotion partners. Their events introduced new attractions for raves: various virtual reality systems, lasers, and “smart drugs” (amino acids and other nutrients, and herbal medicines). Heley initiated his Silicon Valley techie friends into rave scene and brought cutting edge technology to rave in forms beyond just the music itself. “Our parties were to be a place where people could come and experience technology in a different setting, which would allow them to think differently about it and devise new uses for it,” asserted Jacobs, “...it was embracing technology and cyber-culture not as the enemy but as a way to create community” (Silcott 62).

Eventually, an anti-Brit faction arose in San Francisco, led by house producers the Hardkiss Brothers, Scott Friedel, Robbie Cameron, and Gavin Bieber, who thought

the love-child-ish Wicked parties tired and overrated. They became the most well-known figures out of the SF area.

If San Francisco's rave community took on the flavor of the existing culture, the same happened in Los Angeles, the birthplace of a more fashion conscious, less idyllic scene. Promoters started competing for bigger, more spectacular fully-themed events in this over-the-top glam-studded urban playground. Positively though, raves attracted a wide spectrum of races and socioeconomic backgrounds, helping to promote tolerance and amity between diverse citizens.

To Britain and Back Again:

Back in Britain, the planet rave had come under full governmental attack. The infamous Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill, passed in Parliament on November 3, 1994, targeted squatters, travelers, illegal raves, and free festivals as evils to be eradicated. In the law, "rave" obtained the discriminatory definition of one hundred people playing amplified music "characterized by the emission of a successive repetition of beats." Police were given enormous power to control gatherings even as small as 10 people, and a disobeyed order to disperse could bring an outrageous penalty of three months in prison or a £2,500 fine. Once again the scene split into an overground segment that tolerated the seriously amplified restrictions, and an underground that could not or would not.

At this point, in the mid 90's, electronic music and rave culture in England took a turn toward the darkside. With the Ecstasy honeymoon evaporated and a temporary dip in the quality of pills, it took more and more people more and more tabs to get off, and

the effect of this longtime Ecstasy overload and rising polydrug use was to move the music into a sonically darker space. This space materialized in the form of the novel genres jungle and drum 'n' bass. The name "jungle" originated in Jamaica when local DJ's gave "shout outs" to their brothers in the Kingston neighborhood of Tivoli Gardens aka the jungle. These references to "jungle," recorded on mix tapes coming out of the country, found their way to England where they were remixed and played in clubs. Clubgoers heard the repeated references, and the term ultimately came to represent that whole developing musical style. Jungle music generally consists of more complicated, less repetitive beats than other genres, intricate beats created with such precision that the process became known as "breakbeat science." Perhaps its most significant difference from traditional music is that the rhythm takes full precedence over any melodic elements. "Jungle is a convergence of all kinds of musics that in their own forms would never have mixed," observes music writer/author Kodwo Eshun in his *Modulations* interview. "It's a kind of illogical music which combines the bass of dub, with the breaks of beats, with the synthesizers of techno." The mix of musical styles in jungle echoed in the mix of people that formed the jungle community. By redefining black-dominated hip-hop and reggae elements with the white-dominated hardcore style, jungle initiated a truly mixed race scene and spawned a uniquely British-made music.

Another offshoot of hardcore smashed onto the rave scene with the harsh, industrial sonic jackhammer of the "gabba" (or gabber) sound, a Dutch word meaning "buddy." This music, born of Holland's dockworker buddies' taste for harder beats, inspired a genre fueled by an ever-increasing fetish for (ultra) speed. Gabba

“...becomes a kind of heart attack music because [it] attains such a punishing velocity,” reaching body-warping rates of 180 to 230 bpm, it becomes a “drilling noise which pummels your head and literally drills through your cortex,” explains Eshun; it therefore “allows a certain synaptic rearrangement which is so intense and so strong that it becomes...a war zone, a how much can you take” situation. In turn, gabba spawned other harder hardcore musics that became dominant sonic trademarks in Holland, Belgium, and Germany.

World Rave Present:

Most notable in the recent history of rave in America, the scene is now (2000 thru the present) experiencing the media blitz the U.K. community weathered in the early 90's. This attention causes the public to become aware of raves, many for the first time, yet all they know about the culture feeds directly from biased media coverage, and government and law enforcement condemnations that usually only spotlight drug use at raves. These scare-tactics can be effective, and an uninformed public then cries out for even more of a crackdown of these alleged "dangerous drug dens." As happened in the U.K., predictably, the flood of media attention also prompts curious and irresponsible 13 year old kids to come out to all-ages shows, and, having the same misguided "drug den" picture of raves as their parents, use raves as an opportunity to get "fucked up." Then these kids are the ones who get featured on the next breaking news magazine report implying raves are not about the music but the drugs, which has become a widely believed image both by citizens and law enforcement.

Overseas, the U.K. has long since undergone the splitting of the rave community into diluted legal raves, massive club culture, and an illegal underground scene. In England raving became much more of a widespread national phenomenon early on than it ever has in the U.S. (although its growing rapidly here now), so that after almost 15 years, the scene has weeded out wannabes and hangers-on and is left with true lovers of the music and the lifestyle of rave.

Raving in the present has become a truly international movement, a global tribe with outposts from South America, to Africa (particularly South Africa), a huge scene in

Asia (especially Japan), and all parts of Europe, India, and Australia. Many DJ's who started particular scenes with illegal and/or underground parties, have now become internationally famous commercial mega-stars, cite: Paul Oakenfold, Frankie Bones, and cross-over acts like Prodigy. The music itself has also grown, and constantly continues to grow, new branches of genres and new musics entirely, often developing first out of a particular geographical scene. Although types of electronic music have become almost endlessly splintered, the not-mentioned genres most popular in the present day include: goa and psy trance, u.k. garage, breaks (break beat), hard house, "progressive" anything, speed garage, high-speed dub, screw, and global beats.

CHAPTER IV: MDMA (ECSTASY)

Elemental to the understanding of rave as a music-culture are the physical/psychological effects, as well as musical and experiential ideas surrounding the drug Ecstasy. MDMA (N-Methyl -3, 4-Methylenedioxyamphetamine, pronounced “methylenedioxyamphetamine”) is a chemical compound that in its pure state forms a white crystalline solid, chemically stable and therefore capable of a long shelf life. The compound was patented in 1912 by German pharmaceutical company Merck, and is rumored to have been used as a diet pill, but never marketed. As such, in 1953 the U.S. Army tested several drugs for possible use in psychological warfare, including MDMA, codenamed Experimental Agent 1475. All reports of army use of MDMA on humans remain classified.

MDMA's career as the psychoactive empathogen known today began in the laboratory of scientist Alexander Shlugin, famous among the rave scene today for rediscovering the drug. After earning a PhD in biochemistry from the University of California at Berkeley, Shlugin worked for Dow Chemicals, attaining such professional prestige there as to receive his own lab and a free ticket to explore whatever subject he desired. Consequently he set out formulating and experimenting with psychedelic drugs, manufacturing MDMA in this lab in the 1960's. Although eventually fired by Dow chemicals (presumably because of the social taboos of his research), the drug pioneer published his biography entitled *Phenethylamines I Have Known and Loved*, or *PiHKAL*.

This volume detailed almost 200 psychoactive drugs, and included the corresponding personal drug experiences of he and his wife Ann. Shlugin firmly believed that “no therapist has the right to give a psychoactive drug to another person unless and until he is thoroughly familiar with its effects in his own mind” (Saunders 7).¹⁶

Shortly thereafter Dr. Shlugin introduced MDMA to psychotherapist colleagues, and the drug became popular among a widening circuit of therapists, used frequently to facilitate couple and group therapy. Kept essentially off the streets for several years, by 1977, MDMA appeared at trendy nightspots in Dallas and Austin, sold to clubgoers over bar tops in what came to be one of the earliest Ecstasy scenes in America. Such recreational use of Ecstasy grew throughout the U.S. between the late 70’s and 1985, the year MDMA became an outlaw.

Government prohibition of MDMA has a dubious history at best, beginning indirectly with a tainted batch of China White (a legal substitute for heroin) that surfaced in 1985. In a furious media blitz, reports went wild with poisoning and brain damage resulting from this China White, and MDMA was confused in the media as part of the same dangerous drug wave. As a direct response to the China White scare, Congress passed a law that allowed the Drug Enforcement Agency to place an emergency ban on any substance it deemed an immediate danger to the public. However, instead of merely using the law to ban China White, as had been intended, the DEA placed an emergency ban on MDMA, effective July 1, 1985. DEA officials then consigned MDMA to

¹⁶ He also wrote a similarly formatted volume called *Tryptamines I Have Known and Loved* (TiHKAL).

Schedule 1, the category of illicit drugs reserved for those with the most high potential for abuse, no currently accepted medical use, and a lack of accepted safety for use under medical supervision.

The same year, a group of MDMA supporters, including many psychotherapists who used the drug in treatment, sued the DEA in an attempt to keep the drug from being outlawed, even from medical use. After testimony and evidence given in the hearing to make MDMA permanently illegal, the sitting judge recommended that the drug be placed on Schedule 3, which allows it to be manufactured, prescribed, and researched. However, the DEA patently ignored this ruling and banished MDMA to Schedule 1. MDMA supporters challenged this placement, and won in the Federal Court of Appeals, which charged the DEA to provide legally sound rationale for its Schedule 1 assignment. In response, the DEA cited studies that showed evidence of MDMA-induced brain damage in rats, and erroneously concluded that it would consequently cause brain damage in humans, even though the study showed no evidence of damage in rats at doses equivalent to those used by humans. Psychotherapists also testified to the benefits of MDMA in their practices, but had been unable to conduct scientifically acceptable trials because of the standing ban. Nevertheless, a year later DEA again assigned MDMA to Schedule 1. Without any organized challenge to combat this erroneous criminalization, the drug remains so classified today.¹⁷

Physical Effects of MDMA:

¹⁷ Copies of legal documents in this case, including letters, testimony, evidence, and court decisions, have been included as Appendix H.

MDMA is almost always taken orally, then digested, entering the bloodstream, and so traveling throughout the body including the brain. Action in the human brain is to release serotonin (5HT) and dopamine, neurotransmitters whose changing balance regulates mood (usually responsive to particular situations), reaction to pain, and body temperature. Lasting an average 4 to 6 hours, an MDMA high is commonly associated with feelings of empathy, ease of communication with others, and a sense of well-being.¹⁸ Other dance drugs in the same “family” include MDA, which lasts a longer 8 to 12 hours, but affords a more “speedy,” less empathetic rush, and MDEA with its 3 to 5 hour high closer to that of MDMA, but lacking the communicative nature of Ecstasy.

Immediate side effects of MDMA can include dry mouth, loss of appetite, jaw clenching, and slight nausea. These reactions usually appear at the onset of the drug and wear off quickly, but do increase with higher dose and greater frequency of use. After-effects of Ecstasy use vary from exhaustion to “afterglow,” a lingering pleasant feeling. Heavy users may experience depression, weight loss, inability to sleep, paranoia, or lower back pain; people taking more than one tab per week usually encounter drug tolerance.¹⁹ In most users, after abstaining for one week, the body’s systems return to normal, but heavy users may need to abstain for up to six weeks. Long-term Ecstasy use may result in weight loss (because of increased physical activity and loss of appetite while on the drug) and/or change in sleep patterns.

¹⁸ MDMA can be detected in urine 2 to 5 days after ingestion, depending on the size of the dose, as its half-life is 6 hours.

¹⁹ One tab is one pill of Ecstasy, though actual dose varies from pill to pill.

Medical dangers associated with Ecstasy use can usually be attributed to the way the drug is used or to previous medical conditions exacerbated by the drug.^{20 21} Nearly all deaths attributed to Ecstasy actually result from heat stroke, as the drug permits the body to overheat without discomfort; but, claims Ecstasy-expert Nicholas Saunders, “this only happens to those who take Ecstasy while dancing for hours on end in hot, humid conditions without drinking sufficient water – conditions that might cause heat stroke without a drug” (69). By far, most problems related to Ecstasy result from its manner of use: either prolonged excessive abuse, use in a rave/club setting with irresponsible dehydration and dancing (leading to heatstroke), or from complications of polydrug use. Furthermore, MDMA is not physically addictive, and so has no withdrawal symptoms, but regular users can become psychologically dependent, “although it’s debatable whether it’s the drug or the scene that they’re addicted to” (Saunders 82).²²

Sensory Perception/Social/Rave Use of Ecstasy:

Sensory perceptions of the Ecstasy trip do, of course, vary widely based on setting, dose, personality/state of mind at onset, and expectations. Nevertheless, relative commonalities of experience can be identified. Reynolds describes MDMA as a “remarkable chemical, combining the sensory intensification and auditory enhancement

²⁰ Ecstasy raises heart rate and blood pressure, puts an extra load on the liver, and makes it more likely for people with epilepsy to have seizures.

²¹ An MDMA toxicity study in humans found lower levels of spinal 5-HIAA, and hypothesized that this indicated lower brain serotonin levels and therefore brain damage. However, when they sought evidence to support this finding by looking for impaired brain function, they were surprised to discover that given a standard psychological test, users scored as well in every way as non users except that users scored better in one test: were “less impulsive, more harm-avoidant, and [had] decreased indirect hostility.” “Serotonin Neurotoxicity after MDMA...” *Neuropsychopharmacology*, 1994.

²² Although psychosis induced by Ecstasy is extremely rare, in psychologically predisposed people, it can trigger anxiety disorders (including panic attacks), depression, and mania.

of marijuana and low-dose LSD, the sleep-defying, energy-boosting effects of speed, and the uninhibited conviviality of alcohol. If that wasn't enough, MDMA offers unique effects of empathy and insight" (81). In an attempt to define the sensory effects of Ecstasy, therapists coined the terms "empathogen", or feeling enhancer, and "entactogen," literally "touching within." In fact, the Greek etymological root of "ecstasy," "ekstasis," means "to be placed outside" or "standing outside oneself." This concept of shedding an internal focus and becoming aware of the collective consciousness on an extra-normal level of experience/perception, appears as an overarching motif from rave; whether drug-induced or not, rave seems to engender an "ecstatic"-mindstate.

Though Ecstasy enjoys a broad spectrum of employments worldwide, among them use between friends (frequently to bypass social inhibitions and stimulate meaningful bonding), between couples (to recover intimacy), with family (including parent-child relations), for aid in artistic expression, yoga and martial arts, group rituals, and spiritual exploration, by far the most extensive application internationally developed in the drug's role enhancing dance and fellowship at raves. Ecstasy is a fundamentally social drug, rarely taken alone. In the rave setting, an ecstatic-catalyst induces a remarkable entwining of music, dance, and human interaction that becomes something more than a mere sum of the parts of a party. By "[dissolving] the internal dialogue, and with it self-consciousness," the drug "[allows] the music and movements to blend and [produces] an exhilarating feeling of group celebration" (Saunders 35). This suspension

of internal dialogue and self-consciousness allows a raver to live in the moment, to be in the rave, without past or future.

In fact, rave music has developed various techniques of exploiting textures, timbres, rhythms, and special effects expressly to enhance Ecstasy-based sensitivities. “Processes like EQ-ing, phasing, panning, and filtering are used to tweak the frequencies, harmonies, and stereo imaging of different sounds, making them leap out of the mix with an eerie three-dimensionality,” fashioning the rave track a “forever-fluctuating, fractal mosaic of glow-pulses and flicker-riffs, a teasing tapestry whose different strands take turns to move in and out of the sonic spotlight” (Reynolds 85).

In a larger social context, however, Ecstasy users confront ostracism and criminalization by a society bent on lifestyle censorship and the illogical, merciless quest to fight a “war on drugs.” “Almost every psychoactive drug has been regarded by some society as a dire threat to public order and moral standards, while as a source of harmless pleasure by others,” reports a study by the British Medical Association, “almost every society has one drug whose use is tolerated,” alcohol in the U.S. (and other western countries), “while others are regarded with deep suspicion” (*Living with Risk*). While society condemns the use of certain drugs, responsible citizens recognize that drug use will never be eliminated and acknowledge the need for harm prevention groups to reduce the risks involved for those who choose to take illegal substances. The most well-known of such groups in the rave community is the Dancesafe organization, which provides unbiased information about Ecstasy, tests pills at raves, sells home pill-testing kits, keeps up an online database with pictures and contents of numerous “brands” of Ecstasy on the

street, and warns ravers about dangerous pills going around. An important resource, groups like Dancesafe directly impact the safety of the Ecstasy-using public, yet unfortunately parties who allow these groups to set up testing/information booths are being increasingly targeted by police as promoting illicit drug use. By harassing and threatening promoters into barring harm reduction resources from raves, police simply prevent ravers from having critical information about the drugs they are already taking, not prevent them from using drugs, and therefore create a higher risk for patrons. As such, Ecstasy users risk estrangement from their larger culture, a culture terrified of a lifestyle based on existing outside mainstream and legal realms.

Inside this otherworldly rave realm, Ecstasy aids participants in shedding the phobic skin of society and revealing their essence, without the inhibitions, paranoia, fears, and general neurosis inculcated by society, and so disregards issues of race, class, and sexuality. Ecstasy seems to open a door that once unlocked, can be reentered with musical, visual, and/or tactile stimuli, or even meditation. The experience of the drug itself is essentially what one makes of it, and like any psychoactive drug interface, can be profound or purely meaningless fun/pleasure. Ecstasy simply gives one access to a state of body and mind; what is done in that state makes the difference between recreational use and a life-altering journey of insight -- both uses are fundamentally valuable.

CHAPTER V: GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Crucial in the formation of a rave culture model are the notions of gender and sexuality as defined in an explicit event context. By rendering obsolete conventional ideas about the sexes, rave de-emphasizes gender binaries. This reaction reflects the general tendency of this culture not to attempt new answers to old questions, but by refusing to answer at all, to declare the question itself invalid, thereby responding with a resoundingly loud “_____!”

Rave can reconstitute gender and sexuality for three main reasons. As a revolutionary culture with new music, aesthetics, and community, it shuns traditional roles, and hence creates the space to redefine them. Next, the ecstatic-mindset (drug induced or not) of tolerance and open-mindedness saturating the culture promotes a connection between people at these social events not based on gender. Lastly, unlike other youth nightlife scenes (bars, clubs, etc), raves are not based on sex (arousal, flirtation, or pursuits).²³

The absence of common gender roles appears consistently in widely reported experiences of perceived sex equality and enhanced relatability between the sexes at raves. In fact, a spirit of androgyny characterizes the rave environment, as evidenced not only in direct human interactions, but also by unisex fashion elements (phat pants, t-shirts, visors, sneakers, stuffed animal backpacks, etc) and dance moves/styles. Ecstasy,

²³ “Quite apart from the use of Ecstasy, sexual arousal is common at clubs but not at raves,” (Saunders 42).

and the ecstatic-mindstate, reinforce this aesthetic by improving abilities to communicate, approach and relate to strangers of both sexes, and express affection to either sex. Of course this ideal cannot be perfectly realized throughout an entire diverse subculture, and as raving becomes increasingly popular and mainstreamed, it risks regaining some mainstream constructs of gender.

A seeming paradox of the gender equality on the dance floor, is that overwhelmingly most DJs and producers of rave music are male. This demographic reflects the deep-set male domination of the music industry, and perpetuates itself when males already in the business “pass down” their skills and share equipment with mainly other males. Though male domination is as prevalent here as in other popular musics, the reaction to it by females in the business reinforces the gender-less rave ideal with anti-Lillith-Fair-esque attitudes towards their position in the industry and the music they make and spin. Most female DJs vehemently object to being identified by or recognized for their sex before their music; says veteran DJ/producer Charlotte in an interview with *XLR8R* magazine, “repeatedly emphasized is the fact that I’m the ‘girl DJ’ rather than the fact that I can and do play a wide-ass scope of music and really make it flow. I know I’m not the only one mixing up genres, but I am also not only a woman.” Important female DJs like Heather Heart, Sandra Collins, Dazee, DJ Marisha (aka Lotus Queen), and the Reverend Kathy Russell, continue to defy gendering, thereby creating space not only for an expanding new generation of female DJs, but for female musicians of all musics to practice their art and escape gender-stereotyping at the same time.

Perhaps rave culture can dispense with viewing these female musicians as sexual objects because the performance rituals for the music, raves, are not underwritten by sex as a primary motive for participation. This essential characteristic creates for participants a plastic, infinitely redefinable space both free from sexual pressure and accepting of alternative notions of sexuality. Raves have never been designed for “picking up” men or women, not to say that sexual attraction is completely absent, or even that some do not become sexually involved, but sex is not the principal objective at a rave any more than doing drugs – it remains secondary to the music, dance, and community experience. Raves lack the grinding “dirty” dancing of clubs, and the overt “chatting up” of prospective sexual partners as in bars.

This sexual freedom engenders not only the tolerance of, but full acceptance, even sometimes celebration, of alternative sexual orientations. The history of rave inextricably involves connections with homosexuality, one of the earliest and most influential electronic music scenes emerging out of gay “house” clubs in Chicago. This and many other strong ties to the gay community caused rave culture to develop inherently more progressive attitudes especially concerning public displays of affection. Same sex sensual contact is so common at raves not only because of the androgynistic spirit that discourages gender-dominated interactions, but moreover because the removal of social stigmas surrounding these interactions allow even heterosexual people to freely experience human touch/closeness with either sex without being judged and labeled as in other social settings.

For women, rave's nonsexual nature provides a uniquely protected haven; reports Sheila Henderson for the Manchester harm-reduction organization Lifeline, "the sexual safety of raves is an attraction, compared to the atmosphere in alcohol-based clubs, which are seen as 'meat racks.' Girls sometimes enjoy kissing at raves because it feels good but is 'safe,' not leading to sex."²⁴ In interviews, Henderson found that:

Getting drunk and finding a sexual partner for the night was *definitely* frowned upon as a boring and very limited pastime in comparison. Taking drugs that make you feel confident, physically and mentally sensitized and 'love' yourself and everyone else - in a stimulating environment where large numbers of other people are doing the same - clearly had much more to offer. In short, instead of being tied to a boyfriend, having to stick close to friends, feeling self-conscious about appearance or dance-style or intimidated by attention from men, the young women occupied this social space with confidence, circulating and meeting new people independently.

By gaining the freedom -- for women *and* men -- to interact without their actions being interpreted as sexual advances, both sexes can communicate in an uninhibited discourse unavailable outside the rave.

Where raves lack sexual overtones, they fundamentally court sensuality. An obvious instance of this sensual focus at raves, "e-puddles" (groups of touching people on Ecstasy) form to provide comforting human touch, and

²⁴ Henderson states that in fact most men on Ecstasy have the opposite of an erection, a shrinking penis.

enhance bodily sensations already heightened by the music, environment and drugs.²⁵ Regardless of drug use, concepts of “personal space” seem generally less rigid, people more receptive to physical closeness. Though often misrepresented, “E’s reputation as the ‘love drug’ has more to do with cuddles than copulation, sentimentality than secretions... recoiling from our sex-saturated pop culture, rave locates bliss in prepubescent childhood,” (Reynolds 247).

Instead of actual sex, other stimuli at raves invoke intercourse-like sensory paradigms; music performances often (sometimes more overtly than others) patterned with series of smaller peaks and lulls and a culminating climax. This sensory manipulation enables listeners to derive the satisfaction of climax in aural form.²⁶ In *Human Traffic*, an independent film about rave culture, a character explains, “I’m having sex with music, mate, and believe me I can go all night.” One track even layers a woman’s orgasmic moans over the electronic music that parallels the peaks and climax of the voice itself, further emphasizing the idea of aural orgasm.

²⁵ E-puddles have developed a negative social stigma as overt displays of drug influence that causes the scene to be misrepresented to police and media who often fixate on these groups.

²⁶ The lights and other visuals also help form peaks and climaxes.

CHAPTER VI: COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE

Constantly splintering music genres and ever-morphing local scenes are evidence of rave's quality of rapid cultural change. As the scene alters and develops very quickly, in matters of months rave communities can completely transmute and wholly new ones appear. In Europe rave exploded almost immediately into a huge subcultural phenomenon, and has since branched out immensely; in the U.S., however, rave remained more underground for a decade. Only in the last couple of years has the U.S. seen a nationally widespread torrent of media and government attention to reflect rave's not insignificant youth population. This attention, largely negative, has broadly and profoundly affected U.S. rave scenes, forcing them into heavily restricted venues under oppressive regulations or running promoters out of operation completely. Some factions of the scene, however, have been and will continue to be able to outrun cooptation by the leisure industry because of the guerilla-like tactics of rave's underground: illegal parties, pirate radio, independent record cutting, and even the tons of localized "house parties," many spontaneous, featuring neighboring DJs and community members.

It is these illegal free raves, where no authority exists except the individual, that embody Hakim Bey's temporary autonomous zones (TAZ) best, "a microcosm of that 'anarchist dream' of a free culture;" a culture that necessitates coalescing temporarily and then disbanding to avoid appropriation (105). In fact, the whole of rave culture offers a feeling of transience, of ephemerality, of an existence on the fringes of larger society and thus able to quickly fluctuate, reflecting changes in both the mood and

situation of the culture's participants. In this way, the rave community has developed as a contemporary nomadic culture, a loosely-defined group of dispersed individuals and small groups, that travel to and congregate at raves, outside of which they mainly connect on the Internet (rave web sites, chats, and list serves). Thus constituted, rave communities avoid concerns with race, religion, socio-economic status, or politics, and so sidestep these criterion either as determining or excluding factors for the community and its gatherings. Phillip Gochenour notes that "the concept of nation-state citizenry," underlying most societies, in rave "begins to give way to the concept of being a member of a global tribe that transcends national borders, and the highly dangerous practice of nomadism." If raves attempt to subvert the nation-state, they then become a threat to order, which is really the threat of introducing a new way of establishing community with "tribes" not conformant to either the laws or ideologies of the state, and must hence be censored and suppressed. Indeed, rave culture only exists in pure form within an actual rave gathering, the evanescent, mobile, fluctuating flashes of ecstatic transcendence.

What enables this *human* ecstatic state are *machines*, that make the music, play the music, power the lights and lasers, and supply countless other electronic and digital effects. The rave community has reclaimed technology and uses it not traditionally, or for a practical production-oriented purpose, but actually as a sole medium through which to express creativity. Though records themselves represent a time-worn medium, the technology used to create the sounds put out on wax and to spin, manipulate, and mix the records continually develops; rave music evolves parallel to advances in computer-

based music technology.²⁷ The ability to exploit technology in unique fashion for the new kind of space that rave constructs, has perhaps only been conceptually possible for a generation grown from birth in a heavily technologically-saturated world, making youth not only comfortable with technology -- but with using it to enhance experience in ways that a less exposed generation may not like or understand. And yet, the technology that allows individuals to communicate with more people more efficiently, also isolates them, so that all interaction is mediated by machine interfaces, resulting in ever fewer person-to-person exchanges. Raves directly oppose this condition by using technology not to merely bring people together, but to provide the means for a concentrated form of physical and intellectual relations between humans that ascend into the spiritual. Because western society's become increasingly desensitized, exhibited by increasingly hi-tech TV/movie special effects and extremely sophisticated computer and video games, to produce this kind of technologically-satisfying experience requires more sensory-dense environments (and more sensory-rich drugs) to entice and stimulate youth.

Toward this end, raves usually strive to build the most complete alter-reality possible in a venue or site. Environment saturation implies a fully sensuous experience to be had at raves: drowningly loud music and base, dazzling and disorienting lights/lasers/strobes/projected images/light shows and other visual displays, titillating and soothing human touch. For those on Ecstasy, Vicks Vaporub, tiger balm, clothes dryer sheets, perfumed stickers, etc stimulate the olfactory, while varieties of candy

²⁷ Some DJs now spin CDs, new units and software allowing manipulation, mixing, and even effects like scratching for CDs. Currently overwhelmingly most DJs still prefer to use records.

flavors flood the taste buds, and skin toys and tricks, like feathers, play-dough, scratching with fingernails, and massaging, further induce excitation. Why then do ravers seek this over-stimulation? It is a quest for a missing intensity by a jadedly numbed youth, the demand for something raw and human, and at the same time inhuman (technology), to forge a fulfilling, encompassing collective experience in the present-day milieu.

This experience ravers often claim to be deeply spiritual, yet the culture has no direct ties to any established religion. As a significant force in rave culture, Ecstasy use often catalyzes spiritual encounters, and has been consistently employed in personal and group rituals and spiritual journeys throughout the world. Not limited to non-orthodox application, MDMA finds service in traditional religions as well. Nicholas Saunders interviewed several religious leaders who have used Ecstasy in practice. One Benedictine Monk, Brother Bartholomew, describes the effect of MDMA as “opening a direct link with God,” and reported that “he has experienced a very deep comprehension of divine compassion,” and “never lost the clarity of this insight,” which “remains as a reservoir on which he can draw.” Although he believes that Ecstasy should be reserved for serious god-seeking, and not for fun at raves, he recognized how the drug creates an “intimate space in conversation...that is inner, without masks, without pretense, utterly open and honest” (116). Next, a Rabbi at a London Synagogue confessed that he “was aware not only that dancing on MDMA could be a spiritual experience, but that mysticism was now more readily available on the dance floor than in churches, mosques, or synagogues” (120). When taken to his first rave, Rinzai Zen Monk and Teacher

Bertrand exclaimed: “This is meditation – to be truly in the moment and not in your head!” Bertrand further described how “he saw that everyone was totally absorbed in their dance without self-consciousness or internal dialogue, and that this was the very essence of meditation” (120).

In fact, many people claim to be able to recreate specific sensations and/or revisit a state of mind reached during a rave with various methods of meditation. Within the rave context manifests the concept of “techno-shamanism,” or the use of technology-based tools in shamanistic practices. Some view the DJ as a shaman figure, a harmonic navigator directing the music experience to heal and enlighten the collective body of ravers, as traditional shamans heal ailing community members and lead group explorations of spiritual mind states. Shamanistic or otherwise, rave provides a link to the sacred without the religious and/or social rituals that usually accompany: the sacredness *is* the collective experience of being-in-the-moment; this is the source of rave’s sense of spiritual fulfillment.

Rave, as pure revelry, also fulfills the human need for the festive, for the utterly celebratory gatherings of a nomadic culture. The “permanent revolution which endlessly modifies social structures and attempts to set up new ones,” argues Jean Duvignaud, seems to be “concentrated in ecstatic ceremonies;” today these ecstatic ceremonies exist in raves. Rave satisfies the need for festive because it “has not been subordinated to any outside goal or usefulness. It may indeed mean the suspension of those goals, momentarily interrupting the teleological logic humans assume in their productive activities,” claims Michel Galliot; and this temporary suspension is necessary to a

satisfying lifestyle (22). Modern western societies have judged festive practices not only useless and dispensable, but also a potential danger because they threaten to disrupt the order from which the government obtains power, and therefore, observes Galliot, must be replaced with leisure and spectacle (TV, radio, sports) so that “participants can have fun without ceasing to consume or overstepping the bounds that keep them isolated or closed up within themselves” (29).

Raves provide a cooperative opportunity to in fact overstep those isolating boundaries by forming a community ritual, a concept supported in relevant critical research. Culture philosopher and experimental electronic musician Genesis P.Orridge contends that rave and techno culture has “reduced down in the West for the first time what is so-called popular music and youth culture to a ritual which admits to and utilizes the most arcane and ancient methods for achievement of altered states...” (*Better Living Through Circuitry*). Of course most indigenous cultures used/use psychotropic substances as part of their culture/community interactions, as throughout history man has sought enlightenment through heightened extra-normal states. Progressive DJ BT studied “indigenous rituals performed by shaman” that “beat a drum at a certain number of wave cycles per second, usually 4 to 6 cycles/sec,” while someone else “[fans] the flames of a fire at the same time, at the same speed,” enabling ecstatic trances and the participants to “entrain into this [altered] brain state.” This auditory and photic driving, explains BT, induces the same reactions as like-tempo techno music (especially repetitive trance music) and the strobes and lasers of raves (*Better Living Through Circuitry*). As a ritual for getting outside oneself, raves help participants to temporarily

exceed their everyday lives and routines, surpass their bodily limits (by dancing for hours upon hours), and transcend their own self-consciousness. Through the breaking of daily custom, the liberation of the physical body and ego, ravers then connect with other, similarly freed ritual participants; these temporary states can lead to long-term positive changes, not only in ravers themselves, but as microcosmic examples of an enlightened and empathetic communal space.

CHAPTER VII: FASHION AND STYLE

As with most youth subcultures, the rave world has developed a set of distinct and ultra-unique fashions. From the relaxed bohemian-inspired duds of old skool Ibiza, to the laid-back demeanor of scallydelia reflected in the baggy Mancurian style, and the early 90's British introduction of such accessories as both floppy and woolly hats, white gloves, gas masks, whistles, and glowsticks, the rave community has gradually carved out its own fashion niche. American rave styles began by mimicking the British, a cultural product of rave music's reimportation to the U.S. Not surprisingly, San Francisco area ravers favored a more hippie-reminiscent psychedelia, while the east coast spawned a harder edged, hip-hop influenced mode. As the rave wave swelled, American kids amplified even further rave's adoption of a childhood inspired anti-vogue, complete with cartoon character shirts, baby T's, bright colored everything, pigtails, glitter, stuffed animals, and even pacifiers.

The fashions of a subculture constitute a more important tale than a mere apparel fad, and so become an important cultural marker. In this way, reasons Hebdige, "the most mundane objects," in rave's case bead bracelets, fuzzy animal backpacks, or glowsticks, "take on a symbolic dimension, becoming a form of stigmata, tokens of self imposed exile" (2). Modern sporters of these cultural "tokens" have also developed genre-specific fashion styles.

Many staples of rave garb bear specific and practical functions. For example, pacifiers ease Ecstasy-induced teeth grinding, and glowsticks are used in various types

of dance, most notably liquid and poi. Beaded bracelets, called “candy,” represent an enduring rave accessory that captures the do-it-yourself unique vibe general of rave fashion. These artifacts are homemade from cheap plastic beads, instilling a one-of-a-kind tribal craft quality, and then worn and traded at raves with newly met friends and amicable strangers. Perhaps the most widespread rave article, phat pants (pants or jeans with very wide leg bottoms), merge function and fashion by aiding in the convincing performance of aforementioned liquid dancing and by providing a recognizable (not to mention comfortable) style for ravers in and even outside of a rave event. As a rule, attire originality is greatly encouraged in the rave scene, as evidenced not only by the unconventional styles, but also the presence of small raver-owned clothing companies, and homemade costumes. This very lax fashion etiquette empowers ravers to transform themselves at will with eccentric apparel and accessories, creative hair and makeup, into one loud proclamation of self-expression. Yet the rave aesthetic remains a strange mix of culturally significant, elaborate fashion elements, and an equal ability to ignore all of them, and still be accepted, making an individual and communal statement of style, or anti-style as it may be.

In the broader social milieu, according to Hebdige, fashions pose a “challenge to hegemony...expressed obliquely, in style.” It’s in the phat pants and “candy” bracelets that “the objections are lodged, the contradictions displayed...at the profoundly superficial level of appearances” (17). This clash with the dominant culture literally manifests itself in stereotyping and police targeting of persons dressed in rave gear, perhaps best conveyed by a quasi-humorous t-shirt that reads: “Arrest me. I’m a raver.”

Nevertheless, throughout rave history and today, these recognizable fashion components also serve to help identify ravers to each other in the outside world, and thus provide an immediate shared connection in an oft-alienating society.

CHAPTER VIII:

DANCE

Rave music, as opposed to some other types of electronica, was *made* to dance to!²⁸ Until the record's been spun by a DJ, on a rave sound system, and then translated into motion by dancers at a rave, it falls critically short of its intended cultural purpose. For the subculture, dance ranks as an indisputably essential element within the intense mix of stimuli that are raves, cited continually as a main reason for attending. Contemporary rave dance traces its roots to what John Clarke dubs the western "rock dance" tradition beginning in the 1960's, where partners do not touch and "various parts of the body" are used "in segmented, sequential, rhythmic action..." (90). From the "jack your body" pogo of gay house clubs, to the first white-gloved liquid kids, the history of rave dance reveals the development of a distinctive and well-skilled body of dancers.

Particular styles of dancing often correspond with the genre of music being danced to, hence a splintering of genres answers with a diversification of moves. Well-known current dance styles include, among many, (and with very crude generalization), liquid (a fluid dance involving wave-like motions of the entire body, that practitioners often claim is addictive), stomp (a hard, usually fast, and violently energetic dance for harder beats), sparring (a kind of mock dance/fighting), strings (glowsticks or other lights swung on strings in free-flowing patterns), and hip-hop-culture-borrowed popping and breakdancing. However these dance "genres" merely constitute a background style of

²⁸ Accordingly, rave music is often classified or referred to as *dance* music.

movement, there being no specific succession of steps defined, so that each dancer must interpret and construct their own actual dance performance with these basic techniques and/or original moves. Skill and especially innovation on the dance floor reach social hero status in the frequently and spontaneously occurring group dance pattern of spectator-circle surrounding alternately performing highly energetic and creative dancers.

But as these dancers need rave music, so the music in turn needs them. Kai Fikentscher explains this necessary duality in his book on New York City's underground dance music scene:

“Just as the technology of musical mediation is the instrument sine qua non for the production, actualization, and performance of dance music as a sonic phenomenon, the human body, through dancing, becomes the instrument sine qua non for the production, actualization, and performance of dance music as visual and physical phenomena” (67).

In symbiotic condition, the DJ booth, the source of the music, and the floor, the source of the dance, intricately interact, feed off of, and communicate with each other, both required to fulfill the cultural position of the music experience. A good DJ will impel dancers to respond to their beats, and then actually respond back themselves, with mixes (and other devices like scratching) and track-selection, according to the dance-reaction (i.e. highly energetic/expressive or lackluster) of the crowd. It is this energy exchange, this symbiotic circle between dancer and DJ, which becomes the foundation for the

house “vibe” of a particular rave night. Ravers will define the “vibe” of an event in varied objective and subjective ways, as it includes the overall sense obtained from the venue (size/shape/organization of rooms, textures, decorations, lights, visuals, sound system), the ravers (mood, fashion, amount and quality of personal/collective interaction, feeling of community), and the music and DJs (genres of music, tempo, volume, DJ’s skills/interaction/responsiveness to crowd and vice versa).

Dancing within this vibe can make for a profound individual and collective experience, as the socially tolerant atmosphere of the general rave extends to bodily movements, engendering an atmosphere of physical self-expression unbounded by “normal” taboos. As Fikentscher observes, in redefining “privacy, etiquette, self-presentation, and sexual expression,” dance “has the potential to liberate the self (mind/body) from dominant modes of thinking and behavior...impacting the way one thinks about oneself as a gendered human being, and/or about others who may belong to a different ethnic group, and/or may express a different sexual orientation” (65). By exhibiting intensely individual dancing, and yet existing within a collective dance-body, ravers transcend barriers not only between themselves and those of other ages, classes, and races in that body, but between their own egoic bodies and the music that moves them.

CHAPTER IX: LANGUAGE AND JARGON

The rave subculture provides a laboratory for language study, as its fast-changing culture mirrors its similarly fast-changing rave-specific lexicon and semantic inventory. My own linguistic investigation, assembles apt rave terms, then researches and records their meanings from verbal use by actual ravers, analyzing them linguistically, and probing their origins.²⁹

“rave” – n. a party or gathering of people, involving a DJ, (using electronic/programmed music and techniques of spinning along with light effects to create a specific experience), and the ravers (dancers and others) who attend. v. act of attending one of these gatherings

The dictionary definition of “rave” gives insight into its history of meanings and changing use: “vb. 1. a: to talk irrationally or as if in delirium b: to declaim wildly c: to talk with extreme enthusiasm 2. to move or advance wildly.” Used as a noun, “rave” is “1. an act or instance of raving 2. an extravagantly favorable criticism” (*Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary*). Raving retains association with acts of enthusiasm, only in the music festival context, the wildness of verbal antics have been transferred to acts of passionate dance; most “ravers” claim dancing one or the main reason for attending a rave.

The first use of “rave” as a noun to denote an event, was at Pink Floyd’s “All Night Rave” at the Roundhouse club in October 1966, though this event has no direct

²⁹ I have also assembled a “Rave Culture Glossary,” helpful for uninformed readers, and included as Appendix A.

correlation to modern raves. “Raver,” a noun to describe someone who raves, also has a history beginning in the 60’s, when the *Daily Mail* employed it in 1961 to condemn rowdy jazz fans at the Beaulieu Jazz Festival. Later “raver” was made to depict insane teen girl fans and groupies in a TV documentary, and later appeared in the lyrics of the 1972 David Bowie song “Drive-In Saturday.”

“PLUR” – acronym. Peace, Love, Unity, Respect

This acronym states the major philosophy of the community, and became important rave jargon, pronounced [plʌr]. The familiar maxim also takes on many other forms and parts of speech, creating new words by a process of functional shift; for example, “plurry,” “plurified,” and “plurrific.” It can also be used as a noun, as in “she has so much plur,” or a verb, as in “he plurred me to death.”

As the term has been in existence since the mid 1980’s, its original connotation has changed, a weakening of meaning, so that now it is sometimes used tongue-in-cheek. In addition, there has recently been a move to add a second R to the acronym for “responsibility.” This conscious change of the meaning of PLURR reflects the cultural change-in-direction toward sober parties that present a more publicly “responsible” front because of media attention and law enforcement.

“spin” – vb. the act of mixing and playing records

This term originated from the association with the spinning action of records round the turntables. DJs actually make the records spin (control speed, timing, scratching, etc.), and so therefore engage in the act of spinning.

“trainwreck” – n. an unsuccessful attempt at beatmatching, results in a cacophony of sounds

The term implies the sonic effect produced by having two conflicting records playing at the same time, as analogous to two trains with different whistle tones and speeds colliding: an acoustic mess.

“Ecstasy” – n. MDMA (methylene dioxymethamphetamine), a drug that induces a euphoric state of happiness, love, and energy; slang: X, E, XTC, Adam

A dealer first called the drug “empathy,” however not a catchy or sexy name, then changed it to “ecstasy” which subsequently caught on.

“candyflip” – vb. to take Ecstasy with LSD

“hippyflip” – vb. to take Ecstasy with mushrooms (usu. psyclobin)

“methamphetamine” – n. stimulant drug that keeps one awake, gives energy, makes one very hyper, highly addictive drug; slang: meth, speed, crystal, tweak, glass, ice

Prominent slang names of this drug, “glass,” “crystal,” and “ice,” seem to evoke the similar qualities of transparency, hardness, and colorlessness. As far as can be gathered from sources, the order of development of these terms was crystal to glass to ice, by process of metaphoric extension.

“roll” – v. to be high on Ecstasy (*Are you rollin?*) n. the experience had while one is high on Ecstasy (*I had a great roll last night.*)

Here the final [ɹŋ] is always made [ɹn]. In fact if one pronounced the word with final [ɹn] (*are you rolling?*), other ravers might think they were a narc (narcotics officer). This phrase itself is an exceedingly common utterance at raves, usually

crunched together into [rʊrɒlɪŋ]. Another use, the phrase “rollin balls,” means to be extremely high on Ecstasy, to be rollin very hard.

“trip” – v. to be high on a hallucinatory drug, usu. acid or shrooms (*Are you trippin?*) n. the experience had while one is high on hallucinogens (*I had a smooth trip last night.*)

As with “rollin,” “trippin” is pronounced with a final [ɪŋ]. Users report a seeming “trip,” or journey, outside of normal reality, which usually lasts 6 to 10 hours, but depending on dosage can last much longer. “Trippy,” a now well-integrated adjective, generally refers to the visual appearance of something or some act that seems especially surreal on hallucinogens. To “fry” also denotes the action of tripping, but is only used to describe an LSD trip.

“E-puddle” – n. a group of people who are high on Ecstasy and sit together, usu. on floor of a rave, and talk, give massages, and play with roll toys

“Puddle” imparts the appearance and dynamics of these amoebas, which seem liquid (people massaging and touching) and look to grow, like drops in a puddle, as more people plop down into the amorphous group. In a semantic degradation, the once neutral term has obtained a negative connotation, because of dancers complaining of e-puddles in the way of the dance floor, and because of their often too overt display of a drugged state.

“E-tard” – n. 1. a person who is high on Ecstasy and whose ability to function in various ways seems somewhat impaired 2. a derogatory term given to any person high on Ecstasy by a person not high on Ecstasy

“roll toy” – n. a toy that in some way enhances the Ecstasy high, or is fun to play with while high on Ecstasy

Examples of roll toys include play-dough, markers (to draw on skin), fuzzy anything, glowsticks and other lights, stuffed animals, and massagers.

“rush” – v. to come up on an Ecstasy high. n. the feeling when the drug first starts to take a big effect

A synonym for this term used in the late 1980’s/early 1990’s was “shoom,” related to the club “Shoom” started in 1988 by Danny and Jenni Rampling.

“techno” – n. an specific electronic music genre; a general term used to describe any form of electronic music that developed out of house and disco (aka electronica)

Originally in the rave scene “techno” referred to Detroit techno, a specific early genre of electronic music. After its semantic extension, techno attained a broader meaning, referring to all types of rave music, but is typically only used in this generic sense by people uninformed about rave music genres.

CHAPTER X:

GOVERNMENT AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

As a movement with roots in illegal “one-off” parties and pirate radio, rave still exists at least partially outside the realm of government control (whether it be actually illegal acts or a radical way of thinking), making it a prime target of prejudice and censorship. Throughout its existence, the culture has endured a consistent history of government and law enforcement discrimination. Rave seems merely the next victim in a long tradition of blatantly sensationalist propaganda, from the anti-hippie initiative of the 60’s (with infamous films like “Reefer Madness,” “The Weird World of LSD,” and the “Hippie Temptation”), to the so-called “War on Drugs,” that add to countercultures’ mistrust of the government and media as information sources.³⁰

Although much too numerous to account for all cases here, examples of this discrimination reveal apparent government vendettas against raves. In the early American scene, for instance, promotion crew Drop Bass Network threw a Grave Rave on Halloween night 1992. Police stormed the party, arresting organizers along with 973 attendees! Each person received a \$325 ticket for “aiding and abetting the unlicensed serving of alcohol,” a trumped-up charge as the only alcohol found were nine beer bottles behind the DJ booth. About 400 of those charged pleaded not guilty, and the police ended up dropping the charges because of bad publicity. Unfortunately all those discriminated against do not get off so easy, leading to the involvement of the American Civil Liberties Union and the creation of the *Electronic Music Defense and Education*

³⁰ Included as Appendix D is a timeline of United States substance control. A 2002 drug offender statistic has been included as Appendix E.

Fund. EMDEF's Mission Statement reflects this need to protect community leaders; "to raise and provide funds for legal assistance to innocent professionals in the electronic dance music business who are targeted by law enforcement in the expanding campaign against 'club drugs.'"

One of the most widely publicized recent cases centers on a New Orleans club, the State Palace Theater, operated by Barbeque of New Orleans, Inc. President Robert Brunet, his brother Brian Brunet, and rave promoter Donnie Estopinal were indicted in January 2001 for violating the 1986 federal "crack-house" law, designed to combat operators of drug dens. The group faced jail time of up to twenty years and fines of up to \$500,000 for operating a home or establishment with the intent of illegal drug use. Lacking evidence against the promoters, the U.S. attorney's office dropped all charges against the men themselves and the final plea bargain, reached June 13th, stated that the company must pay \$100,000, for allowing its premises to serve as a site for the use and distribution of drugs, and agree not to sell glowsticks or pacifiers at future raves, or provide "chill rooms" for ravers to cool down, as these things were allegedly evidence of drug activity.³¹

The ban took effect in early August, and the ACLU filed suit against it August 21st, in McClure vs. Attorney General Ashcroft.³² After a hearing, U.S. District Court Judge G. Thomas Porteous Jr. blocked the ban with a temporary injunction, allowing a scheduled rave to include planned performance acts that used glowsticks. A final ruling

³¹ Estopinal never actually agreed to the plea bargain banning those items.

³² McClure is a member of techno performance group, Rabbit in the Moon, who use glowsticks and other glowing props in their act.

and definitive rave community/ACLU victory was handed down on February 4, 2002, with Judge Porteous permanently preventing federal agents from banning rave items, and charging that “the government cannot ban inherently legal objects that are used in expressive communication because a few people use the same legal item to enhance the effects of an illegal substance.” Judge Porteous further expounded into the nature of constitutional problems with the case, explaining that “when the First Amendment right of Free Speech is violated by the Government in the name of the War on Drugs, and when that First Amendment violation is arguably not even helping in the War on Drugs, it is the duty of the Courts to enjoin the government from violating the rights of innocent people.” Graham Boyd, Director of ACLU’s Drug Policy Litigation Project, also commented, saying the case’s “decision should send a message to government that the way to combat illegal substance abuse is not through intimidation and nonsensical laws.”

A similarly structured and prominent case originated in Panama City Beach, concerning Club La Vela, the largest nightclub in the Florida. Brothers Patrick and Thorsten Pfeffer were indicted May 5th, 2001 with the same crackhouse law as the New Orleans case, but with an added Criminal Forfeiture motion that would allow law enforcement to seize the assets of those charged even before a guilty verdict. Seized assets were to be distributed to local law enforcement (80%), charities (5%) and the federal government (15%). However, as the case turned out, no drugs were ever found on the accused or in the club; in fact no evidence ever linked the owners to drug possession, sales, distribution or manufacturing of any kind. Instead, prosecution cited Blow Pops, gum, glowsticks, and an image on the club’s website of a man massaging

another man as evidence of drug activity. Jurors spoke clearly though, when on November 27, 2001, after less than two hours of deliberation, they returned with a verdict of “not guilty” on all charges for defendants Patrick and Thorsten Pfeffer.

Examples of similar police harassment in Texas occur more and more frequently as rave-paranoia sweeps the state and the country. The *Dallas Observer* on June 28, 2001 ran a story entitled “The Right to Rave,” in which Jonathon Fox recounted the making of “Truth 2.01,” the debacle party thrown by local DJ Sean Anderson. The event was legal and set to take place at the Forest, a venue near Fair Park. However, when an intimidating force of 10 to 12 Dallas vice officers paid a visit to venue manager Warren, saying the party lacked some unforeseen permits, he cancelled it citing inadequate security, with only a day’s notice. Though the party managed to move to another venue at the last minute, confusion over the location caused ticket sales and attendance to plummet, and Anderson ended the event \$3,000 in the hole. Police strategies of pretending all requirements for a party are met during its months of planning, and then swooping in the day before or day of a party with a new permit or security problem or emergency court injunction, has become an all-too-common method of police censorship of ravers’ right to gather. Many police and police departments have admitted their plans to stop raves altogether, says Boyd of the ACLU, “the goal is to eliminate raves. To me, that’s like trying to eliminate jazz or reggae.” Anderson further cited what he believes to be “techno-profiling,” recalling an incident in which a “highway patrolman pulled him over and, without success searched his vehicle for drugs, even drug-testing a package of mints, after spotting a crate of records in the

backseat and surmising he might be associated with ‘the rave scene.’” To combat unfair government and law enforcement targeting, many cities have formed groups for rave promoters to organize a resistance; in Dallas this group is Metrotribe, in Austin it is the Austin Nightlife Coalition (ANC).

Formed by prominent and well-respected area promoter and DJ, Coy West, the ANC group includes some 40 major members of Austin’s rave and nightclub community. The coalition originated in response to dangerous harassment toward local rave promoters, most prominently Ark Entertainment. Run by Noah Balch, under the pseudonym Noah Ark, the company threw successful, responsible parties for several years before encountering blatant police discrimination. For example, literally hours before party “Geisha-a-Go-Go” was to start at San Antonio’s Sunset Station, reports Marc Savlov in the *Austin Chronicle*, “the club was visited by members of the SAPD Vice Squad and the TABC,” who, according to Balch, “told him in no uncertain terms that the event would have to be canceled,” and “threatened General Manager Tom Ozene with everything from pulling Sunset Station’s liquor license to having the SAFD yank the building’s occupancy permit. They told us, ‘we don’t like raves in San Antonio, and that’s all there is to it.’” Balch ended up losing \$30,000 that night, and also incurred massive damages at his Airport 3 rave, which had to relocate out of San Antonio. “All I was trying to do was run a legal, legitimate business,” argues Balch, “and I was doing a good job of it for the past three or four years. Now they’ve completely shut us down” (Savlov).

Next in the saga of the Austin scene arrived a letter from Austin Police Department Cmdr. Robert Dahlstrom, dated October 3, 2001, sent to Austin club owners, promoters, and DJs. It announced received "intelligence that points to a RAVE being nothing more than a haven for drug dealers and drug use," and the APD's intention to work with the DEA and TABC to target and hold responsible those venues and promoters who hold raves (or rave-like gatherings) where Ecstasy is likely to be used or sold. In an effort to work with law enforcement in order to keep the struggling electronic music scene alive, the ANC met with members of the APD, AFD and DEA, to, claims West "try and get some sort of agreement or resolution from them to the effect that if a promoter or club owner follows certain pre-established guidelines in throwing his event, then he won't have to fear being shut down or harassed by law enforcement at the eleventh hour, which is exactly what happened to Ark" (Savlov).

One microcosmic event that seems to represent the state of affairs of late in many major American cities occurred September 22, 2001 in Houston, Texas: the massive circuit rave Cyberfest. As ravers exited off the highway according to flyer directions, a police roadblock obstructed the way to the party, police stopping each car and telling its passengers the rave had been cancelled by court order and they must simply turn around and leave. After making that u-turn, a little further down the service road a few party kids managed to wave some of the cars onto a small dirt road where they could get to the party site the back way.³³ Upon arriving, promoters assured inquisitive ravers the party was definitely not cancelled, there being no legal injunction, and that police deliberately

³³ Because of police interference, the parking situation at the party became severely bungled, parties arriving after the early afternoon having to park as far as seven miles away and walk to the site.

lied to attendees in an endeavor to cause ticket sales and attendance to plunge, making the party lose money, and therefore discouraging any future attempts at organizing such an event. Coolworld, the company behind this party nationwide, reported that “almost 25,000 Texas dance lovers were turned away at the gates and only 4,500 diehards made the way past the blockades,” resulting in massive financial loss for those involved, and loss of the ticket price for prepaid ravers turned away.

Since police failed to legally shut down the gathering, they instead patrolled inside and outside, not only the police officers of Brookshire (the small town outside Houston whose city limits in which the party actually fell), but Houston PD, Texas State Police, DEA, even DPS. As further insult, a police helicopter buzzed overhead, shining a spotlight down onto the crowd during the rave, making it seem like a criminal throng of violent thugs instead of the peaceful, music-loving assembly it was. Apparently law enforcement slapped some last minute fines on the party, and consequentially they could not pay the DJs. Adam Freeland, one of the first to spin, took the stage telling the crowd that all the DJs that night were playing for free (including big name acts like the Crystal Method and AK1200) because they love the music and the people, and they know how hard the participants had to work to get there (especially ones who had to walk seven miles!).

After the party got shut down early, people formed a massive surge onto the road to get back to their cars. One local College Station raver, Emily King, had recently suffered a dislocation of the kneecap and tore her mcl, forcing her to wear an immobilizer. Arriving at the party, her friends dropped her off at the site so she

wouldn't have to walk the 5 or so miles from their car. After the rave King, faced with the 5 mile walk, approached an officer and "explained [her] situation to him, and he said (and [she quotes]), "you got here, you can get back . . . hope you don't get hit by a car on the way back," as he smiled and sped off. His blatant disregard for safety and his acknowledgement of the danger that he and his fellow officers had placed all of us horrified me." Another, and more legally serious incident, involved a young male raver who, witnesses claim, made a disrespectful comment in passing to a nearby police officer. Suddenly the officer began screaming, "He touched me! He touched me!" and three other officers rushed the boy. Friends and other witnesses futilely yelled back "He didn't touch you!" as they cuffed him, threw him in the back of the patrol car and sped off. Subsequently, the EMDEF and the ACLU took legal action against Harris County and agencies responsible for the fiasco. In a notable victory October 12, Texas District Judge Jon Delaney ruled the actions and injunction illegal and unjustified.

In addition to the 1986 "crackhouse" law being used to prosecute raves, other more recent laws affect the rave community. First, the Ecstasy Anti-Proliferation Act, passed October 2000, nearly tripled the penalties associated with Ecstasy possession, giving it greater penalties than cocaine:

Crime: Possession of 800 Ecstasy pills
Current: 15-month sentence
New: 60-month sentence

Crime: Possession of 8,000 Ecstasy pills
Current: 41 months
New: 120 months

Average sentence for Ecstasy related crime:

Current: 25 months

New: 60 months

Number of pills triggering 5-year sentence

Current: 11,428

New: 800

The Ecstasy Prevention Act, passed in the Senate December 20, 2001 and currently awaits negotiations in the House. Section 3, entitled “Grants for Ecstasy Abuse Prevention,” has enraged and worried the rave community, as it directly threatens raves, stating: “the Administrator shall give priority to communities that have taken measures to combat club drug use, including passing ordinances restricting rave clubs, increasing law enforcement on Ecstasy, and seizing lands under nuisance abatement laws to make new restrictions on an establishment’s use.” Members of the electronic music scene view this singling out of raves as unconstitutional profiling that, reports the Center for Cognitive Liberty and Ethics, “elevates cultural stereotypes to the level of probable cause,” further claiming that the “fact that federal anti-drug agents have to rely on music profiling to enforce anti-MDMA drug laws reveals that the vast majority of people who use MDMA do so responsibly and cannot be identified based on violent or anti-social behavior.” As do many ravers, the ACLU, and other tolerant Americans, the Center believes the government should stop wasting massive amounts of taxpayer money on a vain attempt to stamp out drugs, “policing peoples’ mental states,” and instead employ a “harm-based national drug policy; one that polices people whose behavior, after taking a drug such as MDMA, actually causes harm to others or presents a clear and present danger to others.”

So what's to become of a scene now under widespread national attack?

Trespassing on civil rights and participating in profiling and discrimination toward the rave community is a constitutionally and socially slippery slope. Trying to ban items as drug paraphernalia that do not directly facilitate drug use, attacking raves with last minute unattainable permits and questionable court injunctions, intimidation and threatening of venue/land owners, invented noise violation charges, and dangerous disregard for ravers themselves, unfortunately cause the community to distrust and resent government and law enforcement. And the result of continual harassment will be a splitting of the scene into a much watered-down legal faction willing to put up with the infringement of expressive liberties, and the rest, forced back underground to survive.

CHAPTER XI:

RAVE ART

Though image-based rave art ranges from eye candy screens to blacklight-reflective sculpture, the most prevalent creative expression materializes in flyers, printed advertisements for parties. Flyers constitute the visual history of a community, records of the culminating moments of rave culture – the raves themselves. Enormously significant cultural artifacts, flyers tell much more than the names of DJs and venues, but are the visual manifestation of a single electric instant in the scene.

Rooted firmly in the underground, rave flyers emerged first as plain handwritten or typed black and white Xeroxed pieces of paper passed around by ravers, left in record stores and other hangouts, to promote similarly unadorned and usually illegal gatherings. Early flyers merely provided directions, sometimes a map, a meeting time, and a phone or beeper number; no art, just the necessary info. Almost immediately though, flyer designs began to incorporate computer-aided art, with the release of Adobe Photoshop in 1991. The flyer, virtually the only means of wide rave publication, required the fitting of large amounts of information into small spaces, while remaining compositionally appealing and easily readable. As raves grew in popularity, flyers incorporated increasingly longer lists of DJs, attractions, and more artwork.

Just as the actual parties in different U.S. cities, the flyers that advertised them developed distinct styles that reflected the existing “vibe” of the particular local scene. Further, claims Neil Strauss in a book introduction, specific flyer icons came to represent specific music genres to be featured at a rave: scary/horror images for hardcore,

butterflies/toys for soft techno e-parties, “creamy” designs with lots of text for house, and psychedelic/fractal illustrations for acid-oriented goa-trance. Perhaps among the most well-remembered flyer types, are the product flyers, made mainly for New York’s club NASA, which took common product logos/ads for such diverse items as laundry soap, drink mix, toothpaste, cigarettes, magazines, and credit cards, and transformed them into flyers by substituting rave jargon and code as text in the design; making American Express into Emerican Xpress, Eveon into Rave-e-on, United Postal Service into Underground Peace Society. By seizing the ads for products they were constantly bombarded with in larger society and bastardizing them into underground symbols, designers completed a subversive action against the mainstream, and, found a way to claim and creatively reinvent for their own context a product of consumer culture.

As raves themselves became increasingly more competitive and grand, their flyers mirrored this evolution, as, Strauss observed, “it was assumed by partygoers that the more care taken in the design of a flyer – the more colors used, the better the linework, the higher the quality of paper stock, the more professional the printing job – the more care would be taken with the design and execution of the rave itself” (Hoeckel and Jordan). Flyers developed from simple Xeroxes to huge full-color glossy posters in a plethora of shapes and layouts, some even 3-D. As the principal means of advertising a rave, massive raves spent massive dollars on flyers, turning underground experimentation into multimillion-dollar business. Now, however, even these advertisements have been again revalued; flyers achieved collectible status, and became recognized art forms with collector’s showings and galleries. This rave art, represents

on paper elements of the living rave scene, flyers’ “bright colors signifying a return to optimistic psychedelia,” explains Strauss, “their computer-generated design a clue to a technology fetish, their dense text an invitation to a subculture with its own deities and language” (Hoeckel and Jordan).³⁴

³⁴ Examples of important American historical flyers, and recent flyers from Texas raves, have been included as Appendix G.

CHAPTER XII:

CONCLUSION

Rave has undoubtedly become an important youth subculture, most prevalent in America and Europe, but present literally worldwide. This study of subculture, and indeed all cultural studies, must constitute an attempt at understanding something about culture as a human structure. If a subculture represents a group who differentiates themselves somehow from a dominant culture, then by examining in exactly which ways a subculture differentiates itself -- the subject of this thesis -- reveals culturally valuable responses and critiques to the dominant culture. A subculture must provide for participants something that may well be unavailable to them from the dominant culture. First, subcultures offer a sense of belonging to a "group" that appeals to them rationally and aesthetically. Not merely a trifle, claims Abraham Maslow, "basic human needs can be fulfilled *only* by and through other human beings," and in fact the "need for community (belongingness, contact, groupiness) is itself a basic need" (xiii). Rave in particular provides inclusion in an international community, as well as senses of festivity, intensity, emotional release, and collective experience; these in turn invoke alternative ideas/modes of thought and behavior/ways of living.

Investigating the development of new subcultures, then, charts the evolution of human thought and society. Modern youth subcultures often use the radical rejection of specific cultural (often political) elements to express a new view or way of thinking about those elements, which affected functionally and hence altered that culture.

Radical rejection is no longer radical, and therefore loses its power and value for society. A basic representative trajectory of recent and major revolutionary youth subcultures begins with the political ideal-wielding rally-raising hippies, a movement directed at addressing political wrongs and affecting actual change. Next the rebellious anti-everything punks, reflecting the perceived hopelessness of their societies, took the “anti” subculture to its profoundest possible incarnation. Left with this dead-end, an effective subculture requires a new direction: enter rave, endorsing on one hand a technology-glutted futurism ruled by machine-human interfaces, and at the same time a return to ancient tribal beats and nomadism. Rave’s innovation lies in its extraction from culture of the *essential*: collective experience, festivity, and transcendence; and its exclusion of the superfluous “meaning” centers: politics, ideology, religion, race, ethnicity, even geography. The meaning of rave as a subversive art is not, as many critics claim, merely escapism, but an acute reaction to dominant culture; as Antonio Melechi articulates, a form of “collective disappearance.” Oft held up as a fault, rave’s apparent lack of a message, judges it by an obsolete cultural values system, while its real substantive offering is the *experience* itself. This experience *is* the culture, an action -- as opposed to a spectacle -- which integrates both the physical space and composition of a rave (auditory, visual, tactile) and the people (DJ/participant interaction) to create a throbbing, living, transcendence-enabling organism.

This question remains: Why have raves often been scorned by their dominant cultures, labeled “toxic” as such? For a dominant culture to retain power means the suppression in some way of competing cultures. Rave poses a threat, not of becoming

the majority, but of “poisoning” the society by introducing ways of being and being-together not founded in the convenient leisure industry (or other contained system, i.e. religion). While both powerful and empowering, raves cannot ever be wholly processed in a social system of categorizing subcultures (political, religious, etc), judging (i.e. do I agree or disagree with this political stance), and shelving them for the history books. Therefore, witness the zealous attack on raves under the guise of drug “wars” in a futile, misdirected grasp for control. Rave culture automatically attracts missile fire because it inherently subverts nation-state authority; as Galliot explains, it “implies that the old socio-historic figures of meaning no longer make sense, and consequently can no longer fragment or partition the world according to an ethnic or political score that until now has divided it up into separate and opposed entities” (28). In fact, a widely held belief within rave culture states that while governments may perpetually shut down party after party, they will never eradicate rave culture, as it’s not a concrete entity, but exists only in the members themselves and in the ephemeral flashes of fleshed-out gatherings: a truly global tribe.³⁵

What, then, will become of rave culture? As with any ultimately marketable/profitable subculture, raves (in bastardized form) are being, and will be further, domesticated by consumer culture, partially swallowed by the mainstream and regurgitated into salable units. The outcry over this domestication and appropriation has become the constant, now tired lament of shortsighted critics and jaded scenesters. Conversely, the real value of raves are not in their ability to remain endlessly in the same

³⁵ The Worldwide Ravers Manifesto project has been included as Appendix F.

originary state -- that would mean stagnation, the opposite of a fluidity ethos. The cultural value of the rave lies in its construction of a working and contemporary transcendent collective experience, a space for being-in-the-moment. Within and with that act (which is art) a rave gains power to influence the future evolution of human thought and society, *and* to cut a path back to a once supernatural past, simultaneously in the moment and utterly timeless. Meanwhile, a DJ queues the needle, the record crackles, speakers pop and abruptly blast out volumes of thick, pulsing sound flooding, filling the rave...a throaty female voice repeats again and again the only, the elemental lyric: "We're Alive!"

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APPENDIX A:
RAVE CULTURE GLOSSARY

- beatmatch - 1. the act of mixing 2. the art of synching two different records together to form a seamless beat
- bpm - Beats Per Minute
- candy flip - (-ing) the combination of taking Ecstasy with acid
- candy raver - one who goes to raves usu. wearing sparkles, bright clothing, a large number of bracelets, visor etc
- decks - turntables used by DJ's for spinning records
- Ecstasy - MDMA, a drug which induces a euphoric state of happiness, love and energy; aka: X, E, XTC, Adam
- flyer - the main promotional tool for promoters, lists information about a given party, incl. djs, venue, sound and lighting crews, what you can and can't bring in, ticket outlets and prices
- ghb - drug usually used for its intoxicating/sedative properties, usu. in clear liquid form; aka G, liquid Ecstasy
- hippy flip - (-ing) the combination of taking Ecstasy with mushrooms
- ketamine - animal anesthetic which can produce altered state of consciousness and hallucinations; aka: vitamin k, special k

- light show – personal dance with small lights (ex glowsticks), usually very close to the watcher's face in order to dominate their field of vision
- LSD – classic hallucinogen aka acid, cid, blotter
- MC: Master of Ceremonies - an individual using a microphone to add lyrics or rhymes over top, and along with, a beat. usu. with jungle, happy hardcore and hardcore music
- methamphetamine – drug that keeps one awake, gives energy, makes one very hyper; aka meth, crystal, speed, tweak, glass, ice
- plur –acronym: Peace Love Unity Respect (raver's credo)
- rave - a party, or gathering of people, involving a DJ, (using electronic/programmed music and techniques of spinning along with light effects to create a specific experience), and the ravers (dancers and others) who attend
- rohypnol – drug that is tasteless and odorless, and it dissolves easily, can cause amnesia, sometimes used for date rape; aka roofies
- roll – (ing) to be high on Ecstasy (*are you rollin?*)
- scene (the) – rave community in general, or in a specific area
- spinning - the art of mixing and playing records
- techno - a general term used to describe any form of electronic music that developed out of house and disco (aka electronica)

- trainwreck - an unsuccessful attempt at beat matching, results in a cacophony of sounds

Note: This glossary does not attempt to authoritatively define terms; it is a cultural study composed from a general observation of how rave culture participants use these terms.

APPENDIX B:

RAVE CULTURE SURVEY

Rave Culture Survey: please circle your answers

(this survey is being given by a raver as part of a research project to help the scene thrive)

- *Age:** ***Male / Female** ***City of residence:** **State:**
- *Marital status:** single, married, divorced, separated
- *What do you do?** Work part-time, work full-time, self employed, not employed, fulltime student, part-time student
- *How old were you when you went to your first rave/ club/ party?**
- *Estimated number of raves you've attended:**
- *How often do you go clubbing/ partying/ raving?**
twice a week or more; once a week; twice a month; three times a month; once a month; less frequently
- *Do you take illegal drugs at clubs/ parties/ raves?** Y N
- If so how old were you when you first took an illegal drug at a club/ party/ rave?
- How frequently do you take illegal drugs at a club/party/rave? every time; often; sometimes; not often; never
- *What was the 1st illegal drug you tried at a rave?** Cannabis; Amphetamines; Ecstasy; LSD; Amyl Nitrate; 4-CT; Cocaine; Benzodiazepines (eg valium); MDA; Heroin; other opiates; Ketamine; Solvents; other; never taken illegal drug at a rave
- *Have you ever been arrested at a rave for illegal drug possession?** Y N
- *Have you ever been involved in any violence induced by illegal drugs at a rave?** Y N
- *Is there ecstasy tab testing at clubs/ parties/ raves you regularly attend?** Y N - **Do you think there should be?** Y N
- *What is your favorite drug or drug combination in the following situations:** at home: ; at a club/rave/festival:
- *If cost were no object, what would be your "drug of choice":** Cannabis; Amphetamines; Ecstasy; LSD; Amyl Nitrate; 4-CT; Cocaine; Benzodiazepines (eg valium); MDA; Heroin; other opiates; Ketamine; Solvents; other; ; none
- *I feel that drugs enhance the club/ party/ rave experience?** Y N
- *Do you think rave culture is a response to or against mainstream society?** Y N
- *I believe media stories have unfairly slanted coverage negatively, while ignoring many positive aspects of rave culture.**
Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Don't Know; Agree; Strongly Agree

***I believe I have been stereotyped because of negative media coverage of the club/rave culture.**

Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Don't Know; Agree; Strongly Agree

***I feel I have something in common with many people I meet at clubs/ parties/ raves.**

Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Don't Know; Agree; Strongly Agree

***I feel a strong sense of community with fellow ravers/ clubbers/ partiers?**

Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Don't Know; Agree; Strongly Agree

***What's your favorite electronic music genre?:**

ambient; trance; trip hop; jungle; hardcore; acid; drum'n'bass; house; breakbeat; goa; gabber; techno; other:

***Do you think rave culture has a philosophy? Y N**

- Do you know what PLUR means? Y N -If so do you believe it/ follow it? Y N

***Do you feel any sense of spiritual connection or fulfillment when participating at a rave/ club? Y N**

Do you feel raves/ clubs provide an important alternate means to spiritual fulfillment outside organized religion? Y N

***Do you feel the combination of lights, visuals, and music at raves creates an alter-reality? Y N**

Do you think you can still feel the sense of alter-reality without the use of drugs? Y N

Do you seek/ use these rave/ club experiences as a means to escape reality? Y N

***Why do you come to raves: (circle all that apply) music; drugs; people/community; lights and visuals; dance; other:**

***In a couple words describe the "vibe" of rave life:**

Note: I was not able to use this survey to conduct my own research because the Institutional Review Board determined that the survey included too many "sensitive" subjects (ex. drugs) that an undergraduate student would be unqualified to handle, should a participant become psychologically disturbed as a result of taking my survey.

APPENDIX C:

PERSONAL STATEMENTS

These accounts of various persons involved in the rave scene were sent to me in response to an open request for personal statements. As cultural artifacts I have generally presented them in original form, and have ordered them alphabetically according to the names they submitted for print.

Anonymous Raver:

I am 23 years old. I went on my first date at the age of 18, my second at the age of 19. I was the smartest guy in my high school with various scholarships to college, and acceptance to veterinary school on the first try (i.e. all caught up in the academics of things). I spent all my summers in college working at vets in order to get into vet school, so about this time last year, I was feeling burnt out and bought a round trip plane ticket to London. I packed 1 bag and brought my passport and 2 credit cards. I made no reservation, didn't know anyone, just wanted to get away. I've always been introverted, shy, inhibited more so than most people can imagine, basically scared of contact with people to some degree.

I moved in with about nine other people, who had had an open bed and posted a flyer, to a house in London. All of them were doing the same thing I was, just traveling for the summer. So they took me out, offered me some ecstasy and I took it and just sat down at this rave. I wasn't having much fun, didn't like the music, and had the same lame conversations with people I always have. Nothing happened for an hour. I took another E under the instructions of my new friends, and 10 or so minutes later I was running around with my shirt tied around my head pretending to ride on a horse (because I was from Texas). I went up to girls and said exactly what I thought about them.... beautiful eyes, pretty faces, I like the way you dance. They just gave me a hug when I told them it was my first time. Then I would give some random guy I never met a hug. I was definitely the happiest person in the entire place. Everyone knew me by the end of the night. I was juggling for a crowd, doing magic tricks, having crazy conversations with random people: everything I had ever wanted to do. I was making out with 2 girls at the same time. I was dancing and not feeling inhibited or worrying about what other people thought of my dancing. I understood the culture. I could feel the music in me, and see the effects of the lights and the senesthesia (blending of senses). I understood

why people liked this and how open everyone was. The friendliest people I have ever met were that night and others like it that summer. I made so many friends that night. People were asking me for my phone number so I could come hang out with them, and I did. After the party died down and everyone was waiting for the subway to open, as I was sitting in the milk section at the corner convenience store (yes, sitting in the milk between the gallons of milk) people would walk by and say hey to me and my roommates didn't know what was going on. Usually people are all so in their own worlds, but in the rave culture, everyone is friendly. If you bump into some big guy, he doesn't push you away and get mad for looking at his girlfriend, he just gives you a hug and buys you some orange juice.

After many experiences like that this summer, I came home a changed person. Now I am way more open, social, inviting, uninhibited. I listen to rave music and the complexities of the beats. Pop music is so lame and pre formed. Rave music is endless in its possibilities, like a modern classical music. I can actually just listen to music and not sing, just be into it. With the added presence of lights and a crowd dressed in neon and jumping around, the whole atmosphere has become so inviting and happy for me. I haven't done any drugs since last summer, nor do I want to, but the rave culture gave me something to be a part of where the people will talk to you, and listen to you, and invite you in. It's not a place for everyone, especially fake people. It is like a little secret that once you're in on you understand. I remember being annoyed by techno music and wondering who the hell would wear those clothes. I went out with my friend to *North by North Gate* last week and one of the street DJs was playing techno music and you could tell who the little sorority girls and guys trying to pick up stupid chicks were. You could tell who was in on the secret and could understand what it had to offer. I don't think people will understand it by just reading about it or seeing pictures because I am the first to tell you that I would not have pictured myself there a year ago.

Aneece Yazdani:

Growing up in the relatively small and conservative town of College Station I had a very limited understanding of what type of activities took place at raves before I began attending them. Because of this, I had absolutely no idea what to expect when I found myself at the doors of a large warehouse in Dallas in the summer of 2000. Two of my better friends accompanied me, but shared my non-existent level of experience, though there was a small amount of guidance from three Dallas natives that went with us.

At this time our basic idea of a rave, based off our limitless pool of underground knowledge that is Bryan/College Station, was that it was a place to go that had techno/electronic music and was ultimately there to enhance the drug experience. Armed with this bit of intelligent information, apparently backed up by our Dallas colleagues,

we set out to get wasted like never before. Having only done ecstasy twice I was unsure what exactly to look for, but we were assured that the best place to get the chemicals we desired was at the party itself. We were naive and so we followed this advice.

Our group arrived at the venue at approximately 10 p.m., and once past security we were exposed to a whole new world...of emptiness. At most there were fifty people occupying this giant multi-roomed warehouse; apparently we were early. At this stage of my life I had not fully grown accustomed to the pounding and often repetitive style of electronica, and so I almost found myself annoyed by this new atmosphere. Almost.

Slowly the warehouse began to fill and soon we heard from one of the Dallas acquaintances that she had found some ecstasy tablets for sale. We decided to take the plunge because we thought that was what people did at raves. We wanted to get the full experience so we handed her twenty-five dollars for each pill. She returned within ten minutes with the product and all swallowed one whole. The night went downhill from there on.

The pills' obvious lack of ecstasy was quickly apparent, since within fifteen minutes all of us had either head or stomach pains. This was rapidly turning into a bad initial experience, so continuing in our assumed spirit of the rave, we bought some LSD. I decided not to take any at that time since I was to be the driver later, had plenty of prior experience in this area before, and of course knew better. My two friends from College Station, on the other hand, took an undetermined amount and went on about their merry ways to explore. I lingered to nurse my pains, but soon my headache had left and I was feeling as good as new.

Looking around at a now packed venue, I realized I had no idea what to do. Having a conversation with anybody was definitely out of the question with the volume level and I had no idea how to dance. So I just sat for a while and watched. I saw people dancing, people clowning around, and people just resting and relaxing. I held a quasi-conversation with a small group of people, but as I stated earlier it was loud inside that dark warehouse and so most of the exchange consisted of smiles, nodding, and more smiling.

Finally my friends returned with the news that one of them could no longer take it any more. We were all new to this style of music and it can easily become aggravating to listen to it for extended periods of time, especially on LSD. So we decided to leave our first rave and said goodbye to our acquaintances while making our way to the car. On the ride home we discussed the night's events and decided that it was indeed nothing like what we had expected from what we had been told. Although we weren't quite sure whether or not we had an enjoyable experience, we all agreed that attending another party of this nature some time in the future was high on our priority list, albeit with more precautions taken beforehand.

Ever since that primer event in Dallas I have progressively gone to an increasing number of raves. I found that the more I went to these parties the more my opinions slowly morphed until techno/raves no longer seemed so foreign. I grew to love the music more over time and eventually found several sub-genres of electronica that suited my tastes quite nicely. I had found my niche. Yet I began doubting this idea yet again when I realized that, aside from that first night in Dallas and even then only involuntarily, I had never been to a rave sober. I was no longer sure why I continued to remain a patron of an event that I couldn't enjoy without the use of a chemical.

This all came to a head sometime in May of 2001 when I took two tablets of ecstasy, that were apparently highly potent, and to this day can only recall around fifteen minutes worth of memories from the time I began to feel the drug's effects until sobriety began to take hold again. This began to worry me for obvious reasons; it was at that point that I realized that perhaps I was taking too high of a dose for my body and that lowering the amount of gratuitous drug use would be in my best interest. Other ecstasy experiences outside of the party scene added to my distress, and memory loss had become a recurring side effect and was obviously not the intended result.

Finally, I made the decision to go to a rave and enjoy myself without the use of any substances not found naturally within my body. While it was a tiring experience, I found that I enjoyed the music and dancing when sober multiple times over the numerous instances when I was participating while inebriated in some form or fashion. This truly was a turning point for me; my love for the rave really began at this time as far as I am concerned. From that moment forward I made an effort to either stay sober during the course of these events or to take only small doses of chemicals so that I would still be able to recount my steps at a later date. This has continued since the Summer of 2001 and I hardly ever take any sort of drug to 'enhance' the night anymore. Maybe I just grew out of, became bored with, or burnt myself out on drugs, but they are no longer a reason at all for my presence at raves. Now my reasons for going include the music, just to having a good time in general, and occasionally meet some new people along the way.

I admit that I began going to raves primarily because of my misconception that they were nothing more than a haven for drug users to hang out and feel the full "glory" of their chemical of choice. Over time, however, I have found that for many people the party itself is all the escape from reality needed to release the tension built up in such a chaotic, discriminatory, and oft corrupt society such as ours. Within that time frame that has been set aside for the rave one becomes carefree and is allowed to live life with a soundtrack: a very loud soundtrack. One of life's many wonders is how music can inspire a person to such a great degree as it does; if the answer to this question is ever found we will definitely have unlocked one of the many secrets of the human soul, but as it stands we must just follow what feels right. To me music feels right.

BJ:

I was introduced into the rave scene by the older brother of my girlfriend at the time, who was a local DJ for a local production company in Dallas. He would bring me along to help move speakers and do other heavy lifting, nothing very glamorous or cool, but I found a place where I felt I belonged. This was late in 1992 and raves were not a hot topic in the media yet. Every once in a while you might hear a negative reference or an association with drug abuse in the press, but nothing like today's amount of negative coverage. I have observed from my own experience growing up in the city, that youths raised in hard urban environments can be prone to violence, either received or given out. In these same urban environments, though, rave parties take place, and are one of the only anti-violence settings inner-city kids are exposed to. Ironically, given their negative stereotype, in the middle of the night in the city, a rave is a sanctuary and the safest place to be. The rave community is one of the only urban places I've encountered where violence is discouraged, and it actually works. Whether it is the halls of public schools, home lives, street gangs, or football practice, it seems young men are often conditioned to violence as the norm. This is a serious problem. I feel the rave community in Texas is the only place where I was taught that love and positivity could get you ahead in life. I consider myself very fortunate to have learned one of my life's important lessons in this seemingly unlikely place. These concepts have influenced me to be a positive person, and very caring toward others: I owe that to the rave community.

Brad Beiter (aka DJ Astro):

I started into the rave scene two years ago, just before graduation from High School. As I grew and changed along with the scene in general, I started to produce events in my college town, and also got into the music side of things.

I love what I do now, throwing events every few months, and playing and making electronic music...but every so often I wish I could feel what I felt the first time I stepped into that abandoned warehouse in downtown St. Louis.

I love the music, I love the people, but sometimes seems that all I do for this scene goes unappreciated. Then, just when I feel really low, I get an email, or someone walks up to me and says: "Thanks for that." And then I remember what I felt that first time, and why I do this.

I am a disciple of raves, spreading the message and the beat wherever I go, and in whatever I do.

Frank:

Did you hear about the party this past summer called *Audiotistic*? The thing was a complete setup by not only Houston PD, but FBI and DEA to bust kids for drugs. There were cops EVERYWHERE. It was a pretty bad vibe. I was sitting next to a girl then all of a sudden a cop yanked me up along with her and they started accusing me of drug dealing. The girl next to me had a bag of "something" (special k) in her hand and they saw it. They patted us both down and said that if they didn't find anything on me, then I'd be free to go. This was the first lie they told. Her story was that I just sat down and was like, "hey, look at this" and handed the baggie to her ... a dumb alibi. I just said, "I don't know this girl and I don't know what's in the bag." The HPD cops then had me spread eagle against this chain link fence and were patting me down and yelling at me. They were asking me things like what was in the bag, where did I get it from, etc. I just told them that I had no idea, and to go ask the girl. Well, they took us to this processing station sort of thing they had set up in the parking lot. They did preliminary paperwork, pictures, and had drug testing kits ... it was quite a setup with several tables and surrounded by about 10 police cars. They tested the drug and it came out negative in all tests, but they went ahead and booked us, took us downtown, and took the substance to be tested there. I was sitting the rest of the night in the HPD jail with about 15 or more other guys that had been arrested (this was just the jail for males over 17 too). The next day, I got called out at almost noon, and they said I was free to go home. I was like, "say wha?!" Well, it turns out that Houston doesn't have any tests for special k, so they figured it was nothing and they let me go!! I got the hell out of there as quickly as possible, needless to say.

The big deal here is how I was never told my rights and the police were interrogating me quite harshly before I left for the jail. There were so many law enforcement officials there it was ridiculous. They should be there to protect people and do the same elsewhere, instead of placing a massive amount of police at that one party with one intent: to arrest people. They didn't seem to care about the overall peace and safety of the party. After I was arrested, one of them said something to the effect of "well, I think we got enough tonight, we can go now," as if we met their quota for the party. They packed up their stuff and left. They treated me as though I had killed somebody, and they just seemed so anxious and excited about arresting us. I felt, and still do feel, so sorry for those kids that got arrested along with me. I mean, if they get convicted of drug possession (except weed), it's an automatic felony. That's for life ... and already at younger than 20, these kids have had their lives ruined forever for what could have been just a mistake more easily corrected by other means.

Heather:

My name is Heather and I think I have an interesting view on the rave scene. I went to my first rave in June of last year. I initially thought

that they were these big loud parties where everyone did drugs or something. My first rave was for drugs. I had never rolled and wanted to, so that was my intention and purpose. the more raves I went to, I found myself enjoying the music. I then went to a rave in Austin where I was sold a bunk roll and I still had the time of my life because the music was sooooo great. What I love most about raves is I can go to them, even sober, and listen to the different styles of the DJs. It's amazing how when you aren't clued in it all sounds the same, but once you are engulfed by the music, it sounds different. Everyone has their own style and raves are a way the DJs can express their own style. I think they are great places to meet people, maybe because they are rollin and more sociable anyways, I don't know. I believe that people that have never been to a rave think its all about drugs and then when they experience one (first one is normally on drugs) they eventually get sucked into the music and start understanding that it's not all about trippin', or rollin'. At least that's how it worked for me.

I never really understood the rave scene until I also experienced one sober. I think when a person goes to raves for drugs and only thinks they can go fucked up, has no recollection of the understanding of a rave. If they go messed up, they have a hard time remembering. After I experienced one sober, I realized that it is musical artists showing what they can do, just like rock groups, pop groups, or even classical musicians entertaining. With raves, its just a different kind of music. DJs go out and spin with the intention of entertaining and audience and it just happens to be music that sound really cool when you are rollin and something (which is how raves got their negative reputation). You know? People ignore the fact that talented musicians (which might I add you have to be very talented to line up the beats exactly perfect) are out to entertain and they focus on the negative fact that people do drugs at these events as well. Even sober, some of the sounds that are made at raves are spectacular. And lets not forget the LIGHTS! Seeing how someone interprets the music through lights. It's different every time. And then there is the dancing....

I love the dancing. I love doing the dancing and watching the dancing. Just like the DJs, everyone has his or her own style of dancing. I sometimes go to country western clubs and dance and raves aren't any different, except just a different type of music. Some people are exceptional dancers just like some DJs spin exceptionally. Everyone has their own thing they are good at. Whether it be spinning, dancing, or working lights, raves combine all three. I think a rave really is based on the talents of the DJs, dancers and light workers. It's people showing their talents to others simultaneously. Without the drugs raves are known for, it's just people entertaining other people. The thing that sets raves apart from a concert or just regular party is drugs and people can't get past that.

they use drugs as a way to determine the difference between a concert and a rave. When telling my friends that frown upon raves I am going to one, I just say I am going to a concert type party where people get up and dj and spin records while everyone else dances. That's what I tell my mom. They have no problem with it, nor do they give a dirty look, but once I use the word "rave" all of a sudden its bad and I must be *obviously* doing drugs. Not even. Like what someone wrote earlier on the listserv: it's the stupid people who go around blabbing about how they are on drugs that caused raves to get its reputation.

Johanna Nelms and Jason Lovel:

When we first got into the raving culture, both of us had presumptuous ideas about what raves were like. My ideas were that raves were a place to go and do drugs and listen to really strange music. Little did we know that this culture would become one of the things that we love most. The idea behind raves, as we see it, is that it is a place you can go to let go of everything, where no one makes fun of you, where you bond with people you have never met before in your life. At raves, most people have a sense of openness, and are willing to open their mind and let the music envelop them. You get into the music and let your mind experience a feeling that is unable to be described. You feel free and seem to be able to express the feelings about the music easily to those around you. You want everyone to feel the happiness that you do. Jason and I have never felt that raves were unsafe. From the first one we went to in Austin, Texas, to being at a huge event in Los Angeles, never have we felt any sort of fear that we were going to be "busted" for enjoying the music, or that we might be hurt in any way. Being with thousands of ravers at a massive event, with everyone feeling the same way at the same exact moment, their eyes shut, and peaceful smiles gracing their faces...is a moment of pure bliss.

Josh:

I have been to a few gatherings in the past few years and as I become settled into the scene, I truly feel I'm in a spectacular place. Now I don't personally use drugs of any sort, but at the same time have no qualms about others using them responsibly. The notion of the rave scene, in my opinion, is biased and unsupported if you look at the big picture instead of focusing on the negative aspects. I have been told ever since I was young that I was weird because my tastes in religion, music, art, and thought were vastly different from my friends. Granted, they were partially joking when they made these comments. Six years ago I started listening to techno/trance/house/break beat/dance music. Ever since then I've become more and more engrossed in the music. Ignoring the frequent laughs I get when I say this: the music seems to reach a place inside me that just lightens the human spirit. Although it's hard to explain, I feel the music brings out

emotion and that there is a certain comforting understanding inside its rhythms. The bass pulsates the beats of life, of the energy embodied in youth. The music is what it's all about for me; it's like air. The cliché of "the music is my drug" is the only way to express the feeling.

I'm only newly experiencing the rave scene. For about a year and a half now I've been going to parties, festivals, and big event raves. The common stereotype is that, although many claims are made of a stranger's friendliness, the friendliness is attributed to the people being on drugs. The truth of the matter is that many of the people are not on drugs. In fact, it has been my experience that the true "raver" cares little for the drugs and more for the music and offering acceptance to others. This acceptance is seen in the friendliness they project when they walk up to a complete stranger and offer a smile or hug. In fact you, the author of this thesis, did just that to a weird, bandana-wearing, quiet Me this year at *NXNG*. To the close-minded, this can be quite abrasive to the person's psyche. Those that like this music, and are willing to go into the scene unbiased, often come out feeling they have found their niche. The rave scene offers a place in society for those who don't think there is one for them. These aren't the ideas of a misspent youth, but from an educated person who has spent his life in search of that release from criticism. Its here, in the "bowels of the underground" that a person faces no evil looks. In search of the ultimate emotional experience of light and sound, you need only follow a raver.

DJ Lady Karizma:

Being in the scene has been influential as well as harmful for me. I started partying in October of 1999, and for about a year and a half, I partied for the drugs. Every party I went to, I rolled or tripped. I had to have it. The rave scene didn't cause my addiction to drugs, but it helped me get them a lot easier. I've grown to dislike raves simply because I believe that they should be for adults and not minors: 18 and up is good. I've met some very interesting people in the scene and I have friendships that I'll never forget. As far as being a female dj, I thoroughly enjoy it. I've only spun out at one party, but I liked it. I've been sober and a rededicated Christian for 7 months. Some people find my Christianity disturbing, but being a Christian raver has been nothing but the best. I go to parties sober and pray and praise the Lord while I'm dancing. It gives me a high like I've never had.

Paul Skaven:

I first got into electronic music back in my sophomore year of high school when my friend Sammy burned me some MP3s contained tracks from Josh Wink, Prodigy, Chemical Brothers, etc. Well it turns out I loved it. I purchased a few CDs, like MTV's

"AMP" volume 1, the Mortal Kombat: Annihilation soundtrack, all three Prodigy CDs, and a Chemical Brothers mixed set. I also heard about "The Beat," a live broadcast from The Roxy in Houston on 104.1 on Saturday nights. Between my new CDs and "The Beat," I was starting to listen to electronic music almost exclusively.

College changed everything....virtually instantly. With my new high-speed internet connections, I soon had downloaded over 15GB of MP3s from all genres, from Dieselboy to Oakenfold. The more I listened to my MP3s the more I was drawn to a particular genre of music, namely, trance. I didn't *know* it was "trance" at the time, but I found myself downloading mixes from Oakenfold, Paul van Dyk, DJ Tiesto, Armin van Buren, Dave Ralph, among others. It was also around this time that I first heard about an event called a "rave." My friend Nathan had been to a ton of them, and said that I'd probably enjoy it. When Nathan told me about the music at raves I could hardly wait to go! I mean, DJs playing the music that I had on my computer....LIVE! Sounds stupid now, but back then it was just *so cool!*

Thriller was my first rave, and it was an experience I'll never forget. Note that I hadn't mentioned drugs at all yet...and that's because quite frankly, I hadn't heard about it. I still thought that "X" was a mixture of Heroin and Cocaine, not MDMA... And I didn't care either, I was a staunch "just say no" kinda guy. When we got to the party I was hit with a nice dose of culture-shock. The first thing that I noticed was that everybody was...well...*nice*. Not nice as in "I'm fucked up on X so gimme a hug" nice, but nice as in nobody picked fights and basically everybody seemed to respect one another. Later I would find that this would be defined as a "good vibe" at a party. Nathan was my personal tour guide to the world of the "rave." Looking back there wasn't that much to learn, but I felt like a fish out of water in the place, so it was nice to have somebody showing me around. While I did notice quite a few people around that were obviously high on something, it wasn't the defining aspect of the party. Most of the people I talked to were sober and there for the music. So to sum up...my first party I was *exposed* to drugs and *exposed* to raves...and picked music overall. See? It *can* be done!!

The rest of the parties I don't really need to go into as much detail about. I went to a couple local parties here in College Station (Stage One/Elevate/Future State) and really had a good time. This was my first exposure to Ron-E, QT, D-Jabe and the rest of the E-pro crew. They seemed like really cool people, but they were kinda like celebrities to me, as I wasn't in the CS "scene" at all at that point. I also went to a hojillion parties over the summer, including Hyperia parties, Nature (my first "headliner" party), and Frequency Clear (my first massive and my first experience with X). Two Weeks after Frequency Clear my parents found out that I had done X...and they flipped out. So that was the last time I did X. That was it.

Midway through the summer I decided to take the plunge and get some tables. I went all-out: two brand-new 1200's and a new Numark mixer off of eBay. I purchased 6

tracks and Chemistry and Atomic, and between those and my vast collection of MP3s I began to teach myself the art of beatmatching. I caught on surprisingly fast (I suppose watching DJs do it for 3 months helped) and within 2 months or so I had tripled my record collection and I was ready to lay down my first CD. It was now September, so the fall semester had started. It was then that I was introduced formally to the College Station scene. I was "injected" into the scene somewhat abruptly one weekend as I made my first post to the cs-raves listserv asking if anybody wanted me to spin out somewhere, and was contacted back immediately. That night there was a core sample of the CS crew there as I spun out in public for the first time. I was so nervous I could hardly cue my records, much less do anything fancy. I passed out around 20 copies of *Trancistor* and basically that's where everything started getting fun. Through my new friends like you, spoon, gabe, kerri, geoff, emily, etc etc etc. I went from having few friends to a ton of friends who were all really great!

The scene has never been about drugs. Ever. Not even once. Hasn't even crossed my mind. It's always, ALWAYS been about the music. I love electronic music. I love how versatile it is; how it can make a crowd move, or not move, depending on the track. What other genre of music can claim that? If I so desire I could whip a crowd into a frenzy, then knock their feet right out from underneath them, cool them off, then whip them right back up, just by picking appropriate tracks. Then there's the scene, which, although far from perfect, is definitely more accepting and respectful than any other group of people I've socialized with. Nobody cares how anyone else dresses, what their religious preferences are, where they work, or how much money they make. We've all got that one thing in common: the music. And like I said before, its far from perfect...there's drama and there are drugs and there are lamers and e-tards and kandy kids, but there's a core of us that have it right. Those are the people I'm friends with. Those are the people that make me smile when I talk to them. DJing is the ultimate extension of this. It's my niche. When I get behind the decks I feel free. Nothing can bother me. Not school, not work, not a psycho ex-girlfriend, not money problems, not the paper that's due on Wednesday. Who needs a dissociative drug when you've got wax? Some people when they get stressed out play football, or run, or drink, or even do drugs. I mix music. I mix music that makes me feel good and gets my blood pumping.

It really aggravates me that the public has come down so hard on the "rave scene." Its true that it has problems, most notably the excessive use of drugs, but trying to destroy our music and our parties will not make the drugs go away. If you want to prevent kids from taking drugs, bust the dealers, not the promoters. Bust the kids that take the drugs, not the DJs. If things keep going the way they've been going recently, then it looks like I've got a tough road ahead: fewer and fewer venues to play in, and an increasingly hostile public environment. But that's just details. I'm just as happy mixing music in my apartment as I would be making a stadium full of partykids dance till they drop. I'll always stand for the music, not the drugs. That's one thing you can count on.

Roberta:

As a girl in the rave scene, I've had my eyes opened to them as a getaway from a sometimes harsh outside reality. The music is powerful, and takes on a meaning particular to me. When I dance, I never think of others judging me because I'm too fat, thin, not wearing the right clothes, etc. I just let go, and for those few hours, everything is ok...

APPENDIX D:

UNITED STATES SUBSTANCE CONTROL TIMELINE

- **1919** 18th Amendment: National Prohibition Act (Volstead Act) - prohibited the manufacture, transportation and sale of beverages containing more than 0.5 per cent alcohol (then came the "Roaring Twenties")
- **1933** 21st Amendment: National Prohibition Act repealed
- **1937** Marihuana Tax Act: levies a token tax of approximately one dollar on all buyers, sellers, importers, growers, physicians, veterinarians, and any other persons who deal in marijuana commercially, prescribe it professionally, or possess it. (Failure to follow the strict administrative regulations (Regulations No. 1) of affidavits, depositions, sworn statements, Treasury Department and police inspections result in long prison sentences and heavy fines.)
- **1961** Single Convention Treaty on Narcotic Drugs: adopted by UN (limits the possession, use, trade, distribution, import, export, manufacture and production of drugs for medical and scientific purposes; combats international drug trafficking)
- **1969** The U.S. Supreme Court ruled the Marijuana Tax Act unconstitutional
- **1972** President Richard Nixon appointed a National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse (Shafer Commission): reported recommendation to decriminalize marijuana and base control on medical risk; Nixon denounced report, and declared "War on Drugs"

- **1978** President Jimmy Carter publicly advocated decriminalizing up to one ounce of marijuana in his statement to Congress on drug policy
- **1985** MDMA first outlawed with Emergency Scheduling (eventually placed permanently on Schedule 1)
- **1986** Anti-Drug Abuse Act: created Mandatory Minimum Sentences for drug convictions
- **1994** Federal Crime Bill: (included a commission to investigate causes of illicit drug use, and make recommendations to lower illicit drug use) introduced death penalty for involvement with the cultivation or distribution of 60,000 marijuana plants (or seedlings) or 60,000 kilograms of marijuana
- **2000** Ecstasy Anti-Proliferation Act: nearly tripled the penalties associated with Ecstasy possession, giving it greater penalties than cocaine
- **200_** Ecstasy Prevention Act: currently pending (gives grants for taking action to restrict rave clubs)

APPENDIX E:

DRUG OFFENDER STATISTIC 2002

Types Of Offenses (calculated for those with offense-specific information available):

Drug Offenses:	76,096 (55.1%)
Firearms, Explosives, Arson:	12,921 (9.4%)
Immigration:	12,331 (8.9%)
Robbery:	8,716 (6.3%)
Property Offenses:	7,228 (5.2%)
D.C. Offenses	6,729 (4.9%)
Extortion, Fraud, Bribery:	6,599 (4.8%)
Homicide, Aggravated Assault, and Kidnapping Offenses:	2,681 (1.9%)
Miscellaneous:	1,250 (1.0%)
White Collar:	1,011 (0.7%)
Sex Offenses	1,008 (0.7%)
Courts or Corrections: (e.g., Obstructing Justice)	709 (0.5%)
Continuing Criminal Enterprise:	641 (0.5%)
National Security:	68 (0.1%)

Source: Federal Bureau of Prisons, Quick Facts, January 2002.

APPENDIX F:

WORLDWIDE RAVERS MANIFESTO

Our emotional state of choice is Ecstasy. Our nourishment of choice is Love. Our addiction of choice is technology. Our religion of choice is music. Our currency of choice is knowledge. Our politics of choice is none. Our society of choice is utopian though we know it will never be.

You may hate us. You may dismiss us. You may misunderstand us. You may be unaware of our existence. We can only hope you do not care to judge us, because we would never judge you. We are not criminals. We are not disillusioned. We are not drug addicts. We are not naive children. We are one massive, global, tribal village that transcends man-made law, physical geography, and time itself. We are The Massive. One Massive.

We were first drawn by the sound. From far away, the thunderous, muffled, echoing beat was comparable to a mother's heart soothing a child in her womb of concrete, steel, and electrical wiring. We were drawn back into this womb, and there, in the heat, dampness, and darkness of it, we came to accept that we are all equal. Not only to the darkness, and to ourselves, but to the very music slamming into us and passing through our souls: we are all equal. And somewhere around 35Hz we could feel the hand of God at our backs, pushing us forward, pushing us to push ourselves to strengthen our minds, our bodies, and our spirits. Pushing us to turn to the person beside us to join hands and uplift them by sharing the uncontrollable joy we felt from creating this magical bubble that can, for one evening, protect us from the horrors, atrocities, and pollution of the outside world. It is in that very instant, with these initial realizations that each of us was truly born.

We continue to pack our bodies into clubs, or warehouses, or buildings you've abandoned and left for naught, and we bring life to them for one night. Strong, throbbing, vibrant life in it's purest, most intense, most hedonistic form. In these makeshift spaces, we seek to shed ourselves of the burden of uncertainty for a future you have been unable to stabilize and secure for us. We seek to relinquish our inhibitions, and free ourselves from the shackles and restraints you've put on us for your own peace of mind. We seek to re-write the programming that you have tried to indoctrinate us with since the moment we were born. Programming that tells us to hate, that tells us to judge, that tells us to stuff ourselves into the nearest and most convenient pigeon hole possible. Programming that even tells us to climb ladders for you, jump through hoops, and run through mazes and on hamster wheels. Programming that tells us to eat from the shiny silver spoon you are trying to feed us with, instead of nourish ourselves with our own capable hands. Programming that tells us to close our minds, instead of open them.

Until the sun rises to burn our eyes by revealing the dystopian reality of a world you've created for us, we dance fiercely with our brothers and sisters in celebration of our life, of our culture, and of the values we believe in: Peace, Love, Freedom, Tolerance, Unity, Harmony, Expression, Responsibility and Respect.

Our enemy of choice is ignorance. Our weapon of choice is information. Our crime of choice is breaking and challenging whatever laws you feel you need to put in place to stop us from celebrating our existence. But know that while you may shut down any given party, on any given night, in any given city, in any given country or continent on this beautiful planet, you can never shut down the entire party. You don't have access to that switch, no matter what you may think. The music will never stop. The heartbeat will never fade. The party will never end.

I am a raver, and this is my manifesto.

(This project was collaborated and displayed on www.Ecstasy.org)

APPENDIX G:

FLYERS

★ **TINA TRIPP'S**
MAGICAL MYSTERY TOUR ★
 CONTINUES

FRIDAY SEPT 13, 1991
 11 P.M. UNTIL DAWN
 - RAIN OR SHINE -
 IN AN ABANDONED WAREHOUSE
 SCENELACE IN BROOKLYN

★ **D.T.'S** ★

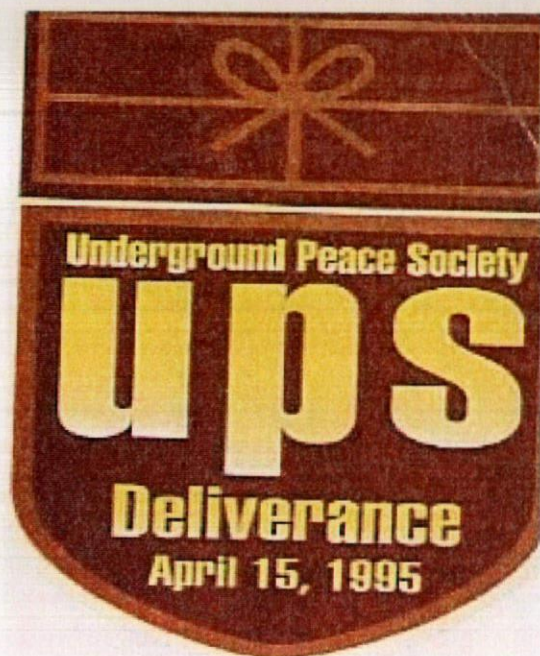
FRANKIE BONES
 GONZO
 LEE-BOTIX
 JIMMY CRASH
 JEFF KAOS
 ADAM 'X'

PROMOTIONS BY HEATHER HEART + LIL LISA
 INFO → BEEP TINA (718) 481-2905
 MEET AT CEASER'S BAY PARKING LOT
 BY TOY'S R US AT 10:30 SHARP !!
 TRANSPORTATION BY TRIPP 4 MILES TRANSPORTATION INC.
 \$5.00 DAMAGE + \$2.00 FOR RIDE
 HARDCORE-ONLY 4 THE HEADSTRONG!

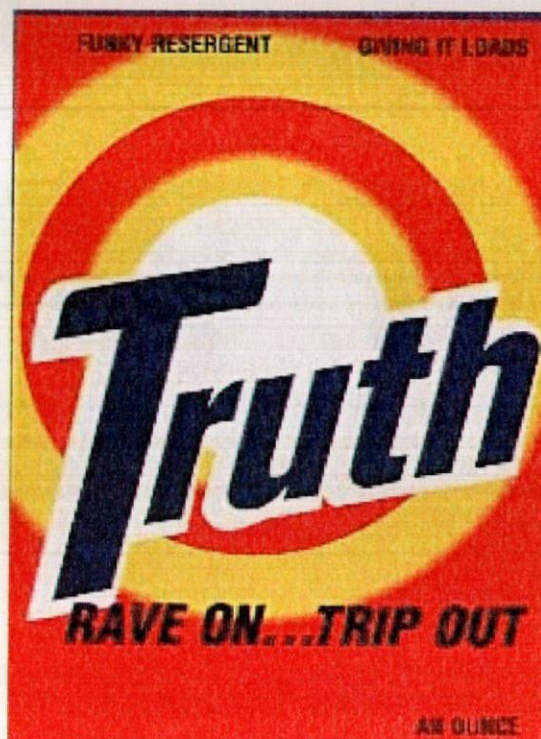
**Magical
 Mystery Tour**
 Brooklyn, NY
 1991 Tina Tripp
 design:
 unknown

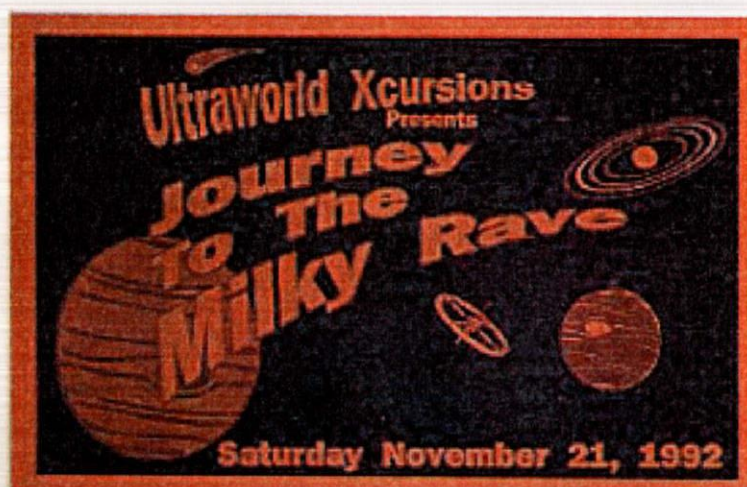
Truth

Los Angeles
 1991
 Moonshine/Lost
 Angels
 d: Jive



Deliverance Columbus, OH
 1995 Underground Peace Society
 d: Spirit/A&A Graphics

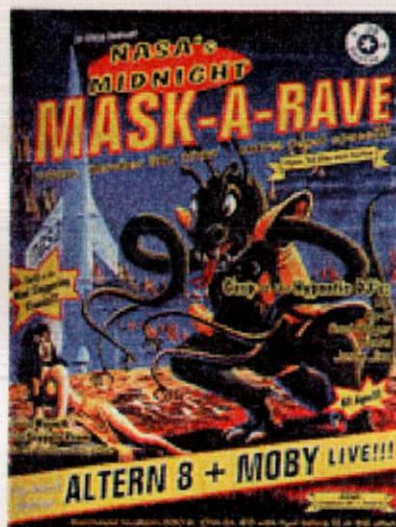




Journey to the Milky Rave
Maryland
1992: Ultraworld
d: Lonnie Fisher

American Xpress

San Diego
1992: Diesel
d: Justin Holebody Design



Maskarave

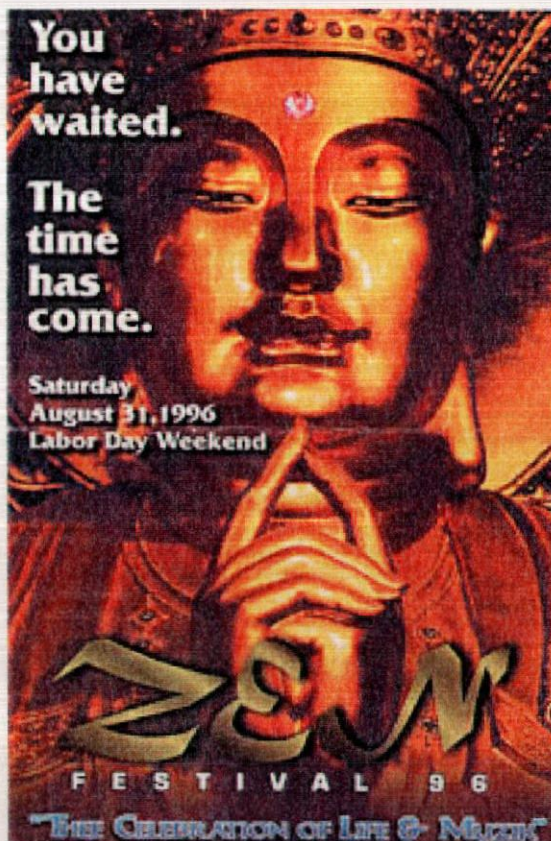
New York
1992: Nasa
d: Creation UK (DB)/Zeta-G



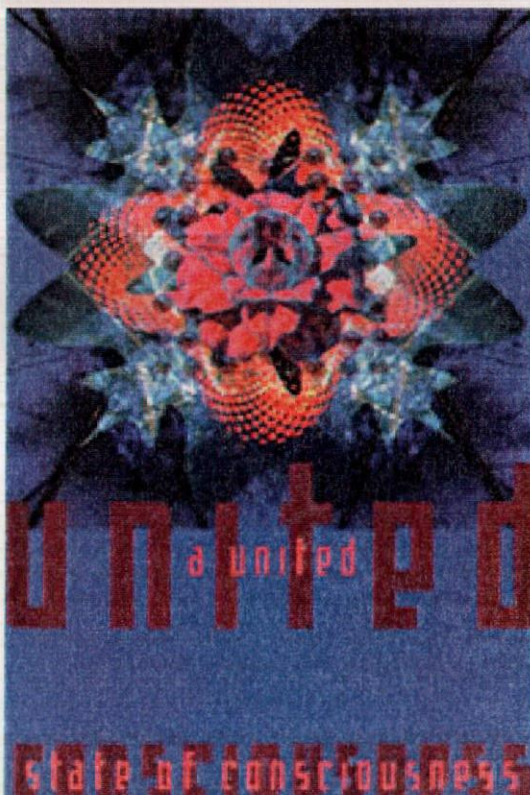
Rave-E-On
New York
1993: Nasa
d: Creation UK (DB)/Zeta-G



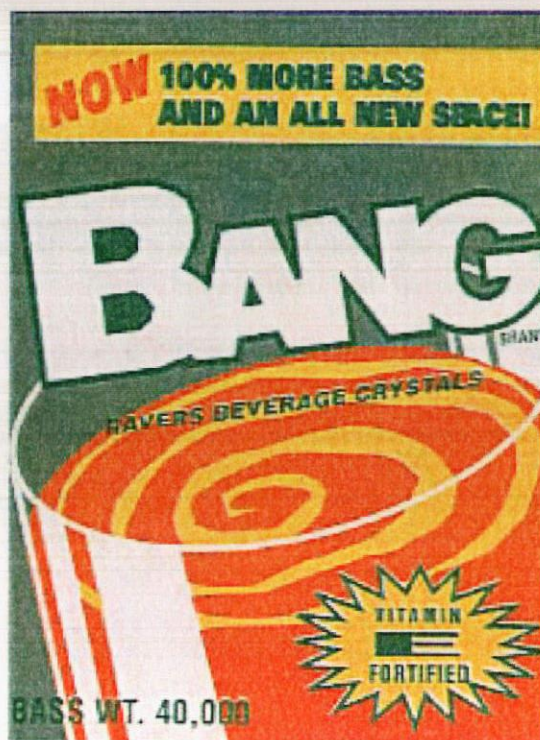
Transcendance Toronto 1995 d: unknown



Zen Festival 96 Florida 1996: Zen Festival d: unknown



United State of Consciousness Houston 1998: After Dark Productions d: Kinetic Design



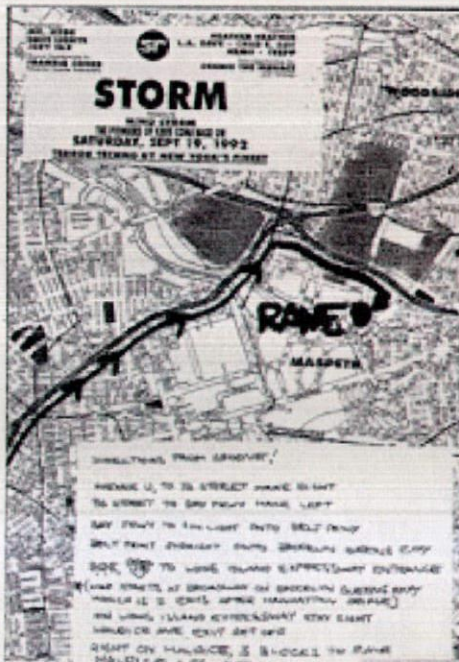
Bang Los Angeles 1991: Mr. Kool-Aid/Double Hit Mickey d: unknown

**Electric
Thursdays
Club M**
Austin, TX
2001: Flux
Entertainment
d: unknown



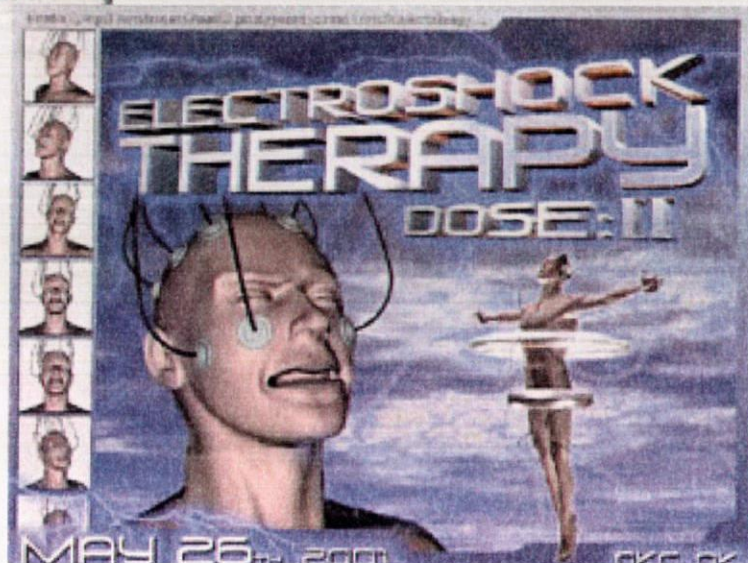
Mind Storm Brooklyn, NY

1992: STORM
d: Frankie Bones

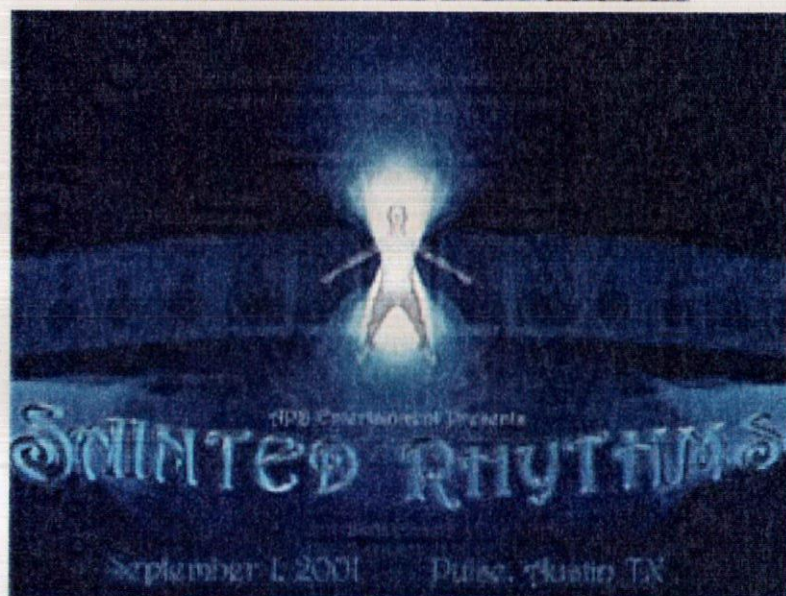


Turntable Athletes Competition Texas
2001: Latin One Stop Music d:
NonStopGraphics.net

**Electroshock
Therapy Dose:
II**
Oklahoma
2001: Massive
Q
d: Trip C



Sainted Rhythms Austin, TX
 2001: APB Entertainment d: 4XIS



Even Furthur Midwest
 1995: Drop Bass/Ripe/Dave Prince
 d: Cody Hudson/43D



Machete

Dallas, TX

2001: Valence Entertainment

d: tym: optech@huh.com

FUSION
October 12, 2001

**G3 Entertainment
Slave Therapy
Sound Mix Technology**

College Station, TX

Fusion College Station, TX
2001: G3 Entertainment
d. Jeremy Baker

FACE OFF

**FRIDAY
AUG
31
2001**

JIG PRODUCTIONS

DJ ARCHAIID vs LIQUID-23
NOAH PHEX vs PINKY
THE LOGIC THEORIST vs DECEPTAKAHN
TOXIN
DIONYSOS
MICRON
DAVE ARBITER
POPULATION ZERO
VIRUS B-23
SPOONZ vs JUSTIN E
THE ICONCLAST
LADY KARZMA
M
DARREN

VENUE: LAWVIEW CLUB 4008 FM 974 COLLEGE STATION, TX
DOORS: 10:00 PM
SHOW: 11:00 PM
TICKETS: \$12 (GENERAL ADMISSION) \$15 (EARLY BIRDS) \$18 (VIP)
FOOTNOTES OF INTEREST: THERE WILL BE A \$5.00 CASH PRIZE DRAW

CONTESTS:
1. DJ ARCHAIID vs LIQUID-23
2. NOAH PHEX vs PINKY
3. THE LOGIC THEORIST vs DECEPTAKAHN
4. TOXIN
5. DIONYSOS
6. MICRON
7. DAVE ARBITER
8. POPULATION ZERO
9. VIRUS B-23
10. SPOONZ vs JUSTIN E
11. THE ICONCLAST
12. LADY KARZMA
13. M
14. DARREN

ADMISSION: \$12 (GENERAL ADMISSION) \$15 (EARLY BIRDS) \$18 (VIP)
FOOTNOTES OF INTEREST: THERE WILL BE A \$5.00 CASH PRIZE DRAW

WE'RE NOT JUST A PARTY... WE'RE A MOVEMENT!
WE'VE GOT THE MUSIC, THE LIGHTS, THE SOUND, THE FEELING, THE VIBE, THE ENERGY, THE PASSION, THE LOVE, THE JOY, THE ECSTASY, THE TRIP, THE HIGH, THE LOW, THE EUPHORIA, THE RUSH, THE THRILL, THE ADRENALINE, THE EXCITEMENT, THE ANTICIPATION, THE HYPE, THE BUZZ, THE VIBES, THE ENERGY, THE PASSION, THE LOVE, THE JOY, THE ECSTASY, THE TRIP, THE HIGH, THE LOW, THE EUPHORIA, THE RUSH, THE THRILL, THE ADRENALINE, THE EXCITEMENT, THE ANTICIPATION, THE HYPE, THE BUZZ, THE VIBES.

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Face Off College Station, TX 2001: JG Productions d: Jonny Grafx

COOLWORLD

CYBERFEST

FUTURE MUSIC DANCE FRIENDS BY TECHNOLOGY SPIRITUALITY

2001

Cyberfest Houston, TX 2001: Coolworld d: Coolworld

HOVERTICAL PRODUCTIONS
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 you get what you pay for

TRIP TO THE UNDERWORLD
UNDERWORLD
 SATURDAY
 AUGUST
 18TH

Sleepwalkers
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

KINETIC IN DOLEMITE IN RESOLUTION
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

PLATO (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

OTRAD (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

METAPHOR (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

COSEN, ODIALE (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

OBLOQUE (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

BLONDI (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

ANG KADU
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

ANG JUSTIFI
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

DJ PAUL
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

PLAQUE
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

Strictly Drum n Bass and Breaks
 (Houston, Texas and Dallas, TX)
 production: Hovertical Productions

There will be no house of trance

Trip to the Underworld Texas
 2001: Hovertical Productions
 d: unknown

groovetech

division one

wednesday nights
 division one nightclub
 dallas, tx

Groovetech Wednesday Nights
 Division One Nightclub Dallas, TX
 2002: Valence Entertainment
 d: unknown

PRESENTS... JUNE 1st, 2001

AHIMS

AUSTIN, TX

AHIMS

AUSTIN, TX

Ahimsa Austin, TX
 2001: CIC
 d: unknown



Electric Daisy Carnival Austin, TX
2001: Ark Entertainment d: Bleep!

soho lounge
ELEVATE
saturday nights

DJ

(SHOETREE RECORDINGS)

DJ THERAPY

(SLAVE THERAPY PRODUCTIONS)

COME EXPERIENCE THE BEST IN HIGH ENERGY
TRANCE AND HOUSE MUSIC ALL NIGHT, EVERY
SATURDAY NIGHT WITH THE ONLY AFTER HOURS
CLUB IN TOWN.

GUEST DJ'S.

GREAT DRINK SPECIALS ALL NIGHT.

SOHO LOUNGE IS LOCATED ON COLLEGE MAIN
IN NORTHGATE. DOORS OPEN @ 10:00.

Elevate
Saturday Nights
Soho Lounge
College Station
d: unknown



Zen Festival

Grandview, TX
2001: Spiritual
Medicine Music
and others
d: Weblogik.net



Love
Houston, TX
2001: Bigtyme Productions
d: Digital

save our scene

(it's the only one we've got)

Save Our Scene

flyer passed out at raves and
record stores
TxRaves Awareness Group

Every week we have about 1000 people who come to a party or rave happen as planned. Every week we probably see something in another venue that doesn't get done because the owners have sacrificed their time and energy to put us all out there. We're here as possible as possible and celebrate our dedication and the future. Every week we find our community of people who are and we promise to come together under one roof, one place, and ultimately we stand in the midst of our existence.

Enough is enough. It's time to take control from the people who are taking it away and to take responsibility of ourselves.

We broke it. It's time for us to fix it.

Save Our Scene is a non-profit organization. For more information, please contact us at 281-281-1111 or 281-281-1112.

APPENDIX H:
MDMA SCHEDULING DOCUMENTS

GEORGE GREEE, M. D.
 141 E. PALACE AVE., SUITE 208
 SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO 87501
 Telephone 360 - 983-8833

August 22, 1984

Administrator
 Drug Enforcement Administration
 1405 I Street, NW
 Washington, D.C. 20537

Attention: DEA Federal Register Representative
 re: Federal Register Notice # 21 CFR Part 1308

Dear Sirs:

I am requesting a hearing on the following issues regarding the proposed placement of 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA) into Schedule I: 1) MDMA does have a legitimate and accepted medical use; 2) There is accepted safety for the use of MDMA under medical supervision; 3) Placement into Schedule I will have a significant deleterious impact upon my small business as a psychiatrist, whose interest must be considered under the Regulatory Flexibility Act (Pub. L. 96-354); and 4) I am a legitimate user and manufacturer of MDMA.

1) The legitimate use of MDMA is described in the accompanying report which I have recently written, "The Legal, Safe and Effective Use of MDMA." Its acceptance in medical practice is evidenced by the concurrence of my peer review committee, and of almost all of the local psychiatrists in Santa Fe, N.M., that my work with MDMA is acceptable medical practice. The enclosed paper, "MDMA, A New Psychotropic Compound and Its Effects in Humans," lists the members of the peer review committee. The paper describes the useful and beneficial effects of MDMA when used under medical supervision. Neither of these reports were available to the DEA in the analysis of MDMA entitled: "Schedule I Control Recommendation Under the CSA for 3,4-Methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDMA)." Apparently the representatives of the Department of Health and Human Services reporting to the DEA in the report entitled: "Evaluation of the DEA Recommendation to Control 3,4-Methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDMA) in Schedule I of the CSA" were not aware of the paper either, though copies of it had been sent to Dr. Edward N. Brandt, Jr., M.D., Assistant Secretary for Health, and Dr. Joseph Contrera, Ph.D., Supervising Pharmacologist, Division of Neuropharmacology, Food and Drug Administration.

From a recent telephone conversation with Mr. Frank Sapientza, the DEA Federal Register Representative, I understand that

HHS currently defines "accepted medical use" of a drug as existing only when the drug is approved for marketing by the FDA as a New Drug Application. This standard of "accepted medical use" is incorrect because the FDA has no role in defining or setting standards for medical practice. The original "Obituary of Eve" by J. Younger" dated May 2, 1978, at the bottom of page 22, states:

"The FDA Drug Bulletin of October 1972 contains the following statement reflecting the position of the agency:

"Congress did not intend the Food and Drug Administration to interfere with medical practice. Congress recognized a patient's right to seek civil damages in the courts if there should be evidence of malpractice, and declined to provide any legislative restrictions upon the medical profession."

This means that no Federal laws, or agencies, have any role in defining "accepted medical use". Only physicians in a local community can determine what is "accepted medical use" and "the standard of practice in the community."

Given the above facts, MDMA does not qualify for placement in Schedule I of the Controlled Substance Act, though it may qualify for placement in Schedules II-IV.

2) The fact that my peer review committee approved my protocol for the use of MDMA is evidence that it is accepted as safe when used under medical supervision. The results reported in the enclosed paper, "MDMA: A New Psychotropic Compound and Its Effects in Humans," further substantiates the safety of the use of MDMA under medical supervision.

3) My small business as a psychiatrist in private practice will suffer both professionally and economically if MDMA is placed into Schedule I. The FDA regulations that are currently applied to large pharmaceutical manufacturers will be inappropriately applied to my practice of medicine. It is my understanding that the DEA is required by law to follow the recommendations of HHS in all matters of scientific judgment when granting permits to use Schedule I controlled substances. I also understand that current HHS policy requires all researchers, even physicians, to obtain an Investigational New Drug permit from the FDA before approving research protocols involving Schedule I substances. (However, an IND is not required for physicians using drugs in Schedules II-IV, even if that use is experimental.)

In order to obtain an IND for MDMA, the FDA requires that certain animal research be completed. This research would cost \$1,500,000 from the estimates of commercial laboratories. Once clinical trials are approved, FDA approval of my protocol for using MDMA would still be required. I have received verbal estimates from the pharmaceutical industry that \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 in research expenses must be spent in order to gain

FDA approval for marketing a new drug. As mentioned above, current HHS policy equates FDA marketing approval with "accepted medical use," a necessary criteria for allowing a substance of abuse to be placed in Schedules II-V. This approval would be necessary before I could resume my practice of medicine using MDMA without interference from the FDA, even though the FDA is mandated by Congress not "to interfere with medical practice."

In regard to the Regulatory Flexibility Act, the placing of MDMA into Schedule I would "impose unnecessary and disproportionately burdensome demands ... upon [my] small business" (Sec. 2, Paragraph (3)); would "discourage innovation" (Paragraph (4)); would "discourage potential entrepreneurs from introducing beneficial products" (Paragraph (5)); and would "lead to ... actions inconsistent with the legislative intent [as described above and below] of health, safety, environmental and economic welfare legislation" (Paragraph (6)). Furthermore, an "alternative regulatory approach which does] not conflict with the stated objectives [prevention of substance abuse] of applicable statutes ... [is] available which minimize[s] the significant economic impact of rules on small businesses" (Paragraph (7)). This alternative approach is to place MDMA into Schedule II, III, IV, or V of the CSA.

4) According to the enclosed "Opinion of Euvell J. Younger" I am a legitimate user of MDMA even though it is not recognized by the FDA as an approved prescription drug. As explained above, FDA regulations have no effect on my legitimacy as a user of any drug within my medical practice. The argument is lengthy, but important; page 21, line 4 states the following: "The purpose of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act viewed in its broadest sense is to protect the uninformed consumer." (My informed consent document is enclosed.) Page 22, line 19 states:

"... where a licensed practitioner in an exercise of his or her independent judgment decides to prescribe a drug for a use which, as to that use, would make the drug a new drug ... the practitioner ... is not promoting a drug in a commercial setting in which a drug manufacturer operates."

"Senator Royal Copeland, when introducing Senate Bill No. 2800 on the subject, stated that the Bill [the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act] was drafted so as to make certain that the medical practitioner shall not be interfered with in his practice." (79 Cong. Rec. 2728 (1934).) ... Both Senate Bill No. 2800 and Senate Bill No. 5 said that the term "drug" was defined therein "for the purpose of this act and not to regulate the practice of medicine." (Emphasis added.) The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in consideration of Senate Bill No. 5 omitted the latter clause because the words were thought to be unnecessary and might create confusion. (p. 23) The committee further stated that the bill "does not undertake to regulate

the practice of the healing arts." (H.R. Rep. No. 2755, 74th Cong., 2d sess. (1936).) ... In explaining the "new drug" provisions (added in the 75th Congress), the Committee stated that the section was intended "to prevent incompetent or irresponsible manufacturers from causing wholesale deaths."

The enclosed opinion of Mr. Bion M. Gregory, Legislative Counsel of California, also speaks to the general issue.

My legitimacy as a manufacturer of MDMA is described in the enclosed report, "The Legal, Safe and Effective Use of MDMA." This legitimacy is upheld by the enclosed copy of a portion of the California Health and Safety Code, Division 21: Sherman Food, Drug and Cosmetic Law, Chapter 61: Drugs and Devices, Article 61: Licenses, Paragraph 26692: "The licensing provisions of this chapter shall not apply to any of the followings ... (d) any person who is licensed by law to administer drugs or devices and who manufactures, prepares, propagates, compounds, or processes drugs or devices solely for use in the course of his professional practice." This statement implies that any licensed physician is a legitimate manufacturer of any drug manufactured "solely for use in the course of his professional practice." I am a physician licensed to practice medicine in California and I manufactured in California the supply of MDMA that I use in my practice. Therefore I am a legitimate manufacturer of MDMA. (The manufacturing procedure is mentioned in the enclosed paper, "MDMA: A New Psychotropic Compound and Its Effects in Humans," on page 1 under the heading, "METHOD.")

I will be happy to appear at the hearing I have requested to further address the above issues. If further evidence is needed to support the objections I have outlined above, please let me know what is required and I shall obtain and present it.

Sincerely,

George Greer, M.D.

George Greer, M.D.

Harvard Medical School
Department of Psychiatry



Massachusetts Mental Health Center
74 Fenwood Road, Boston 22115

August 28, 1984

Administrator, DEA
1405 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20537

ATTENTION: Federal Register Representative

Dear Sirs:

We are writing to request a hearing on the scheduling of 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA). We are the authors of several books and articles on drug abuse and drug therapies; our C.V.'s are enclosed.

We would like to ask you to delay the scheduling of MDMA to permit further research into its therapeutic uses. MDMA does not closely resemble 3,4-methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDA) in its effects; it is much shorter-acting, has fewer toxic side effects, and is more potentially useful in psychiatry. It is not psychotomimetic or a stimulant like amphetamine at normal doses. According to reports we have heard from patients and therapists who have used MDMA, it may have potential in psychotherapy, in diagnostic interviews, and possibly in treating heroin, cocaine, alcohol and other addictions. There is no evidence that MDMA itself is addictive. In our opinion high abuse potential has not been demonstrated. Current therapeutic use is serious and responsible. We are told that more than 20 therapists, including licensed physicians, have used MDMA in their practices with encouraging results. We are familiar with some of this work through the writings of George Greer, M.D., and believe it holds considerable promise. It would be unfortunate if the government now took action that created administrative obstacles to the pursuit of therapeutic research with this substance.

Sincerely,

Lester Grinspoon, M.D.
Lester Grinspoon, M.D.

James Bakalar
James Bakalar

Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois 60115

Department of Learning, Development
and Special Education
815 753 0657

Special Education	753-0657
Educational Psychology	753-0653
Research and Evaluation	753-0659

August 13, 1984

Administrator
Drug Enforcement Administration
1405 I Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20537

ATTENTION: DEA Federal Register Representative

Dear Sirs:

I am writing in reference to your notice in the Federal Register on July 27, 1984 on the proposed placement of MDMA (3, 4 methylenedioxy-methamphetamine) on Schedule I. I request that a hearing be held on this proposal for several reasons. First, as a subject in the only human trial of this substance I believe I received substantial benefits. Second, as a professor of courses which are taken by mental health workers, I think this substance has potential uses in mental health. Third, evidence which has been submitted to the DEA from the Drug Control Section Office of Diversion Control (Brandt to Mullen June 6, 1984) and a previous letter (Mullen to Brandt, March 13, 1984), raise substantive issues on the appropriateness and completeness of the research they cite. Fourth, as a stockholder in a small business (a development stage enterprise) I plan to propose to this company that it consider further research and development of MDMA. The City of Baltimore, through the Economic Development Corporation and the Federal government, has provided approximately \$1,700,000 for the renovation of the company's facilities.

First, in the summer of 1981 I was a subject in a pilot study of the possible uses of MDMA as an adjunct to psychotherapy. As someone who finds it difficult to openly and freely express his emotions, my experience was that MDMA facilitated my consideration to three emotionally-packed issues in my life. These included the death of my father and the breakup of an engagement. On the positive side, I clarified my feelings toward a woman I had recently met, and I am happy to say that we are now happily married and expecting our first child within a week.

From my own experience, I would say that MDMA used under professional guidance and with other appropriate safeguards has considerable potential for assisting in helping patients who have difficulty expressing their emotions and who tend to repress uncomfortable thoughts and feelings.

Second, approximately one third of my students come from mental-health related fields such as counseling, nursing, and community mental health. I have also served on the Prevention Committee of the National Mental

Northern Illinois University 11

Page 2
DEA Federal Register Rep.

Health Association and was a featured speaker at a conference on future directions in counseling sponsored by the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision, and I contributed to a book of proceedings of that conference. I also served on doctoral dissertation committees in the Counseling Faculty at Northern Illinois University, and am on the editorial advisory board of Brain/Mind Bulletin and other professional publications.

It is my professional opinion that MDMA offers mental health workers a way of assisting psychotherapy, pending further research, of course. The placement of this substance on Schedule I would discourage this line of research and potential use.

Third, the research and evidence cited by Dr. Edward Brandt in his letter to Francis M. Mullen (June 6, 1984) and the previous letter from Mr. Mullen to Dr. Brandt (March 13, 1984), raise methodological questions about the completeness, intent, and appropriateness of their recommendations.

Neither letter cites the best evidence on the question of MDMA; this is Dr. George Greer's study MDMA: A New Psychotropic Compound and Its Effects in Humans (1983). Since the proposed uses for this substance are in the mental health context, the evidence cited in the Brandt and Mullen letters should address itself to these issues.

Comparisons of the effects of MDMA are consistently made to illegal substances, rather than to legal substances, e.g., mescaline and MDA. This raises questions about the intent of their recommendations. Since MDMA has analgesic and other potentially useful properties, it should more appropriately be compared with legal drugs of known uses. Unfortunately, this smacks of guilt by association rather than conclusions scientifically arrived at. Decrease in tension and mood-lightening suggest additional comparisons to current legal drugs rather than to illegal drugs.

Studies of the lethal dosages were made with injection, while human administration is orally, and the doses were several magnitudes greater than that proposed for humans. While such studies provide some useful information, it is questionable whether they provide useful information on whether relatively low doses of MDMA should be used in human research. Also, since the proposed use of MDMA is in psychotherapy, animal studies provide almost no worthwhile evidence on that topic unless one can find ways of doing psychotherapy with mice and monkeys.

Reports or mentions of MDMA having been found by law enforcement officials is also of questionable validity. If this were the case, then findings of other drugs under the same circumstances would constitute evidence that they too should be classified under Schedule I. But it is not hard to imagine that aspirin, vitamins, and other legal substances are also found by law enforcement officials, yet one would not propose that they be classified under Schedule I.

Fourth, it is my opinion that MDMA has the potential of being a drug of substantial use, and as a stockholder in two publically owned corporations, I plan to bring it to the attention of the research departments of these companies. While I have no idea whether they will want to consider these

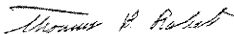
Northern Illinois University **NIU**

Page 3
DEA Federal Register Rep.

for further research and development, it seems overly hasty to preclude this option at this time.

In short, when competent authorities disagree, the correct action is to investigate the area of disagreement and obtain additional information in order to make a more informed judgement. I hope the DEA will consider holding hearings on MDMA and will encourage additional research on this substance. If I may be of any assistance in this matter, please feel free to call on me.

Respectfully,



Thomas B. Roberts, Ph.D.
Professor

bms

enclosure: abstract of Greer, G. (1983). MDMA: A New Psychotropic Compound and Its Effects in Humans

cc: Edward Brandt, Assistant Secretary for Health
Francis M. Mullen, Administrator, Drug Enforcement Administration
Charles Percy, Senator
others

STATEMENT FOR DEA AND FDA HEARINGS ON MDMA.

by

Lester Grinspoon, M.D.

"The rejection of any source of evidence is always treason to that ultimate rationalism which urges forward science and philosophy alike." (Whitehead).

Between 1950 and the mid 1960s there was a robust interest in the possibility that LSD and related drugs (sometimes called "hallucinogenic" or "psychedelic") might be therapeutically useful for psychiatry. There were more than a thousand clinical papers discussing forty thousand patients, several dozen books and six international conferences on therapy using these drugs. The subject aroused the interest of many psychiatrists who were in no sense cultural rebels. The use of LSD and related drugs was recommended for a wide variety of problems, including alcoholism, obsessional neurosis, and the treatment of the dying. Almost all publication and most therapeutic practice in this field have come to an end, as much because of legal and financial obstacles as because of the loss

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of interest. Experimental efforts were abandoned before the degree of success or failure was adequately determined. It would be wise to see whether we can salvage something from those two decades of research and clinical practice rather than write them off as a mistake that now has only historical interest. If the therapeutic results have seemed erratic and inconsistent, that is partly because of the complexity of the effects of these drugs. For the same reason we may simply not yet have had enough time to sort out their best uses. In rejecting the absurd notion promoted by some that these drugs were a panacea, we have chosen to treat them as entirely worthless and extraordinarily dangerous. The time has come to find an intermediate position.

It is interesting that several cultures in the western hemisphere make religious or therapeutic use of certain drugs which are banned by the United States federal and state governments. This is true especially in the western United States and Mexico. We have made a curiously self-disparaging decision when we judge that no one in a modern industrial society is qualified to do what is done by a leader of the peyote ceremony in the Native American Church or a Mazatec Indian healer who uses mind-altering mushrooms. It has even been recognized in federal alcoholism clinics for Indians that peyote may have

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some value.

There are now several new drugs which may have therapeutic interest and may also be significant for the study of the human mind. Undoubtedly there will be more such drugs synthesized in the future. The effects of these drugs are sometimes different from those of LSD and other familiar substances, and the differences may be highly significant. We cannot analyze these questions properly without more controlled human research.

The drug of central interest here is 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA). When taken in doses of 75 to 150 mg orally, this phenylethylamine seems to have a remarkable capacity to help people to get in touch with feelings, to become more open and trusting and less defensive, to facilitate the recall of early memories, and to invite self-exploration and insight. Unlike LSD and drugs with similar effects, it does not ordinarily produce perceptual distortions, body image change, or changes in the sense of self. Although MDMA is chemically related to methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDA), it is a milder and shorter-acting drug with less consciousness change and fewer secondary neurological symptoms. Adverse sequelae seem to be rare, although not unknown. In short, MDMA appears to have some of the advantages of the LSD-like drugs without most of the corresponding disadvantages.

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This drug is now being taken by growing numbers of people, particularly students and young professionals. It has already been used for therapeutic purposes by a number of physicians and psychotheranists. We have had discussions with several mental health professionals who have found it useful as a catalyst of self-exploration. The users are increasingly seeking people who know how to employ MDMA in a therapeutic setting. MDMA might be useful in marital counseling, in diagnostic interviews, in helping patients decide whether they want to go through the process of psychotherapy, in helping psychiatrists decide whether a patient can benefit from the kind of insights that psychotherapy provides, and possibly as an occasional catalyst of the insight-oriented psychotherapeutic process. Whether this turns out to be true or not can be learned only by more systematic human research, preceded by necessary animal toxicity studies. The kind of informal research that is going on now will not suffice for an accurate assessment of either its therapeutic potential or its toxicity or abuse potential. Prematurely discouraging more systematic research by putting MDMA in Schedule I of the Controlled Substance Act would be a mistake.

I have been involved in the study of psychoactive drugs since 1967. I have published a number of papers

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and six books in this area. Two of the books have direct relevance to this subject (Psychedelic Drugs Reconsidered. Lester Grinspoon and James B. Bakalar, New York: Basic Books, 1979 and Psychedelic Reflections. Lester Grinspoon and B. James Bakalar, New York: Human Sciences Press, 1983). During the course of this work I have read widely in the scientific literature on the subject and have accumulated much experience with people who use various psychoactive drugs.

Although our understanding of MDMA is at this time inchoate, I think that its potential for abuse is probably low, if one defines abuse as involving harm to the individual and/or society. At any rate, a high abuse potential has not been demonstrated and current reports indicate relatively few serious problems. Because of the nature of the experience users generally do not wish to repeat it frequently or treat it casually and recreationally. For similar reasons I believe that its dependence producing potential is low. In addition I have heard of no reports of craving or withdrawal symptoms. There do not seem to be any effects so disturbing, disorienting or physically dangerous that it would be impossible for MDMA to be used safely under a physicians's supervision. It is reported to have been used hundreds of times in psychotherapy with few serious complications.

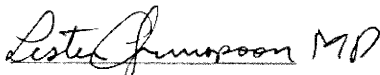
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Research would help us to determine how to prevent any such complications.

My background and experience in this area are set forth in the accompanying curriculum vitae.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on April 18, 1985

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lester Grinspoon MD". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Lester Grinspoon, M.D.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

In the Matter of)	Docket No. B4-48
)	
<u>MDMA SCHEDULING</u>)	
)	

DIRECT TESTIMONY OF FRANK L. SAPIENZA, M.S.

I, Frank L. Sapienza, make the following statement:

I am a chemist employed at the Drug Control Section, Office of Diversion Control, United States Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). I received my undergraduate and graduate degrees in chemistry from the University of Pittsburgh. I received my masters degree in 1972. Prior to my current position with the Drug Control Section at DEA, I was a forensic analytical chemist at the United States Army Criminal Investigation Laboratories in Fort Gordon, Georgia and Frankfurt, Germany (1970-71), at the Allegheny County Crime Laboratory (1971-72) and at the DEA Mid-Atlantic Laboratory (1972-78). I have worked in the Drug Control Section of DEA since 1978.

In my current position with the Drug Control Section, I am responsible for reviewing and evaluating information relevant to the actual or potential abuse of substances. I prepare reports on the substances reviewed which then serve as the basis for recommendations and decisions concerning the classification and scheduling of substances under the Controlled Substances Act (CSA). I review information from the world scientific literature, from sources within DEA as well as from other Federal, state and local data sources. I have conducted reviews of

narcotic, stimulant, depressant and hallucinogenic substances relative to both domestic and international scheduling.

Reports from DEA agents that clandestine laboratory operators were producing an analog of MDA in an effort to circumvent the CSA, forensic laboratory reports of this substance in the drug traffic, and requests from state and local officials to examine the possibility of controlling this MDA analog prompted DEA to initiate a drug review of the substance, 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA).

After gathering and reviewing the available data concerning MDMA I prepared a document entitled "Schedule I Control Recommendation Under the CSA for 3,4-Methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA)" in January, 1984. (Government document B-2) This document contains an analysis of the factors listed in 21 U.S.C. 811(c) relevant to placing MDMA under CSA control. It also contains an evaluation of the criteria necessary for placing MDMA into Schedule I of the CSA. The document was provided to the Department of Health and Human Services on March 3, 1984 for a scientific and medical evaluation and scheduling recommendation for MDMA.

I examined a number of data sources within DEA in conducting my review of MDMA. STRIDE (System to Retrieve Information from Drug Evidence), is a system which collects, stores, processes and retrieves laboratory analysis information from drug evidence samples submitted to DEA laboratories. Most of the evidence submitted to DEA laboratories is obtained in the course of criminal investigations. The appearance of a substance in STRIDE is a good indication that the substance is a part of the illicit drug traffic. STRIDE data is drug specific and the substances found are verified by chemical analysis, and thus STRIDE is an extremely reliable qualitative measure of the involvement of a particular

substance in the illicit drug traffic. Since law enforcement priorities and the control status of substances play a major role in determining the nature and the direction of criminal investigations, STRIDE data provides a somewhat biased view of the quantitative measure of a substance's appearance in the illicit drug traffic. Most of DEA's enforcement efforts are directed at major distributors of Schedule I and II substances and not at individuals distributing noncontrolled substances. Furthermore, if an agent obtains a purported controlled substance (MDA) which upon chemical analysis is found to be a noncontrolled substance (MDMA), the investigation will usually be terminated. Thus, noncontrolled substances such as MDMA are underreported in STRIDE.

Another DEA source of information is the clandestine laboratory report which describes either operating or potential laboratories having the necessary chemicals and equipment to produce a controlled substance. Occasionally, criminal investigators will find a clandestine laboratory suspected of producing a controlled substance but the analysis of materials obtained from the laboratory, indicate that a noncontrolled substance is being produced. Investigators may terminate surveillance of clandestine laboratories once it is determined that only noncontrolled substances are being produced. Clandestine laboratories producing only noncontrolled substances are sometimes seized if the agents believe that controlled substances are being manufactured. This explains why DEA has seized laboratories making MDMA. Other DEA data sources include investigative case files which describe the circumstances surrounding the submission of drug evidence to DEA laboratories, intelligence reports

concerning the appearance of new drugs on the illicit market and their trafficking and abuse patterns, and general information contained in DEA files regarding the substance in question.

Non-federal forensic laboratories will sometimes voluntarily report unusual drug exhibits or new drugs of abuse to DEA. Additionally DEA queried some of these laboratories in an attempt to determine if MDMA is encountered in the drug traffic. As with STRIDE, this data is highly reliable as a qualitative indicator of the street availability of a substance. Many forensic laboratories do not identify or report noncontrolled substances, therefore, noncontrolled substances are underreported by these laboratories.

The Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) provides information on the abuse of substances through the collection of data on the number of emergency room visits and deaths associated with a substance. DAWN emergency room data is not verified by chemical analysis and thus in the case of illicit preparations, may not be an accurate indicator of the number or nature of emergency room visits actually associated with a substance. MDMA is trafficked on the street as MDĀ, MMDA, ADAM, etc. and it is likely that some DAWN mentions attributed to these and other substances may be due to MDMA.

My review of the scientific and medical literature and the above data sources as well as others provides the following description of MDMA:

MDMA is the N-methyl analog of MDA and it is in the chemical class of compounds known as ring-substituted phenylalkylamines. MDMA differs from MDA structurally in the same way that methamphetamine differs from amphetamine, by the addition of an N-methyl group. Other ring-substituted phenylalkylamines include the substances, 3,4,5-trimethoxyamphetamine (TMA), 4-methyl-2,5-dimethoxyamphetamine (STP), 4-bromo-2,5-dimethoxyamphetamine (DOB), para-methoxyamphetamine (PMA) and 3-methoxy-4,5-methylenedioxyamphetamine (MMDA). All of these substances have a high potential for abuse, no accepted medical use and are classified as hallucinogens in Schedule I of the CSA.

The scientific literature shows that the pharmacological profiles of MDMA and MDA in animals are similar. Both of these substances and mescaline produce the same signs related to motor, autonomic and central nervous system function in the unanesthetized dog and monkey. MDMA and MDA produce analgesia in mice using stretch, hot-plate and tail-flick tests. Increased motor activity in mice was observed after administration of both MDA and MDMA. In humans the effects of MDMA were reported to be similar to those of marijuana, psilocybin and MDA. At low doses both MDA and MDMA produce a change in consciousness without hallucinations, increases in tactile, visual and acoustic sensory perceptions, a decrease in tension and a mood lightening effect. Physical symptoms reported were jaw clenching, mydriasis, pulse acceleration and anxiety produced nausea.

My review of the scientific literature failed to identify any references to studies concerning the therapeutic utility of MDMA. A

check with the Food and Drug Administration revealed that there are no investigational new drug applications or approvals for MDMA. There is also no indication from the chemical literature and chemical manufacturing sources that there is a commercial manufacturer of MDMA.

My review shows that MDMA has been encountered with increasing frequency in the illicit drug traffic since 1970. DEA laboratories analyzed over 60,000 dosage units of MDMA in 34 exhibits from 12 states between 1972 and 1983. MDMA exhibits were found in California, Illinois, Washington, D.C., Colorado, Tennessee, Florida, New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina and Oregon. Non-federal forensic laboratories have reported the analysis of at least 41 MDMA evidence samples to DEA since 1978. The states reporting MDMA submissions were Oregon, Texas, Virginia, California, North Carolina, New York, Maryland and Tennessee. MDMA is trafficked as MDA, Ecstasy, XTC, ADAM, MDM or MDMA. Laboratory submissions range from 1 dosage unit to over 2 kilogram samples in capsules and powders. Investigative case files show that MDMA has been distributed by individuals also distributing controlled substances including cocaine, marijuana, MDA, methamphetamine and PCP.

MDMA is produced in clandestine laboratories by procedures analogous to those used to produce MDA, amphetamine and methamphetamine. The 2 synthetic routes used to produce MDA or MDMA yield the racemic mixture. In those samples of MDA and MDMA for which optical isomerism was determined by DEA laboratories, the racemic forms were found in each instance. MDMA can be synthesized from readily available substances by individuals with minimal chemical education or training.

Some of the Evidence submitted by Sapienza:

「Drug」(Drug) n. (C) 1. 藥, 藥品, 藥劑
藥劑, 藥劑 3. 尤指()

ECSTASY

Everything looks wonderful when you're young and on drugs.

In the decades since LSD was synthesized, a number of scientists have tried to figure out why such minute quantities of lysergic acid could have such a profound effect on the human nervous system. Their researches have led, in the case of one pioneer "drug designer," Alexander Shulgin, to successful attempts to isolate the psychedelic experience chemically. Concentrating on the mescaline molecule, Shulgin has been able to isolate the mimetic neuro-transmitter that enhances colors, and one that enhances sounds.

Using Shulgin's research, a group of underground chemists have come up with a new drug called Ecstasy, a drug tailor-made to stimulate the message-signal of empathy in the human nervous system. Several WETheads took it recently, strictly in the interests of scientific research, and as one reported: "This girl and I sat there for about an hour and a half, saying to each other 'Are you getting off? Are you really stoned?' Then finally, we said, 'Fuck it. Let's go for a walk.' And we had this incredible four or five hour walk — total joy and clarity and pleasure. We're walking down Hollywood Boulevard. People are smiling at us, flower vendors are giving us flowers. The sun is shining happily down. And she says suddenly, 'You know, I'm really in ecstasy!'"

Intrigued by the results, we went to visit the distributor for Ecstasy, a mild-mannered, balding, in his late thirties with a new wife and a tiny baby in a double West Hollywood apartment, and we asked presently, was going on. This was his reply . . .

66 The actual chemical is a secret, for obvious reasons. So far as I know, the government hasn't made Ecstasy illegal yet, but it's in a group of chemicals which the government would rather not see around, so there's no patent protection. All I can say is that MDMA, a cousin to MDA, is the closest molecule to it.

"There's a chemical message-signal for every thought and emotion that you ever had in your life. That's how it works, that's the mechanics for the experience of what we call life. It might sound cold-blooded and mechanistic, but as far as I'm concerned, that's how God does it in the physical world. As I see it, empathy is an emotional tuning to another nervous system, and this chemical triggers it.

"The only trouble with LSD is, as far as I'm concerned, that you get blasted past things so fast that it's hard to remember what happened on your trip, to reflect on things the next day. LSD's lasts you past the human sphere, I mean, let God take care of the meta-cosmic. I want to be a good human. That's what I'm interested in — it's perfect for people who want to develop their human relational capacity. It's a domestic psychedelic

"Ecstasy is a powerful, pleasurable and peaceful experience; but it's also quite demanding. If you take it too often, you use up the empathy neuro-transmitter that you naturally produce and you get kind of tired and strung out. You get tired from being that way. Ecstasy once every two or three weeks is plenty. In my opinion, it's really a two-day trip. The first day is really the ecstatic empathy-sharing that you have with another person. The next day is for hanging out and relaxing, sharing with your friend some of the insights you've had. If you take it a one, and there's nobody there to empathize with, it can be a real lonely drug.

"I find it best to take Ecstasy on an empty stomach, with no other drugs in your system. If you have a lot to drink, it will make you sick to your stomach. Food will break it down and diminish the effect. I wouldn't start it either, because it's rather awful. My wife and I like to take it on a Sunday morning when we wake up, if it's a nice day with nothing pressing. Then the next day we have a quiet, peaceful reintegration.

"Why did we call it Ecstasy rather than Empathy? Well, let's face it, ecstasy sells better than empathy. One of the best marketing concepts is to present it as a sex aphrodisiac, which it is. Because a true aphrodisiac stimulates between two people who are fond of each other is being fond of each other. A lot of people who've used this drug for a sort of sleazy seduction trip when they really didn't care for the other person at all have had very unpleasant experiences. They got sick to their stomachs, confused, and paranoid, because the drug shows what's there, and if what's there to begin with is nasty, well . . .

"We first started distributing Ecstasy five years ago, but three years ago a couple of chemists who were making it got strung out on it and they got frightened and changed the formula, which completely ruined the business. It cost us probably a quarter of a million dollars in profits and screwed up everything for a year and a half. But for the last year they've manufactured the original chemical and refined it even more, so that in some respects it's even better than the original. But it's taken a long time to build up the distribution network again. Money has gotten tighter and a lot of old customers are free-basing and doing more jobs. Right now more people are interested in egoism than in empathy, and even in the ideal neuro-transmitter for that. People are a lot more selfish than they were five years ago. It's become a tougher world, so people have gotten a lot tougher too.

"There's been a drug culture for fifteen years and people are very blasé, and they're used to doing lots of drugs all the time. Unfortunately, they lose the perspective, the significance of these experiences — the values that these experiences can actually have in their lives. In the world today, it seems like you have to be hit by a Mack Truck to say 'alright . . .'"

FLIGHT INSTRUCTIONS FOR A FRIEND
USING XTC

From what you said, you mostly did everything correctly except the most important part, which is the absolute necessity of sharing the same setting and space with another person—one you are fond of.

This is not a "mind altering" trip. This is an enhancement of the tactile senses in a giving and receiving way. It does not blow your mind out of your body or isolate your body from your mind or cancel out one or the other.

The operative words are empathy, gentleness, and joy of life, body and mind. If you want to groove only on yourself, this is not the way to go.

1. Be in a pleasant setting.
2. Rested.
3. No food, drugs or alcohol in your system.
4. A companion you care about (wife/husband, lover, friend).
5. Ingest the entire amount you plan to take at one time. If you want it to come on a little faster, dissolve it in about 1/4 glass of beer (the bitterness of beer helps to mask the bitter taste of XTC) and drink it down.

6. You will feel a gentle warmth flooding your body and your mind becoming peacefully alert. There is no rushing or hurtling toward the uncontrollable unknown.

This is happiness. Security. Peace. Freedom. Your body feeling life, kissing in your veins. Your mind agile. No nuclear explosions, but a blossoming sensuality. Each sense enhancing the others. A big smile, the easing of tensions in mind, body and soul!

7. After an hour or so to get used to the sensations you might want to go for a walk and enjoy the surroundings—or you might find yourself perfectly contented to simply enjoy being where you are.
8. You will experience a certain lassitude the next day. We prefer to consider this an after-glow and like to take the time to bask in one another's company and discuss the experience of the previous day.

However, everyone does not always have the luxury of times available and sometimes we all simply relate to this lassitude as tiredness. The following combinations of vitamins (available from most any health food store) will dispell the tiredness and re-invigorate you almost immediately.

MIX AND INGEST EACH COMBINATION
SEPARATELY IN WATER

- | | |
|----|---------------------|
| A. | 1. L-phenylalanine |
| | 2. Vitamin B6 |
| | 3. Vitamin C powder |
| B. | 1. coltin chloride |
| | 2. Vitamin B5 |

- p.s. We have discovered that the coltin chloride also helps to re-energize male sexual vitality. Try taking it before retiring for a couple of nights before taking the XTC as well as the day after.

*distributed as a pamphlet
during "Ecstasy" parties...
PAB*

Ecstasy

21st CENTURY ENTHEOGEN

ENTHEOGEN: n. (Gr. ep within & theos God & gen becoming.) Any substance (synthesized or natural) whose ingestion creates in the taker experience of God, ultimate reality, the ground of Being, Absolute truth, or at-one-ment

You have a longing to forsake this world and its reality and to penetrate to a reality more native to you, to a world beyond time. You know, of course, where this other world lies hidden.

It is the world of your own soul that you seek. Only within yourself exists that other reality for which you long. I can give you nothing that has not already its being within yourself. I can throw open to you no picture gallery but your own soul! All I can give you is the opportunity, the impulse, the key. I can help you to make your own world visible. That is all.

Herman Hesse
Steppenwolf

WHAT IS ECSTASY

The chemical name of Ecstasy is "methylendioxyamfetamin piktamin." It is also known as ADAM, MDMA, XTC, and in one state, "M&M."

First, it should be noted that although the name, "Methylendioxyamfetamin piktamin," ends with words familiar to many who have no chemical background, "methamphetamine," this fact in no way implies any similarity in action to the drug which is known as methamphetamine or the drug known as amphetamine.

XTC is a non-hallucinogenic compound, except in high doses, which can induce a state of profound difficulty by opening up the central nervous system at the brain chakra. The brain circuit is the chakra through which we express unconditional love, sympathy, and extra personal understanding. When this circuit is opened, people are able to express and feel love free of expectations and conditions, and to experience acceptance of their role in the human drama.

Ecstasy brings about a condition of peacefulness, an ability to feel trust, a lowering of psychological barriers, and often an extraordinary increase in insight.

Because Ecstasy is an MDA-like compound, it comes from the volatile oils found in a small number of plants, namely, nutmeg, mace, saffron, cayenne, crocus, parsley and saffrais. The amine-iron conversion to amine form, as these plants with brightness and clarifies the mental effects and all but eliminates the physical side effects that often accompany the use of botanicals.

HOW SHOULD ECSTASY BE TAKEN

XTC has a narrow effective dosage doorway. The correct dosage is therefore important and does vary slightly between different people. 125 milligrams (1/8 of a gram) ingested orally on an empty

stomach is typically a good dosage. 100-150 milligrams is a good dosage range. If there is food in your stomach, the drug doesn't come on. If too much is taken, or if the experience is repeated too frequently, headaches, nausea, and some fatigue are certainly very real. It is a good idea to wait at least a week between trips. 90% of the trip is over within four hours. The last 10% takes a full day to permanently secede. Make a point to drink plenty of water during your trip. This helps your body to heal itself by flushing out your system.

If you take the suggested dosage of Ecstasy, we found that it is totally water soluble, and within any ten hour period of having ingested it, there were no remains that could be traced in the tissues on the urine from laboratory tests.

WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED

In almost all cases of having witnessed peoples first experience with Ecstasy, there are two things that come out. One is that it is the most beautiful experience they have ever had, and the other, that they would like to share this experience with certain people, and they will usually name off three or four of their closest friends and one or two relatives.

Another very common experience is a type of age regression where they will remember some very beautiful positive aspects of their childhood or recent past, and talk freely of them.

Typically, XTC brings up unexpressed emotions. If an individual has a reservoir of unexpressed negative emotions, these feelings will come up first. These emotions (sadness, anger, jealousy, etc.) if left unexpressed, create a state of ill ease which will manifest disease over the long run. These emotions are meant to be expressed. Nurtened. Feel them. Release your disease. After any expressed negative emotions are released, unexpressed positive emotions follow.

XTC provides an experiential demonstration of the power of the unconditional acceptance to heal the human spirit and the human body. This is the way in which the human organism was designed to operate.

Feel this, Learn this, and Remember this always

You will have no after effects such as a hangover type of feeling, or a buzz in your head the next day. In fact the day after Ecstasy is perhaps even more pleasant than the actual experience because you feel like you floating like a butterfly the whole day, and yet you're very much in tune with what you're doing, and the work that you're doing that day compared to your average workday world, because you are more in tune with your body, mind and senses.

PREPARATION FOR THE TRIP

You should go into your first Ecstasy sharing with the understanding that you going to have a beautiful, relaxed experience, that your brain is going to open totally to feelings of love, that you will not have any anxiety reactions, that you will after your consciousness in such a way that when the experience is over you will take something from the experience that will enrich your life, and that you can expect to have virtually no physical sensations that will in any way impair you to make you feel uncomfortable.

No alcohol should be used during an XTC session, although some people find a glass of wine useful after baseline has been regained, as a means of calming the slightly "wired" effect occasionally experienced.

CAUTION

We feel that, until further research has been done, it would be wise for certain people to avoid the use of XTC. These include diabetics or hypoglycemics (too little is known about the effects of XTC on blood sugar levels), and people who have experienced convulsive episodes after early childhood. Pregnant or lactating

women should absolutely not use XTC. We feel that no drugs, except those prescribed by the woman's physician, should be taken during these times.

During the session, fluids (fruit juices, tea, coffee etc.) should be available, and clients should be encouraged to drink, in order to avoid any dehydration.

During and immediately after an XTC session, great care must be taken in swallowing solid food, since there is a minimum amount of anaesthesia present, and the usual reflexes might be altered in such a way as to allow choking on food which is carelessly chewed or swallowed too fast.

Stomach upset is minimal with XTC. When and if it happens, and especially if there is vomiting, psychological causes should be looked for. Usually, in such cases, the insight into the cause of the trouble arrives with, or just after, the vomiting or nausea. It might safely be said that almost all physical problems manifesting after the first 45 minutes, in a healthy person, are liable to be psychological in origin.

FOR SAFE USE OF ECSTASY

Now, as to the question of how often one can safely take XTC, our answer is based on personal experience and on the experience of a few other people. On the physical level, it is possible to take XTC as often as every two to three days without physical danger, as far as we have been able to see. However, the experience of two veteran researchers leads to the conclusion that, if XTC is taken as often as every two or three days, the effect tends to flatten out. There appears to be a need to assimilate the experience, on all levels of the psyche, and if there has not been sufficient time to do so, the next experience will be diluted in effect, and felt to be less satisfactory than the previous one.

A theory about this is the fact that people are right-sided and left-sided in their brains activities. The right side of the brain has to do with analytical type of thought. In this country we have been raised to use the left side of our brain only.

Only a few artists are able to escape and wander into the right side of their brain during their creative periods. What Ecstasy actually does to the nerve synapses in the back of the brain, is shut off the channel to the left analytical side of our brain, and totally open the circuit to the intuitive, creative side of our brain.

THE FINAL EFFECTS

It is such a wonderful experience to be there. Finally, that it at first an immediate transformation. The same effect is experienced when you have meditated for years, learning how to shut off the thinking, analytical side of the brain.

You are in a pure space of non thinking, and you are feeling only what actually is at the present moment. This the Nirvana that all Saints and Masters talk about. However, at the end of the experience, the right side closes down, the left side opens back up again, and we're back to normal, but with one difference.

We saw a door open and how it could be. We know it's possible to get there naturally. That's what Ecstasy is all about—learning how to get to the state of euphoria in a natural way without any chemical agents or aids.

The physical effects are virtually minimal. There is sometimes a warm feeling you have in your chest in the very beginning. This is usually only on your first experience, because there might be a slight resistance to taking an unknown substance, and that resistance converts itself into a form of heat in the chest. It's not uncomfortable, but you may notice it.

Your physical motor functions are very coordinated. There is nothing you cannot do on Ecstasy that would prevent you from carrying on your normal activities. As a matter of fact, you are better coordinated. You are better able to dance or move effortlessly throughout any motor activity you may desire.

If you do not tell your acquaintances that you are having an experience with Ecstasy, there is no way they can tell that you are under the influence of anything from your appearance, actions or manner of talking.

FOR THE RECORD

It is possible for people to have very difficult trips on XTC, although this occurrence is rare. Individuals most likely to react in this fashion are people with strongly suppressed negative emotions who act as if they aren't hurting when they are hurting badly. People with rigid personalities and brief systems can also have difficulties when their operational foundations dissolve.

XTC is a tool for reaching out and touching others in soul and spirit. If responsibly used, strong bonds of unity and love can be forged that strengthen everyone involved.

Neither Ecstasy itself, nor any of its components are on the controlled substance list of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). Ecstasy was developed after the vast sweeping legislation that placed every substance on the controlled substance list that was known at the time.

FOR MAXIMUM BENEFICIAL USE OF ECSTASY

Prepare your set and setting.

Fast beforehand.

Plan to learn as much as possible.

Plan to heal your mind.

Plan to heal your body.

Meditate on this.

Try to retrieve as much as possible.

Trust yourself, and surrender to the experience.

Letter by previous security man.

Also handed out at party.

BAB

HOW TO PREPARE FOR AN ECSTASY EXPERIENCE

- 1.) Just in case you may have a calcium deficiency, you should take a calcium supplement of some kind prior to taking ECSTASY. You should take calcium with a meal (1 with breakfast & 1 with lunch) but not on an empty stomach.
- 2.) About an hour prior to taking ECSTASY you might want to prepare a snack tray of some sort. Example: Cheese & Crackers or fresh fruit. Whatever you prepare, make sure it is something very soft and something that you really like, also, be sure to cut it up into small bite-size pieces. (You will not want anything to eat until after you start coming down, but caution should be taken in chewing food very good and swallowing very carefully. You will be amazed at how good food tastes).
- 3.) Things you might want to have on hand: A) LoSal: anti-acid tablets (like Roloids or Tums, but better, and taste good). B) Peppermint: (Just in case of an upset stomach, chew up 2 LoSal and such on a small piece of Peppermint). C) A bottle of wine (of your preference) nothing bubbly or carbonated. (Just in case someone cannot relax or starts to feel up-light or nervous, pour them a small glass. Only for such reasons mentioned above, should anyone drink the wine. (Alcohol and Drugs will lessen the effect of ECSTASY). D) A couple of wet cool wash cloths: (if someone starts feeling warm, it is very pleasant to wipe the face, on the neck, or chest, back or arms). E) A couple of Blankets and lots of Pillows: (almost everyone goes through a stage where they feel cold or chilled, just bundle up in a blanket or cuddle with a pillow. The pillows are nice to lay around on also).
- 4.) Do not eat anything at least 3 to 4 hours prior to taking ECSTASY. Do not do any kind of drugs or alcohol at least 8 hours (even better 24 hours) prior to taking ECSTASY.
- 5.) Light some incense and candles if you want and turn on some very soft (elevator) music. (It is very important that the music is soft and low (in the beginning) to create a very relaxed and mellow atmosphere. You might even want to unplug the telephones.)
- 6.) Fill an ice bucket, have a large picture of water and enough glasses for everyone. Keep this in the same room with you (not out of the way).
- 7.) Take out enough ECSTASY for everyone to have 1.

Continued

- 8.) Make everyone come together and sit in a circle or group. Do not let anyone sit off by themselves at first. Make each person feel like you really want them there, to experience one of the greatest things you've ever done. It is easy, when you already know just how wonderful they are going to feel in 30 minutes to an hour and especially easy because they are your friends. (You have to set the rules. If they don't want to be part of the group, then they don't really want to have a wonderful ECSTASY experience).
- 9.) For faster results, crush each ECSTASY pill up separately and put in a spoon. Or, you can chew it up (Warning: It taste terrible). If the taste is unbearable, eat a very small piece of Peppermint.
- 10.) Refill everyone's glass.
- 11.) Now the wait: Sit around and talk about what you might expect, or what you want to expect, or read the ECSTASY booklet out loud so everyone knows what it is all about. If you like, you could make your snack tray now, to kill the time. (You could do steps 2 through 6 now, if you wanted) You will be amazed at how quickly the time goes by. It is very common for someone experiencing ECSTASY for the first time to say (or at least think) "When is it going to hit me?" First of all, it isn't going to hit you. It will come on very gradual and smooth. Secondly, the effect it has on you depends on your state-of-mind. You can make it come on by just laying back, closing your eyes and being quiet. However, you can shut it off instantly. Example: the phone rings or someone knocks on the door, you become straight, automatically. Always keep every one in sight or at least know what state-of-mind they are in. If they are off by themselves, in another room, check on them. They may need someone to talk to, but don't want to burden someone else with their problems.
- It is not unusual for someone on their first ECSTASY trip to go through an emotional stage. These stages never last long, and in each persons' own way they find (or become) their "Real Self". As for the different emotional stages you may go through, remember, they will pass. However, if there are any bad emotions that you have held in, they will usually surface first. Give into them, let them surface, and get them out of your system and then the rest of your ECSTASY experience will be for all of your emotions to surface.
- 12.) So, kick back, relax and be prepared to experience the Ultimate High, ECSTASY!

Your Friend



U.S. Department of Justice
Drug Enforcement Administration

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, MAY 31, 1985

Washington, D.C. 20537

MDMA -- the drug popularly known as "Ecstasy" -- will be temporarily outlawed as of July 1, 1985, it was announced today by John C. Lawn, Acting Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA).

The emergency measure, signed by Lawn earlier this week because of the increasingly widespread abuse of the drug, will place MDMA into Schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act. Schedule I, the most restrictive of the five categories established by the federal drug law, indicates that a drug has a high abuse potential, no accepted medical use and no accepted safety for use.

"All of the evidence DEA has received shows that MDMA abuse has become a nationwide problem and that it poses a serious health threat," Lawn explained. "The administrative scheduling of MDMA has been underway since July 1984, and will continue. This emergency action is a stopgap measure to curb MDMA abuse until the administrative process can be completed."

Gene R. Haislip, head of DEA's Office of Diversion Control, said that public hearings on the original scheduling proposal have been set for June 10 and 11 in Los Angeles and July 10 and

-more-

11 in Kansas City. A third hearing will subsequently be held in Washington, D.C.

"These hearings will determine the future status of the drug, such as whether it is placed in Schedule I," Haislip said. "In the interim, DEA is establishing expedited registration procedures to assure that legitimate research into the effects of MDMA can continue uninterrupted."

Haislip pointed out that research soon to be published indicates that a very similar drug, MDA, destroys nerve terminals in the brain.

"Since MDA and MDMA are believed to affect the brain in a similar manner, it is likely that MDMA will also cause brain damage," he said. "Drug treatment programs have already reported that people are asking for help because of multiple doses of the drug. A California psychoanalyst, who admittedly had a heart condition, died shortly after taking 200 milligrams of MDMA."

MDMA's chemical name is 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine. It is found in tablet, capsule and powder form that sells from \$8 to \$20 a dosage unit or \$70 to \$100 per gram. The average dose is between 50 and 110 milligrams. MDMA, which is made in clandestine laboratories, is also called MDM, XTC, Adam, Essence, Cocaine or MDA.

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This is the second time that DEA has used the temporary emergency scheduling authority permitted by the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984. The first time occurred in March 1985, and was directed against the so-called synthetic heroin drug 3-methylfentanyl.

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Fact Sheet

On July 27, 1984, in a Federal Register notice, DEA proposed to place MDMA into Schedule I of the CSA. The proposal, based on a review of MDMA by DEA, found that: (1) MDMA is chemically and pharmacologically related to 3,4-methylenedioxymphetamine (MDA), a Schedule I controlled substance, (2) MDMA has no legitimate medical use or manufacturer in the United States, (3) MDMA is produced in clandestine laboratories and encountered in the illicit drug traffic, and that (4) MDMA has been associated with medical emergencies as reported by the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) and drug abuse treatment programs, and on a scientific and medical evaluation and scheduling recommendation for MDMA by the Department of Health and Human Services which found that MDA has a high potential for abuse, that MDMA presents a significant risk of harm to the public health, and that MDMA should be placed into Schedule I of the CSA.

At the request of several concerned individuals, DEA was required to convene an administrative hearing regarding the scheduling of MDMA. MDMA is used by an unknown, though apparently small, number of psychiatrists and psychologists as an adjunct to psychotherapy even though FDA has not approved the drug for use nor has FDA approved any human research involving MDMA. This hearing process is currently under way. However, the hearing schedule strongly suggests that the administrative process concerning the control of MDMA is likely to continue for the rest of this year.

Since the administrative process was initiated in July of 1984, DEA has continued to collect alarming information concerning the widespread abuse of MDMA and the potential threat it poses to the public safety. Unapproved, so-called therapeutic use of MDMA as well as unregulated and uncontrolled production of MDMA continues in many sections of the country. Clandestine production, distribution and abuse of MDMA is occurring nationwide and appears to be escalating. The open promotion of MDMA as a legal euphoriant through fliers, circulars and promotional parties has recently surfaced in some areas. DEA agents estimate that 30,000 dosage units of MDMA are distributed each month in one Texas city. Drug abuse treatment programs have reported that they are seeing individuals seeking treatment who have taken multiple doses of MDMA. Additionally, DEA has been informed that, in April 1985, the 22nd Expert Committee on Drug Dependence of the World Health Organization (WHO) recommended that MDMA be controlled in Schedule I of the Convention of Psychotropic Substances, 1971.

Of immediate concern to DEA in terms of a hazard to the public safety is a very recent research finding which suggests that MDMA has neurotoxic properties. A paper entitled "Hallucinogenic Amphetamine Selectively Destroys Brain Serotonin Nerve Terminals: Neurochemical and Anatomical Evidence" by G. Ricaurte, G. Bryan, L. Strauss, L. Seiden and C. Schuster, describes studies which show that single or multiple doses of MDA selectively destroy serotonergic nerve terminals in the rat brain. The serotonergic system which is also present in man plays a role in regulating sleep, mood, sexual activity and sensitivity to aversive stimuli. Experts

have concluded that because of the neurotoxic effects of closely related structural analogs of MDMA (MDA, amphetamine and methamphetamine) and because both MDA and MDMA cause the release of endogenous serotonin, it is likely that MDMA will produce similar neurotoxic effects to those of MDA. Furthermore, the neurotoxicity of amphetamine and methamphetamine has been shown in 5 diverse mammalian species. This strongly suggests that the substances would be neurotoxic to humans.

Based on a consideration of these factors and in light of the continuing and apparently increasing number of people being exposed to MDMA, its potential neurotoxicity and the lack of accepted medical use or established safety for use of MDMA, the Acting Administrator found that control of MDMA in Schedule I of the CSA, at least on a temporary basis, was necessary to avoid an imminent hazard to the public safety, and moved to do so under the temporary emergency scheduling authority of the Federal Controlled Substances Act.

The emergency temporary placement of MDMA into Schedule I is a completely separate and parallel action from the continued scheduling process currently underway. This action will in no way interfere with the hearing in progress regarding the permanent scheduling of MDMA. This temporary scheduling of MDMA in Schedule I will expire at the end of one year from the date of this order unless the proceedings currently in process are still pending. In such a case, the temporary scheduling of MDMA may be extended for up to six months.

DEA, as part of the emergency scheduling action, is establishing expedited registration procedures to assure that legitimate research into the effects of MDMA can continue uninterrupted.

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July 1, 1985

Representative Henry Waxman
 Chairman, Subcommittee on Health
 and the Environment
 Committee on Energy and Commerce
 U.S. House of Representatives
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have been authorized to transmit to you the enclosed letter on behalf of the seven physician signatories. Geographical separation made it impossible for the physicians to sign the letter personally, and still deliver it to you by July 1, 1985.

Thank you for your consideration of the enclosed letter.

Sincerely,


 Richard Gotton

Enclosure

July 1, 1985

Representative Henry Waxman
Chairman, Subcommittee on Health
and the Environment
Committee on Energy and Commerce
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Effective today, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) is acting on an emergency basis to place the substance, 3, 4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA) into Schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act. We are a group of psychiatrists and researchers who believe that MDMA may be a potentially valuable drug and that research into MDMA's potential therapeutic use should be facilitated, not discouraged by the Government. We support DEA's effort to make street use and recreational use of MDMA illegal. However, DEA's emergency placement of MDMA into Schedule I will impose such severe restrictions on MDMA that all use of MDMA by psychiatrists and virtually all research into its medical potential will be significantly retarded.

We are writing to you to request a Congressional review of the DEA's emergency scheduling action, and the apparent failure of the Department of Health and Human Services to advise DEA of the shortcomings of DEA's medical and

Mr. Chairman
July 1, 1985
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scientific evidence. The actions by the DEA and HHS/FDA indicate the need for legislative or oversight action to clarify Congressional intent in this area. We request the opportunity to meet with you or your staff at a mutually convenient time in the near future to discuss this request in more detail.

Based on our review of the evidence cited by the DEA, we believe the DEA's action was precipitate and not justified by current scientific and medical information. The appropriate course for DEA would have been to expedite the placement of MDMA into Schedule III of the Controlled Substances Act -- an action which would allow medical research to continue, but would provide DEA the authority to control street use and recreational use of MDMA.

To understand our concern, it is necessary to set out briefly the background of the DEA's emergency scheduling action. The Controlled Substances Act provides a careful and orderly procedure for imposing appropriate control on substances that have a potential for being abused. The DEA initiated proceedings in July, 1984, to consider what controls should be imposed on MDMA. Psychiatrists and researchers participating in those proceedings have voiced their view that MDMA may have important therapeutic potential, and that the evidence to date has not indicated either a high potential for abuse, or that MDMA cannot be safely used under medical supervision. Similarly, the evidence to date does not indicate that MDMA causes either physical or psychological dependence. These psychiatrists and researchers have been urging DEA to place MDMA in Schedule III. By the end of May, 1985, all direct testimony had been submitted into the record in this proceeding.

It is our understanding that the Congress did not intend the DEA to use its emergency scheduling authority routinely or to use it to circumvent ongoing scheduling proceedings. The DEA is to invoke its emergency authority only when a drug has a high potential for abuse, has no medical utility, and poses "an imminent hazard to the public safety." Based on the evidence already in the record of the ongoing proceeding, the DEA could not properly make any of the findings required by statute for exercising its emergency scheduling power. The evidence submitted to date suggests that MDMA has a relatively low potential for abuse, not a high potential for abuse. For example, out of approximately 750,000 hospital emergency room episodes involving drug abuse reported to the government from 1977 through 1983, only eight have involved MDMA.

The question of whether MDMA has an accepted medical use is a central one in the on-going scheduling proceed-

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ings. The Administrative Law Judge conducting that proceeding publicly criticized the DEA for pre-judging that issue before all the evidence was in. Attached to this letter is an excerpt of the transcript showing the criticism voiced by the Administrative Law Judge of the DEA staff's pre-judging of this issue.

Finally, we do not believe the animal studies cited by the DEA support a finding that MDMA is an "imminent hazard to public safety," a finding that is required in order for the DEA to exercise its emergency scheduling power. We base our conclusion on four factors. First, none of the studies cited by DEA involve MDMA. All involve different drugs. Second, the primary study cited by the DEA specifically states it would be premature to extrapolate the results of that study to humans. Third, all the studies cited by the DEA involve direct injection of the substances studied into animals. Humans take MDMA orally, and the different route of administration makes it imperative to again exercise caution in the extrapolation of these data to humans. In fact, preliminary results recently available from the first animal studies involving the oral administration of MDMA indicate that MDMA is significantly safer when administered orally rather than by injection. Fourth, the animal studies cited by the DEA involved injections of large amounts of the substance being studied; humans take much smaller doses orally. Even more importantly, the studies cited by the DEA as justifying extrapolation to humans did not find any indication of neurotoxicity at low doses comparable to those taken by humans.

We are, of course, concerned about reports that there may be as yet undiscovered adverse effects of MDMA. We want to see research done to determine both the risks and benefits of MDMA. Placing MDMA in Schedule III would allow such research to proceed expeditiously.

The DEA's action in placing MDMA into Schedule I is an abuse of its emergency scheduling power, and raises serious questions about the proper administration of the Controlled Substances Act. The Controlled Substances Act prohibits judicial review by the federal courts of action taken by the DEA under its emergency scheduling authority. We therefore believe it is important for Congress to carefully scrutinize this DEA action. We urgently request an opportunity to discuss these questions with you in detail.

Richard Cotton at the law firm of Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby Palmer & Wood in Washington, D.C., will be available to work out a mutually convenient time with your staff, or to assist in providing you with any additional

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Page 4

information you may desire. Mr. Cotton's telephone number
is 862-1004.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Lester Grinspoon, M.D.,
Boston, Mass.
George Greer, M.D.,
Santa Fe, New Mexico
Joseph Downing, M.D.,
San Francisco, Calif.
Richard Ingrasci, M.D.,
Watertown, Mass.
Robert Lynch, M.D.,
La Jolla, Calif.
Rick Strassman, M.D.,
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Philip Wolfson, M.D.,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Drug Enforcement Administration

21 CFR Part 1308

[Docket No. 84-48]

Schedules of Controlled Substances,
Scheduling of 3,4-
Methylenedioxyamphetamine
(MDMA) into Schedule I of the
Controlled Substances Act

AGENCY: Drug Enforcement
Administration, Justice.

ACTION: Final rule.

SUMMARY: This is a final rule placing the drug 3,4-methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDMA) into Schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act (CSA). MDMA will be classified as a hallucinogenic controlled substance. This action was initiated following the Drug Enforcement Administration's (DEA) review of the abuse and illicit trafficking of MDMA. The Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), supported DEA's position that the substance be placed into Schedule I of the CSA. The effect of this rule is to impose the criminal sanctions and regulatory controls of Schedule I on the manufacture, distribution and possession of MDMA.

DATE: The effective date of this order is November 13, 1986.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION: On March 13, 1984, the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration submitted information relevant to the abuse potential and illicit trafficking of 3,4-methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDMA) to the Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health and Human Services. Briefly, the information documented that 3,4-

methylenedioxyamphetamine, trafficked on the street as MDMA or "Ecstasy": (1) is an analog of the Schedule I controlled substance, 3,4-methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDA); (2) has no legitimate medical use or manufacturer in the United States; (3) has been clandestinely synthesized and encountered in the illicit drug traffic; (4) produces stimulant and psychotomimetic effects in humans

similar to those produced by MDA, and (5) has been associated with medical emergencies as reported by the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN).

In accordance with the provisions of 21 U.S.C. 811(b), the DEA Administrator requested a scientific and medical evaluation of the relevant information and a scheduling recommendation for 3,4-methylenedioxyamphetamine from the Assistant Secretary for Health. On June 5, 1984, the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration received a letter from the Assistant Secretary for Health, acting on behalf of the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, stating that 3,4-methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDMA) has a high potential for abuse and presents a significant risk to the public health, and recommending that it should be placed into Schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act.

On July 27, 1984, the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, based upon a review of investigations by the Drug Enforcement Administration and relying on the scientific and medical evaluation and the recommendation of the Secretary of Health and Human Services in accordance with 21 U.S.C. 811(c), issued a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking to amend § 1306.11 of Title 21 of the Code of Federal Regulations by placing MDMA in Schedule I as a hallucinogenic controlled substance. 49 FR 30210. MDMA was not, at that time, a controlled substance.

The Notice of Proposed Rulemaking allowed sixty days for interested parties to submit comments, objections or requests for a hearing.

Sixteen comments were received in response to the notice, seven of which requested a hearing.

These comments and requests for hearing came from a variety of physicians, counselors, instructors and others in medical or health care related professions, as well as from former subjects of experimental studies involving the use and effects of MDMA.

All of the persons or entities that submitted comments and/or requests for hearing opposed the proposed placement of the substance into Schedule I. DEA was urged by many to delay this proposed action until after additional research could be completed. Most felt that preliminary usage and studies had shown MDMA to have enormous potential value as an adjunct to psychotherapy, as an anesthetic in the treatment of problems of drug addiction.

Most of the writers vigorously objected to one of DEA's stated bases for the proposed scheduling, that being the finding that MDMA had no currently

accepted medical use in treatment in the United States. Some of the responding physicians and psychiatrists reported having used it in their practices with what they felt were positive results. Many disputed the Agency's concept of "currently accepted medical use."

Several stated that the highly restrictive scheduling which was contemplated would effectively end presently ongoing research and scientific experimentation. Some felt that the costs involved in obtaining an Investigational New Drug permit from the Food and Drug Administration to conduct human research with a Schedule I drug would be prohibitive to any individual researcher. Another stated that it would be unrealistic to believe that any pharmaceutical company would develop the drug. Several felt that DEA did not have sufficient information regarding the present and potential uses of this drug and urged that the proposed scheduling action be delayed until DEA had the opportunity to consider additional studies and reports of experimentation and research.

A few of the writers questioned the finding of high abuse potential as a basis for placement into Schedule I. While most of them acknowledged that there is some evidence of unsupervised use of MDMA, they felt the reported instances of abuse were not sufficient in number to warrant the conclusion that it is a substance with a high potential for abuse. Others stated that a potential for abuse had not led DEA to place certain other substances into Schedule I. A few believed that there may be some confusion of this substance with another which is known to be abused, MDA, and that the differences between the two should be closely examined. A number of the writers were not opposed to the placement of MDMA into one of the schedules under the CSA, but believed that Schedule I was not the appropriate schedule.

On November 13, 1984, the Deputy Administrator of DEA referred the matter to the Agency's Administrative Law Judge, Francis L. Young, to conduct a hearing for the purpose of receiving factual evidence and expert opinion regarding the proposed scheduling of MDMA. Judge Young was directed to report to the Administrator of DEA his findings and recommended conclusions on the appropriate scheduling action to be taken with respect to MDMA and on the question of whether a drug which has potential for abuse but no currently accepted medical use in treatment can lawfully be placed in any schedule other than Schedule I. The proceeding was

VITA:

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Educational Background:

DeSoto High School, DeSoto, TX, graduated with honors and 4.9 GPA (of 5.0)

Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, 108 credit hours, overall GPR: 4.0

Honors:

The National Society of Collegiate Scholars: received membership for outstanding scholarship, leadership, and service – April 30, 2000 to present

Phi Eta Sigma: received membership based on high GPR, a National Undergraduate Honor Society – March 21, 2000 to present

Phi Kappa Phi: received membership based on being in top 10 percent (GPR) of my senior class – April 12, 2002 to present