



LEAP (Law Enforcement Against Prohibition) is an important international nonprofit educational organization that was created to give voice to the countless numbers of current and former members of law enforcement who believe drug policies of the United States have failed.

Membership in LEAP exists in two categories:

- Law Enforcement Personnel -- anyone who is currently or was formerly a member of law enforcement (this includes local, state, and federal police, prosecutors, judges, and corrections, probation, and parole officers);
- Friends of LEAP – any others who wish to support LEAP's efforts by declaring they are in agreement with our goals;
provided the prospective member believes the US war on drugs is failed policy and that he or she wishes to support alternatives to that policy aimed at reducing the incidence of death, disease, crime, and addiction by ultimately ending prohibition.

The mission of LEAP is (1) To educate the public, the media, and policy makers, to the failure of current drug policy by presenting a true picture of the history, causes and effects of drug abuse and drug related crime; (2) To create a speakers bureau staffed with knowledgeable and articulate former drug-warriors who describe the impact of current drug policies on: police/community relations; the safety of law enforcement officers and suspects; police corruption and misconduct; and the financial and human costs associated with current drug policies; (3) To restore the public's respect for law enforcement that has been diminished by its involvement in imposing drug prohibition; (4) To reduce the multitude of harms resulting from fighting the war on drugs by ultimately ending drug prohibition.

LEAP is an international nonprofit educational entity based in the United States with tax-exempt status under IRS Tax Code 501(c)(3).

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- Give your law enforcement credentials
- Personal story
 - E.g. Explain why you got into law enforcement and how the Drug War at first seemed like a great campaign to lock up bad guys
- Source: LEAP photographs compiled by Amos and Mike

**Forty percent of the 437,000
global murders committed
in 2012 took place in the
Americas, with the majority
in Central and South
America.**

It is violence such as this that got my attention.



Corporal Edward Toatley, Maryland State Trooper, was assassinated on October 30, 2000, while attempting to make his final purchase of drugs from a mid-level dealer in Tacoma Park, Maryland.

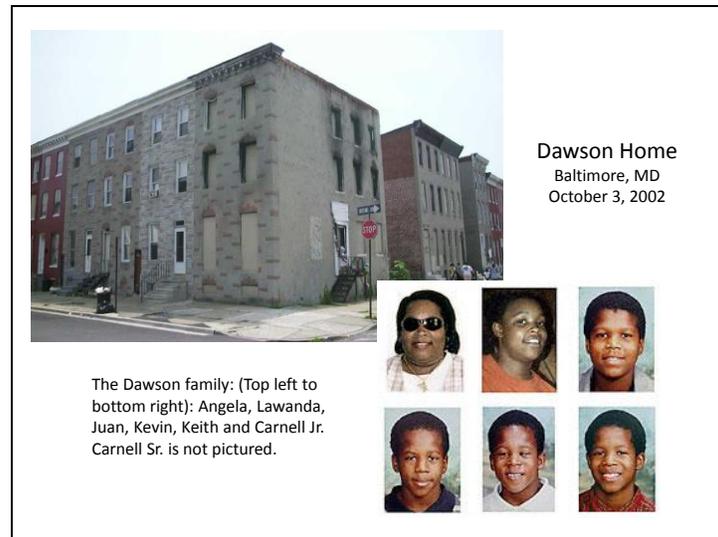
Ed left behind his wife, three children and a host of family, friends and coworkers.

Unfortunately, Ed is only one of many law enforcement officers severely injured or, as in Ed's case, murdered while enforcing failed U.S. drug policies during the performance of their duties.

Corporal Ed Toatley was an undercover narcotics agent for the Maryland State Police and very close friend of mine who had also worked many cases under my command. Unfortunately, Ed's murder demonstrated a very clear example of just how dangerous and violent the illicit drug trade is. It is not people using drugs or the act of selling drugs that makes it so violent. It is that we have caused it to exist and operate illegally, underground and in the shadows. This is reminiscent of alcohol prohibition of the 1920s and the extreme violence surrounding that illicit drug selling business. Because of its illegality, drug dealers believe that they must arm themselves for protection from rivals and retaliate when harmed by rivals. If they do not, they will be forced out of business by their rivals. You must be the biggest and baddest gang on the block.

The drug dealer who shot Ed did so because once he decided to "rip" Ed Toatley, he knew he would have to kill him to prevent retaliation. It's the inherent nature of an illegal business.

Experiencing the violence of Ed's murder was just the beginning of my reflection upon the violent trade. Now working with the Baltimore Police Department, I soon experienced the murder of two other police officers by drug dealers. Michael Cowdery was gun downed while conducting the field interview of a drug dealer in east Baltimore. Kavon Gavin was murdered while attempting to stop a fleeing drug dealer who had just shot at one of his rivals. The dealer intentionally broadsided Gavin's patrol vehicle.



I soon realized that the violence was not isolated to police officers and those in the game. Two years after the murder of Ed, an innocent family of seven, the Dawson family, was murdered in one night by one drug dealer as they slept. He firebombed their home in the middle of the night to send a message. His message was not to “snitch’ on him and his crew.

The mother Angela was doing what we want good citizens to do. Work with the police in identifying those selling drugs and we will get them out of your communities. What they fail to tell you is that the job vacancies that the police create are soon to be filled by an endless supply of others waiting in the wings. Angela was working with the police not because she feared that her sons would become addicted to drugs, but that her sons would be drafted into the drug trade, or that they would fall victim to the related street violence.

The drug dealer discovered her workings with the police and firebombed their home.

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The HBO series "The Wire" depicts the street violence in Baltimore quite well. In this scene here, Major "Bunny" Colvin is explaining to his drug sergeant that when you call something a war, before you know it, everyone becomes a warrior; drug dealers, cops and community members. And before you know it, all you have is occupied territory. He went on to say that the war on drugs has ruined the policing profession.

So, how do we fix the policing profession and more? We must work to eliminate the policies that make our communities violent, where the police are frightened, infringing upon the rights of citizens and ultimately becoming despised occupiers of territory.

We can talk more about policy later. Now let's discuss the policing culture, which is deeply rooted in historical policing, social control and the war on drugs. How do we begin to replace the current culture?

Modern Policing



Sir Robert Peel began modern policing in 1829 in establishing the London Metropolitan Police Force. Peel's commissioners developed the Peelian Principles, which defined the ethical requirements police officers must follow to be effective.

The nine basic principles of modern policing are instrumental. They are proven and quite relevant today.

Nine Policing Principles

From those principles, the commissioners of the Metropolitan Police Force developed nine policing principles critical to the effectiveness and integrity of policing.

1. To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfill their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behavior, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
3. To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
4. To recognize always that the extent to which the cooperation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
5. To seek and preserve public favor, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing, by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humor, and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

I want to briefly read principles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,

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6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public cooperation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. To recognize always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the State, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
9. To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

I also want to briefly read the remaining principles.

Next, we're going to break down each of the nine principles, outlining what a police department would look like if they were to implement and wholeheartedly practice the principles.

Principle One

To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.

- Restorative Justice models would be implemented.
- Mandatory sentences and capital punishment would be eliminated.
- The military styled equipment would be hidden from regular public view, only briefly visible during extreme circumstances (barricade and active shooter scenarios, extreme civil unrest, rioting, etc.) justifying use.
- Daily police uniforms would not mimic those worn by the military.

Principle number one speaks to the militarization explosion of US policing since the 1980s. The police are to be an alternative to military repression when dealing with crime and disorder. It also addresses the severity of punishment.

I believe that under the Peelian Principles, we could have functional and effective restorative justice systems. We currently over criminalize and over sentence our citizens. Minimum mandatory sentences and capital punishment are evidence of severe punishment. In order for community based restorative justice models to be effective, communities must be healthy and organized. Unfortunately, many of our poor, black and brown communities have had their families decimated by the over criminalization of their families. The result, dysfunctional and stressed families, makes it virtually impossible to have healthy and organized communities.

A path toward ending the over criminalization of poor, black and brown communities means radical policy reform such as ending the war on drugs, which is a war on black, brown and poor people. The war on drugs has taken us from 400,000 people in prison in the 1970s to 2.3 million prisoners today. Blacks are arrested at higher rates, sentenced at higher rates and receive longer sentences than their white counterparts for similar drug crimes. With one quarter of the world's prisoners, we are the world's number one incarcerator, and we have only 5% of the world's population.

The war on drugs has also led to the militarization of our police forces. SWAT teams, which were far and few between before the 1980s, limited to our large metropolitan police forces, are now a part of most police forces no matter the size or need. They were developed to deal with

armed, violent and barricaded individuals, bringing such events to the safest conclusion with minimal loss of life. The goal was to have no shots fired. Armored vehicles were used for evacuating people from hot zones where you may have a sniper scenario.

Today, SWAT teams are deployed 50,000 times per year in the United States. Eighty to eighty-five percent of deployments are for alleged drug crimes where there is no imminent threat of violence. Dynamic entries are used every time (cover of darkness, no visible signs that the invading force is police, dark clothing and masks, flash-bang grenades, very loud and violent, etc.) leading to an array of problems. Disoriented home owners immediately respond in a defensive manner to protect their family and themselves from an unknown invading force. They see no police vehicles outside, the invaders are in dark clothing shining blinding lights, they cannot hear what the invaders are saying because their hearing is temporarily impaired from the deployment of acoustical grenades and before you know it shots are fired and people are killed.

SWAT teams and police officers dressed in military attire have also become the common visual for citizen protest events. The appearance of such force is agonistic in and of itself. This aggressive attire and equipment should be kept from public view until actually necessary for deployment (rioting where life and property are in danger, etc.).

Daily police uniforms have changed dramatically, from welcoming dress with a smile to aggressive militarist with a stern locked jaw. How you dress also changes not only your outward appearance to others, but how you feel and respond to others. It will alter the emotions and attitude of the wearer.

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When & why did this...
Become this?



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Principle Two

To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfill their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behavior, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.

- Police governance board would be created.
 - The governance board membership could consist of local elected representatives, community leaders, business leaders, youth representatives, clergy, law enforcement, etc.
 - The governance board would establish policing philosophy, priorities, hire & fire its chief, etc.
 - The governance board would establish the budget.
 - The governance board would not be involved in department operational processes.
- Performance evaluation processes would be managed through the governance board process for effectiveness and consistency.
- Police use of force review process would be managed through the governance board process.

All of these principles are extremely important, but principle number two sets the foundation. It clearly states that the mere existence of the police force is because of public approval. Basically, the police force and in all that it does, is guided by the community, and there is no better way to carry this out than through a police governance board. Such boards exist in Canada and Michigan and when implemented properly, can quickly and permanently unite police and community eliminating the “us v. them” culture.

Under such a board, police misconduct would be investigated and managed. Civilians knowledgeable in policing and police policy must be involved in certain misconduct investigations and adjudication processes. We must have complete transparency in order to gain the public trust.

Principle Three

To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.

- A meaningful community policing philosophy would be adopted throughout the entire police force.
- Strong community relationship bonds would be forged throughout all staffing levels.
- Training (entry level, in-service and executive leadership) will contain proven and effective community policing training modules.
- Crime cannot be effectively investigated and solved without the willing cooperation of the public.
- Effective community relationships help to establish consistent adherence to laws, mainly through educational events and opportunities, not through coercion or threat of punishment.

When public trust is acquired through governance and transparency, establishing a community policing philosophy becomes attainable. Community policing is not a program where responsibility is assigned to a few trained police officers of a unit; it is a department and community wide philosophy of how we relate to one another. It is about mutual respect.

Obviously, training is extremely important. Additionally, accountability is just as important. Police supervisors and leaders must lead by example and hold others accountable for their actions and inaction. Police must come to recognize the benefits derived from a healthy community policing philosophy and management must lead the way. One benefit of many is the ability to reduce crime. Gaining the trust of the community will improve law enforcement's ability to solve and prevent crime. People will readily offer critical information about those involved in violent crime within their communities.

The philosophy must be woven throughout all aspects of training, policy and law. Our policy makers (elected officials) must also be in tune with this philosophy as they contemplate new or changing laws, asking the question; how does this new law affect the relationship between police and community? Is this task one for our police, or is it one for healthcare practitioners or educators? As we try to encourage more people to stop smoking tobacco products, should we have police officers arresting people for selling loose cigarettes, or is there another way to manage this problem? Will the proposed law enforcement cure be more harmful than the current perceived problem?

Education is the most effective way for getting people to change behavior and that education must be reinforced with examples to follow. Police officers make very effective educators of law when they are trusted, especially for our young. If you want people to obey the law, ensure that they are properly educated and that social conditions are not counterproductive to the law. A path toward a crime free community begins with improved social conditions (health, education, housing, jobs, etc.).

Principle Four

To recognize always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.

- A combination of de-escalation training and strong community policing relationships lead to fewer uses of excessive force.
- It is the responsibility of both the public and the police to work to de-escalate tense situations, but as a public servant, that responsibility weighs heaviest upon the police.
- Police officers need heightened levels of confidence (acquired through training, I.E. oral communication, scenario based, arrest & control, etc.). Physical conditioning is also extremely important in building confidence.
- Police objectives relative to laws and the magnitude of violations.
- Police officers must know the law.

Principle number four and the use of force. The more use of force occurrences, the less community cooperation you will have. We see this today as more and more use of force incidents are made visible to the public through video and social media. From Ferguson to Baltimore we are seeing more protests and resentment toward police.

Again, training is critical, but that training must be followed up with accountability and transparency.

There are a number of things that could lead immediately to great reductions in use of force incidents, before the implementation of governance boards and implementing a community policing philosophy. Oral communication training is extremely important and probably the most effective tool for gaining cooperation. It must be taught, practiced and perfected. Ensure that officers are physically fit and properly trained and proficient in arrest and control tactics. This will increase the level of confidence for the officer enabling them to follow more closely the use of force continuum. Monitoring and accessing each use of force will also lead to fewer such incidents. Each assessment should be used as a training opportunity for first line management.

Ensure that police officers know the law and how to apply it. They must know when they can and cannot arrest; when they can detain and not detain and for how long. They must know about constitutional law and how to protect the constitutional rights of people. First line managers must monitor police citizen interaction and ask questions as they assess. What are the demographics of the officer's post or assignment? Are their stops racially and culturally reflective of those demographics? What are they stopping people for? What are they arresting

people for (disorderly, failing to obey a lawful order, trespassing, other subjective minor crimes)? If this is the case, a red flag should go up.

We must also be very cognizant of how much force is reasonable relative to the alleged violation of law.

Reflecting back on principle number one, police militarization, let's connect that with the use of force and take a look at what can happen when too much force is used.

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50,000 Annual U.S. SWAT Raids



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WARNING
This video contains
graphic or objectionable
content and language.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e69p18CHa4Y>

Slide 22



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ec1KzXjyE4I>



Principle five is about the impartial application of law, equitable enforcement. It also implies that it's not up to the police to judge the justice or injustice of the law, just to apply it fairly.

In previous principles, I covered training and assessment relative to disparate enforcement of the law. In this principle it explains how we must go above and beyond the application of law, serving in many different ways (friendship, courtesy and good humor). It makes reference to individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving all life and not just the lives of some. This means protecting the lives of those we arrest.

Principle Six

To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

- This is reflected in the use of force continuum, which serves as a guide in gaining legal control of a situation or person.
- Again, training is critical along with accountability (officers and management).
- Expedient and open investigations are necessary when excessive force is evident or suspected.
- The police objective must be lawful and reasonable.

In principle six I speak again of the use of force continuum, training, accountability, transparency and more. We should always do our best in using the least amount of physical force necessary for achieving the police objective. In doing so, the police objective must also be reasonable, in line with the public's expectations and overall policing philosophy.

Principle Seven

To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.

- Public safety is first and foremost a community responsibility.
- The police need not reside in the community worked, but must be immersed in community functions to develop a sense of belonging, responsibility and ownership.
- The community policing philosophy is at work here.
- Families, which equal the community, must be healthy in order for the community to be responsible for public safety. Over criminalization of a community results in unhealthy families.

The most poignant part of principle seven is that the public are the police and the police are the public, one in and of the same.

How do we best introduce police officers who are not intimately knowledgeable of the community to the community? This could be different from one community to the next. We need to begin with asking the question then answering it according to culture and philosophy of that community.

And again, public safety responsibility is not to be borne solely by the police. It is first and foremost a community responsibility, but the community must be healthy and functioning for this to be possible. This means that social needs must be met (education, health, housing, leadership, etc.).

Principle Eight

To recognize always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the State, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.

- Strict policies, training and accountability preventing street justice.
- Street justice will manifest itself in excessive force events.
- Training geared toward law and arrest and control practices.

In a nutshell, principle eight means no street justice.

Principle Nine

To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

- Effective communication and relationship building will increase the efficiency and effectiveness in solving crime. Citizens will proactively inform police officers of those committing crimes of property and violence. This will result also in crime reduction through prevention.
- Not to evaluate performance according to the numbers of arrests. Eliminate quota systems.
- The state must determine what is truly a crime (laws based on morality – prohibition v. mala in se crimes). The best way to determine this is to ask a question: Who is the injured party?

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Drug Prohibition Crimes

Civil Rights

Constitutional Rights

Human Rights

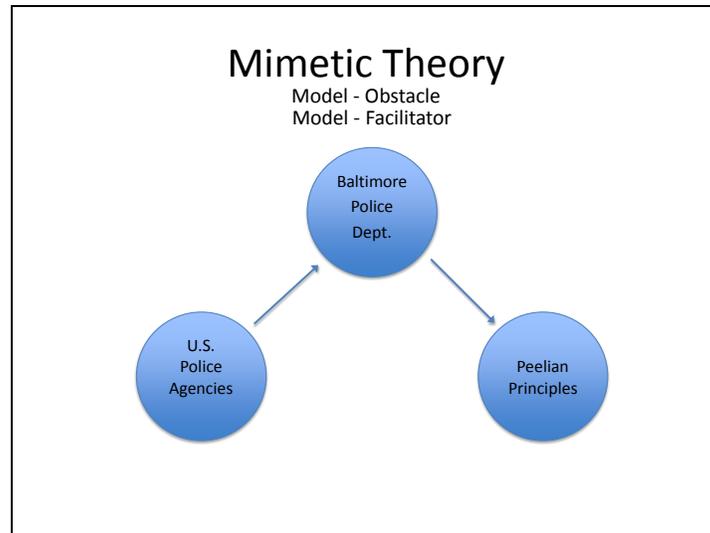
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Warrior to Peace Keeper

Peelian Principles + Policy Changes

- Illegal drugs have become a scapegoat
- The War on Drugs has become a War on People
- Place health as the priority, not drugs
- Lead with health practitioners, not police
- Education, Treatment & Compassion
- Change Laws (decriminalization & legalization)
 - Regulate and Control Drugs



How to implement the Peelian Principles using Mimetic Theory.

Begin with a model, such as the Baltimore Police Department. With the right leadership (mayor, police chief, city council, etc.), these principles could guide the department and the community to a place of healing through reconciliation and onto effective community policing. Other police agencies and cities will see and want what Baltimore has developed, but instead of Baltimore being an obstacle, it will act as a facilitator and continued model.



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