

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Applewhite, J. Scott. *Photograph of John Lewis Speaking at a Congressional Black Caucus Event*. *African American Intellectual History Society*, 20 Mar. 2017, [www.aaihs.org/the-congressional-black-caucus-and-the-dilemmas-of-progressive-politics/](http://www.aaihs.org/the-congressional-black-caucus-and-the-dilemmas-of-progressive-politics/)

This photograph of a Congressional Black Caucus event is used as a visual on our reform page. The CBC played a significant role in amplifying public outrage over "Dark Alliance" and demanding government investigation, and this image helps readers connect that to a recognizable political figure and institution.

Bendib, Khalil. Mercury News Housekeeping. *Project Censored*, [www.projectcensored.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/C2016\\_Ch07\\_Covert\\_DarkAlliance.pdf](http://www.projectcensored.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/C2016_Ch07_Covert_DarkAlliance.pdf). Accessed 20 Oct. 2025.

This political cartoon depicts the editor of the San Jose Mercury News shoving Gary Webb and the CIA controversy under a rug and receiving a "housekeeping" prize. We use this source to show how the Mercury News disavowed the "Dark Alliance" series, which illustrates the journalistic reaction.

"CIA Drug Trafficking Allegations." *C-Span*, [www.c-span.org/program/house-committee/cia-drug-trafficking-allegations/138733](http://www.c-span.org/program/house-committee/cia-drug-trafficking-allegations/138733). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This is a video clip of Frederick P. Hitz's statement to the permanent select committee. We use this video clip to provide a visual of Hitz stating his findings, which is relevant information for our topic.

"CIA Drug Trafficking Allegations Hearing (1998) | W/ Maxine Waters Gary Webb." *YouTube*, uploaded by Reelblack One, 6 Aug. 2018, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=WUNohVdNuYk](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WUNohVdNuYk).

This is a video clip of Representative Maxine Waters' statement to the permanent select committee on intelligence. We use this video clip to provide a visual of Waters presenting her view and thoughts on what should be done about the claims in "Dark Alliance".

CNN. "President Barack Obama Signs the Fair Sentencing Act." *CNN*, 3 Aug. 2010, [www.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/08/03/fair.sentencing/index.html](http://www.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/08/03/fair.sentencing/index.html). Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This is an image of President Barack Obama signing the 2010 Fair Sentencing Act. We use this visual to provide extra context on the reform page where the Fair Sentencing Act is mentioned.

Drug Enforcement Administration. *Rocks of Crack Cocaine*. *Wikimedia Commons*, public domain, uploaded via Wikimedia Commons, [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rocks\\_of\\_crack\\_cocaine.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rocks_of_crack_cocaine.jpg)

This is a close-up, detailed image of Crack Cocaine. This image will help our readers visualize the drug being discussed on our website.

*Edition of Dark Alliance, 1998*. *Open Library*, 1998, [openlibrary.org/books/OL17583741M/Dark\\_alliance](http://openlibrary.org/books/OL17583741M/Dark_alliance).

This is the cover art for "Dark Alliance". We used this as a visual on our website.

Ferrell, Scott J. *Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Annual Legislative Conference*. Getty Image,  
[www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/rep-maxine-waters-d-calif-and-gary-webb-the-reporter-with-news-photo/74896506](http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/rep-maxine-waters-d-calif-and-gary-webb-the-reporter-with-news-photo/74896506). Accessed 19 May 2026.

This is a photo of Maxine Waters and Gary Webb. We use it to visually connect two of the key figures in our project.

*Freeway Rick Ross*. *MCRNN Live*, [www.mrcnnlive.com/the-real-rick-ross-is-not-a-rapper/](http://www.mrcnnlive.com/the-real-rick-ross-is-not-a-rapper/). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This is an image of Freeway Ricky Ross. We use this on our website in the future to provide visuals to better understand the crack cocaine epidemic and the reason for *Dark Alliance*.

Gary Webb. *The Journalist Sinseer*,  
[thejournalistsinseer.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/img\\_8867.jpg](http://thejournalistsinseer.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/img_8867.jpg). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This image shows Webb holding a *Mercury News* newspaper. This is used as a visual on our "Dark Alliance" page.

"Gary Webb: Dark Alliance Interview Part 2." *Democracy Now*, 20 May 1998,  
[www.democracynow.org/1998/5/20/gary\\_webb\\_dark\\_alliance\\_interview\\_part](http://www.democracynow.org/1998/5/20/gary_webb_dark_alliance_interview_part). Accessed 22 Apr. 2026.

This interview provides further insight into the importance of the internet for Webb's story. This gives valuable information on our topic's revolution.

*Gary Webb on the Job. Narco News*, [www.narconews.com/images/WEBB\\_WORK\\_1.jpg](http://www.narconews.com/images/WEBB_WORK_1.jpg).

Accessed 20 Apr. 2026.

This is an image of Gary Webb working at his desk. We use this image to provide visual information for our website.

*Gary Webb on the News. C-SPAN*,

[www.c-span.org/clip/washington-journal/user-clip-gary-webb-cia-drug-trafficking-history/5006534](http://www.c-span.org/clip/washington-journal/user-clip-gary-webb-cia-drug-trafficking-history/5006534). Accessed 2026.

This is a video clip from a C-SPAN news cast featuring Gary Webb. We used it for a picture reference of Gary Webb on our website.

Ghanbari, Haraz. Washington Post Articles. *The Nation*,

[www.thenation.com/cdn-cgi/image/quality=80,format=auto/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/washingtonpost\\_ap\\_img\\_3.jpg](http://www.thenation.com/cdn-cgi/image/quality=80,format=auto/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/washingtonpost_ap_img_3.jpg). Accessed 12 May 2026.

This is a picture of Washington Post news articles. We used it as a visual on our website next to a quote from the Washington Post.

Hitz, Frederick P. *Statement to the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, United States House of Representatives*. US Congress, 16 Mar. 1998. *Intelligence Resource Program*, [irp.fas.org/congress/1998\\_hr/980316-ps.htm](http://irp.fas.org/congress/1998_hr/980316-ps.htm). Accessed 25 Nov. 2025.

This statement serves as an integral part of our thesis, and supports our topic's reaction. Centrally, it shows how the CIA took steps to attempt to recover their image after Dark Alliance's publication, as well as how the Inspector General was forced to admit shortcomings of the CIA related to the Contras, which makes Webb's claims more believable.

Hitz, Frederick P. *Allegations of connections between CIA and the Contras in cocaine trafficking to the United States*. Report no. (96-0143-IG), CIA. *CIA*, [www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/REPORT%20OF%20INVESTIGATION%20A%5B16500519%5D.pdf](http://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/REPORT%20OF%20INVESTIGATION%20A%5B16500519%5D.pdf). Accessed 13 Oct. 2025.

This is an unclassified report of an investigation from the CIA Inspector General about the CIA's involvement with cocaine trafficking. This explains the CIA's reform following the controversy sparked by "Dark Alliance", and how the CIA was forced to admit their negligence regarding Contra drug trafficking.

Howard, John. Gary Stephen Webb. *Capitol Weekly*, [capitolweekly.net/webb-gary-sacramento-looking-back/](http://capitolweekly.net/webb-gary-sacramento-looking-back/). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This is an image of Gary Webb. We use this image as a visual on our website.

Independent Counsel. *"Part I: Iran/Contra: The Underlying Facts."* *Walsh Iran/Contra Report*, Federation of American Scientists, [https://irp.fas.org/offdocs/walsh/part\\_i.htm](https://irp.fas.org/offdocs/walsh/part_i.htm). Accessed 18 Feb. 2026.

This report provides key information regarding the Iran-Contra affair, which is helpful towards background knowledge of CIA controversy including the Contras. Additionally, it points out people within the Contras noted as contacts by the Reagan Administration

Jerry Ceppos. *Philip Merrill College of Journalism*, [merrill.umd.edu/articles/jerry-ceppos-merrill-hall-famer-and-former-knight-ridder-top-editor-dies-75](http://merrill.umd.edu/articles/jerry-ceppos-merrill-hall-famer-and-former-knight-ridder-top-editor-dies-75).

This is an image of Mercury News' Jerry (Jerome) Ceppos. We use this on our website in the future to provide visuals to better understand the media reaction from Mercury News itself to *Dark Alliance*.

Koester, Axel. *Demonstration against the CIA*. 22 Feb. 1997. *Getty Images*, [www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/demonstration-against-the-central-intelligence-agency-in-news-photo/583876452](http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/demonstration-against-the-central-intelligence-agency-in-news-photo/583876452). Accessed 19 May 2026.

This image shows a group of African Americans protesting the CIA after the publication of "Dark Alliance". We use this to help readers understand how the public reacted to Webb's claims.

Landers, Tom. *Boston Protest against Nicaraguan Contras*. *Getty Images*, [www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/members-of-boston-feminists-march-outside-the-office-of-the-news-photo/882017752?adppopup=true](http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/members-of-boston-feminists-march-outside-the-office-of-the-news-photo/882017752?adppopup=true). Accessed 12 May 2026.

LA Times. "San Jose Editor Admits to Crack Series Deficiencies." *Los Angeles Times*, 12 May 1997, [www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-05-12-me-58016-story.html](http://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-05-12-me-58016-story.html). Accessed 6 Apr. 2026.

This is an article from the Los Angeles Times. We used this article to understand the reaction to Webb's story from media outlets.

Lichtenstein, Andrew. *Crack Epidemic*. 1 Apr. 1991. *Getty Images*, 22 Dec. 2008, [www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/women-smokes-crack-cocaine-april-of-1991-on-troutman-street-news-photo/1085767598](http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/women-smokes-crack-cocaine-april-of-1991-on-troutman-street-news-photo/1085767598). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This image shows an African American woman smoking Crack Cocaine. This is a helpful visual for the Crack Epidemic page, and creates a more personal aspect for readers, seeing real people affected by the crisis.

Maiman, Rick. *Noninterventionist Demonstration*. 18 Mar. 1988. *Getty Images*,

[www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/demonstration-against-contras-the-us-intervention-in-news-photo/1039970092?adppopup=true](http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/demonstration-against-contras-the-us-intervention-in-news-photo/1039970092?adppopup=true). Accessed 12 May 2026.

This image shows a group protesting the United States aid to the Contras. We use this as a visual to help readers understand the controversy surrounding the US's involvement with the Contra rebellion.

Mercury News. Artwork that accompanied the original Dark Alliance series. *The Intercept*,

[theintercept.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/dark\\_alliance\\_540.jpg?fit=300%2C300](http://theintercept.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/dark_alliance_540.jpg?fit=300%2C300). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This is an image that accompanies the Dark Alliance series by Gary Webb at the San Jose Mercury News. We use this on our website in the future to give extra visuals to explain "Dark Alliance".

"The Mercury News Building." *DFM Workers*, <https://dfmworkers.org/san-jose-mercury-news/>.

Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This is an image of *The Mercury News's* building. This is used as a visual on our media reaction page.

Monaco, Tim Lo. *U.S. Capitol Building at Night*. *VAST*,

[vastphotos.com/photo/u-s-capitol-building-at-night-by-tim-lo-monaco?srsId=AfmBOoqE9a\\_FdQv7KqG2VNwXpWzC31VSur3d5G5a\\_cyMIuzKA95LrB\\_M](http://vastphotos.com/photo/u-s-capitol-building-at-night-by-tim-lo-monaco?srsId=AfmBOoqE9a_FdQv7KqG2VNwXpWzC31VSur3d5G5a_cyMIuzKA95LrB_M). Accessed 9 Jan. 2026.

This a picture of the U.S. Capitol building at night. This gives a visual for the government reform section of our website.

*Nicaraguan Contra Members. Medium,*

[legacyofgena.medium.com/the-real-story-of-the-iran-contra-affair-81c36b34b50f](https://legacyofgena.medium.com/the-real-story-of-the-iran-contra-affair-81c36b34b50f).

Accessed 20 Oct. 2025.

This photo of Nicaraguan Contra rebels relates to the background necessary for the revolution of our thesis statement. We can use this on our website in the future to give an overview of the events leading up to "*Dark Alliance*".

"1985 NEWS SPECIAL: New Drug Called 'CRACK' N.Y.C." *Youtube*, uploaded by Wayback Archives, 8 June 2024, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=jEHjHsta338](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jEHjHsta338). Accessed 22 Apr. 2026.

This is a 1985 news segment covering the crack cocaine epidemic in New York City, featuring researcher Bill Hopkins of New York State's drug abuse agency. We use a clip of Hopkins describing crack's dangers to provide footage illustrating the crack epidemic.

Pench, Randy. *Gary Webb in 1997. New York Times,*

[www.nytimes.com/2014/10/05/movies/kill-the-messenger-recalls-a-reporter-wrongly-disgraced.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/05/movies/kill-the-messenger-recalls-a-reporter-wrongly-disgraced.html). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This is an Image of Gary Webb sitting next to boxes full of files. This image is used as our homepage's background as it compliments our website's color scheme.

President Reagan Meets with Contra Leaders at the White House. *The National Security Archive,* [nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB210/index.htm](https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB210/index.htm). Accessed 20 Oct. 2025.

This photo will provide a good visual aid for the section of our website explaining the allegations made in "*Dark Alliance*", as it depicts representatives of the Contra

rebels meeting with the U.S. government. This photo mainly supports our topic's revolution.

Reagan, Ronald. "Address to the Nation on United States Policy in Central America." *Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum*, 9 May 1984, [www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/address-nation-united-states-policy-central-america#:~:text=This%20is%20no%20way%20to,on%20nationwide%20radio%20and%20television](http://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/address-nation-united-states-policy-central-america#:~:text=This%20is%20no%20way%20to,on%20nationwide%20radio%20and%20television). Accessed 3 Jan. 2026. Address.

This is a speech detailing the U.S. foreign policy against communism in the Americas. We use this to understand what motivators caused the U.S. to support the Contra rebels.

Reagan, Ronald. "President Ronald Reagan's Press Conference in the East Room, Speech, February 21st, 1985., Video File, 31:51. National Archives Catalog, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/40978367>

This is a speech from President Reagan at a press conference, in which he discusses the U.S.'s supposed obligation to support "freedom fighters" across the world. This video is used on our website to give justification towards the Reagan Administration's motives in funding the Contras.

Reagan, Ronald. "Proclamation 5562 -- Crack/Cocaine Awareness Month, 1986." 31 Oct. 1986. *Ronald Reagan Presidential Library*, 31 Oct. 1986, [www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/proclamation-5562-crackcocaine-awareness-month-1986](http://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/proclamation-5562-crackcocaine-awareness-month-1986). Accessed 6 Feb. 2026. Speech.

This Ronald Reagan speech condemns the spread of Crack Cocaine and acknowledges the severity of the Crack Crisis. This source helped us understand the direct media stance taken on the Crack epidemic by the Reagan administration.

Roberts, Joshua. *Maxine Waters*. *Bloomberg*,

[www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-01-05/maxine-waters-won-t-please-everyone-even-some-fellow-democrats?embedded-checkout=true](http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-01-05/maxine-waters-won-t-please-everyone-even-some-fellow-democrats?embedded-checkout=true). Accessed 17 Feb. 2026.

Maxine Waters is a U.S. representative for California, who supported Webb's claims and amplified the public's voice. This image of her is used for additional context on our website as she is essential to multiple aspects of our project.

Ross, Ricky Donell. "Interview: Freeway Rick Ross." Interview by Clarence Fanning. *The Journalist Sin Seer*, edited by Clarence Fanning, 1 Oct. 2017,

[thejournalistsinseer.wordpress.com/2017/10/01/interview-freeway-rick-ross](http://thejournalistsinseer.wordpress.com/2017/10/01/interview-freeway-rick-ross). Accessed 20 Oct. 2025.

This interview of Freeway Rick Ross, one of the key figures in the alleged CIA trafficking operation, will prove to be useful in all three aspects of our topic. Ross discusses a variety of topics with his interviewer, covering his potential ties to Contra rebels and the CIA, his arrest, and even directly mentioning Webb, which supports our thesis.

Saxon, Reed. *Kelvin Scott Holds up a Plastic Bag Holding Flour, Representing Cocaine*. 21 Feb. 1997. *AP Newsroom*,

[newsroom.ap.org/editorial-photos-videos/detail?itemid=1e6c74c1cdaa4f1ca743d69f207c6171&mediatype=photo](http://newsroom.ap.org/editorial-photos-videos/detail?itemid=1e6c74c1cdaa4f1ca743d69f207c6171&mediatype=photo). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This image shows a crowd, containing primarily African-Americans, holding signs in protest of the CIA. This ties into our public reaction, as "Dark Alliance" contributed to the public outrage seen in these protests.

Subcommittee on Terrorism, and Narcotics and International Operations of the U.S. Senate

Committee on Foreign Relations. "Drugs, Law Enforcement and Foreign Policy."

*Internet Archive*, Dec. 1988,

[archive.org/details/Kerry-Report-Drugs-Contras/page/n1/mode/2up](https://www.archive.org/details/Kerry-Report-Drugs-Contras/page/n1/mode/2up). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This is a report from 1988 that documented Contra drug links and found that US Policy makers weren't against providing drug money to the Contra Rebels. This source offered further background on the government involvement with the Contras.

Tama, Mario. *The New York Times Co. Post an 82 Percent Decline in 2nd Quarter Profit*. Getty Images,

[www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/copies-of-the-new-york-times-sit-for-sale-in-a-rack-july-23-news-photo/82046046?adppopup=true](https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/copies-of-the-new-york-times-sit-for-sale-in-a-rack-july-23-news-photo/82046046?adppopup=true). Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This is an Image of newspaper issues from the New York Times. This is used to provide visual context for our media reaction page.

"30 years ago, George H.W. Bush held up a bag of crack on live TV. Where'd he get it?" *WHYY*, 26 Mar. 2019,

[whyy.org/articles/30-years-ago-george-hw-bush-held-up-a-bag-of-crack-on-live-tv-where-d-he-get-it/](https://www.whyy.org/articles/30-years-ago-george-hw-bush-held-up-a-bag-of-crack-on-live-tv-where-d-he-get-it/). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This article provides a quote from George H.W. Bush regarding the danger of Crack Cocaine. The imagery used in this quote helps readers understand the government's view on Crack Cocaine.

Tiomono. *Frente Sur Contras*. *Wikimedia*,

[commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frente\\_Sur\\_Contras\\_1987.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frente_Sur_Contras_1987.jpg). Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This image shows a group of Contra rebels holding guns. This is a helpful visual to support our information about the Contras and their acts of terrorism and violence.

Tomorrow, Tom. *Censored 1999*. 6 Apr. 1999. *Seven Stories Press*,

[www.sevenstories.com/books/2974-censored-1999?srsIid=AfmBOooEdNQ7tJDWd3dlvEsJn5\\_RiXgaZIt24nfC6iE\\_9ILSmBY25uZp](http://www.sevenstories.com/books/2974-censored-1999?srsIid=AfmBOooEdNQ7tJDWd3dlvEsJn5_RiXgaZIt24nfC6iE_9ILSmBY25uZp). Accessed 17 Oct. 2025.

The illustrator of this political cartoon offers commentary on the state of world news in 1999. This helps us understand the public's critical view of journalism during this time period, which changed partly due to the writing of "Dark Alliance", tying into our topic's revolution and reform.

Truman, Harry S. "Recommendation for Assistance to Greece and Turkey." 12 Mar. 1947.

*National Archives*, 8 Feb. 2022,

[www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/truman-doctrine](http://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/truman-doctrine). Accessed 12 Feb. 2026.

Address.

This Website contains a transcript of the Truman Doctrine, which gives historical context on motives and factors leading to US support for the Contra Rebels. Additionally, an overview of the speech's background, content, and effects is

included, which is informative to us about additional context surrounding the doctrine.

United States, Congress, House. Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986. United States Code, title 21, section 801, 841, 951. *Congress.Gov*, 27 Oct. 1986, [www.congress.gov/bill/99th-congress/house-bill/5484](http://www.congress.gov/bill/99th-congress/house-bill/5484). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

The act dictates the punishment over drug possession. This helps us understand the government's steps to attempt to counter the Crack Epidemic.

United States, Congress, Senate, Select Committee of Intelligence. *Allegations of a CIA Connection to Crack Cocaine Epidemic*. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, United States of America, 23 Oct. 1996, [www.intelligence.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/sites-default-files-hearings-allegationsofcia00unit.pdf](http://www.intelligence.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/sites-default-files-hearings-allegationsofcia00unit.pdf). Accessed 17 Oct. 2025. 104th Congress, 2nd session.

This series of committee hearings arose as the CIA's direct reaction to Gary Webb's publication of *Dark Alliance*. It is crucial to our thesis and all three revolution, reaction, and reform themes because it ties together the CIA's denial of their involvement with the Contra drug trade, the impact of *Dark Alliance*, and substantial reform in the CIA itself.

United States, Congress. *Congressional Record*. Statement of Maxine Waters. Vol. 142, Government Publishing Office, 20 Sept. 1996, pp. H10724-H10730. *US Congress*, [www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-1996-09-20/html/CREC-1996-09-20-pt1-PgH10724-4.htm](http://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-1996-09-20/html/CREC-1996-09-20-pt1-PgH10724-4.htm). Accessed 25 Nov. 2025.

This evidence is essential to the portion of our project where we discuss government reaction to *Dark Alliance*, as this is the central example of

government officials directly supporting claims made by Webb. Waters's statement is very strong evidence in support of our argument.

United States Sentencing Commission, *Report to the Congress: Impact of the Fair Sentencing Act of 2010*. United States Sentencing Commission, 2 Aug. 2015, [www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/news/congressional-testimony-and-reports/drug-topics/201507\\_RtC\\_Fair-Sentencing-Act.pdf#page=48](http://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/news/congressional-testimony-and-reports/drug-topics/201507_RtC_Fair-Sentencing-Act.pdf#page=48). Accessed 4 Mar. 2026.

This report details the historical impacts of prior cocaine sentencing policies such as Reagan's Anti-Drug Abuse act, and details the effects of Obama's 2010 Fair Sentencing Act. A graph contained on page 48 of this report is useful to help readers understand the extent of achieved drug sentencing reforms on our website.

US DOJ, and Office of the Inspector General. *The CIA-Contra-Crack Cocaine Controversy: A Review of the Justice Department's Investigations and Prosecutions*. Office of the Inspector General. *US Justice Department*, [oig.justice.gov/sites/default/files/archive/special/9712/ch01p1.htm](http://oig.justice.gov/sites/default/files/archive/special/9712/ch01p1.htm). Accessed 25 Nov. 2025.

This report helps us to understand how the Government initially refuted Webb's claims. Additionally, excerpts from this report on our website could help give viewers an idea of what was admitted by the CIA in regards to Contra traffickers.

"US Rates of Adult Drug Arrests by Race." *Human Rights Watch*, 2 Mar. 2009, [www.hrw.org/report/2009/03/02/decades-disparity/drug-arrests-and-race-united-states](http://www.hrw.org/report/2009/03/02/decades-disparity/drug-arrests-and-race-united-states). Accessed 19 May 2026. Infographic.

This graph illustrates the sharp increase in the incarcerations of African Americans during the mid 1980s, corresponding with the rise of the Crack

Epidemic. We use this to demonstrate the effects that drug trafficking had on marginalized Black communities.

Washington, D.C. *STATEMENT OF FREDERICK P. HITZ INSPECTOR GENERAL CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY BEFORE THE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*. Testimony of Frederick P. Hitz. 16 Mar. 1998,

[irp.fas.org/congress/1998\\_hr/980316-ps.htm#:~:text=When%20I%20appeared%20before%20the,given%20its%20approval%20for%20them](http://irp.fas.org/congress/1998_hr/980316-ps.htm#:~:text=When%20I%20appeared%20before%20the,given%20its%20approval%20for%20them). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025. 1998

Legislature.

Hitz's statement gives further information on the government's treatment of *Dark Alliance's* allegations. This statement is important in that it acknowledges the CIA's negligence in preventing drug trafficking into the U.S.

Webb, Gary. *Dark Alliance : the CIA, the Contras and the Crack Cocaine Explosion*. Old Street Publishing, 2015.

This book defines our NHD topic, and we use excerpts from it to support the theme. The book directly establishes the revolution of our topic in its accusation of the CIA's negligence in the crack cocaine crisis, while also greatly illustrating the reaction and reform.

Webb, Gary. "Taking a Dive on Contra Crack." *FAIRNESS & ACCURACY IN REPORTING*, Fair.org, 1 Mar. 2005, [fair.org/extra/taking-a-dive-on-contra-crack/](http://fair.org/extra/taking-a-dive-on-contra-crack/). Accessed 26 Nov. 2025.

This Article, written by Webb, gives a primary source as to how Mercury News shifted to refute the claims made in *Dark Alliance* over time. Webb gives many

pieces of essential evidence here, some of which lead to compelling arguments to use within our website.

### Secondary Sources

Adams, James. "Moonlighting?" *New York Times*, 27 Sept. 1998, [archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/27/reviews/980927.27adamst.html](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/27/reviews/980927.27adamst.html). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This review documents the critical assault on "Dark Alliance" by media outlets.

This source illustrates the reaction part of our topic, specifically how media discredited Webb and protected the CIA's reputation.

Aiken, Jonathan. "CIA Admits it Overlooked Contras' Links to Drugs." *CNN*, 4 Nov. 1998, [www.cnn.com/US/9811/03/cia.drugs/](http://www.cnn.com/US/9811/03/cia.drugs/). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This news article summarizes the CIA Inspector General's admission that the agency was aware of Contra rebels' drug trafficking activities and failed to act on that knowledge. It backs up Webb's central claim in *Dark Alliance* and is essential to the reform part of our project, as it shows one of the first times a mainstream news outlet acknowledged that Webb's reporting had forced a meaningful acknowledgement of negligence within the CIA.

*Attorney general Richard Thornburgh and Drug Czar William Bennett in Washington. WHY?*, 22 Feb. 2016, [why.org/segments/addiction-compassion-race-looking-back-at-the-crack-epidemic/](http://why.org/segments/addiction-compassion-race-looking-back-at-the-crack-epidemic/). Accessed 30 Nov. 2025.

This image of government officials during the peak of the crack cocaine epidemic illustrates the "war on drugs" stance of the federal government. Used on our crack cocaine crisis background page, it provides a visual of how crack issues were handled during the crisis.

Bell-Strokes, Nancy "Headshot of Gary Webb from 1980 at the Kentucky Post." *The Northerner*, 6 Oct. 2014,  
<https://www.thenortherner.com/news/2014/10/06/kill-the-messenger-captures-story-of-former-northerner-editors-rich-life-and-tragic-death/#>

This photograph of Webb shows him in a serious tone. is used on our conclusion page, alongside a quote.

Bratich, Jack Z. *Conspiracy Panics : Political Rationality and Popular Culture*. State U of New York P, 2008.

This book provides information on the CIA's involvement with drug trafficking in the United States. This information helps to understand the government involvement with the crack cocaine crisis of the 90s.

Buchholz, Katharina. "Black Incarceration Rates Are Dropping in the U.S." *Statista*, 19 Apr. 2023,  
[www.statista.com/chart/18376/us-incarceration-rates-by-sex-and-race-ethnic-origin/?srsltid=AfmBOooFRko8KRfXfyR0TVxg9mm\\_4sIEAzviSfp7Mba5FnWMqQueo\\_RN](http://www.statista.com/chart/18376/us-incarceration-rates-by-sex-and-race-ethnic-origin/?srsltid=AfmBOooFRko8KRfXfyR0TVxg9mm_4sIEAzviSfp7Mba5FnWMqQueo_RN).  
 Accessed 19 Oct. 2025. Infographic.

The author of this article provides statistics on incarceration rates of African American people, which spike significantly during the mid-1990s. This

information helps us provide insight into the crack cocaine epidemic that led to "Dark Alliance".

Cannon, Lou. "Reagan Says U.S. Owes 'Contras' Help." *The Washington Post*, 1 Mar. 1985, [www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1985/03/02/reagan-says-us-owes-contras-help/7b39889b-b639-4d6b-9d00-f13eb13493d2/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1985/03/02/reagan-says-us-owes-contras-help/7b39889b-b639-4d6b-9d00-f13eb13493d2/). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

The article helps us understand the motivations for the U.S's involvement with the Contra rebels. This gives info on the background on the CIA's motivations for the claims in *Dark Alliance*

CBS News. *The Bush Years, 1989 - 1993*. CBS News, 1 Nov. 2002, [www.cbsnews.com/pictures/the-bush-years-1989-1993/6/](http://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/the-bush-years-1989-1993/6/). Accessed 30 Nov. 2025.

This is an image of George W. Bush holding crack cocaine during the Crack Epidemic. We use this to show the government's reaction and response to the Crack Epidemic, along with a meaningful quote about crack's danger and impact.

Cockburn, Alexander. "Alexander Cockburn on the Death of Gary Webb, 'a Very Fine Journalist Who Deserved Better than He Got.'" *The Nation*, 14 Oct. 2014. *The Nation*, [www.thenation.com/article/archive/alexander-cockburn-death-gary-webb-very-fine-journalist-who-deserved-better-he-got/#google\\_vignette](http://www.thenation.com/article/archive/alexander-cockburn-death-gary-webb-very-fine-journalist-who-deserved-better-he-got/#google_vignette). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

In this source, Alexander Cockburn defends the reporting of Gary Webb after his death in 2004, exposing the major media for attacking Webb and platforming the denial from the CIA. This information was very useful for demonstrating the reaction aspect, especially the media's reaction.

Cockburn, Alexander, and Jeffrey St Clair. *Whiteout : the CIA, Drugs and the Press*. Pbk. ed ed. *New York Times Archive*,

[archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/first/c/cockburn-white.html](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/first/c/cockburn-white.html). Accessed 18 Feb. 2026.

This book gives essential background of the CIA's history of controversy surrounding drug trade, including detailed analysis of "Dark Alliance" and its claims. This is incredibly useful for historical context on our website.

Cothran, Helen. *The Central Intelligence Agency*. Greenhaven Press, 2003.

This book provides information on the investigations into the CIA's involvement with drug trafficking. This information is key to understanding the ways the CIA has denied involvement in prior drug controversies, and demonstrates the significance of their acknowledgement of negligence following "Dark Alliance"

"Cracks in the System: 20 Years of the Unjust Federal Crack Cocaine Law." *ACLU*, 26 Oct.

2006,

[www.aclu.org/documents/cracks-system-20-years-unjust-federal-crack-cocaine-law](http://www.aclu.org/documents/cracks-system-20-years-unjust-federal-crack-cocaine-law).

Accessed 18 Feb. 2026.

This paper researches the differences of crack sentencing vs powder, and the racial disparities that follow. This helps us understand the effect of crack on African American communities and the discriminatory incarcerations that plagued communities.

*Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion*. Goodreads,

[www.goodreads.com/book/show/40718249-dark-alliance](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/40718249-dark-alliance). Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This is a cover art for Dark Alliance. This serves well as a visual on our website to enhance the readers' experience and understanding.

Daunt, Tina. "Written in Pain." *LA Times*, 16 Mar. 2005. *LA Times*,  
[www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-mar-16-et-webb16-story.html](http://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-mar-16-et-webb16-story.html). Accessed Oct.  
 2025.

In this source, Tina Daunt provides an account of Gary Webb's death, intersecting Webb's media downfall and the San Jose newspaper he worked for with his personal struggles and perceived death wish. This information helps us by providing a counterpoint to the reaction aspect, stating that most people did not believe what he was saying.

Dorsey, Tina. *Drugs and Crime Facts*. Report no. 165148, Bureau of Justice Statistics,  
[bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/dcf.pdf](http://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/dcf.pdf). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

The article offers information on the rise of cocaine during the 80s and 90s, illustrated through a graph, which visualizes the rise of cocaine due to the alleged CIA trade. It offers context for the controversy that Webb would bring to light.

"Drugs and Crime Facts." *Bureau of Justice Statistics*, 11 Dec. 2008,  
[bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/dcf.pdf](http://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/dcf.pdf). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This report shows evidence and statistics of increased crime rates during the Crack Epidemic. We use this to show the effects of cocaine and the Crack epidemic on the American population.

Evans, William, et al. "Guns and violence: The enduring impact of crack cocaine markets on young black males." *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 206, nos. Guns and violence, 18 Jan. 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2021.104581>. Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This source provided information on the increasing trend of murder rates after crack cocaine markets emerged in major cities. This helps us further understand the revolutionary insight into urban conditions that Gary Webb's series offered.

Finn, Daniel. "What We Really Know About the CIA and Crack." *Jacobin*, [jacobin.com/2021/11/what-we-really-know-about-the-cia-and-crack](https://jacobin.com/2021/11/what-we-really-know-about-the-cia-and-crack). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This source shows that there is plentiful evidence of the CIA was not only negligent about preventing the flow of drug trafficking, but they potentially exacerbated the crack cocaine epidemic. This provides background insight into the CIA's involvement with the drug crisis.

Flamini, Alessandro, et al. "Illegal drugs and public corruption: Crack based evidence from California." *Science Direct*, Sept. 2021, [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0176268021000069](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0176268021000069). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

The study underlines the effect of cocaine on public corruption in California. This helps us understand the systemic effects of cocaine on the wider public.

Frederick P. Hitz. *Penguin Random House*, [www.penguinrandomhouse.com/authors/58790/frederick-p-hitz/](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/authors/58790/frederick-p-hitz/). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This is an image of the CIA Inspector General Frederick P. Hitz. We use this on our website to provide visuals that help to better understand government reaction to *Dark Alliance*.

Garvin, Glenn. "Hooked on Fantasies." *Reason; Free Minds and Free Markets*, Jan. 1999, [reason.com/1999/01/01/hooked-on-fantasies/](https://reason.com/1999/01/01/hooked-on-fantasies/). Accessed 26 Nov. 2025.

This article refutes arguments made in *Dark Alliance*, and attacks Webb's character. These counterclaims will give further complexity to our website and serve as an alternate perspective to take into account.

"Gary Webb: In His Own Words (2002) | CIA Cocaine Dark Alliance." *Youtube*, uploaded by Cernov et al., Google, 2002, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJkNEtgMulw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJkNEtgMulw). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This video provides further insight into Webb's experience writing and publishing "*Dark Alliance*" and gives motivating factors for his decision to create the series. This gives valuable background to illustrate our topic's revolution, and we use it to provide helpful quotations.

Gary Webb Speaking. *Alchetron*, [alchetron.com/Gary-Webb](http://alchetron.com/Gary-Webb). Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This is an image of Gary Webb speaking at a podium. We use this image to provide visual information for our website.

Gross, Terry. "A 'Forgotten History' Of How The U.S. Government Segregated America." *npr*, 3 May 2017, [www.npr.org/2017/05/03/526655831/a-forgotten-history-of-how-the-u-s-government-segregated-america](http://www.npr.org/2017/05/03/526655831/a-forgotten-history-of-how-the-u-s-government-segregated-america). Accessed 17 Jan. 2026.

This article explains the effects redlining has had on African American communities. This underlines vulnerabilities of African Americans before the crack cocaine epidemic.

Harper, Lauren. "'The Dark Alliance' Declassified." *UNREDACTED: The National Security Archive Blog*, 7 Apr. 2015, [unredacted.com/2015/04/07/the-dark-alliance-declassified/#:~:](http://unredacted.com/2015/04/07/the-dark-alliance-declassified/#:~:). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This article explains the alleged connection between the Contra Rebels and the CIA, detailing possible shared contributions to drug trafficking in the United States. This helps us understand the information that led to Gary Webb writing "Dark Alliance."

Hart, Peter. *A 'Worthless and Whiny' Attack on a Genuine Journalistic Hero*. 21 Oct. 2014. *Fair*, [fair.org/home/wash-post-webb/](http://fair.org/home/wash-post-webb/). Accessed 6 Jan. 2026.

This article provides information on Gary Webb's claims. This helped us analyze the faults in Webb's research pointed out by critics in the media, and determine their legitimacy.

"History of Drug Trafficking." *History*, edited by History.com editors, 31 May 2017, [www.history.com/articles/history-of-drug-trafficking](http://www.history.com/articles/history-of-drug-trafficking). Accessed 9 Feb. 2026.

This article details the drug trade of the U.S., from the 19th century to now. This helps us understand the background of drug trafficking preceding the release of *Dark Alliance*.

Hockstein, Evelyn. *The entrance to the CIA headquarters in McLean, Virginia*. *The Guardian*, 10 July 2025, [www.theguardian.com/books/2025/jul/10/the-mission-by-tim-weiner-review-unmasking-the-cia](http://www.theguardian.com/books/2025/jul/10/the-mission-by-tim-weiner-review-unmasking-the-cia). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This is an image of the CIA headquarters. We use this to give context on the parties which played a part and were involved in Dark Alliance.

Howard, John. "Reporter's Notebook: Looking Back at Gary Webb." *Capitol Weekly News* [Sacramento], 10 Oct. 2014. *Capitol Weekly*, [capitolweekly.net/webb-gary-sacramento-looking-back/](http://capitolweekly.net/webb-gary-sacramento-looking-back/). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This article by John Howard reflects on the career and life of Gary Webb, providing information about Webb as a person. This provides further information about Webb to gain further knowledge about our topic.

"The Iran-Contra Affair." *PBS*, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/reagan-iran/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/reagan-iran/). Accessed 10 Feb. 2026.

This article details the Iran-Contra affair and the arms sale toward the Contra rebels. We use this article to understand the U.S.'s involvement with the Contra rebels.

Jeflores2015. "Drug Wars Collateral Damage: US Counternarcotic Aid and Human Rights in the Americas by: Horace A. Bartilow Source: Volume 49, Number 2, 2014 pp. 24-46." *Human rights in Latin America*, 22 Apr. 2015, [derechoslatinamerica.com/2015/04/22/drug-wars-collateral-damage-us-counternarcotic-aid-and-human-rights-in-the-americas-by-horace-a-bartilow-source-volume-49-number-2-2014-pp-24-46](http://derechoslatinamerica.com/2015/04/22/drug-wars-collateral-damage-us-counternarcotic-aid-and-human-rights-in-the-americas-by-horace-a-bartilow-source-volume-49-number-2-2014-pp-24-46). Accessed 25 Nov. 2025.

This article provides insight on narcotic counter assistance and human rights abuse. This source helps us understand the broader context of drug policies, providing background information on the socioeconomy surrounding the CIA and Contras.

J Health Soc Behav. "The Formation of a Socioeconomic Health Disparity: The Case of Cocaine Use during the 1980s and 1990s\*." *PubMed Central*, United States Government, 17 Aug. 2017, [pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5563377](http://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5563377). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This article shows the decline in socioeconomic health due to cocaine usage. This helps us understand the effect that cocaine smuggling had on communities in

America. It relates to our topic due to the rise in cocaine smuggling and usage being part of the Contra trade covered by Webb.

Jones, Brenda, and Krishan Trotman. *Queens of the Resistance: Maxine Waters : a Biography*. Penguin Publishing Group, 2020.

This book gives an overview of Maxine Waters' professional career and life. This book mentions the Congressional Black Caucus, and this information further helped us understand her legitimacy as a politician and the reforms achieved by the caucus.

*Kill the Messenger*. Directed by Michael Cuesta, Focus Features, 2014.

*Kill the Messenger* is a biographical movie detailing Webb's research into *Dark Alliance*, the supposed persecution he faced as a result of its publication, and its impact on his personal life. This film gave us a well-rounded overview of our topic, and gave more insight into Webb's personal life and motivations.

Knapp, Alyssa. "Nicaraguan Revolution (1978-1990)." *American Archive*, 2021, [americanarchive.org/exhibits/newshour-cold-war/nicaragua](https://americanarchive.org/exhibits/newshour-cold-war/nicaragua). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This Article contains valuable background info about Sandinista government, the Nicaraguan revolution, and US aid to the Contras. This gives significant clarity to the factors leading up to the trafficking of Crack into the United States.

Kornbluh, Peter. "The Storm over 'Dark Alliance.'" *The George Washington University*, [nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB113/storm.htm](https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB113/storm.htm). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

In this source, Peter Kornbluh analyses the public's reaction to "Dark Alliance", in addition to a general summary of some events leading up to its publication,

which proved useful for initial research. This article was particularly useful in gathering knowledge on the project's reaction aspect.

Kornbluh, Peter. *Life of a Scandal*. *The Nation*, [www.thenation.com/article/archive/life-scandal/](http://www.thenation.com/article/archive/life-scandal/). Accessed 28 Dec. 2025.

This article provides information on the government reaction to Gary Webb's *Dark Alliance*. We use this article to understand the reform of the government and debates around its security.

Korth, Madeline. "Crack vs. Cocaine: What's the Difference Between Crack and Cocaine?" *American Addiction Centers*, 8 May 2025, [americanaddictioncenters.org/stimulants/cocaine/differences-with-crack](http://americanaddictioncenters.org/stimulants/cocaine/differences-with-crack). Accessed 6 Jan. 2026.

This article details Crack Cocaine and its effects. This helps us understand the effect crack had on communities during the Crack Epidemic.

Kurtz, Howard. "Running with the CIA Story." *Washington Post*, 1 Oct. 1996, [www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1996/10/02/running-with-the-cia-story/0364290d-d2d1-42a6-85df-768c375b2a0f/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1996/10/02/running-with-the-cia-story/0364290d-d2d1-42a6-85df-768c375b2a0f/). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This article shows the gap between *Dark Alliance*'s claims and the public interpretation. We use this source to show the media's reaction to Gary Webb's *Dark Alliance*.

Lang, Kevin. "Oscar Danilo Blandón." From: *History vs. Hollywood*, 7 Oct. 2014, [www.historyvshollywood.com](http://www.historyvshollywood.com).

This website shows actors next to the respective characters they played in "Kill The Messenger". A picture of Oscar Danilo Blandon is found on this website, which is used on our website.

Maas, Steve. "The Lingering, Lethal Toll of America's Crack Crisis." *National Bureau of Economic Research*, 10 Mar. 2018, [www.nber.org/digest/oct18/lingering-lethal-toll-americas-crack-crisis?page=1&perPage=50](http://www.nber.org/digest/oct18/lingering-lethal-toll-americas-crack-crisis?page=1&perPage=50). Accessed 26 Nov. 2025.

This article gives a large amount of key information about the Crack Cocaine crisis, a major portion of our project. It greatly helps us understand the correlation between gun violence and increase in Crack Cocaine.

"Map of the Cold War in 1980." *Vivid Maps*, 29 June 2017, [vividmaps.com/map-of-cold-war/](http://vividmaps.com/map-of-cold-war/). Accessed 3 Jan. 2026. Map.

This map illustrates the sides during the Cold War during the 80s. This map helps readers visualize the political dynamics that factored into American support of the Contras.

Massing, Michael. "Dead End." *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Jan. 1999, [www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-jan-24-bk-979-story.html](http://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-jan-24-bk-979-story.html). Accessed 1 Dec. 2025.

This book questions Gary Webb's *Dark Alliance* and its claims. We use this source to provide a counterpoint and show the media reaction to *Dark Alliance*.

*MediaPost*. "The Washington Post Adds 10 Investigative Journalists." *MediaPost*, [www.mediapost.com/publications/article/337333/the-washington-post-adds-10-investigative-journalists.html](http://www.mediapost.com/publications/article/337333/the-washington-post-adds-10-investigative-journalists.html). Accessed 20 Feb. 2026.

This is an Image of *The Washington Post's* logo on its website. This is used as a visual on our media reaction page to further contextualize the excerpt from their article criticizing "Dark Alliance"

Miller, Jakob. "Secrecy, Conspiracy, and the Media During the CIA-Contra Affair." *University Libraries, University of South Carolina*, 3 May 2022, scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior\_theses/535/. Accessed 26 Nov. 2025.

This source is very detailed in its analysis and description of media reaction to *Dark Alliance* and the claims made within the book itself. Additionally, this source debunks some claims in the book, which could be useful for counterarguments.

Muhammad, Charlene. "Crack, The CIA And Black America's Drug Crisis." *The Final Call*, 16 Dec. 2014, new.finalcall.com/2014/12/16/crack-the-cia-and-black-america-s-drug-crisis. Accessed 20 Oct. 2025.

This source discusses the effect of the crack cocaine epidemic on African American communities and the linked ties to the CIA and the Contra rebels. This provides insight onto research leading up to the revolutionary impact of Gary Webb's "Dark Alliance". We also use the image in this article's header as a visual on our website.

National Drug Intelligence Center. *Cocaine and Crack*. National Drug Intelligence Center. *National Drug Intelligence Center*, www.justice.gov/archive/ndic/pubs3/3300/cocaine.htm.

The map along with the article shows where and how much cocaine entered America and its effects. The map helps us understand the scale of cocaine

entering from Nicaragua and surrounding countries, showing how significant the alleged trade was.

"Number of Arrests by Drug Type, 1982-2007." *Bureau of Justice Statistics*, 11 Dec. 2008, [bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/DCF.pdf](https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/DCF.pdf). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026. Chart.

This chart displays a dramatic spike in Cocaine arrests during the early 1990s. We use this to demonstrate the massive scale of the Crack Epidemic on our website.

Palamar, Joseph J, and Danielle C Ompad. "Demographic and socioeconomic correlates of powder cocaine and crack use among high school seniors in the United States." *The American journal of drug and alcohol abuse* vol. 40,1 (2014): 37-43.  
doi:10.3109/00952990.2013.838961

This is a report on socioeconomic demographics of cocaine users created by the National Library of Medicine. This report helps us understand the differences between the communities impacted by Crack cocaine and powder cocaine.

Parry, Robert. "America's Debt to Gary Webb." *FAIRNESS & ACCURACY IN REPORTING*, 1 Mar. 2005, [fair.org/extra/americas-debt-to-gary-webb/](https://fair.org/extra/americas-debt-to-gary-webb/). Accessed 26 Nov. 2025.

This article discusses how Webb's claims were refuted by mainstream media and led to the loss of his credibility. Additionally, we can use this article to learn further about how the public reacted to *Dark Alliance*.

Peale, Rembrandt. *Thomas Jefferson*. 1800. *White House Historical Association*, [www.whitehousehistory.org/photos/treasures-of-the-white-house-thomas-jefferson](https://www.whitehousehistory.org/photos/treasures-of-the-white-house-thomas-jefferson).

This is an illustration of Thomas Jefferson. We use this illustration on our website to provide visual context to a quote by him.

Peterson, Michael. *Maps and the Internet*. Technical report no. 9780080442013, Elsevier, 2003.

*ResearchGate*, <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-008044201-3/50003-7>. Accessed 17 Jan.

2026.

This source provides valuable information on internet usage in the 1990s to early 2000s. We use this information to provide a graphic for our website to further explain the media reaction to *Dark Alliance*.

"Policing Detroit through the War on Crime, Drugs, and Youth: Crackdown." *Reagan's National Drug Strategy*,

[policing.umhistorylabs.lsa.umich.edu/s/crackdowndetroit/page/reagan-s-national-drug-strategy](https://policing.umhistorylabs.lsa.umich.edu/s/crackdowndetroit/page/reagan-s-national-drug-strategy). Accessed 18 Feb. 2026.

This web page details the goals and contents of Reagan's Anti-Drug Abuse act of 1986. Information on this website helped us understand the effects of the Crack epidemic on Black communities, and the policies enforced by the Reagan Administration during their "war on drugs"

Purdum, Todd S. "Expose on Crack Was Flawed, Paper Says." *New York Times*, 13 May 1997, [archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/27/specials/cia-flawed.html](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/27/specials/cia-flawed.html).

Accessed 3 Jan. 2026.

This article details the lack of evidence according to Mr. Ceppos on Dark Alliance claims. We use this to understand the media backlash and the opposing viewpoint of Dark Alliance's claims.

"Quotes about Criticism." *AZQuotes*,

[www.azquotes.com/author/7392-Thomas\\_Jefferson/tag/criticism](https://www.azquotes.com/author/7392-Thomas_Jefferson/tag/criticism). Accessed 11 Feb. 2026.

This website provides quotes from former U.S. president Thomas Jefferson about criticism of the government. A quote from Jefferson is used on our website's thesis page to illustrate the theme of our topic while providing readers with additional historical context, and an image of Jefferson on this website is used alongside the quote.

Salim Muwakkil, SalimMuwakkil. "Gary Webb, Word Warrior." *IN THESE TIMES*, 20 Dec. 2004, [inthesetimes.com/article/gary-webb-word-warrior](https://inthesetimes.com/article/gary-webb-word-warrior). Accessed 28 Dec. 2025.

This article gives an overview of the effects and claims of *Dark Alliance*, and public response to it. We use this to counter claims of the Crack epidemic being greatly caused by the CIA operation in Nicaragua.

Sanford, Rane. "The Disparate Treatment of Crack Cocaine and the Opioid Epidemic: Unveiling Racial Bias in Drug Policy." *Santa Clara Markkula Center for Applied Ethics*, 31 July 2024, [www.scu.edu/government-ethics/resources/the-disparate-treatment-of-crack-cocaine-and-the-opioid-epidemic/](https://www.scu.edu/government-ethics/resources/the-disparate-treatment-of-crack-cocaine-and-the-opioid-epidemic/). Accessed 26 Nov. 2025.

This article helps us understand the effects and and the racial discrimination in enforcement in policy surrounding cocaine. We use this for showing the affects of the cocaine epidemic on African American communities in the context of the Crack Epidemic.

Scahill, Jeremy. "1980s: U.S. Support for Contra Death Squads in Nicaragua." *The Intercept*, 27 Apr. 2021, [theintercept.com/2021/04/27/biden-contra-death-squads-nicaragua/](https://theintercept.com/2021/04/27/biden-contra-death-squads-nicaragua/). Accessed 9 Jan. 2026.

This article details the backlash against support for the Contra rebels. This info helps us understand the CIA's motivations to not help the Contras through public means.

Segalov, Michael. "Would New York's Crack Cocaine Epidemic Spread to London? The Observer Investigates in 1987." *The Guardian*, 14 Aug. 2022, [www.theguardian.com/society/2022/aug/14/from-the-observer-archive-new-yorks-lethal-crack-cocaine-epidemic-1987](http://www.theguardian.com/society/2022/aug/14/from-the-observer-archive-new-yorks-lethal-crack-cocaine-epidemic-1987). Accessed 30 Nov. 2025.

This article discusses the massive scale of the mid-80s Crack Epidemic. This helps us understand the reasons for crack's initial spread, the reasons it was so deadly and the personal impact it had on many communities.

Sharon, Farmer. *John Kerry*. 2004. *Britannica.com*, Encyclopædia Britannica, [www.britannica.com/biography/John-Kerry](http://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Kerry). Accessed 19 Feb. 2026.

This is an image of U.S. senator John Kerry. We use this image while explaining how his prior investigation into the CIA's relation to the Contras impacted Webb's investigation.

"Short and Long-Term Effects of Cocaine Use and Addiction." *American Addiction Centers*, edited by Leah Walker, 17 Apr. 2025, [americanaddictioncenters.org/stimulants/cocaine/risks-effects-dangers](http://americanaddictioncenters.org/stimulants/cocaine/risks-effects-dangers). Accessed 6 Jan. 2026.

This article details the effects of cocaine and the health implications. We use this to understand why crack was common during the 90s and why people used crack.

Smith, Davis. "When Crack Was King: looking back on an epidemic that destroyed lives." *The Guardian*, 17 July 2023,

[www.theguardian.com/books/2023/jul/17/when-crack-was-king-donovan-x-ramsey](http://www.theguardian.com/books/2023/jul/17/when-crack-was-king-donovan-x-ramsey).  
Accessed 30 Nov. 2025.

This article, including an interview from author of *Donovan X. Ramsey*, informs us further about how the government responded to the Crack epidemic, and provides a firsthand account of the epidemic's effect on black communities. There are a variety of quotes we can possibly use to give our website users a clearer picture of the impacts of the Crack epidemic.

Suro, Robert, and Walter Pincus. "The CIA and Crack: Evidence Is Lacking of Alleged Plot."

*Washington Post* [Washington, DC], 4 Oct. 1996. *Washington Post*,

[www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/10/04/the-cia-and-crack-evidence-is-lacking-of-alleged-plot/5b026731-c5de-4234-b3bd-9e0fd2e21225/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/10/04/the-cia-and-crack-evidence-is-lacking-of-alleged-plot/5b026731-c5de-4234-b3bd-9e0fd2e21225/). Accessed 20 Oct. 2025.

This news article refutes Gary Webb's claims in *Dark Alliance*, which will be useful in making a counterclaim for our reform. Further, it gives readers of our website a deeper understanding of the discourse caused by Webb.

Takahashi, Maria Luiza. *Study of Internal Conflict (SOIC) Case Studies: Nicaragua (Contras)*

1978–90. Research report no. 19, United States Department of Defense . *United States Department of Defense*,

[media.defense.gov/2024/Oct/02/2003557339/-1/-1/0/20241001\\_NICARAGUA%20\(CO NTRAS\)\\_1978-90.PDF](https://media.defense.gov/2024/Oct/02/2003557339/-1/-1/0/20241001_NICARAGUA%20(CO NTRAS)_1978-90.PDF). Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This document provides a U.S. Government Executive Summary focusing on the Nicaraguan conflict from 1978-1990. This helps us provide background information on the revolution sparked by Gary Webb's "Dark Alliance" series.

Tama, Mario. *The New York Times Co. Post an 82 Percent Decline*. 23 July 2008. *Getty Images*, [www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/copies-of-the-new-york-times-sit-for-sale-in-a-rack-july-23-news-photo/82046046](http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/copies-of-the-new-york-times-sit-for-sale-in-a-rack-july-23-news-photo/82046046). Accessed 9 Jan. 2026.

This is a picture of New York Times newspapers. This gives a visual for the media reaction aspect section of our website.

"Terror Is the Most Effective Weapon of Nicaragua's 'Contras.'" *The New York Times*, 9 Jan. 1986,

[www.nytimes.com/1986/01/09/opinion/1-terror-is-the-most-effective-weapon-of-nicaragua-a-s-contras-938786.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1986/01/09/opinion/1-terror-is-the-most-effective-weapon-of-nicaragua-a-s-contras-938786.html). Accessed 9 Jan. 2026.

This article details acts of terrorism committed by the Contras. We use this to understand the controversy over the U.S.'s support for the Contras.

"U.S. aid to Contras signed into law." *History*, 13 Nov. 2009,

[www.history.com/this-day-in-history/october-18/u-s-aid-to-contras-signed-into-law](http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/october-18/u-s-aid-to-contras-signed-into-law). Accessed 17 Jan. 2026.

This article states the aid given to the Contra rebels by the U.S. government. We use this article to understand the U.S.'s involvement with the Contra rebels before the end of aid.

"U.S. Intervention in Nicaragua, 1911/1912." *U.S. Department of State*, 20 Jan. 2001, [2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/ip/108629.htm](http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/ip/108629.htm). Accessed 6 Feb. 2026.

This source gives an overview on the United States's occupation of Nicaragua in the early 20th century. This article provides background information on previous U.S. interventions in the region and helps us understand the United States's view of Nicaragua.

Weinberg, Steve. "Drawing Conclusions from Investigative Reporting: Where Should Journalists Draw the Line?" *IRE Journal. Investigative Reporters and Editors*, s3.documentcloud.org/documents/1311194/webb-10082014114729.pdf. Accessed 18 Oct. 2025.

This article gives a unbiased review of what "Dark Alliance" covered and the journalistic response to it. It helps us understand the reaction of distrust from the mainstream media and the outrage from the public.