

INTRODUCTION

Cocaine as Andean History

LINKS IN A CHAIN

Pharmacist Alfredo Bignon was burning the midnight oil in the backroom laboratory of his *Droguería y Botica Francesa*, just around the corner from Lima's main Plaza de Armas. Once more, he went over in his head his hard-won new formula for making cocaine. Tomorrow, the thirteenth of March 1885, he would present his findings at the Academia Libre de Medicina de Lima, where a distinguished panel of Peruvian doctors and chemists would judge his innovation in a ten-page official *informe*. Bignon felt satisfied. Using simple precipitation methods and local ingredients — fresh-grown Andean coca leaf, kerosene, soda ash — he was able to produce a chemically active “crude” cocaine in “an easy and economic preparation in the same place as coca cultivation”: at home in Peru. This would surely bring him scientific glory, if not riches — a dream he shared with the young Sigmund Freud, who was working on his own “cocaine papers” in far-off Vienna at precisely the same time.¹ It would help his adopted country meet the skyrocketing world demand for cocaine exports, satisfying the commercial interest recently unleashed by news of the drug's miraculous power as a local anesthetic. It was precisely what respected European drug firms like Merck of Darmstadt wanted. For Bignon, this was just the first of a dozen original experiments with the new drug he would report in prestigious Lima, Parisian, and New York medical journals over the next few years. Turning the humble Indian coca leaf into modern cocaine was to be, Bignon imagined, one of Peru's heroic national endeavors.

Exactly seventy-four years later, on the streets of New York City, another enterprising Peruvian named Eduardo Balarezo was making cocaine history,

though this time of a less respectable kind. The *New York Daily Mirror* headline of 20 August 1949 blared, “Smash Biggest Dope Ring Here: Seize Leader in City; Peru Jails 80.” It was the world’s first international cocaine bust. Balarezo, a former sailor from Lambayeque, was arrested as the presumed head of a cocaine-running ring operating up and down the Pacific coast. Authorities described him as a bowlegged *zambo* (a Peruvian mixed-race category) and a rumored associate of mobster “Lucky” Luciano. In the process of Balarezo’s arrest, police and officials of Harry J. Anslinger’s Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN), assisted by the head of Peru’s national police, Captain Alfonso Mier y Terán, raided nine houses, seizing thirteen kilos of powder with an estimated street value of \$154,000. Balarezo, a naturalized U.S. citizen, saw his good life in New York evaporate. Within months, Joseph Martin, the high-profile cold war prosecutor of the Alger Hiss case, had overseen Balarezo’s trial and conviction.² The ring led all the way to the coca fields of the Upper Amazon near Huánuco, Peru, through the turbulent right-wing military politics of Lima via small-time sailor smugglers on the Grace Line to the Puerto Rican bars of Harlem. *Time* dubbed this brief blast of illicit coke “Peru’s White Goddess.” Anslinger, touting the theme of his infamous reefer madness campaign of the decade before, assured the American public that with Balarezo and company behind bars, a dangerous new drug epidemic had been nipped in the bud: “Suppression of this traffic has averted a serious crime wave.” He was only partly right. It was not until the 1970s that Andean cocaine — on a scale never imagined by either Alfredo Bignon or Eduardo Balarezo — became both a global temptation and a global menace.

This book, a new history of the now-notorious Andean commodity, unravels the hidden processes and transformations linking these distant events. It traces the emergence of cocaine, using fresh historical sources and new historical methods, through three long arcs and global processes: first, its birth as a successful heroic medical commodity of the late nineteenth century (1850–1910); second, the drug’s depression and inward retreat of the early twentieth century (1910–45); and third, its reemergence, phoenixlike, as a dynamic transnational *illicit* good after World War II (1945–75). These stages, I argue, are hidden developments that came and went well before cocaine’s fate passed into the hands of the infamous Colombian “narco-traffickers” of the 1970s. This new history draws on actors and influences from around the globe across the first century of cocaine’s existence. But ultimately, it is the long *Andean* nexus — in cocaine’s nineteenth-century

construction as a noble commodity, then twentieth-century redefinition as a criminal product—that proved key to its historical formation as a “good” or “bad” drug.

THE NEW HISTORY OF DRUGS AND LATIN AMERICA

Mind-altering and illicit drugs, along with their storied pasts, have long captured the imagination, but not until the 1960s brought the drug culture into the open did drug studies, especially medical or policy-oriented research, emerge as a field of growing inquiry in the United States. Only recently, however, has a “new drug history,” if I may use that term, begun to be written. By the 1990s, trained historians began to displace medical amateurs and muckraking journalists in the search for new historical data and more rigorous interpretations of drugs, drug usage, and drug control regimes. Interdisciplinary currents exert a strong pull, especially of anthropology on history. Historians became more sensitive to ethnobotany’s long insistence on the cultural and symbolic weight of intoxicants across human societies and the relative ways in which different societies embrace or reject altered states of consciousness. The unstable cultural boundaries between legal drugs (tobacco, alcohol) and illegal ones (cannabis, opiates), or between healing medicines and recreational ones (in the age of Prozac and Viagra), has compelled scholars to ask rigorously how such boundaries or categories were created and fixed in the first place. Raging present controversies about faltering and unjust U.S. drug prohibitions have also given an impetus to new historical interest as historians try to locate or test less punitive drug regimes in the past or grasp the political and cultural origins of this century-long social quagmire. A pathbreaking series of historical studies of early modern Europe has highlighted the centrality of colonial stimulants—tobacco, coffee, chocolate, tea, alcohol—in both the making of modern sensibilities and European capitalist expansion.³ New studies of world commodities—spices, opium, cotton, Coca-Cola, beer, cod, salt—as a revealing microcosm of modern consumption and globalization have become a publishing industry, and legal or illegal “drug foods”⁴ rank among the most universal of globally consumed goods. The rise of “social constructionism” across the social sciences and of cultural studies in the humanities have made the constitution of drug regimes an inviting area of research and analysis. For all these reasons, more and more scholars are embracing the history of drugs. Their work is altering perceptions of

drugs and of our possible present and future relationships to them, and it is making notable contributions to European, Asian, and American history, in which drugs have played a notable and long-overlooked role.

Latin America is a critical terrain in the global history of drugs, but apart from diplomatic historians studying evolving U.S. drug policy toward the region, historians of drugs have not turned much attention there. Yet, as classical economic botanists noted decades ago, the vast majority of the world's known psychoactive substances — alkaloid-bearing plants, fungi, cacti, seeds, and vines, from peyote to *yage* — are American in origin, profoundly rooted in indigenous and shamanistic communities.⁵ During the colonial period, some of these, such as tobacco and cacao (used for chocolate), quickly transformed into major exportable world commodities, becoming bulwarks of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Newly imported drug plants, products of the so-called Columbian exchange, such as coffee and sugar (or its alcoholic derivative, rum), were added to this rich and lucrative Latin American psychoactive cornucopia. Along with silver coin, they were the products that most intimately connected Western consumers, or even the nascent working class, to the remote world of the Americas. By the nineteenth century, such habit-forming export commodities were crucial to the economies, societies, and revenues of many fledgling Latin American nations. In contrast, more regionally bounded drug cultures (such as those of yerba maté in Argentina, guarana in Brazil, mescal in Mexico, coca leaf in the Andes, or ganja in the Caribbean) were and are of special significance, involving many millions of local everyday users and deeply ingrained in national cultures.

Sometime in the middle of the twentieth century, in still murky transformations, illicit drugs like marijuana, heroin, and especially cocaine came to link certain marginalized zones of Latin America to the United States. Today, these linkages have created a booming underground economy — indeed, along with petroleum, arms, and tourism, drugs are one of modern history's most profitable and global of trades. Apart from its considerable economic role, the volatile drug trade adversely pervades the politics of many Latin American nations and has come to complicate, if not at times dominate, inter-American relations.

The economy of cocaine, by far, is the biggest and most entrenched of these inter-American drug economies — worth almost forty billion dollars annually in prohibition-inflated U.S. “street sales” alone, though coffee has a larger employment effect, from its legions of tropical dirt farmers to the urban subsistence Starbucks baristas in the north.⁶ The ongoing

American “drug war” was launched amid the passions of the cocaine and crack cocaine boom of the 1980s, and cocaine remains its driving foreign nemesis. Based on the age-old native Andean coca plant and the countless thousands of peasants who cultivate it, the active sources of cocaine lie deeply rooted in the Andean region, in Peru, Bolivia, and in recent years Colombia. The traffic in cocaine remains overwhelmingly controlled by homegrown, successful, and eminently “Latin” entrepreneurs and middlemen. It is the one global drug culture based entirely on Latin American initiative, culture, and resources—hence, in many ways, all sensationalism about drugs aside, cocaine is now South America’s most emblematic product.

How did it get that way? The multiple challenges of researching elusive, illicit drugs make this a daunting question. Despite its great notoriety—as an article of trafficking (Colombian “cartels”) and of pleasure (in many nervous jokes)—cocaine is not well studied in its historical and particularly Andean historical settings. A few valuable studies exist, as noted in the historiographical essay at the end of this book, but despite these starts the history of cocaine in the Americas is far less developed than that, say, of the opiates in Asia and Europe.⁷ It remains highly fragmented and scattered across the globe as pieces of a puzzle that cannot come together to explain cocaine’s major transformations. This book, therefore, taking an essential Andean perspective, aims to firmly establish the drug’s trajectory: cocaine’s creation and spread as a world commodity (1850–1900), its halting redefinition as a global pariah drug (1900–45), and, finally, its metamorphosis between 1945 and 1975 into a booming international illicit pleasure drug, with worldwide reverberations today.

WRITING THE HISTORY OF COCAINE

My prior training and experience, along with the availability of fresh archives and new directions in drug history, have colored my approaches and methods in writing this book. I came to cocaine as an Andean specialist with a distinct curiosity about commodities: my previous books were about Peru’s nineteenth-century guano trade, dried bird droppings coveted by European farmers, as strange and lucrative a commerce as the later world of cocaine. This interest in commodities has influenced my vision of cocaine’s history and helped me to understand how a rich panoply of circumstances translates into a broader new conception of

cocaine's Andean origins and its historical path from miracle drug to global drug menace.

The main contribution of this book lies in its systematic effort to tie together the disparate global threads of cocaine's history, using the hitherto unknown story of Andean cocaine as the central strand. Why focus on cocaine primarily from a perspective in Peruvian history? As readers will see, other sites played vital parts in cocaine's deeper history: Germany, the United States, France, Bolivia, and even the Netherlands, Japan, Java, Britain, Chile, and Cuba. But the varied global cocaine axes to and from the Andean region—and above all the tropics of eastern Peru—have played the longest, most continuous, and most decisive role in defining cocaine's historical shifts. As this book unfolds, I will show how events in, say, New York City (e.g., a blue-ribbon 1889 medical commission on cocaine, the city's bustling 1901 commodity markets for Trujillo coca leaf, gangs of roving cocaine fiends in 1911, Balarezo's busted 1949 smuggling ring, and the drug-induced dance culture of the 1970s) were all intimately linked to faraway actors from the coca fields of the Huallaga Valley below the town of Huánuco—and furthermore to the political offices of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in Washington and the Government Palace in Lima. That Huánuco-Lima-Washington American axis is the key, in my argument, to illuminating cocaine's transmutations as a world drug commodity. It was in Peru that cocaine emerged as a dynamic nineteenth-century product, due in large part to local ideas and technological and business initiatives, and it was Peruvians of the mid-twentieth century (along with fellow South Americans) who, again taking faraway cues, reinvented their now-long-decayed national cocaine as the illicit world commodity it is today—decades before any glint of interest in the drug had emerged among would-be Colombian traffickers. Connecting these formative changes in the drug are a host of events, processes, and people, all implicated in one way or another with Andean cocaine.

Five larger methodological currents of this book deserve a formal preview. First, I privilege new findings. This book builds entirely new narratives about cocaine based on a mining of newly found archival documentation about the drug. A multitude of novel sources are employed, from obscure Peruvian medical journals of the 1880s to turn-of-the-century British pharmacy debates, dusty early League of Nations surveys, Amazonian property deeds, and specially declassified 1950s drug intelligence reports of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Narcotics (the predecessor of today's Drug Enforcement Agency, or DEA). This research, in Peru, the United States, and Europe,

is often challenging, especially as it relates to underground cocaine after 1945, and it is fraught with interpretive dilemmas (e.g., deciphering truth from the controlling optic of police reports), but it is also surprising in how much it can alter received stories and pat analysis of the drug. Thus, readers may not encounter too much here about well-worn topics like Coca-Cola, Sigmund Freud, or Pablo Escobar, but they will understand more about the unseen events and processes that linked such disparate actors across the broad canvas of the drug's history.

Second, I bring a global perspective to bear on cocaine. For a host of reasons, drugs are, and have long been, among the most mobile and global of goods. Today, “international,” “global,” “beyond borders,” or “transnational” studies (pick your term) are all the rage in the social sciences, with good reason given the world's accelerated processes of globalization. A global perspective cannot, however, map everything, everywhere, that happens in a particular history. The best strategy is one that roots itself firmly in a specific cultural or social context — so-called glocal studies — and shows exactly how its larger worldly connections matter.⁸ For example, in what ways, responding to German scientific agendas and pharmaceutical demand, did Andeans themselves work to mold cocaine's path as a global product? What happened, on the ground and underground, to concoct a thriving criminal cocaine culture decades after bureaucrats in Washington simply decreed the drug undesirable? Historians rarely follow such historical connections all the way up and down the line or back and forth in reciprocal fashion, though doing so can explain far more than simply focusing on a single side of a historical relationship. Thus, here readers will meet French coca enthusiasts, German chemical magnates, American medical men, plant explorers and prohibitionists, Dutch colonial planters, Japanese imperialists, Peruvian scientists and diplomats, tropical Andean modernizers, revolutionary Bolivian peasants, Cuban mafiosos, Harlem cocaine sniffers, and many other global actors. But the core of this book's analysis is grounded in a close, long-term regional study of the world's premier cocaine complex of greater Huánuco, Peru, the drug's little-known historical homeland and haven. This “glocal” site is used to articulate and integrate the bundle of global relationships at work in the emergence of cocaine as a legal and illegal commodity. Apart from this relational strategy, some analysis turns more on sustained comparisons: between the political economy of distinctive commodity chains or between the nationalist cocaine politics of Peru and the equally intense coca nationalism of neighboring Bolivia.

Third, I draw from recent advances of commodity studies. Like global studies, there are many contending varieties of commodity analysis, ranging from those that treat goods like so many soybeans in an abstract marketplace (price theory) to those that read changing forms of consumption as embedded social and symbolic practice (anthropological, historical). In drug studies, commodity or material perspectives are sorely needed for cooling down the burning and distorting passions that often surround mind-altering, contested, or forbidden goods. Much has been said lately about treating drugs as “mere” commodities in the ways they are built up and accepted like other exchangeable things and in the ways they acquire, carry, and convey meanings. Here, cocaine will be organized heuristically in a long series of “global commodity chains”—the spatial conception of production-to-consumption relationships introduced by global sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein.⁹ With cocaine, however, I will draw out the political tensions between competing forms of commodity chains, which aid in the analysis of cocaine’s transformations, and I will broaden the concept to encompass channels of noneconomic flows (of politics and law, of science and medicine, of notions of drug control, of illicitness itself), which are often as vital in defining goods as are their prices or cycles of production. This expanded focus on commodity flows has much in common with concepts like the “cultural biography” of goods and the “commodity ecumene” used by anthropologists of consumption.¹⁰ I will also enter into a mysterious area of commodity studies, asking what happens to goods that are pushed into invisible and politically inflected illicit worlds.

Fourth, I take seriously the insights of “constructionism.” It is an academic truism today that everything (even reality) is socially and politically constructed, so much so that the term is losing its specific meaning. In drug studies, the term was and still is highly useful—in denoting the impact that “set and setting,” including huge historical contexts, have on the perceptions and even the cognitive or bodily effects of drugs. Drugs are absorbed through our complex social relationship with them, which is as vital as the active or addictive brain alkaloids within them. Historical constructionism reveals how drugs are “made,” not born: made not just as constructed material commodities but in the culture-laden, internalized, ritualized, and contested ways they acquire their impassioned meanings and uses as heroic or menacing drugs, dreaded or desired drugs, foreign or domestic drugs, “hard” or “soft” drugs. Here, readers will encounter such forces and influences as national feelings, scientific certitudes, puritanical modernism, racial fantasies, cold war passions, and other emotions that

become inscribed in goods, but especially in mind-altering drugs like cocaine. Historical representations, discourses or imaginings of cocaine, were sometimes as critical as its reality, and they often clashed across cultural and national boundaries.¹¹

Fifth, I recognize the “agency” in the rise of cocaine. In the North American academy, scholars talk a lot today about agency, perhaps depressed about their own sense of helplessness in the world. People, and sometimes surprisingly lowly and anonymous folks, “make their own history,” or so it is said. Indeed, this book underscores the ways in which Andeans acted as protagonists in the development of global cocaine through their ideas, beliefs, exertions, and activities. Thus, we will encounter local entrepreneurs and medical men who embraced cocaine with pride and made it into a widely available medicinal product; Peruvian diplomats and chemists who resisted, for many years, the outer world’s changing pessimistic verdict on their drug; and Amazonian peasants and Pan-American smugglers who responded to its distant criminality by turning cocaine into their own illicit domain. New drug regimes were not simply imposed from abroad, even in the context of uneven or dependent dimensions of global power. Today, cocaine is often seen, with some irony, as one of Latin America’s most successful homegrown exports — though it is hardly as profitable to host countries or peasant producers as many think — and it is often deployed as a derogative symbol of the Andean region. It is this regional agency, across generations, that helps to explain the autonomous and South American stamp of cocaine. That said, I sincerely hope this vibrant historical role is not confused with blaming Latin Americans once again for North America’s intractable problems with drugs. Those are mostly problems of our own making.

Finally, allow me to lay out three observations about the limits of the book. First, this study focuses on modern cocaine and does not systematically deal with Andean coca leaf — a parallel topic wide open for historical research. I treat questions about coca where and when they intersect with cocaine’s history while at the same time marking the vital distinction between the two “drugs,” something some writers, following drug war pharmacology (the fallacy that chemistry determines drug outcomes), conflate or confuse. Coca, the dried leaf of the subtropical Andean shrub *Erythroxylon coca*, grown in the high *selva* region of the eastern Andes, has been embraced by indigenous peoples for thousands of years as a ritual and workaday stimulant. Anthropologists are still debating if coca’s mastication by highland Indians is primarily for its mild energy kick or for

its other complex alkaloids, vitamins, or myriad of physiological, spiritual, or symbolic properties.¹² If historically maligned by outsiders, including even twentieth-century United Nations drug control agencies, coca is a benign herb essential to Andean cultures, in its use analogous to that of tea in Asia. Coca must be carefully distinguished from one of its powerful alkaloids, cocaine, derived by German chemists in 1860 and first used medically, with most success as a local anesthetic, before emerging after 1890 (and again after 1970) as an intense recreational or stimulant drug of abuse in the United States and Europe. Cocaine use is potentially harmful, but the drug is not physically addicting like heroin or cigarettes. Andean coca use is local, while cocaine is for export, and the fact that they share one alkaloid of many does not make them comparable “drugs.”

Second, though I am a recovering economic historian engaged with commodity studies, readers will find no concerted effort in this book to present systematic statistics about cocaine, whether in its legal phase (1860–1950) or its illicit phase (after 1950). Indeed, my background in economic history tells me that most of the numbers encountered globally about cocaine (say, those measuring coca harvests in nineteenth-century Bolivia or Japanese cocaine sales of the 1920s) are guesses, often bogus and uneducated ones, unworthy for marking macro trends or for undertaking sustained microeconomic analysis. Just as serious, official and unofficial figures about cocaine lack all consistency, confusing basic units of measure (pounds, kilos, hectares, ounces, grams, *cestos*, *arrobas*, *soles*, pounds sterling), confounding needed comparisons. This is not to mention the dearth of statistics and suspect statistic creation around underground cocaine in the years after 1950, including statistics derived from drug seizures or arrests for trafficking. Thus, readers will encounter plenty of numbers and even tables in the text, but they are mainly there for descriptive or illustrative value. For more on the statistical dilemmas and the data sources used here, readers can consult the quantitative appendix at the end of the book.

Third, the period after 1945, which the book treats as the era of the invention and spread of illicit cocaine, presents daunting challenges with sources, though I have found many fascinating and rich primary materials on the topic. By necessity, the chapters on this process build from fragmented international policing reports, primarily of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Narcotics and of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD), forerunners of the 1970s DEA, or from closely related United Nations or Interpol international drug control agencies. This means taking care, as much as possible, with their language and categories of drug “control,”

as well as with the inherently speculative, exaggerated nature of such documents, based as they are on a long, perfidious trail of suspects and informers. These documents offer problems of timing as well: police reports usually lag, probably by a few years, behind the emergence of illicit activities and spheres. Needless to say, cops are biased and low on certain analytical skills, though sensational press accounts of drugs, typically based on police leaks, make even worse sources.¹³ Indeed, one could consider a reflexive or critical ethnography of the “drug archive” per se—how, for example, the FBN got its piecemeal information and (mis)interpreted it over the decades. So, while attempting to portray accurately early *narcotraficantes* and their trades, this book cannot tell a rounded story of their (under) world on their own cultural or personal terms, whatever those were. Yet, as historians as distinct as Richard Cobb and Carlo Ginzburg have suggested, policing or inquisition testimony often does lend critical clues to the real past men and women who inspired it, and the early antidrug crusaders who sketched these *narcos* were, in several senses, modern-day inquisitors of subversive substances.

COMING CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 explores the mid-nineteenth-century “invention,” beyond the strictly chemical sense of the term, of cocaine from age-old Andean coca leaf. It looks at crosscurrents of world culture, science, desire, and demand that elevated cocaine into a coveted medical “good,” in both meanings of the word, and particularly at the vivid Peruvian imaginings of coca and cocaine (including a nationalist cocaine science), which underpinned cocaine’s creation as a national commodity. Chapter 2 focuses on the unstudied emergence of a legal Peruvian cocaine export boom in the era 1885–1905 based on national technologies around the region of Huánuco. This was among underdeveloped Peru’s most dynamic early industrial experiments, imbued with a modernizing vision and discourse. And in global terms, this local industry swiftly resolved cocaine’s initial supply bottleneck, by the 1890s allowing cocaine to become widely accessible and affordable for medical and popular use in industrialized countries, as well as for some precocious recreational uses. Chapter 3 sketches the shifting international circuits of commerce, science, and ideas evoked by cocaine by 1915. Apart from three initial Franco-, Germanic-, and North American–Peruvian commodity chains, and from adjacent Bolivia’s distinctive regional cultural economy of coca, the drug diversified across the globe

into rival Asian commercial circuits, promoted by Dutch and Japanese colonial powers in Java and Formosa. A remarkable multipolar interwar cocaine world emerged, and the tensions between these networks deeply affected Peru's national cocaine, as well as the longer global geopolitical fortunes of the drug.

Chapter 4 addresses the twentieth-century decline of Peru's national cocaine industry, buffeted by these international currents and rising world antidrug passions and politics. It explores an inward creative turn of regional elites, agronomists, engineers, diplomats, coca-leaf reformers, and scientists responding to the global and local predicaments of the drug. Legal cocaine survived as a legitimate if technologically backward industry until 1950 in Peru, a fact of great importance for its later history. Chapter 5 surveys the twentieth-century campaign, instigated mainly by the United States, to make cocaine into a proscribed pariah drug. This crusade was a radical turnabout of initial North American fervor for commercial coca and cocaine, and it harbored a complex of hidden actors, such as Coca-Cola interests. Here, the historic centrality of the U.S.-Peruvian cocaine axis comes to the foreground. This chapter also reveals how both Peruvians and Bolivians, with their own thinking and aspirations around the drug, reacted reluctantly to such pressures, which by the 1950s would culminate in a full worldwide prohibition regime around cocaine. Chapter 6 reveals the eruption, from the ashes of Peru's long legal industry, of an unprecedented flow of illicit cocaine after 1950, one of the ground-up responses of Andeans to cocaine's newly decreed criminality. Here, we see cocaine reglobalize, but this time as an illicit drug of the 1950s and 1960s swiftly spread by a new Pan-American trafficking class from its Peruvian origins to Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, and a host of other sites, including novel customers and consumers in the United States. Prior to 1970, Colombians had surprisingly little to do with this drug. Instead, the circuit was built by hundreds of anonymous Andean smugglers and "chemists" and politically structured by postwar U.S. anticommunist and antidrug campaigns in the region. Chapter 7 traces how cocaine's prior hidden history bequeathed after 1960 the cocaine we know today, based on a volatile social base in an Amazonian coca-capitalist peasantry, an energetic new Colombian entrepreneurial connection, and the 1970s political culture of the North American boom in cocaine consumption. The chapter closes with reflections on cocaine's revealed long Andean history, with its implications for studies of the historical formation of drug regimes and for our still-troubled relationship to Andean cocaine.