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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/02/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Thursday 03/03

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BRIEFING FOR NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ON ILLEGAL DRUG USE
(03/02 4:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MACDONALD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			COURTEMANCHE		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:
 Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Thursday, March 3rd, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

(Dolan)
March 2, 1988
4:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BRIEFING FOR NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS
ON ILLEGAL DRUG USE
MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1988

Received
1988 FEB 31 PM 4:52

I'm delighted all of you could come by today. The question before us is a simple one: What value do we place on human dignity, on human worth? I realize that's rather bluntly put. But you know one of the things I've been intrigued by while I've held this job is an attitude in Government that says every approach to public policy issues must be complicated and indirect. Come to think of it -- and I know this will come as a surprise -- it kind of reminds me of an anecdote from back in the days when I was also in the media business.

(Story about water on the board.)

That may seem a long way from the drug problem; it isn't. Trying water on the board is really what we've tried to do with America's problem. You see, so much has changed during the past few years that I'm not sure many of us remember the skepticism that greeted early anti-drug efforts -- there were even those who questioned whether drugs were that much a threat to society. Well we are wiser now and sadly so: we know the price our society and our children have paid for laxity about what is quite simply a public health menace of the first order.

Which is what brings us here today. I know most of you in the media are cautious about being part of joint efforts with any Government agency; as a general rule, I think this caution is well-advised. But on certain matters of life and death, on

questions of national survival, I think there's room for common purpose between us.

The fact that those of us here today and people from every walk of American life are now allied on this issue indicates a new public consensus, a consensus that has developed around what we just talked about, a very simple, very direct set of propositions: that drugs hurt, that drugs kill, that each of us must in our daily lives "Just Say No" to drug abuse and drug abusers. And "saying no" doesn't just mean a private refusal to use drugs; it also means taking active steps against drug use whenever it occurs, wherever we see it.

Now this set of very direct propositions has had impact; for the first time, we're seeing progress. Progress measured in statistics but also in something much more profound: a change in awareness across America, a change that puts the goal of a drug-free generation within our grasp. The most recent survey of the Nation's high school seniors is the indicative of the change. Even more revealing than the fact that one-third fewer seniors acknowledged current use of cocaine in 1987 than the year before, almost all the students said it was wrong even to try a drug like cocaine.

So America, and especially young people, are realizing that we have a drug abuse problem and that illegal drugs are deadly and wrong. It's justifying to see in homes, schools, businesses, and communities across the United States the wall of denial is crashing down.

We are also recognizing that individual freedom does not include the right to self or social destruction. Drug use is not a "victimless" crime, it is not a private matter. While we must be concerned with the personal consequences for the individual, we must demonstrate equal, if not greater, concern for the millions of citizens who pay the high price for an individual's illegal drug use. These costs are measured by crime and terrorism -- one recent study suggests as much as 50 to 70 percent of crime is drug-related: in lost productivity, increased health care cost, continuing threats to worker and public safety, the transmission of AIDS, and an overall degradation of our society.

We are also overcoming an erroneous perception of the drug user as powerless to act against drug availability, peer pressure, or his or her general lot in life. In fact, our Nation's law enforcement officers, while hitting the pushers and suppliers with a force greater than ever before, acknowledge that the drug abuse problem will ultimately be solved by taking away the user from the drugs -- by preventing non-users from ever starting to use illegal drugs and getting current users to quit.

Finally, we are having to face squarely those things which we have built into our culture that enable illegal drugs to coexist in our society. As citizens and individuals, we are realizing that, although Government must do everything possible to help, a solution to the drug problem will only come when each of us directly confronts these cultural acceptances of drug use as we encounter them in daily life.

In 1981, there were a lot of people who believed drug abuse was so rampant that we were defenseless to do anything about it. But as I said at the time, "We are taking down the surrender flag that has flown over so many drug abuse efforts. We are running up a battle flag in the fight against drug abuse and we intend to win." This call was answered by concerned citizens from around the country who were committed not only to fighting drug abuse, but to achieving that drug-free generation of young Americans that is now our goal.

Last week, Nancy and I spoke to over 1,000 such individuals at the White House Conference for a Drug-Free America. Believe me, not so long ago, this conference would not have been possible. And while there are those who continue to say that, because we have not quickly solved a problem which took decades to develop, we should throw in the towel. Let's remember that our actions today are an investment in the future.

We know there are a large number of individuals, primarily those who acquired their drug use habits in the 1960's and 1970's, who persist in using illegal drugs, and this persistent demand for illegal drugs is met by a sometimes seemingly limitless supply. But a surge in drug-related crimes, deaths by overdose, births of drug-addicted and drug-impaired babies, and even the destabilization of national governments by traffickers should not be viewed as harbingers of defeat in our war on drugs; these events should strengthen instead our resolve to stop this insidious evil once and for all. No, America's awakening to its drug problem has not come easily. We remember a Nation stunned

after the death of Len Bias. The same rude awakening has occurred only recently in the Washington, D.C. area and nationally as to the stranglehold of drug criminals on foreign governments. But, believe me, with each jolt into reality, we strengthen our offenses and move closer to a drug-free America. Remember: the shock of recognition is not a sign of defeat, it is the beginning of victory.

Many important campaigns are now underway. Businesses are taking strong action against drug abuse in the workplace. Several States, such as New Jersey and Missouri, have enacted stricter laws against illegal drug use and trafficking. A number of important initiatives are underway to achieve drug-free schools, drug-free public housing, and drug-free transportation. Our law enforcement officials have aggressive offenses underway. We are working to improve treatment -- and to increase the drug users' incentives for seeking help.

Here, your own work has been particularly important. Long gone are the days when rare drug coverage focused on what the Government was -- or too often, was not -- doing to solve the drug problem. Today, drug abuse is the subject of major industry initiatives and in-depth specials on the nightly news, daily newspapers, and weekly magazines. Also gone are the days when drug use was frequently glamorized in movies and television, on radio and in print. Today, the media is revealing the deadly truth about drugs and why each of us must take a stand.

So, in addition to your individual efforts, I hope you will keep up your tough reporting on this story. This means holding

Government officials accountable, of course, but it also means keeping a close eye on trends in drug abuse in America and reporting to your readers fully and fairly about those efforts. Let me assure you that when Nancy and I see stories about how far we have to go in this battle, we welcome them.

I also want to mention at least some of your individual programs. The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences is actively promoting an ongoing awareness of the drug abuse problem to be reflected in everything which is broadcast. The National Association of Broadcaster is now in its 5th year of the N.A.B. "On-Air Initiatives," which include a variety of major programs against drug and alcohol abuse. The Media-Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America, the largest drug abuse awareness campaign in history, is providing an estimated \$1.5 billion in free media time and space to "unsell" illegal drugs. The 3 T.V. networks, 13 cable networks, 13 radio networks, and the Nation's newspapers are donating space for the Media-Advertising partnership anti-drug use public service announcements. The Miami Herald has been donating space for five full-page ads per week. Capital Cities/A.B.C. broke with its tradition of local autonomy for its many print and broadcasting properties in 1984 after the death of employee due to a drug overdose. The Communications Corporation implemented a company-wide substance abuse policy which includes employee assistance, education, and possible use of drug tests, drug-sniffing dogs, and undercover operations. In addition, A.B.C. contributed 332 commercials, half in prime time, to

Media-Advertising Partnership spots in 1987. The Boston Herald launched "Say No to Drugs," a major community-based drug education campaign designed to help combat drug abuse among teenagers in the greater Boston area. The Chicago Sun-Times has teamed up with WSL-TV Chicago in "Say No! To Drugs." All of these initiatives literally represent billions of dollars in expertise and coverage which has been invaluable in moving towards a drug-free America. And this is just to mention just a few examples of the excellent work all of you are doing.

So on behalf of the next generation of Americans -- the many lives that will be saved and the future bettered -- I want to extend heartfelt thanks to each of you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/4/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BRIEFING FOR NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ON
ILLEGAL DRUG USE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>MACDONALD</u> <u>COURTEMANCHE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The following has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

(Dolan)
March 4, 1988
11:30 a.m.

Received SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BRIEFING FOR NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS: 14
ON THE ISSUE OF DRUG ABUSE -4 PM 12
MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1988

I'm delighted all of you could come by today. The question before us is a simple one: What value do we place on human dignity, on human worth? I realize that's rather bluntly put. But you know one of the things I've been intrigued by while I've held this job is an attitude in Government that says every approach to public policy issues must be complicated and indirect. Come to think of it -- and I know this will come as a surprise -- it kind of reminds me of an anecdote from back in the days when I was also in the media business.

(Story about water on the board.)

That may seem a long way from the drug problem; it isn't. Trying water on the board is really what we've tried to do with America's problem. You see, so much has changed during the past few years that I'm not sure many of us remember the skepticism that greeted early anti-drug efforts -- there were even those who questioned whether drugs were that much of a threat to society. Well we are wiser now and sadly so: we know the price our society and our children have paid for laxity about what is quite simply a public health menace of the first order.

Which is what brings us here today. I know most of you in the media are cautious about being part of joint efforts with any Government agency; as a general rule, I think this caution is well-advised. But on certain matters of life and death, on

questions of national survival, I think there's room for common purpose between us.

The fact that those of us here today and people from almost every walk of American life are now allied on this issue indicates a new public consensus, a consensus that has developed around what we just talked about, a very simple, very direct set of propositions: that drugs hurt, that drugs kill, that each of us must in our daily lives "Just Say No" to drug use and drug users. And "saying no" doesn't just mean a private refusal to use drugs; it also means taking active steps against drug use whenever it occurs, wherever we see it.

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So America, and especially young people, is realizing that we have a drug abuse problem and that illegal drugs are deadly and wrong. It's gratifying to see that in homes, schools, businesses, and communities across the United States, the wall of denial is crashing down.

We are also recognizing that individual freedom does not include the right to self or social destruction. Drug use is not a "victimless" crime, it is not a private matter. While we must be concerned with the personal consequences for the individual, we must demonstrate our great concern for the millions of innocent citizens who pay the high price for the illegal drug use of some. These costs are measured by crime and terrorism -- one recent study suggests as much as 50 to 75 percent of crime is drug-related. There is also lost productivity, increased health care cost, continuing threats to worker and public safety, the transmission of AIDS, and an overall degradation of our society.

We are also overcoming an erroneous perception of the illicit drug user as powerless to act against drug availability, peer pressure, or his or her general lot in life. In fact, our Nation's law enforcement officers, while hitting the pushers and suppliers with a force greater than ever before, acknowledge that the drug abuse problem will ultimately be solved by preventing non-users from ever starting to use illegal drugs and getting current users to quit.

Finally, we are having to face squarely those things which we have built into our culture that enable illegal drugs to exist in our society. As citizens and individuals, we are realizing that, although Government must do everything possible to help, a solution to the drug problem will only come when each of us directly confronts and rejects the cultural acceptances of illegal drug use in our daily lives.

In 1981, there were a lot of people who believed drug abuse was so rampant that we were defenseless to do anything about it. But as I said, "We're taking down the surrender flag that has flown over so many drug efforts; we're running up a battle flag. We can fight the drug problem, and we can win." This call was answered by concerned citizens from around the country who were committed not only to fighting drug use, but to achieving that drug-free generation of young Americans that is now our goal.

Last week, Nancy and I spoke to over 2,000 such individuals at the White House Conference for a Drug Free America. Believe me, not so long ago, this conference would not have been possible. And there are still those who continue to say that, because we have not quickly solved a problem which took decades to develop, we should throw in the towel. Let's remember that our actions today are an investment in the future.

We know there are a large number of individuals, primarily those who acquired their drug use habits in the 1960's and 1970's, who persist in using illegal drugs, and this persistent demand for illegal drugs is met by a sometimes seemingly limitless supply. But a surge in drug-related crimes, deaths by overdose, births of drug-addicted and drug-impaired babies, and even the destabilization of national governments by traffickers should not be viewed as harbingers of defeat in our war on drugs; these events should instead strengthen our resolve to stop this insidious evil once and for all. No, America's awakening to its drug problem has not come easily. We remember a Nation stunned after the death of Len Bias. The same rude awakening has

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Here, your own work has been particularly important. Long gone are the days when rare drug coverage focused on what the Government was -- or too often, was not -- doing to solve the drug problem. Today, drug abuse is the subject of major industry initiatives and in-depth specials on the nightly news, daily newspapers, and weekly magazines. Also gone are the days when drug use was frequently glamorized in movies and television, on radio, and in print. Today, the media is revealing the deadly truth about drugs and why each of us must take a stand.

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contributed 482 commercials, half in prime time, to Media-Advertising Partnership spots in the past 9 months. The Boston Herald launched "Say No to Drugs," a major community-based drug education campaign designed to help combat drug abuse among young people in the greater Boston area. The Chicago Sun-Times has teamed up with WLS-TV Chicago in "Say No! To Drugs." All of these initiatives literally represent billions of dollars in expertise and coverage which has been invaluable in moving toward a drug-free America. And this is just to mention a few examples of the excellent work all of you are doing.

So on behalf of the next generation of Americans -- the many lives that will be saved and whose futures will be bettered -- I want to extend heartfelt thanks to each of you.

FOCUS ON THE NON-USER

The problem facing the Nation today with regard to the illegal use of drugs is multi-dimensional.

There is, on the one hand, a constant flow of hard drugs coming into this country through trafficking operations controlled in significant part, although not exclusively, by organized crime.

On another front, we are staring at a "demand" problem fueled by considerable misinformation calculated to minimize the destructive impact of illegal drug use and feed the addictive appetites of those unwilling, or unable, to "Just Say No."

And superimposed on this dual dilemma of a steady supply and an insatiable demand is the stark reality, like it or not, that there exists no meaningful treatment for many of those who are hooked on drugs.¹

This is the backdrop against which any comprehensive drug strategy must be structured. Such a strategy should respond to the set of interlocking problems on two levels, one general and the other specific.

At the level of generalities, it is important to steer clear of grandiose proclamations that cast a strategy in global terms, such as "waging a war on drugs."

The truth is that the United States is ill-equipped to wage such a war -- much less "win" it. Not only are Federal resources inadequate to that task, but there are very practical difficulties in terms of solidifying support of foreign governments in a cooperative effort at the levels that would be required. Perhaps more to the point is that our drug efforts are

¹ If we are dealing with heroin users, methadone treatments can help to neutralize the addiction by simply substituting the one drug for another, but such "treatment" offers no cure. If the user is on cocaine or crack, there is simply no treatment available to wean the individual from his/her habit. Perhaps a small percentage of "coke" users can, with a strong, comprehensive support system, actually break their habit. But, short of that "cold turkey" cure, no matter of funding of so-called treatment centers will assist in treating the addiction problem.

understandably aimed at coming to grips with the serious problem here in the United States. If an analogy is to be used, that is but a discrete battle in a much larger war. We have our hands full coming to terms with that parochial piece of the global problem.

This suggests that any strategy advanced should be stated in more modest terms. In this regard, the Drug Policy Board has charted precisely the right course: we define our strategy in terms of the problem (i.e., interdiction and law enforcement to respond to the "supply" problem; education and disincentive programs -- drug testing, school suspensions, driver license revocations, etc. -- to respond to the "demand" problem; and health and safety programs to respond to the "treatment problems).

This three-pronged approach can be described in terms that avoid the "win/lose" rhetoric and candidly identify the Federal effort as a part of a decade-long solution to a decade-old problem. We have a "drug epidemic" on our hands and the challenge is to find the prescription(s) best calculated to bring about a cure. There is no "quick fix," and we should acknowledge (indeed emphasize) that reality.²

What is needed is the call for a shared commitment -- one that involves, on a coordinated basis, not only Federal, state and local governments, but also private enterprise, church support, and community participation (that looks to parents, teachers, students and drop-outs alike to exert an equal measure of opposition against drug use and abuse).

This leads into the more particular phase of a strategy.

Obviously law enforcement is an essential component, both as an interdiction force to impede the foreign influx of illicit drugs and as a police deterrent to distribution and use here at home. But law enforcement plainly cannot be the whole answer, and those who simply cry for "more law enforcement" tend to ill

² It is invariably the case that governments at all levels reach for a "quick fix" to an identified problem of political significance. Predictably, that "quick fix" regularly turns out to be a prescription for long-term failure, rather than lasting success. By resisting this traditional political instinct in dealing with the overarching drug problem, the measures adopted will presumably rest on both the immediate and the extended ramifications of any program put in place.

serve the cause -- at least to the extent that additional resources are simply unavailable.³

Thus, in addition to law enforcement, there must be a concentrated educational program to heighten awareness of the inevitable devastation to individual, family and community that accompanies drug use. Here, the Federal government has a limited role, but one that increases in effectiveness to the degree that others outside of government become similarly energized.

It seems that it is precisely in this area (i.e., energizing other forces to participate in a campaign to resist drug use) that more can be done. The First Lady's "Just Say No" initiative has served as a necessary first catalyst. It is time now for the President to follow up.

From this perspective, a challenge should issue to the American people to "get involved." We should target several major urban centers across the country (e.g., D.C.; Patterson, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Atlanta, Georgia; Detroit, Michigan; Los Angeles, California) and set in motion in each area a specific program for clearing drugs out of the high schools. Some features of such a program could include the following:

1. Highlight a high school in the area that has successfully implemented a "drug free" program (Spingarn in D.C.; Eastside High in Patterson, N.J.);
2. Have the individuals who achieved success there meet with principals, coaches and teachers of other area schools to map-out similar "drug free" programs (the specifics will not all be the same, but such programs are operating on an isolated basis in a number of high schools);

³ It seems largely fanciful to suggest that we resort to "calling out the military" in an effort to restrict the flow of drugs from foreign countries. A military assault on governments unwilling or unable to confront drug producers and traffickers is hardly calculated to produce a meaningful solution to the "supply side" of the problem, even assuming such an option might be politically feasible.

3. Involve students and parents in the programming activity (again, this can be done effectively if stimulated at the local level).⁴
4. Solicit funding and other assistance from the private sector -- on a long term (i.e., 5 year) basis (there are any number of businesses anxious to assist in this effort but largely uninformed on how best to channel their money and resources).
5. Secure support from local political officials for the program (more than just rhetoric).⁵
6. Similarly, and of equal importance, secure the support of community leaders, church leaders and parental groups (there is considerable sentiment, fairly widespread, to "get involved," but a general hesitancy to move to the "front of the line"; the opportunity to join with others on such a program could well provide the excuse to step forward).

This is admittedly sketchy, but model programs exist in different high schools, schools that were drug-infested just two years ago. Borrowing on that information, a direct challenge in certain targeted areas to produce "drug free" school yards just might work ("Mothers Against Drunk Driving" started with less).

The overarching task of the Federal government is to provide the catalyst for this kind of a project. It may well be that some modest Federal funding (perhaps on a matching basis with private industry) can be offered, but my guess is that such promises cannot fit comfortable in the current (or even next) budget cycle.

There are, however, other contributions that the Federal government can make (most obviously in the programmatic area), and it can and must convince all other components of the strategy to join ranks and participate.

⁴ It is surprising that this sort of activity is currently going on successfully and with increasing community support in so many places. The strategy is to take the existing models, coordinate the talent and energy, and make it work for an entire school system, not just one or two schools in the system.

⁵ This should be relatively easy if, as anticipated, they correctly perceive their participation in such a "pilot" program as being out-front on a major anti-drug initiative that can only gain momentum nationally.

Time, obviously, is of the essence. But with close coordination, the strategy can be developed and ready for implementation well before the end of the school year.⁶

This effort will augment existing drug-related initiatives, not replace anything we are currently doing. Its effect will likely be to realign the Federal focus to a degree: placing greater emphasis on a support-system-strategy for those in all age groups who are currently drug free and want to stay that way, rather than targeting our strategy so directly on the present group of users and abusers. We should continue, of course, to encourage viable projects that might help reclaim those members of society who are "on drugs," but with full recognition that there is only limited opportunity for success, since, as mentioned, we have yet to find any real "treatment" program for users of cocaine, crack and most other hard drugs.⁷

While we do not want to abandon altogether those who have tragically succumbed to drugs, our best hope for the future must necessarily rest on dissuading others from straying down the same path. It is to that effort that we should turn our most immediate attention -- and urge the rest of the country to follow suit. To the extent we can meet with success -- and actually reduce demand -- the other initiatives on the law enforcement side will, by definition, become more effective.

⁶ In this connection, the model programs that seem to work best are not limited to a school-year calendar. Rather, student activities carry through the summer. There is thus no reason to defer implementation until September.

⁷ See note 1, supra. The truth is that users of cocaine, etc., have only one treatment option: to stop using the drug. Experience demonstrates that such a "cold turkey" prescription can be successful in situations where the user has available to him/her a full range of support systems (strong family; church support; sufficient money to afford intense, extended, hands-on medical attention; teacher and student reinforcement; a network of concerned close friends; and, if employed, a supportive employer). If all components of that system are working, the "treatment" just might work. If any or all of the components are missing, the "treatment" will predictably fail.

William Raspberry

The Drug War Will Be Won On the Home Front

Hundreds of ordinary people are mad as hell.

When they write the story of how this city finally won its war against drugs, don't expect it to be told in tons of drugs interdicted or of major distribution centers smashed or of drug kingpins hauled off to prison.

It's far more likely that the story will record the success of a grass-roots effort, beginning in earnest in the early months of 1988, when hundreds of ordinary people decided that they were mad as hell and weren't going to take it any more.

This isn't what President Reagan had in mind when he said the other day that the "tide has turned" in the drug war.

It may be that war is a misleading analogy to begin with. Surely the scourge of drugs has some of the attributes of international war. But it also has some of the qualities of a deadly epidemic, some of the qualities of a crime wave and some of the qualities of—well, sin.

Despite the president's optimism, the fight isn't going well at the level of international war. We may know the countries from which the invading armies come, and even the names of some of the most dangerous generals: Panama's Manuel Noriega, for instance, whose indictment for drug trafficking has done more to destabilize Panama than to staunch the flow of killer drugs to America.

That is true, in part, because drug trafficking is a peculiar form of war; its assaults are effective only through the cooperation of the intended victims. As long as that cooperation exists—as long as there is a demand for drugs and huge sums of money to be made from supplying that demand—there will be suppliers and ways for them to penetrate our defenses.

We also need to act on the health problem that drug abuse represents. Indeed, building new drug treatment facilities may prove more effective, against ordinary street crime as well as against drug trafficking specifically, than putting the same money into new prison cells.

But for me, the most encouraging news is what is happening in some of this city's most drug-ridden neighborhoods. Worried parents and preachers, vulnerable teen-agers and concerned community leaders have declared their own war on drugs. They have served notice that they will no longer tolerate the infiltration of pushers into their communities. They have pledged to help police close down "crack houses" and other places known to be dealing drugs.

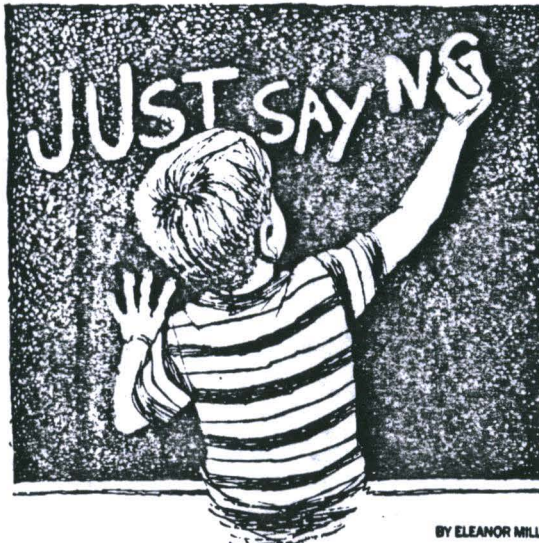
They won't argue with the president's pledge to do something about the international menace of drug dealing, but they

recognize their own need to do something about the enemy agent nearer at hand: the big-spending dealer bent on recruiting or poisoning their children.

And also to do something about their children. Intellectuals may ascribe all manner of psychological motives to Lonise Bias' national crusade to educate young people on the evil of the drugs that claimed the life of her superstar son Len. Sophisticates may titter at Nancy Reagan's exhortation to "Just say no."

But some Washington parents are coming to realize that no amount of law-enforcement vigilance can protect their children from drugs unless the children themselves have been taught the necessity of resistance.

It goes even beyond that. As Eric Knight, the suspended football coach at Forestville



BY ELEANOR MILL

High School, told a gathering of the school's seniors (after the drug-induced death of a star athlete), girls who accept expensive gifts from boys only encourage them to hustle drugs. Catholics used to call it the "near occasion of sin"—the person or agent who tempts someone into sin.

That quaint category must surely include the mothers who accept cash and clothing from their teen-age sons, taking care not to ask where the money comes from. But even without asking, they know; it comes from the same evil source that already has cost the lives of some three dozen D.C. residents so far this year.

Certainly the war on drugs must be fought by federal, state and local agencies. But it must be fought on the neighborhood and personal levels as well.

That is what a small army of local Washingtonians has started to do. Can they win? I don't know. They are fighting a powerful, and powerfully financed, enemy. But if the rest of us will join their home-front effort, I think we've got a chance.

Indeed, it may be the only chance we have.

Drug Users, Not Suppliers, Held Key Problem

By PHILIP M. BOFFEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11— The Federal Government's programs to control drug abuse are failing because they emphasize a futile crackdown on suppliers while neglecting the more important task of weaning the American public from its habits, according to a range of experts in the drug fight.

The Administration's crackdown on drug suppliers is by far the most costly ever conducted. The budget for drug law enforcement surged from \$800 million in fiscal year 1981 to \$2.5 billion in fiscal year 1988, the current year, more than tripling the funds for interdiction, investigations, prosecutions, intelligence, and international activities. This represents "the largest increases in drug law enforcement funding and manpower in the nation's history," according to the Administration's drug policy board.

But the effort has been largely ineffective, drug specialists say. Despite record confiscations of drugs and a threefold increase in arrests of major

The Traffic in Drugs

America's Global War

Last of three articles.

drug traffickers, only a small percentage of the cocaine and a somewhat larger percentage of the marijuana coming into the country in recent years have been seized, according to a Government-sponsored study. Large quantities of marijuana is also grown within the United States.

'Lost the Supply Battle'

"Supply reduction has been an abject failure," said Dr. Lloyd D. Johnston, a social psychologist at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, who conducts an annual survey of drug use by high school seniors and recent graduates for the Government. "The supply of cocaine has never been greater on the streets, the price has never been lower, the drug has never been purer. We've basically lost on the supply battle field and in my opinion will continue to lose even if we pour a quarter of the treasury into it."

The reason, he said, is that no matter how many drug suppliers or corrupt officials are eliminated, another 50 or 100 will be ready to take their place as long as the immensely profitable drug market remains untouched. And no matter how many fields of coca plants or marijuana plants are destroyed, there will always be yet more acreage available for planting illicit crops.

The lack of progress has made foreign officials increasingly bitter about risking their enforcement agents' lives in the drug fight when the United States appears unable or unwilling to curb the domestic appetite for drugs.

Mexican Bitterness

"Why do the deaths of Mexicans have no impact?" Mexico's Attorney General, Sergio Garcia Ramirez, asked in an interview in March, referring to the 154 Mexican police officers and soldiers killed by traffickers in the past five years. "Is it because they are Mexicans? I don't want the answer to be yes. I'm not saying that we're carrying on the battle alone, but all we get is criticism."

He also pointed out that the traditional separation between consumer and producer countries is no longer valid. "We've developed a black-and-white view of producer countries where there are delinquents and consumer countries where there are victims," he said. "This is wrong. In consumer countries, there is growing drug production for their own and foreign consumption, and there are alarming levels of laundering of drug money and financing of trafficking. Similarly, in producer countries, there is growing consumption. So we're all involved in all stages."

Most experts say they believe the last best hope for controlling drug abuse in the United States is to cut the demand for drugs — by treating those who are already hooked, developing prevention programs, and, some say, throwing the full weight of law enforcement against the users of drugs, not just the suppliers.

President Reagan himself acknowledged, in a speech Feb. 29 to the White House Conference for a Drug-Free America, that "as significant as stopping smugglers and pushers is, ending the demand for drugs is how, in the end, we'll win."

'Need to Focus on Demand'

"We really do need to focus more on the demand aspect, the treatment and prevention side," said Chauncey Veatch 3d, director of the California Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs, who is president of the National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors. "We're seizing all these huge amounts of illicit drugs and yet we still have this tremendous problem."

"There is no obvious or easy solution except to reduce demand," agreed Dr. David F. Musto, a psychiatrist and historian at the Yale School of Medicine, who is probably the nation's leading authority on the history of narcotics control in the United States.

To be sure, the Administration for many years now has been calling for a drug-free society and has exhorted the nation's youth to abstain from drugs. The foremost symbol of that concern is Nancy Reagan's frequent appeals to "Just say no" to drugs. These have been highly effective, Administration officials say, in helping to shift public attitudes against drugs. But the Administration's leadership has been primarily rhetorical. The overwhelming proportion of Federal dollars and manpower has been channeled into the fight to eliminate supplies.

The Drug Problem: A Brief History

The call for a change in emphasis comes at time when drug use in the United States remains high but is clearly receding from its recent peaks.

The drug problem emerged over the past three decades with explosive force. In the early 1960's only a handful of people in the nation — perhaps 2 percent of the population — had ever tried illegal drugs. Then came progressive waves of marijuana use in the 1960's, heroin in the 1970's, and cocaine in the 1980's, augmented by ripples of LSD, Quaaludes, PCP, amphetamines, barbiturates and inhalants, among others. By 1985, 37 percent of the population over the age of 12 — some 70 million people in all — had used an illegal drug at least once, and 12 percent of the population — some 23 million people — were current users, according to projections from a Government-sponsored national household survey.

"An enormous number of people have at least tried drugs," said Edgar H. Adams, head of the division of epidemiology and statistical analysis at the National Institute on Drug Abuse. "It's incredible."

Why the Upsurge?

Just why the surge occurred is a mystery. One leading theory, espoused by Dr. Musto, is that drug use runs in cycles. First comes a period of growing experimentation and epidemic spread in which drugs seem tantalizing and the dangers remote, according to this theory. That period is followed by a period of growing realization of the adverse consequences, this theory holds, and then comes a period of intolerance when society turns away from drugs.

A previous epidemic of heroin and cocaine abuse followed that course around the turn of the century, Dr. Musto said, after which Americans shied away from drugs until the 1960's, by which time societal memories of the dangers of the drugs had long since faded, opening the way for a new period of epidemic spread.

But the worst of the latest drug epidemic now appears to be over. Although marijuana and hashish remain the most widely used illegal drugs, use of these drugs by high school seniors peaked in 1979 at 50.8 percent, and fell by 1987 to 36.6 percent, according to a survey of high school seniors.

Heroin addiction peaked in the early 1970's, then tapered off to a stable population of about 500,000 addicts. The age of heroin abusers has grown progressively older, suggesting that it consists mostly of long-term addicts who started their habit in the 1960's and early 1970's, and just enough new users to replace the older addicts who die or undergo successful treatment.

Cocaine use, currently the major national concern, also shows signs of tapering off. Although the number of "current users" of cocaine has increased, reaching 5.8 million in 1985, the total number of people who use cocaine in a given year appears to have stabilized, at about 12 million. Even more promising, the 1987 survey of high school seniors and young adults reported the lowest level of cocaine use since 1978.

A major uncertainty about cocaine is "crack," a smokable form of the drug that can be sold in small, cheap units, making it accessible to vast numbers of people who could not afford to inhale cocaine powder. The crack epidemic appears to have leveled off, or even declined, among high school seniors, according to the 1987 high school survey. But experts warn that it may pose an increasing threat to school dropouts and low-income users in the inner cities.

Opinions differ sharply on how devastating the drug epidemic really is. To Lois Haight Herrington, chairman of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America, drug abuse will determine "whether we continue as a great nation or whether we pass into history as yet another once-proud civilization eaten away from within." To Mr. Johnston, the social psychologist in charge of the national high school survey, "Our country has never had a period when such a large proportion of young people have been involved with illicit drugs."

By their mid-20's, 80 percent of young American adults have tried an illicit drug, he said, and by age 27, about 40 percent have tried cocaine. "We and our cultural twins in Canada have by far the highest rates of illicit drug use in the world," he said.

Not 'a Raging Epidemic'

But to Arnold S. Trebach, professor of justice at American University in Washington, drug abuse is not "a raging epidemic" that is "destroying" the nation. "Drug abuse is a serious problem in this country," he said, "but most people who use most drugs are not in trouble with them. They are not abusers." Instead of worrying about the tens of millions of Americans who have tried an illicit drug, he said, "I would focus on the addicts."

It is not clear how many people are in serious difficulty with drugs, because national surveys focus primarily on whether an individual uses drugs, not how much of a drug is used. The National Institute on Drug Abuse told the President's AIDS commission recently that some 6.5 million people "are severely dependent" on drugs. Dr. Trebach puts the number of addicts between 2 and 3 million.

Drugs cause far less health damage in this country than either alcohol or tobacco. In a typical year, there are only a few thousand deaths from drug overdoses and, by one estimate, a few tens of thousands of deaths from chronic health problems caused by drugs. This is far less than the 320,000 annual deaths attributed to smoking and the 100,000 or more deaths attributed to alcohol. "Drug abuse is a substantial public health problem, but an order of magnitude less than the public health consequences of alcohol and tobacco," said Don C. Des Jarlais, a top epidemiologist with the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services. "However, it may be one of our biggest crime and social order problems."

In an effort to eliminate the corruption, violence and petty crime associated with the criminal drug trade, some specialists have urged that at least some of the drugs that are now outlawed be made available legally, either on the open market or by prescription for addicts. Supporters of this idea, which has been raised periodically, suggest that such a move would undercut the mob's profits and decriminalize a significant part of the business.

What the Opponents Say

But opponents of legalization argue that it would inevitably increase the number of drug users, generating enormous health damage that would undercut the gains from eliminating criminal drug trafficking. Legalization remains a topic of scholarly debate but has no serious political support.

Despite overall trends indicating that drug use is declining, the adverse health and social consequences of drug abuse — medical emergencies, death by overdose or disease, addicted babies, crime and violence — continue to soar.

Cocaine-related hospital emergencies almost tripled over a four-year period, from about 5,200 in 1982 to about 14,000 in 1986. Most experts attribute the rise partly to the fact that these emergencies are caused by the cumulative effects of past drug abuse. And hanging over every addict who injects drugs with needles that are shared with other addicts lies a new specter — AIDS, or acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

"You can make a pretty good case that things have never been worse," said Dr. Donald Ian Macdonald, administrator of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration and special assistant to the President for drug abuse policy.

Federal Policy: 'Look for Dollars'

In its oratory, the Administration has often claimed that demand reduction was its primary strategy to combat the drug menace. At a March 1981 press conference, President Reagan, then new to his job, called it "virtually impossible" to halt drugs at the nation's borders because "it's like carrying water in a sieve." Instead, he said, "It's far more effective if you take the customers away than if you try to take the drugs away from those who want to be customers."

These declarations have seldom been backed with enough money. "These people say one thing and they do another," complained Karst J. Besteman, executive director of the Alcohol and Drug Problems Association. "You have to look for the dollars. That's where the real policy is."

For its first six years in office, the Administration poured most of its resources into law enforcement programs intended to disrupt supplies and prosecute suppliers while providing smaller increases for prevention and actually reducing the money available for treatment.

Then, in 1986, after cocaine killed an All-American basketball player, Len Bias, and a professional football player, Don Rogers, an outburst of public concern led to passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, which provided a tenfold increase in spending for prevention and treatment, plus an even bigger dollar increase for drug law enforcement.

\$2.5 Billion for Fiscal Year

In the current fiscal year, drug law enforcement programs are receiving \$2.5 billion, far above the \$940 million allocated for treatment and prevention. The President's budget proposal for next year, fiscal 1989, would further increase the disparity.

Administration officials justify the disparity by asserting that much of the law enforcement work, such as border interdiction, Coast Guard patrols, the eradication of foreign fields, and investigations of major international criminals, has to be supported by the Federal Government, while most of the prevention and treatment work is primarily a state, local or private responsibility, or often a family's own responsibility.

Dr. Macdonald said the Federal Government has always played "a relatively minor role" in drug treatment programs, which are primarily supported by the states. "I think there is a large unmet treatment need in the country," he said, "but the ball is now in the states' court."

That is not accepted by critics who contend that the Federal Government has a responsibility to provide money to combat a problem that is supposedly a top national priority.

The principal focus of the Administration's demand-reduction strategy, Dr. Macdonald said, has been to change the public's knowledge and attitudes about drugs, with Mrs. Reagan's repeated advice to youngsters, "Just say no," leading the way.

Just Say No Clubs

White House officials say the campaign's effectiveness can be seen in polls and surveys showing a growing disapproval of drugs and a growing acceptance of such steps as urine testing in the workplace to detect drug users. They also say Mrs. Reagan's example has helped stimulate the formation of some 8,500 to 10,000 Just Say No clubs, which teach youngsters to refuse drugs and resist the social pressures toward drug abuse.

But others are skeptical that her campaign has had much impact on the young people who are most at risk of turning to drugs, such as school dropouts and minorities who may not look to the First Lady as a role model. A December 1987 report on Drug Abuse Prevention by the General Accounting Office, a Congressional investigating agency, concluded that "the federally endorsed and widely publicized 'Just Say No' program, likely to be utilized by many states and localities, has not yet been evaluated, and there are uncertainties about its applicability to all segments of the population and its long-term benefits."

Federal Funding: Who Gets What

The bulk of the Government's prevention funds has been allocated to the Department of Education to support the development and use of drug education programs in the schools. The department has distributed a booklet, "Schools Without Drugs," that recommends strategies to prevent drug experimentation and offers clear policies against drug abuse. But Education Secretary William J. Bennett has been openly skeptical that much of what passes for drug education has any value.

"I know there is a modest kind of sweet faith on the part of some that if you have a drug education course, young people will change their minds," he told the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control last June. "In fact, there's no evidence that that's

MORE

the case at all." The department has been trying to identify schools that appear to have effective programs and find ways to hold schools accountable for assessing their drug education programs.

But analysts are dubious that the campaign, which seems to have been forced upon a reluctant Education Department, is paying off in a major way. "It's highly unlikely that anything was accomplished," said Peter Reuter, a drug policy expert for the Rand Corporation.

The General Accounting Office found "considerable uncertainty about what works to prevent drug abuse." The traditional strategies used over the last 15 years either sought to increase one's knowledge of drugs and their adverse consequences or sought to increase self-esteem and social development to lessen the need for drugs. Although these programs often did increase knowledge, the G.A.O. said, "few had demonstrated any degree of success in preventing drug abuse."

Now hopes are shifting to some of the tactics used in weaning nicotine addicts off their smoking habit. Young people are taught to resist peer pressure to take drugs, and instead to form their own social pressure groups in favor of drug-free living, and to make

public commitments not to use drugs, among other tactics.

"The success stories in prevention are beginning to come in," said Dr. Charles R. Schuster, director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. "Peer resistance strategies have worked well for tobacco. They have worked less well with alcohol and marijuana. But I suspect when everybody is singing

from the same song sheet, it will probably make a difference."

Treatment: What Works?

Treatment programs rest on a more secure knowledge base than prevention programs, but here too there is disagreement over their effectiveness. The four principal treatments include detoxification, which helps addicts through withdrawal; methadone maintenance, which provides a more benign drug for heroin addicts; outpatient counseling and family therapy; and drug-free therapeutic residences.

"Treatment works, but only for people who stay in treatment," Dr. Schuster said. "Unfortunately, only about 20 percent of those who need treatment are in treatment programs."

Although there was a surge in treatment programs during the early 1970's, growth later slowed and failed to keep up with the rise in drug abuse. In many cities, addicts who seek treatment must wait weeks or even months to enter a program. There are only about 30,000 slots in methadone maintenance programs in New York City to meet the needs of more than 200,000 heroin abusers, according to city officials.

Most experts agree that, if the nation wants to make progress against drug abuse, it must minimally provide treatment for all those who seek it, and might maximally seek to entice virtually all addicts into a treatment program. The President's AIDS Commission recently called for a national policy of "treatment on demand" for an estimated 1.3 million intravenous drug abusers at risk of spreading AIDS. It urged expenditures of \$15 billion over 10 years — half Federal and half state or local — to expand drug treatment services, construct 3,300 new treatment centers, and train 32,000 new drug workers. The likelihood that the Reagan Administration, nearing its end and faced with large budget deficits, would suddenly pour more money into drug treatment was deemed slight.

Increasingly, Administration officials have sought to reduce demand by "forceful and swift" actions targeted at the users, including arrests, fines, seizure of property, forfeiture of drivers licenses and other privileges, drug screening in the workplace, and compulsory work, education or even jail for offenders.

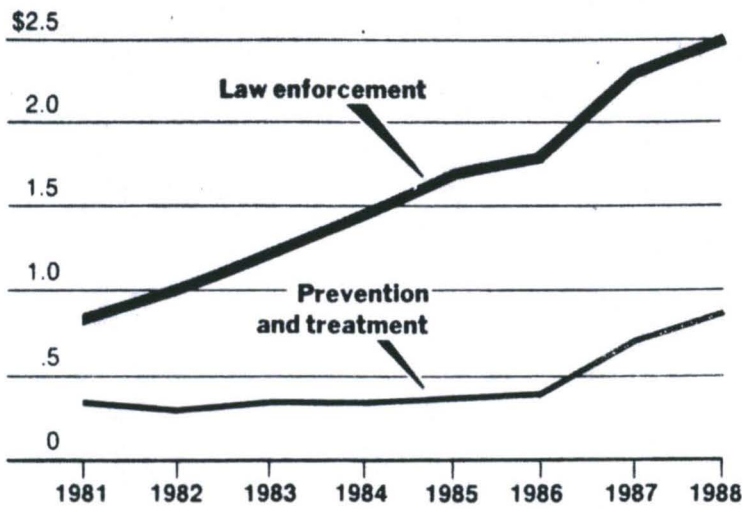
In a Feb. 29 speech to the White House Conference, Mrs. Reagan blamed casual users for creating a climate of acceptance for drugs and for financing the bullets that have murdered foreign drug officials and American narcotics agents. "We must be as adamant about the casual user as we are about the addict," she said, adding, "If you're a casual drug user, you're an accomplice to murder."

For those who subscribe to the cyclic theory of drug use, this showed that the intolerant phase of the latest epidemic had clearly arrived, signaling perhaps its inevitable decline.

MORE

Federal Drug Programs

Funds spent each fiscal year, in billions of dollars. Figures for 1988 are estimated.



Source: Office of Management and Budget

The New York Times/April 12, 1988

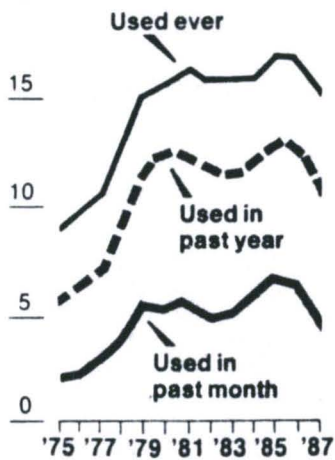
Cocaine Use and Consequences

Use Is Down . . .

Percent of high school seniors who used cocaine in each time period.

Figures are from annual surveys by the National Institute of Drug Abuse. Survey samples ranged from about 4,000 to 8,000.

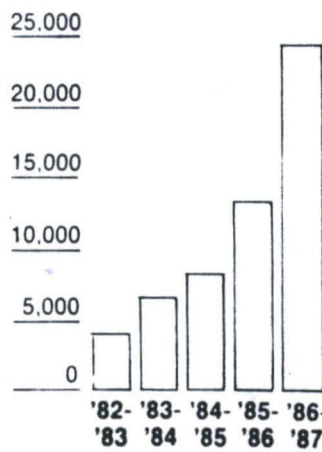
20%



. . . But Is Linked to More Emergency Room Visits

Number of cocaine-related emergency room visits from fourth quarters through third quarters.

Data are provided by 545 hospitals in 27 metropolitan areas.



Source: National Institute on Drug Abuse

The New York Times/April 12, 1988

MORE



Associated Press

Nancy Reagan with some young members of a "Just Say No" club in Universal City, Calif. From right were Soleil Moon Frye, C. B. Barnes,

Cherie Johnston and Ami Foster. Mrs. Reagan is the honorary chairman of the Just Say No Foundation.

END



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE SECRETARY

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WILLIAM J. BENNETT
U.S. SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

THE WAR AGAINST DRUGS: WHERE WE STAND

Remarks prepared for
The White House Conference for a Drug-Free America

The Omni Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D.C.

March 2, 1988

400 MARYLAND AVE., S.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

As Secretary of Education, I have said many times that a society is judged by how well it performs the fundamental task of the nurture and protection of its children. With respect to illegal drugs, we are not doing enough. We are not protecting our children. Let me tell you where this fact leads me, and where perhaps it should lead us as a nation. I realize some may disagree with what I have to say, but this is the way I think it is.

On the one hand, we have seen a fundamental shift in attitudes toward illegal drug use. President and Mrs. Reagan have helped to forge a serious national consensus and commitment against drug use. Many dedicated men and women lay their lives on the line every day in the war against drugs. And this Administration and Congress have worked hard to reduce the drug trade; we have greatly increased the resources devoted to fighting the drug problem; and we have increased seizures, arrests, and prison sentences for those convicted of drug trafficking offenses.

On the other hand, we must face the truth: While we are winning some battles, we are in real danger of losing the war on drugs. While public sentiment has changed profoundly, the drug trade and the drug problem are as serious as they have ever been. What is now needed is a transformation of government policy to match, and build on the transformation of public sentiment. This means that we in government must move beyond the sound but piece-meal and incremental steps that we have so far taken. We cannot win simply by doing more of the same. We must consider a qualitative change in how we conduct our war against drugs.

Today we face bumper crops of many illegal drugs. Powerful, billion-dollar drug-producing cartels threaten the stability of several Latin American governments, and threaten to undermine American foreign policy interests in the region. Furthermore, we are interdicting only a small percentage of all drugs shipped to the United States. The drugs sold on our streets today are generally easier to get, cheaper, and more potent.

To cut down on supply, the war on drugs must be a fundamental part of our foreign policy. As the greatest military and economic power in the world, we can do more to prevent criminals in foreign nations from growing and processing illegal drugs. It is to be hoped we can do this in collaboration with foreign governments -- but if need be we must consider doing this by ourselves. And we should consider broader use of military force against both the production and shipment of drugs.

We also need to do what it takes to make the shipment of drugs into this country far more difficult, by increasing our ability to search cargoes and mail entering the U.S., by restricting air traffic to specific, constantly monitored, air lanes, and in general by reasserting control over our own borders. I am for reducing demand but, if the country is awash in drugs, lasting reductions in drug use will be very difficult indeed.

In concert with cutting down on the entry of drugs, we must intensify the attack on drug dealing. Today, despite record numbers of arrests, drug dealing is growing in many metropolitan areas. Particularly in the case of crack, we seem to be facing increasingly powerful drug gangs who are ever more willing to use violence and to

involve young children in the sale and distribution of drugs. And while the incidence of first-time drug use may be declining among young people generally, this is not true in many metropolitan areas, and the overall consumption of illegal drugs does not seem to be declining significantly.

Our first priority at home must be this: We must take back our streets from the drug traffickers. Security for law-abiding citizens is the first requirement of any civilized society. We need to commit whatever resources are necessary from all levels of government to secure safety and order for all our neighborhoods. In some cases, the police and courts do not have the legal support and the human and material resources to make real headway against the drug trade. We should pass tougher laws, build more prisons, expand forfeiture laws, and raise fines to cover enforcement, court and jail costs. The costs society imposes on those who try to push drugs should be great and certain. Drug pushers are not paying a high enough price for their crimes.

Law enforcement must proceed against users as well as pushers. We should use fines and forfeiture of users' assets to help pay for law enforcement and court costs. We should extend probationary periods and include regular drug tests of parolees as a condition of staying out of jail or avoiding further fines. We may well also need to spend more on treatment -- but if we do so, we must introduce accountability into the funding of treatment programs, providing additional funding only for those that work.

And in our schools, as in our society generally, we have to transmit a clear message to young people. We have to transmit that

message through drug education courses and through tough school drug policies. And the message must be this: The use of drugs is wrong and will simply not be tolerated. If you get involved with cocaine or other illegal drugs, you have become a criminal, you are subject to punishment, you may be hooked for life, or you may die.

Above all, it seems to me, we need a strong, coherent national policy that attacks all aspects of the drug problem. This is a war. We need to win it.