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INSIDE A SOVIET MENTAL HOSPITAL

Newsweek

THE DRUG CRISIS

'Saying No!'

The Nation's New
Campaign Against Users



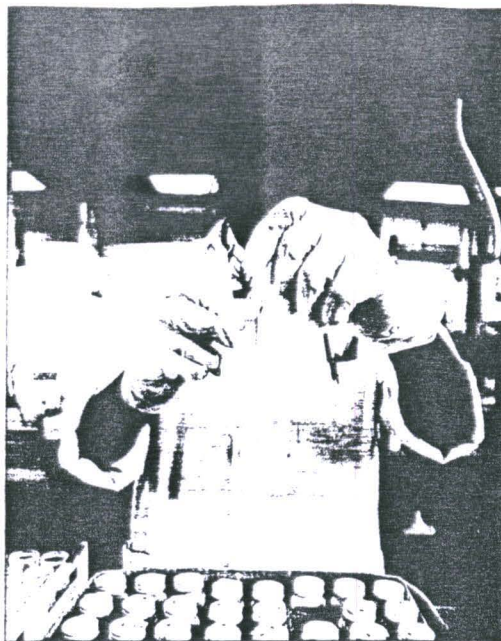
A Poll on Drug Testing,
Enforcement and Privacy

An Exclusive Interview
With President Reagan



The Drug Crisis: Trying to Say 'No'

Despite all the arrests and huge drug seizures of recent months, there has been hardly a ripple in the tide of illegal drugs. Slowly, the nation is deciding to try a new approach: if we can't curb the drug supply, maybe we can cut the demand by going after users. That requires nothing less than a change in the national attitude toward drugs, but the process has already begun. As political pressure mounted in Washington, Congress started work on a tough new drug bill and Ronald Reagan moved to seize the issue by announcing his own demand-side program this week. It was more jawbone than bite, and its centerpiece was a controversial order to start drug testing on federal employees in sensitive jobs, so it was sure to be assailed from all sides—but it will probably do some good. A new NEWSWEEK Poll shows strong public support for cracking down on users. **National Affairs: Page 14**



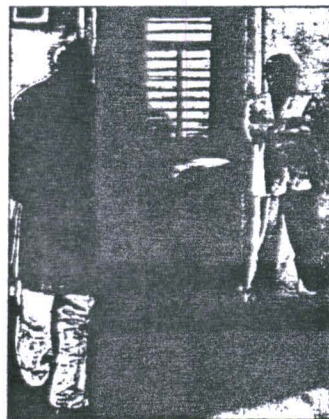
Testing for drugs: A controversial key to the plan



The Junior League's new image

Social Sisters

Once a bastion for wealthy, well-bred women, the Junior League now wants a grittier image. The prim and proper organization has taken off its white gloves to tackle such unladylike problems as adolescent pregnancy and rape. But social activism and social status often clash, creating new social problems for the league. **Lifestyle: Page 42**



Drugged, silent—but unbroken

Simply Divine

It's a miracle no one thought of it before: a Jesus theme park, part Disneyland, part summer retreat. TV evangelist Jim Bakker is developing Heritage USA, a family entertainment center near Charlotte, N.C., with tennis, camping and weekly baptisms. For "Christ-loving people," says one follower, it's nirvana. **Society: Page 46**



A \$175 million high-tech shrine

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National Affairs

Saying "no" to drugs	14
An interview with Reagan	18
Deglamorizing drugs on film	20
Questions about Rehnquist	21
Lagging front runners	22
Chicago: war on graffiti	23
A dyslexic sues	23
Boston's police scandal	24
A cup of AIDS?	24

International

A jail for minds	26
Philippines: can Cory handle dissent?	28
Marcos: Honolulu has-been	29
The mines of apartheid	30
Father Jenco's warmest amen	31
Summary justice Beirut style	31
South Pacific: a Soviet move?	32
A capital best seller	33
The Fridge hits London	33

Business

Playing blindman's bluff	34
Report card on Reaganomics	36
Squaring off at Big Steel	37
A chip of hope	37
Japan's corporate bouncers	38
Ads on albums	39
Undressing for success	39
Robert J. Samuelson	40

Lifestyle

Trends: No more white gloves	42
Family: A day at the movies	44
Sports: USFL's dark "victory"	45

Society

Religion: A divine Disneyland	46
News Media: Bad days at CBS	48
Medicine: Giving life after death	48
Justice: Roy Cohn's last fight	49
Space: A telltale "uh-oh"	52
Environment: Acid rain's "fingerprints"	53

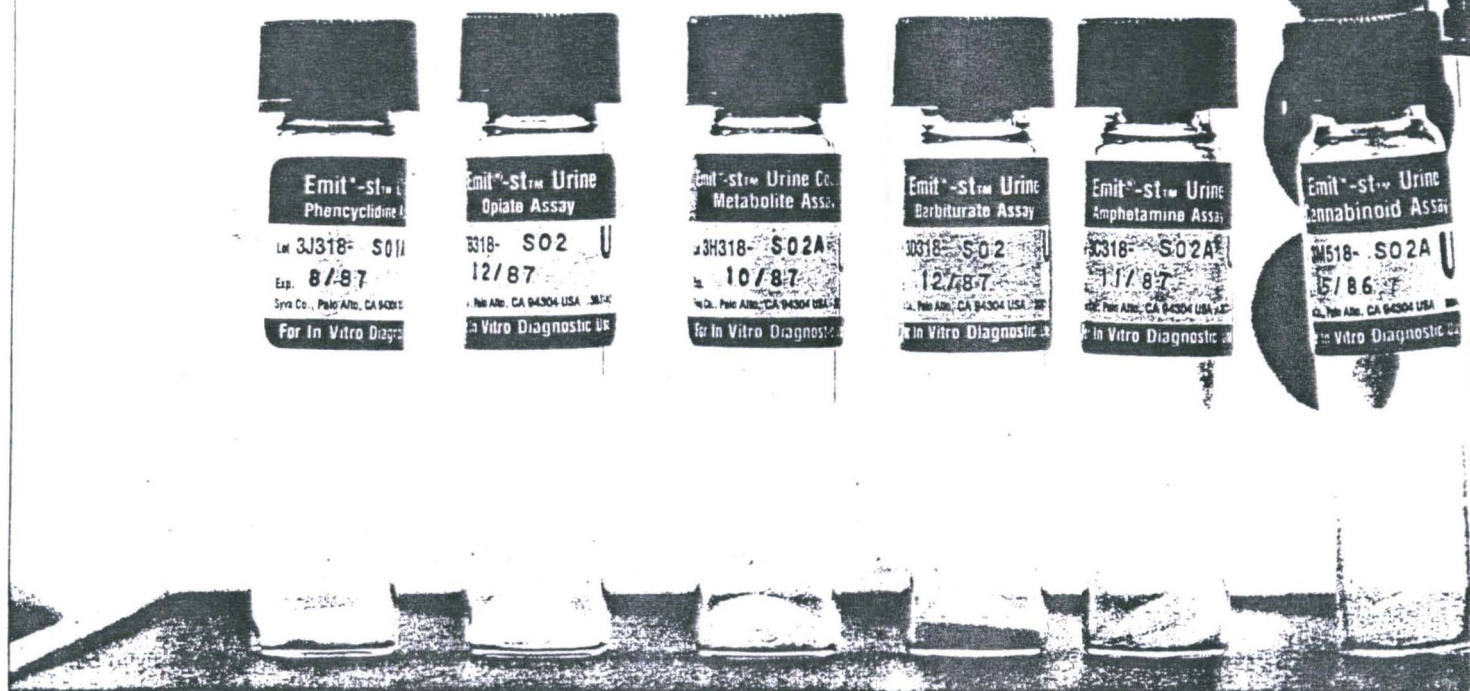
The Arts

Movies: The new go-go boys	54
Books: Eric Ambler's years of writing dangerously	56
A most uncommon census	
The last catch for the fishermen	
Sadie's slow burn	
Music: Some magic on the mesa	59

Departments

Periscope	4
My Turn	8
Perspectives	13
News makers	61
Meg Greenfield	62

Cover: Photos by Ed Geary



The bite in the jawbone: Urinalysis for federal workers in sensitive jobs was the controversial centerpiece of the president's plan to

Trying to Say 'No'

THE DRUG CRISIS

It should have been a triumph in the annals of drug enforcement: the biggest cocaine haul in U.S. history, more than 200 pounds of dope with a street value of \$30 million, scooped up last week in a raid on a dilapidated farm in western Michigan. But in the modern drug wars, the victory was a hollow one. Everybody knew it would make only a momentary ripple in the tide of narcotics flowing into the nation; the drug epidemic would rage on. And across the country a sense was growing that another approach to the problem has to be tried. If we can't shut off the supply, maybe we can shrink the demand—by somehow persuading drug users to turn off, or never to turn on in the first place.

It is a formidable task, requiring no less than a basic shift of the national attitude toward drugs. But that is already happening in a piecemeal way, from vigilante committees in a dozen urban ghettos to drug-education programs in suburban high schools to crackdowns on local users from Michigan to North Carolina. And this week Ronald Reagan planned to scurry to the head of the growing parade by announcing his own demand-side drug program, a combination of moral suasion, education and drug testing for key government workers. In all, the plan looks to be far more jawbone than bite. But in an exclusive interview with *NEWSWEEK* (page 18), Reagan said it would "not be rhetoric.... The main thrust has got to be to get the people themselves to turn off on [drugs]."

ior aides. "And who better to do it?"

The president decided it was time to move when his pollster Richard Wirthlin showed him a sharp rise on the fever chart of drug concern. A similar message has been received in Congress, where members are scrambling to write tough new drug laws and grab the credit in time for this year's elections. More than 300 members have signed a letter to the television networks for delivery this week, asking for a concerted campaign to educate young people to the dangers of drug abuse. But the congressional emphasis is still on the supply side of drugs: Democrats are working to put together an omnibus bill stiffening penalties for pushers, strengthening customs and border patrols, outlawing synthetic drugs, hitting at money laundering and beefing up treatment and prevention programs. Republicans plan amendments to make the bill even tougher, possibly including the death penalty for some drug dealers and tough new sanctions against countries that don't cooperate with drug-eradication programs. Price is no object, the lawmakers say. "We intend to bust the budget on this," vowed Democratic congressional campaign chairman Tony Coelho.

They had better be prepared for a sizable tab. Drug enforcement is already a \$1.8 billion item, versus just \$230 million spent on drug and alcohol treatment and education programs. At the cutting edge, the Drug Enforcement Administration is averaging 41 arrests a day, an increase of 18 percent in two years. Seizures of contraband cocaine soared to an annual rate of 43 tons in the first three months this year, up from 19 tons in all of last year and just 12 tons in 1984. Still, there is no shortage; indeed, if street prices are any guide, there may be a glut. According to necessarily iffy surveys, the number of regular cocaine users,

which apparently peaked in the late '70s, has remained at about 5 million ever since. But individual consumption has been rising so fast that total cocaine use went up by 11 percent at last count, and the spread of riskier, high-purity cocaine and the potent new crack has heightened the sense of crisis. Heroin and marijuana consumption was down a bit, but total use of illegal drugs rose by 15 percent. And whether or not more enforcement will do any good, it will surely be costly. Democratic Rep. Glenn English of Oklahoma has introduced bills meant to stem the flood of drugs with more agents, planes, boats and radar. The added cost: nearly \$1 billion.

Busting users: Latin American officials and a few drug enforcers have long charged that the policy of busting major dealers and letting users go actually encourages demand for drugs. "You can't accept recreational drug use and expect to control the drug problem. That's where it begins," says Lacy Thornburg, North Carolina attorney general. His state police recently began rounding up and prosecuting users and petty dealers. In another approach, the Detroit suburb of Farmington Hills passed an ordinance last year making people over 17 legally accountable for permitting drug use or sale on their property. The public is increasingly willing to consider cracking down on users; a new NEWSWEEK Poll showed a startling increase in support for criminal penalties for possession of marijuana and overwhelming backing for drug testing of people in critical jobs (page 16). And the White House has come to agree that its priorities have been skewed. "We are responsible for driving the drug market to where it is today," said one administration official. "We have essentially decriminalized drug use by not doing anything."

In part, the change in the public mood has a racist tinge: drugs simply have moved from the black and Hispanic underclass to the middle-class mainstream and are being felt as a problem there. Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis surveyed 5,000 of his state's high-school students in 1984 and found that 60 percent admitted having used illegal drugs. Cocaine and marijuana have become commonplace in factories and business offices; in California a sting operation by the San Jose police uncovered a Silicon Valley company where 90 percent of the work force of 400 people were using drugs. Alarm over drug abuse tends to lag behind its spread: police in the Chicago area say drugs are pervasive there, but the epidemic is not yet the stuff of commuter chat and TV talk

Users, One and All

- 5 million regular cocaine users
- 20-24 million have tried cocaine
- 563 cocaine-related deaths
- 30% of all college students will have tried cocaine by their fourth year, and 42% have tried marijuana
- 500,000 estimated hard-core heroin users

SOURCES: 1985 DATA, PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON ORGANIZED CRIME, NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE, INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH



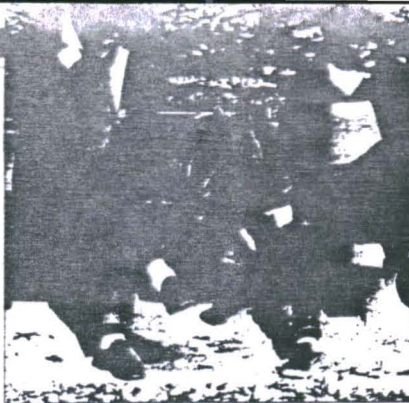
TANNENBAUM—SYGMA

to attack the demand side of drugs

The plan is sure to be attacked on all sides—for going too far, and not far enough; for shoving a camel's nose under the tent of civil liberties; for trying to make political points with a sham program for the private sector backed up by no more than \$500 million in federal money. But the demand-side theme is one that Reagan himself has been sounding since 1981, when he told his second presidential press conference: "It is my firm belief that the answer to the drug problem comes through winning over the users to the point that we take the customers away from the drugs." Since then, Nancy Reagan has been doggedly pushing the point with her "Just Say No" crusade in the schools and pressing the entertainment industry to deglamorize the treatment of drugs in films, TV and music (page 20). And the stress on the bully pulpit rather than the federal purse is one that makes Reagan thoroughly comfortable. "Look, this is a sales job," said one of his sen-

Down on Drugs: A Newsweek Poll

A new toughness on drugs is reflected in the sharp increase in support for treating possession of even small amounts of marijuana as a crime. And while most Americans favor testing all workers for drug use, they emphasize treatment and see education as the key area of government action.



ROBERT MAASS—PHOTOREPORTERS

Yes to Drug Tests

Some people think that periodic screening tests are a good idea to see whether individuals may be using drugs. Other people think such tests are a bad idea because they may not always be accurate or because they invade people's privacy. For each of the following groups, please tell me if you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea if they were required to take periodic drug screening tests.

	Good idea	Bad idea
High school teachers	64%	33%
Airline pilots	84%	14%
Police officers	85%	13%
Doctors	52%	42%
High school students	60%	37%
Professional athletes	72%	25%
Government workers	72%	25%
All other workers	50%	44%

Which of the following actions do you think an employer should take against someone who is identified as a drug user through a screening test? Should the employer:

Report him to the police	5%
Fire him immediately	5%
Fire him after a set period of time if a test shows that he is still using drugs	15%
Don't fire him, but require his participation in a drug treatment program	60%
Do nothing unless his work is clearly affected by his drug use	13%

Do you think the possession of small amounts of marijuana should or should not be treated as a criminal offense?

	Current	1985	1980
Should	67%	50%	43%
Should not	27%	46%	52%

Priorities and Resources

Do you think the government spends too much money and effort fighting drug use, too little money and effort fighting drug use—or is the government's expenditure of money and effort just about right?

Too much	9%
Too little	56%
About right	21%
Don't know	14%

There are many things that our government is doing to fight drug use. Which one of the following activities in the government's fight against drugs do you think deserves the most money and effort? Which is the next most important?

	Most Important	Second Most
Arresting the people in this country who sell drugs	23%	31%
Arresting the people who use drugs	3%	5%
Teaching young people about the dangers of drugs	42%	24%
Helping drug users to overcome their addiction	4%	12%
Working with foreign governments to stop the export of drugs to this country	25%	23%

Which of the following do you think is the most serious problem for society today: marijuana, alcohol abuse, heroin, crack, other forms of cocaine or other drugs?

Crack	22%
Other forms of cocaine	21%
Heroin	5%
Marijuana	4%
Alcohol abuse	34%
Other drugs	5%
Don't know	9%

shows. Still, the fact that it has become a national political issue is itself a sign that a good part of what the president wants has already happened. "I am very optimistic," says Carlton Turner, Reagan's adviser on drug abuse. "I think we have gone up that hill and are going down the other side."

According to White House sources, Reagan saw Wirthlin's polling figures late in May and decided to make drugs a high priority; the schedule was speeded up after the cocaine death of basketball star Len Bias. The project touched off considerable debate in the administration, since it hit an ideological sore point that already divides conservatives: while authoritarians are happy to enforce traditional social values, the newer libertarian wing of the GOP wants to minimize the government's role. One school, led by Attorney General Edwin Meese, argued strongly for such measures as widespread drug testing of federal workers. But others, including communications director Pat Buchanan, argued that drug use should be a personal matter unless it endangered lives or national security.

In the end, Reagan chose the softer line, on the ground that any program touching off a firestorm of protest would be counterproductive. The death penalty for drug dealers was out, though some of his advisers urged it. So was stepped-up prosecution of casual users: not only did the budget makers worry about building enough prisons to hold them, but Reagan himself argued that the goal should be rehabilitation, not punishment. Details of the program are still evolving. Its outline:

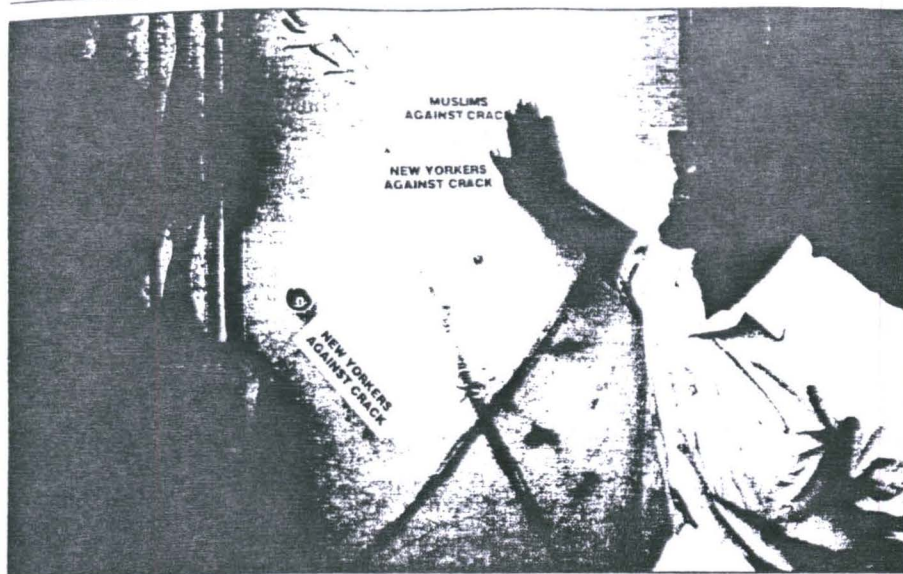
■ **Testing:** Department heads will be asked to designate federal workers who have security clearance or hold such sensitive jobs as air-traffic controllers or armed guards. If they refuse drug tests, they will be shifted to less sensitive jobs; if the tests turn up positive or they admit a drug problem, they will be offered treatment. Researching the proposal, aides found that federal insurance benefits for drug-abuse treatment were wiped out in a budget cut in 1982. Ways are being studied to restore them. But the government unions indignantly threaten to fight the whole plan in court.

■ **Education:** The administration will encourage schools to suspend drug users and pushers. Some aides wanted to tie federal funding for schools to a showing that a school has a strong drug program, but Reagan was against it. The main goal is to create an atmosphere in which peer pressure can work against drug use.

■ **Private industry:** More than half of regular drug users are over 18, and the administration wants to reach them at work. It will encourage business to screen for drugs before hiring; federal contractors could be offered incentives to set up effective industrial drug programs.

■ **Enforcement:** The Justice Department is

For this Newsweek Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed a representative national sample of 758 adults by telephone July 31 and Aug. 1. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Some "Don't know" responses omitted. The Newsweek Poll, © 1986 by Newsweek, Inc.



JAMES MARSHALL



IRA WYMAN

Counterattack on two fronts: *Black Muslim vigilantes zero in on a crack house, fourth graders in Boston learn what isn't cool*

working on proposals for stiffer drug penalties, including mandatory minimum terms for some dealers and possibly mandatory life sentences for convicted drug racketeers, but these will come later. For now, the president would only flick at the supply side with a reference to increased activities in the "southwest border initiative," newly named "Operation Alliance."

■ **International programs:** Reagan would like to invite other countries to request U.S. help in eradicating the drug trade, as Bolivia recently did. But he didn't welcome—in fact, his aides ridiculed—Bolivia's subsequent request for a \$100 million loan to offset the loss in drug income. Cutting off U.S. aid to countries that fail to reduce drug production, a practice last used by the Carter administration, may soon be invoked for three or four countries.

The price tag for all this remains a bit gauzy. Reagan himself said the question was still open; his aides indicated that spending on the program might amount to \$500 million, not all of it new money. There was predictable grumbling that the president was trying to dump the problem on the private sector. "Companies are being asked to solve one of the major social problems of this country because nobody else will," complained Dale Masi, a professor at the University of Maryland who has designed employee drug-assistance programs for major firms. But Dr. Robert Du Pont, director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse until 1978, said Reagan's program "shouldn't be underestimated. I think he can do a lot. And it's

wonderful that it's moved from being his wife's concern to being his concern as well."

Not everyone was thrilled by that development. As White House aides acknowledge, Mrs. Reagan's drug campaign began as an effort to recast her initial image as a superficial clotheshorse, but it quickly turned into genuine anguish over the problem. And in some of the nation's ghettos, the president was seen as an intruder. "No one has cared about ghetto children dying, except for Nancy Reagan," said Earl Horn, a leader of Oakland's drug-fighting Neighborhood Watch. "I'm sorry to see him taking it away from her."

Still, the nation's neighborhood vigilantes—who shout down armed dealers, surround crack houses to keep their children out and telephone tips on drug activity to sometimes lethargic police—will be glad of any reinforcement the president's jawbone

can drum up. So far, their victories have been mainly symbolic. "Sure, the drug dealers go from neighborhood to neighborhood," says the Rev. Bruce Wall, founder of Boston's Drop-a-Dime telephone alert, "but at least we have them on the run."

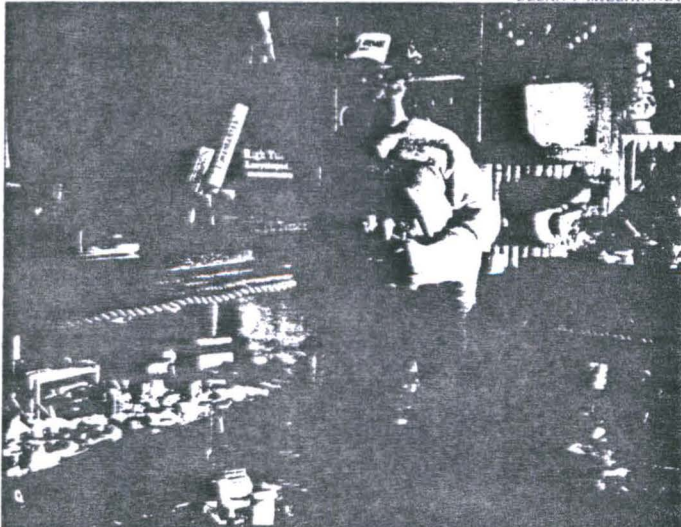
The change in public attitude should also encourage community participation in broader programs of drug education and rehabilitation; in Atlanta, for instance, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is trying to muster black leaders behind a multifaceted attack on drug-related crime. And the new climate may help coordinate local groups and public officials who now tend to squabble over competing goals and ideologies. "The real problem in Michigan has been groups fighting with one another," says a Detroit official who has grappled with drugs. "We need a coalition. We've got to remember who the enemy is."

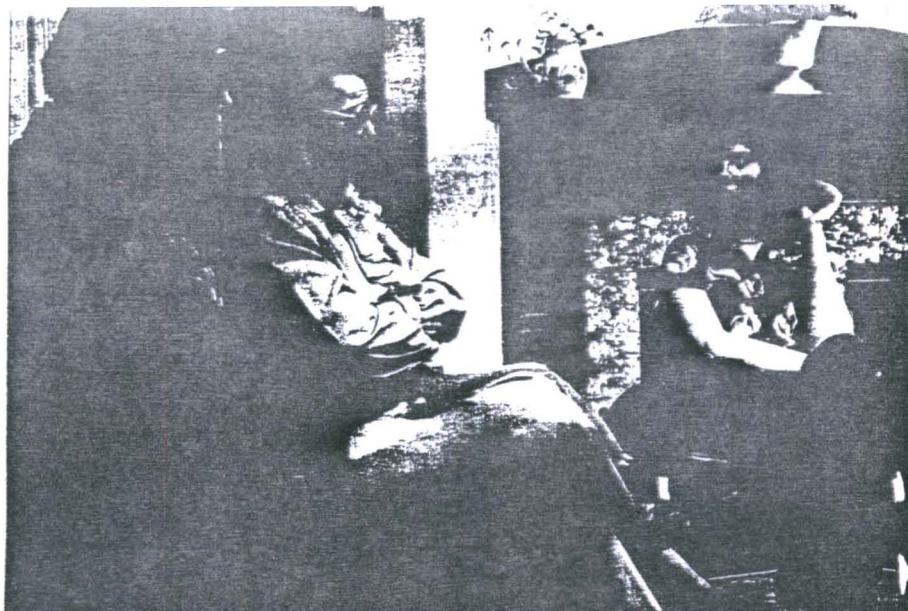
What's reasonable? Even as it was watered down, by far the most controversial part of the Reagan program is the proposal for testing federal workers for drugs. Civil libertarians tend to assume such tests must be an illegal invasion of privacy. But the courts have generally upheld them, and about 30 percent of all Fortune 500 companies used some drug tests last year. In fact, the constitutional ban on unreasonable search and seizure applies only to governments, and Reagan has already established the reasonableness of testing for drugs as the employer of military personnel.

Still, problems remain. Critics warn that the usual pre-

A climate that needs changing: A Washington head shop

SUSAN T. McELHINNEY





JAMES COOK—PICTURE GROUP

'Everyone has to work': Talking about cocaine in a Denver counseling session

liminary test, based on urinalysis, is often inaccurate. Even by the reckoning of its producer, the test may give a false positive in 1 out of 20 cases; if a second and far more expensive confirming test isn't given, the victim of the error may be wrongly rejected, stigmatized or fired. And as a matter of both law and social policy, it is far from clear that an employer has any right to probe into a worker's conduct unless it affects performance on the job. Most businessmen say that's all they want to know. But as the tests actually work, a joint smoked at a weekend party is just as incriminating as one smoked at the lathe.

Earlier this year the President's Commission on Organized Crime recommended mandatory drug testing for all federal employees. The White House considered that; in the upshot, the softer-edged approach of singling out sensitive jobs was chosen. But Reagan's aides made it clear that they see this as just a first step that can be expanded as public acceptance grows and the anti-drug climate deepens. Reagan himself disclaims any such intention, but at least some of his men say that, eventually, drug testing could be mandatory for college programs and defense contractors.

Climbing the wall: Drug-education plans are far less controversial. One catch has been persuading schools, particularly affluent suburban schools, to admit they have a problem; another is teaching parents to recognize drugs and drug symptoms. But nearly everyone now concedes that the plague is all but universal. "We can build a 100-foot wall around our kids and the drug dealers will just build a 110-foot ladder over it," says Barbara Kopans of the highly acclaimed Governor's Alliance Against Drugs in Massachusetts. "You can go just so far with police enforcement before you have to start looking at the demand side."

The drug squads have found that there is a predictable progression in drug use: children almost never try cocaine, crack or heroin without having first used such "gateway drugs" as tobacco, alcohol and marijuana. And sadly, the need for education about drugs seems to start at ever-younger ages. In Boston, high-school kids advised the teachers to talk to their little brothers and sisters; in Detroit, police said it was too late to start with 12-year-olds and sent the drug squads to kindergarten.

Successful school programs tend to have

features in common. One is the effort to catch drug abuse at its earliest stages and get parents involved in the problem. In Atlanta, for instance, the Council on Alcohol and Drugs puts any child caught with drugs at any of seven school systems through an eight-hour seminar and insists that at least one parent must attend, too. About 700 students were treated last year, and the council says only 2.5 percent of its graduates get into trouble again. On a broader scale, successful programs enlist all the help they can get for a unified assault on the problem. The Massachusetts Alliance has spread to more than 200 of the state's 365 cities and towns in two years, and advisory councils are used to coordinate the efforts of local schools, community organizations, law officers, state agencies and private corporations. So far the program has cost about \$2 million in state funds, and the DEA expects to spotlight it soon as a national role model.

Scare tactics: One major hitch remains: nobody can show conclusively that drug-education programs do any good. Early in the century, programs based on moral arguments clearly failed to dent alcohol and drug abuse. Exaggerated scare tactics, like the pamphlet and film on "reefer madness," led only to ridicule. In the 1960s straightforward presentations of the pleasures and dangers of drugs proved equally futile and may even have made drugs more attractive to curious youths. The fashionable focus of educators now is on peer and

family influences, trying to teach children simply to reject drugs as uncool. Practitioners are enthusiastic, but a NIDA review noted last year that the worth of this approach remains to be proved.

The one conclusion that the nation seems to be forming is that something new must be tried to discourage drug use. There is clearly no magic bullet, and the task won't be done overnight; as a Virginia doctor warns, "Everyone has to work. It has to be a true concerted effort." But the determination alone is changing the climate already, and the recent limited successes of campaigns against tobacco and drunken driving show that such change is indeed possible. If Ronald Reagan is jumping to head a movement that other people started, he is just functioning as a political leader—and in the end, he will probably help it along.

LARRY MARTZ with MARK MILLER
and BOB COHN in Washington.
GEORGE RAINE in San Francisco.
GINNY CARROLL in Atlanta
and Bureau reports

'Nobody else cared': Nancy Reagan pushes the point

GAMMA-LIAISON



Reagan: Drugs Are the 'No. 1' Problem

The president wants a campaign aimed at users

Ronald Reagan is putting the power of his office behind a new national crusade against drug abuse. Last week *NEWSWEEK* Editor-in-Chief Richard M. Smith, Washington bureau chief Morton M. Kondracke, White House correspondent Margaret Garrard Warner and correspondent Elaine Shannon interviewed the president on his views.

NEWSWEEK: Why a war on drugs at this time?

REAGAN: I think the increasing problem has made us finally aware that what is really needed is a nationwide campaign, not just [by] government. The polls show that this is, in most people's minds, the No. 1 problem in the country. It is not only necessary to step up our efforts to make it difficult to get drugs, but the main thrust has got to be to get the people themselves to turn off on it.

We understand there are going to be some initiatives involving federal employees and the use of drug tests. Is that true?

Well, there has to be. For example, you can't have people in law enforcement, you can't have air-traffic controllers and so forth [and] have this [drug use] be a possibility.

Do you think people with security clearances fall into that category?

I would think yes, that's legitimate.

Will you be asking your department heads to select those jobs that they consider safety or national-security related and ask the people who hold those jobs to take these tests?

I think it's all right to have it mandatory. People who have other people's safety in their own hands—I don't think that they should complain about mandatory testing.

Would you favor drug testing for all federal employees?

I would rather see a voluntary program in which we can say to them ... that they won't lose [their] jobs and there won't be punishment. What there would be is an offer of help to tell people, if this is your problem let us help you cure yourself of addiction.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

In the Oval Office: Is it a real war?

Are you, in fact, going to ask your cabinet officers to submit to testing on a voluntary basis ... and ask their subordinates to [do so]?

Yes, this is under discussion right now and I have already suggested such a thing to our top people.

Are you at all concerned about the privacy issue that is raised by mandatory drug testing?

If the mandatory [testing] is only in those areas where you can show the kind of responsibility for national security, for people's lives, I don't think there can be a quarrel.

If this is a real war, are we going to devote the resources to it, the money to really fight it, or are we going to try to nickel-and-dime it or handle it by rhetoric?

No, [it's] not going to be rhetoric. And it's possible there will be more need for money. On the other hand, you can't underestimate what can be done [by] the private sector ... [that] is being administered by the private sector because of the help of volunteers—no one can estimate the amount of money it would take to replace these volunteers with bureaucrats.

Should drug users go to jail?

No, I think we should offer help to them. ... We can't overrule states and their laws, but I do think that as a part of a campaign of the kind that we're talking [about] ... my own view is [we're] far better off if ... you can come in and ask for help and you won't be punished if you will agree to take the help.

Should drug dealers be executed, as Malaysia did?

While we haven't come to final decisions on this ... I know they deserve it. But ... I would think that we might be taking on something that would divide our ranks because there are so many people who don't believe in the death penalty for anything. My own view is that a death penalty would be counterproductive.

You've described America as "upbeat, optimistic"—why are drugs such a problem now?

For one thing ... the music world ... has ... made it sound as if it's right there and the thing to do, and rock-and-roll concerts and so forth. Musicians that young people like ... make no secret of the fact that they are users. [And] I must say this, that the theater—well, motion-picture industry—has started down a road they'd been on before once, with alcohol abuse. I can remember when it was rather commonplace in films ... to portray drunk scenes and so forth as being very humorous. And the motion-picture industry decided some time ago that that wasn't right for them to do ... and they stopped. And yet, recently, there have been some pictures in which there was a gratuitous scene in there just for a laugh [about] drug use, that it made it look kind of attractive and funny, not dangerous and sad.

To what extent is the problem with Hollywood that a lot of people out there are using [drugs] themselves?

That again—that is at a level of society where ... they have a dinner party and feel they have to put the drug out on the coffee table, as at a cocktail party. And yes, that has to be dealt with, that particular problem.

Did that happen when you were there, when you were at such parties?

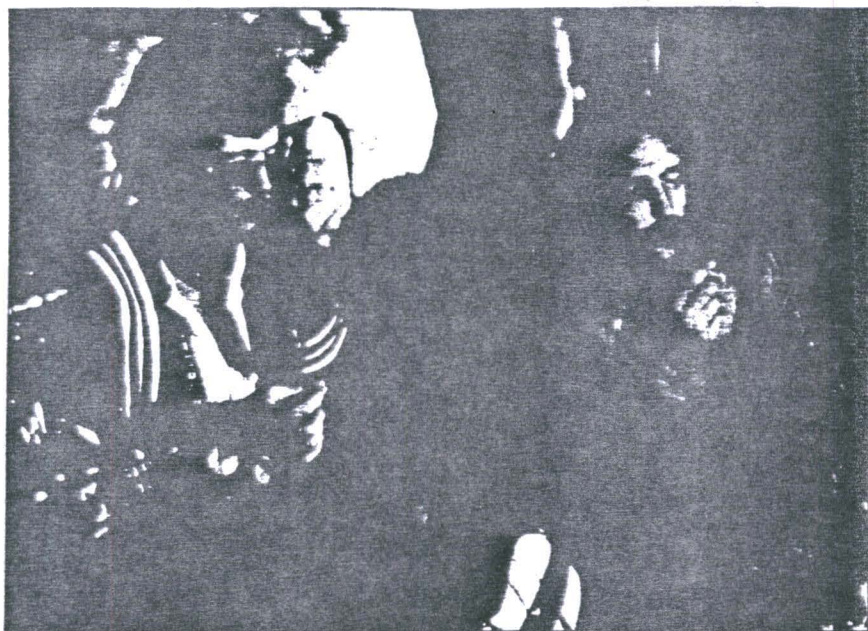
No, the drug thing hadn't hit Hollywood.

No one ever tempted you?

What? No, but all the things that are going on today—it's a different industry.

Going After Hollywood

Critics call for the deglamorization of drugs



JERRY OHLINGER'S

Smoking pot in 'Easy Rider': Today, the sniggery cachet of a pseudo-taboo

"We believe that many fewer younger Americans would turn to drugs if they fully understood the facts, if they were aware of the stark histories of hopeful lives snuffed out by drugs," the writers declare. "We are therefore calling upon the television networks... to design and broadcast a major national campaign against drug abuse... an unprecedented, coordinated offensive against the culture that encourages the use of cocaine, crack and other dangerous drugs."

That letter, signed by more than 300 members of Congress, will be delivered to ABC, NBC, CBS and Cable News Network this week—a sure sign that the sudden national uproar over drugs and drug abuse has reached politically critical mass in Washington. How the four networks will reply remains to be seen, of course, but given broadcasting's position as an industry that is at least nominally regulated under federal law, some form of positive response seems likely. The entertainment industry as a whole may be quite another matter: 20 years into America's dangerous flirtation with mood-altering substances, Hollywood remains deeply ambivalent about drugs and hostile to the suggestion that it condones or promotes drug use. The days of outright glorification, as in the 1969

film "Easy Rider," are probably over: one studio executive claims the viewing public is simply "bored" by the subject. But drug abuse is freely depicted in many recent movies, and like sex and alcohol years ago, it has the sniggery cachet of pseudo-taboo.

Needless joke: Nancy and Ronald Reagan were offended by a needless joke about pot in the movie "Short Circuit," and drug crusaders can cite similar examples by the dozen. Some say, for example, that "Miami Vice" glamorizes drug trafficking despite its pro-cop orientation and its formulaic insistence that the good guys always win. Woody Allen joked about both pot and cocaine in "Annie Hall," and the 1978 film "Midnight Express" sympathetically portrayed the tribulations of a young American drug smuggler in a Turkish prison. Marijuana use appears in movies like "About last night..." and "The Big Chill," and it is casually presented in teenybopper films like "Desperately Seeking Susan." "Why did little kids go to see 'Susan'?" asks antidrug activist Susan Newman, who is actor Paul Newman's daughter. "Because of Madonna. And what did they see Madonna doing throughout the movie? Smoking marijuana."

Ms. Newman is special-projects director for the Scott Newman Foundation, an

organization founded by her father after the 1978 death of her brother Scott from an overdose of Valium and alcohol. The foundation works to reform Hollywood from within—prodding the industry toward a more realistic, less glamorizing depiction of drugs and promoting the presentation of anti-drug-abuse themes. Those goals, Newman admits, are hardly popular in an industry which still remembers the witch hunts of the 1920s and '50s, and progress has been frustratingly slow. And though, as she says, "there's still a lot of denial going on in this town," she also believes that "a real change has gone down in just the last 18 months." Shocked by the death of John Belushi and by Richard Pryor's disastrous brush with cocaine, Hollywood has gradually begun to recognize the downside of drugs: Pryor's new film, "Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling," is a painfully candid *mea culpa* about addiction. The networks, meanwhile, have begun to discourage gratuitous references to drugs in TV scripts, and drug use on the set—commonplace in the relatively recent past—is now actively discouraged.

Dismal results: Reforming the entertainment media's approach to drugs, however, is damnably difficult business. Drugs are, after all, an undeniable presence in American life and are therefore a legitimate subject for serious films and video. Hollywood has tried self-imposed censorship before, with dismal results—and it is a matter of considerable irony that the power of the industry's morality code was decisively broken, in 1956, by a highly acclaimed film on heroin addiction, "The Man With the Golden Arm." Even more pertinent, given Washington's new demand for antidrug preachments, the entertainment media have rarely succeeded at propaganda. Take the classic antimarijuana film "Reefer Madness," for example. Produced in 1936 in an effort to warn the nation against a new social menace, it is now considered a camp comedy on college campuses.

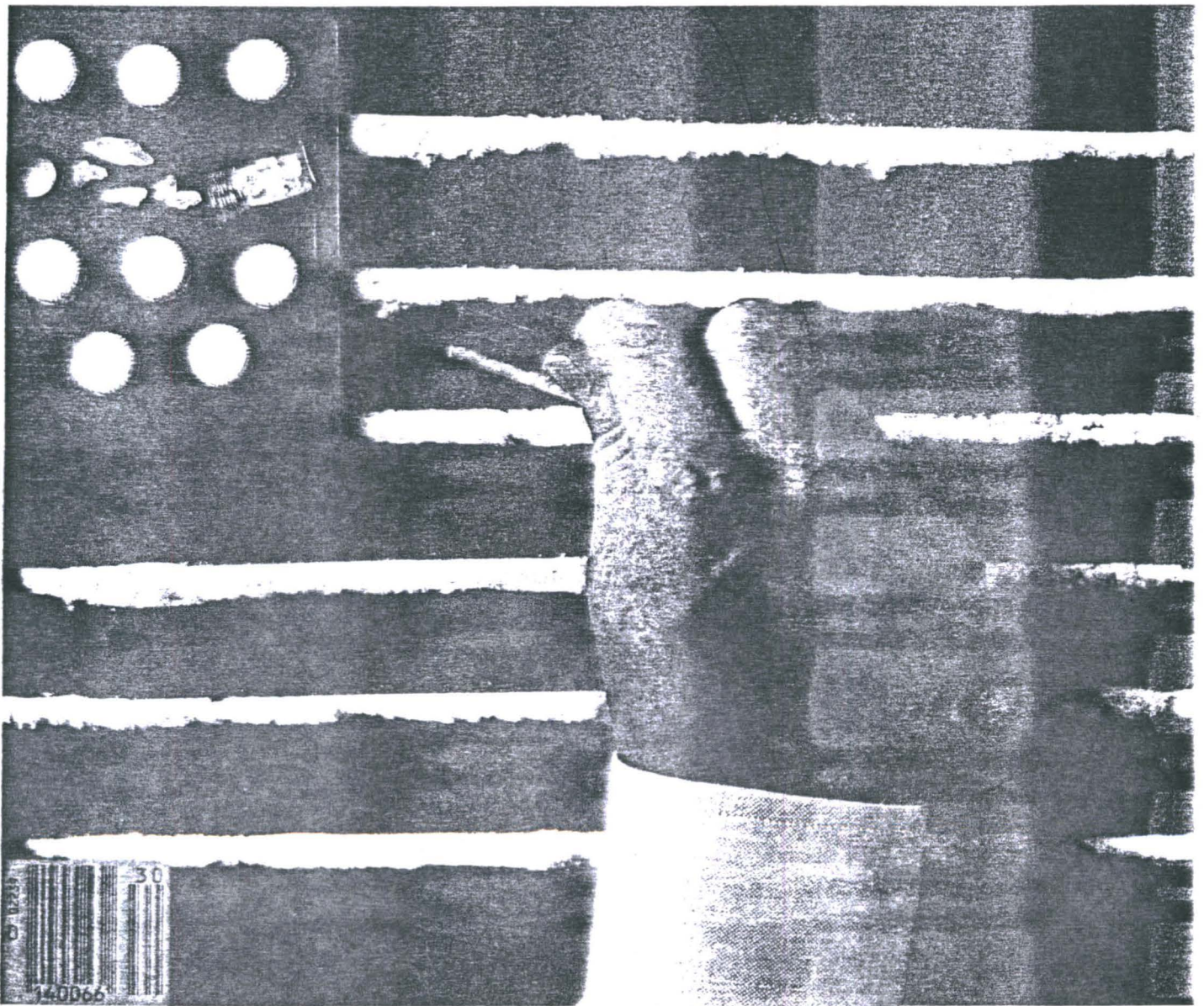
Hollywood's own drug mores, moreover, are likely to undermine whatever antidrug message it may promulgate. Drug scandals have periodically shaken the industry since its earliest years and will doubtless continue: as Newman says, the current climate of disapproval is mostly denial—or hypocrisy. "Believe me, Perrier is the drug of choice in Hollywood," one producer said in a Los Angeles restaurant last week. "No one uses drugs anymore." Meanwhile, a diner at the next table was leaving three lines of cocaine as a tip.

TOM MORGANTHAU with MICHAEL REESE in Hollywood and ANDREW MURR in New York

520

KILLER DRUGS

New Facts, New Enemies



White House, Congress and the media join the offensive

Drugs: Now prime time

■ With public outrage over drug abuse reaching a new crest, Ronald Reagan caught the wave. "The time has come," the President said on July 30, "to give notice that individual drug use is threatening the health and safety of all our citizens."

Indeed, to many who have served on the front lines in the nation's drug war for the past two decades, it seems that the time, finally, has arrived. Evidence is everywhere. And the issue comes at an opportune moment for Reagan, who could use a diversion from economic problems and challenges to his policies on trade and sanctions against South Africa. Stepping into an arena he previously left to First Lady Nancy Reagan, he prepared to announce the first details of his own antidrug plan in early August.

On Capitol Hill, more than 80 pieces of legislation are pending, and leaders in the House promise quick action. "I've never seen this electricity since I've been in Congress," says Representative Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), a 16-year Capitol Hill veteran. The press, meanwhile, is keeping a spotlight on the issue, as is the unprecedented U.S.-Bolivian drug operation.

Rising antidrug sentiment is being fed by fears of a deadly substance called crack and by the recent deaths of sports stars Len Bias and Don Rogers. Says Dr. Mitchell Rosenthal, president of New York City's Phoenix House



'We are no longer willing to tolerate illegal drugs'

Foundation: "The deaths of those young men are like lightning rods."

Skeptics predict that the furor will die down quickly. But others believe the summer of '86 will be a watershed: "We're on the verge," says Bill Rhatigan of the Advertising Council, whose antidrug ad has become so popular that broadcasters are requesting new tapes after wearing out old ones. "On this issue, we're ready to go over the top."

Some liken the antidrug atmosphere to the fight against drunk driving in the

late 1970s and the push for handgun control and tougher crime laws in the 1960s. "My God, look at the parallels," says Howard Simons, curator of Harvard University's Nieman Foundation. "Guns had always been part of society. But it took the deaths of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King to shed light on them. Tragic death is frequently what you need to set the spark."

The deaths of Bias and Rogers further churned waters that have been boiling for a long time. Some evidence:

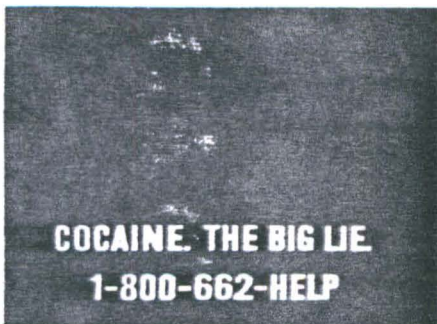
- Crack, a form of cocaine virtually unknown a year ago, has rocketed from near obscurity to national villainy in the past six months. Deaths, addictions, disruptions in family life all have eroded cocaine's image as a passive plaything of the well-to-do. Now the jury is back, and its verdict is irrefutable: "Cocaine can kill."

- In the nation's schools, as drug use reached epidemic levels, Education Secretary William Bennett became the first cabinet official to spotlight the problem. In March, he called for a "total drug ban" at colleges and universities, and for his pains he was labeled a "small-town-PTA president." Undeterred, he has intensified his rhetoric.

- The news media, fired by the crack scare, jumped on the drug story with a vengeance. *Newsweek* ran two cover stories only three months apart, and newspapers have examined the problem on their front pages day after day. The

SPOTLIGHT ON COCAINE

■ Pro baseball is providing \$2 million in antidrug advertising time on radio and TV. Stars such as Mike Schmidt of the Philadelphia Phillies spread the word: Drugs are deadly.



COCAINE. THE BIG LIE
1-800-662-HELP



■ By all accounts, Len Bias used cocaine only once, on June 19. But once was enough to kill the University of Maryland star seen as a likely superstar in pro basketball.



■ Eight days after Bias died, Don Rogers, 23, a football player with the Cleveland Browns, was killed by cocaine. He was to wed his college sweetheart the next day.

■ A close friend to Bias, Brian Lee Tribble, 24, is suspected of supplying the drugs that killed the athlete. Tribble, below at center, was indicted for possession of cocaine and PCP with intent to distribute. Bias and Tribble often played basketball together, and the two men shared an enthusiasm for clothes and cars.



focus of much reportage has changed. Robert DuPont, president of the Center for Behavioral Medicine, says the media traditionally have covered the drug issue as a "controversial issue, sort of a pro-and-con kind of argument." Adds the Nieman Foundation's Simons, former managing editor of the *Washington Post*: "Now, all you get is the con: The message is drugs are bad. Period."

In cities and suburbs, the message has been on the streets for months—but it finally is getting back to official Washington. For House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.), the message hit right where he lives. A poll of his Fort Worth district showed that 82 percent of 30,000 respondents believed drug use was a serious problem in their neighborhoods. Admits Wright: "I was stunned." The problem has become so serious, he and Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D-Mass.) say, that politics must take a holiday.

To capitalize on the public's heightened concern, Congress will try to move fast. House committee chairmen have been ordered to report all bills by August 11, and O'Neill plans to send the entire package to the floor by September 10. It will deal with five areas: Eradication of drug crops at the source, interdiction along U.S. borders, stepped-up enforcement within the country, education and treatment of drug users.

The effort is billed as bipartisan, but there are obstacles. Democrats emphasize education of youth and rehabilitation of users while the GOP wants stricter enforcement and stiffer penalties for traffickers—some even calling for the death penalty. The hitch: In the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-cutting era, who will pay for more judges and jail cells? Or for that matter, the

rest of the five-point program? Aides to Robert Michel (R-Ill.), the House Republican leader and an enthusiastic supporter of the program, put the price tag at up to \$3 billion, raising the prospect of new spending, which is anathema to Reagan.

The President will unveil his full program in a televised speech in September. It could prove controversial. Like the Democrats, Reagan focuses on users—only he would spend much less—shifting perhaps \$200-\$300 million from existing programs. Drug screening and testing of federal employees also is being weighed, and the administration intends to beef up antismuggling efforts along the southern border, probably using military aircraft. The White House denies that the program is meant to steal the Democrats' thunder on drugs, but a key aide says: "Both parties want to do something, and this is a case of keeping the President out front."

What will come of all this concern and activity? "It won't last," says actor Paul Newman's daughter, Susan, who heads a California antidrug foundation named for her brother, Scott, who died of drug-and-alcohol abuse in 1978. "We've seen false starts before."

Others are more optimistic. James Wilson, a Harvard professor of government who was chairman of the National Advisory Council for Drug Abuse Prevention in the early 1970s, argues that real progress won't be made until drug use is seen as socially unacceptable.

"That's what happened with drinking and driving," he notes. "With all the concern we're seeing now over drugs, it may be that drug use is passing through the same kind of barrier."

by Brian Duffy with Jeannye Thornton, Kenneth T. Walsh and James M. Hildreth

CELEBRITY DEATHS

Grim roll call of two decades

Len Bias and Don Rogers were only the latest public figures to suffer drug-related deaths. In the past two decades, drugs have taken their toll of a wide range of prominent people. Some examples:

David Kennedy, son of the late Senator Robert Kennedy, 1984, cocaine, Demerol and Mellaril.

Ronald Roberts, son of evangelist Oral Roberts, 1982, suicide resulting from drug addiction.

John Belushi, right, comic, 1982, heroin and cocaine.

Louis Jourdan, Jr., son of actor Louis Jourdan, 1981, unprescribed drugs.

Sid Vicious, British rock star who killed a girlfriend, 1979, heroin.

Scott Newman, son of actor Paul Newman, 1978, pills and alcohol.

Elizabeth Anne Moore, sister of TV and movie actress Mary Tyler Moore, 1978, unspecified drugs.

Keith Moon, member of popular British rock group the Who, 1978, combination of drugs.

Jimi Hendrix, rock guitarist of international fame, 1970, heroin.

Janis Joplin, leading female rock vocalist of the 1960s, 1970, heroin.

Judy Garland, singer and actress, 1969, sleeping pills.

Diane Linkletter, television actress and daughter of Art Linkletter, 1969, LSD.

Lenny Bruce, right, iconic comedian noted for his foul language who influenced a generation of comedians, 1966, unspecified narcotics.

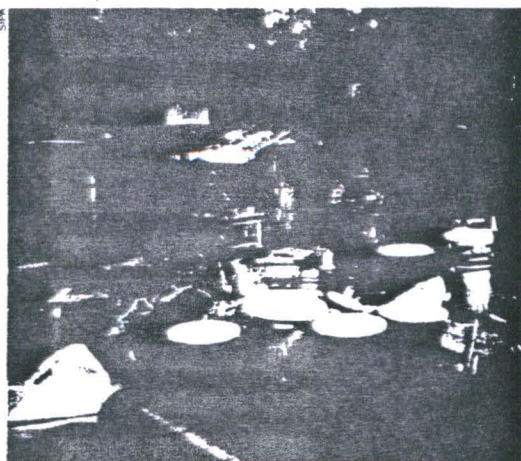
Dorothy Kilgallen, newspaper columnist and TV personality, 1965, barbiturates and alcohol.



AP



■ Barry Word, top, a former football player at the University of Virginia, pleaded guilty on July 29 to conspiring to distribute cocaine. Teammates Kenneth Stadlin, center, and Howard Petty, below, also are charged in what authorities described as a four-state drug-selling ring. Police said Word first used cocaine at parties where "the drug was laid out for the taking."



■ U.S. troops were dispatched to Bolivia in July to join local authorities in raids on cocaine-producing laboratories

This information has been collected by OMB working with agency personnel where possible. It is intended as a discussion document and as such, presents alternatives that an eventual omnibus proposal could include.

GOAL NO. 1: DRUG-FREE WORKPLACES

This goal would be to protect the public and the workforce, and to increase productivity by ensuring that workers in sensitive occupations are clear-minded and free of the effects of illegal drugs. Four major actions would be proposed:

o Establish a drug-free Federal workplace.

Current Efforts

Current government-wide policy requires agencies to provide short-term counseling, and treatment referral services.

Alternative

Horner recommendations.* No cost data available from OPM.

o Encourage states and local governments to develop drug-free workplaces.

Current Efforts

Minimal

Alternative

WH IGA campaign.
DOL promotional campaign.

o Work with government contractors to ensure drug-free workplaces.

Current Efforts

There are no government-wide efforts to work with federal contractors in this regard.

Alternative

The President/Administration could:

* These recommendations were handed out at the July 22 DPC meeting.

2

(1) Direct, through Executive Order, Presidential memoranda, or OFPP Policy Letter, that agencies encourage their contractors to use their "best efforts" to educate their employees in matters of drug abuse, and to screen, detect and treat those employees requiring such treatment.

FY 87 Amendment: 0 (can be accomplished with existing resources)

FY 88 Request: 0

(2) Direct, through Executive Order, Presidential memoranda, or OFPP Policy Letter, that the Federal Acquisition Regulation be amended to require that contractors, as a condition of doing business with the federal government, certify that they have instituted a comprehensive, viable program for ensuring a drug-free environment in their facilities.

FY 87 Amendment: 0 (can be accomplished with existing resources. Contractor costs of establishing these programs would, however, be passed back to the government in the form of higher contract prices.)

FY 88 Request: 0

(3) Using the Affirmative Action Program as a model, seek legislation to (a) require that contractors (at least those whose products have life threatening or national security characteristics) establish comprehensive drug detection, prevention, educational and treatment programs, and (b) establish a program in an

appropriate federal agency with sufficient personnel and funding resources to review and approve contractor drug programs, and once approved, to monitor contractor adherence to those programs.

FY 87 Amendment: 0

FY 88 Request: \$5 M (To fund start-up costs in the appropriate federal agency for implementing the approval and surveillance aspects of the program.)

o Encourage private sector companies to pursue drug-free workplaces.

Current Efforts

Minimal

Alternative

(1) Emphasize employer/union responsibility for prevention of drug-abuse in the workplace in speeches of Secretary Brock and other DOL officials.

(2) Develop letter from Secretary Brock to be sent out to governments, company and union officials using various interest group mailing lists.

(3) Have DOL's Bureau of Labor-Management Relations and Cooperative programs develop state/regional conferences on cooperative worker-management drug control programs, involving public and private employer and employee representatives. Working in conjunction with HHS, provide technical assistance on testing and treatment.

4

These activities would be accomplished
within existing resources.

GOAL NO. 2: DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

This goal would be to have every educational institution drug-free, from grade schools through universities. Four major steps would be explored.

- o Seek to assure that all schools establish a policy of being drug free.

Current Efforts

Speeches by Secretary Bennett calling on college presidents to notify students and parents that schools will be drug free this fall.

Alternative

Booklets distributed by Secretary Bennett to postsecondary, secondary, and elementary school officials encouraging schools to declare goal of becoming drug free.

1987 Amendment:

0 (can be accomplished within existing resources)

1988 Request: 0

- o Inform heads of all educational institutions about the Federal law on distributing drugs in or near schools.

Current Efforts

Rely on existing information networks to make local officials aware of law.

Alternative

Joint letter from Attorney General and Education Secretary to heads of public and private school systems informing them of federal law and penalties regarding distributing drugs on or within 1,000 feet of private or public elementary or secondary schools.

Promotional campaign with brochures and publicity as part of new ED program as discussed below.

1987 Amendment: 0

(can be accomplished within existing resources)

1988 Request: 0

o Develop ways to communicate accurate and credible information on how to achieve a drug-free school.

o Encourage drug abuse problems to be taught as part of a health curriculum.

Current Efforts

Through its Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Program ED supports five regional centers that provide intensive training to teams of school personnel (700 per year) on how to train local personnel in combatting drugs in schools. Over 600 schools are affected each year. Over 33,800 individuals have been trained over the last 12 years.

ED will also be publishing a booklet on drug-free schools in the near future.

1986 Actual: \$3 million

1987 Budget: \$3 million

Alternative

Propose legislation for a new \$100M ED program, program: 20 percent to be reserved for national level activities, to include ED's ongoing activities and new efforts such as development and diffusion of model programs and distribution of pamphlets. Remainder allocated to states and localities for drug abuse prevention activities, including development and purchase of new health textbooks dealing with drug abuse.

1987 Amendment: \$97 million

1988 Request: \$100 million

GOAL NO. 3: EXPAND DRUG TREATMENT

The health dangers posed by drug use are more evident than at any time in recent history, and we need to make appropriate treatment available to those experiencing health damage and addiction. Community-based efforts in three major areas would be considered.

Over the last ten years, a wide variety of approaches to the treatment and prevention of illicit drug use have been implemented across the nation. While many of these programs have been successful in reducing drug abuse in their "target" populations, they have rarely had a significant, lasting impact on overall drug use in a community as a whole. It has become increasingly clear that only integrated, community-wide attack on illicit drug use including prevention, intervention, and treatment activities combining the resources of private, public and voluntary organizations in the community can be effective. Using this approach will create a climate of intolerance to drug use, which alone can bring about a lasting reduction in illicit drug abuse.

o Encourage states to develop and implement programs that treat specific drug-related health problems.

Current Efforts

States are not permitted to use Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant funds for in-patient treatment of drug abusers. Out-patient treatment is permitted, but no data are available, given the nature of the block grant reporting guidelines.

Alternative

Establish an Office for Technical Assistance for Drug Abuse Prevention (TADAP) within the Office of the HHS Secretary. Upon Request of States, TADAP would provide model referral/treatment criteria.

Within the context of a consolidated grant for a SWAT-team like approach to address high drug abuse areas, include a sub-program to assist states in improving or developing treatment referral programs.

While ADAMHA has the facilities to develop a model treatment research center, no intramural research on the treatment of cocaine or heroin dependence is currently being conducted. Extramurally, most treatment research is concentrated on the evaluation of established narcotic treatment techniques, with relatively little research being conducted on the treatment of cocaine or the treatment of narcotic users in conjunction with AIDS risks reduction.

1986 Actual: \$6.6 million
1987 Request: \$8.4 million

The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) conducts research into new and innovative drug abuse treatment techniques.

1986 Actual: \$8 million
1987 Budget: \$9 million

o Accelerate research in health-related areas, including drug testing.

Current Efforts

Expansion of the ARC inpatient treatment research program to conduct research on opiate and cocaine detoxification. Further expansion of extramural research to cocaine and alternatives, to methadone maintenance in the treatment of opiate users. (approximately 20 grants)

1987 Amendment: \$14 million
1988 Budget: \$23.4 million

Expand research into new and innovative drug abuse treatment techniques, including greater emphasis on less-expensive, outpatient modalities. Increase the number of patients in research protocols.

1987 Amendment: \$4 million
1988 Request: \$13 million

Alternative

Conduct pilot studies in 50 laboratories to develop standardized procedures for monitoring

quality control for drug urine testing. Develop a plan to either encourage non-federal organizations to administer the certification process or to establish user fees if certification is conducted by a federal agency.

1987 Amendment: \$1 million
1988 Budget: Privatize or user fee

ADAMHA is currently supporting analytical methods developments for the detection of illicit drugs and their metabolites in body fluids. Current efforts are focused on the analysis of blood and urine samples.

1986 Actual: \$0.9 million
1987 Request: \$1 million

Expand all current efforts to develop sensitive and reliable assays for illicit drugs and their metabolites. Initiate research to investigate and develop alternative assay techniques, such as assays of saliva, which are more likely to be acceptable by society.

1987 Amendment: \$2 million
1988 Budget: \$3.1 million

o Stimulate development of innovative prevention programs.

Current Efforts

ADAMHA sponsors research to determine the efficacy of family-based prevention programming targeted at secondary school populations, programs organized at the work site, and other community level interventions. Prevention research also involves the evaluation of early intervention efforts targeted to pre-adolescent populations located in the school and in community agencies.

1986 Actual: \$2.4 million

Alternative

NIDA will organize a comprehensive program of evaluation of prevention interventions emphasizing the school, the family and the work sites as points of contact, and the pre-adolescent, adolescent, and young adult as the focus of concern. The efforts will involve the evaluation both of efforts to prevent the initiation of drug use and early intervention strategies designed to identify and serve the incipient drug user and his or her family.

1987 Amendment: \$4 million

1987 Request: \$2.5 million

ADAMHA is currently supporting five programs looking at early indicators of mental health problems as well as a limited number of investigations of the influences of the family on illicit drug use and possible genetic bases for illicit drug use.

1986 Actual: \$3.1 million
1987 Request: \$3.3 million

o Support integrated, community-wide demonstration grants to assist communities mobilize their efforts to fight illicit drug use and to determine the efficacy of integrated, community-wide programs.

Current Efforts

Integrated, community-wide illicit drug use prevention, intervention, treatment programs have never been attempted.

1988 Budget: \$6.8 million

Supplement currently funded NIMH grantees to support research on how parents, teachers, and the community can combine to avert the development of drug alcohol problems in high risk children. Expand current extramural research on biological and behavioral bases of illicit drug use with special emphasis on investigations of why some individuals appear "invulnerable" to illicit drug use.

1987 Amendment: \$1.5 million
1988 Budget: \$5 million

Alternative

Support 30 community-wide demonstrations.

1987 Amendment: \$60 million
1988 Budget: \$45 million

GOAL NO. 4: EXPAND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The goal would be to obtain cooperation from every country with which the United States must work in drug enforcement and treatment programs.

The Department of State's International Narcotics Matters Bureau is responsible for the international narcotics control program. The major elements of this program are country programs for crop eradication, drug interdiction, training of foreign personnel for narcotics enforcement, and drug prevention and education. The INM Bureau also contributes to international organizations devoted to suppressing the production, trafficking and abuse of narcotics in major narcotics-producing countries. Over half of the funds provided for the international narcotics program in 1986 (\$60.1 million) were devoted to eradication programs, INM's highest priority. Colombia, Mexico, Burma, and Peru have the largest eradication programs.

Under this program several actions could be taken:

o Recall for consultation U.S. Ambassadors in selected countries that produce illegal drugs or that have national drug problems, and support their anti-narcotics activities.

Inasmuch as INM's program focuses on major narcotics-producing countries, this action would require major increases in the programs activities.

Current Efforts (\$ in millions)

Eradication 37.4
Interdiction 11.4
Education & Training 11.3

Total 60.1

Alternative (\$ in millions)

56.1
17.1
17.0

90.2

o Continue to expand appropriate use of Defense resources to support drug interdiction and destruction of illegal refineries.

Current Efforts (\$ in millions)

40

Alternative (\$ in millions)

60

o Intensify efforts with other nations to stop drug trafficking and money laundering.

Efforts under this heading could be directed to smaller producing countries and/or non-producing countries.

Current Efforts (\$ in millions)

8.5

Alternative (\$ in millions)

12.75

GOAL NO. 5: STRENGTHEN LAW ENFORCEMENT

Strong and visible drug enforcement is needed to cause disruptions in drug trafficking and in trafficking routes. Law enforcement is also needed to create an environment in which health-related programs can advance. Building on the existing drug enforcement effort, the following actions would be emphasized:

- o Expand sharing of knowledge and prestige of law enforcement personnel with those involved in drug prevention programs, particularly with young people.

Current Efforts

FBI and DEA coaches Program \$1 M

No drug prevention training program currently provided for state/local officers at FLETC.

Alternative

+\$3M

Begin Treasury Department (FLETC) training program for street officers +\$150K.

- o Provide prompt and strong punishment by the entire criminal justice system for drug dealers operating close to users.

Current Efforts

Federal efforts are aimed primarily at high-level distributors.

30% of Federal prisoners are drug offenders, few are low level traffickers. Housing them costs \$155 M.

Purchase DEA investigation equipment \$7M.

Alternative

Seek mandatory sentencing for all drug distributors.

Increase drug offenders population by 50% (consisting of low level traffickers) requires +\$39 M for housing, +\$120 M for construction.

Purchase \$7M more equipment.**

Justice grants aimed at drug problems \$16M.

Direct all Justice grant money in 1987 budget to drugs +\$3M.

Encourage states to use unobligated grant funds for drug programs +\$116M.

** Items included in June 18, 1986 Policy Board letter to Congress

o Direct Law Enforcement Coordinating Committees and U.S. Attorneys to prosecute violators of statutes against selling illegal drugs in or near school property.

Current Efforts

Legal Divisions and U.S. Attorney efforts directed at drug prosecutions \$96M

U.S. Marshall support provided for increased prisoner movement and security \$37M

Alternative

+\$6M to double the efforts of attorneys for OCDE task forces and narcotics prosecutions**

+\$3M for additional prisoner movements and security*

o Expedite development of a comprehensive Southwest border initiative to stop illegal drug entry into the U.S.

Current Efforts

Existing DEA intelligence center \$10M

Intelligence Community programs \$12M

Alternative

Install a new All-Source Intelligence Center +\$15M **

Intelligence Community programs +\$12M **

* Items included in President's 1987 Budget.

** Items included in June 18, 1986 Policy Board letter to Congress.

DEA foreign program 320 positions and
\$38M

+40 more DEA foreign agents + \$4M **

No existing FBI computer program

Advanced FBI computer program for inter-
diction +\$9M *

Customs Service high altitude
radar balloon funded for SW border
(not yet in use).

+5 high altitude balloons along SW border
+\$19M/yr. **

Customs Service currently uses FAA and
Air Force radar for tracking smugglers.
\$3M/yr.

Enhanced Customs Service C31 Center along SW
border +\$7M. **

Customs Service currently uses 4
surveillance (P-3A) aircraft \$14M/yr.

Replace with 4 newer longrange surveillance
(E2C) aircraft. \$14M/yr - **

* Items included in President's 1987 Budget.

** Items included in June 18, 1986 Policy Board letter to Congress.

GOAL NO. 6: EXPAND PUBLIC AWARENESS AND PREVENTION

Continued leadership by the President and Mrs. Reagan is vitally needed to achieve more gains in the fight against illegal drugs. Attitudes have changed, awareness has increased, and many people are ready to join in the fight. The President's ongoing efforts would be supported through the following actions.

- o Ask all citizens to join in Mrs. Reagan's drug abuse awareness and prevention campaign.

Current Efforts

ADAMHA supports communities' efforts to form "Just Say No" antidrug abuse clubs to increase parental and school professionals' awareness about the signs of drug abuse, and available treatment/intervention approaches.

Alternative

Continue within existing resources

- o Redouble efforts in all media forms, to stop illegal drugs and to make their use unacceptable in our society.

Current Efforts

Working closely with the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA), the American Association of Advertising Agencies ('4As') is about to embark on a \$500 million media campaign against drug abuse. In addition, ADAMHA has an on-going effort to develop media materials, such as the "Just Say No" campaign, and has just begun a new cocaine campaign -- COCAINE: THE BIG LIE.

Alternative

Continue within existing resources

- o Disseminate accurate and credible information about the health dangers of drug abuse.

Current Efforts

The Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA) has an on-going program of information preparation and dissemination. In 1985, the National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse information answered over 83,000 requests for information and distributed over 3 million publications relating to the "Just Say No" campaign.

1986 Actual: \$5 million
1987 Request: \$5 million

Alternnative

Continue within existing resources

320

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1986

DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

Discussion Paper: Drug Abuse Policy

Issue: What additional drug abuse actions should the Administration take to focus efforts on drug demand?

Background: During the two decades prior to the Administration taking office, the use of illegal drugs in the United States had spread into every segment of our society. Information was lacking, and national programs were focused on one drug - heroin - and on one strategy - supply reduction. Legal, criminal, and moral issues surrounding drug use were confusing to young and old citizens alike. Recognizing this, the President launched a campaign to improve drug law enforcement, strengthen international cooperation, expand drug abuse health functions, reduce drug abuse in the military, and create a nationwide drug abuse awareness effort to strengthen public attitudes against drugs.

The President and Mrs. Reagan have been national and world leaders in fighting drug abuse. The Vice President has coordinated interdiction efforts at our borders, and the Attorney General has directed drug law enforcement policy and activities. The President has carved out the Federal role of providing national leadership and pursuing drug abuse functions which lie beyond the jurisdictions and capabilities of individual states. Federal drug programs have been reoriented to meet specific regional needs, and strong law enforcement actions against drug production and processing laboratories in source countries have increased public awareness of the drug abuse problem.

Mrs. Reagan's leadership and dedication to the youth of America and the world have led to more private sector and government drug abuse awareness and prevention programs and "Just Say No" clubs around the country. The advertising industry, TV networks, high school coaches, the medical profession, the entertainment industry, law enforcement officers and many others have joined in the national effort because of her efforts.

The President's program has been successful, and now is the time to stress that more needs to be done. Compared to 1981, drug use is down in almost all categories. Public attitudes are against the use of illegal drugs and drug awareness is increasing. Drug use and drug problems are front page news, and a new understanding is evident: drug abuse is not a private matter - using illegal drugs is irresponsible behavior - and the costs are paid by all.

Discussion: The time is right to establish a national objective of a 70% reduction in illegal drug use within three years, and to communicate this in a major Presidential address.

The accompanying strategy would consist of six goals toward which government, industry, schools, and the whole American public can aim their efforts. The Domestic Policy Council has discussed various aspects of the six goals, as well as the associated issues and options, to help focus efforts by all of the above institutions on the users of illegal drugs. They are presented below for consideration.

GOAL #1: DRUG-FREE WORKPLACES

This goal would be to protect the public and the workforce, and to increase productivity by ensuring that workers in sensitive occupations are clear-minded and free of the effects of illegal drugs. Four major actions would be proposed:

- o Establish a drug-free Federal workplace.
- o Encourage states and local governments to develop drug-free workplaces.
- o Work with government contractors to ensure drug-free workplaces.
- o Encourage private sector companies to pursue drug-free workplaces.

GOAL #2: DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

This goal would be to have every educational institution drug-free, from grade schools through universities. Four major steps would be explored.

- o Develop ways to communicate accurate and credible information on how to achieve a drug-free school.
- o Seek to make it mandatory that all schools establish a policy of being drug free.
- o Inform heads of all educational institutions about the Federal law on distributing drugs in or near schools.
- o Encourage drug abuse to be taught as part of a health curriculum.

GOAL #3: EXPAND DRUG TREATMENT

The health dangers posed by drug use are more evident than at any time in recent history, and we need to make appropriate treatment available to those experiencing health damage and addiction. Three major actions would be considered.

- o Encourage states to develop and implement programs that treat specific drug-related health problems.
- o Accelerate research in health-related areas, including drug testing.
- o Stimulate development of innovative prevention programs.

GOAL #4: EXPAND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The goal would be to obtain cooperation from every country with which the United States must work in drug enforcement and treatment programs. Several actions would be taken:

- o Recall for consultation U.S. Ambassadors in selected countries that produce illegal drugs or that have national drug problems, and support their anti-narcotics activities.
- o Continue to expand appropriate use of Defense resources to support drug interdiction and destruction of illegal refineries.
- o Intensify efforts with other nations to stop drug trafficking and money laundering.

GOAL #5: COORDINATE LAW ENFORCEMENT

Strong and visible drug law enforcement is needed to cause disruptions in drug trafficking and in trafficking routes. Law enforcement is also needed to create an environment in which health-related programs can advance. Building on the existing drug enforcement effort, the following actions would be emphasized:

- o Expand sharing of knowledge and prestige of law enforcement personnel with those involved in drug prevention programs, particularly with young people.
- o Provide prompt and strong punishment by the entire criminal justice system for drug dealers operating close to users.
- o Direct Law Enforcement Coordinating Committees and U.S. Attorneys to prosecute violators of statutes against selling illegal drugs in or near school property.
- o Expedite development of a comprehensive Southwest border initiative to stop illegal drug entry into the U.S.

GOAL #6: EXPAND PUBLIC AWARENESS AND PREVENTION

Continued leadership by the President and Mrs. Reagan is vitally needed to achieve more gains in the fight against illegal drugs. Attitudes have changed, awareness has increased, and many people are ready to join in the fight. The President's ongoing efforts would be supported through the following actions:

- o Ask all citizens to join in Mrs. Reagan's drug abuse awareness and prevention campaign.
- o Redouble efforts in all media forms, to stop illegal drugs and to make their use unacceptable in our society.
- o Disseminate accurate and credible information about the health dangers of drug abuse.

A public relations/communications plan in support of these goals will be prepared. It would call for involvement by as many members of the Administration as possible.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1986

DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

Discussion Paper: Drug Abuse Policy

Issue: What additional drug abuse actions should the Administration take to focus efforts on drug demand?

Background: During the two decades prior to the Administration taking office, the use of illegal drugs in the United States had spread into every segment of our society. Information was lacking, and national programs were focused on one drug - heroin - and on one strategy - supply reduction. Legal, criminal, and moral issues surrounding drug use were confusing to young and old citizens alike. Recognizing this, the President launched a campaign to improve drug law enforcement, strengthen international cooperation, expand drug abuse health functions, reduce drug abuse in the military, and create a nationwide drug abuse awareness effort to strengthen public attitudes against drugs.

The President and Mrs. Reagan have been national and world leaders in fighting drug abuse. The Vice President has coordinated interdiction efforts at our borders, and the Attorney General has directed drug law enforcement policy and activities. The President has carved out the Federal role of providing national leadership and pursuing drug abuse functions which lie beyond the jurisdictions and capabilities of individual states. Federal drug programs have been reoriented to meet specific regional needs, and strong law enforcement actions against drug production and processing laboratories in source countries have increased public awareness of the drug abuse problem.

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THIRD DPC MEETING ON DRUG ABUSE POLICY
July 24, 1986

- o President has asked that we move ahead on drugs.
- o Described National Strategy - 1984.
- o Discussion paper on goals.
 - Discussion on pros and cons of 70 percent.
 - Concern - is 67 percent a failure.
 - 50 percent reasonably attainable in next three years.
- o Six Goals.
 - Drug free workplaces.
 - Drug free schools.
 - Drug treatment.
 - Number of treatment facilities inadequate.
 - Federal government involvement in treatment.
 - Suggest not layon to States without Federal funds.
 - International cooperation.
 - Law enforcement.
 - Awareness and prevention.
 - Should stress successes.
- o Decision Memorandum for the President.
- o Funding.
 - Need to begin cost/benefit analysis.
 - Dick Williams coordinates.
 - We may be using wrong term.
 - Important to prioritize expenditures.
 - Where do we get biggest reductions.
 - DPC must work hard on these issues.
 - President will have to decide.

SECOND DPC MEETING ON DRUG ABUSE POLICY
July 22, 1986

- o Reviewed military accomplishments.
- o Safety/Productivity.
 - DOD contractors to have a drug-free workplace.
- o Law Enforcement.
 - Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee.
 - SW Border initiative.
- o Need biggest buy for dollar.
- o Protect individuals' rights.
- o Federal role important.
 - Must avoid laying down rules and regulations for private employers.
 - Employers make choices about testing.
 - Treat DOD contractors like other employers.
 - Don't move to a morass of regulations that restrict private industry.
- o Must mobilize entire Cabinet.
 - Turn constituent groups on.
 - Motivate through town halls.
 - This should be a top Administration priority.
- o Irrespective of philosophy - health, welfare, safety cry out for attention.
 - Drug abusers cannot make own decisions.
 - Drug abusers cost government services.
 - Increased morbidity.
 - Younger users of cocaine, crack.
 - Balanced program with more focus on demand.

- o Private sector ahead - 25 percent have testing programs.
 - Vital to do cost effective ranking.
- o Schools without Drugs Act.
 - Money for schools to cooperate.
 - \$100 million estimate.
- o Democrats throwing dollars.
- o Horner paper.
 - Propose legislation to remove drug abuse as handicap.
 - Must ask applicants about drug use.
 - Laying grounds for dismissal.
 - Issue guidance for drug screening.
 - Change adverse actions regulations to mandate termination for second use.
 - Opportunity period for rehabilitation.
 - Increased coverage in FEHB.
 - Upgrade EAP government-wide.
 - PR campaign.
 - Regulations on rehabilitation.
 - Collect data on productivity losses
 - QC standards.
 - Doesn't want the President to be seen as thinking all employees are on drugs.
- o State of art in testing.
 - Certify laboratories.
 - Reliability accuracy on testing programs - guidelines.
- o Legal issues.
 - 4th Amendment.
 - Urine sampling is search and seizure.

- Government employees in sensitive positions could be tested.
- Iowa prison guards tests struck down.
- Should leave off "all employees" and let department heads have discretion.
- Question - whether intrusive nature of privacy is violated.
- Courts rulings on sensitive occupations.
- Link of drug abuse to impairment.
- Need for legislation/possible courts action.
- o Workplace - we should talk to unions.
 - Should pre-sell to leaders to reduce tension.
- o Schools are emerging cohort.
- o A Political big deal today
 - Finally discovered by Newsweek.
 - Congress using as a political issue.
- o Next steps.
 - Do cost benefit analysis.
 - Packaging of proposals.
 - Get ready for the President.
 - Need strategy.
 - Communicate strategy.
 - Incidence of problem and change.
 - Watch costs.
 - Watch regulations.

FIRST MEETING OF DPC ON DRUG ABUSE POLICY
July 15, 1986

- o Focus of drug prevention efforts on drug users.
- o Drug abuse efforts by the President since 1981.
 - Cooperation with international organizations and leaders.
 - First Lady's awareness and prevention campaign.
 - Research and development.
 - Interdiction programs.
 - Detoxication efforts.
- o Charts on changes in marijuana usage.
- o Worst influences on drug users.
- o Cocaine-related emergency room visits and deaths.
- o 67 percent reductions of drug use in the military.
- o IBM and other private industry drug testing and urinalysis programs.
- o First response by individuals is opposition to drug programs, but following implementation they change behavior to accept and embrace these programs.
- o Secretary Bowen committed his department to the development and certification of testing procedures.
- o Proposed goal of drug-free schools.
 - Promulgating accurate and credible information on how to achieve a drug-free school.
 - A booklet is being prepared on model school programs.
 - School administrators, parents, and the entire community should play a major role.
 - The issue of making it mandatory that all schools have a policy of being drug-free, Secretary Bennett felt some authority now exists to encourage this, but additional authority might have to be prescribed through legislation.
 - If we propose legislation, we might be able to measure Congressional sincerity.
 - We should inform the heads of institutions about the laws regarding distributing drugs near public or private schools.
 - We must include drug abuse in health curricula.

- o Mr. Bowen discussed the health proposals.
 - We need programs for assisting states in addressing the special health problems of intravenous drug users.
 - Discussion ensued on fundamental and constitutional issues associated with identifying drug users and forcing them into treatment.
 - IV users and their connection to AIDS transmission.
 - These people are more likely to contribute to the AIDS problem.
 - In some instances we may not want the Federal government to fund programs.
 - We must have solid grounds before proceeding.
 - Legislation would be preferred.
 - There should be no constitutional problem or deprivation of liberties.
 - States can and do require testing and treatment now.
 - We should try to increase the accuracy of tests, and do more research and development on herbicides that would be used for eradication programs.
- o Large number of young people in the drug susceptibility age.
 - Those who must rely on Federal employees, whether on airplanes or railroads, deserve to be served by drug-free Federal workers.
 - Look at research on drug-related accidents.
- o Providing seed money for promising initiatives.
- o The Council discussed safety/productivity issues.
 - Preemployment screening of applicants for Federal jobs.
 - There is a need to control drug use by Federal employees.
 - There are a number of occasions when screening should be done.
 - If we go with a government-wide initiative, we could be undermining the authority of Cabinet members, and could provide political opportunity to those who oppose our programs.

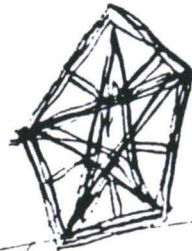
- Federal government is more drug-free than the total work force.
- We should differentiate between current employees and job applicants.
- We have a right to say to job applicants that we do not want drug users.
- Treasury Department's approach of negotiating with unions has resulted in a program for testing employees in sensitive jobs.
- The way to a drug testing program is to sell it to employees and employee groups.
- Testing for sensitive occupations would likely be okay, but testing for other people could result in 4th Amendment violations.



Office of the Director

UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20415

July 18, 1986



MEMORANDUM FOR:

EDWIN MEESE III
ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

CONSTANCE HORNER
DIRECTOR

SUBJECT:

OPM DISCUSSION PAPER
ON SUBSTANCE DRUG POLICY

A General Approach to Policy

The operating principle in a new Federal substance abuse policy has been well articulated in the Organized Crime Commission's report. Policies should be framed that express the "utter unacceptability" of illegal drug use in the Federal workplace.

The principle of "utter unacceptability" can be operationalized a variety of ways beyond "suitable" testing for certain types of high-risk jobs: rehabilitation, education, illegal drug use prevention programs, employee assistance programs, public relations, revised security and suitability inquiries and the invocation of adverse action procedures for illegal drug users.

*Compassion out
Goal of Fed. Workplace*

Constance Horner

Enthusiasm about it

Strong counter

*Community of caring
Feds don't let
friends drive drunk*

*Pre-see
Meece
Helpful to talk to
Labor leaders
of take from
approach
Damon - Reviewer already sent
Make Strategy - cost effective
missing: per group*

Any Federal substance abuse policy must be grounded in the distinction between Federal applicants and Federal employees. In pursuing a goal of a safe, healthful, drug-free workplace, we should seek to prevent the entry of users of illegal narcotics into the Federal workforce while simultaneously continuing a rehabilitational program for on-board employees. But, if on-board employees who use drugs illegally, test "positive" a second time, resist rehabilitation, or otherwise undermine the efficiency of the service, adverse action should be invoked, including dismissal.

There are no uniform, Governmentwide policies and standards encompassing various measures, such as drug testing, to exclude drug abusers from the Federal workplace. There is no systematic and uniform program of screening applicants for certain types of jobs Governmentwide, nor for testing employees in those areas. There is a Governmentwide policy geared toward rehabilitating drug and alcohol abusers once they are found in the workplace.

The following specific proposals are tentative, submitted for deliberation and further discussion and appropriate refinement. They are an attempt to provide a program of narcotics prevention, in consonance with the "utter unacceptability" criteria, as well as a program of rehabilitation.

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Suggested OPM Proposals

Recommendation No. 1: Propose Legislative changes to make current
illegal drug use an absolute disqualifier for entry into Federal
employment and a basis for termination, regardless of a claimed
"handicapping" condition or effect on job performance. First, add a new
section to Title V: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, an
individual who uses illegal narcotics or drugs without a prescription
may not be employed in the competitive service." Second, amend the
Rehabilitation Act to exclude illegal drug users as a category to be
included among those who are deemed to be "handicapped" and strike the
nexus between job performance and illegal drug usage.

Rationale: The President's Commission proposes the issuance of
policy guidance that would communicate the "utter unacceptability" of
illegal drug use in the workplace. At the same time, Federal law
forbids the deprivation of Federal employment to any person solely on
the grounds of prior drug abuse. The object of current law is
rehabilitative. While the rehabilitative spirit of current law is
laudable, the public has a right to expect not only the highest level of
performance and productivity on the part of Federal applicants, but also
their devotion to the laws of the country.

While there is no requirement to hire current drug abusers, and they are normally excluded under OPM "suitability" criteria, such applicants and employees can claim to be handicapped and come under the protective language of the Rehabilitation Act. It then becomes the taxpayers' duty to accommodate a disabling condition brought on by an illegal personal vice. The Federal government is forbidden to discriminate against the handicapped in hiring.

OPM should seek the removal of the "handicapped" protection from illegal drug users because such use is, after all, illegal and, moreover, it is a voluntary act. Those who persistently and voluntarily engage in illegal acts should not be permitted to enter or remain in the Federal workforce. They should be permitted re-entry only after demonstrated rehabilitation. Because of the legal status of alcohol consumption, the traditional nexus between alcoholism or alcohol abuse and performance criteria and its designation as a "handicapping condition" would be retained.

Section 7352 of Title V declares: "An individual who habitually uses intoxicating beverages to excess may not be employed in the competitive service." The same bar to employment should be imposed on drug abuse, with a clarification that current illegal drug use will not be considered a "handicapping condition" nor an absolute bar to future

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Federal employment. The enactment of such provisions will send a strong, clear message to the general public that drug abuse and Federal employment are incompatible.

Recommendation No.2: Inquire into Applicants' Past and Current Illicit Drug Usage on the SF-85 and SF-86, the Standard Suitability and Security Forms, as a means of deterring the hiring of current illegal drug users and providing appropriate information regarding past use for evaluation for security clearance.

Rationale: Just as with the habitual or excessive use of alcohol, the illegal use of narcotics, drugs or other controlled substances is potentially disqualifying for Federal employment under 5 CFR 731.202(b) (6). Despite the fact that illegal drug use is a major national problem, costing approximately \$100 billion in lost productivity each year, OPM currently does not even require a written response about the use of illicit narcotics among Federal applicants. As a first step in the prevention of the use of illicit narcotics in the Federal workplace, OPM should inquire into past, recent and current drug use or alcohol abuse on the part of applicants for Federal positions, on the SF-85 and the SF-86, i.e., forms for both sensitive and non-sensitive positions.

The questions can serve several purposes for Federal investigators and examiners in determining general fitness or access to classified

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll

July 14-15 1986

Sample = 1600

77% believe cocaine is a widespread problem among high school students.

83% " " " " " " " college students.

79% " " " " " " " college athletes.

82% " " " " " " " among professional athletes

Question: Some sports officials have urged that professional athletes be tested without notice for cocaine use. Critics say such random testing is an invasion of the athletes privacy. Do you think there should be random testing for cocaine use among professional athletes, or do you think such testing is an invasion of their privacy?

73% said they should be tested.

23% said that such tests were an invasion of privacy.

4% were not sure.



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

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3 July 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: EDWIN MEESE III *EM*
SUBJECT: Administration Drug Control Program

As we discussed yesterday, I believe it is very important that we have a comprehensive, Administration-wide drug control effort that includes both the "supply side" (law enforcement) approach and the "demand side" (prevention, education and health) approach.

This topic has been discussed with Carlton Turner and Dick Wirthlin, both of whom agree that a major Administration initiative, including participation by the President, is highly desirable. It is important that we build upon past accomplishments and successes and that we expand the effort in a way that includes the Private Sector.

The organizational framework for this effort already exists with a Cabinet-level board (the National Drug Enforcement Policy Board), an enforcement coordinating group, and the potential for a health and prevention coordinating group (which ideally would be chaired by Carlton Turner).

As you suggested, the private sector effort could be organized by the Office of Public Liaison, in accordance with normal White House practice, with a strong liaison relationship with the health and prevention coordinating group. To explore the possibilities and develop a definitive plan of action, I would recommend that the following meetings be set up as soon as possible:

- (1) A Domestic Policy Council meeting with the President to present the current state of drug education, prevention and treatment activities within the federal government; this meeting should be set up as soon as possible on or after 9 July.

- (2) An informal meeting with the President, members of the Cabinet, and White House staff, in which Peter Ueberroth, Tom Korologos and Dick Wirthlin would be invited to present their ideas. All three of these people have done considerable thinking on private sector involvement, as well as Administration participation, in a major drug abuse effort.
- (3) A Cabinet meeting at which a comprehensive drug control plan would be presented by Carlton Turner, representatives of the National Drug Enforcement Policy Board, other White House staff members, etc.

If these three meetings could be completed by the end of July, we could utilize the month of August for preparation and have a kick-off for this program in September, just as schools and colleges resume for the Fall semester.

Needless to say, the principal success of the Administration in drug abuse prevention and education has been the outstanding work done by Nancy Reagan, both within the United States and internationally. The program we are contemplating would in no way conflict with or duplicate those efforts, which would continue to expand. Rather, the additional activities would complement the First Lady's program in the law enforcement, education and health areas as well as devote attention to the problem of drugs in the workplace, which should be a major focus of the new private sector activity.

The above ideas are obviously tentative, and I would be happy to discuss them with you and other members of the White House staff.

cc: Dr. Carlton Turner