Nixon Legacy Forum Transcript:

No Final Victories
Lessons from President Nixon's Drug Abuse Initiatives

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Panelists:
John Coleman, 33 year career officer with Federal Bureau of Narcotics, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and the Drug Enforcement Administration (1965-98)
Jeffrey Donfeld, Staff Assistant, White House Domestic Council (1969-71), Assistant Director, Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention (1972-73)
Dr. Robert DuPont, Founding Administrator, Narcotics Treatment Administration (1970-73), Director, White House Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention (1973-75), First Director, National Institute on Drug Abuse (1973-78)
Geoff Shepard, *Moderator*, White House Fellow (1969-70), Associate Director, White House Domestic Council (1970-74)

David Ferriero: I'm David Ferriero, the Archivist of the United States and it's a pleasure to welcome you here for another of the Nixon Legacy Forums that we co-sponsor with the Richard Nixon Foundation. Welcome to those of you who are attending in person here at the William G. McGowan Theater at the National Archives Building in Washington D.C. and also those of you who are joining us on our YouTube channel. And a special welcome to our C-SPAN viewers this morning.

We started doing these in 2010 and have now put on over three dozen of such programs which feature in-depth discussions of various public policy initiatives undertaken by the Nixon administration. Documents concerning these initiatives are housed in the archives kept at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, California. But these programs add are the insights and explanations of the discussions and debates behind those documents by the very people who created them, which can provide unique insights into the policy development and implementation process utilized by President Nixon. What we are adding today is the ability to electronically retrieve relevant documents from the Nixon Library Archives, which will be posted on our website at the same time as the video of today's presentation. We're most pleased to be working with the Nixon Foundation to make this combination of documents and their authors available to future researchers and scholars.

Today's presentation is entitled "No Final Victories: Lessons from President Nixon's Drug Abuse Initiatives," and we're going to hear from several people from both the treatment and law enforcement sides who were involved in responses of the Nixon administration to the spread of heroin addiction in

our inner cities in the late 1960s. The essence of the issue, heroin has been a scourge to society ever since it was first developed as a treatment for morphine addiction by Bayer in 1898. The Nixon administration initiatives really have heroin addiction on the run when we lost focus or our opioids a continuing threat that can never be eliminated.

Please let me introduce our moderator of today's forum, Geoff Shepard. Geoff joined the Nixon administration as a White House Fellow in 1969 and then served for five years as President Nixon's White House Domestic Council. Geoff.

Geoff Shepard: David, thank you. Good to be here, and welcome to all of you. As David said, this is probably our 38th Nixon Legacy Forum and it provides a wonderful opportunity, wonderful partnership between National Archives and the Richard Nixon Foundation to help the effort at future research by Presidential Scholars into looking at what papers are at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, and by these programs through hearing from the people that helped draft those papers. So you get the ability to actually get new insights into what happened, our favorite analogy is to the Civil War. The archives has extensive records of what happened in the Civil War but nobody sat down with General Grant and said, "Well, why did you do this? What was your thinking?" And what we're able to do with the support from the Nixon Foundation and from the National Archives is to go behind the documents and talk about the whys and the wherefores of what we did.

Today's program is on President Nixon's drug abuse initiatives, and those of us that worked in that area believe that we made dramatic progress against a particular sort of heroin addiction which was crippling the inner cities. And we're gonna talk about how that came about and what we did and how that may have been lost when the focus moved on to other things. So what I'm gonna do is sit and have our panelists introduce themselves and tell you where they were when President Nixon was inaugurated and how they became involved in the drug abuse issue. And we'll start with Jeff Donfeld. Jeff.

Jeff Donfeld: I graduated law school from Berkeley in 1968, but during the summer of 1967, I was a clerk at the Nixon Law Firm in New York and that's ultimately what led to my being hired at the White House. I joined the White House staff in early 1969 and worked first for Bud Wilkinson, famous Oklahoma football coach. Bud had a vast portfolio of obligations, one of which was drug abuse. When I came to his staff he said, "What would you like to do?" And I felt that drug abuse was an area in which I knew nothing about but I felt that I could make a contribution to the well-being of America if I could figure out what the issues were and how it might be approached. It

turned out that as a result of research which I was able to do primarily by traveling around the country including visiting Dr. DuPont's program in Washington D.C., Dr. Benny Primm in New York, Dr. Dolz and Nicewander in New York, and primarily Dr. Jerome Jaffe in Chicago. Jerry was the head of the Illinois drug abuse program. I visited therapeutic communities. I visited methadone maintenance communities. And the only folks in the treatment arena who had data on recidivism were the folks who were dealing with methadone. When I would ask the...

Geoff Shepard: Right, you're getting way ahead of us. You're going to give our whole program away, and we're just introducing ourselves.

Jeff Donfeld: Okay.

Geoff Shepard: So, I'm gonna stop you. Jeff and I are very, very good friends. He can't spell his name but we're very good friends. He's the policy guy at the White House on drug treatment. And then we go to Bob DuPont. Bob, where were you when Nixon was elected and how did you become involved in this?

Robert DuPont: Well, my life changed when Richard Nixon was inaugurated in a dramatic way and let me go back before that, how I got to that point where my life changed so dramatically. I graduated from Emory College in Atlanta in 1958 and from Harvard Medical School in 1963. I did my psychiatric training at Harvard and then came to NIH for research training. And when I finished that time at the age of 32, it was time for me to find my first job. But until that time, I had been in training. And one day a week during my residency, I'd work at the state prison in Massachusetts, the Norfolk prison, which was distinguished as the place where Malcolm X served six years, and I really fell in love with the prisoners and the prisons as a career path. And I thought, "I really care about these people. I want to help them. I wanna make a career in this area and find some way to use my medical knowledge to do something about that." So, come my time when I finished my training July 1st of 1968, which is very important time for what we're talking about, I went to work for the District of Columbia Department of Corrections.

Now to understand what's happened next, you have to understand that at the time, Washington D.C. was a federal city. The mayor had just been appointed by Lyndon Johnson, Walter Washington, and the city was run by the federal government and the president was in charge of what was going on here. So, in that context, I am a lifelong Democrat, I was then, I am now. And when Richard Nixon was elected, I thought my life was coming to an end. I had lots of ideas for reforms, and in Corrections mostly having to

do with alternatives to incarceration and use of medical treatments. And I thought, "Well, this is over." And everybody expected Richard Nixon was gonna not reappoint Walter Washington as the mayor. And when Nixon came in and reappointed Walter Washington, it changed the whole climate in the District of Columbia in terms of opening up possibilities. What I found was once Nixon was there, was all of my reform ideas that I had in mind which has languished under Lyndon Johnson were suddenly interesting. And by May of '69, my first correctional reform programs were funded. You can't imagine how fast the federal government moved under those circumstances. And that is, I say, changed my life. What really changed...

Geoff Shepard: I'm gonna stop you. I'm gonna stop you right there.

Robert DuPont: All right, that's good. That gets you started.

Geoff Shepard: Your life has changed. We're very eager to tell our story. These are good idealistic people, young people coming to Washington. And then we get to John Coleman.

John Coleman: Thank you very much, Geoff. I'm very honored to be here today on this panel. I graduated from college in New York. I own a college in 1964. And a year later, I joined the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in New York. And my boss found out that I have taken some postgraduate courses in French literature and that qualified me to work on the French Connection cases in New York at the time. And eventually, in 1969 when an opening occurred in Paris for a narcotics attache, I applied and was selected. And in the fall of 1969, in September, I arrived in Paris and I was in a station in France for over three and a half years, and that's where I was the day when President Nixon was inaugurated.

Geoff Shepard: So John learned not to go on too long. Otherwise, he tastes the whip. Normally I just moderate and I don't really get involved but I was also involved in drug abuse at the Nixon White House on the law enforcement side. I joined the Domestic Council in 1970 and my public policy beat was law and order, crime and drugs. But what you have here is four people, two of whom are young lawyers that are working on policy development and effectuation, and two people who are career experts. Jeff and Bob are on the treatment side, John and I are on the law enforcement side, but we come from different aspects. So, what we're gonna do is go through the development of President Nixon's attitudes and initiatives in drug abuse, and each of these people is going to add as we go through because the development may be everything in the story of Nixon's drug abuse initiatives.

So let me go to our first exhibit. And this is these are all papers that you would find at the National Archives. This is from the 1968 campaign, and this was a booklet called "Nixon on the Issues" that was compiled by Annalise and Marty Anderson, who did domestic affairs for President Nixon during the campaign. And what they were asked to do was demonstrate that Nixon had made substantive statements about different policy initiatives. And what we were able to find was he did speak to the drug abuse issue and we've highlighted the first and the fourth statements only to show that from the very outset, Nixon is talking about drug abuse as a law enforcement issue always first, but treatment is always there. He doesn't lead with treatment but treatment is always a part of Nixon's approach to drug abuse. And just to remind you, in case you weren't around in 1968, President Nixon's campaign had two principal themes, end the war with honor and restore law and order. And the drug abuse part comes in over the latter but the lead was law enforcement.

And then we go to President Nixon's special message to the Congress, and this is July 14th. He's been president for six months and he submits a message to the Congress divided into ten principal areas where he wants initiatives and reforms. And if you're looking for the origins of what he wanted to do on drug abuse or what his staff was helping him to do on drug abuse, this is the key document. We will keep going but from the very outset, he's talking and including drug abuse as an important situation. And then we came across this memo from Daniel Moynihan. Professor Moynihan was the original assistant to the president for urban affairs and he dabbled in everything. I mean Pat was an absolute delight. And we came across a memorandum that he wrote to John Mitchell who was Attorney General and there's a highlighted part that says, "You know we could interdict the smuggling of heroin and make a huge difference." Jeff, you have some memory of that.

Jeff Donfeld: Well, one of the comments that Dr. Moynihan makes is that if we attacked the problem, we can solve the heroin addiction problem in the United States between 12 and 24 months. That was...

Geoff Shepard: Just disrupt the supply chain for the next problem.

Jeff Donfeld: That would end it as we look back on history that obviously was not a correct perception.

Geoff Shepard: But the idea of going in and trying to disrupt the supply chain at its source or the French part is not an irrational approach, it was just his timing.

Jeff Donfeld: Well, it was two-prong, and I'll let John Coleman talk to this more specifically, but it was both Turkey, the source of the opium, and then France for the laboratories.

Geoff Shepard: And we should have John go into this. John had enough sense not to go into it in his introduction so he wouldn't get cut off. But this is his moment because he was heavily involved in the French Connection.

John Coleman: Now, with Dr. Moynihan went to a number of BNDD offices throughout Middle East and Europe and visited Turkey and saw firsthand the growing of the opium poppies in Turkey, and then visited France and talked with the agents in the embassy as well as some of the other embassy personnel about some of the diplomatic initiatives that might be undertaken, because at the time, we're talking about now 1969-1970, 85% of the heroin available in the United States being consumed in the United States, 85% was made in laboratories, clandestine laboratories in southern France. And it was made from opium produced in Turkey or morphine base, which is a refined form of the opium. It's an intermediary stage between opium and heroin but it has a one-to-one consistency with heroin, so it's easier to smuggle. And he realized the importance of controlling the international traffic if you're going to stop the importation of heroin to the United States. And so I think that was key in his recommendations to the Attorney General. Dr. Moynihan's recommendations were to increase our diplomatic efforts, increase our operations overseas, and increase the global pressure on the producing nations, particularly Turkey, to get out of the opium business.

Geoff Shepard: This wasn't a bolt out of the blue that nobody had thought of before. What's different is this is the assistant to the president...

John Coleman: Exactly.

Geoff Shepard: ...same to the newly installed Attorney General. Let's put some muscle behind this.

John Coleman: Exactly.

Geoff Shepard: I think we'd benefit, John, from just describing for the audience the track. Poppies are grown in Turkey, they ooze gum, that you score the pod, the gum oozes out overnight, you scrape the gum off, very labor-intensive, and that becomes gum opium. And how does it get from there to France to where we are?

John Coleman: Well, about 10% of the raw materials in France consisted of opium, raw opium, but that was very cheap because, as Jeff said, it was

produced by the opium pod, scraped off the pod at night or whatever, and solidified into some sort of a ball like half a kilo or a kilo package, and then shipped off to France for the laboratories. But they found out early in the game that it would be a lot easier and they would make more money if they could convert it to morphine base. Natural opium has, particularly Turkish opium or Persian opium, has a morphine content of about 10% but if you turn that into morphine base by a chemical process, you got the morphine base, the finished base now has a morphine content sometimes exceeding 90%. And then when that's turned into heroin, the heroin will have a final percentage purity of between 90% and 95%, sometimes reaching over 95%. And so by being able to smuggle morphine base as opposed to opium, there's a 10 to 1 volume ratio. So, for every 10 kilos of opium, they could make one kilo of morphine base.

Geoff Shepard: So when they have heroin in the South of France, how does it show up over here?

John Coleman: Well, that was a very complex and difficult challenge for the BNDD at the time because we knew that French heroin was reaching New York because New York was the hub for the entire United States, not just East Coast but as far west as California in some cases. And so, the mystery was how was the heroin getting from the laboratories in southern France into New York City where it would be controlled by the Mafia mostly at the first turnover from the French connections. And it turns out that there were a group of...there was a group of French expatriates, these are French criminals, people wanted for crimes in France, going back as far as the French-Indochina war, and some of these people were living in Brazil, in southern Brazil. And the Brazilian authorities wanted them out of the country because they were creating problems in Brazil.

And so the Brazilian authorities worked very closely with the United States, with the BNDD people, and they were deported to France, in one case deported to Italy because he was Italian. But there were no direct flights between Brazil at the time and Europe, so they had to come through the United States and when they came through the United States they were captured and, in most cases, rather than go back to France where several of them were sentenced in absentia to one was death although the death penalty had been cancelled since he had been sentenced to death, they would basically be facing life in prison. Rather than do that, they agreed to cooperate. And so, they basically turned over everything they knew about the investigations and it turned out that they were the conduit, they were the link between the sources in southern France and the Italian mafia groups in New York that were importing the heroin.

Geoff Shepard: And in the movie called "The French Connection," it's in the floor plates, the door jambs of a Jaguar, as I recall.

John Coleman: Exactly.

Geoff Shepard: But it's a typical smuggling, it just happens to be heroin, and it could have been diamonds.

John Coleman: Exactly. And by the way, "The French Connection" movie was a wonderful movie based on the book by Robin Moore, but it was actually a compilation of different vignettes from different cases. There wasn't a single French connection case per se, and all of the vignettes in the production, in the movie occurred, but they occurred in different cases. And yes, cars were very popular smuggling instruments from the French because back in those days, we had a number of transatlantic vessels traveling between New York and Europe. There were Italian vessels, French, Swedish, Scandinavian, British, etc., and these vessels were ideal places to place things like personal cargo, automobiles but the problem was even though we were able to, at times, get the drugs by seizing the automobiles, the people who accompanied them were what we called mules, they really didn't know very much about the organization other than they were hired to simply accompany a car. And so, even if they cooperated, they were unable to tell us very much. And it wasn't until we got those people out of Brazil that we were able to put the pieces together in this puzzle and link up the Italian mafia people in New York with...

Geoff Shepard: And just to remind our audience, you got started because you were in New York working for the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and you started working on the French Connection cases, and you did such a good job, they sent you to France.

John Coleman: Well, thank you very much for the compliment, but yeah, I had a, you know, a very good familiarity with the cases and that helped get to France.

Geoff Shepard: Super. Well, we'll go on. This is President Nixon at a meeting in the Cabinet Room with the bipartisan congressional leadership, and they're talking about drug abuse control and treatment issues. And again, this is in the first year of his administration. So, he's sent the message to Congress and then he invites the leadership up to the Cabinet Room to talk about the importance and the desire. These people, in a nice way, are being lobbied to pass legislation. It takes a little over a year and a half to actually get the legislation but they're working very hard. Nixon's devoting personal time and attention to moving this along.

Now we were able to spot Bud Krogh in the back of the picture, right? That's him there, in the far-right corner. Bud's not able to be with us today but Jeff and I both worked for Bud, and in the minds of people who look for the origins of the staffing of President Nixon on the drug abuse issue, that's Bud's job, and we were mere helpers at the time.

Jeff Donfeld: Correct.

Geoff Shepard: Talented helpers. This is an interesting shot because none of us are in this shot. This is the President Nixon saying hi to the president of France, welcoming him in the Rose Garden with Secretary of State Bill Rogers looking on, and John has a story about this.

John Coleman: Yeah, this was a very interesting meeting because at the time, there was a lot of growing pressure in the United States on France to do something about the heroin traffic. There were several French restaurants including one in Washington D.C. that advertised they were refusing to serve French wine until France did something about the heroin problem. "The Daily News" in New York was running a daily tally of overdose deaths, etc., much like they had done during the Vietnam War. And so, there was a good deal of pressure on France to do something. And so when President Pompidou came to the White House to visit President Nixon, he was not prepared to have the president basically place upon him this tremendous responsibility of getting his country out of the heroin business that was damaging the United States so much. And again, I was in Paris at the time but I was working with the police, and I recall very clearly that when President Pompidou returned from his visit to the White House, the message came down through the Ministry of Interior to the police that they had to step up their operations and they had to really get serious about the heroin labs in southern France, and my colleagues, the police officers I worked with on a daily basis told me, "We don't know what your president said to our president but whatever it was, he's lit a fire under us and we've gotta go to work down, close these places down."

And that precipitated a lot of initiatives between the French and the Americans. And of course, Mr. Krogh from the White House came over, and that was the beginning of a project that was called the Franco-American Committee. I believe it eventually became known as the Franco-American Commission, but it was started as a committee. And basically what it was was a sort of a bilateral agreement between France and the United States to not just share information about drug cases or drug matters but to allow the officers of the French police to open an office in New York, for example, which they did, and to allow the BNDD officers, such as myself in Paris and

the ones we had in Marseilles to work jointly with the French police doing things that were, let us say, a little bit out of the normal course of events in French policing. For example, in the United States, we, in BNDD, very often used techniques like undercover buys, using informants. The nature of the narcotics crime was one where you never had a complainant as you might have in a property crime or a personal crime. And so, you have to have a way of getting into these organizations, and one very effective way was using informants to give you the information about what was going on and wiretaps and things like this.

In France, like, they had under the Napoleonic Code law system in France, which actually was in most of Europe. Informants were not allowed, at least not allowed to participate in the cases as they were in the U.S. They couldn't pay them, for example, for their information. And undercover buyers were completely out of the picture because that would be a crime in itself to actually precipitate a buy. And so, these techniques that were very common in the United States and very effective, were unknown in France. But the French police had a great interest in this. And so this Franco-American Committee that was set up by Mr. Krogh and his assistants was very effective in creating an atmosphere in which there could be cross-training. For example, rather than we Americans telling the French, "You don't know what you're doing" or the French telling we Americans, "You don't know what you're doing" in our country, we could actually have training sessions, formal training sessions at the police academy in which we would explain the legal basis for how we work and how best to work. And the French learned a great deal from us and we learned a great deal from them on all of this.

Geoff Shepard: We're almost exporting our law enforcement approach to a completely different culture.

John Coleman: Right.

Geoff Shepard: They have a common interest in stopping this but they don't use our ways.

John Coleman: Precisely. And this committee that I talked about had two levels. One was an executive committee level, which was made up of the principals, the Minister of Interior for France, a man by the name of Raymond Marcellin who spoke flawless English and really liked, I think, our country, our president, and our people, and of course, John Mitchell who was Mr. Nixon's, the President Nixon's Attorney General. And so they got along very, very well. They signed the agreements and the formal group would meet once or twice a year, once in France and once in the United States, one back in France and in the United States. They would meet to discuss

bilateral issues that were given to them by the working group. We were part of the working group because we were the police. And so we knew, for example, that if there are any obstacles in our relationships, they would be communicated up to the principals and that neither one of us, neither one of the working groups, whether it was the France police or the BNDD agents wanted to give our bosses a problem that they would have to resolve at the executive level. And so, we made sure that we work together very well so that everything was looking well up on top. So it was a brilliant plan and project.

Geoff Shepard: So what do you have, I think, fairly is in the first year of the Nixon administration, you have more direct involvement and photographic evidence of law enforcement. He alludes to treatment, but treatment's not leading in the first year. But watch as we go through this panel, watch how this changes. This is why we do these panels because this stuff is fascinating.

Robert DuPont: Well, I wanna talk about that first year.

Geoff Shepard: Sure.

Robert DuPont: You're going on past that now.

Geoff Shepard: I am.

Robert DuPont: So, I'm wanna go back to this and what happened. President Nixon or Richard Nixon ran on a campaign of law and order. Drugs was part of that in terms of the social disruption that was going on in 1968, but drugs during that campaign meant LSD and marijuana, it did not mean heroin, and it had to do with the social chaos that was associated with the drug problem during that campaign. Then, when Nixon ran against the crime, he called Washington the Crime Capital of the nation and he focused on crime in Washington D.C. as an example of disorder in the country that he was going to take care of. When he came in, he had an agenda, lots of things on his mind. Washington D.C. was not the highest on his priority, but a group of leaders in Washington D.C., business people including Katherine Graham and Edward Bennett Williams and bank leaders, met with Nixon and said, "You ran about this being the Crime Capital of the country. You are accountable for crime in this city starting January 20th, 1969 and we are going to hold a press conference every single month about crime in Washington, and it is now your problem to do something about that."

That refocused Nixon on Washington D.C. and what could be done about the crime problem. He then...and just to talk to get to the sequence of this,

clear about what happened, that started an interest in things like back what I was doing in Corrections. But the question was, what is causing crime in Washington? Why is it going up? Lyndon Johnson had to establish the D.C. Crime Commission. He had a National Crime Commission. The crime problem wasn't invented by Nixon, it was real, it was serious. But what was causing it? Why was it going up? This was a time of prosperity. The economy is going very well. Unemployment was down in the District of Columbia at that time. And that was where I got into the picture. Because in the summer of 1969, working in the Department of Corrections, I did drug testing of everybody coming into the D.C. jail and I identified that 44% of the people coming in were heroin addicts. And then I asked the question, "What year did you first start using heroin?" And I put a graph together of when that was and with the D.C. Crime Rate and they tracked perfectly. That was the moment that was widely reported, right away. It was published in "The New England Journal of Medicine" the year later, but it was reported immediately. And what it did was refocus the attention on the drugs, but this time, on heroin, not on LSD and marijuana and on crime, and that became an entirely different way of thinking about it, and this was Nixon's priority. He had started with a major increase in the police force, but then the question was, what do you do about the heroin problem?

That's when I got interested in drug treatment and did like Jeff Donfeld. I went around and met people who were doing things including Vincent Dole and Rina Nicewander in New York and Jerry Jaffe in Chicago, and I said, "We have to have a drug treatment program in Washington D.C." And on September 15th, 1969, the first methadone program in Washington started in the Department of Corrections with me as the leader of that. But, wait a minute, just got one more step. On February 17th, 1970, Walter Washington, building on that beginning, created the Narcotics Treatment Administration in Washington, a massive methadone program in Washington. But in the next 3 years, treated 15,000 heroin addicts in the city. That was unprecedented. That went on and every month there was a report on crime rates and consistently, those crime rates came down along with the overdose deaths. We'll talk some more about that, but I wanna get the timing of that, very important in that switching of the focus, and suddenly the emergence of treatment as a very important part of not just reducing overdose deaths, which is very clear was the purpose, but also reducing crime.

Geoff Shepard: But I want to make the point that this is going on below the surface of national coverage and what we would say White House concerns. Here's Bob DuPont, idealistic young doctor out of Harvard Medical School who's beginning to make the case that treatment of heroin addicts reduces crime, but he's leading and we don't even know who he is. He's

dealing with a local problem, big, I mean, it's important it's in Washington D.C., but that kind of innovation isn't being driven by the White House.

Robert DuPont: No, but Bud Krogh called…

Geoff Shepard: Okay. Because we… now connect your work to the White House.

Robert DuPont: Oh, well, but first of all, Walter Washington reported to Bud Krogh. Let's start with that. So, whatever was going on in Washington was on Bud Krogh's agenda, absolutely from the beginning. And I can't impress on you enough, how what we were doing was front page news in Washington D.C. day after day after day, there was incredible focus on the crime issue and the methadone program. By September of 1970, we had an expose on the CBS television station, an hour long, talking about how he's a liar and a fraud and methadone was poisoning the city. It was an amazing. I'm a young guy, just started this thing, and now suddenly, I've got an hour-long primetime documentary...

Geoff Shepard: Against you.

Robert DuPont: Against me.

Geoff Shepard: And you're enemy of the people.

Robert DuPont: And enemy of the people. And racial issues were involved in this, it was very difficult, but what happened at that point was very striking, and that is both of the newspapers, "The Washington Post" and "The Evening Star" put their top people on this question of what was going on at this television report, and both of them, the editorial page of "The Washington Post" said he had to go to Katherine Graham because she owned the television station that was attacking me, and he was gonna come out with it. So, both papers came out with lead editorials, "DuPont is right. Methadone is the answer. The television program is wrong." And that was extremely important. And I can't tell you how big it was in terms of the controversies that was going on, and it's not something going on under the radar. And early on Bud Krogh wanted to talk to me. And my first visit to the West Wing, it was very exciting, met people like you two guys and it was very interesting, and he was very interested in this. And Walter Washington, the mayor, was deeply involved in what we were doing. When I would get into trouble on racial issues, for example, on methadone, I would get discouraged and I would go to the mayor and I would say, "This is too hard for me." And he said, "No, the people of this city love you. You're doing the right thing. You're helping us. If you don't show up here often enough, I'm

worried you're getting another job or you're sick, so keep going." Again, that was very visible.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. Jeff, do you have something to add?

Jeff Donfeld: I do. I wanna clarify something that you said, Geoff. I think you said, "Heroin treatment had an effect on crime." You gotta be more specific. It was really methadone treatment...

Robert DuPont: Exactly.

Jeff Donfeld: ...that had an impact on crime reduction. Not just crime reduction but the unemployment of people in methadone did not...it stayed up. The criminal recidivism was reduced. And that was my findings when I went around the country to compare the difference between methadone maintenance in the therapeutic communities. An important comment that Bob is making, the country at least in, I'll say, the black community, a lot of the black community felt that the administration's advocacy of methadone maintenance was an effort to "subjugate" the black community. There was nothing further from the truth than that statement. And as a result of methadone maintenance, we not only reduced the death rate among heroin addicts, but we gave them an opportunity to have productive lives. And so, there was a perception, especially in the therapeutic psychiatric community, that we were pushing an alternative addiction, which we were. Methadone is certainly addictive but it had beneficial effects.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. I know what the next slide is.

Jeff Donfeld: You do

Geoff Shepard: I wanna get to that slide...

Robert DuPont: Go ahead.

Geoff Shepard: ...where we can really dwell on methadone, and your front-running my slides.

Jeff Donfeld: I apologize.

Geoff Shepard: It's all right, you can catch up in a minute. This is just a campaign event in Denver. They have the data and I can't read the dates, 1970. And this is...he's with law enforcement people but this is the first time we see the words methadone maintenance appear from the President's

remarks. So we've now and we're, and I grant you Bob is doing good work and it's coming to the attention of the White House and Jeff is devoting full time and attention to treatment, but this is percolated up to the President himself. This is a law enforcement show. There's a White House Conference, and that it's a sniffing dog. And you were talking earlier about what we were doing with these conferences.

Jeff Donfeld: Yes. We were trying to get the media, television, movie producers, radio disc jockeys to inject anti-drug abuse messages into their programming. And so one of the things we did was we brought these folks to Washington, we had the Bureau of Customs put on this kind of demonstration with the heroin sniffing dogs, we had programs in the White House Theater where we had ex-addicts act out what happens in the therapeutic community. So, we were really...I'll call it a multimodality approach to try to infuse into the culture of America a notion that drugs was not really cool.

Geoff Shepard: And this particular picture has Gene Autry standing to the president's left, and this is on the South Lawn.

So then we get to an undated memo from the Ash Council. The Ash Council was created by President Nixon to comment on government structure and how structure affected the efficiency of the government, and unfortunately, this particular memo's undated, so we don't know for sure when it came in, but it's describing the difficulty that they uncovered with the spread of drug abuse enforcement and treatment in all these different agencies because drugs is a growingly recognized problem. There's money available, so every agency says, "Wow, we can get a bigger budget if we get involved in the drug abuse effort." And what you get is too big a spread of effort and authority, and that's all the Ash Council recognized in this memo.

Then we have the Narcotics Treatment and Control Act of 1970, and this is President Nixon signing the bill at the Department of Justice but in the office of John Ingersoll who's the head of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. This is not a giant press event. He knew how to do giant press events. This particular event, he signed it in front of the law enforcement officers, the BNDD officers. So, it's a different kind of leadership, it's not just the public leadership, it's encouraging the troops.

And then this is the statement that he made, at that signing and I highlighted at the bottom in yellow, again, treatment is still there. He's saying that we can't abandon these people. We've got to do something on treatment. And the language is unique here because he's predicting that we're gonna come up with better treatment. We're working very, very hard

at trying to develop more efficient treatment. And I think you could say...I mean, I'm looking for it but you could say he's anticipating methadone as becoming the treatment of choice for heroin addiction.

We're gonna go back to John. Here, this is President Nixon in Paris attending Charles de Gaulle's funeral. John, you were there.

John Coleman: Yeah, I was there, and I remember that day very well because all the law enforcement officers assigned to the embassy in Paris, which would be the ATF, the FBI, the BNDD, Secret Service, and some of the army, CID, Criminal Investigation Division officers they were all put on duty actually to supplement the protection detail for the President when he visited Notre-Dame for the funeral service of President de Gaulle. And we were in the church for that particular service that day. And I remember the president and he was very well received by a number of dignitaries that attended the service as well as by President Pompidou.

Geoff Shepard: Now, I will tell you when we do these forums, we work very hard to get the members of the panel in a picture with the president of the United States. I mean, that's the way these things work. One of the difficulties is when you're on the president's staff, one of your requirements is you stay out of the pictures. You know, you bring in the people the president wants to meet with or be seen with and the staff is supposed to be off-camera. So, with John, who spent 33 years doing drug abuse law enforcement, we don't have a picture of John with President Nixon but they were both at the same event. So this is close.

John Coleman: Yeah, we go to church together.

Geoff Shepard: Well done. Well done. Okay. Here we go. This is President Nixon and the King, and there are fun stories about this. When we told David Ferriero, the Archivist, that the panel today was on drug abuse, his first question was, “Are you gonna include the picture with Elvis Presley?” And as you may know, this is the single most popular picture owned by the National Archives. It's not the Constitution, it's not the Bill of Rights, it's Elvis Presley and President Nixon, two somewhat different personalities. Jeff and I were there on the day as we tell our grandkids, but I'll let Jeff tell it first.

Jeff Donfeld: One day, sitting in my office in the old executive office building I received a call from Bud Krogh whose office was literally across the hall from mine and Bud said, "The King is here." I said, "What?" He said, "The King is here." I said, "Bud, I'm really busy. What do you want?" He said, "Elvis Presley is at the North Gate of the White House and he wants to see the President." I said, "You've gotta be kidding me." "No, I'm not kidding

you. Come over to my office, we've gotta prepare talking points for the President." Before the staff we'd bring in someone to visit the President in the Oval Office, staff would prepare talking points. Here's what we suggest that you say, and the thrust of what we wanted President Nixon to say to Elvis is to try to get Elvis involved again in some anti-drug abuse comments.

So, we prepare the remarks. Elvis is invited into the Oval Office and he was bringing with him a silver-plated 45 automatic that he wanted to give the President.

Geoff Shepard: Commemorative pistol. Beautiful box.

Jeff Donfeld: The Secret Service immediately confiscated the weapon. I was sitting with Elvis's two bodyguards in my office while Elvis went into the Oval Office and the bodyguard said, "We wanna go into the Oval Office with Elvis." I said, "You can't do that." He said, "Well, there will be a call for us to come over." I said, "Well, when the call comes, you know, I'll escort you over." Meantime, the phone rings and it's Bud Krogh and he says, "Jeff, get a BNDD badge. Elvis wants a badge." I said, "What?" He said, "Yep, call over to Jack Ingersoll and get a badge." Okay. I called Jack Ingersoll, the director of Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, and I said, "Jack, I need a BNDD badge." He says, "What for?" I said, "The president wants to give one to Elvis Presley." And the response was, "No can do." I said, "What do you mean no can do?" He said, "Well, Elvis hasn't gone through the training program." I said, "Jack, you probably don't understand this. The leader of the Western world wants to give Elvis Presley the BNDD badge. Get me an expletive badge over to the White House right away." "Yes, sir." You know, that's how that happened. Elvis never got involved in helping us with any anti-drug abuse messages, very disappointing. And let me add this.

Geoff Shepard: Okay.

Jeff Donfeld: You know, because we were such squares at the White House, we had no understanding of Elvis's involvement with drugs.

Geoff Shepard: Right. Right. Nobody knew. A slightly different take because we were both there. Elvis wants to come see the president to tell the president that he's really for law and order and that in his own way he's discouraging drug use amongst his fan base. And he can't come out and say, "Look, kids, don't use drugs because that will detract from the sales of records." But he wants the President to know that he's trying in his own way, and he collects badges, you know, and that's why he wants a BNDD badge. This is toward the end. I mean, Elvis had an interesting career. And when he wasn't on tour, he'd eat. His favorite dish was fried bananas and

honey I think, and he'd gain a lot of weight. And then he'd have to shed the weight to go on tour, and it got harder and harder. So he'd use amphetamines, and he'd get doctor's prescriptions, and it was what comes to light later is it was drug abuse but he wouldn't have described it that way. He would have said, "No, I'm trying to trim down." You can see he's a little heavy.

When he came, this is Elvis. You know, you've got to be a little careful. Nixon and Elvis are not out of the same mold, and one of our jobs was to hold Elvis for an hour to make sure things were calm enough to take him over to the Oval Office. There was a big debate about whether this was an astute audience to grant. Elvis just showed up at the Northwest gate. "You know, I'd like to see the president." You don't do that. So, Bud and Jeff and I were making nice with Elvis for an hour before we gave the signal because we're in the old Executive Office building, the West Wing is across the street, before we gave the signal that we thought it was okay, that it was, you know, he wasn't going to say something rabid. But Elvis is dressed, you know, like the King, he's sweeping up and down the hallway of the old Executive Office building going into offices and embracing the secretaries, and they're having an absolute ball, you know. I mean, this is everything stopped. Elvis is in the building, everything stopped, and it was a glorious day, and it's, you know, it's the most popular picture for a reason.

About 15 years later, I took my son down to Washington trying to convince him how great his father once was and we were gonna go in and see a friend who was back as a member of the White House staff. So we're at the Northwest gate to go in. My son is too young to have a driver's license, so he didn't have ID, and I've been cleared and he's cleared with the wrong first name. So there's a kid who wants to come in with me to go into the West Wing and the guard didn't quite sure what to do because it's the wrong name. And so, he calls over his supervisor, and the supervisor says, "I think it will be okay." I remember Mr. Shepard when he was on the White House staff, I was there for five years, but yeah, "I remember when Mr. Shepard was on the White House staff. In fact, he was here the day Elvis came." And my kid's eyes light up. That was the most important thing to him the whole trip. You know, that Elvis and… to this day if you were involved in the Elvis visit, I mean, it's significant to start. And he meant well. He's a great singer. He was he was an, "Oh, shucks," kind of guy if he was off the stage. I mean, it was madam and sir, and I mean, he's just an interesting guy. In any event, we were there.

This is why I shut these people off. This is the key meeting. If you're looking for origins, if you're going back through the documents, and you're looking for origins of a change in policy, it's something like seeking out the source of

the Nile. You know, you keep going back up to the smallest creek, "Where does it start?" This picture and what went on a little bit before and a little bit after is key to understanding the dramatic change in drug treatment. And we'll let Jeff go without my interruption for a little bit here because he has a heck of a story to tell.

Jeff Donfeld: As I mentioned earlier, I went around the country trying to identify the best that America had to offer in terms of treatment and people, and all fingers pointed in the direction of Dr. Jerome Jaffe. Within the therapeutic community, there was always criticism pointing out deficiencies in either the individuals or the program of various treatment programs. However, no one criticized Dr. Jaffe. As a result of his respect in the treatment community, I asked Dr. Jaffe to form a group of outside experts, non-government folks to put together a paper of recommendations for what the federal government should do in the way of treatment, education, rehabilitation, epidemiology. At first, many of the folks approached were reluctant because people in the therapeutic communities didn't trust Richard Nixon. The irony of all this is that here in the Oval Office, Dr. Jerome Jaffe, a Jewish Democrat, is appointed really America's first Drug Czar. And Jerry then selected a man named Paul Perito...

Geoff Shepard: Let's go backwards. I know the stories you should be telling. Before you got to the Oval Office, you faced down cabinet officers a little bit before this.

Jeff Donfeld: Okay. Thank you. You said you weren't gonna interrupt but I was...

Geoff Shepard: This is a good interruption.

Jeff Donfeld: It is. I put together...before those meeting, I had put together a paper, a memo, to Bud Krogh in which I analyzed the various treatment programs that I had visited around the country and came up with recommendations for the United States to adopt methadone maintenances as a legitimate treatment modality. Following that memo, I was called into John Ehrlichman's office. Participating in that meeting was John Mitchell, the Attorney General, Elliot Richardson who was then secretary of HEW, Health Education Welfare, Jack Ingersoll, Director Bureau of the Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Dr. Bertram Brown, the director of the National Institute of Mental Health, Ehrlichman, and Krogh. I was the only one advocating methadone maintenance. So, I had done my homework, I had the statistics, and the other gentlemen were either silent or opposed. Certainly, Dr. Brown was opposed to it because that was a threat, the funding, and really, criticism of the psychiatric community. Jack Ingersoll and perhaps John

Mitchell were opposed because it was introducing into America on a wide scale basis if the program were implemented an addictive drug. Ehrlichman sat in and listened and ultimately led to a recommendation to the president that the United States adopt methadone maintenance.

Geoff Shepard: Let's pause, let's pause for a second. Let's go through with Bob's help, what the alternative treatments were and how methadone actually worked.

Robert DuPont: Okay.

Geoff Shepard: Bob?

Robert DuPont: Yeah, there had been an earlier episode of heroin addiction that focused in California and New York, and in both of those states, they had developed a substantial civil commitment program for heroin addicts. Nelson Rockefeller, as governor of New York, embraced the therapy, embraced the civil commitment approach to the problem. Separate from that, growing out of the program was called Synanon in California, but came across the Mississippi as Daytop and Phoenix House, on Odyssey house which were therapy communities in New York City, was an alternative treatment program that involved a year or two or three years of residential care of heroin addicts to change their character and send them out into the community as reformed. And that was the approach John Lindsay, the mayor of New York, picked for what was going on with there. So those were the two, sort of, polar ideas. What happened was Vincent Dole started in the 1960s this methadone program which involved giving the person an oral dose of methadone once a day. Heroin addicts have to inject the drug four or five times a day and it's very unstable. But methadone, because it's orally effective and longer-lasting, you could use once a day dose and what Dole found was that people could be stabilized and with the use of methadone, he prevented them having overdoses and it stopped the euphoric effect of injecting a heroin while they were taking it because of the "blockade" of the methadone, and people were able to go about functioning well.

But there was tremendous controversy about the methadone and you can hear it here in this presentation. And among the genius moves of Jerome Jaffe was to package the methadone in what he called a multi-modality program. In other words, it wasn't just methadone. We're talking is if what the government did was just methadone, it never was that. It was methadone plus. And so, it included these other elements including civil commitment, which was the NARA Act under the federal law. So, it was a package that was a multimodality package but the dominant form of treatment and the driver of it was methadone. If you look at both the

therapeutic community and civil commitment, they were unscalable to the size of the problem. You couldn't mobilize a response like that in the district. With the 15,000 addicts we treated, you couldn't have done it with either therapeutic communities or civil commitment. There just wasn't enough ability to do that, but methadone you could scale it.

Geoff Shepard: Okay, listen. Let's stop for a second. I'm gonna summarize this because I'm on the outside. Methadone is addictive. It's a synthetic, it's got nothing to do with opium.

Robert DuPont: Correct.

Geoff Shepard: You take it orally, you take it once a day, they put it with orange juice, you don't get a high because it's going through the system, but it blocks the craving for heroin.

Robert DuPont: Yes.

Geoff Shepard: So, you become a functional but addicted to a drug that doesn't give you a high.

Robert DuPont: Okay, I wouldn't use the word addicted, I would use physically dependent. It's a better word.

Geoff Shepard: Physically dependent, fine. I'm happy to do that.

Robert DuPont: Okay.

Geoff Shepard: And so, what this young, inexperienced lawyer, who's working nonstop on treatment, he's gone around and he's seen, in our great country, several examples of where methadone is working. And he comes back and does a paper and he says, "This is the future." And he goes and he faces down. Now, John Ehrlichman is Bud Krogh's boss, so he's got some weight on his side. He faces down all the powers that be that have been relying on civil commitment and therapeutic communities and the money that comes with that. And this young, aggressive White House staffer wins...it's the picture before this but we don't have the picture with John Ehrlichman's office and the Cabinet secretaries, but Jeff prevails and then he takes Jaffe, as the guy with the answer, in to see the president. Okay?

Now I'm gonna go to the next picture unless you have more to add on this one. This is pitching the president in private, and this is John Ehrlichman, Bob Haldeman, Jeff, Bud Krogh.

Jeff Donfeld: I had hair there so you don't recognize me.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah, it's true, you do have hair there. And Arnie Weber with his back to the camera. You never want you back to the camera, it's a bad place to be. But then one week later, we go public. And probably, this whole development from your paper to the meeting in Ehrlichman's office to the meeting in the Oval Office to going public is a month.

Jeff Donfeld: Probably.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. You think the government can't act when it wants to?

Jeff Donfeld: Well, there's even a better story than that in terms of government acting quickly. You know, there was the confluence of the concern among the American people with regard to the relationship of heroin addiction and the commission of crime and the war in Vietnam.

Geoff Shepard: We're coming. We have a slide. We're coming, Jeff.

Jeff Donfeld: I'm jumping ahead again, huh?

Geoff Shepard: You are. You know, you can't be anticipating.

Jeff Donfeld: I apologize.

Geoff Shepard: That's okay. Well, you have a good story but not this story. So here we are and there's two or three of these slides. This is the president's message on June 17th, 1971 where he says, "I want to create the special action office for drug abuse prevention, SAODAP. I want Congress to enact it but I'm gonna create it by Executive Order and I'm going to appoint Jerry Jaffe to run it. And Jeff's done all the staffing on this. He, of course, isn't in the picture. He's not quite seen here enough to be in the picture. This is Bud Krogh and John Ehrlichman, but Jeff's done all the work. So, there's a public announcement of this presidential endorsement and organization designed to encourage a treatment based on methadone only.

Jeff Donfeld: Geoff, it's more than that. SAODAP was designed to focus within the federal government, all non-law enforcement, treatment, education, rehabilitation, research. Before SAODAP, there were 14 different federal agencies, each had their own domain. There was no consensus, there was no vision, there was no uniform concept as to what we were trying to achieve. The concept of SAODAP was that centralized program and

budgetary authority within the Executive Office of the President so that we would have clout to give direction to the federal government's approach to their drug problem.

Geoff Shepard: Two issues here. We don't want you to miss this. This is terribly important. Treatment comes to the fore, you could say radical, new treatment. It's tried but this is putting the full effort of the President of the United States behind this treatment modality, bringing into the Executive Office of the President the authority to do this. This is not… and HEW is gonna do it, and it's interesting design, it's gonna be in for three or four years. And then it's gonna go back out to the National Institute of Health. But it's bringing it in to get it right to be sure the bureaucracy follows the presidential leadership. And as we said when we were rehearsing, you can tell we didn't rehearse very well, but when we were rehearsing this, seldom in government policy changes... Can you point to the exact moment when the decision was made. But this is I mean, over a course of a month, but this is that moment on treatment.

Jeff Donfeld: I think the other interesting aspect of SAODAP, at least in the legislation, that finally went to Congress and was unanimously passed by Congress was the idea of a sunset clause. We decided that if we didn't accomplish our goal within three or four years, we ought to disintegrate, we didn't want to create another perpetual bureaucracy. And I think that was another unique aspect of the Nixon administration not wanting to expand the federal bureaucracy.

Geoff Shepard: So Jerry Jaffe is the first Drug Czar, but he's temporary.

Jeff Donfeld: Yes.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. Now, we get to go to Vietnam. And it's a color picture. It was worth the wait.

Jeff Donfeld: Okay. Shortly after that meeting in the Oval Office, Jerry Jaffe and I are told to go to the Pentagon to talk to the Pentagon about the drug, the heroin addiction problem in Vietnam. So Jerry and I, just the two of us go over to the Pentagon, we meet in a very large conference room with generals and admirals, and Jerry says, "You know, you folks have a problem in Vietnam with heroin addiction." The military was not very forthcoming in conceding that there was a problem, and Jerry said, "Well, you know, the president thinks there's a problem. We've got to do something about it." "Well, what would you like to do Dr. Jaffe?" "Well, I think we have to identify the problem, we have to determine how many soldiers are in fact addicted to heroin." This comes right after two congressmen returned from the trip to

Vietnam and they claimed that 10% to 15% of our soldiers are addicted to heroin. So Jerry says, "Well, we could do urine analysis to determine what the incidence of heroin addiction is in Vietnam." And the general say, "Well, there really isn't the technology to assay urine samples in any short period of time." And Jerry says, "Well, what if there is a machine that can analyze a urine sample in 30 seconds?" Well the general and admirals say, "It doesn't exist." Jerry said, "Do you have a speakerphone in this conference room?" "Well, yes, sir, we do." "Can I make a phone call?" Jerry calls some folks that he knew in Palo Alto and said, "I'm in a conference room at the Pentagon, could you explain the free radical assay technique the machines that you've developed?" Long story short, there were two machines that had been developed that could do a urine sample in 30 seconds. So, the deal that Jerry made with the Pentagon was "If I can find these machines, will you fly them over to Vietnam?"

Geoff Shepard: Two machines in the entire United States?

Jeff Donfeld: Two machines in the entire... "Yes, sir, we can do that." So these scientists in Palo Alto say, "Yep, we've got the machines." The machines were put on Air Force jets at Moffett Air Force Base on the West Coast. Jerry and I, and Dr. Benny Primm of New York, flew over to Vietnam to watch the machines in operation. I was flown out to a firebase to observe soldiers urinating into bottles to see how the system worked. And when we came back from Vietnam we came to the Western White House to brief the president. I did not...I'm not in that picture because I wanted to go see my parents in Los Angeles.

Geoff Shepard: You could see how years later these parental respect visits come home to roost.

Jeff Donfeld: Yeah.

Geoff Shepard: So you have Benny Primm, John Ehrlichman, President Nixon, Jerry Jaffe, and Bud Krogh, and Jeff should've been there, he did all the work, coming back from Vietnam reporting on the installation of these two machines.

Jeff Donfeld: Correct.

Geoff Shepard: Just to put it because we're getting short on time. To put it into context, the accusation was these returning soldiers, because Nixon's drawing down, there were 537,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam when Nixon took office and he's drawing them down, and the accusation was these are heroin addicts, killers, heroin addicts that you're returning to the United States and

letting loose in society. And we've come up with a machine that shows if you're really addicted, and word gets out, you correct me if I'm wrong, but word gets out, if you skip use of drugs for three days, you will come out clean and you can go home. If you do not pass the test, you cannot go home.

Jeff Donfeld: Right. The soldiers were told that if they were not clean, they would stay in country for detoxification, and then they would be sent to a VA or a Department of Defense detox facility, perhaps in Southeast Asia. So we were creating an incentive for the soldiers to stay off heroin. And out of 22,000 tests that were done at one point in time, the incidence of heroin dependency was 4.5% versus what the two congressmen claimed to be 10% to 15%.

Geoff Shepard: After the incentive?

Jeff Donfeld: After the incentive was instituted.

Geoff Shepard: Fantastic. And the rumor, the allegation of these heroin addicts being loosed on the United States went away.

Jeff Donfeld: Correct.

Geoff Shepard: So we had a separate but significant victory, but based on scientific testing.

Jeff Donfeld: Yes.

Geoff Shepard: All right. So we're gonna go to law enforcement for a minute. This is President Nixon with Myles Ambrose. Myles Ambrose was the Commissioner of Customs. And SAODAP, the idea of bringing treatment into the Executive Office of the President seems such a great idea that the next step was we brought law enforcement in to the Executive Office of the President through the creation of what was called ODALE, the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement. And we took the Commissioner of Customs and made him in charge, and here, he's taking President Nixon to the customs facilities at JFK where a lot of the drugs are coming in. And they're touring the drug detention facilities at JFK.

This is yet another meeting in the Cabinet Room. You know, the president has a lot of these. This is the International Narcotics Control Cabinet Committee and it's got the senior Cabinet officers, and what's unique about this particular picture is they had recently seized a heroin lab. So if you look behind the president where we would normally have some people seated,

there's a laboratory and in front of each of the cabinet officers, we have a glassine envelope that looks like a pound of flour and that's pure heroin. And we told them, "This is what we do here. We seize drugs then we distribute them in Cabinet Committee meetings." But the word was don't touch the envelope because you'll pick up some of the heroin dust, but it was a very impressive display for the Cabinet officers and I think we can name some of them.

If you go up the left side, that's John Connally of Treasury and then Dick Kleindienst who is now Attorney General, and across, President Nixon. Those were the assigned seats. And to Nixon's left is Mel Laird, the Secretary of Defense. And to Nixon's right is Bill Rogers, the Secretary of State. I can't name the other ones. But the way the Cabinet Room is set up, the four oldest departments flank the president, State Justice, Treasury, and Defense, on either side of him, vice president's directly across. He's not in this picture but Treasury and Justice are. So this is another example of the use of the President's time and the emphasis coming down from the President on the importance of combating narcotics, law enforcement and treatment.

This is back to your… you're treatment guys, you've got half these slides. What is this?

Robert DuPont: I think this is the President signing the Act?

Geoff Shepard: Yes, it is.

Jeff Donfeld: So this is March 21st, 1972 Congress passes the Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act of 1972 which led to enormous increase in the federal budget for drug programming. I wanna mention, one of Jerry Jaffe's mantras was that America should have a sufficient number of treatment slots within the country so that no addict can claim that he committed a crime because of his heroin dependency because he could not get adequate treatment. So that was one of our goals was to vastly increase treatment opportunities throughout the United States. But one of the things you have to keep in mind is America really didn't have… and I'd like Bob to talk to this, it didn't have an adequate infrastructure of treatment folks, people that knew how to deal with a manipulative heroin addict. The therapeutic communities were very expensive to operate, the methadone maintenance treatment programs were not that expensive and, Bob, I'd love for you to talk to the relative expenses, but again, that was Jerry Jaffe's mantra, "Let's get treatment out into America." And this, in my view, created the compassionate balance between what was perceived as only the Nixon

administration's focus on law enforcement balanced with compassionate treatment programs.

Geoff Shepard: But look at what this did for the law enforcement side. We're seizing importation, we are increasing the price of drugs because we're working really hard at interdiction, we're doing our dead level best to end the availability of heroin, and at the same time, we're making treatment available for those people. So they're not left in the lurch. You've got this very, very happy balance at the time between stronger law enforcement and wider availability of treatment. So, this particular...no, this is the President signing this bill. When you go back to Jared Jaffe in the press room, he's being named head of SAODAP created by Executive Order.

This is the actual legislation and you see the room's full because this legislation has passed the Congress without a single dissenting vote.

Now, Nixon said off camera, time and time again to his people, "You know, the votes are for law enforcement. People don't want addicts roaming around on the streets, and that's what my constituency wants, but we can't do that to these addicts without supplying treatment. There aren't any votes for expanded treatment but that's not how we're doing it, we're going down both paths at once. Okay?"

Robert DuPont: I'm concerned that we're about running out of time.

Geoff Shepard: Yes.

Robert DuPont: And we gotta draw some conclusions here.

Geoff Shepard: No, we've got the slide.

Robert DuPont: Well, but I think we got more than a slide to talk about. I think I'm the only person who's known every White House Drug Czar, all 17 of them.

Geoff Shepard: But let me...we've got two slides, I can get through them and we can get to the last slide.

Robert DuPont: All right, all right. I'm chomping at the bit.

Geoff Shepard: All right, so here's Nixon meeting with Treasury and law enforcement people in the Oval Office talking about drugs, yet again. Here's another meeting in the Cabinet room yet again. If you go through our chronology, Nixon's doing something at least every other month on drug

abuse treatment or law enforcement. Here, he goes down in Laredo, Texas and he's talking to the customs agents where the stuff has started to come in across the Mexican border and he's down, again, viewing law enforcement. These are two articles by Bob DuPont. We don't have time for you to read them. But Bob has written at the time, authored very, very important articles, influential articles. This is "Science Magazine," and this one, he co-authors with James Q. Wilson. If you remember James Q. Wilson, he's the author of "The Broken Windows Theory" that you've got to get on crime and petty crime right away or it grows, and he co-authors a wonderful article which we recommend to all of you with Bob DuPont.

And this is another signature, Bob is in this, since we've broken into color, color pictures. This is Nixon signing two bills, the Narcotic Addict Treatment Act of '74 and the Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse and Rehabilitation Act of '74. And then this is, then we're going on the last three slides so you could hold still. Bob organized and sponsored a 35th-anniversary reunion of the people who worked on the drug treatment side in the Nixon administration. And this is the morning panel. Jerry Jaffe's at the podium and Bud Krogh and Paul Purito who is Deputy are there, and they're talking about this dramatic change in treatment and fighting drug abuse that had occurred under the Nixon administration. And then we have Bob himself addressing the second panel, but that's because we didn't get a picture of the panel.

But it was so interesting because at this reunion, we had people from HEW and people from the Department of Justice and the guy at HEW, I thought had the best. He said he'd been a bureaucrat at HEW for 30 years and never in his entire existence had he remembered a situation like what happened when the Nixon administration took leadership of drug abuse treatment. He said he was called into a meeting in the Secretary's office, the only time he saw the Secretary. And Elliot Richardson said, "This is a presidential initiative. The President is exercising leadership, and I don't wanna hear my department's not supportive. So if people from the White House call, I wanna know that you jumped at their request." Which brings us to the last slide, and then we're gonna let Bob dwell on this, we have five whole minutes, okay? What are the lessons that we learned from President Nixon's drug abuse initiative? What was done then that may be transferable, maybe not transferable, Bob?

Robert DuPont: Well, I wanna go back a little bit. What was Nixon reacting to? Nixon was reacting to the modern drug abuse epidemic, a change in the world that went on in the late 1960s. It was not like anything that happened before if we were to tell you what drugs have been around a long time, nothing before had happened like what happened in the '60s with the drug abuse epidemic, marijuana was part of that, psychedelics, heroin. There was

a huge phenomenal change in what was going on and the Nixon administration was right there when that happened, and what happened was very dramatic because Nixon grabbed a hold of that issue and created the foundation for everything that's happened since in terms of dealing with the drug problem. And I think that's really important, and he made it a signature part of his administration, this first bullet there. He said this is top priority, we have to pay attention to this, we have to get this right here. And that was a very big deal.

He created first White House drug office. There has been a White House drug office ever since and there is to this day 47 years later a White House drug office. There is no other issue that has had a White House office over that period of time. That tells you something about the gravity of the issue and the importance of that issue. He created the National Institute on Drug Abuse, NIDA, which is the premier research institution for drugs for the entire world, maybe 80% of drug research in the world is through NIDA. Its budget is now $1.25 billion, just in drug research going on. That started in 1973. Nixon started that. He started DEA, the Drug Enforcement Administration, which is the focus of what's going on. That is really important, to understand that. And I go crazy when people say drug policy is a war between law enforcement and treatment. What do you believe in? Nixon is credited with saying there's a war on drugs. Nixon is just law enforcement. Wrong. I'm a doctor. I'm gonna tell you that the law enforcement is a public health strategy to deal with the drug epidemic. Treatment needs law enforcement, prevention needs law enforcement.

It's commonplace to say we can't arrest our way out of the drug epidemic. Right. But we can't treat our way out of the drug epidemic either. We need to have them working together and that was the signature of Nixon. Before Nixon, it was just law enforcement. Nixon focused on laws more, we've done that, but he built and created the health, the research, the prevention, the treatment side of that as co-equal of working together, that happened during those precious years. And one of the things that the Jeff hasn't said that I wanna just put it into words is that there was magic moment in history with the Nixon administration, with a lot of young people. This was in true in the district government, it was true in the federal government that had a lot of ideas and were given authority to do things, to make things happen and they did just what Jeff was talking about, learning from what's going on, not just going back. “Well, what have we been doing? I wanna do more of that.” No. Jeff went around and look, “What's the best new thing to do? How do you do that? How do we make that national policy?” That was the attitude that was happening.

Geoff Shepard: Fair enough. And that credit you're giving to Jeff is not to me, it's to that Jeff.

Robert DuPont: Well, both of you. I think your work. There were a group of people though...

Geoff Shepard: We're at the end of our time, we're at the end of our time.

The last slide says, look, here's what we do. Number one priority, accountability, bipartisan basis, innovation, committed leadership. I mean, we've demonstrated, it's just time and time and time, it's not a single speech by President Nixon, it's heavy involved.

We grant you that today may be different because it's a different kind of problem, it's in different communities but lots of these things, lots of these things are transferable. We appreciate your coming, we appreciate your participating in the forum, and we hope that at some point you'll come on the website and look at the documents that accompany this panel. Thank you very much.