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FOCUS

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The War on Drugs Do We Have a Winning Strategy?

Policy Makers at a JCPS Forum Call for a Coordinated National Strategy to Reduce the Supply of and Demand for Illicit Drugs

Decriminalizing Drugs: Opinions by Two National Leaders

Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke and New York Congressman Charles Rangel Debate Whether the Legalization of Drugs Should Be Considered

Tom Bradley's Campaign for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies

New Study Issued by the Joint Center Concludes That Racial Bias Weighed Heavily in California's '82 and '86 Gubernatorial Elections

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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What Can Be Done About the Drug Problem?

Much of the current national focus on drugs is due in large measure to Jesse Jackson sensitizing the public to the issue in this year's presidential primary debates. Jackson astutely gauged the significance of the drug issue much earlier than the other presidential contenders of either major party. Indeed, broad public concern over this national menace ranked second only behind unemployment among major concerns of black Americans, while it ranked as the third most significant issue for whites, according to a 1987 JCPS national opinion survey conducted by the Gallup Organization.

Getting a fix on how to deal with the intractable drug problem seems to elude policy makers. Despite many laudable efforts of government agencies charged with intercepting illicit drugs coming into the U.S., even the most optimistic estimates show that only 20 to 30 percent of the cocaine, heroin, and marijuana arriving at our borders is being seized. And there appears to be an endless supply of drug pimps who are only too eager to take over the business of drug dealers who have been put behind bars.

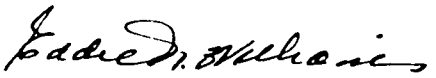
Even if all the drugs from Latin America and Asia were kept out of this country, there are strong indications that America's 23 million regular drug users would turn to domestic sources to satisfy their desires. "Designer" drugs, like PCP, are already being manufactured in basement labs. Domestically grown marijuana is cultivated in clandestine high-tech greenhouses. And potent tranquilizers and stimulants are purchased at neighborhood drug stores even without prescriptions.

Efforts to resolve the problem are often confounded by a lack of understanding of the drug abusers themselves—who they are, how they get started on drugs, how they can be helped. Too often, the problem is depicted as an affliction of the urban poor. In fact, drug abuse occurs among all ethnic and income groups from every part of the country. A drug overdose is just as likely to occur in the bedroom of a suburban valium user as in an inner-city crack house. And while everyone knows that we need more rehabilitation clinics, few citizens seem willing to have one placed in their own neighborhood.

The complexities of the drug problem even extend into the realms of civil liberties and foreign affairs. Congress has resisted Reagan administration efforts to make drug testing mandatory at federal work sites. Legislators and labor unions see testing as an infringement on employee privacy. And a plan to curb foreign production was recently foiled when a major chemical firm declined a State Department arrangement to supply a herbicide to Peru to kill coca crops. The firm objected partly for fear of reprisals by drug lords against its South American operations.

While the drug problem has assumed monumental proportions, its dangers must be weighed against those posed by the use of other harmful substances such as cigarettes, which, though still legal, contribute to over 300,000 deaths each year. Alcohol is perhaps the nation's most dangerous drug—yet prohibition, as an attempt to protect the public from the evils of drink, was a disastrous failure and was abandoned in 1933.

Today, policy makers are engaged in a debate on the decriminalization of drugs. Two national leaders, Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke and New York Congressman Charles Rangel, have already faced-off in this debate by taking opposite sides of the issue. We are reproducing their views in this month's *Focus*. This issue also contains a summary of a JCPS-sponsored round table on the effectiveness of government programs to reduce the drug supply and demand, written by Lt. Col. Don Lightman, JCPS senior military fellow. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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The War on Drugs Do We Have a Winning Strategy?

Policy Makers at a JCPS Forum Call for a Coordinated National Strategy to Reduce the Supply of and Demand for Illicit Drugs

by Don Lightman

Drug trafficking and drug abuse continue to take a devastating toll on our society. In order to take a closer look at the national effort to combat this growing problem, the Joint Center for Political Studies convened a round table on the "War on Drugs." The participants included Congressman Frank J. Guarini (D-N.J.) and over 40 senior drug enforcement officials and representatives from abuse prevention and treatment programs.

As a starting position, the participants agreed with Senate Judiciary Committee staffer Ronald LeGrand's comprehensive assessment that in approaching the drug problem, "we have to talk about enforcement, treatment, prevention, and education together—not as alternatives. No one of these tactics will succeed by itself." The group was divided, however, on how to integrate these various elements into a balanced, cohesive national strategy.

In fact, the group even disagreed over the appropriate terms to use in describing the drug problem. Kast Besterman, director of the Alcohol and Drug Problems Association, objected to characterizing the problem in the context of a "war." He asserted that "if we want people to stop addictive behavior, we have to start nurturing the human spirit [and]. . . bring [drug users] back into the society. As long as we're going to call this a war, we're not going to win."

Other participants, however, focused on the high profitability of the drug trade, which is taxing the resources of local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies. Since 1981, an estimated 23 million regular drug users have spent approximately $140 billion for cocaine, heroin, marijuana, crack, and PCP. The drug business has eclipsed our largest corporations in annual sales, and there are powerful incentives for drug traders to expand their operations. Drug traffickers are clearly the enemy in the drug war, and they were described by Congressman Guarini as a "hostile force with an army of its own. . . a budget measured in billions...a willingness to kill. . . and the power to pollute and subvert democratic institutions."

A Flood of Foreign Drugs

The participants asserted that more money and a better coordinated national effort were needed to stop drugs from coming into the country, and to eliminate the drugs produced in the United States. Since 1981, over $22 billion in federal funds have been committed to combating drug abuse, mostly through supply reduction programs. To reduce the flow of drugs into the U.S., an extensive network of 56 federal, state, and local law enforcement task forces have been established and are in operation, according to David Westrate, assistant administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). The Federal Bureau of Investigation, state troopers in 36 states, and the DEA also focus on drug trafficking.

In addition, military and paramilitary efforts are being conducted by the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard under "Operation Blast Furnace" to interdict drugs entering the country illegally. An extensive U.S. sponsored marijuana eradication program, using herbicides, is underway in several foreign countries. Last year, as a result of these law enforcement efforts, the number of combined arrests of drug violators by the DEA, FBI, Customs Service, and Coast Guard climbed to 48,061, including 6,002 high-level traffickers nationwide. This represents an increase of over 50 percent from the previous year.

But despite the patrols of our coastlines, borders, and airways, the volume and purity of illegal drugs have steadily risen while the price has declined. Federal agencies estimate that only 20 to 30 percent of the drugs coming into this country are seized at our borders each year. According to the DEA, from 1981 to 1986 the street level purity of cocaine doubled, while the price per gram dropped from $130 to $90.

Bitter Harvest at Home

Assistant Administrator Westrate admitted, however, that even "if we stop the flow of all drugs to our

Lt. Colonel Lightman is a senior military fellow at the Joint Center.

borders, we will still have a terrible problem." In 1987, the DEA raided 1,200 indoor marijuana growing operations in the United States. he described a bitter harvest of the illicit crop in all 50 states, often grown under high-tech, computer-controlled lighting systems and with the aid of sophisticated irrigation and fertilization methods.

While illegal organic drugs have been the primary focus of media attention, the panelists observed that the abuse of prescription drugs is also rampant. "Fifty percent of the drug [abuse] problem is related to prescription drugs," noted Gwen Holden, executive vice president of the National Criminal Justice Association. These include commonly used legal mood altering drugs such as Valium, Librium, and Quaaludes, which can be purchased at almost any corner drugstore. There is also an expanding market for illegal synthetic "designer drugs," like PCP, manufactured in basement labs with easily obtainable chemicals. The threat of domestically produced drugs, both legal and illicit, substituting for foreign imports only strengthens the arguments that greater emphasis must be placed on reducing demand.

Dollars and Drug Wars

At the base of the problem is a multibillion dollar illicit drug market which responds to the economic laws of supply and demand. One of the great tragedies of the drug trade, as John Jackson, the administrator of Alcohol and Drug Abuse Services, explained, is that many drug dealers are teenagers who are in the business for quick cash and instant gratification.

Coming up with ways to deter young people from becoming drug dealers, Jackson and the other panelists opined, is a perplexing problem. Stiff mandatory jail terms seem to have little affect in counterbalancing the strong profit motive of those willing to engage in deadly drug trafficking. The combination of drugs, money, and guns has fueled gang violence throughout the country. "I don't know if you can change a young urban drug dealer's attitude toward $2,500 a night in gross profit," said Besterman. But he added that perhaps the answer lay not in attempting to change a drug dealers attitude but in changing the dealer's behavior. To illustrate this point, he mentioned the patrols by members of the Nation of Islam, which forced drug dealers out of the Mayfair Mansions housing project in Washington, D.C., this spring. Those patrols probably did not change the dealers' values but they may have changed the dealers' attitudes about whether they were willing to risk the consequences of trying to continue to do business in the patrolled area.

To Change Attitudes

To limit the expansion of the drug trade, an increasing number of law enforcement and health officials have embraced demand reduction strategies which focus on the user. They believe that public awareness, education, and treatment programs aimed at overcoming physical and psychological addiction, coupled with tougher criminal justice sanctions against users, will succeed in the long term.

Such strategies are important because the addict as well as the occasional user are critical elements in the drug trafficking chain, spending billions of dollars on drug purchases. The consensus among the group was that without a change in the personal attitudes and values of drug users, no substantial reduction in drug abuse can or will occur. "There is a fundamental ambivalence about drug use," according to Holden, "because today's parents developed a tolerance for deviance in the sixties."

Dr. Nolan Jones of the National Governor's Association said we have to get a grip on "why individuals want to space out in our society." LeGrand cautioned that traditional prevention and education programs that rely on fear tactics—if you do this then that will happen to you—should be cast aside. Prevention programs should provide factual and reliable information.

"We are seeing the terrible costs associated with the moral decay of our values, especially in the decline of the family unit as the bedrock for our youth."

In addition to public awareness and education, drug abuse treatment programs, aimed at helping drug users to overcome their addiction, are also urgently needed to help reduce the demand. However, fewer federal resources are available today to support these programs. As pointed out by Besterman, the federal government has reduced the budget for prevention and treatment programs as well as for prevention research.

As documented by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, only a small portion (10 to 15 percent) of federal drug abuse funds have been distributed to the city treatment programs and clinics where they are desperately needed. In Washington, D.C., for example, over 1,300 drug users who have requested treatment this year have been put on waiting lists. Many drug programs have had to be put on hold or cancelled.

Finally, all of the panelists agreed that the devastating effect that the drug problem is having on American families demands that government officials, business leaders, community groups, educators, and others develop immediate answers to the drug menace. As LeGrand lamented, "We are seeing the terrible costs associated with the moral decay of our values, especially in the decline of the family unit as the bedrock for our youth to learn and practice those cherished values that have kept us strong." ■

June 1988

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside this Issue

- **Can George Bush and the Republican party attract black votes through rhetoric and by backing long-shot black political candidates such as Senate nominees Maurice Dawkins of Virginia and Alan Keyes of Maryland?**
- **Can Michael Dukakis win the support of Jesse Jackson and black voters without losing white support?**
- **Across the Nation: Michael Roberts is running for mayor of St. Louis; Clarence Ellis and Jon Johnson seek congressional posts in Illinois and Louisiana; and the second Howard Beach trial is underway.**

Are Republicans Really Seeking the Black Vote in '88?

This year, as in most presidential election years, black Americans are confronted once again with the dilemma posed by the nation's two-party system: one party, the Republican, "writes off" the black vote while the other party, the Democratic, "takes black voters for granted." This dilemma has confronted blacks since Reconstruction, especially before the 1930s, when they voted almost unanimously for Republican candidates. It has also been true since 1964, when blacks have voted almost unanimously for the Democratic candidates. Only in elections where there have been close splits among white voters has either party had to address the significance of the black vote. **However, with the 1988 presidential campaign already showing signs of being a hard-fought contest for the white electorate, the eventual winner's fortunes may rest on his ability to appeal to black voters.** Indeed, with recent polls showing **MICHAEL DUKAKIS** running ahead of **GEORGE BUSH** by anywhere from 10 to 17 percentage points (currently Bush and Dukakis are running neck-in-neck for the white vote), Bush may very well need to secure substantial black support to win the presidential election. Current polls give him about 12 to 18 percent of the black vote, a notable increase over Reagan's black vote.

So far, Bush has failed to equal Ronald Reagan in attracting conservative white Democrats, many of whom are expressing a willingness to support Dukakis. According to a survey conducted by the Democratic polling firm of Cooper and Secrest, in late April Dukakis made a far more favorable impression among white voters than Bush. The poll revealed that voters who responded to "Reagan's siren call in 1980 and 1984 are turning deaf ears to Bush. Younger white men, urban white ethnics, blue collar voters and Independents are more than 'unmoved' by Bush—they actually express dislike for the man." Gallup, ABC/*Washington Post*, and CBS/*New York Times* surveys taken in May and June support the findings of Cooper and Secrest. These early polls indicate that a Reagan style landslide victory does not seem to be in the cards for Bush.

In order to close this popularity gap, Bush and the Republican party are employing a two-pronged strategy to cultivate black voters: first, Bush has begun to reach out to the black leadership and black voters; and second, the party is running more black candidates for public office in 1988. In the first instance, Bush has made stump speeches calling for Republicans to practice the "politics of inclusion" and claiming that his administration would strongly enforce civil rights laws (despite his support of Ronald Reagan's veto of the Civil Rights Restoration Act earlier this year). And Bush promises to provide moral leadership in a nation that still has not solved its racial dilemma. In May, he met with black political leaders and heads of civil rights groups at his residence in Washington.

In the second instance, Republicans have endorsed a number of blacks who are running for office across the country and the party is dipping into GOP coffers to fund their campaigns. One example is in

Virginia, where Rev. **MAURICE DAWKINS** is the Republican nominee for the Senate. He has never held public office and will be going up against popular Democratic ex-governor **CHARLES ROBB.** Dawkins owns an independent lobbying firm, Government Relations International, and ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor of Virginia in 1985. Robb is expected to win the election in November but not without mending some fences at home since his relations with black Virginians have some rough edges. This year, he angered supporters of **JESSE JACKSON** like **MARY COX,** who says she might very well vote for Dawkins as a protest against Robb, who she says helped organize the "Super Tuesday" Southern primary as a way to thwart Jackson's Democratic nomination bid. Robb has also had his differences with Virginia's first black lieutenant governor, **DOUG WILDER.** But the former governor remains the clear favorite to win—and with the help of a sizeable portion of the black vote.

In neighboring Maryland, the state GOP has nominated black conservative ALAN KEYES to challenge two-term incumbent Democratic Senator PAUL SARBANES. Keyes, former assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs in the Reagan administration, is presently a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Black Republican candidates for seats in the House of Representatives include retired Army General **JERRY CURRY,** who will oppose first-term incumbent Rep. **OWEN PICKETT** in Virginia's Tidewater 2nd district. Ohio Republican businessman **RON CRUTCHER,** who took a three-to-one loss at the hands of Democratic five-term Dayton Congressman **TONY HALL,** will try again this year. **JAMES C. CUMMINGS,** a former deputy assistant secretary and regional administrator at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, is campaigning against Rep. **ANDREW JACOBS,** who has been in Congress since 1965. **CHARLES HOUSE,** an administrative sergeant in the Los Angeles County sheriff's department, is challenging three-term Congressman **ESTEBAN TORRES** for a second time. In 1986, Torres defeated House by a 60 percent to 40 percent margin in California's 34th Congressional District, which is 47 percent Hispanic and only 2 percent black. None of the above mentioned black congressional candidates has held elective office before.

Republicans are also nominating blacks for lower offices. One notable example is **VERNON ROBINSON,** who is the Republican nominee for the 20th state legislative district in North Carolina. Robinson was among 20 to 30 state legislative candidates invited to a White House briefing on campaign issues earlier this month. In Ohio, **NORBERT B. CARSON** and **TED WRIGHT** are running for state representative in Cleveland and Toledo, respectively.

So far, the Republicans seem to support blacks mainly in races where the odds are stacked heavily against them. While Dawkins, Keyes, and others might be able to pull-off "miracles," their electoral success seems unlikely. Nevertheless, their candidacies give the Republicans the right to claim credit for running blacks for key offices. Furthermore, these campaigns are likely to draw media attention to Republican races where the party would be virtually ignored except for the novelty of the black candidates. In addition, these campaigns may draw some black votes away from Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis. But until the **Republican party chooses some black nominees in open races with good potential for victory, the black electorate is likely to remain unimpressed by the call to vote Republican.**

The real test of how serious the Republicans are about reaching out for black support may lie in what the GOP is willing to offer in exchange for that support. Do the Republicans expect blacks to support the GOP on the party's terms, or are party leaders developing new policies designed to attract black voters? In this regard, Bush's meeting with black leaders this May is instructive. The blacks in attendance agreed that Bush should receive kudos for attempting to demonstrate that a Bush administration would be far more accessible to black leadership than the Reagan administration. And while the meeting was cordial, some reported that they were astounded by Bush's lack of understanding of the issues of concern to blacks such as unemployment, the black family, the plight of historically black colleges, and poverty. Those at the meeting included NAACP Executive Director **BENJAMIN HOOKS,** Urban League President **JOHN JACOB,** Joint Center President **EDDIE WILLIAMS,** National Education Association President **MARY FUTRELL,** Children's Defense Fund President **MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN,** National Council of Negro Women President **DOROTHY HEIGHT,** SCLC President **JOSEPH LOWERY,** and others. **One leader said that, at best, the vice president demonstrated that he had an "open door, closed mind" policy toward black America. With Bush's emphasis on black leadership's responsibility to bring him "conservative solutions" to problems in the black community, the meeting seemed to indicate that blacks are expected to join the GOP on the party's terms.** How blacks would benefit in return for their support, which could be pivotal at the ballot box, is a question that remains to be answered.

A shift toward the Republican party, however, is unlikely to occur anytime soon. Even in the 1930s blacks did not participate in the great conversion to the Democratic majority until 1936, after they had experienced

some of the economic fruits promised in the rhetoric of the New Deal. Republicans may no longer be simply "writing off" the black vote, but they still seem reluctant to challenge the Democrats for it in meaningful ways.

But Can the Democrats Take the Black Vote for Granted?

In off-the-record statements, many black Democratic leaders report that they are angry with white party officials. Their complaint is that although blacks have given unwavering support to the party since 1964, Democratic officials continue to ask them to wait and not vigorously push for policies that address black concerns. Many blacks complain that white officials continue to blame them (rather than the party's lack of policy innovation or some other factor) for driving white conservatives and even some moderates out of the party. Black leaders also complain that their party often refuses to give strong backing of black candidates for public office. For example, some black elected officials say they feel stymied by the Democratic party when they seek higher offices, and black members of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and high-level party officials report that they have felt slighted by party Chairman **PAUL KIRK** during the last four years. They resent, for example, being excluded from meetings and told what "is good for your people."

This perception of party disregard, plus the weakening attachment of blacks to the Democratic party, as indicated in recent JCPS/Gallup polls, suggest that Dukakis may have trouble amassing strong black support. The Massachusetts governor, who is still not well-known in the black community, needs both an enthusiastic endorsement from Jesse Jackson and a positive personal relationship with blacks in order to inspire a large black vote in November.

Up to now, Dukakis has had problems in winning black votes. There is little evidence that he is wildly popular with blacks, he rarely campaigned in the black community during the Democratic primary, and with the exception of his home state, exit polls revealed that he did not receive more than 9 percent of the black vote in any primary or caucus. **In California, for example, a Teichner poll reported that only 33 percent of the blacks in this electoral-vote rich state said they would vote for Dukakis, while 18 percent said they would vote for Bush, and 48 percent said they were undecided. Unlike Bush and Jesse Jackson, Dukakis has yet to meet with national black leaders. Thus far, he has only met with blacks who supported him during the campaign (most of whom, with the exception of Detroit Mayor COLEMAN YOUNG and former New Orleans Mayor ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL, have little national presence).**

How Jackson is treated from now through the convention and the eve of the election may hold the key to Dukakis's success with blacks. Black leaders as well as black rank and file voters are more united in their support of Jackson in 1988 than they were in 1984. At a recent meeting of the Black Leadership Forum in mid-June, black leaders concluded that Jesse Jackson had earned and should be given "every consideration for the vice-presidential nomination." Rep. **MERVYN DYMALLY** (D-Calif.) also reported in mid-June that 18 of 23 members of the Congressional Black Caucus support Jackson for the vice-presidential nomination.

As the Democratic convention approaches, an unanswered question continues to be whether blacks will struggle for a vice-presidential nomination for Jackson or simply use his political clout to secure concessions on policy issues and delegate allocation rules. As of this writing, black leaders have not revealed what "every consideration" means, with some saying that it is best to leave room for "creative ambiguity" as a way to gain the maximum concessions at the convention. Sources within the Jackson campaign say the candidate himself supports this view. They acknowledge that he does not expect the vice-presidential nomination, but seeks to use his claim to have earned it as leverage to push on other fronts.

While no one knows exactly how far Jackson and other black leaders are willing to go to win concessions, one issue that is clear is that a divided party at the July convention will not help Dukakis in the fall. Despite relatively harmonious Platform Committee meetings thus far, there are some indications that a floor fight is shaping up over issues as diverse as a defense spending freeze, affirmative action, delegate allocation, and the call for party support for the creation of a Palestinian state.

Dukakis and the Democratic party must reach an accord with Jesse Jackson before or during the convention in Atlanta. They confront a Hobson's choice. If they alienate the Jackson camp, the party is likely to lose a good deal of support from black leaders not to mention black voters. And it is inconceivable that the Democrats will be able to secure the White House without a large black turnout. On the other hand, if Dukakis is perceived as having capitulated to Jackson's demands, he may face problems in maintaining his growing support among moderate and conservative whites.

For black voters, there also are some "big ifs." If they do not vote in substantial numbers, will they be able to elect an administration that is sensitive to their concerns?

Across the Nation

ILLINOIS: CLARENCE ELLIS, 58, the black chairman pro-tem of the East St. Louis Aldermanic Council, is making, in the eyes of some observers, a quixotic quest for the 21st Congressional District seat left vacant when Democratic Rep. **MELVIN PRICE** died in April. Until May, **JERRY COSTELLO**, the powerful chairman of the St. Clair County Board, was unopposed in the race. But Ellis's entry into the contest will force Costello, the party favorite, to face him in a special Democratic primary in July.

Ellis's election prospects aren't very promising. Costello is a visible politician who is well-connected in the Democratic party. He also has strong union support in the district. **For his part, Ellis asserts that he is more concerned about the people in East St. Louis, which is 96 percent black, and would be a better representative of the district than Costello (the 21st Congressional District is 12 percent black).**

The winner of the primary may not have an easy time of it when he faces Republican **ROBERT GAFFNER**, 55, in the general election in November. Gaffner, who directs community, governmental, and alumnae relations for St. Louis Community College in Missouri, ran against Price in three other elections and lost by only 943 votes in 1986.

LOUISIANA: In preparing for reelection two years from now, black New Orleans Mayor **SIDNEY BARTHELEMY** must shore up his popular support, according to an opinion survey conducted in April by Loyola University pollster **ED RENWICK.** Less than 50 percent of the New Orleans' voters surveyed believe that Barthelemy is doing an "excellent" or "good" job after two years in office. Only 5 percent of those polled said Barthelemy was doing an excellent job while 44 percent gave him a "pretty good" job rating, 25 percent gave him an "only fair" rating, and 11 percent rated his job performance as "bad."

The poll also showed that 50 percent of those surveyed said New Orleans is worse off than it was a few years ago. Thirty percent felt the city is about the same while only 13 percent said it is better. Black and white opinions were not divided in rating Barthelemy's overall job performance. Fifty percent of blacks and 48 percent of whites gave Barthelemy a positive rating. According to Renwick, the total of those who said Barthelemy was doing a good or excellent job "is considerably below the 55 percent that is generally considered the minimum to feel safe about reelection." When Barthelemy (New Orleans' second black mayor) won in 1986, he was supported by only a minority of black voters but by a majority of white voters.

City leaders give Barthelemy plaudits for his cooperative personal style but criticize him for the ongoing management problems within his administration. However, his endorsement of Jesse Jackson for the Democratic presidential nomination may help him expand his base of support among blacks in this city. Jackson won the majority of the vote in the March 8 primary.

In other news, the *Southern Political Report* says that JON JOHNSON, 44, a black state senator from New Orleans, is likely to challenge 15-year incumbent LINDY BOGGS, 72, for her congressional seat in the nonpartisan October 1 primary. Both are Democrats. Johnson is serving his first full term as a state senator (he previously completed the unexpired term of a deceased senator). Johnson's state senate district, which is 61 percent black, lies entirely in Boggs's majority-black 2nd Congressional District. But Johnson, a former teacher who also served in the state House of Representatives, has little chance of defeating the incumbent. He is not as well-known in the district as Boggs, who has been consistently reelected with large proportions of black voter support. And she has already garnered the support of Mayor Barthelemy.

MISSOURI: MICHAEL ROBERTS, who narrowly lost a race for president of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen in 1987, is now interested in challenging Mayor **VINCENT SCHOMEHL** for his job if Schomehl seeks a third term. St. Louis has never had a black mayor, but Roberts is encouraged by Jesse Jackson's showing in the Missouri Democratic presidential primary. Jackson got more votes in the city than the state's native son, U.S. Rep. **RICHARD GEPHARDT. The major challenge for Roberts is to unite the politically divided black community. According to local political analysts, Roberts also needs the endorsement of U.S. Rep. WILLIAM CLAY, which may be difficult to obtain since Clay has never endorsed Roberts for any office.**

NEW JERSEY: Atlantic City Mayor **JAMES USRY** is a good example of why the nation's few black Republicans are viewed as a paradoxical lot. Usry, who will be a Bush delegate at the Republican National Convention, stunned New Jersey's GOP leaders by seeming to endorse Jesse Jackson for president. **In late May, Usry introduced Jackson at a speaking engagement in his city as the "next president of the United States," and told the crowd, "I want Bush to be in second place." Usry said only Jackson understands inner-city problems "and that the others have very narrow philosophies."**

Usry's support of Jackson isn't unique among black GOPers. In the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey, three out of every five black Republicans wanted Jackson to run for president, and more than a third of them wanted him to run as a Republican. And even some of the black Republican delegates once rooted for Jackson to become the Democratic nominee.

Usry also criticized Reaganomics and pledged to work at the Republican convention for a change from Reagan administration urban policies, supporting a GOP platform "that is more in tune with all Americans." **Assemblyman JOHN ROCCO, Bush's southern New Jersey coordinator, said Bush's national staff will have to review Usry's role in Bush's campaign strategy.** He was joined by other Republican officials who registered their displeasure at Usry's remarks. Asked about Republican criticisms of his statements, Usry was not apologetic. "Guess what?" Usry said. "If I have been an embarrassment to the Republican party, they have a decision to make because I know some people who are waiting with open arms for me. . . . I have another place to go" (referring to the Democratic party). GOP leaders have concluded that they will not discipline Usry for his support of Jackson.

NEW YORK: Racial tension can be expected to rise in New York City again this summer as the second trial in the Howard Beach case progresses. Jury selection was completed in early March for the trial in which five young white men face various charges stemming from a December 1986 assault against three black men in Howard Beach, Queens. In the attack, **MICHAEL GRIFFITH**, 23, was struck and killed by a car when some of the white attackers chased him onto the Belt Parkway. Three white defendants were convicted of manslaughter charges for his death at the conclusion of the first trial last December.

During the second trial, in an unusual but not unprecedented judicial procedure, two juries will hear the evidence—sometimes together and sometimes separate—and deliver separate verdicts for the different defendants for whom they are responsible. One jury will decide the case of THOMAS GUCCIARDO, age 19, who is charged with attempted murder and other crimes; the other jury will render the verdicts on the four other defendants, who have been charged with first-degree riot. Jury selection for the second trial took 2½ weeks and was marked by prosecution charges that defense lawyers were discriminating against blacks in the selection process and defense charges that prosecution lawyers were pursuing a strategy of discharging prospective white jurors. Both charges were denied by the judge.

Black elected officials, community groups, and local activists are again watching the case closely. Many are saying that the Howard Beach attacks and other recent examples of racial tension in the city, including the Democratic primary in April when Jesse Jackson was harshly attacked by Mayor **ED KOCH**, will be used to defeat Koch in next year's mayoral election.

Confronting the Drug Problem: Two Opinions

A Debate on Decriminalization Is Needed

by Kurt L. Schmoke

Has the time come to add America's "war on drugs" to the long list of history's follies? In the view of historian Barbara Tuchman, to qualify as folly, a policy must not only be unsuccessful, it must also be plainly against the interests of those in whose name it is being carried out. And folly has one more characteristic: Nobody wants to recognize it.

Whether the drug policies of the United States have reached the point of folly, I'm not prepared to say. But this much seems apparent: Political maturity, intellectual honesty and justifiable concern about drug-related violence make raising the question long overdue.

This is why I asked the U.S. Conference of Mayors last month to adopt a resolution calling upon Congress to hold hearings on whether to decriminalize narcotics.

The details—which drugs would be legalized, and how and by whom they could be purchased—would be left to Congress and state legislatures to decide after first concluding on the basis of research and testimony that some form of decriminalization is warranted.

Many who oppose decriminalization argue that it will serve as an open invitation to use drugs. If there is evidence to that effect, then it should be dispassionately presented to Congress and other policymakers, but it should not stand in the way of a public debate about decriminalization.

The time has come to admit that the emperor has no clothes. The war on drugs is being lost, notwithstanding President Reagan's recent claim that we are digging our way out. And continuing our present policy—even with more money—is unlikely to make any difference.

There are three basic arguments in favor of decriminalization: libertarianism, economics and health. I don't subscribe to the libertarian view that people should have a right to injure themselves with drugs if they so choose. Drugs—even if decriminalized—also pose a danger to third parties. But the other two arguments are compelling enough for Congress at least to study the question.

• **Economics.** Just as Prohibition banned something millions of people want, our current drug laws make it illegal to possess a commodity that is in very high de-

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Mr. Schmoke is the mayor of Baltimore.

Decriminalization Is the Wrong Approach

by Charles B. Rangel

The escalating drug crisis is beginning to take its toll on many Americans. And now growing numbers of well-intentioned officials and other opinion leaders are saying that the best way to fight drugs is to legalize them. But what they're really admitting is that they're willing to abandon a war that we have not even begun to fight.

For example, the newly elected and promising mayor of Baltimore, Kurt Schmoke, at a meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors, called for a full-scale study of the feasibility of legalization. His comments could not have come at a worse time, for we are in the throes of the worst drug epidemic in our history.

Here we are talking about legalization, and we have yet to come up with any formal national strategy or any commitment from the administration on fighting drugs beyond mere words. We have never fought the war on drugs like we have fought other legitimate wars—with all the forces at our command.

Just the thought of legalization brings up more problems and concerns than already exist.

Advocates of legalization should be reminded, for example, that it's not as simple as opening up a chain of friendly neighborhood pharmacies. Press them about some of the issues and questions surrounding this proposed legalization, and they never seem to have any answers. At least not any logical, well thought out ones.

Those who tout legalization remind me of fans sitting in the cheap seats at the ballpark. They may have played the game, and they may think they know all the rules, but from where they're sitting they can't judge the action.

Has anybody ever considered which narcotic and psychotropic drugs would be legalized?

Would we allow all drugs to become legally sold and used, or would we select the most abused few, such as cocaine, heroin and marijuana?

Who would administer the dosages—the state or the individual?

What quantity of drugs would each individual be allowed to get?

(Continued on back page)

Mr. Rangel is a U.S. Representative from New York.

A Debate Is Needed

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mand. As a result, the price of that commodity has soared far beyond its true cost.

This has led to enormous profits from illegal drugs and turned drug trafficking into the criminal enterprise of choice for pushers and manufacturers alike.

I know this because for more than seven years I made a living putting people in jail. As an assistant U.S. attorney, and later state's attorney for Baltimore, I prosecuted and won convictions against thousands of defendants for drug-related crimes. Those crimes included murder of police officers and civilians; the victims included innocent bystanders and children caught up in criminal enterprises whose danger they could never appreciate.

During my years as a prosecutor, as I watched drug crime change the character of America's cities, I learned some important lessons.

First, drug traffickers—no matter how high-up or how venal—care very little about the sanctions of the criminal-justice system. Going to jail is just part of the cost of doing business. It's a nuisance, not a deterrent.

Second, drug dealers fear one another far more than they fear law-enforcement officials. They know that the police must give them due process, but competing drug dealers will kill them at a moment's notice.

Finally, profit is the engine driving drug trafficking. Neither criminal sanctions nor even the competitive business practices (murder, extortion, kidnapping) of their fellow dealers have much, if any, effect on people who trade in drugs.

But take the profit out of their enterprise—and you'll get their attention. Perhaps it's time to fight the crime epidemic associated with drug trafficking by communicating with the drug underground in the only language they understand: Money.

Decriminalization would take the profit out of drugs and greatly reduce, if not eliminate, the drug-related violence that is currently plaguing our streets. Decriminalization will not solve this country's drug abuse problem, but it could solve our most intractable crime problem.

It is very easy for people living in communities where drugs are not a problem (and those are becoming fewer all the time) to argue that drug-related violence cannot justify decriminalization. But if you have to live with that violence day in and day out—as millions of people in large urban areas do—and live in terror of being gunned down, robbed or assaulted, or having the same occur to one of your loved ones, you soon start wanting results.

Taking the profit out of drugs would have a detrimental impact on those who are now producing and selling drugs. Drug lords would no longer risk prison for a commodity that was not making them a profit.

• **Health.** Some will argue that the public-health risks from drugs will only worsen if they are decriminalized. Again, this is a question Congress would need to resolve, but there is every reason to believe that decriminalization would improve public health.

First, violent crime associated with illegal sale of drugs would fall dramatically. For those who doubt that, imagine how violent crime would increase if we once again made the use and sale of alcohol illegal.

Secondly, decriminalization would allow billions of dollars now used for interdiction and enforcement to be redirected toward prevention and treatment.

Smoking kills over 300,000 people every year, but we have made the policy decision to treat tobacco as a health problem, not a crime problem, and we are making real progress. The number of people smoking continues to fall because of a concerted public education campaign about the health effects of smoking.

There is no reason that we could not do the same with drugs. And then we could find the money we need to educate our young people on the harmful effects of drugs and treat those who are currently addicted, instead of engaging in a wildly expensive cat-and-mouse game that the mouse is winning 90 percent of the time.

To make matters worse, the Reagan administration has continuously tried to cut drug programs aimed at the prevention and treatment of drug abuse. It was Congress, through its passage of the anti-drug abuse act of 1986, that enabled the United States to make an even modestly credible effort to treat and prevent drug abuse. But it is doubtful that even the effort of Congress will make much difference. Several hundred million dollars to fight the health effects of an enterprise earning billions is not sufficient. Only by applying a substantial portion of the more than three billion dollars invested in the total federal drug program can we begin to treat those currently addicted—many of whom now have AIDS—and properly educate our children about the harmful effects of drugs.

Many political and opinion leaders will resist the notion that our current drug policy is folly, and perhaps they're right. But all the signs are there: We're spending billions of dollars in an effort that is enriching the very people we're trying to stop. And in the meantime, millions of people continue to use drugs and millions more have lost all confidence that they can live securely in their neighborhoods.

It takes great maturity and willpower for a society to step back from a policy that on the surface seems noble and justified, but in reality has only compounded the problem it is attempting to solve. On the subject of drugs, such maturity and will power may now be in order. At the very least, we need a sober national debate on the subject. ■

This article first appeared in the *Washington Post*.

Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies

New Study Issued by the Joint Center Concludes That Racial Bias Weighed Heavily in California's '82 and '86 Gubernatorial Elections

In the fall of 1982, the son of a Texas sharecropper was on the brink of becoming the nation's first black elected governor. Already the mayor of Los Angeles since 1973, Tom Bradley had handily won the nomination of California's Democratic party. Surveys throughout the campaign showed him consistently ahead of Republican attorney general George Deukmejian, and when the polls closed on November 2, 1982, the media declared Bradley the unofficial winner. But Tom Bradley lost the election. His defeat, the narrowest in the history of California gubernatorial races, was by a margin of 1.2 percent of the 7.8 million votes cast.

Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies, released this month by the Joint Center, is authored by Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, professor of social psychology at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Dr. Denise Alston, a policy analyst at the Center for Policy Research of the National Governors Association. The authors challenge the conclusions of earlier studies that discounted racism as a significant factor in Bradley's loss to Deukmejian in 1982 and again in 1986. They acknowledge that other factors—including a poorly conceived campaign strategy and several controversial election issues—contributed to keeping Bradley out of the statehouse. Nevertheless, they conclude that Bradley's opponents subtly and successfully played on the racial biases of a significant number of white Californians, shifting enough votes to account for his defeat.

In 1982, Bradley's image of quiet professionalism and political moderation was considered nonthreatening to white voters, and polls throughout that contest revealed no discernible racist sentiment against him. Previous studies of the 1982 contest have therefore explained Bradley's defeat by the presence on the ballot of a controversial handgun-control proposition, which brought large numbers of conservative voters to the polls to defeat it. Studies have also cited the "drag" on the 1982 Democratic election slate produced by the candidacy for U.S. Senate of outgoing Governor Jerry Brown, who was by then widely unpopular in his own state. Pettigrew and Alston analyze the voting patterns across California to compare the relative influence of conservative preferences with the influence of racial bias and fears. The pattern that emerges shows that the influence of racial bias was equal to or greater than that of all other factors.

The authors find that Bradley's "colorblind" campaign strategy of 1982 was out of step with both voters' attitudes and his opponent's techniques. "His campaign failed to mobilize minority and liberal-to-left voters," they write, "while expending valuable time and resources on appeals to the elusive moderate white vote." They argue that Bradley's insistence that race had no place in the campaign and his failure to openly denounce race-baiting tactics left him open to the opposition's subtle exploitation of racial bias. Deukmejian's tactics included a campaign slogan that suggested no black governor could ever represent the interests of whites and a radio ad that suggested no black man (the ad used the term "skunk") could be trusted.

Concerning the referenda on the 1982 and 1986 ballots, the authors find that the highly charged issues (including handgun control in 1982 and English as the state's official language in 1986) did draw large numbers of conservatives to the polls and weighted both elections against Bradley. Nevertheless, racism proved to be an even stronger force at the polls than those issues.

Pettigrew and Alston argue that a color-blind strategy, like Bradley's in 1982, tends to place any black candidate in a weak position. They also assert that the opposite extreme—an exclusive black appeal—is equally weak. The most effective approach, they argue, is to seek a path between these extremes, an idea Bradley himself began to explore, though too late, in his 1986 campaign.

The authors shed light on a strategic dilemma faced by black candidates in elections where black voters are in the minority: how to exploit the natural strength among minority and liberal voters without alienating the "moderate" white voters of one's own party.

"Winning almost three million white votes for a state's highest office during a decade that will hardly be remembered for its civil rights advances is no mean feat," the authors conclude. "We can learn, then, from what Bradley did right as well as from what he did wrong."

Copies of *Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor* can be ordered through the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202/626-3500. ■

This summary was written by Marc DeFrancis, senior editor at the Joint Center.

Decriminalization Is Wrong

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What about addicts: Would we not have to give them more in order to satisfy their craving, or would we give them enough to just whet their appetites?

What do we do about those who are experimenting? Do we sell them the drugs, too, and encourage them to pick up the habit?

Furthermore, will the government establish tax-supported facilities to sell these drugs?

Would we get the supply from the same foreign countries that support our habit now, or would we create our own internal sources and "dope factories," paying people the minimum wage to churn out mounds of cocaine and bales of marijuana?

Would there be an age limit on who can purchase drugs, as exists with alcohol? What would the market price be and who would set it? Would private industry be allowed to have a stake in any of this?

What are we going to do about underage youngsters—the age group hardest hit by the crack crisis? Are we going to give them identification cards? How can we prevent adults from purchasing drugs for them?

How many people are projected to become addicts as a result of the introduction of cheaper, more available drugs sanctioned by government?

Since marijuana remains in a person's system for weeks, what would we do about pilots, railroad engineers, surgeons, police, cross-country truckers and nuclear plant employees who want to use it during off-duty hours? And what would be the effect on the health insurance industry?

Many of the problems associated with drug abuse will not go away just because of legalization. For too long we have ignored the root cause, failing to see the connection between drugs and hopelessness, helplessness and despair.

We often hear that legalization would bring an end to the bloodshed and violence that have often been associated with the illegal narcotics trade. The profit will be taken out of it, so to speak, as will be the urge to commit crime to get money to buy drugs. But what gives anybody the impression that legalization would deter many jobless and economically deprived people from resorting to crime to pay for their habits?

Even in a decriminalized atmosphere, money would still be needed to support habits. Because drugs would be cheaper and more available, people would want more and would commit more crime. Does anybody really think the black market would disappear? There would always be opportunities for those who saw profit in peddling larger quantities, or improved versions, of products that are forbidden or restricted.

Legalization would completely undermine any educational effort we undertake to persuade kids about the harmful effects of drugs. Today's kids have not yet been totally lost to the drug menace, but if we legalize these substances they'll surely get the message that drugs are O.K.

Not only would our young people realize that the threat of jail and punishment no longer exists. They would pick up the far more damaging message that the use of illegal narcotics does not pose a significant enough health threat for the government to ban its use.

If we really want to do something about drug abuse, let's end this nonsensical talk about legalization right now.

Let's put the pressure on our leaders to first make the drug problem a priority issue on the national agenda, then let's see if we can get a coordinated national battle plan that would include the deployment of military personnel and equipment to wipe out this foreign-based national security threat. Votes by the House and more recently the Senate to involve the armed forces in the war on drugs are steps in the right direction.

Finally, let's take this legalization issue and put it where it belongs—amid idle chit-chat as cocktail glasses knock together at social events. ■

This article first appeared in the *New York Times*.

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