

day? Have you made any surveys on what percent of the people use one type of drug or another?

Do they go from marihuana to opium or marihuana to heroin? Do they all start with marihuana?

Dr. GODDARD. Let me answer your first question. Such studies as you are talking about are very difficult to do because the respondents are fearful of indicating their involvement with something that is disapproved by society. Estimates on marihuana usage alone indicate that as many as 20 million people in our society have used the drug. Now, that is 10 percent. Estimates on college campuses vary, depending on the source and depending on the campus. Up to 25 percent of the students on one campus were reported as having abused drugs, period. This is all kinds—LSD, marihuana, amphetamines, et cetera. Now, on other campuses, the estimates are lower and there is great variation. So we are hard pressed to have good detailed, precise knowledge. But we know it is a major problem.

Just the number of dosage units seized last year by BDAC alone, over 570 million dosage units were seized by our agents in the barbiturates, amphetamines, hallucinogens classes of drugs. My predecessor estimated at one time that half of the 10-billion dosage units manufactured for legal purposes in stimulants and depressants were being diverted to the illicit trade. This alone would indicate a tremendous magnitude of the problem of drug abuse in our society.

Now, as to whether or not individuals who are heroin addicts have all started on marihuana or not, the answer is "No," they have not all. There are clear differences. We tend to talk of the extremes, that marihuana never leads to heroin addiction or that it always does. The answer is somewhere in between these extremes. Studies that have been carried out by the Lexington Center for Narcotics Addiction as operated by the Public Health Service on their total admissions for 1 year—I think it was approximately 2,200. One study made where addiction is prevalent in 16 States and in the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico shows 80 percent of those individuals started on marihuana and they tended to start on marihuana at roughly age 17; at 18.7 years mean age, they were arrested. At age 20.9, they started on heroin for the first time.

Now, in the 12 Southern States we have different patterns of addiction, none of them started with marihuana. They started with opiates, mainly morphine, Dilaudid, these kinds of derivatives and they started at an older age. So there are different patterns.

Mr. DOLE. It may be a question of availability.

Dr. GODDARD. That is the point. This is what we are trying to get at, control, reduce the availability. You see, but it is more than just availability that differentiates these patterns. It is the whole social structure in which drug abuse occurs. There is not the drug subculture in the Southern cities of the nature that occurs in these major metropolitan centers where they tend to gather and congregate as teenagers and become involved with drugs that can be abused.

They may start with airplane glue, you see, at a very young age in some of these neighborhoods, as you know, Mrs. Dwyer. It is a problem.

How do you get to them? You have to educate them. You have to carry out research to understand what the problem is, both sociological