S. HRG. 106–636

OVERSIGHT HEARING ON OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

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SPECIAL HEARING

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OVERSIGHT HEARING ON OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2000

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TREASURY AND
GENERAL GOVERNMENT,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:34 a.m., in room SD–138, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Campbell and Dorgan.

OPENING REMARKS

Senator CAMPBELL. The Treasury Appropriations Subcommittee will be in order. I would like to welcome everyone here today.

Given the recent articles on the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) media campaign, I and some of the other members of the committee have some serious concerns and I felt it was important for the committee to have an opportunity to look more closely at the campaign.

An article in The Washington Post on January 14, 2000 prompted me to hold this hearing. For those of you who have not seen the article, it discusses how the ONDCP is providing networks credit for running anti-drug messages. The article also touches on the issue of the Federal Government influencing the creative process, and that is also one of the things that we want to talk about today.

I have to tell you right from the beginning, I think it is inappropriate that we have to find out in this committee, we who are elected to pass legislation and to oversee the budget, what is going on by reading it on the front page of a newspaper. By the same token, I do commend The Washington Post for bringing this to the attention of Congress.

I have looked over some of the testimony that has already been turned in and the summary, and I have to tell you that I note with some interest that the ONDCP's summary implies that Congress was kind of a full partner in this, that we knew about it, that we had done hearings on it, and I totally reject that idea. I have been here 4 years. We have done no hearings on this, and in checking with Congressman Kolbe's staff, our House counterpart, they have done no hearings on it, either, although there was one slight sentence that kind of flew by in the process of doing another hearing.

I also want to reject the idea that, in my view, the ONDCP was given legislative authority to enter into credit agreements. In their summary, they cite 21 U.S.C. section 1801. Well, I have looked it up and read everything from 1801 to 1804, and that language does speak of a number of things, of contracts in lieu of contributions and things of that nature, in-kind contributions, I mean. There is nothing in here that say anything about credits that I can understand. It talks about the purchase of media time and space, the talent reuse payments, out-of-pocket advertising production costs, testing and evaluation of advertising, evaluation and effectiveness of media campaign, negotiated fees for winning bidders on request proposals, things of that nature.

Under Paragraph (H), it does talk about the entertainment industry, collaborations to fashion anti-drug messages in motion pictures, television programs, popular music, interactive media projects, things of that nature, but at no time does it say that there would be any kind of quid pro quo agreements to trade credits for time. In fact, if you go through 1803 and 1804, in fact, in 1804, it does, under prohibitions, say that it is prohibited to supplant current anti-drug community-based coalitions and to supplant current pro bono public service time donated by national and local broadcasting networks.

We put that in there. This committee put that in there because we were worried at the time, although all of us support a media campaign to reduce drug use by youngsters, that this huge amount of money, $1 billion in 5 years, could become a windfall for the media and, in fact, could end up supplanting what they were supposed to do anyway. It was not supposed to be a windfall. It was not supposed to be any kind of new added money that they could rely on in lieu of actually doing the advertising.

As appropriators, we place the responsibility of ensuring that Federal funds are spent wisely and carefully. There are tough choices we have to continually face and many worthy projects were not funded when we were asked for the original money. We put a lot of money into this, as everybody here knows. In my myriad of notes, I have for fiscal year 1998, $195 million; fiscal year 1999, $185 million; fiscal year 2000, $185 million. That is a total so far of $565 million—$565 million—and in order to be able to do that, because we do support a media campaign, we had to rob some other programs.

We had to take money from other programs and they were very upset about us taking the money out of the program. We had budget caps in this committee, as all committees did. We had to live within those budget caps under the budget agreement and it was not easy to find the money to put into this program. When we have scarce dollars, we have to exercise stewardship, and I think everyone in this community knows that.

We included the language. We worked very hard to make sure the campaign was a success. We also put a section in, if you will remember in those days a few years ago, that would require ONDCP to come back and give us some kind of verifiable information on whether the program was working, some type of measuring stick that we could use to justify further appropriations for it. We

have gotten some numbers back, but we have not under the original agreement gotten the full study back, as you well know.

I am most concerned that the ONDCP may be allowing the networks a way out of their contractual obligations to run the anti-drug ads. As I understand it, the networks could be getting credit for running anti-drug messages under the existing law that would have run anyway. Now, if the shoe is on the other foot, I am not sure that we would have been treated quite so well. But as I understand it, under this agreement, we pay them for ad space, then give them credits so that they can then sell the same ad space again to commercial advertisers. If that is not a windfall, I do not know what is. They are being paid twice. One of our first concerns when we went to bat for it was exactly that, and that is why we put the language in dealing with this issue.

But let us go on. Today, we have Alan Levitt of the ONDCP, who runs the media campaign. I am hoping Mr. Levitt will be able to tell us about the current status of the campaign, and shed some light on how that program is running. I have not been able to find any kind of verifiable yardstick about how it is administered with some kind of cohesive answer. I would also like him to address the news articles and clarify exactly what is going on.

We also have Peggy Conlon from the Ad Council, which provides us with a very unique perspective. The Ad Council is an organization which assists the nonprofit world in advertising marketing campaigns focused on social themes and attitudes, and I am hoping Ms. Conlon can provide us with some insight and information on how the public service ads, or the PSAs, as they are called, work in the commercial marketplace.

With Ms. Conlon, we have Richard Bonnette, President of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA). PDFA is an organization whose mission is to reduce the drug use in this country through media communication, and I certainly applaud their efforts. They have been involved in delivering anti-drug messages throughout the year, for over 10 years, in fact.

This is not a question about who supports reducing teenage drug use. We all do, and we are not the bad guys here, but we have to account not only to our constituents but a lot of other people, too, about where the money is going. So, let us make sure that we are on the same page from that standpoint. We do not oppose the media campaign. We do not oppose spending money on reducing drug usage. But this, I think, although it may not violate the letter of the law, I think it violates the spirit of what we want to do.

With that, we will proceed to the first witness. Oh, excuse me. I apologize. I would like to give Senator Dorgan, the ranking minority, an opportunity to speak to us.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. This is an interesting issue and, I think, an important issue. Last weekend at the Super Bowl, my understanding is that some 30-second ads were sold for $2 million for a 30-second advertisement. Why? Why would anyone pay $2 million for a 30-second advertisement on television? Because those who know these things know that advertisements on television are extraordinarily powerful. They affect a lot of things in this country, what people wear, what people purchase, what people drive, how people choose the airlines they fly. We

know and the private sector knows that television is a powerful, powerful medium.

Now, a decision was made by Congress to spend a substantial amount of money, $1 billion, on television advertising, trying to persuade young people not to take drugs and telling them of the dangers of taking drugs. That was an experiment of sorts. We have never done that before. We do not know the consequences of it. It is an experiment. But all of us embarked on that experiment together because we believed it was worth doing. We are in the process of trying to measure as we move along what effect, if any, this has had on drug use by young Americans.

It probably was inevitable that in the context of an experiment like this, we would also run into some controversy. I do not diminish the controversy. I think it is important and something that we ought to understand and get to the bottom of.

Recently, a magazine article, I believe authored by one of the witnesses that will appear this morning, Mr. Daniel Forbes, claimed that the Office of National Drug Control Policy lured the networks into an agreement to place anti-drug messages into regular network shows, and, in fact, there were scripts furnished and approved by a Federal agency and so on. It raised a lot of questions. There has been since that article denials and charges back and forth and a piece that I saw in the Wall Street Journal that said much is being made of little or nothing here. So there is a lot of controversy swirling about this.

I agree with the chairman. I do not think the fact that there is some controversy raised ought to diminish the effort that is being made in this experiment that we are attempting, which I think is a very important experiment. But because these questions are raised, I think we ought to try to understand them and get to the bottom of them.

Without at all diminishing Mr. Forbes, I would say that as someone who has been in public life for some long, long while, as has my colleague from Colorado, we know that there is from time to time a difference between a news article and the facts. I do not allege that is always the case. There are a lot of wonderful journalists and it is an honorable profession. But we need to understand, what are the facts? People see things differently, represent them differently. Let us try to sift through all this and understand what has happened and is what has happened here something that is countenanced by those of us in Congress who supported this program and do support this program.

So I commend you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing. I am anxious to hear the witnesses. I want this program to work. All of us have the same goals here. All of us want very much for our children to get the message that taking drugs is something that they should not do. It is bad for all Americans, and bad for children. So we want this to work, and I think this hearing is a step to try to understand what this controversy is about, to resolve it, and to move on. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Senator CAMPBELL. I appreciate your comments, Mr. Dorgan. We have worked well together and certainly our interests are the same in trying to reduce drug use by our young people.

With that, we will go to the first witness, Mr. Alan Levitt, the Director of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Mr. Levitt, if you would like to proceed.

STATEMENT OF ALAN LEVITT, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN, OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY, DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Mr. LEVITT. Thank you. On behalf of ONDCP and Director McCaffrey, thank you for the chance to testify today about the National Youth——

Senator CAMPBELL. By the way, we did invite General McCaffrey to appear. He had a conflict, as you probably know.

Mr. LEVITT. He is at a prayer breakfast this morning.

Chairman Campbell, Senator Dorgan, your bipartisan support of this campaign is very much appreciated. I have some opening remarks but respectfully request that my complete written testimony be submitted for the record.

Senator CAMPBELL. We have that on file.

NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Mr. LEVITT. We are indebted to Mr. Jim Burke and Dick Bonnette of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, Dr. Alan Leshner and the National Institute of Drug Abuse, Major General Art Dean and the 5,000 Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America, Peggy Conlon of the Ad Council, and Wally Snyder of the American Advertising Federation and the National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors. These are our key partners in the campaign. I would also like to recognize the members of the law enforcement community and other community organizations and public health organizations in this room today.

Finally, I would like to recognize our advertising and communication partners. Tro Piliguian is the CEO of Ogilvy North America and is here. Ogilvy has just been voted the best ad agency on the East Coast by Ad Week, and Paul Johnson, the Regional President for Fleishman-Hillard, provides us with a world class communications team. Last month, Fleishman was named Agency of the Decade by Inside PR.

A word about myself. I am a career civil servant. I spent the last 30 years of my career doing public education and media outreach efforts on such concepts as energy conservation, environmental protection, hunting and conservation, science, and substance abuse.

Mr. Chairman, it is important to understand where the campaign began and the factors that precipitated it. To remind us all of the landscape in 1996 and 1997, there was more than a doubling of drug use among youth. The perceptions of harm was decreasing. There was a "not in my backyard" syndrome that this was a poor black inner-city problem.

Congress recognized the seriousness of the situation and legislation was passed authorizing this campaign, a huge bipartisan commitment and historic public health communication initiative. We did not take this lightly. We spent 8 months developing a plan. We talked to over 200 experts and set up expert panels. We gathered the best and the brightest minds in behavioral science, advertising, communications, substance abuse, and research. We garnered the

best practices of the public and private sectors and looked at very successful, not just consumer product marketing campaigns, but behavioral change programs that got people to wear seat belts, or use designated drivers, or conduct breast cancer awareness.

What we developed was a strategy which we affectionately call the "Burgundy Bible," which is the underpinnings of the entire campaign. All of our strategic messages and the rationale behind them are listed there. Simply put, it is a communications strategy which was broken down into message areas for both youth and parents and youth influential adults—four for adults and four for youth. The strategy was based on what research and the experts told us. Everything we do in the campaign, everything we do in advertising, in programming, in the Internet is linked to one of these strategic messages.

NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN STRATEGIC MESSAGE FOCUS

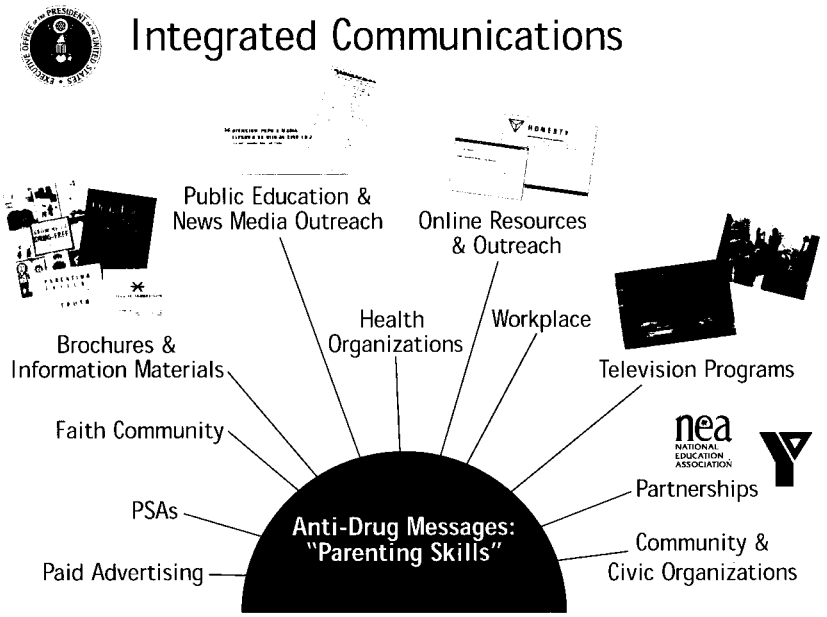
Youth	Parents/Caregivers
Norm Education	Perceptions of Harm
Positive Consequences	Your Child at Risk
Negative Consequences	Personal Efficacy
Resistance Skills	Parenting Skills

INFLUENCING YOUTH

The experts told us to communicate to the youth wherever they are. If you look at youth, of course, they are the center of their environment and they are not just influenced by ads. They are influenced by programming. They are influenced by the Internet, but also by coaches and the faith community and teachers and a whole variety of other influences in their culture, environment. We set out to try and change many of those, on the drug messages, on the information about drugs that were coming from those areas. The experts told us to go beyond advertising and get it down to the community level, and we have done that.

This following chart sort of gives you an idea of how we approached the campaign, for one of the strategic messages on parenting skills. And you see we have paid advertising, public service advertising, a whole range of other techniques to change behavior.

The campaign is structured in six components. Advertising, of course, is the most visible. More than 200 of the top ad agencies in the country work pro bono through the Partnership for a Drug-Free America to produce our ads. The pro bono match is one of the unique and most successful concepts of this campaign. For the advertising, last year, you mandated 100 percent match in public service. The first year, it was our own negotiation tactics. These charts are also in your packet. You can see there are six ways we get to the environment of the children, and advertising is the biggest.

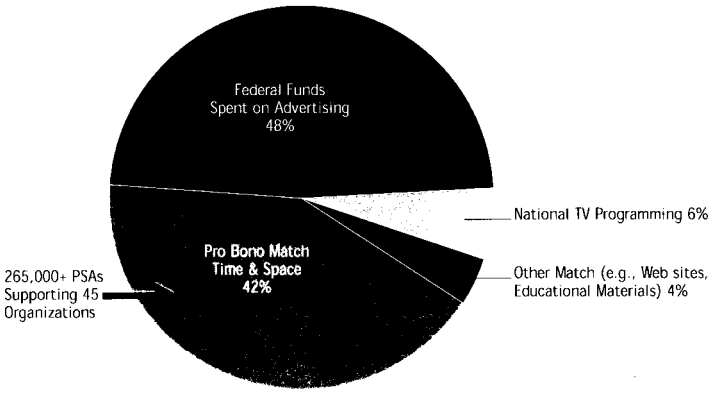


PRO BONO MATCH

The next chart talks a little bit about the pro bono match. You can see that for every 48 cents we are spending of taxpayer dollars, we are getting $1. We are spending 48 cents, we are getting ads—actually, it is even a better deal than that, because Ogilvy is the largest media buyer for broadcast media in this country, so they get a good deal just on their volume. But in addition to the Ogilvy rate, we get the pro bono match, which is almost equal to that, plus programming, plus a whole range of other kinds of in-kind contributions, like Websites and materials for schools and teachers.

National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Pro Bono Match Multiplies the Federal Investment

What the Government Gets for its Dollar



OTHER CAMPAIGN COMPONENTS

Not as visible, but no less important, are the other components of the campaign, including the Internet, which is the fastest-growing area of influence for adolescents, second only in influence to television with respect to where youth get their information. Over 10 million youth and parents have visited our Websites. We are about to launch Websites in six other languages, including Spanish and five Asian languages.

These are for parents.

The entertainment industry, although we are spending about $1.5 million to do the outreach to the entertainment industry, is probably the most highly leveraged and effective component and of our efforts. We provide technical assistance to writers and producers. A lot of that information comes directly from the National Institute of Drug Abuse, where we are spending over half-a-billion dollars a year to find out more about drugs and behavior issues with kids.

We also do a whole variety of technical briefings and outreach to the creative community. Most recently, we have done one on sex, drugs, and teens in partnership with the Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy. We had about 20 writers and producers attending that in New York. This was in December.

We have public education and news media outreach, which have contributed more than 400 million other impressions about the drug issue in magazines and newspapers across the country. One of the efforts we have done with the New York Times is an anti-drug teachers' guide. This was part of a pro bono match. We have almost 100 other partnerships with groups like the YMCA, which has just instituted its first after-school program with a drug pre-

vention component for middle-school youth. The Future Farmers of America, the largest youth organization in the country, has a writing contest about drugs.

NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN PRO BONO MATCH

Public health organizations with drug-related public service messages benefit from match:
—265,000 TV and radio time slots
—168 million Internet impressions

100 Black Men
Alanon/Alateen
American Symphony Orchestra League
America's Promise
Big Brothers Big Sisters of America
Boys and Girls Club
Boys Town USA
Center for Juvenile and Criminal Justice/Justice Policy Institute
Center for Substance Abuse Prevention/Health and Human Services
Center for Substance Abuse Treatment/Health and Human Services
Centers for Disease Control
Connect for Kids (The Benton Foundation)
Country Music Association
Do Good, Mentor a Child/Save the Children USA
Drunk Driving Prevention/U.S. Department of Transportation
Education Excellence Partnership
Educational Testing Service
Girl Scouts of the USA
Give a Kid a Hand/International Advertising Association
Harvard Mentoring Project
Health and Human Services/ Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Admin.
Hepatitis Foundation International
Kids Peace
Mentoring USA
Mothers Against Drunk Driving
National Action Council of Minority Engineers
National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse
National Council of Teachers of Mathematics
National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependency, Inc.
National Crime Prevention Coalition
National Fatherhood Initiative
National 4H Council
National Inhalant Prevention Coalition
National Institute on Drug Abuse
Parental Responsibility/Department of Health and Human Services
Parents at First Teachers/El Valor
Partnership for a Drug-Free America
President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports
Points of Light Foundation
Prevent Child Abuse America
Recording Artists, Actors and Athletes Against Drunk Driving/ Department of Transportation
Talking with Kids about Tough Issues (Children Now/Kaiser Family Fnd)
The Reiner Foundation/Families and Work Institute (Early Childhood Dev)
YMCA

EXAMPLES OF THE MATCH

I would like to submit for the record about a half-a-dozen letters and other materials from outside organizations.

Senator CAMPBELL. Without objection, that will be included.

Mr. LEVITT. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to show now two different approaches to fulfilling the pro bono match. The first is two public service announcements. We have gotten 265,000 radio and TV public service time slots that we have given away to 45 different organizations. You should also have this in your packet. That is done through a process with the Ad Council, and I will just show two of these right now.

[A videotape was played.]

Senator CAMPBELL. I might mention, Mr. Levitt, I do not think anyone on the committee has any problem with that type of ad. We

all know it is an ad, probably very effective. It is measurable. That is not subliminal.

Go ahead and proceed.

Mr. LEVITT. I think Peggy Conlon will talk a little bit more about these ads and that process, but I would like to show now some examples of the television programming that we have credited in the pro bono match.

[A videotape was played.]

MEDIA CAMPAIGN IMPACT

Mr. LEVITT. Senator Campbell, the most important news about the campaign is that it is working. We are already seeing changes and reported many of the results to this committee in the last year. The number of parents who have had discussions with their kids about drugs has increased from 44 to 57 percent. The percentage of teens exposed to anti-drug messages every day has increased 41 percent. And in the last year, the percentage of teens who strongly agree that cool people do not smoke marijuana rose by 14 percent.

There has also been a tremendous impact in the prevention community. Just at the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information, there has been almost a three-fold increase in calls for anti-drug information, and many of the anti-drug coalitions at community levels have experienced a three- or four-fold increase in phone calls. The Ad Council is also helping us in one of our campaigns to promote the concept of community anti-drug coalitions.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to set the record straight about some misinformation contained in some of the inaccurate press reports that you have referred to. I can understand your concern. The reports were very alarming, and I think many of them are quoting people who have no understanding of this campaign. People who are involved in this campaign do not see in any way that we are intruding on their creative freedom.

Taken out of context by reporters and others not familiar with the campaign, the story attracted press attention throughout the country. There were unfounded allegations of attacks on the First Amendment, "Big Brother," and nonexistence conspiracies involving the Government and the networks. Nothing could be further from the truth.

This is the most public and open communications campaign in the history of this country. We believe it is a matter of public law. Our appropriations and authorization language, we believe, gives us as we interpret it, a mandate for this. We have been very clear in all of our contracts, in all of the briefings to other Congressional staff and to this subcommittee. This is the fourth committee to whom we have talked about the pro bono match. Articles have been on the front page of the Los Angeles Times over 1 year ago, in 1998. We had articles in Variety and in USA Today that have talked about this. We have not done this in secret.

We are doing it because it is the way you change behavior. There are about 70 organizations in this country that actively lobby the entertainment industry from one issue or another to change programming. Every single one of these organizations, if you give them the choice of having ads or programming, would take programming, hands down, because that is what the experts tell us.

You need that in addition to advertisements and the other channels of communication.

We have had a GAO audit where we have shared this information for the last year, and the pro bono match credit for programming has been mentioned in two Presidential press conferences in the last year.

Mr. Chairman, the campaign is reaching millions of parents and kids every week with the truth about drugs. Thousands of partners are signing on as well as communities across the nation. I am honored to have devoted the last 4 years or 3 years of my life to this campaign and to see the progress that we have collectively made.

The authorization of this campaign was a bipartisan demonstration of the national will to get at this problem, youth drug use. You gave us the resources and we jumped on it with both feet. Drug use is going down in this country. By any measure, this is the "gold standard" of public communication programs. It was planned by the experts, it is being implemented by the experts, and it is being evaluated by the National Institute of Drug Abuse and the Annenberg School of Communications, through the most prestigious institutions in the country.

It is also recognized as a model in the public health community. In May, it will be in an article in the Journal of Public Health Management and in the Public Health Communications Journal. Over 25 other nations have sought our advice and dozens of cities and States are looking into the same kinds of programs, not to mention other Federal agencies.

Again, the Media Campaign is working. We have 4 million chronically addicted people in this country and we are working to stop that from growing, and in the long run, ultimately reduce it.

I will be happy to answer any of your questions.

Senator CAMPBELL. Thank you for your comments. First, I would point out to you that we have no problem with all of the agencies you mentioned that support the efforts of reducing drugs. That is not the question. None of those agencies are responsible for protecting the taxpayers' dollar.

Also, there is no question, as you mentioned, it does change behavior. I am sure it changes behavior. That is not the question, either. I think the question is the propriety of how we change behavior.

About 30 years ago, one of our largest manufacturers of soft drinks tried some experiments in the developmental days of TV in which they inserted subliminal ads to drink their product, and they found that, in fact, if they would put that in the different frames of the film, drink this product, that, in fact, the purchase of the product did go up. See, we know you can influence behavior. That is the basis of all advertising, whether you buy a Ford over Chevrolet or a certain kind of toothpaste over another kind of toothpaste. We know we can influence behavior. I mean, political campaigns influence behavior. The question is how we go about doing it, and I think that is one of the things we need to get to.

Let me ask you some questions. First of all, some of these programs are late at night and we are trying to get to youngsters 8 years old to 12 years old. That is one of the big areas. How many

youngsters are watching late-night programs? Do you have any information on that?

Mr. LEVITT. Well, I can provide it for the record, of course. We rely on the experts who do this for a living.

[The information follows:]

Of course, very few children watch any late night television, which runs from 11:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. Appropriately, ONDCP is currently not running advertising in any late night programming on network television, nor have we credited network late night programming in our pro bono match valuing process.

Prime time programming airs from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. on Sunday. Advertising time is purchased for ONDCP in these programs, during these time periods, to reach both our parents target and our youth target. Networks such as the WB and Fox air prime time programs that appeal to the younger age groups. ODNCP purchases advertising in these shows (such as "Buffy the Vampire Slayer," "The Simpsons," and "Dawson's Creek) and airs youth targeted advertising/commercials.

ONDCP advertising also airs in programs such as "NYPD Blue" in which time is purchased to reach parents and other youth influencers. Advertising that is directed to parents is what we schedule to air in these adult-targeted programs.

Mr. LEVITT. Ogilvy operates about a $16 billion a year business. What they do is buy eyeballs and ears, and they know when the kids are watching and where they are watching. Ogilvy is the organization that guides us in putting ads on different programs or which——

Senator CAMPBELL. Let me ask you something else. When Bill Cosby made the comment and there was a number you should call, I understand that. Anybody can understand that. That is easy to understand. But are these youngsters, the younger ones, particularly, are they sophisticated enough to understand messages that are in the script, particularly when there is taped-in laughter and jokes going on, as there was with a couple of those? Is that a serious message that they would understand, as a paid ad would be?

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Mr. LEVITT. The researchers and the people who are advising us say that often that is more effective than an ad because it has context. It may have the kids' favorite character. There is a plot line. It may last for more than one episode. We think that this is one of the most effective things that we could do. It is the way that a network can contribute the most to this campaign. We could buy ads, but if you are going to the bathroom or getting something to eat when an ad is on, you are not going to see it. You are going to watch that program.

Senator CAMPBELL. Let us get to some of the scripts. I also want to ask you about how these agreements were reached. As I read our notes, according to officials of several networks, their scripts were not reviewed. If the scripts were not reviewed, how do you arrive at some type of a monetary figure about the trade for credits if you do not review the scripts?

There has been a lot of talk about the scripts. I understand for a while that some were being turned in to be reviewed beforehand. After this was broken in the news, it was changed and now scripts are reviewed only afterwards. If it was a good idea to review the scripts before, my question would be, why did you change it so you do not review them before now, and if it was not a good idea to

review the scripts at all, if there is some kind of First Amendment problem, why were you reviewing any scripts?

Mr. LEVITT. There are two processes that got confused, and in no instance was there any coercion in any way or requirement for anybody to send a script. This was a purely voluntary thing.

Let me just step back for a second and tell you how these are negotiated. When Ogilvy, which is our current media buyer, negotiates with a network, they say, for example, we want to buy *x* million dollars on your network. The network will come back and propose how they are going to fulfill their public service obligation. Fifty percent or more must be in time and space. It is running about 85 percent, but the only requirement we have is that 50 percent or more of their public service obligation must be in media time and space.

The rest could be in any one of a number of activities that the Government finds useful. AOL and Disney, for example, created Websites last year, wonderful Websites. The New York Times may do a teachers' guide. Others will do other community programs or a public affairs show. We need a way to quantify it. The time slots are the easiest way to quantify it.

Let us go to the criteria. The Ad Council established some criteria for the pro bono match. These are the areas that we are supporting in the pro bono match, the nine areas, promoting effective parenting practices, among others. So either the public service messages or the programs must——

PRO BONO MATCH: 9 CRITERIA FOR QUALIFICATION

Public Service Messages or Programming that:
—Promote effective parenting practices.
—Foster greater parent/caregiver involvement and develop effective drug-prevention strategies.
—Strengthen parent-child relationship through early childhood development programs.
—Support in- and after-school youth programs and services.
—Enhance high expectations and self-esteem in youth.
—Prevent drug abuse including underage tobacco or alcohol use.
—Highlight nexus of drugs and crime and violence.
—Illustrate connection between substance use and AIDS.
—Develop other drug information-related messages.

Developed with The Advertising Council, March 1998.

Senator CAMPBELL. I do not want to get too far outfield because we support most of this, if not all of it. I have said that. Senator Dorgan has said that, too. The question is, how are we arriving at this.

Mr. LEVITT. What we——

Senator CAMPBELL. As I understand, you believe that the chance of millions of dollars of windfall money would not influence them to change a script?

Mr. LEVITT. I do not think so.

Senator CAMPBELL. According to one of the producers of CBS, although no one from your office asked them to change the script, they were, in fact, leaned on to change the script by some of their

own officials, and I can only assume that it was because they saw an opportunity to make millions of windfall dollars.

Mr. LEVITT. I am not aware of that, sir, but let me explain the process——

Senator CAMPBELL. I must tell you that the intent of Congress and this committee was that the money, 100 percent of the money, would go to paid advertising. Continue.

Mr. LEVITT. I understand that. Long before this media campaign was in existence, we provided technical assistance and sometimes script review assistance for the entertainment industry.

Senator CAMPBELL. At their request?

Mr. LEVITT. Always at their request, always. What we have been able to do with this campaign is accelerate that and increase it. We have, for example, media briefings planned to the entertainment industry on the subjects of children of substance abusers, on inhalants, and on designer drugs. We have workshops for writers of medical shows. What we have are panels of experts from the Federal Government in other areas that come to Hollywood or New York and make presentations and answer questions to writers who are interested in these subjects. The subjects are or are not woven into their scripts.

We also make ourselves available by the telephone. Our Deputy Director, Dr. Don Vereen, for example, has consulted for "ER" on numerous occasions. It is a phone call. For example, "Can you tell me, how a 16-year-old girl would react to Rohypnol?" or, Can you refer to me an addicted physician that I may want to interview for my show, get some background information?"

CREDITS TOWARDS PRO BONO MATCH

Senator CAMPBELL. Is the committee to understand, what you are saying is that the networks seek you out to get advice on the scripts and you do not offer the credits beforehand?

Mr. LEVITT. Not at all. Not at all. No credits are offered.

Senator CAMPBELL. How do they know about the credits?

Mr. LEVITT. The business office knows about the credits because that is part of the negotiation with Ogilvy, okay, two separate processes. So the technical assistance has preceded this campaign and we are basically giving the information that the Federal Government has learned from its billions of dollars of research on drugs, alcohol, and tobacco and other youth issues, and that will continue, and there is no prostletyzing. It is purely voluntary. ABC has set up a briefing of their prime time writers and executives and——

Senator CAMPBELL. All right. So if there is nothing wrong with that, they come to you and you review the scripts——

Mr. LEVITT. Right.

Senator CAMPBELL. Is it our understanding that you just recently changed your method of operation so that you only review them afterwards instead of before they air?

Mr. LEVITT. For the purpose of pro bono match credit, we always reviewed them afterwards. At least, we thought that we were always reviewing them afterwards. In most instances, it was a completed script or a tape. In a few instances, as we learned during this controversy, some of the scripts that were sent to us for review to see if they were on our message strategies and to get credit for

the public service obligations were, in fact, scripts that had not yet been aired.

But in no instance, in no instance did anybody associated with ONDCP or our contractors, after that script was reviewed for compliance or if it met these areas, was that information transferred back to the network to change the match, to get them to do something.

Senator CAMPBELL. Let me ask one more question, and then go back to Senator Dorgan for his question.

Mr. LEVITT. It would go back to the——

Senator CAMPBELL. If the scripts were not reviewed before, how did you arrive at a monetary figure for the value of the credits?

Mr. LEVITT. The scripts or the completed programs were sent to us to see if they would be eligible for a credit. It was either yes and here is how much it is worth, because Ogilvy would value it, or no.

Senator CAMPBELL. I understand also from my notes, one of the network officials said, and I quote, "all the shows we put on, we were going to do anyway." I believe that was the "Home Improvement" show, if I am not mistaken, but I may be mistaken. But if they were going to do them anyway, and I commend them for doing them, if they were going to do them anyway, then why would we be offering them credits to do what they were going to do anyway?

Mr. LEVITT. Our intention is to reward both the development and the airing of anti-drug messages. We want to encourage the networks to continue to do this. I think one of the most unfortunate parts of this last storm of stories is that the networks have done a wonderful job in the last year, and that has gone unrecognized like there is something nefarious about it. These writers have hundreds of hours of programming to develop every year and they need story lines and they want, they thirst for accurate information. This is entertainment, and this is——

Senator CAMPBELL. We are on the same wavelength with that, Mr. Levitt. I mean, I commend the networks for—they are Americans, too. I am sure they want to see a reduction in drug use, too. We do not have a problem with that. Certainly, anything they do from the standpoint of offering time or adjusting scripts, if they do that on their own, that is one thing.

Let me go to Senator Dorgan. I do not mean to monopolize the time, Senator.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I have spent a lot of time over recent years trying to embarrass or bludgeon or in other ways affect networks from programming decisions that send increasing amounts of violence into our living rooms on television programming. I have been fairly out front about that. I think there is a lot of trash on television and some wonderful things, as well, but television is excessively violent, and I have certainly tried to alter that.

Children by the time they graduate from high school have spent about 12,500 hours sitting in a classroom and about 20,000 hours watching television, so they are much more a product of what they have seen than what they have read. As I watched some of these messages I think it is fine to have a program that provides a good message to young people in this country. I think that is a good thing to do.

But let me just make another point here. I mentioned Mr. Forbes saying that that which is reported is not always accurate. I know that for a fact, and so does Mr. Campbell. On the other hand, often, investigative reporting provides us with information we have not previously known and it provides a very useful service in our country.

Let me try to get to the nub of what I think Mr. Forbes was saying. His article, and we will hear him testify today, but his article was very assertive, and at the start of his article, he wrote that few Americans would know of a hidden Government effort to shoehorn anti-drug messages into the most pervasive and powerful billboard of all, network television programming, and his point was that networks were getting monetary credit for that, part of the money that we were, in effect, appropriating was being given to the networks in the form of financial credit for doing something that I think I just heard you say the networks were going to do anyway.

But I want to have you answer a couple things, because I think it is important. I think it does raise real serious questions about the Government's role here if, in fact, scripts for television programs are sent to the Government to be perused to determine, are these appropriate scripts? If we do it this way, can you pay us? Can we get credit? I mean, clearly, Mr. Forbes is right. That raises a lot of questions.

And there have been some statements since this controversy developed that suggest that some scripts were provided by, and let me give you an example of that. One ABC executive, apparently ABC executives, plural, said that ONDCP asked them to start submitting scripts of TV shows before they aired in order to be considered for an anti-drug ad swap. Can you respond to that? I mean, if that is the case, that is troublesome.

SCRIPTS

Mr. LEVITT. There are three things. First of all, Director McCaffrey has clarified the policy and made one change in it. That is, we will no longer do any of the review of the scripts within ONDCP. That is going to be done at Ogilvy and through our behavioral change panel or with the National Institute of Drug Abuse and other experts. It will be removed from our office completely, and it will only be done after the program has aired. So it is not, in essence, going to affect the pro bono program because we never changed scripts when they came in for vetting initially.

With respect to the issue of ABC, this happened during May of 1999. We had about a dozen—it was about $7 billion or $6 to $7 billion worth of advertising that sold in the May-June up-front period. We had about a dozen or two dozen meetings over a 2- or 3-day period in New York to brief other networks about the media campaign. No other network got that misunderstanding. I do believe there was a miscommunication, because we talked about the pro bono match. We also talked about providing technical assistance and doing creative briefings, and I think that issue became confused in it, and we have since provided clarification.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask you, though, would you not agree with Mr. Forbes, as tough as his article was, and I know you allege that some of it is not factual, but would you not agree that if, in

fact, scripts were sent to the Office of Drug Policy prior to the airing of a program for the Drug Policy Office to review them. It just raises all kinds of questions of the type that Mr. Forbes raised——

Mr. LEVITT. I could understand how people could get that impression, if they were not familiar with the process.

Senator DORGAN. And you understand, I think, from the two of us, we would not want, and I think most Members of Congress would agree with us, we would not want a circumstance here where we decide, we are going to have a $1 billion campaign to purchase advertising on television in many different ways to persuade young Americans not to take drugs. We would not want that to become a program in which there are, in addition to advertisements being aired, there are connections between the Office of Drug Policy and producers and television networks about what the American people are going to see in network programming.

I mean, frankly, in terms of your influence on network programming, I assume if there is a network that is going to put on a batch of prime time shows that glorify drug use and never show the consequences of drug use and so on, that you would probably want to ask, we will not advertise on that network. I mean, if a network has an entire menu of shows that glorify drug use, I assume you would not want to be advertising a lot. Would that be a fair statement?

Mr. LEVITT. Again, what I tell people when they call me to ask, will you buy on my station, I say, you would not want a bureaucrat making that decision. We allow the people who do that for a living, who are trying to reach the target audiences, to make those recommendations to us, and very rarely do we disagree with them.

Senator DORGAN. You want to persuade networks to do better in terms of the message they are sending to young Americans about drug use. I understand that, and there is nothing wrong with that. I think that is a goal all of us share. I think that one of the questions that has been raised that is legitimate is the issue of sharing scripts and so on.

Mr. LEVITT. Senator Dorgan?

Senator DORGAN. Yes?

ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY

Mr. LEVITT. You mentioned about shoe-horning scripts, shoehorning messages. The creative—you just cannot do that in the creative community. You cannot shoehorn a message where it does not belong. It will mess up the script. The audience ratings will go down. And the creative community is very sensitive to that, and our approach to the entertainment industry is that they are part of the solution, they are not part of the problem. I know that Congress and other people have banged on the entertainment industry for violence and for sex. Our approach is, we educate them to youth drug use issues, and they have been very responsive. Those programs are a good example.

Senator CAMPBELL. If I might interject, Senator, since the networks, know what it takes to get a credit, that in itself becomes a form of subtle suggestion, if not pressure, because if they do not get the credit, they do not have the ability to get the money and resell the space to get paid again for it, in my view.

Mr. LEVITT. Well, I know that you have a letter from the executive producer of "Beverly Hills 90210" that addresses that very issue, and he does not feel in any way that we have influenced his programming or that we could influence his programming through that kind of effort.

Senator CAMPBELL. Excuse me for interrupting.

Senator DORGAN. I do not think any of us ought to suggest that it is inappropriate for us to be able to see on television a better fare of programming. I mean, to suggest to children that the way adults solve their problems is to slug each other and stab each other and shoot each other, which we have routinely done for 20 years, is not a very appropriate thing, and if we can improve all of that in the violence area, I want to do that.

On the other hand, dealing with violence and drugs and other issues, the questions that are raised about an advertising campaign in which we have direct influence about what we put on the 30-second ads and then presumably some other influence about the kind of credits people are given for messages put in the programs, I understand why it raises questions and I bet you do, as well, just because that is an entirely new field.

No one, I think, no one wants to have an office in Washington saying, here is the content of a sit-com that is going to be aired on Wednesday night by this network. That is not the job of Government. Government should not ever do that. I mean, that is not the way this works, could work, or should work, and I do not think any of us who have appropriated money for this program anticipated that.

So I think we should think through a little bit this issue of credits, to understand more about how that is used and is the use of credits, in fact, supplanting other pro bono efforts that we should be getting from the networks in any event for anti-drug advertising, not programming, but advertising.

Mr. LEVITT. I think Advertising Age pointed to this program, the pro bono match component, as one of the causes of increased, what they call clutter—clutter is anything other than programs—because we have had about 5,000 local and network public service ads in prime time in the last year, and that is an increase. Look at the list of organizations that you have. A lot of those messages are getting out there that would never have gotten out before.

Senator DORGAN. Let me just finish by saying I sort of feel the same way that Senator Campbell does. I was not aware of how the credit system worked or, in fact, that the credit system existed. Now, I do not know whether it was hard to have picked out of what was coming from the Office of National Drug Control Policy, but I think it raises some questions that we need to think through with you and resolve, because I think the questions raised by the critics are reasonable questions. We do not want scripts moving back and forth between those that produce television programs and those in Washington who have a very large amount of money with which to pay for advertising and, therefore, credit people who are doing script production.

But let me finish by saying this. I do not think we should allow these questions, which I think are reasonable questions to ask, to tarnish an effort that I think is a pretty reasonable effort. People

advertise on television and pay mountains to do it because it works, and I think that the experiment that we have begun is a worthwhile experiment, to see if we can package an effort to send messages through advertising on television to young Americans about drug use.

I hope that, even as we have a kind of a dust-up about these issues, that it does not detract from the central mission here. This is an experiment that I think can work, and I think at least initial evidence suggests is working. So let us address and fix some of the issues that develop, but let us not back away from an experiment that I think has great potential to steer some young children in this country away from a life of drugs.

Senator CAMPBELL. I certainly agree with Senator Dorgan. Ads work. Subliminal also works. The question is not whether they work or not. I think everybody knows they work. The question is whether it is ethical to use those or not.

But let me ask you a final couple of questions. We have received different numbers about how much money was actually expended in these credits. I have seen the number $2.5 million up to $22 million. So far, what is the dollar value of the credits that you have given?

PUBLIC SERVICE OBLIGATION VALVE

Mr. LEVITT. Nothing was expended, sir. These are—this is part of the public service obligation that the networks have in return for the buy. The figure is $21.8 million in television programming so far, 130 different episodes of shows, I think it is 39 different programs.

Senator DORGAN. Can I just add?

Senator CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. The "Home Improvement" show that you put up here, can you tell us how it works that they got credit for that, and were you aware that program was going to run before it ran? Did you see a script?

Mr. LEVITT. No, we never did. In all of those, we never saw anything until after it ran, except "The Wayans Brothers."

Senator DORGAN. So who determined after "Home Improvement" played—that it had a very significant anti-drug message—who determined after that program played that that network got a certain credit, and if so, how much?

Mr. LEVITT. Their sales department would send the script to Ogilvy and Ogilvy would send it to us and say, is this on strategy or not? I have two charts here, about the old system and the new system. I think General McCaffrey has significantly clarified it and we will no longer be involved in viewing in any way, even after the fact, scripts or tapes. That will be done at our contractor's office, and they will only be done after they have played.

Look, I am very sensitive to the First Amendment. I participated in the free speech movement in Berkeley in 1965. But the first time I was offered drugs, I was 19. My daughter was 12 in Chevy Chase when she was offered LSD and marijuana. That is the difference between when I was a kid and now. This is what we are trying to do. We are trying to keep kids off drugs.

I think that we may not have communicated as clearly as we can. We think we have communicated in many venues with the Congress and with TV and the entertainment industry. It is a very complicated program. Everybody does not understand every aspect of it. I think the people who are involved in this, the people who got credits or people who have helped in another way the technical assistance process, did not feel any pressure. It would be the antithesis of what we wanted if the creative community felt pressure to change because of the financial incentive.

Senator CAMPBELL. We have a vote on and we are going to take a break in a couple minutes. Let me just ask you one last thing. If we are not actually spending money on the ads and we are appropriating this amount, why do you need it? If you work some pro bono——

Mr. LEVITT. Pardon me?

Senator CAMPBELL. If you work some agreement to give them credit for it and you are not actually spending the money on it, why do you need the money? I mean, why should we not just reduce the amount? We have a lot of other places we can put the money.

Mr. LEVITT. Because the value far, far exceeds the value of the ads. A Bill Cosby episode like that or an ad or "Home Improvement," that has enormous impact on youth and parents, and that is exactly what we want to do.

Senator CAMPBELL. One last question before we run, and then we will go to the next witnesses when we return. If the networks sold the time under this credit arrangement, did they sell it for a higher amount than what ONDCP would have paid for the ad, or do you know?

Mr. LEVITT. I have no idea.

Senator CAMPBELL. You do not know.

Mr. LEVITT. The networks are giving us what we want. This is the most valued part. If you ask ten organizations that are lobbying to change programming or social issues, the depiction of this issue or the understanding of that health issue, would they rather have ads or programming, ten out of ten would say, I would rather have programming. It is the most effective use.

Senator CAMPBELL. Mr. Levitt, I appreciate you appearing here.

[The statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALAN LEVITT

INTRODUCTION

Office of National Drug Control Policy Director Barry McCaffrey thanks the Committee for the opportunity to have me testify today about the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. This campaign is an integrated youth and adult marketing and public-health communications effort to reach American audiences with traditional and modern communication strategies to influence attitudes and action regarding drug use.

Chairman Campbell, Senator Dorgan, distinguished members of the subcommittee, your interest in all aspects of drug control policy and your commitment to bipartisan support of the National Drug Control Strategy's number one goal—to Educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco—are much appreciated. We welcome this opportunity to explain important aspects of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and to urge you to continue supporting its science and research-based communication strategy.

I would like to recognize several individuals and organizations that have played important roles in shaping and conducting this vital drug-prevention campaign. We are all indebted to Mr. Jim Burke and the Partnership for a Drug Free America.

The Partnership has been our lead partner in implementing the campaign. The ads they have produced are helping change how our young people view drugs and drug use.

Dr. Alan Leshner and the National Institute on Drug Abuse play a critical role in the evaluation of the campaign, helping to ensure that we are producing the results we need. Dr. Leshner is, without question one of the world's leading authorities on drug abuse. NIDA sponsors roughly 85 percent of the world's research into drug addiction. The media campaign is bringing to bear the half a billion dollars worth of research on drug abuse conducted by NIDA every year.

Major General Art Dean and the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA) are also key partners. For this campaign to succeed, we need to reach people not only via the airwaves, but also in their communities. Through the help of CADCA, and others such as the Prevention Through Service Alliance (an alliance of 47 service groups ranging from the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, YMCA of the U.S.A., Boys and Girls Clubs, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., to 100 Black Men, Inc.), we are "localizing" the campaign. We are developing ways, from parenting programs to anti-drug soccer tournaments, to reach Americans, where they live, work and play.

Peggy Conlon of the Ad Council is the quarterback of the anti-drug campaign's public service component. The Ad Council is the nation's largest clearinghouse for public service advertising. Through the Ad Council's help, the campaign has succeeded in actually building new opportunities for campaign-related public service advertising efforts in support of forty-five national organizations and campaigns, even in a time of declining PSA air time.

Wally Snyder of the American Advertising Federation (AAF) is another of our key partners. As a leading representative of the advertising industry and advertising agencies across the country, the AAF, through its local chapters, provides leadership and facilitates development of local market public service announcements to include in our media match process at the grass roots level.

Tro Piliguian CEO, North America of Ogilvy our advertising contractor and Paul Johnson Regional President, General Manager of Fleishman Hillard, our public affairs contractor are here today representing their companies. We are very proud of the smart work these firms have done to help us develop and implement the National Youth Media Campaign.

SUMMARY

Congress approved the Administration-proposed National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign in response to surging youth drug-use rates. According to the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, past-month drug use rates among 12–17 year olds rose from 5.3 percent in 1992 (the historical low in the trend since 1979) to 10.9 percent in 1995.

This integrated public-health communications campaign uses all communications vehicles required to influence adolescent attitudes and behaviors. Popular culture (including media programming and advertising content) too often portrays drug use as common, something to be expected, or even humorous. The undisputed influence of popular culture on attitude formation and the manner in which it depicts illegal drugs and substance abuse are recognized by the Communication Strategy that orients all media campaign activities.

In recent weeks, there have been unfounded assertions that ONDCP is not complying with legislation. This is not the case. 21 U.S.C. § 1801 et seq. outlines the requirement to conduct a national media campaign and provides specific instructions to ONDCP. Congress requires media outlets to match federal anti-drug advertising dollars on a one-for-one basis. Networks, magazines, and newspapers may elect to make this match with content, public-service activities, or free advertising. Congress has wisely allowed ONDCP to "fashion antidrug messages in television programming." We fulfill this mandate by making available expert scientific advice and technical assistance through a Behavior Change Expert Panel and the National Institute on Drug Abuse. All ONDCP contracts related to the media campaign are consistent with this law.

The media campaign is being implemented by the best organizations in the fields of prevention and communication. The Partnership for a Drug-Free America is a key partner. It is best known for its national, anti-drug advertising campaign. Ogilvy & Mather is one of the largest and most respected advertising companies in the world. Its major task is media planning and buying. The Advertising Council, the nation's leading producer of Public Service communications programs, oversees the National Media Match Clearinghouse on a pro-bono basis. Fleishman-Hillard, one of the largest and best-respected communications firms in the world, conducts media

outreach, and oversees the use of the Internet and other "new media" outlets. The National Institute on Drug Abuse plays a critical role in the evaluation of the campaign, helping to ensure that we are producing the results we need.

Advertising (both purchased and pro-bono) on TV, radio, print and on the Internet is the cornerstone of the media campaign. We programmed 178.584 million in fiscal year 1999 for advertising. National advertising follows specific anti-drug themes each month across 102 local markets with more than 2,250 media outlets. We currently reach 95 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds an average of 8.3 messages per week. The non-advertising component of the campaign delivers our messages through radio and television, print media, the Internet, faith communities, health professionals, community coalitions, schools, parents, coaches, and organized sports.

Everything about this campaign—including the pro bono match—has been conducted openly with Congressional oversight, news coverage, publicity, and outreach to the media so that reporters could learn more about the process. There were three congressional hearings in 1999 on the subject of the media campaign, so the notion that this project is being conducted "in secret" is inaccurate. We have also written opinion editorials explaining all aspects of the campaign; these pieces have been published in newspapers, magazines, and journals throughout the country. Countless press releases, news conferences, and events with the President and congressional leadership were devoted to this topic as was much TV and radio coverage and a website (www.mediacampaign.org) that was accessed 446,596 times in 1999.

We take seriously concerns about the campaign's pro-bono match procedures. There can be no suggestion of federal interference in the creative process. In the future we will review programs for pro-bono match consideration only after they have aired. We will continue to make available information and experts on drug prevention issues to any media that requests such assistance.

We are enormously proud of our hundreds of media partnerships. Drug use by America's youth declined 13 percent between 1997 and 1998. We are convinced that if we continue to emphasize drug prevention, juvenile drug-use rates will drop further. Since illegal drugs cost this country more than one hundred billion dollars and 52,000 deaths a year, this media campaign addresses a vital issue of public health.

RATIONALE FOR AN ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Let me begin by framing the problem that brought us here today: youth drug use. Adolescent drug use takes a great toll on our young people and society. Most of the leading causes of death among adolescents—motor vehicle crashes, homicide, suicide and HIV infection—are more likely to occur under the influence of illegal drugs. On September 4, 1996, following the release of the 1995 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, Director McCaffrey testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee about juvenile drug-use trends. At the time, he noted that past-month drug use rates among 12–17 year olds was 10.9 percent in 1995, up substantially from 8.2 percent in 1994, 5.7 percent in 1993, and 5.3 percent in 1992 (the historical low in the trend since 1979). The following excerpt of the Director's testimony identified two issues that, in ONDCP's view, contributed to the problem of rising youth drug use rates:

Lower public profile of the drug problem

"According to the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, there was a 30 percent reduction in the number of public service announcements (PSAs) carried by TV, radio, and print media since 1991. From 1989 to 1994, there was also a progressive decline in drug coverage on network news. While 849 minutes of network news were devoted to drug-related issues in 1989, in 1994 only 135 minutes dealt with this topic. Attention to drugs did increase slightly in 1995, as reflected in 163 minutes of network news. Total media support for anti-drug messages (broadcast, print, and outdoor advertising) is down $100 million a year since 1991. We cannot afford to take our eye off the ball."

Glamorization of drugs, alcohol, and tobacco condones adolescent use

"The glamorization of drugs has not been limited to television and film portrayals. It also occurs in videos and the lyrics of popular music, advertising and marketing (i.e. fashion's heroin chic look), comedy, the Internet, and merchandising where items like jewelry, T-shirts, temporary tattoos, candy, and soft drinks are among the products that promote drug use. The promotion of drugs permeates every facet of a child's life. The Budweiser frogs and Joe Camel are very familiar cartoon characters for our children. This inundation of pro-alcohol, tobacco, and other drug messages occurs at a time when new technology and techniques enable media to form more dramatic, multi-sensory, and powerful images than ever before. PSAs and other anti-drug messages have demonstrated the ability to influence attitudes to-

wards drugs among today's youth. Prevention messages must be repeated with adequate frequency and in appropriate venues so that they can counter pro-drug messages."

ONDCP proposed a National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign to address these two issues. We very much appreciate the broad bipartisan support the proposal enjoyed and Congress' continuing support for the campaign in fiscal years 1998, 1999, and 2000. This support allowed a seamless transition from a twelve-city test phase (January-July 1998), to a year of nationwide testing and evaluation (August 1998-July 1999), to a fully integrated media communications effort (August 1999-present).

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR CULTURE

What we see and hear in the entertainment media influences our beliefs about the world around us.[1] Today's adolescents are deeply immersed in popular culture as it is conveyed through various forms of media. On average, American children are exposed to at least eight hours of media per day including television, radio, movies, recorded music, comics, and video games.[2] The ubiquitous presence of the media in our lives is underscored by the following statistics:[3]

—Ninety-eight percent of American households have a television set. Among households with children, nearly 87 percent have two or more television sets, and 66 percent of American children have a television set in their bedrooms.

—Children spend about 28 hours per week watching television. Over the course of a year, this is twice as much time as they spend in school.

—Sixty-three percent of kids aged 9–17 say that seeing the latest movies is important. 62 percent say that they watch a video at least once a week.

—Between the 7th and 12th grades, American teenagers listen to an estimated 10,500 hours of rock music. More than three-quarters of American youth between the ages of 9–14 watch music videos.

—Eighty-nine percent of teenagers use computers several times per week. 71 percent of young people use computers to play computer games, compared to 47 percent who use them for homework, and 31 percent for education. Teens spend an average of two and one-half hours per day on a home computer.

Unfortunately, popular culture (including media programming and advertising content) too often portrays drug use as common, something to be expected, or even humorous. For example, by his or her 18th birthday, an average adolescent will have seen 100,000 television commercials for beer,[4] and will have watched 65,000 scenes on television depicting beer drinking.[5] The ONDCP-sponsored Mediascope study Substance Use in Popular Movies and Music examined popular movie rentals and songs to determine the frequency and nature of depictions of substance use (illicit drugs, alcohol, tobacco, and over-the-counter and prescription medicines).[6]

The Mediascope study found that 98 percent of movies studied depicted substance use. Illicit drugs appeared in 22 percent. About one-quarter (26 percent) of the movies that depicted illicit drugs contained explicit, graphic portrayals of their preparation and/or ingestion. Less than one half (49 percent) of the movies portrayed short-term consequences of substance use, and about 12 percent depicted long-term consequences. All movies in which illegal drugs appeared received restricted ratings (PG–13 or R). However, 45 percent of the movies in which illicit drugs were used did not receive specific remarks identifying drug-related content from the Motion Picture Association of America. The major finding from the study's song analysis is the dramatic difference among music categories, with substance reference being particularly common in Rap. Illicit drugs were mentioned in 63 percent of Rap songs versus about 10 percent of the lyrics in the other categories. Neither movies nor music provided much information about motives for substance use.

Last month, ONDCP released a second Mediascope content analysis, Substance Use in Popular Prime Time Programming which examined the twenty five top-rated, most watched primetime broadcast network shows (for Hispanic, African American, and general market audience teens and adults). The research was commissioned by ONDCP as the first national study of the frequency and nature of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drug portrayals on television. The research showed that illicit drugs are

[1] Brown, Childers, & Waszak, 1990; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signiorelli, 1986; Marc, 1984.
[2] Williams and Frith, 1993.
[3] Mediascope Issue Brief, "Popular Culture and the American Child," Brief Number 199G3d, January 1999.
[4] Monroe, 1994.
[5] Coombs, Paulson, & Palley, 1988.
[6] Office of National Drug Control Policy, Substance Use in Popular Movies & Music, Donald F. Roberts, Ph.D., Lisa Henriksen, Ph.D., Peter G. Christenson, Ph.D., April 1999.

rarely depicted on primetime network television and that when they are depicted, drug use is usually associated with negative consequences.

We will use this study to take the discussion of the influence of TV programming out of the realm of subjective judgement and into the domain of verifiable and quantifiable data that can be tracked over time.

THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN'S COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

The undisputed influence of popular culture on attitude formation and the manner in which it depicts illegal drugs and substance abuse are recognized by the communication strategy that orients all National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign activities. Nearly a year of research went into developing this communication strategy.[7] Hundreds of individuals and organizations were consulted, including experts in teen marketing, advertising, and communication; behavior change experts; drug prevention practitioners and representatives from professional, civic, and community organizations. These findings resulted in a comprehensive communication strategy that uses a variety of media and messages to reach young people, their parents, and other youth-influential adults.

Specific conclusions that make the case that the entertainment industry must be involved in drug prevention follow:

—The Campaign should encourage action on the part of other people who influence the lives of youth.

—Consistent messages conveyed through a variety of channels and in different contexts are necessary to produce an effect.

—Professional groups—must incorporate the communication strategy into their new and on-going programs.

—To achieve the maximum effect, the Campaign should use a full range of media mechanisms and formats in an integrated fashion.

—Effective message tailoring involves . . . working with communications professionals who specialize in creating content for particular audiences.

THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN & PUBLIC LAW

Public Law

In recent weeks, there have been unfounded assertions that ONDCP is not complying with legislation. This is not the case. 21 U.S.C. § 1801 et seq. outlines the requirement to conduct a national media campaign and provides specific instructions to ONDCP. Pertinent excerpts of Sec. 1802 (Use of funds) are cited below:

—In general . . . Amounts made available to carry out this chapter for the support of the national media campaign may only be used for . . . "entertainment industry collaborations to fashion antidrug messages in motion pictures, television programming, popular music, interactive (Internet and new) media projects and activities, public information, news media outreach, and corporate sponsorship and participation."

—"Amounts made available under Section 1804 of this title should be matched by an equal amount of non-Federal funds for the national media campaign, or be matched with in-kind contributions to the campaign of the same value."

Binding Agreements

All ONDCP contracts related to the media campaign are consistent with this law. Pertinent excerpts of contracts are cited below:

Porter Novelli.—(Effective date 09/15/97). Task was to recommend a "broad, comprehensive, cost-effective media strategy, with appropriate sub-strategies, which links defined target groups and issues with effective message techniques, media of communication, and other components . . ." (P. 10).

The contractor was specifically instructed to "determine the most appropriate and effective strategies . . . techniques, and media, in addition to other non-advertising components necessary for motivating youth to reject illegal drugs." (P. 9).

Bates Advertising USA, Inc.—(Effective date 05/26/98). Major task was to "plan and execute media buying."

"The contractor must . . . negotiate pro bono time or in-kind public service contributions. Bonus weight shall include, in addition to pro bono air and/or space, appropriate programming, public affairs efforts, publicity, or in-kind bonus weight equivalent offers." (Section C, Page 4)

Ogilvy & Mather.—(Effective date 01/04/99). Task was to "implement an integrated communications campaign."

[7] ONDCP, The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign: Communications Strategy Statement, 1997.

This integrated communications campaign is required to include a "public service ("media match") component in which the Contractor shall, as part of the media planning and buying process, negotiate with media outlets to secure approximately 100 percent additional household exposures for public service messages (or other relevant media programming, public affairs, or other public service contribution) related to the well-being of the nation's youth." (Section C, Page 11)

"The contractor shall track and document the fulfillment of the public service ("media match") component and value of other media exposures generated by the campaign. For example, a TV sitcom featuring an anti-drug story line as a result of campaign efforts shall be appropriately documented and assigned reasonable dollar value based on its contribution to the campaign communication strategy." (Section C, Page 11)

Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.—(Effective date 12/03/98). Task was to conduct the "non-advertising component" of the media campaign.

One of the specified elements of non-advertising communication is "outreach to, and collaboration with, the entertainment industry, including television, movies, interactive games for the purpose of encouraging media depictions that "denormalize" drug use and accurately portraying the negative consequences of drug use." (Section C, Page 14)

THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN'S MAJOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL PARTNERS

The Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA)

The Partnership for a Drug-Free America is a private, non-profit, non-partisan coalition of professionals from the communications industry. Best known for its national, anti-drug advertising campaign, its mission is to reduce demand for illicit drugs in America through media communication. PDFA has generated more than $2.8 billion in media exposure and created more than five hundred anti-drug ads. Its long-standing national campaign is the single, largest, public service ad campaign in history. For twelve years, PDFA's process was the paradigm for a public service campaign. No other organization was as successful in generating high-quality free ads and placing them pro-bono in the media.

PDFA is a key campaign partner. Mr. Jim Burke, Chairman of the Partnership has been one of the strongest advocates for this public-private media campaign. The Partnership had concluded that intense competition, brought on by the splintering of the media, brought new economic realities to the media industry in the 1990s. It became quite clear to PDFA that the glory days of 1989 and 1990—when its combined, estimated media exposure reached $1 million a day—were simply not going to return. Indeed, with media donations to the Partnership down by more than $100 million since 1991, the outlook for national media giving was not at all promising. The ONDCP campaign promised something unprecedented for PDFA's public service advertising effort: precise placement of the right ads, targeting the right audience, running in the right media, consistently, over time. With first-rate anti-drug messages produced by advertising agencies through PDFA's creative process, that is exactly what the campaign is now delivering. Presently, PDFA has developed 37 television commercials, 36 print ads, and 21 radio spots for parents and 37 TV commercials, 35 print ads, and 35 radio spots for youth.

The Advertising Council

The Advertising Council is a private, non-profit organization, which has been the leading producer of Public Service communications programs in the United States since 1942. The Advertising Council's mission "is to identify a select number of significant public issues and stimulate action on those issues through communications programs that make a measurable difference in our society." To that end, the Ad Council marshals volunteer resources from the advertising and communications industries, the media, and the business and non-profit communities for the public good. As the nation's largest producer of PSAs, the Ad Council has created more than 1,000 multi-media public service advertising campaigns addressing critical issues.[8] During 1998 alone, the Ad Council advertising received $1.2 billion in donated media in support of these efforts.

The Ad Council performs three crucial tasks in support of the anti-drug media campaign on a pro-bono basis.

[8] Ad Council campaigns, characters and slogans are more than memorable—they raise awareness, inspire individuals to take action and save lives. Campaigns the Ad Council has conducted include Smokey Bear and his famous words of wisdom, "Only you can prevent forest fires," (USDA Forest Service); "Friends don't let friends drive drunk" (DOT/NHTSA) McGruff the Crime Dog, who urged Americans to "Take a bite out of crime," (National Crime Prevention Council); and "A mind is a terrible thing to waste" (United Negro College Fund).

—Oversee the National Media Match Clearinghouse-sharing over two hundred and sixty five thousand broadcast pro bono ad units with forty five public health organizations[9]
—Production Review.
—Create an Anti-Drug Coalition Recruitment Campaign.

Ogilvy & Mather

Ogilvy & Mather is one of the largest and most respected advertising companies in the world.[10] Ogilvy's media company, "MindShare", is by far the largest media organization in the world ($16 billion in worldwide billings). Ogilvy buys more national broadcast media in the U.S. than any other company and is the nation's number one radio buyer. Ogilvy's interactive company, OgilvyOne, is the largest purchaser of advertising in the world. The company is also third largest print buyer in the country. These factors give Ogilvy significant negotiating leverage, which results in the lowest possible market rates and access to substantial and unique media match opportunities. The Company also has considerable experience in social marketing campaigns having been responsible for the highly successful "America Responds to AIDS" campaign.

Ogilvy & Mather performs the following tasks in support of the anti-drug media campaign.

—Media planning and buying.
—Oversight, negotiation, and implementation of media match.
—Internet media planning and buying.
—Strategic planning and consumer research.
—Creative development for advertising "gaps."
—Development of advertising copy rotation plans.
—Trafficking all advertising materials to media outlets.
—Management of the Behavior Change Expert Panel.
—Management of six multicultural subcontractors.
—Management of three target audience specialist subcontractors.

In its role as the primary advertising contractor on the ONDCP contract, Ogilvy offers added value to both ONDCP and PDFA in the following areas:

Media Planning and Buying.—With buying leverage based on handling the world's largest aggregate media budget and widely acknowledged planning and buying expertise, Ogilvy can secure the highest quality media for the lowest possible price. Moreover, Ogilvy's media plans and buys are creative and savvy, selectively identifying effective, intrusive and relevant vehicles from the plethora of media opportunities available to a contemporary advertiser.

Ogilvy's superior media planning and buying enables anti-drug messages to receive greater visibility than they have ever had in their history, getting more television in better time slots, for instance, than any other agency could have achieved for them. In addition, PDFA's volunteer agencies have many more media vehicles with which to show off their talents. This range of vehicles is an unprecedented opportunity to build the individual portfolios of agency creative personnel and expand an agency's new business book and reel of great advertising.

Creative Executions.—The pre-testing, planning, and research regimen that Ogilvy is working to put in place greatly raises the odds of developing more effective cre-

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[9] 100 Black Men, Alanon/Alateen, American Symphony Orchestra League, America's Promise, Big Brothers Big Sisters of America, Boys and Girls Club, Boys Town USA, Center for Juvenile and Criminal Justice/Justice Policy Institute, Center for Substance Abuse Prevention/Health and Human Services, Center for Substance Abuse Treatment/Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control, Connect for Kids (The Benton Foundation), Country Music Association, Do Good. Mentor a Child/Save the Children USA, Drunk Driving Prevention/U.S. Department of Transportation, Education Excellence Partnership, Educational Testing Service, Girl Scouts of the USA, Give a Kid a Hand/International Advertising Association, Harvard Mentoring Project, Health and Human Services/Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Hepatitis Foundation International, Kids Peace, Mentoring USA, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, National Action Council of Minority Engineers, National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse, National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependency, Inc., National Crime Prevention Coalition, National Fatherhood Initiative, National 4H Council, National Inhalant Prevention Coalition, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Parental Responsibility/Department of Health and Human Services, Parents as First Teachers/El Valor, Partnership for a Drug-Free America, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, Points of Light Foundation, Prevent Child Abuse America, Recording Artists, Actors and Athletes Against Drunk Driving/Department of Transportation, Talking with Kids about Tough Issues (Children Now/Kaiser Family Foundation), The Reiner Foundation/Families and Work Institute (Early Childhood Development), YMCA.

[10] Ogilvy's 377 offices in 98 countries service more Fortune 500 clients in 5 or more countries than any other advertising agency.

ative material that will help prevent drug use among youth. Pre-testing will help hone specific messages, while generating learning that will inform ad creators. Ogilvy manages an array of planning resources—from full-time agency planning staff to Target Audience Specialists to the BCEP—that provide invaluable input to the creative development process. No private sector marketer would mount an effort of this scope without conducting such extensive research.

Strategic Counsel.—Ogilvy's strategic and planning resources not only have enhanced the creative message; they have also improved the development and implementation of the overall marketing plan. Branding and flighting are two useful examples.

Branding is universally acknowledged by sophisticated marketers and leading advertisers as the way to ensure long-term, sustainable success, and to multiply the impact of advertising dollars. Branding is essentially unites the diverse elements of our message platforms through one unifying concept—a brand, which is the sum of what our effort represents. Branding increases consumer mind share of anti-drug messages; maximizes the impact of advertising dollars; creates synergy between advertising and non-advertising messages; and unites an organization's messages. Branding is a business proven concept. Ogilvy's 4-month Brand Stewardship research process (which entailed interviewing adults and youth of all ethnicities) led to the adoption by ONDCP of "The Anti-Drug" As the campaign's brand. Phone call response to the new branded ads has been excellent.

Ogilvy's flighting plan will enable ONDCP to focus all elements of the integrated communications plan on strategic message platforms that have been identified by ONDCP's behavior expert panel. The flighting approach schedules each message platform for a four to six week period and allows both youth and parent strategies to be "seeded" before shifting to the next message platform. This ensures that each platforms receives sufficient impact. As opposed to the first two phases, each individual platform will receive sufficient media exposure to change attitudes and ultimately behavior. Moreover, disparate local coalitions and community efforts can work synergistically with this focused national campaign to increase the effectiveness of the effort. PDFA and its Creative Review Committee have endorsed this strategic approach.

Multicultural Resources.—Both ONDCP and PDFA have gained access through Ogilvy to substantial multicultural resources, from target audience specialists to ethnic advertising experts. Indeed, Ogilvy's subcontractors have helped PDFA develop much of the work that has been created to address critical ethnic "gaps."

Accountability.—Ogilvy has helped ONDCP fulfill its responsibility to the public and its mandate from Congress that the National Youth Anti-Drug media effort be a completely transparent operation. Through sophisticated and proprietary methodologies like the econometric analysis of Pathways Plus and initiatives like the Tracking Study, Ogilvy will be able to monitor the campaign's successes and failures—and refine and improve its execution.

Fleishman-Hillard

Fleishman-Hillard is one of the largest and best-respected communications firms in the world. Fleishman-Hillard has a 53-year history of delivering results for some of the world's best-known brands like McDonalds, Wal-Mart, Levi-Strauss and United Airlines. It is no accident they represent nearly a fifth of the top 100 of *Fortune* magazine's annual list of "Most Admired Companies." Their network of eighteen fully owned domestic agency offices and more than 850 employees are ready to support the needs of this challenging campaign.

For the fifth year in a row, a 1999 Harris-Impulse Poll rated Fleishman-Hillard as having the best reputation of any of the major public relations firms. This year they also rated Fleishman-Hillard as the top agency in the Washington, DC market. It is also the only agency to be ranked either first or second for overall quality of service by the industry's leading trade publication, *Inside PR,* for nine consecutive years.

The Fleishman-Hillard team has managed research-based social marketing and communications efforts for non-profit organizations and partnerships to educate Americans about health and social issues ranging from safe food handling, improving nutritional content in Americans' diet, to protecting our children from danger online.

Fleishman-Hillard performs the following task for the media campaign:

—Media outreach to generate earned media placements of key campaign messages and improve accuracy in coverage of facts and issues to educate the media about youth drug use.

—Partnerships and alliance building with government, non-profit, professional, community and civic organizations designed to reach members of the target au-

diences with credible campaign messages and other programmatic activities to extend the impact of campaign messages.

—Internet and other "new media" activities including strategic analysis and use of "new media"; web site design and maintenance; coordination with Internet advertising; other Internet, CD–ROM, and other interactive activities capable of delivering high impact campaign messages or coordinating campaign stakeholders.

—Outreach to and collaboration with the entertainment industry including television, movies, music, interactive games for the purpose of encouraging media depictions that "denormalize" drug use and accurately portray the negative consequences of drug use.

—Graphics support and materials development for press kits, fact sheets, publications, exhibits, and coordination of materials development by partner organizations.

—Stakeholder communications including a bi-monthly newsletter, update letters, meetings and briefings, interactive media, and other communications to keep stakeholders abreast of developments in the campaign and to generate further involvement and support.

THE INTEGRATED NATURE OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

The anti-drug media campaign is anchored by a broad advertising effort

Advertising (both purchased and pro-bono) on TV, radio, print and on the Internet is the cornerstone of the media campaign. We programmed $153.017 million in fiscal year 1998 for advertising and increased allocations for advertising by 16.7 percent to $178.584 million in fiscal year 1999. The national advertising follows specific anti-drug themes each month across 102 local markets with more than 2,250 media outlets. The strategic use of advertising increases the reach and frequency of our key messages. We currently reach 95 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds an average of 8.3 messages per week.

Complementary communications activities

The non-advertising component of the anti-drug campaign delivers our messages through radio and television, print media, the Internet, faith communities, health professionals, community coalitions, schools, parents, coaches, and organized sports. The drug prevention campaign also includes an entertainment industry component to ensure that drug use is depicted accurately on television and in film and music. We programmed $12.778 million in fiscal year 1999 to anti-drug outreach media campaign programs that include the following activities:

—*Partnerships w/Community/Civic and other Organizations.*—To extend and amplify the reach of campaign messages, the non-advertising component builds support for prevention programs with organizational and community partners; increases public information and news coverage about drug prevention issues and risks to target audiences; harnesses the power of the Internet and collaborates with the entertainment community.

We have attracted thousands of partners in our effort to reach youth and adults—allowing a wide variety of public and private organizations to participate in and extend the reach of the Campaign. Here are some examples:

—*Blast e-mail system.*—There is a media campaign blast e-mail system that keeps more than 45,000 stakeholders aware of campaign activities and outreach. The 45,000 stakeholders we reach directly with these emails in turn generate more readers and viewers of campaign products through their own communication channels that reach literally millions.

—*YMCA of the USA.*—Another example is our partnership with the YMCA of the USA, which reaches out to sixteen million people (eight million kids). As a result of this partnership, for the first time in their history, the YMCA is incorporating drug prevention resources and messages into their publications and curriculum materials.

—*Youth Service America.*—Similarly, the Media Campaign is collaborating with Youth Service America—an umbrella organization of two hundred youth service groups representing thirty million young Americans—to regularly disseminate Media Campaign information through their network.

—*National Future Farmers of America.*—The National FFA is co-sponsoring a national PSA contest incorporating campaign themes.

The campaign is also working through national organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs and the National Middle Schools Association to strengthen anti-drug efforts at the local level.

Entertainment Industry Outreach and Collaboration

ONDCP and PDFA are engaging the entertainment industry to ensure that when drugs are portrayed in programming, an accurate depiction is communicated—including risks and consequences. We are also conducting content analysis studies to determine how drugs are portrayed in entertainment media.[11] We are meeting regularly with producers and entertainment executives in Hollywood to offer factual medical and behavioral perspectives on drug use. Our outreach initiatives to the entertainment industry are described in greater detail in Part VI of this testimony.

Interactive (Internet/New Media) Projects/Activities

This is the most comprehensive interactive media effort ever launched by the Federal Government. There are several reasons the Internet is a powerful vehicle for delivering our campaign messaging. In sum, they are: the medium is growing; our target audience's use of the medium is growing; the medium enables targeted, personalized messaging; success measures are granular and immediate; the internet is extremely cost effective; and synergies with the overall media plan are considerable.

Internet usage growth has been 100 percent over the past two years, and is likely to continue to grow at a compounded annual growth rate of 53 percent over the next four years.[12] The Internet's expansion outpaces that of television and radio following their introductions. The penetration attained by the Internet in its first five years was matched by television after thirteen years and radio after thirty-eight years.[13] Users spend an average of 7.5 hours on-line each month, and this time is increasing.[14]

While 22 percent of households with children are on-line, 34 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds have access to the Internet today, and 60 percent are expected to have access by the year 2002.[15] Parents are also on-line during work-hours; the Internet is the most accessible communications medium in the workplace. Parents access the web primarily for information. Health data is second only to news in terms of the reasons they log on.[16]

The World Wide Web, with eight million sites, allows for much narrower targeting than other media. Internet technology is becoming an integral component of other entertainment/infotainment vehicles (e.g. games, CDs, CD–ROMs, DVD), further increasing target breadth/engagement. Technology enables users to delve deeply and immediately into subjects of interest, with the potential for immediate two-way dialogue/response.

A distinct benefit of advertising on the Internet is the ability to closely track its effectiveness in reaching the target audience through site-specific information (e.g. clicks, page views, time visited). The power of the Internet experience is in the length and intensity of the interaction. Internet visitors tend to spend longer and get more involved in the subject matter than they do with printed or other non-interactive methods.

The Media Campaign manages eight web sites (Theantidrug.com, Freevibe.com, AOL Parents' Drug Resource Center, Projectknow.com, Mediacampaign.org, Straightscoop.org, Freevibe Teachers' Guide, AOL's It's Your Life) where parents, teens and tweens can learn, play and interact with others. The sites are widely publicized, including references and links through hundreds of other web sites focused on parenting, education, sports and general teen outreach. Current key site statistics follow:

Freevibe:

—Since its launch in March of 1999, Freevibe.com has received 3,088,600 page views.
—Average Number of Page Views Per Day—10,500.
—Average User Session Length—8 minutes and 30 seconds.

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[11] See for example *Substance Abuse in Popular Movies & Music,* Office of national drug Control policy & U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, April 1999.

[12] EMarketer, September 20, 1999.

[13] Meeker, Mary and Pearson, Sharon, Morgan Stanley, U.S. Investment Research: Internet Retail, May 28, 1997.

[14] Jupiter Digital Kids, 1999.

[15] EMarketer, September 20, 1999—While 22 percent of households with children are on-line, 48 percent of 12 to 17 year olds have access to the Internet today, and 60 percent are expected to have access by the year 2002.

[16] Media Metrix, August, 1999.

Projectknow:

—This was the original campaign web site. It is currently being phased out of the campaign. In 1999, Projectknow.com was accessed 6,483,583 times by 1,647,967 users.
—Average Number of Page Views Per Day—15,465.
—Average User Session Length—10 minutes and 29 seconds.

AOL Parents' Drug Resource Center:

—Since the launch of the Parents' Drug Resource Center area, it has received 702,151 visits.
—Average User Session length—6 minutes and 30 seconds.
—Most popular area—Be Informed (describes today's street drugs and their effects)

Theantidrug.com:

—In its first month of full-time operation, the site received 52,950 page views.
—Average Number of Page Views Per Day—1604
—Average user Session length—7 minutes and 13 seconds

In addition to the web sites for which we have direct responsibility, we are now linked to many other government websites. You may recall that Representative Matt Salmon led the way by introducing legislation to include anti-drug messages on NASA's website—the government site most visited by young people. Since NASA agreed to carry anti-drug messages and link to our web sites, more than twenty other federal agencies have added anti-drug messages to their websites.

Beyond government sites, we are adding an average of three more web site links per week to educational groups, non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups and others in the prevention community. The campaign has developed and continues to develop on-line interactive resources for all campaign audiences, both on its own and in collaboration with major on-line media companies such as AOL and SONY.

News Media/Public Education Outreach

Central to the media campaign are Public Information activities dealing with the news media, direct outreach, and special events to generate a steady flow of campaign messages to youth and adult audiences. Campaign news media outreach in 1999 alone has generated more than 124 million media impressions. Outreach ranges from national print and broadcast outlets to local community (and even school) newspapers in order to provide context, relevance and repetition for campaign messages, educate reporters, and leverage current events and trends. In addition, program activities and outreach initiatives have been developed to reach adults and kids where they spend the majority of their time—at work and in school.

We have partnerships with the *Chicago Tribune, New York Times,* and *USA Today*. The campaign created the Straight Scoop School News Bureau as a resource for middle and high school journalists. Seven television networks produced their own anti-drug PSAs as a result of ONDCP outreach. Some examples of public information outreach are:

—*Cub Reporters*.—A major cable company, MediaOne, and ONDCP co-sponsored a "Cub Reporter" bus tour from Miami to Washington, DC in the last week of August. The cub reporters talked with and filmed other kids' experiences and opinions about drugs. A 30-minute documentary based on their experiences will be broadcast in November.
—*School-based programs*.—In August, ONDCP unveiled a package of school-based programs for the 1999–2000 school year and beyond. They include:

The Straight Scoop News Bureau, a resource for middle and high school journalists to give them factual "straight scoop" information on drugs and drug use. Partners in the new bureau include the Annie E. Casey School of Journalism for Children and Families, *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Times*. News bureau resources can be found at www.straightscoop.org.

Just recently, the Straight Scoop News Bureau teamed up with Sun Microsystems, OpenVoice and Athlete Direct to host a live online chat with San Francisco 49'ers Quarterback Steve Young. Young discussed the importance of living a healthy, drug-free lifestyle. Student journalists were encouraged to ask Steve Young questions and publish articles in their school papers. This event was broadcast live via satellite to more than 250 cities across the country. Altogether, the online and satellite-link audience was estimated at over 3 million.

Corporate Sponsorship/Participation

ONDCP and PDFA are increasing the number of strategic campaign partners—both organizations and businesses—that help us deliver anti-drug information.

America On Line created the Parents' Drug Resource Center (AOL Keyword: Drug Help) to help parents influence their children to remain drug free. Many National Football League, Major League Baseball, National Basketball Association, and Major League Soccer teams show our anti-drug ads during games.

THE CAMPAIGN'S ENTERTAINMENT INITIATIVE

The media campaign's entertainment initiative has several major components, all of which are guided by a fundamental philosophy: the entertainment community is a crucial player in addressing substance abuse among teens. They are the most powerful creative force in the world, and we firmly believe they are part of the solution. We do not subscribe to the widely held view that popular culture is inevitably a destructive force in the area of drugs, and you will not hear this campaign attacking the entertainment community. What you will hear instead is a call for dialogue. We offer information, materials, experts, and a commitment to working together over the long haul. We do not proselytize. We realize that you cannot "shoe horn" a drug message in a script where it does not belong. It must appear organically, and the only way that can be done is if the creative community is aware of the issues and facts. We want creative people and organizations to understand drug use and prevention issues so they can depict them accurately. Parent denial, risk perception, peer refusal skills and other message strategies are most effectively communicated by creative talent that is aware of and sensitized to the issues. The media campaign's entertainment outreach goals follow:

—Encourage accurate depictions of drug use issues—including the consequences of drug abuse in programming popular with teens and parents.
—Incorporate strategic drug prevention messages and themes into popular culture, and dispel myths and misconceptions about drug abuse.
—De-normalize the image of drug use on TV, and in popular music and film.
—Use entertainment media to provide accurate drug information and resources on substance abuse to parents, caregivers, faith community leaders, and policymakers.

One of our key strategies is to inform the creative process through a series of briefings, roundtables, and workshops in New York and Hollywood. These events are a cost-effective way to educate and inspire television writers, film screenwriters, and executives to portray realistic substance abuse consequences and to spur ideas for future storylines or scenes. Sometimes only a one-second frown or wave of the hand when someone is offered marijuana is all that is needed. The payoff can be substantial. Campaign messages are incorporated into dramatic storylines that are conveyed on valuable airtime, via top-rated shows seen by millions of viewers. In fact, if the campaign were to rely exclusively on purchasing ad time, reaching audiences of this size would be prohibitively expensive.

Some of the sessions we conducted last year included briefings for network executives at ABC and Fox Television and a roundtable for creative executives involved in programming that targets children and teens. We met with a broad array of entertainment industry organizations and their leaders including the Writers Guild, Caucus of Producers, Writers and Directors, Entertainment Industry Council, Screen Actors Guild, Directors Guild, Producers Guild, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, and other organizations. We also met with industry leaders in Hollywood including Rob Reiner, Richard Dreyfuss, Barry Diller, Frank Biondi, and senior executives of major networks. We participated in entertainment industry events and briefed executives from Hollywood talent agencies, and publicity and management firms. And we've provided information and subject matter experts to writers and producers of individual shows, including *Cosby, Chicago Hope, ER,* and *Beverly Hills 90210.*

As a result of these activities, we have captured the attention of key creative and programming executives at, among others, all six broadcast television networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, The WB, UPN), The Fox Family Channel, Warner Bros. Television, Disney Television, Universal Television, The Writers Guild, The Directors Guild, and The Screen Actors Guild. We will also partner with entertainment industry organizations, other federal agencies, and nonprofit organizations whose goals complement ours. For example, we are excited about a new partnership with *The Hollywood Reporter*—a daily newspaper that delivers news coverage and in-depth stories to industry professionals around the world; it is one of the "must read" publications in the entertainment industry. They have agreed to work with the campaign to develop a series of workshops that will support our education efforts on the topic of substance abuse.

To support its outreach strategy, the ONDCP Entertainment Team identifies and provides experts and resources to the entertainment community, particularly writ-

ers who may have questions concerning substance abuse. This expertise is specifically tailored to meet the needs of the television industry, particularly the time constraints under which writers work. Experts are prepared carefully so that they can work effectively with television writers and producers, but remain true to the messages of the campaign. As a result writers gain a deeper understanding of how to depict substance abuse accurately

To help us accomplish these goals, we work directly with many of the key entertainment industry organizations, particularly those on the creative side of the business. We also have retained expert counsel in New York and Los Angeles, the capitals of the entertainment world, to work with the campaign to develop our core strategies. Collectively, we work on the following activities:

—Providing resources and information on substance abuse to industry leaders and the creative community through briefings, special events, collateral materials and access to experts.

We are working with and engaging writers, producers, directors, network executives, musicians, and entertainment industry associations, forming relationships and partnerships to encourage America's young people to reject illegal drugs. By showing the range of negative consequences of substance abuse, by depicting drugged behavior as unglamorous and socially unacceptable, we can discourage drug use. The creative community is in a unique and powerful position to communicate that drug use is neither normal nor mainstream; it is undesirable.

Since the campaign began, ONDCP has maintained dialogue with a number of writers, producers, directors, and studio executives. They are an extraordinarily talented and creative group of people who have consistently demonstrated their ability to combine positive messages with compelling entertainment. Popular shows like *The Practice, Home Improvement, 7th Heaven, ER, Cosby, Beverly Hills 90210,* and *Hang Time* have featured realistic, fact-based depictions about substance use in their storylines. All are award-winning programs watched by teens and parents. None of these shows saw declines in either quality or ratings because of their choice to both depict the negative consequences of substance use and show positive examples of families dealing with drugs. In short, entertainment and responsibility are not mutually exclusive, and we are privileged to be working with some of this country's most creative, talented, and committed individuals on this groundbreaking effort. We believe our outreach to the television industry has helped to make this past year one of the best ones for accurate depiction of drug use and drug use issues on network television.

—Engaging celebrities who are positive role models in extending the reach of campaign messages through participation in such activities as personal appearances and on-line chats.

Advertisers and marketers have long used celebrities to make their messages more appealing. The technique is particularly effective with young people, who frequently try to emulate the looks, behavior, and attitude of their favorite stars. The media campaign is using support from popular public entertainment figures to enhance the campaign's credibility and visibility among youth; increase potential media coverage of illegal drug use and its consequences; and help campaign messages reach key target audiences in a compelling and effective manner by featuring celebrities in a setting more accessible than advertising. In order to appeal to the broadest audiences, we are using a diverse group of celebrities in a variety of ways.

An impressive range of celebrities has spoken publicly about campaign themes and goals. Youth and parents nationwide have heard celebrity voices from many of the entertainment genres, including: TV (e.g., Eriq La Salle of NBC's *ER*, Jenna Elfman of ABC's *Dharma & Greg*, Ken Olin of CBS's *LA Doctors*, Lisa Nicole Carter of Fox's *Ally McBeal*); film; popular music (e.g., Lauryn Hill, The Dixie Chicks); amateur and professional sports (e.g., U.S. Women's World Cup champion soccer team, Olympic Gold Medallist Tara Lipinski, Mike Modano of the National Hockey League champion Dallas Stars), comedy (e.g., Howie Mandel); and pop culture (e.g., Miss America 1999 Nicole Johnson, Marvel Comics' Spider-Man). All have generously donated their services to the American taxpayer. Seven television networks have produced public service announcements using celebrities from their most popular shows. We do not pay for talent—which could amount to millions—but credit the cost of the time. These messages are reviewed by ONDCP to ensure they are supportive of the campaign's communication strategy—no fees have been or will be paid to celebrities to take part in Media Campaign activities.

—Recognizing and commending accurate portrayals of drug issues on TV, film and in other entertainment media, and honoring the creative efforts of writers, directors, producers, actors and studio executives.

The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) has long worked with the Entertainment Industry Council (EIC) to bring science-based information about alcohol, drugs and tobacco to creators of entertainment products. In 1996, NIDA and EIC developed the PRISM awards for accurate depiction of alcohol, drugs and tobacco. We expect that the media campaign's entertainment outreach initiative will result in a considerable increase in the number of candidates for PRISM awards at the March 2000 ceremony.

—Conducting content analysis and other research to determine how entertainment media depict substance abuse issues. Careful examination of media content is a crucial first step in determining what role media may play in promoting substance use and abuse. The two Mediascope content analyses (whose principal findings were summarized in Section II of this statement) are examples of the factual way ONDCP is addressing the issue of the entertainment industry's depiction of illegal drugs.

—Cross-Marketing: Beyond Movies and Television. To ensure that campaign messages reach teens and parents through as many outlets as possible, ONDCP's Entertainment Team is extending its activities beyond music and television, and focusing attention on the fashion and retail industries, home video, and motion pictures.

We are also exploring partnering with home video distributors and retailers in the promotion of campaign messages via inserts in new home video releases and retail store promotions. This initiative is in its nascent stage, but initial outreach has begun with studio marketing executives and home video distributors.

THE ROLE OF PROGRAMMING

In the 1980s, public-health advocates began to harness television programming to promote public-health issues. Since then, numerous campaigns have sought to communicate prevention messages within programming. Research underscores this approach:

—*The National Designated Driver Campaign.*—One of the best-documented examples of a media campaign incorporating entertainment programming is the National Designated Driver Campaign that was launched in 1988. According to Dr. Jay A. Winsten, Ph.D., Associate Dean and Director of Harvard School of Public Health's Center for Health Communication, the campaign broke new ground when television writers agreed to insert drunk driving prevention messages in scripts of top-rated shows. Dr. Winsten describes this campaign as "the first successful effort to mobilize the Hollywood creative community on such a scale, using dialogue in prime time entertainment as a health promotion technology." This integrated public-health communications campaign had a marked effect on alcohol-related traffic fatalities. Whereas in the three years before the designated driver campaign there had been 0 percent change in such fatalities, by 1992 (four years after the campaign's launch), annual fatalities had declined by 24 percent.[17]

—*1999 Healthstyles Survey.*—Centers for Disease Control and Prevention analysis of this report reveals that almost half (48 percent) of the people who report they watch soap operas at least twice a week learned something about diseases and how to prevent them from the daytime drama story lines. More than one-third (34 percent) took some action as a result. One in four (25 percent) told someone about it, 13 percent suggested someone do something about it, 7 percent visited a clinic or doctor, and 6 percent did something to prevent the problem.[18]

The media campaign's *Communication Strategy Statement* highlights programming's potential for communicating public-health messages. Excerpts of the document follow:

—"Research has repeatedly shown that media programs work best in conjunction with other community- and school-based anti-drug programs, when consistent messages are conveyed through a variety of channels and in several different contexts." (Flay & Sobel, 1983; Macoby, 1990; Schilling & McAllister, 1990; Sloboda & David, 1997)—P. 6.

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[17] Winsten JA. Promoting Designated Drivers: The Harvard Alcohol Project. American Journal of Preventive Medicine. 1994 May-June; 10(3 Suppl):11–14.

[18] The Healthstyles Survey is a proprietary database product developed by Porter Novelli. Its sampling is based on seven U.S. Census Bureau characteristics. The survey is used by organizations such as CDC to shape public-health outreach efforts.

—"Health information, including information about drug use issues, is provided through all forms of media including news, entertainment programming, and advertising. This information is so pervasive that most people report the media as their primary source of information about health issues." (Freimuth, Stein, and Kean, 1989)—P. 7.

—The media campaign must "harness a diverse media mix including television, video, radio, print, and Internet and other forms of new media to deliver both general and tailored messages. Within the media mix, messages will be delivered through the full range of media content, including paid and public service advertising, news, public affairs, programming, and entertainment programming."—P. 9.

—"Effective message tailoring involves . . . working with communications professionals who specialize in creating content for particular audiences."—P. 9.

Evaluations of the media campaign confirm this research

ONDCP September 1998 report to Congress.—(Testing the Anti-Drug Message in 12 American Cities: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase I (Report No. 1)—found:

—Youth asserted that "TV programming promotes drug use and violence."—P. ES–4.

—"Parents' perceptions of the cultural relevance and credibility of anti-drug ads, much like youth's perceptions, focused more on program content and presentation . . ."—P. ES–7.

—The Internet, television shows, and song lyrics heard on radio frequently condone the use of drugs. Youth are bombarded with these messages on a daily basis. Mothers and fathers frequently work long hours outside the home, leaving their children free during the after school hours to watch television and be exposed to messages that glamorize drug use. Youth, particularly high school students, are subjected to ever-increasing sources of stress in their daily lives. Future decisions about the design and implementation of the media campaign should be made within the context of these issues."—P. ES–13.

ONDCP June 1999 report to Congress.—(Investing in our Nation's Youth: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase II Final Report)—found that:

—"There was a significant increase in the percentages of both youth and teens who perceived that TV shows, news, and movies were important sources of anti-drug information."—P. 5–2.

—"The use of TV shows, news, and movies; outside billboards; and posters on buses, bus stops and subways are effective ways of reaching youth and teens with anti-drug messages."—P. 5–3.

Today, there are a number of national organizations working within the existing structures of the entertainment industry, attempting to have a positive influence on programming. They include the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the Population Communications Institute, the American Lung Association, and the media campaign's own partner, Mediascope. Their efforts are complemented by those of federal agencies like ONDCP, NASA, the National Institutes of Health, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, as well as all of the branches of our armed forces, who work to ensure that entertainment portrays issues and situations realistically and accurately. ONDCP remains convinced that for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign to be most effective, scientifically accurate drug-prevention messages must be conveyed through programming.

THE PRO-BONO MATCH REQUIREMENT

One of the foundations of our strategy is the pro-bono match requirement outlined in Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999 (Public Law 105–277, October 21, 1998). The act stipulated that federal funds spent on advertising must be must be matched with in-kind contributions of the same value. ONDCP allows Public Service Advertising (PSA) time and space, public affairs activities, and programming to count as public service contributions. Individual companies decide how to meet this requirement. The only proviso is that the majority of the match must be in the form of equivalent PSA time and space.

Zenith Media (our advertising purchasing company in 1998) created a formula for valuing programming content similar to those used by product sponsors for a program episode. The formula is based, conservatively, on requirements for a product advertiser to officially sponsor a program. For example, an on-strategy storyline that is the main plot of a half-hour show can be valued at three thirty-second ads. If there is an end-tag with an 800 number or more information at the end of a half-hour show, it is valued at an additional fifteen-second ad. A main storyline in an

hour-long prime-time show is valued at five thirty-second ads, while such a storyline in a one-hour daytime show is valued at four thirty-second ads.

Indeed, considerable public service time and space has been generated by the media match requirement. According to Ad Age, the ONDCP campaign is a factor in increasing the public service time on prime time network TV. ONDCP retains all magazine, print and out of home space and uses it for campaign messages. The radio and TV time is shared with other organizations that have drug-related messages. More than 265,000 radio and TV public service messages have been played in support of forty-five organizations. The Ad Council oversees the process for national ads. The American Advertising Federation plays a similar coordinating role in 102 local media markets. In the coming year, we will see a much larger number of local organizations benefiting from the pro-bono match component of the Media Campaign.

Criteria for evaluating consistency with the campaign's strategic message platforms

Director McCaffrey personally approved procedures for determining valuation of "in-kind contributions" to the national media campaign on April 23, 1998. ONDCP and our contractors have followed these procedures. Specific elements of this decision included:

—*Eligibility for pro-bono match.*—Media outlets were allowed to provide in-kind contributions provided that the majority of the match was satisfied with advertising time and space donations. The balance of the match could be met by media outlets with relevant non-advertising efforts such as programming, locally or nationally sponsored community events, appropriate public affairs programming, in-school programs, or in-kind donations.

—*Requirement that current pro-bono public service time not be supplanted.*—ONDCP contracted the Advertising Council to allocate national-level pro-bono PSA slots to eligible campaigns and to ensure that the media campaign did not reduce existing levels of pro-bono advertising time and space in accordance with the law and congressional intent.

—*Establishment of a Media Match Task Force*.—This task force includes representatives from ONDCP, the Advertising Council, the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Education. It assesses implementation of pro-bono match guidelines and recommends changes.

—*Specific criteria for qualification as "in-kind contributions" for programs*.—Programs that include messages promoting activities, behavior, and healthy environments that prevent drug use by youth can be considered for pro-bono match purposes. The specific criteria that have been applied are: Does the program—

—Educate and support the development of good parenting practices.

—Encourage greater parental and caregiver involvement in a child's upbringing and effective drug-prevention parenting strategies.

—Provide early childhood development programs that strengthen the parent-child relationship.

—Provide opportunities for youth through programs and services in school and after school such as mentoring.

—Foster high expectation and self-esteem for youth.

—Prevent drug abuse including underage tobacco and alcohol use.

—Emphasize the nexus between drugs and crime and violence.

—Emphasize the connection between substance use and AIDS.

—Support other drug-related messages and campaigns as determined by ONDCP.

These criteria have been consistently used to determine whether programs submitted by media outlets for pro-bono match consideration should indeed qualify for public-service credit. At no time during this process did ONDCP—or any person or organization affiliated with the media campaign—suggest script changes, nor were any episodes or programs resubmitted for reconsideration in exchange for pro-bono match credit. Indeed, we have always assumed that any transcripts or programs submitted for public-service credit consideration were final products and not subject to further change.

To date, seven networks have submitted programs to ONDCP's contractor, Ogilvy & Mather for pro-bono match consideration. Thirty-nine separate programs (with 130 original episodes and 353 repeats) have been assigned a total of $21,820,329 in public-service credit. A list of all programs and episodes for which credits were given is enclosed at Tab 3.

ONDCP takes seriously questions about the campaign's pro-bono match procedures. There can be no suggestion of federal interference in the creative process. Accordingly, in the future, we will only review programs for pro-bono match consider-

ation after they have aired. The attached January 18 ONDCP press release outlines the new procedures we are implementing to guard against any appearance of impropriety.

RESULTS OF THE ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN

The anti-drug media campaign is surpassing initial expectations

Phase I.—During the initial twenty-six-week pilot in twelve cities (Phase I, January through June 1998), we exceeded our goal of reaching 90 percent of the overall target audience with four anti-drug messages a week.[19] The campaign's Phase I message delivery rate follows:

Overall

Teens 12—17: 95 percent viewed an average of 8.5 messages a week.
Adults 25—54: 95 percent viewed an average of 7.5 messages a week.

African-American

Teens 12—17: 96 percent viewed an average of 9.4 messages a week.
Adults 25—54: 96 percent viewed an average of 8.4 messages a week.

Hispanic

Teens 12—17: 90 percent viewed an average of 5.9 messages a week.
Adults 25—54: 85 percent viewed an average of 5.8 messages a week.

We are extremely encouraged to note that significant increases in awareness of anti-drug ads occurred among the target audiences. The evaluations ONDCP submitted to Congress showed that youth and teens demonstrated significant increases in ad recall in the target versus the comparison sites—youth increases ranged from 11 to 26 percent, teens ranged from 13 to 27 percent. Parents in target sites had an 11 percent gain in awareness of the risks of drugs and said that the campaign provided them with new information about drugs (a 7 percent increase). Meanwhile, the number and frequency of PSAs for other related social issues increased, demonstrating no interference from the paid ad campaign.[20]

Phase II.—When the anti-drug media campaign was expanded to a national audience (Phase II, July 1998 through June 1999), we maintained our planned message delivery rates:

Overall

Teens 12—17: 95 percent viewed an average of 6.8 messages a week.
Adults 25—54: 92 percent viewed an average of 4.5 messages a week.

African-American

Teens 12—17: 96 percent viewed an average of 7.6 messages a week.
Adults 25—54: 95 percent viewed an average of 7.2 messages a week.

Hispanic

Teens 12—17: 88 percent viewed an average of 4.8 messages a week.
Adults 25—54: 84 percent viewed an average of 4.8 messages a week.

The anti-drug campaign's messages also began to influence attitudes. The percentage of youth who agreed that the ads "made them stay away from drugs" increased from 61 percent to 69 percent. The percentage reporting they "learned a lot about the dangers of drugs" from TV commercials also increased from 44 to 52 percent.[21]

Phase III (July 1999-Present).—Our broad-based advertising effort continues to exceed planned message delivery rates. As a result of the leverage the campaign is providing to other organizations and causes through the required pro-bono matches, we are increasing the number reach of the campaign.

Teens 12–17:

Paid—91 percent viewed an average of 4.4 messages a week.
Paid & anti-drug match—95 percent viewed an average of 5.2 messages a week.
Paid & all match—95 percent viewed an average of 8.3 messages a week.

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[19] Findings regarding the effectiveness of Phase I were presented to Congress in September 1998 and March 1999, see Testing the Anti-Drug Message in 12 American Cities: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase I (Report No. 1), September 1998 and (Report No. 2, March 1999.

[20] Ibid.

[21] ONDCP submitted an evaluation of Phase II to both Congressional Committees on Appropriations. See Investing in our Nation's Youth: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase II Final Report, June 1999.

Adults 25–54:

Paid—82 percent viewed an average of 3.5 messages a week.

Paid & anti-drug match—92 percent viewed an average of 3.7 messages a week.

Paid & all match—95 percent viewed an average of 5.9 messages a week.

The campaign's pervasive presence has also been manifested in increased demand for anti-drug information. Since the national launch of the campaign in July of 1998, inquiries received by the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information (NCADI) have increased dramatically. The number of inquiries received between July 1998 and June 1999 increased by 159 percent over the corresponding 1997–1998 period. NCADI also responded to 102 percent more requests for information and distributed more than sixteen million items between July 1998 and June 1999. On peak days—which corresponded with specific anti-drug campaign events (e.g. an article in *Parade* magazine, media coverage of national launch, and media "roadblocks")—requests surged by 367 percent over pre-campaign levels. Per month Internet requests for substance abuse information have increased tenfold since July 1998.[22]

To date, the campaign has exceeded its pro-bono match requirements; we have accomplished 107 percent of the media match at a value of $213 million. We formed partnerships with seven television networks that have produced their own anti-drug PSAs consistent with campaign themes. We attained 168 million pro-bono Internet impressions. The campaign's strategic messages have been supported in 130 TV programs that incorporated science-based anti-drug story lines.

Additional indicators of success

No child or adult "influencer" is being left behind. The campaign is reaching minority youth and parents at unprecedented levels, delivering $33 million worth of anti-drug messages. By any standard, this is the strongest multi-cultural communications effort ever launched by the Federal Government; it rivals that of most corporate efforts. ONDCP is the largest governmental advertiser in African-American newspapers. We are now developing campaign materials in eleven languages.

Private sector support is exceeding ONDCP's goals and expectations. The anti-drug campaign's target is a one-for-one match; for every taxpayer dollar we spend, we require an equal added dollar's worth of anti-drug public service, pro bono activity. The campaign's private sector match is now at the 109 percent level (or $149 million gross) for the broadcast industry (matches of ad time on TV and radio). Overall, the corporate match for all campaign efforts is at the 107 percent level (or $213 million). In addition to the pro bono match, we have received over $42 million of corporate in-kind support.

As we move into an integrated campaign we are reaching young people throughout the Internet. The number of campaign Internet advertising impressions (ad "banners" on web sites) exceeds two hundred million. In 1999, ONDCP's campaign site, www.mediacampaign.com was accessed 446,596 times by 170,456 users. The prevention sites www.projectknow.com was accessed 6,483,583 times by 1,647,967 users.

YOUTH ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR HAVE CHANGED SINCE THE LAUNCH OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

The campaign is getting the nation's attention and influencing drug-related attitudes and behavior. Based on expert analysis of drug-use trends and media campaign impacts, we did not expect to see appreciable impacts on drug use until two years into the campaign. However, since the campaign's inception, we have seen noteworthy changes in drug-related attitudes and behavior among our youth:

—In September 1998, we reported to Congress—(Testing the Anti-Drug Message in 12 American Cities: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase I (Report No. 1)—that the campaign's ads were stimulating discussion between parents and children.

—In June 1999, we reported to Congress—(Investing in our Nation's Youth: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase II Final Report)—that the percentage of teens who said they had learned "a lot" from TV commercials that "drugs are bad" increased from 44 to 52. We also noted a 12 percent increase in the percentage of youth that agreed the ads made them stay away from drugs (an increase from 61 to 69 percent).

Additionally, various recent national surveys indicate that adolescent anti-drug attitudes have stiffened and some drug-use rates have declined.

[22] SAMHSA/NCADI briefing to ONDCP Director Barry McCaffrey, September 2, 1999.

—Adolescent drug use declined 13 percent between 1997 and 1998 (1998 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse).
—The percentage of 13–18 year olds strongly agreeing with the statement "kids who are really cool don't use drugs," increased from 35 percent in 1998 to 40 percent in 1999 (Partnership for a Drug-Free America, 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study).
—The teenage belief that "most people will try marijuana sometime" declined to 35 percent in 1999, from 40 percent in 1998 and 41 percent in 1997 (Partnership for a Drug-Free America, 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study).
—In 1999, 63 percent of teens reported parents were talking to them about the risks of drug use, up from 53 percent in 1998 (Center on Substance Abuse and Addiction, 1999 Back to School Survey).
—The number of young people reporting that their schools were drug free increased from 31 percent in 1998 to 44 percent in 1999 (Center on Substance Abuse and Addiction, 1999 Back to School Survey).

TRANSPARENCY OF THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Everything about this campaign—including the pro-bono match—has been conducted openly with congressional oversight, news coverage, publicity, and outreach to the media. There were three congressional hearings in 1999 on the subject of the media campaign, so the notion that this project is being conducted "in secret" is inaccurate. We have also written opinion editorials explaining all aspects of the campaign; these pieces have been published in newspapers, magazines, and journals throughout the country. Countless press releases, news conferences, and events with the President and congressional leadership were devoted to this topic as was much TV and radio coverage and a website (www.mediacampaign.org) that was accessed 446,596 times in 1999.

Excerpts of national coverage of the pro-bono match

Advertising Age "Networks 'donate' anti-drug messages" (July 6, 1998)

". . . broadcast media are jumping to take the drug agency's offer of trading its large ad budget for an equal amount of free time, including not only spots but anti-drug programming and other activities."

Los Angeles Times "Ad Plan: Your Tax Dollars on Drugs" (August 20, 1998)

"The accompanying matches are not all straight gifts of time. Credit is also awarded, for example, for building an Internet site. Fox Family Network may count as donations episodes of its entertainment programs that carry an anti-drug theme . . ."

USA Today "White House anti-drug unit garners fortune in free ads" (November 2, 1998)

". . . the government is demanding more than it's paying for. Its requirement: that media match its purchase with free air time or space or other public service efforts. For the networks, donated commercial time counts. Talk show time can count. So do White House-approved scripts that promote the anti-drug theme."

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman, Director McCaffrey asked me to reassure you that the Anti-Drug Media Campaign has complied with all applicable laws and carefully taken into account congressional intent. We are proud that the media campaign is bringing to bear the scientific information that results from the half billion dollars the Federal Government invests on drug abuse research through the National Institute on Drug Abuse every year.

As you know, the primary goal of the National Drug Control Strategy is to "educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco." Over the past four years, federal spending on prevention has increased by 55 percent. This public-health communications campaign is the most visible element of the national response to the juvenile drug-use crisis. These extensive prevention efforts are beginning to bear fruit. We are convinced that if we continue to emphasize drug prevention, juvenile drug-use rates will drop further. Thank you again for your support of our efforts to reduce drug use and its consequences in America.

Senator CAMPBELL. We are going to take a 10 or 15-minute recess while we run over and vote. We will then hear from Ms. Conlon, and I apologize for having you sit so long, Ms. Conlon, and from Mr. Bonnette, and then we will go to Mr. Forbes. With that, we will stand in recess for about 10 minutes.

My friends, if we could take our seats, the committee is back in session and we will not have any more interruptions. That was the last vote, so we will be able to finish this. I hope, Mr. Levitt, you will be able to stay around, although I have no further questions. I do not think Senator Dorgan does. I hope you will stay around to hear the remaining testimony, if you can.

We will now go to Ms. Conlon, the President of the Ad Council. Welcome.

STATEMENT OF PEGGY CONLON, PRESIDENT, THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL, INC.

Ms. CONLON. Mr. Chairman, thank you. Thank you so much for inviting us to participate in this testimony today.

As President of the Advertising Council, I commend the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, the Office of National Drug Control Policy, and the Partnership for a Drug-Free America for their foresight in the creation of an unprecedented National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Thus far, the public service match component of the campaign is an unqualified success. It has reinvigorated public service advertising despite a highly competitive media environment, and the media is rising to the challenge. It is because of this PSA match that this campaign is the most efficient use of leveraged government funding that I have ever seen.

For 58 years, the Ad Council has served as the nation's leading provider of public service advertising. Since we were founded by President Roosevelt to help engage Americans in the World War II effort, our media messages have moved the needle on such behaviors as drunk driving, crime prevention, and environmental protection.

Four years ago, we committed our resources to supporting America's children and families, and we were delighted when the ONDCP delighted us to be a full partner in an innovative media campaign which is consistent with this mission.

The Ad Council serves the ONDCP media campaign in several ways. Primarily, we oversee a media match task force that vets national PSAs for participation in the match program. Together with ONDCP, Partnership for a Drug-Free America, and other members of the task force, including Departments of Education, Justice, and Health and Human Services, the Ad Council was involved from the start in recommending and designing the guidelines of the media match component. The guidelines apply to the national PSA match as well as the programming element, and they form the basis of the media match program at the local level. We have also reached out to thousands of community organizations with an invitation to participate in the match.

The Ad Council's experience to date with the ONDCP media campaign has been exceptionally positive. The match component has revitalized public service as we know it. It has increased the awareness of community-based programs that aid in youth drug prevention by encouraging early action steps, such as mentoring, greater parental involvement, after-school programs, and raising young people's self-esteem. These programs are receiving unprecedented media exposure. In fact, since the launch of the campaign, over 250,000 television and radio on-air PSA placements have been

donated by the media on behalf of 45 national nonprofit and government organizations.

Initial concerns that the introduction of the ONDCP match might supplant the media's existing support of public service have proved to be unfounded. Beyond the match program, both qualifying and non-qualifying Ad Council PSAs have received equal support from the media.

In addition, an unintended benefit of the match is the improvement of PSA audience reach by opening up highly-rated television dayparts in which public service was traditionally underrepresented. The Ad Council's independent monitoring service has reported that in the 5 years prior to the match, only 40 percent of donated media toward Ad Council PSAs were in desirable dayparts, leaving the majority of PSAs to be aired between the hours of 1:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m. Since the match, the media donation of desirable dayparts has dramatically increased, from 40 percent to 70 percent of total donated media.

Again, the PSA media match was well conceived and has been executed by the ONDCP in the most inclusive manner and with great success. It is a sustainable model that involves the government, the media, and local communities all joined in a common objective, to keep our kids drug-free.

On behalf of the Ad Council, I would like to thank all the partners involved for their continued support of this unprecedented effort. With great pride, we will continue to support this campaign in any capacity. Thank you.

Senator CAMPBELL. Thank you. I appreciate your testimony. I have a couple of questions, but I will go to our next witness before I ask those questions. I would like to repeat that, for me, this has never been a question of whether it works or not. I think it probably does work, as any advertising does, whether it is subliminal or not. It is a question of propriety, of transparency, and whether it sets a precedent. Things of that nature is what this committee is really concerned about.

[The statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PEGGY CONLON

As President of The Advertising Council, I commend the Senate Appropriations Sub-Committee, the Office of National Drug Control Policy and the Partnership For a Drug Free America for their foresight in the creation of an unprecedented national youth anti-drug media campaign. Thus far, the public service match component of the campaign is an unqualified success. It has reinvigorated public service advertising—despite a highly competitive media environment—and the media is rising to its challenge. It is because of the PSA match that this campaign is the most efficient use of leveraged Government funding that I have ever seen.

For 58 years, the Ad Council has served as the nation's leading provider of public service advertising. Since we were founded by President Roosevelt to help engage Americans in the World War II effort, our media messages have moved the needle on such behaviors as drunk driving, crime prevention and environmental protection. Four years ago, we committed our resources to supporting America's children and families; and we were delighted when the ONDCP invited us to be a full partner in an innovative media campaign which is consistent with that mission.

The Ad Council serves the ONDCP media campaign in several ways. Primarily, we oversee a media match task force that vets national PSAs for participation in the match program. Together with ONDCP, Partnership For A Drug Free America, and other members of the task force (including the Departments of Education, Justice and Health and Human Services), the Ad Council was involved from the start in recommending and designing the guidelines of the media match component. The

guidelines apply to the national PSA match as well as the programming element, and they form the basis of the media match program at the local level. We have also reached out to thousands of community organizations with an invitation to participate in the match.

The Ad Council's experience to date with the ONDCP media campaign has been exceptionally positive. The match component has revitalized public service as we know it. It has increased the awareness of community-based programs that aid in youth drug prevention by encouraging early action steps such as mentoring, greater parental involvement, after-school programs and raising young people's self-esteem. These programs are receiving unprecedented media exposure. In fact, since the launch of the campaign, over 250,000 television and radio on-air PSA placements have been donated by the media on behalf of 45 national non-profit and government organizations.

Initial concerns that the introduction of the ONDCP match might "supplant" the media's existing support of public service have proved to be unfounded. Beyond the match program, both qualifying and nonqualifying Ad Council PSAs have received equal support from the media. In addition, an unintended benefit of the match is the improvement of PSA audience-reach by opening up high-rated television dayparts, in which public service was traditionally underrepresented. The Ad Council's independent monitoring service has reported that in the five years prior to the match, only 40 percent of all donated media towards Ad Council PSAs was in desirable dayparts—leaving the majority of PSAs to be aired between the hours of 1:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m. Since the match, the media's donation of desirable dayparts has dramatically increased from 40 percent to 70 percent of total donated media.

Again, the PSA media match was well conceived and has been executed by the ONDCP in a most inclusive manner and with great success. It is a sustainable model that involves the Government, the media and local communities—all joined in a common objective to keep our kids drugfree. On behalf of the Ad Council, I would like to thank all the partners involved for their continued support of this unprecedented effort. With great pride, we will continue to support this campaign in any capacity.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD BONNETTE, PRESIDENT, PARTNERSHIP FOR DRUG FREE AMERICA

Senator CAMPBELL. We will go now to Mr. Bonnette, please.

Mr. BONETTE. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. Let me begin by thanking you and Senator Dorgan and all the members of the committee for your support of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Allow me to also thank General McCaffrey, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. His leadership has been truly indispensable for this effort.

As you know, the problem of drug abuse persists across the country. Millions of children, teenagers, and their parents and other adults deal with this problem every day. It is, in fact, the number one concern parents have about their children and the number one concern among teenagers, as well.

The alarming increase in adolescent drug use since 1991 is one reason why Congress decided to support this Anti-Drug Campaign. I come here today, Mr. Chairman, very pleased to report to you that the campaign is on track and is giving us every reason to be optimistic.

As you know, the Partnership for a Drug-Free America originated in the advertising industry. Our roots are in advertising, marketing, public relations, consumer research, and the media industries. Today, we have a small staff of about 30 people in New York and a network of hundreds of volunteers around the country. The strength of the partnership is the reservoir of advertising talent that creates our work, the same talent that is behind the most creative, most effective commercial ad campaigns in the marketplace today. We tap into this talent, talent that helps sell Pepsi-

Cola, Dell computers, and Dodge trucks, not to sell but to unsell illegal drugs.

Before joining the Partnership in 1989, I spent 25 years in the advertising industry, 19 of them with BBDO Worldwide, one of the largest agencies in the world, and at BBDO, I was a member of both their board of directors and their executive committee. One of the elements that made the concept of the Anti-Drug Media Campaign so attractive to Congress was access to this private sector creative talent. Instead of one advertising agency creating ads for this campaign, literally dozens of agencies create work for the partnership, which is then donated to the Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

That essentially is our role, managing the creative pipeline. We provide the advertising that is at the heart of this effort, and while the campaign now covers production costs for our advertising, the most expensive and critical elements of each ad, the services of the actual creative talent producers, copy writers, directors, and actors are all donated to this effort. With the cost of creating a 30-second television commercial averaging about $300,000, the advertising industry has been and continues to be a tremendous resource to this campaign. The credit here, Mr. Chairman, goes to the agencies themselves, not to the Partnership, because it is they who actually do the work.

May I remind the committee that while we have devoted significant resources and the full heart and soul of the Partnership to servicing this campaign, we receive no Federal funding for our role in this effort. We participate in this campaign because we are dedicated to this cause and we believe deeply in this model. That is our bottom line.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, the strategic rationale behind this campaign is quite simple. It is the belief in the power of research-based advertising to persuade children and teenagers not to use drugs and it is the acknowledgement that to tap into the full power of mass media in this endeavor, we must employ paid advertising to get the job done.

In the past, we have witnessed the awesome power of mass media on the drug problem. In the late 1980s, unprecedented support from the media contributed to dramatic and long-lasting results, long-lasting changes in the marketplace. For example, since 1985, among those 18 and older, regular use of cocaine is down by 75 percent and is holding, and regular use of any illicit drug is down by 50 percent and holding. Today, there are 9.7 million fewer Americans using drugs on a regular basis. It was the media, Mr. Chairman, who accelerated the rate of attitudinal shifts that made this happen.

We have also witnessed what happens when mass media focus on the drug problem dissipates. As news and mass media attention on drug abuse faded away in the early 1990s and as media exposure for anti-drug advertising declined steadily, anti-drug attitudes began to erode. Subsequently, we witnessed the first increase in adolescent drug use since 1979, and that increase, as you know, continued for the better part of the decade, driven by weaker and weaker attitudes toward drugs.

That is when General McCaffrey and we at the Partnership came to Congress seeking support for this National Youth Anti-Drug

Media Campaign. We concluded that we would need to pay for media exposure to truly change attitudes and behavior.

We are now, Mr. Chairman, about a year and a half into the national phase of this campaign, and based on what we are seeing through various national tracking studies, we believe the campaign is having a very positive impact. For the first time since teen drug use turned around for the worse in the early 1990s, drug-related attitudes among children and teenagers are now changing for the better and by significant margins. Most remarkable, perhaps, is that fewer and fewer teens see drugs as socially acceptable in their peer groups and in pop culture.

I would like to submit for the record a summary of our latest national tracking study on drug use.

Senator CAMPBELL. Without objection, that complete study will be included in the record.

Mr. BONETTE. Thank you. Fewer teens now associate drugs with the concept of "coolness." Fewer teens now see drugs closely associated with role models, and more teens say drugs are not required to "fit in." In marketing terms, these are significant shifts.

Another telling finding is this. More and more children and teenagers are aware of anti-drug advertising. Message recall is up dramatically. In just 1 year, the number of teenagers reporting seeing anti-drug advertising every day or more jumped from 32 to 45 percent. More teens say they are learning a lot about the risk of drugs from anti-drug advertising, and the percentage of parents talking with their children frequently about drugs has increased from 44 to 57 percent, again, in just 1 year.

To a marketing professional, these are enormous positive shifts in a relatively short period of time, and importantly, Mr. Chairman, we also see drug use leveling off for the last 1 to 2 years.

In terms of the changes recorded in the data thus far, we are exactly where we expected to be with this campaign. Any consumer marketer would be delighted to see these results in just 18 months into a marketing effort. Attitudes are changing in significant ways and this bodes very well for the future, because as you know, attitudes change behavior.

At this juncture in a marketing campaign with "customers" moving in the direction of your product and/or service, a marketing manager would do one thing and one thing only, pour it on. When the market begins to move in a favorable direction, it calls for sustained investment. That, Mr. Chairman, is exactly where the Anti-Drug Media Campaign is today.

Relevant to the recent press coverage regarding the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, the Partnership has not been involved on a daily basis with the match component of the campaign. We have, however, all had experiences with news stories that are not entirely accurate. Surely this is not the first time and it will not be the last.

In the past, networks have been criticized for glamorizing drugs in television shows. Over the past few weeks, they have been criticized for including anti-drug story lines and themes in their shows. From our vantage point, the networks should be applauded and applauded loudly for working voluntarily with the campaign. Everything about this campaign from day one has been openly discussed

and publicized, including the option for networks to match media buys through programming.

All in all, with the paid advertising portion of this plan, with the match component and with added value leveraged through story lines and programming, taxpayers are getting an enormous value for their investment in this campaign and it is now paying off. With the continued support of Congress, we believe this program will prove to be one of the most cost-efficient, cost-effective investments ever made by the Federal Government in any effort to reduce demand for illegal drugs.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to testify today, and thank you and the committee for your support of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

[The statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD D. BONNETTE

Good morning, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for the opportunity to testify before you and the members of the Subcommittee on Treasury and General Government. Let me begin by saying thank you, Mr. Chairman, to you, Senator Dorgan and to all members of the committee for your support of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

I also want to let you know, Mr. Chairman, how exceptionally grateful we all are for the leadership and support of Barry McCaffrey, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. His leadership has been indispensable to this effort.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, the problem of illegal drugs persists across the country. In the real lives of real people, millions of children, teenagers and their parents are dealing with this problem everyday. It is, in fact, the number one concern parents have about their children, and the number one concern among teenagers as well. While media attention focusing on drugs comes and goes, drug abuse remains front and center for millions of families, families that are very concerned about a multitude of influences bearing down and threatening core family values. I know that this is a primary concern of yours, Mr. Chairman, as it is for us as well. And the linkage to substance abuse is undeniable.

The alarming increase in adolescent drug use since 1991 is one reason why Congress decided to support the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. In our minds, this program—with your continued support—will prove to be one of the most cost-efficient investments designed to reduce demand for drugs that the Federal Government will ever make. And I come here today, Mr. Chairman, very happy to report to you that the campaign is on-track and making definitive inroads.

In my opening comments, I'd like to do a few things for the committee:

—Quickly and concisely define the Partnership's role in the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign;
—Describe the strategic rationale that set this historic campaign in motion; and
—Comment on the progress of the campaign, and place that evaluation in marketing and advertising terms.

As I conclude, I will leave you with our recommendations regarding the campaign, as well as our thoughts about recent media attention focusing on this effort.

The Partnership for a Drug-Free America

For members of the committee not familiar with the Partnership, we like to describe ourselves this way: We are not a non-profit organization that decided to try advertising. Rather, we are advertising professionals who decided to apply our expertise in marketing and strategic communication in the non-profit arena. Our roots are in advertising, marketing, public relations, research and the media industries.

The Partnership began in 1986 with seed money from the American Association of Advertising Agencies. Today, we have a small staff of about 30 people, based in New York, and a network of hundreds of volunteers from the communications industry, based throughout the country. The strength of the Partnership is the reservoir of advertising talent that creates our work—the same talent that's behind some of the biggest commercial ad campaigns in the marketplace today. We tap this very talent—the talent that helps sell Pepsi Cola, Dell computers and Dodge trucks—not to sell, but to unsell—to unsell illegal drugs, which from a marketing perspective might be thought of as a line of commercial products that attract a significant number of young customers.

Before joining the Partnership in 1989, I myself spent many years in the advertising industry—25 years, in fact, 19 of them at BBDO Worldwide, one of the largest agencies in the world. At BBDO, I was a member of both the board of directors and the executive committee.

The Partnership's Role in the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

I tell you all of this, Mr. Chairman, to remind the committee why Congress decided to fund the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. The Congress decided to do so, at least in part, because the Congress understood that the campaign would benefit from the Partnership's 12 years of experience in the marketplace; the campaign would be driven by strategic counsel provided by marketing professionals; and the campaign would benefit enormously by tapping into the Partnership's creative pipeline. Instead of one advertising agency creating ads for this campaign, dozens of advertising agencies create work for the Partnership, which is then donated to the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. That, essentially, is our role in the campaign—managing the creative pipeline. We, through the generosity of leading ad agencies, provide the advertising that at the heart of this effort.

While the Federal resources now cover production costs for our advertising, the most expensive and critical elements that go into the creative development process—the services of the actual creative talent, producers, copywriters, directors and actors—are all donated to this effort.

On average, creating a 30-second television commercial costs about $300,000 in the marketplace, Mr. Chairman, so the contribution from the advertising industry has been—and continues to be—significant. The credit here, Mr. Chairman, goes to the agencies themselves, not the Partnership. Our role is to facilitate the creation of the best advertising the industry can produce, but the agencies actually do the work. May I remind the committee that while we have devoted tremendous resources to serving the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, we receive no Federal funding for our role in this effort. We participate in this campaign because we're dedicated to this cause, and we believe deeply in this model. That's our bottom line. We do this for our mission. Nothing more. Nothing less.

The Strategic Rationale Behind the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

Mr. Chairman, the success of any professionally managed marketing campaign depends on a number of variables, none more important, perhaps, than having the right message delivered to the right target audience consistently over time.

The message—or creative strategy—of an ad evolves from consumer research. This is where great advertising begins. From research, we develop different communication strategies to reach our consumers. From research, we know that speaking with different kids about different drugs in different ways, based on their attitudinal makeup, helps us deliver messages that resonate with the target audience.

Delivering messages effectively also requires exposure—the right exposure, and enough exposure. Creative approach and exposure levels are interdependent. If your message is off strategy, it won't resonate with the target audience, regardless of the millions invested in buying prime media exposure. The opposite is true as well. Even if your campaign speaks with precision to the target audience, it will never produce results if the campaign isn't running with the reach and frequency required to register with any given target audience.

The latter point summarizes the strategic rationale behind the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. During the late 80s, a resounding anti-drug chorus coming through mass media contributed to dramatic changes in drug use. The country heard a loud and consistent message about drugs from government, the private sector, the news media, from church and civic leaders, and in part, from anti-drug advertising. During this period, I might note, the Partnership's advertising was reaching its peak levels of exposure. In addition to mass media's focus on drugs, drug-related deaths of celebrities and athletes drove that message home deeper. During this time, consumer attitudes about drugs changed for the better and drug use declined steadily. As a result, the country changed.

Real and long-lasting change registered in that generation's attitudes about drugs, resulting in dramatic changes in drug use. Since 1985, among those 18 and older, regular use of cocaine is down by 75 percent and holding. Regular use of any illicit drug, again among those 18 and older, is down by 50 percent and holding. Today, in America, as a result of this attitudinal shift, there are 9.7 million fewer Americans using drugs on a regular basis. That's close to 10 million fewer drug users in the country today.

But the 90s, as you know Mr. Chairman, changed everything. Dramatic economic changes came to the media industry as the complexion of the industry changed itself: Hundreds of new cable channels, new television networks and the emergence

of the Internet as a new and dynamic medium all created a new and intense competition for viewers. The impact of all of this on public service advertising was anything but good: The media industry—which has donated more than $3 billion in media exposure to our campaign alone—essentially told us that if they were going to stay competitive in an entirely new economic environment, they simply could not give our campaign the type of exposure required to make a difference in the marketplace.

As media exposure dedicated to the Partnership's ad campaign began to decline in the early 90s, concurrent with a remarkable decline in news and other mass media focusing on the drug issue, anti-drug attitudes began to erode, first among 8th graders—and later 10th and 12th graders. A year later, in 1992, we witnessed the first increase in adolescent drug use since 1979. As media support for the Partnership's advertising continued to erode, dropping by more than $100 million a year in exposure, drug-related attitudes continued eroding as well, and drug use among children climbed steadily.

Mr. Chairman, while it is difficult to quantify, the correlative data strongly suggests some relationship between drug trends and our media-based prevention effort.

This, in essence, represents why we came to the Congress with Director McCaffrey seeking support for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. It was our estimation that media support for all public service advertising would continue to erode over time, at least at the national level. For our campaign to create real, measurable and long-lasting change in the marketplace, we came to the conclusion that we would need to pay for media exposure, just like a commercial advertiser, and aggressively compete for the attention of our target audiences.

After months of deliberation and discussion, the Congress decided to support the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign at the initial level of $195 million—which, as you know, represents about one percent of the Federal Government's drug budget. The primary use for this Federal money would be to secure the one thing our advertising campaign could never secure, and that is guaranteed, prime media exposure for our messages—in other words, the right media exposure, for the right messages, designed to reach the right target audiences, consistently over time.

Progress of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

We are now, Mr. Chairman, about a year and a half into the national phase of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Based on what we're seeing through various national tracking studies, we believe the campaign is on track and making definitive in-roads.

For the first time since drug use turned around for the worse in the early 90s, drug-related attitudes among children and teenagers are changing for the better, and by significant margins. More children are looking at drugs with disdaining eyes. Most remarkable, perhaps, is that fewer and fewer teens see drugs as socially acceptable in their peer groups and in pop culture.

I would like to submit for the record, Mr. Chairman, a summary of our latest national tracking study on drug use, released November 22, 1999. Fewer teens now associate drugs with the concept of "coolness." Fewer teens now see drugs closely associated with role models. And more teens say drugs are not required to fit in. For example, Mr. Chairman, the number of teens agreeing strongly with the statement "Marijuana users are popular" declined from 17 to 10 percent. In marketing terms, this is a huge decline.

Another very telling finding is this: More and more children and teenagers are aware of anti-drug advertising. Message recall is up dramatically: In just one year, the number of teenagers reporting seeing anti-drug advertising every day or more jumped from 32 to 45 percent. More teens say they're learning a lot about the risk of drugs from anti-drug advertising. And the percentage of parents talking with their children frequently about drugs has increased from 44 to 57 percent, again in just on year.

Our survey—along with studies by the University of Michigan and the National Institute on Drug Abuse—also show drug use leveling off over the last one to two years. And in some categories, we're seeing actual declines in drug use for the first time since the early 1990s. Statistically significant declines were found in teen use of crack, cocaine, methamphetamine and inhalants. We see a leveling in marijuana use, and in some measures a decline, plus stabilization in teen use of LSD and heroin.

Mr. Chairman, these attitudinal shifts and usage shifts are concurrent with the launch of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As you know, Mr. Chairman, drug trends shift like tides—slowly, gradually changing direction. Once pointed in a new direction, then change occurs with greater force and intensity, but tidal shifts are slow and take time.

In terms of the changes recorded in the data thus far, we're exactly where we expected to be with the campaign. Any brand or product manager would be delighted to see these results just 18 months into a marketing effort. Attitudes are changing in significant ways. This bodes very, very well for the future, because as you know, Mr. Chairman, attitudes drive behavior. Again, Mr. Chairman, allow me to underscore that these changes are concurrent with the inception of the National Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

At this juncture in a marketing campaign, Mr. Chairman, a marketing manager would do one thing, and only one thing: Pour it on. When business begins to move in a favorable direction, it calls for sustained investment to move consumers in your direction. That is exactly where the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign is today.

As advertising and marketing professionals with no financial stake in this campaign, we urge you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee and the entire Congress to maintain support for this effort. We at the Partnership support this campaign 100 percent, and will continue delivering the best advertising the industry can produce to the effort.

Recent Press Coverage Regarding the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that my colleagues from ONDCP will comment extensively on the recent press coverage regarding the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. The Partnership has not been involved directly with the match component of the campaign. We have, however, all had experiences with news stories that are not entirely accurate. Surely, this is not the first time, nor will it be the last.

In the past, networks have been criticized for glamorizing drugs in television shows. Over the few weeks, they've been criticized for including anti-drug storylines and themes in their shows. Honestly, Mr. Chairman, it is sometimes very difficult to understand the swing of the pendulum.

From our vantage point, the networks should be applauded—and applauded loudly—for working voluntarily with the campaign. The campaign embodies smart, sophisticated marketing techniques to get persuasive messages about the dangers of drugs—our "product"—placed in prime media exposure. It's a smart approach that recognizes the economic pressures facing the media industry, and the government's need to leverage value for the taxpayer. Everything about this campaign, from day one, has been openly discussed and publicized, including the option for networks to match media buys through programming.

While legitimate concerns have been raised about government intervention in mass media, those concerns would surely resonate if such involvement promoted socially-destructive ideas, like bigotry, war, sexual discrimination, etc. But we're talking about tapping the full power of mass media to dissuade kids from wrecking their lives with drugs. Let's hope we have not lost sight of the fact that most people believe this is a good thing to pursue.

In light of the recent flurry of media attention surrounding the campaign, it's important to place in context the various elements of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. At the core of the campaign is a straight-out media buy of advertising. The media is then asked to match each government-sponsored buy dollar-for-dollar. And from day one, the campaign has always allowed this to be done either through advertising or in other creative ways (like including anti-drug storylines in various programs). ONDCP tells us more than 80 percent of the match has been met through additional advertising.

All in all, Mr. Chairman, with the paid advertising portion of this plan, with the match component and with added value leveraged through storylines and programming, the taxpayers are getting an enormous value for the investment—for your investment—in the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

Most importantly, Mr. Chairman, that investment is paying off: the campaign is on track and making definitive inroads. With the continued support of your and the committee, we believe this program will prove to be the single most cost-efficient, cost-effective investment ever made by the Federal Government in any effort to reduce demand for drugs.

Again, Mr. Chairman, we've not reached a critical juncture in the campaign. Attitudes are shifting in the right direction. Drug use among teenagers has, at long last, leveled off. The time is now to maintain exposure levels for the campaign so attitudes change further, enabling a decline in use. With your continued support, and

the continued stewardship of the campaign, we are very confident that the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign will produce historic, long-lasting results and become a model approach to this problem for the nation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to testify today, and thank you and the committee for your support of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

Senator CAMPBELL. Thank you, Mr. Bonnette and Ms. Conlon for your testimony. I commend both of you for the work your organizations have done on trying to reduce youth drug use.

I do not know either one of you well, and you probably do not know me, but I grew up on what you might call the wrong side of the tracks, in a lot of trouble, running with gangs, high school dropout, kind of the whole thing. And although I never experimented with drugs, thank the Lord for taking care of me on that, I had a lot of friends that really got into it. It is not new. It has been around for an awful long time. I have been around for a long time. It has been around for years, but the awareness certainly of the dangers of it has been brought to light because of organizations and the concentrated and committed effort of organizations like yours, and I certainly applaud you for that.

I have just one or two questions for each one of you, but I also want you to know, all three of you, that this committee hearing is not an indictment of General McCaffrey. We have worked with him on a number of issues. I have attended drug courts with him, which was part of the things he wanted to develop. I have been involved with him in his effort to try to provide money for the United States Olympic Committee. Having been a former Olympian myself, to try to reduce the use of drugs in these same people you are using as role models for our youngsters. We certainly, I and Senator Dorgan and the whole committee, was really instrumental in trying to find the money for the drug programs, so I just want that known on the record. Certainly, we are not criticizing him, but Harry Truman said it best when he said, "The buck stops here," and it is on his desk.

Let me just ask you a question or two. I might also say that, from my perspective, future funding for the media program is not in jeopardy. I am going to support it. I am sure Senator Dorgan will support it. But I am going to look for language that is going to set some parameters about how we use that money, to try to clarify this, what we find ourselves in now.

Ms. Conlon, let me ask you just a couple of things. I am not totally sure we are getting our money's worth for this. Maybe we are. The program has only been in effect about a year and a half, I think Mr. Bonnette said, but the total program has been in effect several years longer than that.

I have watched some of these programs and I have seen some of those subliminal messages. I have seen them myself. But after I watch those programs, when I do it rarely, because I just do not have the time, I do not remember them from Adam. But I will tell you, the thing that I can remember the most that was ever done through the Anti-Drug Campaign was the paid purchased ad using fried eggs. Do you remember that one?

Ms. CONLON. Of course.

Senator CAMPBELL. This is your brain on drugs. I do not know of anybody that does not remember that one. That was a paid ad. We remember that.

Ms. CONLON. That is true.

Senator CAMPBELL. So when we are told that these new methods, the subliminal method, is more effective, well, it might be with somebody, but it darn sure was not with me, so I just wanted to make that statement.

Let me ask you, do you know of the criteria that is used when we do this match, the credit match? Are you involved in that?

Ms. CONLON. Yes. The Ad Council is the organization working with the Partnership, ONDCP and others, that put together the criteria that Mr. Levitt——

Senator CAMPBELL. That criteria is printed somewhere and in a booklet somewhere?

Ms. CONLON. Absolutely. We distribute that to all of the organizations that apply to be part of the match, yes, sir.

Senator CAMPBELL. Let me go to Mr. Bonnette for one question, too. Are you involved in determining which ads are run in which markets?

Mr. BONETTE. No, we are not, sir. We provide Ogilvy, who distributes the ads, with whatever inventory they might need conforming with the strategy needs.

Senator CAMPBELL. So you deal with the creative side of it more?

Mr. BONETTE. Right.

Senator CAMPBELL. I see. Senator Dorgan, did you have some questions for these two witnesses?

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I regret I was delayed on the floor of the Senate. Let me thank them for appearing, and I do not have specific questions. I would like to be able to offer some questions in writing following the hearing.

Senator CAMPBELL. Yes. Other members of the committee may also have questions for the record.

Senator DORGAN. As you have already indicated, we do not want anyone to leave these hearings with the message that we do not support the underlying initiative. This is a significant and important initiative that I do support, an experiment that I think at least initial evidence suggests is beginning to work and one that has great merit.

Senator CAMPBELL. With that, I appreciate your testimony and apologize for having made you wait so long. You may wish to stay a while, though, and hear Mr. Daniel Forbes' testimony. In fact, if you have the time, Mr. Levitt, I would hope that you would stay.

With that, we will call for his testimony Mr. Daniel Forbes, who is a writer that really was instrumental in bringing this to the committee's attention. Welcome, Mr. Forbes. You may proceed whenever you are ready and speak right into that microphone, if you would. Around here, everything you say is recorded, as you know.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL FORBES, FREELANCE WRITER

Mr. FORBES. Thank you, Senator Campbell, Senator Dorgan, members of the committee, for this opportunity to speak this morning. My name is Daniel Forbes. I have been a journalist for over 15 years. If I could mention one accomplishment in that period of time, as a staff writer for the Dun and Bradstreet publication, Dun's Business Month, I had what was acknowledged to be a na-

tional scoop some many months before it occurred outlining the parameters of the stock market crash of 1987. That is just to give you some idea of my background.

I am here to discuss the involvement of the Office of National Drug Control Policy in crafting and financially rewarding the content of network television. Since mid-January, the broad outlines of ONDCP's program are well known. At least 60 articles in the nation's press and numerous broadcast news programs have discussed the effort in some detail.

To reiterate briefly, a complicated program of Federal financial incentives rewarding anti-drug themes in some of the nation's most popular sit-coms and dramas was initiated in the spring of 1998. This followed the campaign's authorization in the fall of 1997. During the course of the 1998–1999 television season, ONDCP financially endorsed the anti-drug motifs contained in specific episodes of at least a score of shows.

Such programs as "ER," "Chicago Hope," "Beverly Hills 90210," "The Drew Carey Show," and "Smart Guy" freed up advertising time that the broadcasters owed to ONDCP. The network involved was then afforded the opportunity, should it choose, to sell that advertising time at full price to private clients—Wendy's, Ford, IBM, whoever. My initial estimates, as published in Salon.com, valued the financial value of this program at nearly $25 million. ONDCP confirms it at just under $22 million.

This morning, I would like to address two points that have surfaced since publication. They are the full disclosure to Congress and the contention that there was no alteration of scripts. Let me address those two points, if I may.

The contention that there was full disclosure to Congress, as more than one government official has described it in the past few weeks, is laid to its deserved final rest, or should be, at any rate, by one specific fact stated to me by the Congressman himself. The House member most charged with financial oversight of the paid media campaign—this is on the House side—Representative Jim Kolbe, Republican of Arizona, is chair of the House Appropriations Subcommittee that cuts ONDCP's checks. He had no knowledge of the financial quid pro quo with Hollywood until I approached first his staff and then Representative Kolbe himself this past summer seeking comment. He told me then, quote, "I was not aware of the financial exchange."

Representative Kolbe's lack of knowledge was shared until this fall by Representative Rob Portman, Republican of Ohio. He is acknowledged by Capitol Hill staffers as the paid media campaign's main catalyst. This characterization of Representative Portman's lack of knowledge was told to me by his ex-chief of staff, John Bridgeland.

This lack of knowledge, there is no wonder, given the statements ONDCP has made to Congress. One important appearance is Director General Barry R. McCaffrey's annual appropriations appearances. General McCaffrey made identical statements regarding ONDCP's fiscal year 2000 budget request this past March before subcommittees of House and Senate Appropriation Committees. General McCaffrey can be quite definitive, even to the point of specifying the paid advertisement's 11 languages.

According to ONDCP's own Website, General McCaffrey in March mentioned the paid and matching ads and, quote, "news and public affairs programming" in straightforward fashion. But then he resorted to a marvelous phrase, quote, "entertainment venues." That is apparently his description of programming content in sitcoms and dramas, entertainment venues. Then General McCaffrey referred to the fact that the media are, quote, "are matching paid advertisements with other ads" and "pro bono programming content"—pro bono programming content.

That phrase bears discussion. It no doubt appeals to the members of Congress, but anyone hearing that phrase might think, aha, that refers to a lawyer representing an indigent client or something of that sort. In this case, however, pro bono refers to programming, television content that recoups through a complicated financial formula money lost in selling advertising at half price. That is something quite less than a donation.

Then General McCaffrey's discussion this past March of the topics covered in the matching ads follows, plus mention of partnerships of local groups, corporations, et cetera, thus removed from any sentence containing a dollar sign, from any mention of finance. So removed from financial matters and insulated, in my view, from understanding comes mention of 30 television programs focused on themes and messages supportive of the campaign. That is a quote. And this past March, that was it—no mention of financial incentives, no mention of any quid pro quo.

General McCaffrey appeared before the House before Representative Kolbe's subcommittee a couple of weeks later in March of 1999, this time offering, quote, "testimony," referred to as a report to the nation, specifically and solely about the media campaign. In 21 single-spaced pages, as I printed it out, surely there was room to delineate how the embedded messages work. The enabling legislation, after all, required, quote, "that the Director shall report specific parameters of the National Media Campaign," but there is no mention of any financial incentives, a rather large parameter.

In that late March appearance, General McCaffrey did state, quote, "for every taxpayer dollar we spend, we require an equal added dollar's worth of anti-drug public service pro bono activity." There is that phrase again, here italicized by ONDCP itself, and redundantly combined with the phrase "public service" to swamp the understanding of even the most diligent member of Congress. By any common understanding, the phrase "public service pro bono," certainly conjoined as here, adds up to only one meaning, a freely-given donation.

Okay. Then there is mention of the 32 network television episodes that have included the campaign's strategic anti-drug message points, but there the subject is dropped. No mention of financial incentives or quid pro quo, though the detailed testimony I am discussing continues for many thousand more words. My printed statement details other examples of this sort of statement before Congress.

Not surprisingly, this obscurantist testimony has left Congress in the dark. I spoke to several Capitol Hill staffers, legislative professionals who told me in my role as a journalist, they doubted members of Congress who oversaw the paid media campaign were

aware that programming content would come under Government sway as it has.

Again, Representative Kolbe, probably the House member most charged with financial oversight, did not know, and correct me if I am misquoting, Senator Campbell and Senator Dorgan, but I believe they have stated this morning that they also did not know.

Let me skip here. Funding for the annually authorized campaign's second year was contained in a huge omnibus spending bill passed in the fall of 1998. It was buried to a large degree in this rushed 4,000-page piece of legislation that few members had time to scrutinize carefully. Quote, "these issues were not revisited in depth in fiscal year 1999," says one senior Capitol Hill participant.

For his part, Representative Kolbe, speaking of this second year's financial authorization, maintains that the second year funding, quote, "received appropriate attention," but he added, the second time around, financial incentives, quote, "did not come up as an issue. There was no suggestion that this was happening." So during funding of the second year of a projected 5-year campaign, that is 40 percent into completion of this 5-year campaign, there was no suggestion of what was really going on, said this member of Congress.

Eventually, a Congressional hearing was held this past October 21, 1999, a hearing engendered, says Representative Kolbe, by a reporter's questions. He told me that, basically, my request for an interview and my disclosure to him caused this hearing to occur.

In 13 pages of what is referred to as General McCaffrey's statement in the title and testimony in the heading of each subsequent page, there is but a single paragraph on the matter at hand, one paragraph. Anyone already aware of the deal and paying very close attention to this 11th of 13 pages might indeed parse these 212 odd words into a discussion of money being exchanged for programming, but apparently few did and none came forward. This skimpy paragraph makes a feint at disclosure, but soon dissolves into discussion of the numerical formula for valuing programming. Including arithmetic and everything, this formula provided some shelter to ONDCP from the storm it knew was coming.

That is because this summer, in fact, four pages of questions to ONDCP's Alan Levitt, these questions given in advance as a condition for my interviewing Mr. Levitt, I had fully delineated how this numerical formula worked. ONDCP knew it was coming out eventually and threw this as a bone to Congress. I do not have proof of that. That is what my common sense tells me.

After the General's appearance before Representative Kolbe's subcommittee that October, the General was in the morning, that afternoon was reserved for five independent witnesses. They ran the gamut from A perhaps to B. Three were Disney employees, employees of the Walt Disney Company, undoubtedly eager to speak truth to power, employees of a company participating in and potentially financially benefitting from the subject of the hearing. The fourth of five people making statements that afternoon was a paid ONDCP consultant, a consultant on the ONDCP payroll. The fifth was a Federal executive branch drug policy expert who works closely with ONDCP. I will leave you to draw your conclusions about that hearing. The one creative type, a Walt Disney Company em-

ployee, works in animation. He presumably has little or no dealings with live-action sit-coms or dramas, which were the sort of television programs subject to ONDCP influence.

If I may, quickly, to move to my second topic, and I will address it in less time, a second canard that should be laid to rest is the contention flung about in recent days that television scripts were not altered at Government request. ONDCP uses phrases, phrases not lightly chosen, to indicate it did not have the absolute final say-so over the shows it granted financial dispensation, and indeed, as my article stated, it did not have the final say-so. It just had, by its own reckoning, a $22 million carrot held brightly aloft.

Having to say something, anything since this news broke, ONDCP resorts to such circumlocutions as its statement of January 15, that, quote, "ONDCP does not veto, clear, or otherwise dictate the content of network television or other programs." Examine if you would, please, the diction here. Those three verbs assembled are as random as railroad tracks across a prairie. The Salon.com articles made it clear that at any time, the networks could indeed tell ONDCP to take a hike and thus forego the opportunity to earn what was typically more or less a half-a-million dollars extra a show, the opportunity should the networks choose to pursue it.

Indeed, ONDCP did not "veto" or "clear" or "otherwise dictate" the content of any shows. Waving a multi-million-dollar carrot under the noses of the television networks, there was absolutely no need for thumbs-up or thumbs-down dictates. In the strictest sense of those three verbs used in the statement of January 15, the statement is correct, and as we say where I come from, that and $1.50 will get you on the subway.

On January 14, ONDCP Deputy Director Donald R. Vereen said, according to press reports, quote, "We do not approve scripts. We do not alter them." Again, in the strictest sense of the verb "approve," he is perhaps correct. As to his second statement regarding alteration, I believe there is not much there.

Published on January 13, an article entitled "Washington Script Doctors" in Salon.com, quoted both ONDCP consultants by name and the show's executive producers on the Government alterations that occurred in an episode of the Warner Brothers show "Smart Guy." It involved a previously rejected script that was resurrected for the financial incentive program. That was told to me by the writer of the show, Mr. Steven Young. ONDCP and its consultants offered, quote, "a few dictates," said the show's executive producer, Bob Young, no relation to Steven Young.

One ONDCP consultant who worked on the script and whose quotes were independently verified by a separate journalist and verified by my editors, this ONDCP consultant noted that the substance abusing young teenagers in "Smart Guy" were transformed from appealing characters with young ladies sort of flocking around them. That was in the original script. They were changed to losers at ONDCP's behest. This consultant, who was on the ONDCP's payroll, stated to me, quote, "We showed that they were losers and put them in a utility room rather than out in the main party. That was not in the original script."

ONDCP's involvement in this show is underscored by Alan Levitt's own e-mail sent out last May, which alerted recipients of

this e-mail to the show's airing a couple of days hence. This e-mail read, in part, "For your information, CWB's 'Smart Guy' episode on underage drinking, we worked a lot on that script." That is the e-mail from Mr. Levitt.

Parenthetically, some 8 percent of the programming content that is valued by ONDCP focused on underage drinking rather than drugs. This show was one of that 8 percent.

So no force of law underscored the script doctoring. Rather, the at least implicit threat applied that should network resolve to maintain their basic integrity stiffen and the paying client, that being ONDCP, got too upset as a result, that paying client just might value a specific episode for less money. There was a formula that applied and the valuation process was controlled entirely by ONDCP and its two ad buyers, first Zenith Media USA and then Ogilvy and Mather Worldwide. Given this valuation process, the possibility existed, for what is the point of such an exercise if more than one outcome is not possible. So the possibility existed that an uncooperative network might recoup less ad time as measured in dollars to potentially resell to other clients.

It was all done collegially, nothing at stake but potentially hundreds of thousands of dollars per episode. There was also full understanding that should ONDCP be disappointed in results following the one-year contract, they could take their ad budget elsewhere, to either other networks within television or other media outlets, the Internet, billboards, et cetera.

Of the collegial process, in some cases, both parties to the transaction wrangled over any script changes initiated by ONDCP. Said one ONDCP consultant, "Script changes would be discussed between ONDCP and the show, negotiated." That is a different person than the gentleman I quoted before. Apparently, it was something akin to the process by which a reporter and an editor negotiate over the final outcome.

Reaching conclusion here, another ONDCP consultant asserted that Mr. Levitt and his deputy helped review scripts. He stated, quote, "You see a lot of give and take. Here is the script. What do you think?" Much initial work was done during a script's development stage, he said, when it was still aborning, and then when a final script appeared, it was, quote, "rush, rush," with a turnaround time of a week or so. He added, quote, "I helped out on a number of scripts. They ran the scripts past us and we gave comments. We would say, it is great you are doing this, but inadvertently, you are conveying something off-message." And then this ONDCP consultant would suggest changes to suit the program's paradigm.

This past summer, a news corporation executive told me on the record there were ongoing discussions—the news corporation owns what is commonly known as the Fox Broadcasting. This executive told me, quote, "there were ongoing discussions with Zenith Media, the ONDCP ad buyer. They looked at each episode and how prevalent the story line was." This person added, quote, "We show ONDCP scripts when they are in development and then the final script and then send a tape after it airs."

I am reaching my close here. Rosalyn Weinman, NBC Executive VP for Content Policy, East Coast Entertainment, maintains that

ONDCP did not exercise, quote, "strict approval," and semantically speaking, Ms. Weinman is technically correct. In the strictest sense of the term "approval," it was not. NBC could always walk away. But, she added, "there were conversations, either about broad issues or, quote, 'specific concerns.' Either ONDCP approved, in which case the episode qualified," said Ms. Weinman, "or the Government could say, quote, 'It is not working for us.' And then the availability, should the Government say that, of a lot of money went up in smoke." I wonder how often it happened.

Then in my record, I quote a couple of other NBC executives who I named involved in the back-and-forth over scripts.

Incidentally, I interviewed at least 20 Hollywood senior creative types, both within individual shows and within production studios. Of those 20 or more, only one had any inkling of the financial incentives that accrued for programming. The rest were plainly astonished at my disclosure to them.

Two points that were discussed this morning. The announcement after the show that we saw on the "Cosby" there indeed did occur, but it was very infrequent. Such announcements, by my count, occurred perhaps on three or four of the couple of dozen shows involved. On the others, there was no announcement.

A second point, somehow, it was raised, two shows that I spoke to the executive producers and the writers, the "Smart Guy" show on the WB that I mentioned and an episode of "Chicago Hope." Both scripts were previously rejected, sitting on the shelf for a year or more. They were dusted off the shelf and resurrected specifically to fit into this financial campaign.

I appreciate your attention and thank you very much.

Senator CAMPBELL. Mr. Forbes, thank you for that very, very complete testimony. Let me ask you a couple of questions. As I understand your testimony, you have written, the arrangements between the White House and the TV networks may have violated the so-called payola laws. Is that my understanding?

Mr. FORBES. Well, that is what I understood. I spoke to two or three or perhaps four lawyers who practice communications law here in Washington and they seem fairly clear that it violated the payola statute requiring notice. The FCC, for its part, I approached them formally. They said that in the absence of anyone bringing a complaint, they could not comment one way or the other.

Senator CAMPBELL. I read from U.S.C. 21, Sections 1801 to 1804 when I first started out. Have you read those, by any chance.

Mr. FORBES. I have read Section 417. I do not know if I have read that particular code.

Senator CAMPBELL. Well, if you have not, I am not an attorney—I was going to get your take on whether you think they violated the spirit of the law, if not the law itself, but if you have not read that, I will not worry about that.

But let me ask you this. Do you believe the ONDCP—in fact, you mentioned a carrot, I believe was the word you used, that they do offer some subtle kinds of influence to change the scripts?

Mr. FORBES. I do not believe there is anything subtle about it. There are conference calls. There might be reaction to two or three separate drafts of a script in terms of actual thought points. That is my understanding from what participants told me.

Senator CAMPBELL. Do you know of any other incidents in the past where the administration, any part of the administration, was involved in content of programming?

Mr. FORBES. Two things come to mind, neither of which fits your parameter. One would be the content of the movies during wartime. The second thing, far removed from any Government influence but I will just mention it for context, the designated driver campaign was inaugurated by a Harvard Public Health School professor well known in his field, Professor Jay Winston. It involved no financial incentives. It was basically just his approach, employing moral suasion, using the bully pulpit of Harvard as his platform to say, hey, folks, could you put in mention of the designated driver? There was no involvement of Government. There was no financial quid pro quo. In terms of a financial quid pro quo, I am not aware of any prior to this.

Senator CAMPBELL. I am a big supporter of the free enterprise system, but I do not believe we have an obligation to increase the network's bottom line, and I very definitely believe that we were not in the loop. I cannot find anything in recordings or any printed information that would make me believe that we knew about this, contrary to what the summary of the ONDCP is, and you mentioned yourself, Congressman Kolbe's statements. Did you have any conversation with Congressman Hoyer, who is the ranking minority on that same committee? Did he know anything about it?

Mr. FORBES. I approached Representative Hoyer's office formally requesting comment and his office declined comment.

Senator CAMPBELL. I understand. I have no further questions, but I do appreciate that very extensive testimony.

Mr. FORBES. Thank you, sir.

Senator CAMPBELL. Senator Dorgan?

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Forbes, do you think that there are conditions under which credits can be given for shows that have content that is part and parcel of the objectives of the Drug Control Office without there being questions raised about censorship and so on and so forth? I have read all of the things you have written and you are a good writer. You have done a lot of investigation here. I think what I seem to be seeing you say in your pieces, without saying it so directly, is you cannot have a series of credits here without there being such significant questions raised that it is probably an unworthy thing to do.

Mr. FORBES. Senator, I am a reporter, not a columnist. My personal views are of no consequence. I will say that the program that I described, I believe a priori raises some questions that the American people and their representatives in Congress perhaps should address.

Senator DORGAN. The point you make is a fair one, but the way that you reported it led me to believe you had a view, which is the reason I asked the question. But the description you have given of the relationship that developed with respect to scripts describes a circumstance that suggests there has been more analysis of scripts than the Office of Drug Policy indicated there was, is that accurate?

Mr. FORBES. I believe that is a good summary, sir.

Senator DORGAN. You have heard the description this morning of the folks from the Office of Drug Policy saying, if that is the case, if either the perception or the reality exists that that was the case or was happening, then we are going to make sure it does not happen again, and they have established procedures to respond to that. Your reaction?

Mr. FORBES. Well, I will quote just a lead editorial in the Washington Post of a week or so ago, something to the effect, we did not do it, and what is more, we are not going to do it again. That was the characterization on the editorial page of the Washington Post.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Forbes, I indicated at the start of this that, having been in politics for some while, that that which is written is not always true, but there is a great deal of public service performed by investigative reporting and I appreciate your willingness to come today and share your thoughts with us.

I would say again at the end of this that I was not aware as a member of the committee, I think you indicated today that you were not aware, that we had a circumstance where specific credits were given because of program content. I think it raises important questions, questions that do not go to the question of whether we should abandon this campaign. This campaign is an experiment that I think is a good experiment and one we should continue. But I think you have done a service by appearing here today and we appreciate that very much.

Mr. FORBES. Thank you, sir. May I make a statement in reaction to what you just said?

Senator DORGAN. Yes.

Mr. FORBES. From my reading of the public health literature, there is no question that embedded messages, as they are known, are far more effective than any paid advertisement. Any teenager, even the slickest ad, what is known as a defensive screen, will rise to greet an advertisement. But seeing behavior modeled by a favorite character in a TV show, that is a far more effective way to inculcate ONDCP's message.

My last point. That message, such as was demonstrated in the clips shown here today, "Home Improvement," "Cosby," and the like, is fairly benign, and other iterations of that message raise some questions. For instance, on a "Seventh Heaven" program that I believe qualified as a match, the hero of that show is a minister. He counseled during a formal counseling session, as portrayed in the show, he counseled parents to advocate that their child become an undercover narc in his school. I believe that counted as a match.

A second last example. The "Chicago Hope" script that was resurrected precisely to fit in the financial incentive program involved teenagers at one of these all-night raves. The result of that, which certainly is a possibility, but this is the message that is being sent to voters, the result in that show was an overdose death, a rape, a psychotic episode, a mangling car crash, a broken nose, and a doctor saying that she would withhold life-saving surgery unless a criminally-telling urine test was taken. So that is also some of the messages that are being portrayed here.

And by ONDCP's own count, far more message impressions are going to adults than are going to children—that is right off their Website—adults who are voters, adults who are deciding issues in-

volving the regulation of drugs, police budgets, and the like in this country. I leave that as something for you folks to consider.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Forbes, I am a little conflicted by this because I support legislation, for example, that would have the FCC say to television networks, there are certain hours of the day when you are showing programs that are considered family viewing hours and you shall reduce the quantity of violence in your programming because we believe children are watching then and it is inappropriate to be deluging children with this excessive violence. I happen to believe that is perfectly appropriate. It would be a stated public policy that these children's or family viewing hours would not have programming that contains excessive violence. I have always supported that.

So on the one hand, I say I deliberately and aggressively support policy that we would decide as a country and as a Congress that here is what we want to have as a television fare that would not injure our children. On the other hand, you are raising the question of a procedure by which a network could earn financial credits, in effect, for certain programming content.

Does that raise some troublesome issues? Yes, I think it does. Would I be disappointed if television programming were better, were providing better messages? No. I think that would be a good thing for our country. But in the process of that, if there is some government agency that is describing a system of incentives by which programming content gets changed, I think that raises significant questions.

So, I understand the point you have made. I think that the people who have come today who are deeply involved in this experiment that we have are people that want to do good. They are managing a program that is being done for the first time. But I think that what we have discussed today is an area that needs further evaluation and further discussion with respect to program content and with respect to the incentives that are involved in that content. Certainly, as a result of this public discussion, we have had testimony today from ONDCP that they have changed their procedure so that if there were scripts being reviewed, that will not happen again and so on and so forth.

So all of this, I think, is useful because we need to understand exactly what is being done with this and whether it meets the test of what Congress intended to be done. Thank you, Mr. Forbes.

Mr. FORBES. Thank you, sir.

Senator CAMPBELL. Well, there are a lot of questions that Senator Dorgan alluded to that are probably not in the purview of this committee to get involved in, but I was thinking at the time when you were talking, Senator, you know, some of the programs and some of the movies we see, I mean, it is just, as you mentioned, just full of maiming and killing and blowing things up and all that stuff, and yet the person that is involved in it is portrayed as the hero. The Rambo series is an example, fighting against the establishment and oppression of government and all that business and the way to get even is to blow them all up.

If a youngster watches that and you have 3 hours of that program in which this anti-hero is certainly having an impact on that youngster and you put in a little 30-second message about not

doing that, what would you think would have the most influence on that youngster? It would seem to me that the 3 hours of constant bombardment of this hero's way of dealing with injustice, rather than the 30-second subliminal message about why you should not maim, kill, blow up, and so on.

I know that is a broad question, you do not even have to answer it, but I have my own thoughts about it and I think it is probably an area of diminishing returns. I think we probably would not get the effectiveness that some people think we would by putting a 30-second spot in there.

But there is no question in my mind, after hearing the testimony, reviewing all the written things, that contrary to what the summary of the ONDCP has written and turned in, they did not have the legislative authority to enter into these agreements—I do not believe they did—and that they, in fact, skirted the relationship that they have with this committee after we have gone to bat with them time after time after time.

In fact, I think they are rather on thin ice in dealing with the creative content of programs, as you mentioned the carrot and stick approach. When you talk about having a budget of $500 million over a period of years and each line could be worth hundreds of thousands, or each episode could, I think that is a big thing. That can be a very big incentive in influencing what is in that content. Whether they do it with intent or not, it certainly is a subtle way of influencing it.

And so I think they really have set a rather dangerous precedent. I do not know what other agencies could also use the same kind of thinking or could do the same thing to get their message across.

Mr. FORBES. May I address that, sir?

Senator CAMPBELL. Yes, please do.

Mr. FORBES. I interviewed an ONDCP consultant, Mediascope, one of their subcontractors. The person there told me if this paradigm proved effective with drugs, that she saw no reason why it could not address teenage sexuality in the somewhat near future.

Senator CAMPBELL. Well, then that is clearly a dangerous precedent, I think, particularly when it is not done in the light of day, not done with Congressional approval, not done with Congressional oversight, and, in fact, the people that are elected to try to make the decisions and appropriate the money are just pretty much in the dark about what is going on.

Mr. Forbes, I thank you for your testimony.

[The statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DANIEL FORBES

I'm here to discuss the involvement of the Office of National Drug Control Policy in crafting and financially rewarding the content of network television. Since mid-January, the broad outlines of ONDCP's program are well known. At least sixty articles in the nation's press and numerous broadcast news programs have discussed the effort in some detail.

To reiterate briefly, a complicated program of federal financial incentives rewarding anti-drug themes in some of the nation's most popular sitcoms and dramas was initiated in the spring of 1998. During the course of the 1998–99 television season, ONDCP financially endorsed the anti-drug motifs contained in specific episodes of at least a score of shows. Such programs as "ER," "Chicago Hope," "Beverly Hills 90210," "The Drew Carey Show" and "Smart Guy," freed-up advertising time that the broadcaster owed ONDCP. The network was then afforded the opportunity, should it chose, to sell that advertising time at full price to private companies. My

initial estimates, as published in Salon.com, valued the program at nearly $25 million; ONDCP confirms the figure at $22 million.

I would like to address two points, both rather easily exploded: the assertion that there was full disclosure of the financial incentive program to Congress and, secondly, the assertion that there was no government altering of scripts.

The contention that there was 'full disclosure' to Congress (as more than one government official has described it in the past few weeks) is laid to its deserved final rest—or should be, at any rate—by one specific fact, stated to me by the Congressman himself. The House member most charged with financial oversight of the paid media campaign, Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), chair of the House Appropriations subcommittee that cuts ONDCP's checks, had no knowledge of the financial quid pro quo with Hollywood until I approached his staff and then Rep. Kolbe himself this past summer. He stated then, "I was not aware of the financial exchange." Rep. Kolbe's lack of knowledge was shared, until this fall, by Rep. Rob Portman (R-OH), the paid media campaign's acknowledged Congressional catalyst. Or so I was told by Rep. Portman's ex-chief of staff. What's more, as I have heard here this morning, Sen. Campbell is apparently also in the same boat.

And it's no wonder, given the statements ONDCP has made to Congress.

One important appearance is ONDCP director Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey's annual appropriations appearances. Gen. McCaffrey made identical statements regarding ONDCP's fiscal year 2000 budget requests this past March before subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. Gen. McCaffrey can be quite definitive, even to the point of specifying the paid advertisements' eleven languages. According to ONDCP's own web site, Gen. McCaffrey mentioned the paid and matching ads, and "news, [and] public-affairs programming" in straightforward fashion.

But then he resorted to a marvelously disingenuous phrase: "entertainment venues"—apparently Gen. McCaffrey's description of programming content in sitcoms and dramas. Then Gen. McCaffrey referred to the fact that the media "are matching paid advertisements" with other ads "and pro-bono programming content. . . . In the past year, we received $165 million in free public service announcement spots and $40 million in corporate contributions."

It's unclear whether "programming content"—which received monetary valuations specific to each show and so can be tallied up for inclusion in one of these figures—is included in the $165 million, the $40 million or not at all.

The phrase, "pro-bono programming content" bears discussion. It no doubt appealed to the members of Congress. But the popular understanding of pro bono regards donated services. (Most people might think of something akin to a lawyer representing an indigent client for free.) Here, however, 'pro bono' refers to programming that recoups, through a complicated financial formula, money lost in selling advertising at half-price. That's something quite less than a donation.

Then Gen. McCaffrey's discussion of the topics covered in the matching ads follows, plus mention of partnerships with local groups and corporations, etc. Thus removed from any sentences containing a dollar-sign—removed from crass financial matters and insulated from understanding—comes mention of "thirty television programs focused on themes and messages supportive of the campaign." And that's it, no mention of financial incentives, no mention of any quid pro quo.

Gen. McCaffrey appeared before the House a couple of weeks later this past March, this time offering "Testimony" referred to as "A Report to the Nation" specifically and solely about the media campaign. In 21 single-spaced pages, surely there was room to delineate how the embedded messages work. The enabling legislation, after all, required "That the Director shall report to Congress quarterly on the obligation of funds as well as the specific parameters of the national media campaign. . . ." But there's no mention of any financial incentives—a rather large parameter.

Gen. McCaffrey did state: ". . . for every taxpayer dollar we spend, we require an equal added dollar's worth of anti-drug public service, pro bono activity." There's that dissembling phrase again, here italicized by ONDCP itself and redundantly combined with 'public service' to swamp the understanding of even the most diligent member of Congress.

By any common understanding, the phrase "public service, pro bono"—certainly conjoined as here—adds up to only one meaning: a freely-given donation. So, Gen. McCaffrey's "activity" pulls off the neat trick of being "require[d]" and donated all at once.

Then there's mention of the 32 network television "episodes" that "have included the Campaign's strategic anti-drug message points." But there the subject is dropped—though this detailed testimony entails many thousand more words.

During this March, 1999 appearance, Gen. McCaffrey also stated, "Every activity undertaken by the Campaign is rooted in two key documents that provide the framework for all our efforts, namely: the Campaign's Communication Strategy and the Campaign's Integrated Communication Plan (respectively attachments A and B to this testimony)."

The Strategy, attachment A, is widely available. At my request, Congressional staffers searched unsuccessfully for the "Plan," the promised attachment B, which Gen. McCaffrey stated "provides coherence to the more specific tactical efforts the Campaign is undertaking. . . ." Simple failure to locate it means little; there's a lot of paper floating around Capitol Hill.

Needing it for the official record, a Congressional aid requested it from ONDCP legislative affairs staffer Kevin Chicetti. Mr. Chicetti refused, saying the "Plan" was "'very very old'" and no longer relevant. Maybe a simple oversight, sure. But given all the other misdirection, it raises an eyebrow when the director's testimony refers to an unattached attachment that somehow "provide[s] the framework for all our efforts" and yet is also old and non-relevant.

I later obtained a copy of the "Integrated Communication Plan," dated April 20, 1998—about the same time frame Attachment A, the other key document, was generated. Perhaps one reason the "Plan" is now kept under wraps is that the programming content it refers to is, ". . . one or more television anti-drug 'specials' appealing to youth and another for parents may be generated and produced as part of the public service contributions [sic] from paid media advertising partners. . . ." These specials would involve "An extensive national outreach effort . . . in communities around the country."

That has nothing to do with embedded messages in regularly-scheduled sitcoms and dramas. The fact that embedded messages are what's actually occurring, rather than any treacly 'specials' of dubious appeal to youth or their parents, may be one reason Attachment B has been ignominiously retired.

Not surprisingly, this obscurantist 'testimony' has left Congress in the dark. Several Washington legislative professionals told me they doubted members of Congress who oversaw the paid media campaign were aware that programming content would come under government sway as it has. Again, Rep. Kolbe, probably the House member most charged with financial oversight, did not know.

Rep. Rob Portman (R-OH) was co-chair, along with current Speaker, J. Dennis Hastert, of Newt Gingrich's War on Drugs Task Force; Rep. Portman led the demand reduction effort. John Bridgeland was Rep. Portman's chief of staff when the campaign was devised. Over his five-year tenure, Mr. Bridgeland says he sometimes devoted an enormous quarter of his time to drug policy.

As to programming content as a match, Mr. Bridgeland says of his boss—the campaign's Congressional catalyst—" Rep. Portman was not aware, no." And, until this interview, neither was Mr. Bridgeland, the chief of staff who helped make it happen. As involved as anyone, Mr. Bridgeland believes that when the paid media campaign was passed, ad time constituted the match; there was no thought of programming content doing so. "I don't think we thought of programming content as a match . . . I don't remember that," he says. Revisiting the issue as the interview closed, Mr. Bridgeland says, "Programming content as a match was not actively discussed. But it makes sense."

Regarding programming content as a match, one senior participant says, "I don't think it was explicitly dictated by law. . . . At the time the [initial] statute was written, it was not explicit, and members probably didn't understand the different ways they'd do this. . . . I don't think members were aware of the financial incentives."

More recently, this source heard "talk of content" at the House hearing this past March, but it "didn't go into the fact of the financial quid pro quo." Though the financial incentives had been in place for months by then, Gen. McCaffrey's testimony gave no indication of their existence. The use of programming as a match "is not widely understood," this source concludes.

Funding for the annually-authorized campaign's second year was contained in a huge omnibus spending bill passed in the Fall of 1998. It was buried, to large degree, in an enormous, rushed 4,000-page piece of legislation that members couldn't possibly scrutinize. Regardless of a bill's circumstances, subsequent appropriations are usually dissected less than the bill initiating a program. "These issues were not revisited in depth in fiscal year 1999," says a senior participant.

For his part, Rep. Kolbe maintains that the second-year funding "received appropriate attention." But he adds that, the second time around, financial incentives "didn't come up as an issue. There was no suggestion this was happening." So, during funding of the second year of a projected five-year campaign, there was "no sug-

gestion" of what was really going on, said the effort's self-styled "appropriator." Forty percent of the effort accounted for, and Congress did not know.

Eventually, a Congressional hearing was held this past October 21, 1999, a hearing engendered, says Rep. Kolbe, by a reporter's questions. Asked subsequently if our conversation this summer resulted in the October hearing, Rep. Kolbe said, "Absolutely. You brought this issue to our attention." (ONDCP itself confirmed this.) Tipped off, Rep. Kolbe by then had a handle on both the scheme's workings and implications. Even so, understanding proved elusive to anyone lacking prior knowledge.

In thirteen pages of what's referred to as Gen. McCaffrey's "statement" in the title and "testimony" in the heading on each subsequent page, there's but a single paragraph on the matter at hand. Anyone already aware of the deal and paying mighty close attention to this 11th of 13 pages on my print-out from ONDCP's web site, might indeed parse these 212-odd words into a discussion of money being exchanged for programming. But apparently few did and none came forward.

The skimpy paragraph makes a feint at disclosure, but soon devolves into discussion of the numerical formula for valuing programming. Boasting arithmetic and everything, it provided a few sticks to shelter ONDCP from the storm it knew was coming.

That's because, against my better judgement, this summer I had faxed 61 questions—including my own full description of this numerical formula—to ONDCP's Alan Levitt, laying all of my cards on the table as ONDCP's condition for interviewing him. Thus, knowing the formula was coming out eventually, ONDCP had nothing to lose and everything to gain by preemptively offering it up to Congress in October. But even with this formula, it wasn't easy to connect the dots all the way to the realization that the networks were potentially earning half-a-million bucks an episode for government-endorsed, embedded messages.

After the general's appearance before Rep. Kolbe's subcommittee that October morning, the afternoon was reserved for five 'independent' witnesses that ran the gamut from A maybe to B. Three were Disney employees undoubtedly eager to speak truth to power; employees of a company participating in and potentially financially benefiting from the subject of the hearing; a company notorious for its stranglehold on the smallest detail of its public persona, never mind a potentially explosive Congressional hearing. The fourth person appearing that afternoon was a consultant on the ONDCP payroll, and the fifth was a federal, executive branch drug policy expert who works closely with ONDCP.

The one creative type, a Disney employee who Rep. Kolbe subsequently told me dispelled the concept of any threat to Hollywood's creative independence, works in animation. He presumably has little or no dealings with live-action sitcoms or dramas—the TV programs subject to ONDCP influence.

A second canard that should be laid to rest is the contention flung about in recent days that television scripts weren't altered at government request. ONDCP uses phrases, phrases not lightly chosen in this semantic fandango, to indicate it did not have the absolute final say-so over the shows it granted financial dispensation. And indeed, as my articles stated, it did not. It just had, by its own reckoning, a $22 million carrot held brightly aloft.

Having to say something, anything, ONDCP resorts to such circumlocutions as its statement of 1/15/00 that "ONDCP does not veto, clear or otherwise dictate the content of network television or other programs." Examine the diction here, the verbs assembled for this transparent Newspeak. They're as random as railroad tracks across the prairie.

The Salon.com articles made it clear that, at any time, the networks could tell ONDCP to take a hike and thus forgo the opportunity to earn an extra half-a-million dollars, more or less, a show. Indeed, ONDCP did not "veto," etc. any shows. Waving a multi-million dollar carrot under the noses of the television networks, there was absolutely no need for thumbs-up or thumbs-down dictates. In the strictest sense of those three verbs, the statement is correct. And, as we say locally, that and a buck-fifty will get you on the subway.

On January 14th, 2000, ONDCP deputy director Donald R. Vereen said, according to press reports, "We don't approve scripts. We don't alter them." [LA DAILY NEWS January 16, 2000] Again, in the strictest sense of "approve," he's perhaps correct.

As to his second statement, he doesn't have a leg to stand on.

Published in Salon.com January 13, 2000, "Washington Script Doctors" quoted both ONDCP consultants and the show's producers on government alteration of an episode of the WB show, "Smart Guy." It involved a previously rejected script that was resurrected for the financial incentive program. ONDCP and it's consultants offered "a few dictates," said the show's executive producer, Bob Young. One ONDCP consultant who worked on the script notes that the substance-abusing young teens

were transformed from appealing characters in the original script to losers at ONDCP's behest. He states, "We showed that they were losers and put them in a utility room [rather than out in the main party]. That was not in the original script."

ONDCP's involvement in this show is underscored by Alan Levitt's own e-mail sent out last May, alerting recipients to the show's airing a couple of days hence. It reads in part: "FYI, See WB's Smart Guy . . . episode on underage drinking—we worked a lot on that script. . . ." (Some 8 percent of the programming content valued by ONDCP focused on under-age drinking.)

So, no force of law underscored the script doctoring. Rather, the at least implicit threat applied that, should network resolve to maintain basic integrity stiffen, and the paying client get too riled as a result, that client just might value a specific episode for less money. The valuation process was controlled entirely by ONDCP and its two ad buyers, first Zenith Media USA and then Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide. The possibility existed—for what is the point of a valuation exercise if more than one outcome isn't possible?—that an uncooperative network might recoup less ad time, as measured in dollars, to potentially resell to other clients.

Rile that client with the big, five-year bushel of money too much, and everyone at the table knew ONDCP always had other ad-buy options at hand the following season, both within television and in any number of other media.

It was all done collegially, nothing at stake but potentially hundreds of thousands of dollars per episode. A mere bagatelle, with no possible influence on programming to be sure. In some cases, both parties to the transaction wrangled over any changes initiated by ONDCP. Said one paid ONDCP consultant, "Script changes would be discussed between ONDCP and the show—negotiated." To borrow from the world I know, it sounds similar to the interaction between an editor and a reporter in crafting a piece of journalism.

Another ONDCP consultant asserted that Alan Levitt and his deputy helped review scripts. He stated, "you'd see a lot of give and take: 'Here's the script, what do you think?" Much initial work was done during a script's development stage, he said. When a final script appeared, it was "rush, rush" with a turnaround time of a week or so. He added, "I helped out on a number of scripts. They ran the scripts past us, and we gave comments. We'd say, 'It's great you're doing this, but inadvertently you're conveying something [off-message.]" And then ONDCP and its consultants would suggest changes to suit their paradigm.

Consider this, also from ONDCP's January 15, 2000 statement: "At no time during the process did ONDCP or any person or organization affiliated with the Media Campaign suggest changes, nor were any episodes or programs resubmitted for reconsideration in exchange for pro-bono match credit. Indeed, we have always assumed that any transcripts or programs submitted for public service value qualification were final products and not subject to further review."

This past summer, a News Corporation executive told me, "There were on-going discussions with Zenith. They looked at each episode and how prevalent the story line was." This person added, "We show [ONDCP] scripts when they're in development, and the final script and then send a tape after it airs."

The two statements taken together, the resulting cognitive dissonance is hard to resolve.

Rosalyn Weinman, NBC Executive VP for content policy and East Coast entertainment, maintained ONDCP did not exercise "script approval." (And, semantically speaking, Ms. Weinman is as technically correct as Gen. McCaffrey is: 'approval' it was not.) But, she added, there were conversations, either about broad issues or "specific concerns." Either ONDCP approved, in which case the episode qualified, said Ms. Weinman, or the government could say: "It's not working for us."

And then the availability of a whole lot of money went up in smoke. Care to bet how often it happened?

Marianne Gambelli, Senior VP of prime time sales at NBC, acknowledged NBC sent scripts to ONDCP. It wasn't necessarily ceding "creative control," she said. "It was more like: keep everyone happy." But, she added, "They read scripts, they approved them as worthy of the message and said, yes, we count it" for inclusion in the financial incentive program. Kathryn Sullivan, also of NBC sales, agreed that, "There were specific guidelines as to what is acceptable, and we discussed them" with ONDCP and its ad buyers.

Incidentally, during the reporting of this story, I interviewed some twenty or more senior Hollywood creative executives, both at production studios and at individual shows. Only one had any inkling of the financial incentives that accrued for programming content. The rest were astonished at my disclosure to them.

Also, in response to comments made this morning, it should be noted that the announcement following a show that was included in the clip ONDCP showed of

"Cosby," was very rare. Of the dozens of shows involved, I'm aware of the use of such a bumper announcement at the end in only a couple of instances.

Plus, for at least two shows—"Smart Guy" and "Chicago Hope"—scripts previously rejected and sitting on the shelf for many months were taken down and resurrected to meet the requirements of the financial incentive program.

Thank you, Sen. Campbell and Sen. Dorgan for your attention.

Senator CAMPBELL. I want to reiterate that we are still in big support of the so-called war on drugs and the efforts of the media campaign to try to reduce drug usage, but I also want to say, we are going to look for some very clear and concise ways to make the intent of Congress very clear when this year's appropriation bill gets finished so there will be no more confusion about who does what, who makes the decisions, and it may come in the form of fencing off money so it cannot be used for this kind of a program until we have more knowledge about it. It may just come in the form of reduced appropriations if we have to put money back in other programs that were denied money because of this program.

CONCLUSION OF HEARING

But I do thank you and all the other witnesses who have testified today, and with that, this xubcommittee is recessed.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Tuesday, February 3, the hearing was concluded, and the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

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