Student drug use is closely related to the dominant pressures on American students. The pressure for cognitive professional competence leads to a search for meaning in other areas of life; the feeling and fear of psychological numbing leads to a pursuit of experiences for its own sake. Many students have come to feel that the states induced by drugs will automatically produce a revelation of life's meaning or, at least, an experience which will be highly significant and illuminating. Despite the presence of some values which are consistent with drug use, most students have other values arguing against drug use. A type of student who is particularly prone to drug abuse, the "disaffiliates," have few values militating against drug use, and strong motivations that incline them toward drugs. Some factors predisposing these students toward drug abuse are summarized. In dealing with the drug user, we must attempt to provide him with alternate routes to attain valid goals. The students are reacting not only to the individual circumstances of their past, but to dilemmas that confront their entire generation. In counseling, it is important to acknowledge that the question of drug use is not a medical issue, but an existential, philosophical, and ethical issue. (IM)
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Drug Use and Student Values

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Student drug users are generally treated by the mass media as an alien wart upon the student body of America. The use of drugs to alter psychic states, associated in the public mind with the abuse of narcotics, conjures up images of moral lepers and Mafia members. These images, in turn, help prevent any real understanding of the actual meanings and functions of drug use among a small minority of today's students.

In the comments to follow, I will argue that student drug use is closely related to the dominant pressures on American students, and is but a variant of values that are shared by many and perhaps most American undergraduates today. To be sure, only a small minority turn towards drugs; but the members of this minority group are but first-cousins to the more "normal" college student. In particular, the student drug-user shares with his non-drug-using classmates an active search for meaning through intense personal experience.

In order to understand the values shared by many American college students, we must begin by considering some of the pressures that affect today's students. With regard to drug use, two pressures are particularly important: the pressure toward cognitive professionalism, and the pressure toward psychological numbing.

Cognitive Professionalism

The past two decades have seen a revolution in our expectations about college students. Rising standards of academic performance in primary and secondary schools, the "baby boom" of the war, the slowness with which major American universities have expanded their size, -- all have resulted in increasing selectivity by the admissions offices of the most prestigious American colleges and universities. Furthermore, once a student is admitted to college, higher admission standards have meant that more could be demanded of him; students who a generation ago would have done "A" work now find themselves doing only "C" work with the same effort. The sheer volume of required reading and writing has increased enormously; in addition, the quality of work expected has grown by leaps and bounds. Finally, for a

growing number of young Americans, college is but a stepping stone to professional and graduate school after college; and as a result, consistent academic performance in college increasingly becomes a prerequisite for admission to a desirable business school, medical school, law school or graduate school.

Not only have academic pressures mounted in the past generation, but these pressures have become more and more cognitive. What matters, increasingly, to admissions committees and college graders is the kind of highly intellectual, abstracting, reasoning ability that enables a student to do well on college boards, graduate records and other admissions tests, and once he is in college or graduate school—to turn out consistently high grades that will enable him to overcome the next academic hurdle. And while such intellectual and cognitive talents are highly rewarded, colleges increasingly frown upon emotional, affective, non-intellectual and passionate forms of expression. What is rewarded is the ability to delay, postpone and defer gratification in the interests of higher education tomorrow.

In contrast to these cognitive demands, there are extremely few countervailing pressures to become more feeling, morally responsible, courageous, artistically perceptive, emotionally balanced, or interpersonally subtle human beings. On the contrary, the most visible pressures on today’s students are, in many ways anti-emotional, impersonal, quantitative and numerical. The tangible rewards of our college world—scholarships, admission to graduate school, fellowships and acclaim—go for that rather narrow kind of cognitive functioning involved in writing good final examinations, being good at multiple choice tests, and getting good grades. Furthermore, the tangible rewards of the post-collegiate professional world also demand a similar kind of cognitive functioning, at least in the early years. Thus, it is the outstanding college and graduate student who goes on to coveted appointments in desirable hospitals, law firms, businesses, faculties and scientific laboratories.

This pressure for cognitive professionalism is closely related to the increasing "seriousness" of American college students. Many observers have commented on the gradual decline of student enthusiasm for such traditional American student pastimes as fraternities, football games, popularity contests and party pranks. At least at the more selective colleges, the reason for this decline is obvious: the pre-professional student has neither time nor motivation for the traditional pranks of his parent’s generation. To survive and prosper in today’s technological world, he must work with unremitting diligence to "be really good in his field."

Increasingly, then, one of the major pressures on American students is a pressure to perform well academically, to postpone and delay emotional satisfactions until they are older, to refine and sharpen continually their cognitive abilities. As a result, students today probably work harder than students in any other previous generation; a bad course or a bad year means to many of them that they will not get into graduate school. Taking a year off increasingly means running the danger of getting drafted and being sent to Vietnam.

In describing these pressures, I have used the word "performance" advisedly. A "performance" suggests an activity that is alien, that is done
on a stage in order to impress others, that is a role played for an audience's applause. And to many students, of course, this quality of mild "alienness" pervades much of their intellectual and academic activities.

Thus, while the systematic quest for cognitive competence occupies much of the time and effort of the pre-professional student at today's selective colleges, this pursuit does little to inform the student about life's wider purposes. One of the peculiar characteristics of professional competence is that even when competence is attained, all of the other really important questions remain unanswered: what life is all about, what really matters, what to stand for, how much to stand for, what is meaningful, relevant and important, what is meaningless, valueless and false. Thus, for many students, the pursuit of professional competence must be supplemented by another, more private and less academic quest for the meaning of life. Academic efforts seem, to a large number of students, divorced from the really important "existential" and "ultimate" questions. In this way, the student's private search for meaning, significance and relevance are experienced as unconnected with or opposed to his public exertions for grades, academic success and professional competence. How students search for significance and relevance of course varies enormously from individual to individual; but as I will later suggest, drug use seems--to a small group of students--a pathway to the pursuit of meaning.

Stimulus Flooding and Psychological Numbing

Every society contains pressures and demands which its members simply take for granted. Thus, the pressure for extremely high levels of cognitive efficiency seems to most of us a necessary and an even desirable aspect of modern society. Our response to the second social pressure I want to discuss is even more unreflective and automatic. This second pressure has to do with the sheer quantity, variety and intensity of external stimulation, imagery and excitation to which most Americans are subjected. For lack of a better label, I will term our condition one of increasing "stimulus flooding."

Most individuals in most societies have at some point in their lives had the experience of being so overcome by external stimulation and internal feelings that they gradually find themselves growing numb and unfeeling. Medical students, for example, commonly report that after their first and often intense reactions to the cadaver in the dissecting room, they simply "stop feeling anything" with regard to the object of their dissection. Or we have all had the experience of listening to so much good music, seeing so many fine paintings, being so overwhelmed by excellent cooking that we find ourselves simply unable to respond further to new stimuli. Similarly, at moments of extreme psychic pain and anguish, most individuals "go numb," no longer perceiving the full implications of a catastrophic situation or no longer experiencing the full range of their own feelings. This lowered responsiveness, which I will call "psychological numbing," seems causally related to the variety, persistence and intensity of psychological flooding. In a calm and tranquil field of vision, we notice the slightest motion. In a moving field, only the grossest of movements are apparent to us.

One of the conditions of life in any modern technological society is continual sensory, intellectual, and emotional stimulation which produces or requires a high tendency towards psychological numbing. Some of you, I
am sure, have had the experience of returning to urban American life from a calm and tranquil pastoral setting. Initially, we respond by being virtually overwhelmed with the clamor of people, sights, sounds, images and colors that demand our attention and our response. The beauty and the ugliness of the landscape continually strikes us; each of the millions of faces in our great cities has written on it the tragi-comic record of a unique life history; each sound evokes a resonant chord within us. Such periods, however, tend to be transient and fleeting; often they give way to a sense of numbness, of non-responsiveness, and of profound inattention to the very stimuli which earlier evoked so much in us. We settle in; we do not notice any more.

This psychological numbing operates, I submit, at a great variety of levels for modern man. Our experience from childhood onward with the constantly flickering images and sounds of television, films, radio, newspapers, paperbacks, neon signs, advertisements and sound trucks, numbs us to many of the sights and sounds of our civilization. The exposure of the most intelligent men to a vast variety of ideologies, value systems, philosophies, political creeds, superstitions, religions and faiths numbs us, I think, to the unique claims to validity and the special spiritual and intellectual values of each one: we move among values and ideologies as in a two-dimensional landscape. Similarly, the availability to us in novels, films, television, theatre and opera of moments of high passion, tragedy, joy, exaltation and sadness often ends by numbing us to our own feelings and the feelings of others.

In all these respects, modern men confront the difficult problem of keeping "stimulation" from without to a manageable level, while at the same time protecting themselves against being overwhelmed by their own inner responses to the stimuli from the outer world. Defenses or barriers against both internal and external stimulation are, of course, essential in order for us to preserve our intactness and integrity as personalities. From earliest childhood, children develop thresholds of responsiveness and barriers against stimulation in order to protect themselves against being overwhelmed by inner or outer excitement. Similarly, in adulthood, comparable barriers, thresholds and defenses are necessary, especially when we find ourselves in situations of intense stimulation.

I do not mean to suggest that the quantity of stimulation in modern society is alone responsible for psychological numbing. Certainly the quality, kind and variety of stimuli determine how we respond to them; in addition, our own excitability, responsivity, sensitivity and openness are crucial factors in determining what defenses we need against stimulus flooding. But I am arguing that the quantity, intensity and variety of inputs to which the average American is subjected in an average day probably has no precedent in any other historical society: everywhere we turn we are surrounded by signs, sounds and people actively clamoring for our response. Thus, to survive with calm and intactness in the modern world, we all require an armor, a protective shell, a screen, a capacity to "close off," ignore, or deny our attention to the many stimuli of our physical and social world. Such numbing is necessary and useful for most of us, most of the time. The problem arises, however, because the shells we erect to protect ourselves from the clamors of the inner and outer world often prove harder and less permeable than we had originally wanted.

Thus, in at least a minority of Americans, the normal capacity to defend
oneself against undue stimulation and inner excitation is exaggerated and automatized, so that it not only protects but walls off the individual from inner and outer experience. In such individuals, there develops an acute sense of being trapped in their own shells, unable to break through their defenses to make "contact" with experience or with other people, a sense of being excessively armored, separated from their own activities as by an invisible screen, estranged from their own feelings and from potentially emotion-arousing experiences in the world. Presumably most of us have had some inkling of this feeling of inner deadness and outer flatness, especially in times of great fatigue, let-down, or depression. The world seems cold and two-dimensional; food and life have lost their savor; our activities are merely "going through the motions," our experiences lack vividness, three-dimensionality, and intensity. Above all, we feel trapped or shut in our own subjectivity.

Such feelings are, I believe, relatively common among college students, and particularly so at moments of intense stress, loss, depression, discouragement and gloom. It is at such times that the gap between the public pursuit of professional competence and the private search for meaning seems widest; it is also at these times that the chasm between individual and his own experience seems most unbridgable.

Each of the two pressures I have discussed—cognitive professionalism and stimulus flooding—evoke characteristic responses among today's American college students. The pressure for cognitive professional competence leads to a search for meaning in other areas of life; the feeling and fear of psychological numbing leads to a pursuit, even a cult, of experiences for its own sake. And the use and abuse of psychoactive drugs by students is closely related to these two themes in student values.

The Search for Meaning

Among today's self-conscious college students, the statement, "I'm having an identity crisis" has become a kind of verbal badge of honor, a notch in the gun, a scalp at the belt. But although the term "identity crisis" can be easily parodied and misused, it points to fundamental issues of adolescence in all societies that are particularly heightened in our own society. Since academic pursuits, on the whole, tell the student so little about life's ultimate purposes, students are turned back upon their own resources to answer questions like, "What does life mean? What kind of a person am I? Where am I going? Where do I come from? What really matters?"

Obviously, our society does not attempt to provide young Americans ready-made and neatly packaged answers to these questions. Rather, we expect that students will, in general, arrive at individual solutions to the riddles of life, and indeed, we sometimes deliberately design our educational systems so as to provoke and challenge students to profound replies. Yet at the same time, we insist that students occupy themselves with getting good grades and getting ahead in the academic world, pursuits that often seem to have relatively little to do with "ultimate" questions. Thus, students often feel obligated to turn away from their academic pursuits toward a private quest for identity or search for meaning.

To understand this search for meaning, we must recall that many of the
traditional avenues to meaning and significance have dried up. Traditional religious faith is not, for most sophisticated undergraduates, a means of ascertaining the meaning of life: traditional religions often seem to students to be worn out, insincere, or superficial. Similarly, the great classic political ideologies, whether they be political liberalism, conservatism, marxism, or fascism, arouse relatively little interest among most undergraduates. Nor does the "American Way of Life," as epitomized by 100% Americanism and free enterprise, stir most students to enthusiasm, much less provide them with answers about life's ultimate purposes.

At the same time, many traditional campus activities have lost their centrality as guidelines for rehearsal of life's ultimate purposes. There was a day, when the quest for popularity seemed to a great many undergraduates, a reflection of a broader philosophy on life in which the most important goal was to make friends, to be popular and to influence people. Today, the pursuit of popularity and social success is declining in importance, and even those who pursue friendship and social skills most avidly are likely to recognize their limitations as ultimate values. Upward mobility, another ancient American goal, has also lost much of its savor. More and more students arrive in college already "ahead in the world," from well-situated middle class families, and not particularly worried about status and upward mobility. Nor does the old American dream of giving one's children "a better chance" make great sense of life to a generation that has been born and bred amid affluence, and that rarely imagines a society in which starvation, unemployment, or depression will be major possibilities.

One by one, then, many of the traditional sources of meaning have disappeared, at the very same time that academic life itself, because of its intense pressure and professional specialization, seems to many students increasingly irrelevant to their major existential concerns. Where, then, do students turn?

The Cult of Experience

The cult of experience has often been discussed as a defining characteristic of American youth cultures. Central to this cult is a focus on the present--on today, on the here-and-now. Thus, rather than to defer gratification and enjoyment for a distant future, immediate pleasure and satisfaction are emphasized. Rather than reverence for the traditions of the past, experience in the present is stressed. Psychologically, then, such human qualities as control, planning, waiting, saving, and postponing on the one hand, and revering, recalling, remembering and respecting on the other, are equally deemphasized. In contrast, activity, adventure, responsiveness, genuineness, spontaneity and sentience are the new experiential values. Since neither the future nor the past can be assumed to hold life's meaning, the meaning of life must be sought within present experience, within the self, within its activity and responsiveness in the here-and-now.

The cult of experience has many variants and forms, most of them visible in one aspect or another on most American campuses. One such variant is what is often termed "student existentialism." At the more intellectually sophisticated campuses, this outlook manifests itself in an intense interest in existential writers like Sartre and Camus. But at a variety of other colleges, it is evident by student discussions of the importance of simple
human commitments as contrasted with absolute values, and by a pervasively high estimation of such human qualities as authenticity, genuineness, sincerity and directness, which are contrasted with phoniness, inauthenticity, artificiality and hypocrisy. This student existentialism is humanistic rather than religious, and its most immediate goals are love, intimacy, directness, immediacy, empathy and sympathy for one's fellow man. Thus, what matters is interpersonal honesty, "really being yourself," and genuineness, and what is most unacceptable is fraudulence, "role playing," "playing games."

The same focus on simple human experiences in the present is seen in a variety of other student values. Consider, for example, the great growth in interest in the arts--music, poetry, sculpture, drama, the film as art. Or recall the importance to many students of nature--that is, of wilderness, of the rapidly disappearing natural beauty of this country. Sex, too, is related to the same theme; for sex is above all that human experience that seems to require directness and immediacy, and that cannot be forced. Similarly, the focus by many students on family life--their willingness to sacrifice other goals for the creation and maintenance of a good family and a "productive" relationship with their future wives--these too are variations on the same experiential theme.

Disaffiliation and Drugs:

The two student values I have discussed--the search for meaning and the cult of experience--are intimately related to the pressures I have outlined earlier. The search for meaning is made more urgent by the amount of time and energy the average student must spend in pre-professional academic pursuits that often appear to him irrelevant to his basic concerns. And the cult of experience is intensified by the fear or feeling in many undergraduates that, instead of becoming more open to themselves and to experience, they are becoming increasingly numbed and closed off from all that is exciting and beautiful. Both of these values are, as well, related to the use and abuse of drugs by students. For such is the cultism and propaganda that surrounds drugs, especially the hallucinogens, that many students have come to feel the states induced by these drugs will automatically produce a revelation of life's meaning, or at least an experience which itself will be highly significant and illuminating. Similarly, to the undergraduate who feels himself unduly walled-off from experience, drugs like the hallucinogens and the amphetamines (which intensify and alter ordinary states of consciousness) may seem a chemical sledge hammer for breaking out of his shell.

Obviously, despite the congruence of drug use with important student values in American colleges, the vast majority of American students do not seek meaning and experience primarily via psychoactive compounds. There are other values in most students that conflict sharply with drug use--for example, a kind of "do-it-yourselfism" that strongly rejects "artificial" and "chemical" means of altering psychic states; a sense of social responsibility that enjoins the student against doing socially disapproved things like abusing drugs; and--perhaps most important--a legitimate fear of the possible bad affects of drug use. Social and geographic factors also contribute to the low incidence of drug use.
On many campuses, drugs are simply not available; on other campuses, the prevalent value system (e.g., religious fundamentalism) is completely at odds with the use of psychoactive compounds. Thus, despite the presence of some values which are consistent with drug use, most students have other values that argue against drug use. It is only a minority who are persuaded to choose drugs as a primary means of searching for meaning.

I doubt that it is possible to present an exact portrait of the type of student who is likely to use and abuse drugs. My own experience with student drug-users convinces me that there are many different motives for drug use and abuse, and there are many different factors—psychological, sociological, cultural and situational—that determine whether one student will use drugs while another will not. But despite the diversity of student types who may become involved in drug use, there is, I believe, one type that is particularly prone to drug abuse. Students of this type have, I think, particularly few values that militate against drug use and particularly strong motivations that incline them toward drugs, especially the hallucinogens. I will call such students "disaffiliates."

Elsewhere I have attempted a more comprehensive description of disaffiliates or "alienated" students. Here I will merely summarize some of the factors that predispose these students toward drug abuse. The defining characteristic of the disaffiliate is his generalized rejection of prevalent American values, which he rejects largely on esthetic, cultural and "humanistic" grounds. Such students are rarely political activists, and they are rarely concerned with the issues of economic, social and political justice that agitate many of their classmates. For these students, the problem is not political or social, but esthetic: American society is ugly, trashy, cheap and commercial; it is dehumanizing; its middle-class values are seen as arbitrary, materialistic, narrow and hypocritical. Thus, those conventional values which deem experimentation with drugs—or experimentation of all kinds—illicit are strongly rejected by disaffiliates; for them, what matters is somehow to seek a way out of the "air conditioned nightmare" of American society.

A second characteristic of disaffiliates is a more or less intense feeling of estrangement from their own experience. Such students are highly aware of the masks, facades and defenses people erect to protect themselves; and not only do they criticize these "defenses" in others, but even more strongly in themselves. Any "defense" that might prevent awareness of inner life must be rooted out and destroyed: self-deception, lack of self-awareness and any "phoniness" with regard to oneself are cardinal sins. But despite their efforts to make contact with their "real" selves and to have "genuine" experiences, disaffiliates often feel separated from both self and others. They experience themselves as separated from others by a grey opaque filter, by invisible screens and curtains, by protective shells and crusts that prevent them from the fullness of experience. They recriminate themselves for their lack of feeling expressiveness, spontaneity and genuineness. One such student described human relations as being like people trying to contact and touch each other through airtight space suits; another talked of a wax that was poured over all of his experience preventing him from genuine
contact with it. These feelings of estrangement are often accompanied by considerable depression and a strong sense of personal isolation. Indeed, depression, following the loss of an important relationship, is commonly found in the immediate background of the student who begins to abuse drugs. For the student with intensified feelings of estrangement from himself and others, drugs that promise to heighten experience seem a tempting way out of his shell.

A third relevant characteristic of disaffiliates is a fantasy of fusion and merger, which contrasts sharply with their current feelings of estrangement. In the background, many of these students have a concept of an almost mystical fusion with nature, with their own inner lives, or above all with other people—a kind of communication that requires no words, a kind of oneness with nature or the world that has characterized intense religious experience for centuries, a special kind of automatic oneness with another. For an undergraduate with an especial longing for oneness with others, the hallucinogens are especially tempting. For one characteristic of the drug experience is a weakening or breaking down of the boundaries of the self such that many individuals in fact report feelings of oneness, merger and fusion with others.

On several grounds, then, the disaffiliate is strongly attracted by drugs. Arguments based on traditional American values against drug use carry little weight for him; on the contrary, he values most in himself his own rebellion against such "middle class" standards. His frequent feelings of estrangement from experience lead him to seek means of breaking through the walls, shells, filters and barriers that separate him from the world. And his fantasy of fusion disposes him to seek out chemical instruments that will increase his "oneness" with others. For such students, who are young, searching, uncommitted and anti-conventional, drug use is primarily a way of searching for meaning via the chemical intensification of personal experience.

Drug Use and Student Values

In portraying one type of student who is predisposed toward the abuse of psychoactive compounds, and in relating drug use to more general student values, I do not mean to portray all American students as potential drug users, nor to decry the student values which may be interpreted to support drug use. On the contrary, I am convinced that the search for meaning through experience is an important and valid search, although I personally doubt that present experience is itself enough to provide "the meaning of life." Similarly, even those students who actively abuse drugs are seeking, I think, legitimate ends through unwise means. It will not do, therefore, to repudiate students who misuse drugs as moral lepers and "addicts" without trying to understand their motives for drug use, and the values and goals they pursue. These motives are rarely simply anti-social or "thrill-seeking." On the contrary, they almost always involve a legitimate (if misguided) search for ultimate meaning and contact with the world. In dealing with individual drug users, then, we must attempt to provide the student with alternate routes to attain his valid goals. And since drug use is notoriously hazardous and uncertain, it should not prove impossible to suggest better avenues toward meaning and experience than drugs.

Even Dick Alpert commented, in an earlier talk, that he considers the use of LSD a "crutch"; we must help our students to understand that
this is so.

In addition, we need to appreciate that students who use and abuse drugs are reacting not only to the individual circumstances of their past and present lives, but to dilemmas that confront their entire generation. It would of course be wrong to identify drug use solely with cultural and historical pressures. But it would be equally wrong to emphasize the individual psychodynamics of student drug users in such a way as to avoid confronting the possibility that the rising rate of student drug use is a commentary upon our educational system and upon our entire society. Although student drug users are a small minority, they point to the inability of our colleges and our society to enlist the commitments of a talented minority. If we could understand why, it might point not only to how we could "cure" drug users, but, even more important, how we might "cure" colleges and society.

As for counseling student drug users--potential and actual--I think it important to acknowledge that the question of drug use is, in the last analysis, not a medical issue, but an existential, philosophical and ethical issue. Student drug users are, as a group, extremely knowledgeable about the possible bad effects of drug use; they can usually teach their counselors, deans and advisors a good deal about the potential bad side effects of drugs. They will argue--with considerable validity--that society does not prohibit the use of other psychoactive compounds (e.g., alcohol, tobacco) which in some ways are far more dangerous than many of the hallucinogens or amphetamines. In the last analysis, then, whether one chooses or not to use drugs, in full consciousness of their possible bad effects and the legal implications of drug use, becomes an existential rather than a medical decision. It is a matter of how one chooses to live one's life, how one hopes to seek experience, where and how one searches for meaning. To be sure, I doubt that we can hope to persuade students that drugs are ethically, humanly or existentially undesirable if they are not already persuaded. But I think we can at least help the student to confront the fact that in using drugs he is making a statement about how he wants to live his life. And we can, perhaps, in our own lives and by our own examples, suggest that moral courage, a critical awareness of the defects of our society, a capacity for intense experience and the ability to relate genuinely to other people are not the exclusive possessions of drug-users.

In the long run, then, those of us who are critical of student drug abuse must demonstrate to our students that there are better and more lasting ways to experience the fullness, the depth, the variety and the richness of life than that of ingesting psychoactive chemicals. It would be a pity, for example, to allow the advocates of LSD to take exclusive possession of the term "consciousness-expansion." Consciousness-expansion seems to me not the sole prerogative of psychoactive compounds, but of education in its fullest sense. The giants of our intellectual tradition were men who combined critical consciousness of their own societies with a capacity for experience and relatedness. And they were consciousness-expanders par excellence in their attempts to lead their fellows out of ignorance to a clearer perception of truth, beauty, and reality.

Thus, insofar as we can truly and honestly help our students to become educated in the fullest sense, we will be able to provide alter-
native routes to the pursuit of meaning, the quest for experience, and the expansion of consciousness. Obviously, much of what passes for higher education in America fails to accomplish any of these high objectives. As long as it continues to fail, I suspect that drugs will continue to be a problem on our campuses and in our society.