

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

---

**OA/ID Number:** 13660  
**Folder ID Number:** 13660-001

---

**Folder Title:**  
Wilmington Drug Address 3/7/89 [OA 6343] [3]

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>

---

of America for its elevation and mountainous terrain. Many slogans have also been used over the years to promote skiing and tourism in Colorado.

### Connecticut

The name Connecticut was clearly established in the early seventeenth century as applied to the Connecticut River.<sup>15</sup> The native Indian word "Quinnehtukqut" was translated into the current English spelling and means "beside the long tidal river."<sup>16</sup>

In 1959, the Connecticut legislature officially adopted the nickname The Constitution State<sup>17</sup> because Connecticut was the first of all the states to have a written constitution. Connecticut is also known unofficially as the Nutmeg State, not because the state produces the spice in large quantities, but because its early citizens were so skilled and industrious that they could make and sell wooden nutmegs.<sup>18</sup>

### Delaware

The state of Delaware and the Delaware Indians are both named after the Delaware River. The Delaware River was named by the English after Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, who was the Virginia Company's first governor.<sup>19</sup>

Delaware was the first state to ratify the United States Constitution, thus earning it the nickname the First State. Delaware is also known as the Diamond State, a sobriquet originated by Thomas Jefferson, who referred to Delaware as like a diamond—small but of great value.<sup>20</sup>

### Florida

Florida was named for the day on which it was discovered by Spanish explorer Ponce de Leon. On Easter Sunday in 1513, de Leon named the new land La Florida in honor of Pascua Florida, the Spanish Feast of the Flowers at Eastertime.<sup>21</sup>

Florida has a number of nicknames owing to its geographical location and the importance of tourism. Florida is commonly known as the Sunshine State. It is also called the Alligator State, the Everglades State, and the Southernmost State for obvious reasons. The Orange State is still another nickname that acknowledges the importance of the citrus industry to Florida's economy.

### Georgia

Georgia was founded in 1733 by James Oglethorpe, who had been granted a charter by King George II in 1732 to found a colony named after the

## Colorado

*Motto: Nil Sine Numine*<sup>10</sup>

*Translation:* "Nothing without Providence"

*Origin:* This motto is credited to William Gilpin, first territorial governor of Colorado. It may actually be an adaptation of a line from Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>11</sup>

## Connecticut

*Motto: Qui Transtulit Sustinet*<sup>12</sup>

*Translation:* "He Who Transplanted Still Sustains"

*Origin:* This motto, dating back to the early colonial history of Connecticut, was part of the colonial seal that depicted a vineyard. The words are adapted from the Book of Psalms 79:3.

## Delaware

*Motto: "Liberty and Independence"*<sup>13</sup>

*Origin:* This motto was added to the state's great seal in 1847 as an expression of the ideals of American government.<sup>14</sup>

## Florida

*Motto: "In God We Trust"*<sup>15</sup>

*Origin:* The state seal, adopted in 1868, is declared to be the size of a silver dollar. This motto is evidently taken from the motto used on the silver dollar.

## Georgia

*Mottoes: "Agriculture and Commerce, 1776"*  
*"Wisdom, Justice, Moderation"*<sup>16</sup>

*Origins:* These mottoes appear on the great seal of the state—one on the obverse, the other on the reverse. Agriculture and commerce, of course, describe the mainstay of Georgia's economic well-being. In 1914, the date of 1799 was changed to 1776, the date of national independence rather than the date of Georgia's admission to the Union. Wisdom, justice, and moderation refer to the virtues that should guide legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government.

### Delaware

The great seal of Delaware is essentially the same design as the seal of 1777.

It is emblazoned as follows: Party per fess, or and argent, the first charged with a garb (wheat sheaf) in bend dexter and an ear of maize (Indian Corn) in bend sinister, both proper; the second charged with an ox statant, ruminating, proper; fess, wavy azure, supporters on the dexter a husbandman with a hilling hoe, on the sinister a rifleman armed and accoutred at ease. Crest, on a wreath azure and argent, a ship under full sail, proper, with the words 'Great Seal of the State of Delaware' and the words 'Liberty and Independence' engraved thereon.<sup>12</sup>

The seal symbolizes the importance of shipping and farming in Delaware's history as well as Delaware's role in carving out American independence.

### Florida

The state seal was first designed in 1868 and remains substantially the same except for the substitution of the sabal palmetto for the cocoa tree in 1970.

The great seal of the state shall be of the size of the American silver dollar, having in the center thereof a view of the sun's rays over a highland in the distance, a sabal palmetto palm tree, a steamboat on water, and an Indian female scattering flowers in the foreground, encircled by the words 'Great Seal of the State of Florida: In God We Trust.'<sup>13</sup>

The seal signifies Florida's tropical climate and the importance of native Americans in its history and the steamboat in its modern development. In 1985, the seal was officially revised to correct previous errors and to bring it into conformity with the change made in 1970.

### Georgia

The great seal of Georgia was adopted by the state constitution of 1798. It remains the same today except for changing the date 1799 to 1776.

The device on one side is a view of the seashore, with a ship bearing the flag of the United States riding at anchor near a wharf, receiving on board hogsheads of tobacco and bales of cotton, emblematic of the exports of this state; at a small distance a boat, landing from the interior of the state, with hogsheads, etc., on board, representing the

## DRUG INTERDICTION -- COAST GUARD BUDGET

"...[L]et's start with the Coast Guard. They... stopped, in 1986, 10,000 pounds of cocaine -- in [1987] they stopped 26,000 pounds of cocaine. Then Mr. Reagan cut the Coast Guard budget by \$100 million and busted the Coast Guard. The drug traffickers kept coming. I would strengthen the Coast Guard because they serve a vital role."

--- Rev. Jackson  
Texas Democratic Debate, 2/19/88

- o In each budget he has submitted to Congress, President Reagan has asked for increases in funding for U.S. Coast Guard operating expenses.
- o From FY 1981 to FY 1988, funding for Coast Guard operating expenses has grown about 42 percent.

### Fiscal Year 1988

- o The 100th Congress cut \$72 million from the President's FY 1988 request for Coast Guard operating expenses. This occurred in the continuing resolution Congress sent to President Reagan late last year -- just as funding for the entire Federal government was about to expire.

### Coast Guard Operating Expenses, FY 1988 (\$ millions)

President's request	\$1,964
Congressional response	1,892

- o The Coast Guard estimates a shortfall of \$103 million for the current fiscal year. This includes the \$72 million cut by the Congress; \$17 million in increased costs due to exchange rate changes; and \$14 million in increased costs due to military and civilian automatic pay raises.
- o The shortfall has already forced the Coast Guard to reduce operations such as routine patrols, and to defer such things as routine maintenance, training, and restocking of spare parts.
- o Actions already forced on the Coast Guard by the FY 1988 shortfall will yield savings estimated at \$43 million. The Administration will propose a redistribution of \$60 million in FY 1988 funds within the Department of Transportation to ensure the continuation of critical Coast Guard services.

5/30/87

Fiscal Year 1989

- o For fiscal year 1989, the President requests approximately \$2.1 billion for Coast Guard operating expenses, an increase of approximately 11 percent over the enacted FY 1988 level from all sources.
- o This includes an increase of \$106 million for the U.S. Coast Guard for increased border interdiction operations, including a major increase in air interdiction activities.
- o In FY 1989, the Coast Guard will be operating new equipment in the Caribbean to detect, deter, and apprehend drug smugglers.
- o The Administration's request of \$3 billion in total FY 1989 budget authority for all Coast Guard activities represents a significant increase of 17.5 percent over the FY 1988 enacted level.

Government-wide

- o The President has requested a total of \$3.9 billion for all Federal drug law enforcement, prevention and treatment programs in FY 1989, a 13 percent increase over FY 1988.
- o Seizures of cocaine by all federal agencies have consistently and substantially increased since 1981. In FY 1987, a record estimated 92,000 pounds of cocaine were seized at U.S. borders.
- o The value of drug-related assets seized by the Drug Enforcement Administration in 1987 increased 25 percent over the 1986 level, to \$501 million.

-----  
Funding for Coast Guard Operating Expenses  
(\$ millions)

FY 1981	1,337
FY 1982	1,482
FY 1983	1,604
FY 1984	1,691
FY 1985	1,754
FY 1986*	1,748
FY 1987	1,907
FY 1988**	1,952

(Department of Transportation)

- \* Slight decrease due to Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sequestration.
- \*\* Assumes reprogramming of \$60 million in FY 1988 funding.

2/9/89

## TALKING POINTS

### DRUGS

The President has proposed nearly \$1 billion in new outlays for anti-drug efforts -- a 21% increase over FY 89, and a nearly 50% increase over FY 88. The President is committed to ending drug abuse in America; the policy of his Administration is "zero tolerance."

1. The President's anti-drug program is based on four strategies for which the President is requesting a total of \$6.0 billion in budget authority for 1990:
  - o Education: Fundamentally, the problem is demand, and the demand must be stopped. Education of our children about the dangers of drugs must begin early and continue through college. An increase of 16% in Federal support for anti-drug education is proposed.
  - o Treatment: The President's goal is to reclaim lives, not abandon them. The Administration proposes an increase of 18% vs. FY 1989 for treatment programs.
  - o Interdiction and Enforcement: The President is committed to stopping drugs at the source -- internationally, at U.S. borders, and among drug cartels and drug runners. Funding for interdiction and enforcement measures is increased by 10% over FY 1989. This effort includes strengthened interdiction and inspections efforts for Coast Guard, Drug Enforcement Administration, Customs, and more prison space to keep drug criminals off the streets.
  - o Stronger Drug Penalties: The President is committed to strict enforcement of tough penalties for drug users and traffickers -- the death penalty for those who commit drug-related murders, and longer prison sentences.
2. The Administration's crack-down on drugs is part of an aggressive commitment to law enforcement. The Administration is requesting an 11% increase in the budget authority for law enforcement, above and beyond the increases for combatting drug-related crime.
3. The President will work with his designated Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, Bill Bennett. Upon confirmation he will develop a national anti-drug strategy, and help assure that the President's programs are successfully implemented.

#

2/9/89

## TALKING POINTS

### ENVIRONMENT

The President proposed a vigorous nine-part agenda for protecting the environment.

1. Strengthening our Commitment to Cleaner Air.

- o The President will propose legislation to reauthorize the Clean Air Act, ensuring progress toward meeting air quality standards in the Nation's major cities.
- o The Administration will ask Congress to establish an acid rain program that will obtain significant SO<sub>2</sub> and NO<sub>x</sub> emission reductions, balancing competing interests, by specified dates.
- o The President will work to achieve the worldwide ratification of the historic Montreal Protocol.

2. Preserving and Expanding Recreation Lands.

- o The President proposes funding to buy land for parks and protected areas; his request is for the FY89 level of \$206 million, beginning in 1990 and continuing through the outyears.

3. Developing Offshore Oil and Gas While Protecting the Environment:  
The President believes that oil and gas development of America's offshore areas is necessary, however, drilling will be permitted only in an environmentally sound manner.

- o The President will direct that an interagency task force be established to review environmental concerns over adverse impacts of sales in three environmentally sensitive areas. By January 1, 1990, the task force will report its recommendations concerning:
  - sale area #91 off northern California;
  - sale area #116 off southern Florida; and
  - sale area #95 off southern California.

Until that time these sales will be postponed.

4. Speeding Hazardous Waste Cleanup: The President will reinvigorate the Superfund hazardous waste program by directing EPA to take a number of actions.

- o Use its judicial enforcement authorities to collect triple damages from polluters unwilling to clean up their wastes.
- o Pursue more cost recovery cases sooner.
- o Use its emergency cleanup authority more often.

Environment, Page 2

5. Fighting Ocean Pollution: The President is committed to clean oceans.
  - o The President will direct EPA to negotiate quickly compliance agreements with existing dumpers to end ocean dumping by the end of 1991.
  - o The FBI and EPA will be instructed to pursue criminal actions against illegal dumpers of medical wastes and EPA will be directed to issue major fines against ocean discharge permit violators.
  
6. Preserving Our Wetlands: America must better protect its wetlands, which are now recognized as being among the most productive ecological systems.
  - o The President will immediately establish a wetlands task force under the Domestic Policy Council. The task force will recommend ways to revise and strengthen the current Presidential executive order on wetlands protection. This will include establishment of no net loss as a national goal.
  
7. Enhancing Water Quality: Our water -- especially our groundwater -- must be protected.
  - o The President proposes an increase in funding of \$64 million for coordinated Federal water quality programs. Building on an interagency base of \$226 million, the 1990 programs will address critical needs in water quality assessment, research, and public education.
  
8. Reducing the Growing Volume of Waste: This country must make every effort to stem the rising tide of garbage and industrial waste.
  - o Additional EPA research funds will be used to expand the demonstration of promising pollution prevention and waste minimization technologies. EPA will vigorously enforce environmental laws restricting waste disposal.
  
9. Fostering International Cooperation on the Environment: The President will ensure that U.S. will take a leadership role in seeking increased international involvement in addressing environmental issues.
  - o The President will convene an international conference on the environment and will direct the Treasury Department to promote environmental considerations as a factor in lending decisions of multilateral development banks.

EPA Administrator Bill Reilly and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan will work with the President to make sure that our nation remains America the beautiful.

2/9/89

## TALKING POINTS

### CHILD CARE

The President has proposed a comprehensive child care initiative to strengthen families and expand the ability of parents to choose the child care that is best for them.

#### 1. The President's proposals include:

- o Creating a new Child Tax Credit of up to \$1000 per child under age four in low-income families in which one or both parents work.
- o Making the Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable.
- o Providing a \$250 million increase for Head Start funding.
- o Examining barriers to employers obtaining necessary child care liability insurance.

#### 2. Fundamental principles:

- o Child care assistance should not discriminate based on the type of care selected.

Parents should be free to select care from relatives, neighbors, churches, schools, employers or other sources, without having Federal aid dependent on a particular choice.

The President believes that a family's choices for their children should be broadened with a tax credit and enhanced Head Start Program -- not constricted by Federal licensing or standards that raise child care costs and limit options like reliance on grandmothers or other relatives or neighbors.

- o Child Care assistance should not discriminate against any families with young children.

Assistance should be available to families where both parents work and to families where one parents stays home to care for children.

Child Care, Page 2

- o Child care benefits should be directed to the most needy.

Lower income families should receive more benefits than wealthy families. Tax credits must be fully refundable if at least one parent is employed so that poor people who pay no income tax will still receive weekly or bi-weekly benefits. As deficit pressures reduce, however, the credit will be expanded to other income groups as well.

- o All child care funds should be paid directly to parents.

Using tax credits and deductions eliminates the need for unnecessary administrative expense.

The President will look to the Secretary of Labor, Elizabeth Dole, to take the lead on implementing his plan of broadening choices for families.

#

## TALKING POINTS

### EDUCATION

The President has proposed a series of new education initiatives to strengthen and encourage greater excellence throughout our education system. His initiatives are built upon four key principles, which represent his determination to follow through on his mandate to be the "Education President."

1. Excellence and success in education should be recognized and rewarded.
  - o Merit Schools: This initiative provides recognition of schools whose students make significant educational progress over time. For FY 90, \$250 million is requested, with growth projected to \$500 million in FY 93.
  - o Teachers' Awards: The President's Award for Excellence in Education (\$5,000 cash) will be presented to top teachers in every state.
  - o National Science Scholars: Outstanding high school students in mathematics and science -- each selected by a Congressman, Senator, or the President -- will receive up to \$10,000 annually for four years in scholarship awards.
  - o Experiments for Educational Achievement: The pursuit of excellence requires experimentation, innovation, and better data; support will be provided to the best innovators with the best ideas.
2. Federal funding should be targeted to those who need it most.
  - o Merit Schools: This initiative provides recognition of schools whose students make significant educational progress over time. Special emphasis will be placed on schools enrolling substantial numbers of disadvantaged students who show significant educational progress.
  - o Historically Black Colleges and Universities: A special fund of \$60 million -- over four years -- will be developed to build, through matching grants, the endowments of Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

3. Choice and flexibility -- for educators, parents and students -- are important to educational reform and to achieving excellence.
  - o Magnet Schools: An annual fund of \$100 million in new appropriations is requested to assist in the creation and development of magnet schools which offer students and parents enriched educational choices.
  - o Alternative Certification for Teachers and Principals: This initiative will assist those states interested in developing or enhancing programs to bring individuals with excellent subject area knowledge into the classroom, and proven managers into school management.
4. Greater accountability is needed in the education system to assure that students are actually receiving the highest quality education. Success should be rewarded; programs which do not work should be changed.
  - o Accountability in Education Programs: The Secretary of Education will review the Federal education programs and implement improvements in accountability systems. The Federal government should be a model in assuring that its programs are successful.

Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos will be working with the President to implement these initiatives.

#

2/9/89

## TALKING POINTS

### HOMELESSNESS

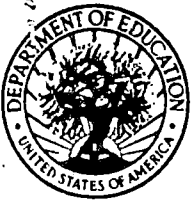
The President proposed a forceful response to the tragedy of men, women, and children living without homes with a request not only for full funding of the McKinney Act, but for a new \$50 million matching program.

1. The President's budget request fulfills his pledge to fully fund the McKinney Act.
2. The programs supported through the McKinney Act address the needs of several different groups of homeless including:
  - o the mentally ill
  - o alcohol and drug abusers
  - o unemployed individuals
  - o families with children
3. Beyond McKinney, an incremental \$50 million is requested for a new matching program, in partnership with state and local agencies and not-for-profit and volunteer organizations.

The program will address the many facets of the homelessness problem, responding to the most promising local solutions for local problems.

4. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp will -- working with states, localities, non-profit organizations, and volunteers -- develop new ideas and new approaches and lead an energetic effort to combat homelessness.

#



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

February 17, 1989

To: Chriss Winston  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Communications  
OEOB, Rm 122  
The White House

From: Mahlon G. Anderson *MGA*  
Acting Director of Public Affairs  
U.S. Department of Education

Subject: Weekly report on drug education initiatives

The following is a list of upcoming events related to our drug education program.

1. Late-February -- NBC News is preparing a story about adolescent drug dealers and what the government is doing to combat this problem. The network is considering including a clip from one of our new anti-drug videos that have been distributed to every school district in the country. Channel 4 News ran a segment from "Fast Forward Future" at 6:45 p.m. last night and ABC News broadcast a 2 1/2-minute feature about our films last Saturday night.

2. Feb. 28 -- The last of three regional conferences will be held in San Francisco by the departments of Education, Justice and Health and Human Services to discuss how to develop better coordination among education, drug treatment, law enforcement and other organizations involved in the war on drugs.

3. Through mid-March -- Education Department representatives will conduct site-visits at about 100 schools to determine which should be honored as Outstanding Drug-Free Schools this spring.

4. Sometime in March -- The 1988 National High School Senior Drug Abuse Survey is tentatively scheduled for release sometime next month by HHS. This annual report on the level of drug use among seniors is attracting early media interest: ABC and NBC have already inquired about coverage possibilities. No date has yet been set for the announcement.

# # #

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

Delaware, like all other states, has a demonstrated substance abuse problem. Drug complaints and arrest figures have remained high throughout the 1980's. Through June 1988, the number of drug complaints is 1,598 with 613 arrests. About 60% of the Crime Stopper calls relate to drugs.

School surveys show a consistently high use of various drugs by students. While the percentages of certain drugs went up or down during the 1980's, most students have experimented with at least one drug.

Substance users frequently use more than one drug, most frequently alcohol and at least one other. More inherently dangerous drugs such as crack and PCP, while lower on the list, are nevertheless frequently abused by students.

Estimates are that over 80% of prisoners are substance abusers. If you even have high substance abuse in the most secure environment in Delaware, (prisons) then, can we expect the general population to not have a drug problem?

The State STEP program and private Employee Assistance Programs increasingly involve themselves with substance abuse issues. Treatment programs are expanding our capacity to assist substance abusers, but we are still far away from providing treatment to all persons who need it.

In Wilmington, Delaware's largest city, there were 405 complaints of drug sales for fiscal year 1988. The "East Side" alone had 95 (see Attachment I of this working paper).

Delaware's justice system resources are increasingly directed toward drug and drug-related criminal activity. Justice system budgets are now doubling every few years.

Polls indicate that people invariably list "drugs" as the highest, or one of the highest domestic problems. Families, social service agencies, schools, churches, youth centers and others, are working together to combat the drug problem.

WHY THIS APPROACH?

The Comprehensive Targeted Substance Abuse Model is truly comprehensive. Comprehensive is defined by such words as "coordinated programs," "single philosophy" and "integrated to cover most aspects of human needs."

The East Side has the percentage of drug complaints and arrests well out of proportion to their population. The targeted area's natural boundaries are Walnut Street, the Brandywine River, Church Street and 4th Street.

It is an area changing in its character, perhaps for the worse. More female heads of household live in the East Side than ten years ago, plus fewer owner occupied houses exist in the area. The East Side also has a high elderly population, and ranks high in families with children and people who live below the poverty level. Unemployment figures also rank among the worst in the city.

#### WHAT RESULTS CAN WE EXPECT?

This model can be expected to involve many community groups, agencies and individuals. All may vary on their expectations, particularly with the dimension of time.

That not withstanding, we can set some general goals that will produce certain results. They are as follows:

1. Increase and improve target area communication and interaction.
2. Involve target area residents in determining what needs to be changed in their community.
3. Involve target area residents in determining what projects and redirected resources are required.
4. Develop a better working relationship between service providers and the target community.
5. Evaluate the quantifiable aspects of the program and the ultimate impact on substance abuse (e.g., are more kids staying in school, is the age of initial drug experimentation increasing, are more people working, can more people read, is the number of drug complaints decreasing, etc.)
6. Reduce substance abuse to levels tolerated by the target community.
7. Design a comprehensive program that can be replicated in other areas of Wilmington and other urban/suburban areas.
8. Design a comprehensive program that can be used as a national model.
9. Improve individual, family, and community esteem and self, worth enroute to decreasing substance abuse and conditions that negatively influence substance abuse.

TARGET AREA EAST SIDE

Most experts agree that the drug problem in the United States cannot be solved by any one particular strategy. Law enforcement will admit failure in preventing the flow of drugs to the consumer. Counseling agencies, schools and parents will admit an inability to solve the problem of drug abuse on their own.

A strategy that could possibly have an impact on the drug problem would be a comprehensive one that would include all elements of the community. In Delaware we have a fantastic opportunity to implement a comprehensive approach because of our small size and because of our ability to pinpoint problem areas where the drug culture may be very serious. For the purposes of this paper, we have chosen the East Side of Wilmington (Walnut to the Brandywine River, to Church to Front). We have identified this area because: A) Wilmington Police identified this as the number one drug arrest district, and B) Demographic information documents the East Side as a low income area (Attachment I).

The components for this approach would be:

I. Law Enforcement

- A. Maximum uniform presence (this would require overtime for officers or additional officers) (\$90,000 - four officers)
- B. Ample supply of buy money for drugs - existing resources
- C. Undercover police - existing resources
- D. Prosecution - federal funds
- B. Defense - federal funds

II. Drug EducationA. School

- 1. Age specific - K through 12
- 2. Type of education - "Here's Looking at You 2,000"
- 3. Where/Location - Christina School District, for a specific listing of all Christina Schools, see Attachment II

B. General public education

- 1. Age specific - Age 9 through 15
- 2. Type of education - Wilmington Cluster Against Substance Abuse for High Risk Youth: Health Education (Holistic Health Model).
- 3. Where/Location - People's Settlement, Walnut Street YMCA

**III. Parenting Training**

- A. Drugs - none
- B. General - People's Settlement, Asbury Church (Child, Inc.)
- C. Latchkey Program

**IV. Community Involvement**

- A. Clergy
- B. Politicians
- C. Civic groups
- D. Community Leaders
- E. Corporate
- F. Create a local board
- G. Mentor program
- H. Community Organization skills training
- I. CO-OP Projects (Food, Clothing, Day-Care, etc.)

**V. Publicity****VI. Vocational/Educational Programs**

- A. Tutoring for juveniles - People's Settlement, Walnut St. YMCA
- B. Adult education/literacy - People's Settlement Basic Education.
- C. Job training - 2x per week at People's Settlement unemployment counseling
- D. Housing
- E. Encourage government agency to locate a facility or service in target area.
- F. Obtaining a job and keeping a job.
- G. Black History Seminars with incentives for attendance
  - 1. For Youths
  - 2. For Adults

VII. Rehabilitaition of User

- A. Counseling - none located
- B. Refer to II, III, and VI - none located

VIII. Recreation for Youth and AdultsIX. Evaluation of Program

Specific types of programs must be outlined within each one of these broad categories. We should also identify the resources to implement these programs.

Apparent gaps in service include:

1. Specific adult education programs
2. Coordinator of services/transportation
3. Rehabilitation of user
4. Specific tutoring services year round
5. Better grasp of latch key youth
6. Adult drug education
7. Drug/alcohol counseling
8. Appropriate sanctions for user/pusher
9. General counseling
10. Emergency capability

By focusing in on a specific geographic area and by evaluating the impact of our program, we can prove whether or not we have at least displaced the drug problem to another area. If this strategy works to reduce the drug problem in a particular area and makes that area safer for the community, we can then package the program and transfer it to another area in the state.

It appears that we do have sufficient resources to implement this program in at least one geographic area while not hurting any of our existing operations. With the potential influx of a large amount of drug money in the future, we would utilize this program as an experiment to determine if we can operate the same concept with the new money.

Tasks needed to accomplish this program include:

- A. Summarize/analyze the demographic information.
- B. Meet with community leaders.
- C. Complete the skeleton plan with specific programs.

**D. Develop the necessary resources**

1. New money
2. Existing programs

**E. Acquire the approval of the Criminal Justice Council.**

jonhogan/intern

# George Bush for President

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Saturday, July 23, 1988

CONTACT: ALIXE GLEN  
202-842-1988

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS FOR  
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH  
AIRBORNE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSOCIATION  
TAMPA, FLORIDA  
SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1988

I want to talk to you about drugs. Florida is where I first got involved in the interdiction effort, in 1982, at a time when Colombian drug traffickers were murdering each other with submachine guns on the streets of Miami in broad daylight.

The Miami Citizens Against Crime appealed to the President for help, and he responded by creating the South Florida Task Force. He asked me to lead it. I went to work and saw to it that an unprecedented amount of resources was provided to attack the problem -- more prosecutors, more judges, more law enforcement officers, plus military planes, ships, and equipment.

Prior to that time, military support of civilian law enforcement was illegal. I led the fight to have international drug trafficking declared a threat to our national security and to allow the military to support drug interdiction.

The South Florida offensive marked the first time we have been able to coordinate all the resources of the federal government, including our armed forces and intelligence community, to fight the drug smugglers who are piping their poison to every corner of America.

Did we totally stop the flow of drugs into this country? We did not. Was the task force a success? You bet. Our greatest achievement was this: The people of South Florida saw that law enforcement authorities, not criminals, were in control of their communities.

We built on that success by creating the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System, which I also have been privileged to lead, to coordinate the efforts of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies against drug smuggling.

✓ You know and I know that we have not won the war on drugs. But we have had successes. Just last week Coast Guard and Customs aircraft, working together with the help of Defense Department radar, nailed an incoming shipment from Belize that landed in Plant City, 20 miles to our east.

Twenty miles to our west, in Tarpon Springs, federal, state, and local agents teamed up this spring to intercept 92 hundred pounds of cocaine -- the biggest seizure ever in this country.

Many of you are involved in this effort. You are taking away "the friendly skies" from the drug runners. You know there has been progress. Don't listen to the demagogues who say that nothing has been done.

✓ We will never be able to seal our borders completely.

As long as Americans are willing to spend billions of dollars on illegal drugs, smugglers will smuggle, dealers will deal, and users will die, law enforcement officers will be killed, families will be destroyed, and the fabric of our society will be threatened.

Yet, incredibly, Congress still has not righted the wrong it committed last December when it slashed the President's budget request for the Coast Guard by \$72 million -- and for what? For mass transit and Amtrak. As a result, we are faced with a 55 percent reduction in Coast Guard air and sea patrols. This inaction by Congress is criminal negligence.

✓ Interdiction of drugs and eradication at the source -- these are just one part of what must be a four-part war on drugs -- along with education, to keep our kids from using drugs; treatment, to help those who want to escape the quicksand of addiction; and law enforcement, to keep the criminals away from the good and decent people who want to raise their families in peace and safety.

We must do more to put and keep the killers of kids and cops behind the iron bars of prison -- not law-abiding people behind the protective bars of home.

✓ For too many years, we've been held hostage by well-meaning but misguided officials and judges who get their legal views from the ACLU. The rights accorded criminals must never overshadow the wrongs done to victims.

We've heard a lot of tough talk about drugs from the liberals in Congress, but when are we going to see some tough action? We need more money for prisons and prosecutors. And we need tougher penalties for criminals.

In my view, some crimes are so heinous, so outrageous, so brutal that the death penalty is warranted. And furthermore, I believe the death penalty in these circumstances would be a deterrent.

We need the death penalty for those who commit drug-related murders. We need the death penalty for the drug kingpins who are poisoning our kids. If this is war -- then let's treat it as such. Let's get these killers off the street.

And for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, no penalty is too tough.

Certainty of sentencing is the key to deterrence. We need to send a simple and unambiguous message to the narcotics underworld: If you deal drugs, you're going to do time.

We can start by implementing the new federal sentencing guidelines that mandate consistent, tougher sentences for drug offenders. We can't allow the work of the U.S. Sentencing Commission to be thwarted by judges who give criminals little more than a slap on the wrist. If the judges won't adopt these guidelines, we should enact them into law.

We've got to do a better job of isolating the bad apples from society. The view that all convicts can be rehabilitated is not just naive, it's dead wrong. Career criminals commit 70 percent of the violent crimes in this country. If a judge says "life without parole," it should mean just that.

Wednesday, a federal judge in Jacksonville sentenced Carlos Lehder to life without parole, plus 135 years. For the crimes that narcotrafficante has committed, that should be considered a lenient sentence.

We also need to change the legal technicalities that set criminals free. There's something wrong with the system when the modern-day version of a prison break is crawling through a loophole.

The exclusionary rule is a good place to start. The Supreme Court has already approved a "good faith" exception for searches conducted pursuant to warrant, and we should extend that to warrantless searches as well.

You in the ALEA are supporting an appeal from the Florida Supreme Court on the admissibility of plain-view observations from a helicopter. Some people would call that common sense.

But ultimately, the war on drugs is going to be won on the demand side, not on the supply side...by persuading our young people that drugs are not cool, that drugs will tear them up and spit them out, that drugs represent a choice of death over life.

The answer must be education, starting at the first grade and continuing through every level of the school system -- education that emphasizes values, that teaches the difference between right and wrong, that instills respect for the law and for themselves and others -- because, too often, children are not learning these lessons the old-fashioned way -- at home or in church.

Changing attitudes from tolerance to intolerance of drugs is a crusade we all must take part in -- by talking frankly and openly to our kids, by confronting and challenging our friends and our colleagues at work, and by accepting the fact that, in testing for drugs, the right to privacy must take a back seat to the need to protect the public safety.

We must also ask those who make movies and TV shows to portray drug use not as glamorous, not as funny, but as it is -- foolish and deadly. We ask this of them not because we favor censorship, but because they are parents and citizens, too.

To those who think America will shrink from this war against drugs, I say this: We have not spent the last 200 years defending our country from despots and dictators, only to lose our streets to drug dealers and gangs.

We are all the victims of these thugs, these predators on our society -- our families and our communities...peaceful, orderly places that are all too often now just a memory...places where doors weren't always locked, and parents didn't worry about their children when they went out to play...and schools where the corridors were safe, and teachers didn't worry about getting knifed or assaulted in the classroom.

To liberate America from this oppressive plague, we must stay involved, we must do better on interdiction, we must do better on education, we must improve our rehabilitation efforts, we must press for workplaces that are free of drugs, we must toughen the penalties for those who break the law and we must stand four-square in support of those law enforcement officers who are out on the firing line, making the arrests, trying valiantly to save the lives of our kids.

As I look out at this group here today, I am confident you have what it takes. And I believe together we can win this war on drugs.

Thank you very much.

# # # #

## SUMMARY

President Bush is committed to ending drug abuse in America.

The policy of this Administration is "zero tolerance." No amount of drug use is acceptable. And, zero tolerance should be the policy of every state in the Union—of every county and town, of every school, business, and community group—in fact, of every American.

The destructive and pervasive effect of illegal drug use in our society is appalling. Over 32 million Americans used illegal drugs last year. Nearly 5,000 deaths were reported from use of cocaine and other drugs in 1987, in addition to 146,000 hospital emergency room admissions for drug abuse in that year. The cost to the Nation of drug and alcohol abuse, in terms of increased health costs, absenteeism from work, law enforcement and prevention programs is estimated to exceed \$100 billion annually. And this says nothing of the tens of thousands of damaged lives and destroyed families caused by the use of illegal drugs.

*"My friends, we have work to do. . . . There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. . . . There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. . . . And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it—this scourge will stop."*

George Bush

Historical evidence suggests that, like certain diseases, the plague of drug addiction and abuse in any nation eventually abates and virtually disappears. This gives us reason for hope. But the society cannot wait for history to repeat itself. Action on many fronts is needed to speed the day when drugs are no longer a serious problem.

Drugs are a complex social problem with national and international dimensions. Since 1981, the Federal anti-drug budget has grown by nearly 370 percent, and the Bush Administration is requesting nearly \$6.0 billion in 1990 to fight this insidious foe.

The Administration proposes nearly \$1 billion in new outlays for anti-drug programs, a 21 percent increase over 1989 and 47 percent over 1988, to intensify our all-out effort against drug abuse. But the problem cannot be solved by dollars alone, nor by the Federal Government alone. The situation demands an ongoing, consistent effort by families, schools, churches, businesses, community leaders, health organizations, law enforcement institutions and heads of state. This battle must be waged on four fronts: education/prevention, treatment, eradication/interdiction, and enforcement/punishment. This means dealing with both demand and supply by:

- **Educating the Young: Drug Prevention.**—Establishing "zero tolerance" as an attitude and a way of life by educating our children at home and at school, from kindergarten through college, on the dangers of experimenting with drugs. The Administration requests nearly \$1.1 billion to educate our young people to say no to drugs through programs of proven effectiveness targeted at areas of greatest need.
- **Reclaiming Lives: Drug Treatment.**—Encouraging those who fail to heed the signals and do use drugs to seek treatment—the aim is to reclaim lives, not abandon them. The Administration proposes over \$700 million to expand the Nation's capacity to provide drug abuse treatment, particularly for the indigent, disadvantaged, youth and expectant mothers.

- **Going to the Source: Drug Law Enforcement.**—Eradicating drugs at the source, interdicting them before they cross our borders, and destroying the trafficking cartels that profit so richly from drug addiction. The Administration proposes over \$4.1 billion to step up the pressure on the suppliers of illegal drugs by providing grants to State and local law enforcement, beefing up the Federal enforcement agencies, and enhancing our drug prosecution, detention and intelligence capabilities.
- **Strengthening Our Laws: Drug Penalties.**—Enforcing tough drug enforcement laws, including the death penalty for drug kingpins and drug-related murders. The Bush Administration will vigorously enforce existing drug laws, demand even tougher penalties for drug traffickers and apply pressure to the "casual user" to stop using drugs.

PROPOSED CHANGE				
(In millions of dollars)				
	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
Budget Authority .....	5,331	5,966	+635	+12
Educating the Young: Drug Prevention .....	(941)	(1,087)	(+146)	(+16)
Reclaiming Lives: Drug Treatment .....	(621)	(735)	(+114)	(+18)
Going to the Source: Drug Law Enforcement .....	(3,770)	(4,144)	(+374)	(+10)
Strengthening Our Laws: Drug Penalties .....	—Funding Not Applicable—			
Outlays .....	4,569	5,543	+974	+21
Educating the Young: Drug Prevention .....	(681)	(969)	(+288)	(+42)
Reclaiming Lives: Drug Treatment .....	(534)	(661)	(+127)	(+24)
Going to the Source: Drug Law Enforcement .....	(3,354)	(3,913)	(+559)	(+17)
Strengthening Our Laws: Drug Penalties .....	—Funding Not Applicable—			

The President has instructed his new Drug Policy Director to implement the requirements of Title I of the recently enacted Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988. In that Act, Congress created a new post of Director of National Drug Control Policy, often referred to as the "Drug Czar." The Director is responsible for developing a national drug control strategy that will guide the Nation's anti-drug efforts, and for reviewing the allocation of resources to these efforts. Further, he shall "make recommendations to the President . . . regarding changes in the organization, management, and budgets of Federal departments and agencies" engaged in the anti-drug effort.

As he develops the strategy, the Director will focus on how to maximize our efforts and get the most return from our drug resources—both Federal and non-Federal. In the strategy, which is due six months after he is confirmed by the Senate, the Director will call on all segments of our society to become involved in the anti-drug crusade.

Apart from the drug problem itself, the broader issue of reducing crime and dealing with offenders requires both additional resources and a tough attitude toward enforcement and punishment of all of our laws, not just our drug laws. These issues are discussed in the last paper:

- **Intensifying the Attack on Crime.**—The Administration is requesting a total of \$4.5 billion for other, non-drug criminal justice functions in the areas of law enforcement, corrections and litigation. These resources target such high priorities as white collar crime, organized crime and foreign counterintelligence. The funding estimates displayed below are in addition to the drug funding estimates shown elsewhere in this chapter.

<b>PROPOSED CHANGE</b>				
<b>(In millions of dollars)</b>				
	<b>1989</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>Dollar Change</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>
<b>Budget Authority .....</b>	<b>4,025</b>	<b>4,460</b>	<b>+435</b>	<b>+11</b>
<b>Outlays .....</b>	<b>3,979</b>	<b>4,297</b>	<b>+318</b>	<b>+8</b>

# 1. EDUCATING THE YOUNG: DRUG PREVENTION

## OVERVIEW

For a decade, President Bush has stressed the importance of educating our children and young adults on the dangers of drugs and has called repeatedly for the Federal government to work with parents, teachers, churches and other community groups to develop a comprehensive drug education program.

*"Fundamentally, the drug problem in America is not one of supply, but of demand. As much as we do to bust the smugglers and the dealers, as much as we do to eradicate crops and stop the flow of drugs into this country, as long as Americans are willing to pay billions of dollars for illegal drugs, somebody somewhere in the world will provide them.*

*"I will do everything I can as President to help with the best information, the best research, and the strongest effort possible to get the message to our young people to 'just say no' to drugs."*

George Bush

The first front in the fight against drug abuse is to get our children to realize the fearful threat to their health, their future and their lives. As they become aware of the devastating effects of drugs, they will stop buying them and put the suppliers out of business.

## PRINCIPLES

- All schools, from kindergarten to college, should develop and implement anti-drug programs for the classroom.
- Schools should challenge students to get involved in ending drug use among their peers.
- Schools and colleges should adopt tough "no use" disciplinary policies and prove to students by aggressive enforcement that drug use will not be tolerated.

## POLICIES

- The Administration is requesting nearly \$1.1 billion for drug prevention activities, a 16 percent increase over 1989. This funding includes both ongoing programs and new initiatives.
- The Administration requests \$367 million for the Drug-Free Schools and Communities program, a \$12 million increase over 1989. These programs: provide grants to States for drug prevention education and to institutions of higher education to implement drug prevention education programs on campus; train teachers in the implementation of drug prevention education techniques; and fund a variety of other activities, including enforcement, to help young people understand why they must reject drugs.
- In addition, the Administration proposes \$25 million for a new drug prevention initiative: Urban Emergency Grants. These grants will award funds to a number of city school systems with the worst drug problems. Schools will have maximum flexibility to propose a mix of education, security, parent and student involvement and special programs for children with known drug problems.

- The Administration also requests \$35 million for a new program of community partnership grants for drug abuse prevention. This program, administered by the Department of Health and Human Services, will make grants to community organizations to stimulate local drug prevention efforts involving parents, schools, academia, businesses and youth and other high risk individuals. Emphasis will be placed on substantial voluntary participation by the community and grants will be made to communities based on need and innovative approaches.
- Approximately \$45 million of the Department of Justice's \$150 million drug grant program to local governments will be devoted to drug prevention activities. These additional resources will enable such successful programs as the Crime Prevention Campaign's "McGruff the Crime Dog" to continue and expand to more schools.
- In order to ensure that we are getting the best return on our investments, the President will ask his Drug Policy Director to support research in connection with the review, formulation and implementation of the drug control effort, both on the demand and supply side. Additional funding of \$5 million is requested for this purpose.

**PROPOSED CHANGE**

(In millions of dollars)

	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
Budget Authority .....	941	1,087	+146	+16
Outlays .....	681	969	+288	+42

## 2. RECLAIMING LIVES: DRUG TREATMENT

### OVERVIEW

President Bush supports Federal grants for the treatment of addicts. He recognizes that drug abusers are not strangers: they are our neighbors, our children and our friends. His policy balances firmness with compassion.

*"At the Federal level, we must attack the problem not just on one front or another, but on all fronts at once. . . . It means providing treatment for addicts who want help. And it means educating our young so that they never get hooked.*

*"There's no point in just arresting and releasing users time and time again. We should identify and support treatment programs that have proven effective."*

George Bush

### PRINCIPLES

- Link Federal assistance for treatment programs to the success rate of these programs.
- Give priority in drug education and treatment to expectant mothers and youth.
- Focus Federal grants on those areas of the country with the greatest problem.

### POLICIES

- The Administration proposes \$735 million for drug treatment activities, an 18 percent increase over 1989.
- The President's budget contains a \$25 million grant program to reduce the time a person must wait for admission to a drug treatment program.
- In addition, the Administration requests \$30 million for a new grant program to support expansion of treatment capacity for the indigent, disadvantaged, youth or expectant mothers in selected States which are seriously committed to expansion. These awards, administered by the Department of Health and Human Services, will go to programs of proven effectiveness and will be directed to areas of the country with greatest need (i.e., those with waiting lists or that lack treatment services). In the spirit of Federal/State partnership, States would agree to maintain the added treatment slots for at least three years after receipt of the awards.
- The President also proposes tripling the funding for HHS's research into effective treatment programs, to over \$7 million in 1990.

**PROPOSED CHANGE**

(In millions of dollars)

	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
Budget Authority .....	621	735	+114	+18
Outlays .....	534	661	+127	+24

### 3. GOING TO THE SOURCE: DRUG LAW ENFORCEMENT

#### OVERVIEW

The President has stressed the importance of taking the fight against drugs right to the source, both in the U.S. and internationally. Eradication at the source requires international cooperation. Stopping drugs before they reach our borders is an enormous challenge, but one that is met every time a shipment of drugs fails to make it to the street. Investigation and prosecution of drug cartels requires strengthened law enforcement at all levels of government.

*"To those who think America will shrink from this challenge, I say this: We have not spent the last 200 years of defending our country from despots and dictators, only to lose our streets to drug dealers and gangs. The war against drugs must begin at home, and it must begin with law enforcement."*

George Bush

#### PRINCIPLES

- Shrink the supply of illegal drugs by eradicating crops at their source and destroying the laboratories that process them.
- Vigorously patrol our borders and international waters to interdict drugs in transit to the U.S.
- Strengthen law enforcement efforts domestically at all levels of government—Federal, State and local.
- Ensure that adequate resources are available to prosecute and incarcerate the offenders once they are apprehended.

#### POLICIES

- The Administration requests \$4.1 billion for drug law enforcement programs in 1990, a 10 percent increase over 1989.
- Funding for the Drug Enforcement Administration will add over 330 new positions and increase its strategic and operational intelligence capabilities as well as its operations in foreign countries.
- Funding for the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters will increase by \$14 million to \$115 million in 1990, allowing for enhanced crop eradication and lab destruction in foreign drug producing countries, especially in the cocaine-producing countries of South America.
- The U.S. Customs Service will greatly expand its program of inspection of containerized cargo. This will allow Customs to increase its inspection capacity by about 50 percent. In addition, \$3 million is requested for additional Customs money laundering initiatives. In total, approximately 550 staff will be added to the Customs Service's drug interdiction program, totalling \$442 million.
- The Coast Guard drug interdiction budget will increase by 9 percent to \$690 million in 1990, aimed at interdiction of drug smugglers. The Coast Guard will use this funding

to support an increased tempo of drug interdiction operations with both air and sea resources. Additional funding will be provided for intelligence support for the expanded sea and air patrols.

- Over \$300 million is proposed for the involvement of the Department of Defense in drug interdiction activities.
- Funding of \$150 million for the Department of Justice's drug grant program is requested, \$105 million of which will be devoted to assisting State and local law enforcement agencies through activities such as multi-jurisdictional drug task forces and career criminal prosecution programs. The remaining \$45 million will fund drug prevention activities at the State and local level.
- Nearly \$215 million is requested for the new Organized Crime Drug Enforcement account. This program, which draws on 11 Federal agencies, coordinates complex drug investigations in 13 regional task forces around the country.
- Federal drug prosecutions in 1990 are expected to increase by 3,600 cases over 1989 as \$18 million is added for the U.S. Attorneys.
- Resources for the U.S. Attorneys will also be increased to target asset forfeiture and civil enforcement efforts. As a result, asset forfeiture collections are expected to reach \$470 million in 1990, \$20 million more than is estimated to be collected in 1989.
- Funding for prisons is designed to reduce the overcrowding rate in Federal prisons by at least 50 percent by 1995.

**PROPOSED CHANGE**

(In millions of dollars)

	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
Budget Authority .....	3,770	4,144	+374	+10
Outlays .....	3,354	3,913	+559	+17

## 4. STRENGTHENING OUR LAWS: DRUG PENALTIES

### OVERVIEW

Zero tolerance will be the watchwords of the Bush Administration, applied to user and trafficker alike. Drugs are not cool anymore. Attitudes have changed dramatically. President Bush will build on this positive change in attitudes to create a nation where it is unacceptable for any person to use illegal drugs and where drug traffickers are prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

*"Some say drug use is just a health problem; I say even more it's a criminal problem. Drug users and possessors should know that they may end up in prison if they don't straighten out.*

*"If you do crime, you do time."*

George Bush

### PRINCIPLES

- Demand even tougher and mandatory sentences for dealers, including the death penalty in select cases.
- Demand severe sentences for dealers who hire children to carry or sell their drugs.
- Encourage the judiciary to strictly apply the law to convicted drug offenders.

### POLICIES

- The Administration will call for the strict application of the penalties contained in the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, which provides for the death penalty for those who commit drug-related murders and for increased prison sentences for other drug-related crimes.
- Federal drug prosecutions in 1990 are expected to increase by 3,600 cases over 1989 as the Administration continues to target drug offenders as a top priority of the U.S. Attorneys.
- The President will appoint judges who will enforce, not make, the law.
- The Supreme Court recently upheld the constitutionality of the new Federal Sentencing Guidelines. The Guidelines will increase the number of offenders sent to prison and impose harsher penalties on repeat offenders, such as those who break our drug laws. In addition, the length of time offenders serve in prison will increase as parole is phased out.

## 5. INTENSIFYING THE ATTACK ON CRIME

### OVERVIEW

The Administration is committed to addressing crime in our nation. While State and local governments have the principal responsibility for administering justice, the Federal Government has a critical role to play. Over the past eight years, funding for the Department of Justice has grown by nearly 180 percent. The Department of Justice will continue to be at the heart of the Bush Administration's strategy to make America safe from crime.

*"Crime is a plague that strikes across all sectors of society and nobody is exempt. . . . The first priority is our law enforcement system—to protect the safety of our neighborhoods and the well-being of ordinary, law-abiding citizens."*

George Bush

### PRINCIPLES

- Strengthen law enforcement at all levels of government—Federal, State and local.
- Provide swift prosecution and sure punishment. Implement new Federal Sentencing Guidelines that mandate tougher, more uniform sentences; ensure that criminals are not set free.
- Address the needs of innocent Americans who are the victims of crime.
- Expand prison capacity so that criminals are not turned loose for lack of space. Reduce the level of overcrowding in Federal prisons.
- Prevent the illegal entry of goods and aliens into the United States.

### POLICIES

The Administration proposes to increase the Federal Government's resources devoted to combatting crime. This paper discusses the Administration's major, non-drug related activities and initiatives, totalling \$4.5 billion, an increase of 11 percent in budget authority and 8 percent in outlays over 1989.

## PROPOSED CHANGE

(In millions of dollars)

	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
<b>Budget Authority:</b>				
Corrections.....	842	968	+126	+15
Law Enforcement.....	2,313	2,496	+183	+8
Legal Activities.....	869	996	+127	+15
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>4,025</b>	<b>4,460</b>	<b>+435</b>	<b>+11</b>
<b>Outlays:</b>				
Corrections.....	737	929	+192	+26
Law Enforcement.....	2,371	2,380	+9	—
Legal Activities.....	871	988	+117	+13
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>3,979</b>	<b>4,297</b>	<b>+318</b>	<b>+8</b>

Note: The above figures are in addition to those shown in "Going to the Source: Drug Law Enforcement."

- Our Nation's fight against crime will be improved by adding more personnel, training law enforcement personnel, purchasing equipment, automating essential functions, and expanding intelligence capabilities.
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and the U.S. Attorneys will expand criminal investigations and prosecutions.
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation will focus its resources (\$1.4 billion) on conducting high priority investigations in organized crime, white collar crime, counterterrorism, and foreign counterintelligence.
- The vital role played by State and local agencies in making America crime free will be strengthened. For example, over 150,000 State and local law enforcement personnel will be trained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation at its training academy and in the field.
- To ensure the effective administration of the Nation's laws, \$996 million, an increase of 15 percent, is requested for the legal activities of the Department of Justice. Prosecutions will be swifter, witnesses will be protected, and punishment will be stronger under new sentencing guidelines. These resources are an essential complement to growth in other law enforcement areas.
- To aid the victims of crime, the Federal Government will provide the fully authorized level of \$125 million in 1990, \$31 million higher than 1989.
- The Administration proposes an ambitious program to expand prison capacity to meet the growth of the Federal prisoner population.
- The Administration requests \$964 million to support the Immigration and Naturalization Service's efforts to protect our Nation's 6,000 miles of borders from the unlawful entry of goods and aliens and to expand detention capacity.

### FUNDING SUMMARY

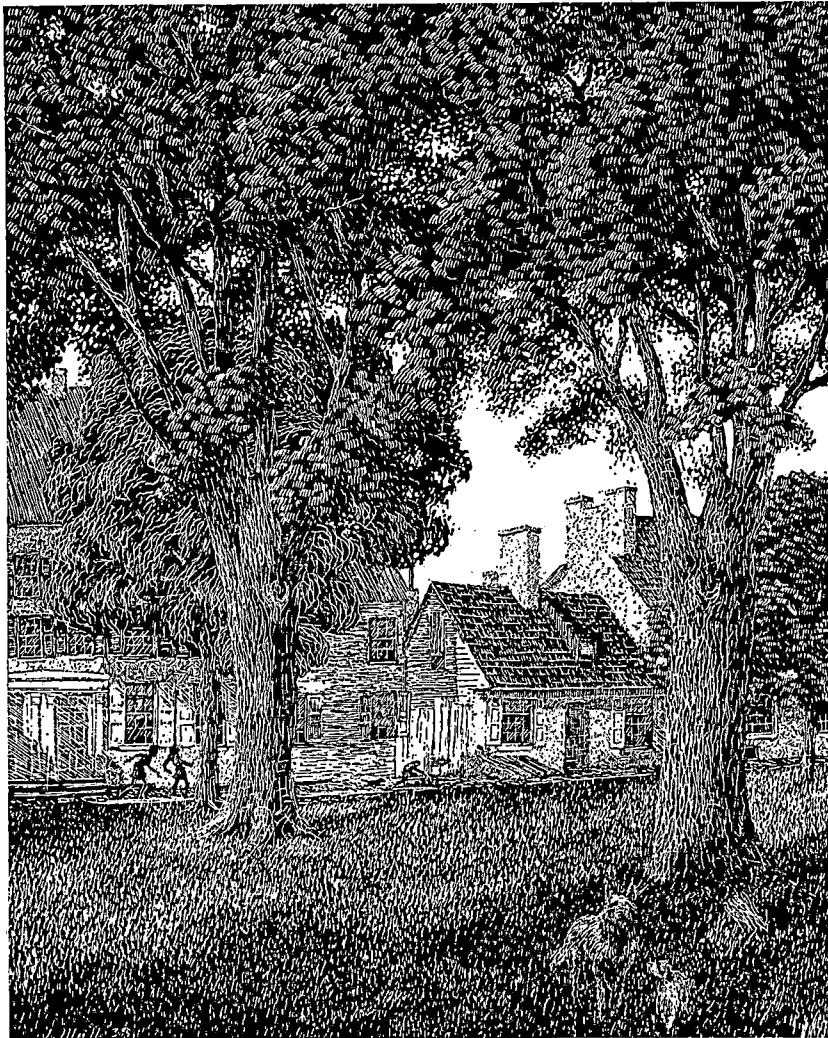
(In millions of dollars)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Budget Authority .....	4,025	4,460	4,632	4,838	4,941
Outlays .....	3,979	4,297	4,400	4,596	4,694

Note: The above figures are in addition to those shown in "Going to the Source: Drug Law Enforcement."

Funding shown in the above table, when combined with funding in the prior anti-drug abuse tables, provides for substantial growth in crime related programs. For example:

- For prisons, 1990 funding will be \$1,564 million, \$194 million more than provided in 1989. The increase will be devoted to decreasing the level of prison overcrowding and increasing the guard-to-inmate ratio to maintain effective control within prison walls.
- For Federal litigators and associated staff who prosecute criminals and defend the taxpayers' interests, 1990 funding will be \$869 million, \$65 million more than provided in 1989. This will help ensure that criminals are not put back on the street for a lack of legal resources.
- For housing unsentenced prisoners, 1990 funding will be \$147 million, \$37 million more than was provided in 1989. This increase will ensure that unsentenced prisoners promptly appear in court for sentencing.



John Moll

LITTLE DUTCH HOUSE, NEW CASTLE

## Individual Aspects

DELAWARE is like a diamond, diminutive, but having within it inherent value," the Milford Bard, John Lofland, wrote in 1847. This was perhaps the origin of Delaware's popular name, the Diamond State. But it may have come from Thomas Jefferson's reference to Delaware as "a jewel among the States," probably because of its compact area and rich soil, certainly in tribute to the brilliance of its statesmen in his day. Upon another occasion Jefferson wrote somewhat bitterly of Delaware's being "held under by force, but always disposed to counter-revolution"—one of the classic references to the independence of the State's people.

One of the original thirteen Colonies and the first State—by adoption of the Constitution, December 7, 1787—Delaware is next to the smallest of the States in area. Its main landscape of farm, orchard, and tidal marsh stretches along the Delaware River and Bay, capped by hills in the north and bordered by ocean dunes in the south. For 300 years its inhabitants have played a significant part in the development of the Nation. First the Swedes and Dutch, then the settlers of English descent with an admixture of Scotch and Irish, the Negro in the days of settlement, and later, the German, Italian, Polish, and other immigrants of the nineteenth century—all have contributed their share to the savor of local life.

Politically and in the life of the State as a whole the native Delawarean predominates. A tolerant friendly person in social relations, he may be liberal or extremely conservative in his active citizenship. For it is only when it comes to voting upon or publicly supporting one side or the other of a local or national issue that he becomes the characteristically obstinate native—"for" or "against." Then he exhibits unmistakably the traits of his ancestors which were responsible for making and preserving the Three-Countries-on-Delaware a separate Colony and State.

A single city, Wilmington, divided in its economic interests between manufacturing and the large home-office administrative payrolls of big business enterprises—and surrounded by a galaxy of suburban villages—is situated near the head of the State. Except for this one metropolitan area, Delaware is almost wholly devoted to agriculture, its small towns situated

chiefly at the heads of navigation of tidal streams flowing east to the Delaware or west to the Chesapeake Bay.

After the Revolution, when the main routes of travel continued to turn away from the Delaware River at Wilmington or New Castle across the head of the Delaware and Chesapeake peninsula, much of the State south of the traffic routes was isolated. It remained an unspoiled rural paradise—called by some a backwash—of eighteenth century manners and customs. But the "backwash" belied its name by furnishing the greater number of statesmen, including governors, and by gripping the heartstrings of native Delawareans through richness of human personality and the appeal of climate and landscape.

Presenting contrasts of old and new, of reaction and progress, within its small and easily traversed area, the State as a whole is ripe today for the pen of the modern historian, for the writer of good tales, and the discerning commentator. The contrasts and contradictions are pleasingly symbolized for the tourist by a yoke of oxen and a tractor plowing the same Sussex County field; or an eighteenth century house, perfect in its original charm and details, linked by a short garden path to a modern four-lane highway.

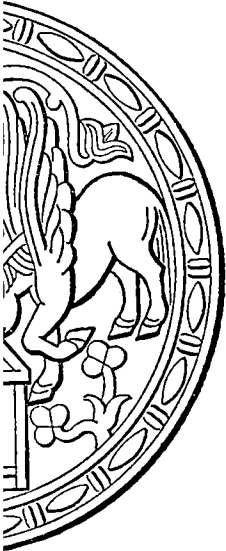
Other contrasts, both open and obscure, whet the interest of the acute observer, according to his point of view. He may hope that the excellent large modern schools may not spoil the Shakespearean English he hears among village children; and even more devoutly he may hope that inadequately relieved poverty in a State that "pays as it goes" and reduces taxes upon industry, may not permanently weaken the vigorous native stock that bears the family names of the Colonial founders.

The local-color enthusiast will doubtless welcome all contrasts and contradictions as a fillip to his enjoyment, especially in a climate mild enough to permit exploring at all seasons. If he happens to be a sportsman sharing his discovery of isolated fishing hamlets only with kindred spirits, he may turn reactionary and look with disfavor upon the insistent permeation of Delaware's paved roads, bringing crowds of sightseers to his retreat. For despite the prevalence of good roads everywhere, the extent and quality of modern highways in this State win attention from the motorist. On a bright, hot day the tourist may have small praise for the cement with its trying white glare. But he will have no complaint when he comes in late April to follow the routes marked out through the lower counties by the State Department of Agriculture for the peach blossom season, and a bit later for the apple blossoms. South through the flowering orchards, the traveler may come upon woodland-bordered stretches of the same smooth

roads, and come out upon wide expanses of unfenced, level farm landscape accented by stands of tall pines. Soon a resinous fragrance and the tang of salt air will herald approach to the ocean shore of Sussex.

Having roamed the State from the hills of New Castle to the sands of Sussex, after its three centuries of civilization, native and tourist may visualize the grandeur of the land along a "noble river and bay" that greeted the first settlers; and understand the feeling of the early Swedish colonizer, Johan Rising, who nearly 300 years ago first called attention to the gem-like quality of the region. He wrote in an official report that this land with proper culture and development would become "a *jewel* in the royal crown."

ON



*Modern American Poetry*  
*Modern British Poetry*

EDITED BY *Louis Untermeyer*

©1962

© Copyright Claimant: Reproduced  
by CRS with permission  
SP. FOR CONST.

WORLD, INC.

NEW YORK • CHICAGO • BURLINGAME



The peace of great changes be for you.  
Whispers, oh beginners in the hills.  
Tumble, oh cubs—tomorrow belongs to you.

The peace of great loves be for you.  
Rain, soak these roots; wind, shatter the dry  
rot.  
Bars of sunlight, grips of the earth; hug these.

The peace of great ghosts be for you,  
Phantoms of night-gray eyes, ready to go  
To the fog-star dumps, to the fire-white  
doors.

Yes, the peace of great phantoms be for you,  
Phantom iron men, mothers of bronze,  
Keepers of the lean clean breeds.

THEY HAVE YARNS

(from "The People, Yes")

They have yarns

Of a skyscraper so tall they had to put hinges  
On the two top stories so to let the moon go by,  
Of one corn crop in Missouri when the roots  
Went so deep and drew off so much water  
The Mississippi riverbed that year was dry,  
Of pancakes so thin they had only one side,  
Of "a fog so thick we shingled the barn and six feet out on the fog,"  
Of Pecos Pete straddling a cyclone in Texas and riding it to the west coast where  
"it rained out under him,"  
Of the man who drove a swarm of bees across the Rocky Mountains and the Desert  
"and didn't lose a bee,"  
Of a mountain railroad curve where the engineer in his cab can touch the caboose  
and spit in the conductor's eye,  
Of the boy who climbed a cornstalk growing so fast he would have starved to death  
if they hadn't shot biscuits up to him,  
Of the old man's whiskers: "When the wind was with him his whiskers arrived  
a day before he did."  
Of the hen laying a square egg and cackling, "Ouch!" and of hens laying eggs  
with the dates printed on them,  
Of the ship captain's shadow: it froze to the deck one cold winter night,  
Of mutineers on that same ship put to chipping rust with rubber hammers,  
Of the sheep counter who was fast and accurate: "I just count their feet and divide  
by four,"  
Of the man so tall he must climb a ladder to shave himself,  
Of the runt so teeny-weeny it takes two men and a boy to see him,  
Of mosquitoes: one can kill a dog, two of them a man,  
Of a cyclone that sucked cookstoves out of the kitchen, up the chimney flue, and  
on to the next town,  
Of the same cyclone picking up wagon-tracks in Nebraska and dropping them over  
in the Dakotas,  
Of the hook-and-eye snake unlocking itself into forty pieces, each piece two inches  
long, then in nine seconds flat snapping itself together again,  
Of the watch swallowed by the cow—when they butchered her a year later the  
watch was running and had the correct time,  
Of horned snakes, hoop snakes that roll themselves where they want to go, and  
rattlesnakes carrying bells instead of rattles on their tails,  
Of the herd of cattle in California getting lost in a giant redwood tree that had  
hollowed out,

t prairie, a long mountain.

ets who dance good-by.  
ves half to the arc,  
and over the arc.  
ears, sashes at the hips,  
ing good-by. And here sleep  
with dreams.

ERENT PEOPLE

ant.  
Africa? Who feeds it? Is it  
v much does it cost to feed?  
her one cost? If it dies what  
use is it besides to look at?"  
to himself, "It's a house by  
fields, by God; the architect  
ridge out across deep water;  
are good to babies."  
self, "He's a tough son-of-a-  
bet he's strong as a copper-

f great seas be for you.  
ook of land, a rock footing  
it in the salt wash.

of great mountains be for you,  
and the eyesight of eagles,  
shadows and the long look across.

of great hearts be for you,  
e blood of the sun,  
he strongest wants we cry.

of great silhouettes be for you,  
ncers alive in your blood now,  
crying, "Let us out, let us out."

Of the man who killed a snake by putting its tail in its mouth so it swallowed itself,  
 Of railroad trains whizzing along so fast they reach the station before the whistle,  
 Of pigs so thin the farmer had to tie knots in their tails to keep them from crawling  
 through the cracks in their pens,  
 Of Paul Bunyan's big blue ox, Babe, measuring between the eyes forty-two ax-  
 handles and a plug of Star tobacco exactly,  
 Of John Henry's hammer and the curve of its swing and his singing of it as "a  
 rainbow round my shoulder."

"Do tell!"

"I want to know!"

"You don't say so!"

"For the land's sake!"

"Gosh all fish-hooks!"

"Tell me some more.

I don't believe a word you say  
 but I love to listen

to your sweet harmonica

to your chin-music.

Your fish stories hang together

when they're just a pack of lies:

you ought to have a leather medal:

you ought to have a statue  
 carved of butter: you deserve

a large bouquet of turnips."

"Yessir," the traveler drawled,  
 "Away out there in the petrified forest  
 everything goes on the same as usual.  
 The petrified birds sit in their petrified nests  
 and hatch their petrified young from petrified eggs."

A high pressure salesman jumped off the Brooklyn Bridge and was saved by a  
 policeman. But it didn't take him long to sell the idea to the policeman. So  
 together they jumped off the bridge.

One of the oil men in heaven started a rumor of a gusher down in hell. All the  
 other oil men left in a hurry for hell. As he gets to thinking about the rumor  
 he had started he says to himself there might be something in it after all. So he  
 leaves for hell in a hurry.

"The number 42 will win this raffle, that's my number." And when he won they  
 asked him whether he guessed the number or had a system. He said he had  
 a system, "I took up the old family album and there on page 7 was my grand-  
 father and grandmother both on page 7. I said to myself this is easy for 7  
 times 7 is the number that will win and 7 times 7 is 42."

Once a shipwrecked sailor caught hold of a stateroom door and floated for hours  
 till friendly hands from out of the darkness threw him a rope. And he called  
 across the night, "What country is this?" and hearing voices answer, "New  
 Jersey," he took a fresh hold on the floating stateroom door and called back  
 half-wearily, "I guess I'll float a little farther."

An Oh  
 car  
 nev  
 car  
 A Dak  
 sar  
 car  
 nec  
 Thus fr  
 mu  
 a s  
 to  
 haj  
 Anothe  
 jur  
 cal

When  
 we  
 'en  
 "I  
 the  
 sto  
 ha  
 This is  
 co  
 vis  
 the

Nor is  
 he  
 Nor th  
 sou  
 ne  
 Nor th  
 the  
 trc  
 Nor th  
 set  
 he  
 Nor Ji  
 ou  
 Nor M  
 eye  
 jur  
 ba  
 an  
 W  
 bre  
 Nor th  
 tin

An Ohio man bundled up the tin roof of a summer kitchen and sent it to a motor car maker with a complaint of his car not giving service. In three weeks a new car arrived for him and a letter: "We regret delay in shipment but your car was received in a very bad order."

A Dakota cousin of this Ohio man sent six years of tin can accumulations to the same works, asking them to overhaul his car. Two weeks later came a rebuilt car, five old tin cans, and a letter: "We are also forwarding you five parts not necessary in our new model."

Thus fantasies heard at filling stations in the midwest. Another relates to a Missouri mule who took aim with his heels at an automobile rattling by. The car turned a somersault, lit next a fence, ran right along through a cornfield till it came to a gate, moved onto the road and went on its way as though nothing had happened. The mule heehawed with desolation, "What's the use?"

Another tells of a farmer and his family stalled on a railroad crossing, how they jumped out in time to see a limited express knock it into flinders, the farmer calling, "Well, I always did say that car was no shucks in a real pinch."

When the Masonic Temple in Chicago was the tallest building in the United States west of New York, two men who would cheat the eyes out of you if you gave 'em a chance, took an Iowa farmer to the top of the building and asked him, "How is this for high?" They told him that for \$25 they would go down in the basement and turn the building around on its turn-table for him while he stood on the roof and saw how this seventh wonder of the world worked. He handed them \$25. They went. He waited. They never came back.

This is told in Chicago as a folk tale, the same as the legend of Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicking over the barn lamp that started the Chicago fire, when the Georgia visitor, Robert Toombs, telegraphed an Atlanta crony, "Chicago is on fire, the whole city burning down, God be praised!"

Nor is the prize sleeper Rip Van Winkle and his scolding wife forgotten, nor the headless horseman scooting through Sleepy Hollow

Nor the sunken treasure-ships in coves and harbors, the hideouts of gold and silver sought by Coronado, nor the Flying Dutchman round the Cape doomed to nevermore pound his ear nor ever again take a snooze for himself.

Nor the sailor's caretaker Mother Carey seeing to it that every seafaring man in the afterworld has a seabird to bring him news of ships and women, an albatross for the admiral, a gull for the deckhand

Nor the sailor with a sweetheart in every port of the world, nor the ships that set out with flying colors and all the promises you could ask, the ships never heard of again

Nor Jim Liverpool, the riverman who could jump across any river and back without touching land he was that quick on his feet

Nor Mike Fink along the Ohio and the Mississippi, half wild horse and half cock-eyed alligator, the rest of him snags and snapping turtle. "I can out-run, out-jump, out-shoot, out-brag, out-drink, and out-fight, rough and tumble, no holts barred, any man on both sides of the river from Pittsburgh to New Orleans and back again to St. Louis. My trigger finger itches and I want to go redhot. War, famine and bloodshed puts flesh on my bones, and hardship's my daily bread."

Nor the man so lean he threw no shadow: six rattlesnakes struck at him at one time and every one missed him.

## THE PEOPLE WILL LIVE ON

*(from "The People, Yes")*

The people will live on.  
 The learning and blundering people will live on.  
 They will be tricked and sold and again sold  
 And go back to the nourishing earth for rootholds,  
 The people so peculiar in renewal and comback,  
 You can't laugh off their capacity to take it.  
 The mammoth rests between his cyclonic dramas.

The people so often sleepy, weary, enigmatic,  
 is a vast huddle with many units saying:

"I earn my living.  
 I make enough to get by  
 and it takes all my time.  
 If I had more time  
 I could do more for myself  
 and maybe for others.  
 I could read and study  
 and talk things over  
 and find out about things.  
 It takes time.  
 I wish I had the time."

The people is a tragic and comic two-face:  
 hero and hoodlum: phantom and gorilla twist-  
 ing to moan with a gargoyle mouth: "They  
 buy me and sell me . . . it's a game . . .  
 sometime I'll break loose . . ."

Once having marched  
 Over the margins of animal necessity,  
 Over the grim line of sheer subsistence  
 Then man came  
 To the deeper rituals of his bones,  
 To the lights lighter than any bones,  
 To the time for thinking things over,  
 To the dance, the song, the story,  
 Or the hours given over to dreaming,  
 Once having so marched.

Between the finite limitations of the five senses  
 and the endless yearnings of man for the beyond  
 the people hold to the humdrum bidding of work and food  
 while reaching out when it comes their way  
 for lights beyond the prison of the five senses,  
 for keepsakes lasting beyond any hunger or death.

This reaching is alive.  
 The panderers and liars have violated and smutted it.  
 Yet this reaching is alive yet  
 for lights and keepsakes.

The p  
 a spec  
 held i  
 a con:  
 a clav  
 where  
 and th  
 and th  
 to a n  
 seren  
 of no

The s  
 The f  
 shot o  
 Man  
 Man  
 Broth

This old  
 Ther  
 The  
 The  
 You  
 Time  
 Who  
 In the da  
 the p  
 In the nig  
 keep

The people know the salt of the sea  
 and the strength of the winds  
 lashing the corners of the earth.  
 The people take the earth  
 as a tomb of rest and a cradle of hope.  
 Who else speaks for the Family of Man?  
 They are in tune and step  
 with constellations of universal law.

The people is a polychrome,  
 a spectrum and a prism  
 held in a moving monolith,  
 a console organ of changing themes,  
 a clavilux of color poems  
 wherein the sea offers fog  
 and the fog moves off in rain  
 and the labrador sunset shortens  
 to a nocturne of clear stars  
 serene over the shot spray  
 of northern lights.

The steel mill sky is alive.  
 The fire breaks white and zigzag  
 shot on a gun-metal gloaming.  
 Man is a long time coming.  
 Man will yet win.  
 Brother may yet line up with brother:

This old anvil laughs at many broken hammers.  
 There are men who can't be bought.  
 The fireborn are at home in fire.  
 The stars make no noise.  
 You can't hinder the wind from blowing.  
 Time is a great teacher.  
 Who can live without hope?  
 In the darkness with a great bundle of grief  
 the people march.  
 In the night, and overhead a shovel of stars for  
 keeps, the people march:  
 "Where to? what next?"

# George Bush for President

~~FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE~~  
Tuesday, August 9, 1988

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS FOR  
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH  
FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE  
ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA  
TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1988

I had the pleasure of addressing your national convention in Columbus, Ohio, in June, and I want to begin this morning, as I did then, by saluting you all. Raymond Burr once said: the policeman "is the little boy who grew up to be what he said he was going to be."

Last year 155 of those grown-up little boys -- and girls -- were killed in action. They were heroes.

But the dead aren't the only heroes. You are heroes, too, the living, you who go out every day knowing that the next memorial service could be for you -- who every day witness the human wreckage left by crime -- ruined lives, children corrupted, good and decent people assaulted and killed; you who face those awful realities of life and go out again the next day with courage and honor and a sense of duty to protect the innocent from those who would do them harm.

America should stand behind the men and women behind the badge -- and I always will.

You are the front-line fighters for freedom -- freedom from the fear that makes families prisoners in their own homes, because they feel unsafe on the streets of their own communities. There can be no freedom without personal safety.

When it comes to criminal justice, our first priority must be to keep the criminals away from the good and decent people who want to raise their families in peace and safety.

There are those, like the ACLU, whose first concerns are the protection of criminals' rights and the potential abuse of power by police. My first concerns are the protection of law-abiding citizens and the abuse of our system of constitutional protections by thugs who can hire smart lawyers and find the right judges to set them free.

-more-

We've got to do a better job of isolating the bad apples from society. As you well know from Senator Specter's leadership in this area, career criminals commit 70 percent of the violent crimes in this country.

The 1984 Armed Career Criminal Act makes it a federal offense for a criminal convicted of three major felonies to be found with a gun. The sentence is a mandatory 15 years to life. That's a step in the right direction.

We must insist on judicial acceptance on the new federal sentencing guidelines that mandate consistent, tougher penalties. We can't allow the work of the U.S. Sentencing Commission to be thwarted by judges who give criminals little more than a slap on the wrist. If the judges won't adopt these guidelines, we should enact them expressly into law.

Mandatory sentencing has worked in Pennsylvania. Serious crime dropped by more than 17 percent after Governor Thornburgh got tough with violent and repeat offenders.

And the Thornburgh Administration reduced by 94 percent the early release of convicted felons and effectively ended the early release or parole of first-degree murderers. That was good for the citizens of Pennsylvania.

Rehabilitation is important, too, and we can do more in this area. Senator Specter has long urged the separation of youthful, first-time offenders from repeaters, so that prisons are not just graduate schools in crime. We should put special emphasis on literacy training, to give inmates a better shot at a regular job when they're released.

The idea that all convicts can be rehabilitated is not just naive, it's dead wrong. If a judge says "life without parole," it should mean just that. It should not mean weekend furloughs.

We also need to change the legal technicalities that set criminals free. There's something wrong with the system when the modern-day version of a prison break is crawling through a loophole.

The exclusionary rule is a good place to start. The Supreme Court has already approved a "good faith" exception for searches conducted pursuant to warrant, and we should extend that to warrantless searches as well. We should also set stricter limits on federal judicial intervention in completed state criminal cases.

The shortage of state prison space is responsible for the premature release of countless criminals. We need more money for prosecutors and more money for prisons, at both the state and federal levels.

The National Institute of Justice recently compared the cost of building a cell and maintaining a prisoner -- \$25,000 a year -- and the cost of setting a repeat offender free -- \$430,000 a

year in victim losses, police and court work, and private security expenses. Those figures are dramatic enough -- yet they do not begin to measure the effect on a community of having those criminals back on the streets.

According to some estimates, we are spending as much as \$5 billion a year on domestic military bases that we don't need any more. Where needed, those should be converted to prison facilities for use by the states.

And to encourage states to use their habitual offender statutes, we should provide federal jail space for them where needed.

Nothing has brought home the need for tough action more dramatically than the escalating violence of the drug trade.

As I have traveled the country in recent months, I have seen the front lines of our war against drugs -- from a battered crack house in Los Angeles to a Catholic treatment center in Newark; from a classroom where police officers teach 6th graders how to say "No," to a memorial ceremony for federal agents killed in action.

And I think about the innocent victims of drugs. I think about their faces -- the face of a mother worried about her children, and who they will meet in the mall or on the way to school, and the choices they will make -- the face of a worker watching a friend risk his good name, his career, and the safety of his colleagues because of drugs; the face of a 5-year-old boy in Philadelphia, innocently playing a video game, shot and killed by bullets intended for others; the face of a tiny infant born with AIDS because her mother shared a needle; and I think about the face that angers us all -- the arrogant face of a criminal, back on the street once more because of a permissive plea bargain or a furlough.

Many decent, caring, hard-working people have begun to feel that no matter what they do to keep their families whole and healthy, the corrupting and dangerous influences in society at large pose challenges beyond their individual powers. Many feel besieged in their own homes, their physical safety and moral values under attack.

They demand more effective law enforcement on our streets, tougher justice in our courts, swift and certain punishment, and more complete interdiction of the drug flow across our borders. And they are right.

Some say drug use is just a health problem; I say it's a criminal problem. More than 70 percent of the men arrested for serious crimes test positive for drugs. Half of all the murders in the country are drug-related.

There's no such thing as "casual" drug use when it's financing the drug traffic that's tearing our cities apart -- and that money is just as likely to come from the suburbs as it is from downtown.

States that have decriminalized possession should recriminalize it. And to those who say drugs should be legalized, I say this -- legalization is just another word for surrender -- and surrender is not in America's vocabulary.

Drug users and possessors should know that they may end up in prison if they don't straighten out. We should deny bail or parole to those who fail to stay drug-free after arrest and release, with periodic drug testing.

The "zero tolerance" policy -- the one that's led to the seizure of cars and planes and yachts -- is important not because it will stop the flow of drugs into this country, but because it sends the right message: No amount of drug use is acceptable. "Zero tolerance" should be the policy of every state and, more importantly, the attitude of every person in the country.

At the federal level, we must attack this problem not just on one front or another, but on all fronts at once. That means eradication of crops, at home and abroad. It means interdiction at the border, with more help from the military. It means getting tough with both dealers and users. It means providing treatment for addicts who want help. And it means educating our young people so that they never get hooked. The best drug policy is "no first use."

Too often, we're being denied the weapons we need to fight this war. Congress is full of rhetorical heroes on the issue of drugs, but when it comes to law enforcement, they all go AWOL.

They cut our budget request for the Coast Guard last year by \$72 million -- to provide more money for mass transit and Amtrak. Incredibly, they still have not righted that wrong. As a result, we are faced with a 55 percent reduction in Coast Guard air and sea patrols.

Congress should also take action to recodify the federal death penalty statutes to meet constitutional standards set in a 1972 Supreme Court decision. But instead, it has been going in the wrong direction. Last year the liberals in the Senate singlehandedly derailed the sentencing guidelines needed to implement a federal death penalty.

We've heard a lot of tough talk about drugs, but when are we going to see some tough action? In my view, some crimes are so heinous, so outrageous, so brutal that the death penalty is warranted. And furthermore, I believe the death penalty in these circumstances would be a deterrent.

For those who commit drug-related murders, for the drug kingpins who are poisoning our kids, the penalty should be death. If this is war -- then let's treat it as such. Let's get these killers off the street.

And for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, no penalty is too tough.

Our Administration, I'm proud to say, has appointed tougher judges and tougher prosecutors, and they're getting results -- 2 1/2 times as many drug offenders charged, convicted, and sent to prison as in 1980, and the sentences are 44 percent longer than they were.

Of course, putting offenders in jail will not in itself win the war on drugs. As long as Americans are willing to spend billions of dollars on illegal drugs, smugglers will smuggle, dealers will deal, and users will die. Law enforcement officers will be killed. Families will be shattered. And the fabric of our society will be threatened.

Ultimately, the war on drugs must be won on the demand side, not on the supply side -- by persuading our young people that drugs are not cool, that drugs will tear them up and spit them out, that drugs represent a choice of death over life.

We have to fight back against drugs in our homes, and in our churches, and in our schools -- with education, from preschool to high school, that stresses fundamental values, that teaches the difference between right and wrong, that gives kids respect for the law and respect for others and most important, respect for themselves.

If we want to stop our kids from putting drugs in their bodies, we must first put good ideas in their heads and moral character in their hearts.

We are all the victims of these drug lords, these predators on our society -- our families and our communities... peaceful, orderly places that are all too often now just a memory -- places where doors weren't always locked, and parents didn't worry about their children when they went out to play; and schools where the corridors were safe, and teachers didn't worry about getting knifed or assaulted in the classroom.

To win the war on drugs, we need to be as tough and resourceful and committed now as when we went to war 40 years ago. We've got to do, in the words of Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates, "whatever it takes, for as long as it takes."

As I look out at this group here today, I am confident you do have what it takes. And I believe together we can win this war on drugs.

Thank you very much.

## Preface

**T**HOMAS Jefferson described Delaware, the first state to ratify the Constitution, as a diamond because, although small, it had great value. Despite its diminutive size, the second-smallest state has had a long, complex history that exhibits many of the major themes in the economic, social, and political development of the nation. Like the United States as a whole, this tiny border state has its own rural South and industrial North, accompanied by marked geographical, ethnic, and cultural differences.

It is most amazing that Delaware emerged from the colonial period intact. Through a series of historic accidents, a part of the peninsula that separates Delaware Bay and Delaware River from the Chesapeake was conquered by or traded from the Swedes to the Dutch to the English, finally becoming the "Three Lower Counties on the Delaware" of William Penn's Quaker colony. It was largely through the self-identification of the counties' people as a community separate from either Maryland or Pennsylvania that the area became in 1776 "The Delaware State," a distinct political unit in the new United States. The rod that connects the counties of that state is the Delaware bay and river. New York has the Hudson; Arkansas and Louisiana, the Mississippi; but only in Delaware is no part of the state farther than a mere thirty-five miles from the coastline. It was the river itself, rather than any central town or market center, that gave Delaware its existence as well as its name.

Delaware's diverse geography, from the flat coastal plain to the hilly piedmont along the Pennsylvania border, offers a vividly concentrated beauty that pleases visitors and has inspired writers and artists. The most famous and influential of these was Howard Pyle, the late-nineteenth-century illustrator and author of children's books, who was a lifelong Wilmingtonian and creator of

the still-famous Brandywine school of artists. The woods in the Brandywine Valley between Wilmington and Pyle's summer home at Chadds Ford, just over the Pennsylvania line, became, in his imagination, Sherwood Forest, while the coast below Cape Henlopen framed his settings for the rendezvous of pirates. Generations of American children have entered into Pyle's glorious dream world of medieval fancy and colonial escapades through pictures set among the woods and beaches of the Diamond State.

In addition to its varied scenery, Delaware possesses a fine heritage of handsome old towns and buildings. New Castle and Odessa, to name only the best-known, are veritable storehouses of colonial and early-nineteenth-century homes and churches laid out along quiet, shaded streets. Other examples of our ancestors' building arts can be found all over the state in towns and cities and among farmhouses and rural churches. Throughout this book, I have drawn attention to the best-known or most typical remnants of Delaware's architectural heritage as symbols of the various stages of the tiny state's historic development.

I have done most of my research and writing at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, within walking distance of the original powder mills built by Eleuthère Irénée du Pont<sup>1</sup> in the early days of the nineteenth century. In that beautiful setting along the Brandywine, I have tried to elucidate the major forces that have shaped Delaware's history. In recent years, critics have called Delaware the "State of Du Pont" because of the great influence that the du Pont family and their chemical empire have exerted over virtually every aspect of the life of the state. In the years since World War I, Du Pont has become the sun around which Delaware and especially Wilmington have revolved. The company and the family that the du Pont name evokes have been at the vortex of wealth and power in Delaware. Although I could not undertake an exhaustive analysis of the Du Pont influence in these pages, I have tried to write about the most important and controversial questions raised by Du Pont power as knowledgeably and fairly as I could.

1. Capitalization of the du Pont name can be confusing. The members of the family mentioned in this book use a small *d*—du Pont—while the company uses a capital *D*—Du Pont.

Every historian, whether he is aware of it or not, approaches his subject within the context of the priorities and problems of his own time. This volume speaks to the complicated issues that confront us today, during the bicentennial period. Delaware, in many ways a microcosm of the United States, exhibits many problems and issues of national concern. One such issue is that of environment versus materialism. Our generation is called upon to find a balance between the industrial production necessary to employ our people and sustain a decent way of life without creating an asphalt desert cluttered with rusting cars facing onto oil-drenched seas. Delaware's most enduring social problem continues to be race relations. In spite of a Supreme Court decision that is now twenty-one years old, our state and nation are still in the midst of a whirlwind of dispute over school integration. Yet another major concern centers around defining the proper relationship between popular democratic control and the power of wealth and big industry.

The pages that follow are intended to show how the historic development of the First State sheds light upon these major concerns of the present day. Part I deals with the land and its use in the economy. Part II tells of the many peoples and cultures who have contributed to the state's social history, while the final segment describes the growth of the political basis for Delaware's society. I hope that readers can find here some background understanding that will aid us all toward realization of the "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" promised two hundred years ago.

Several people have aided me substantially in the preparation of this manuscript. Richmond D. Williams, in his capacity as president of the American Association for State and Local History, introduced me to the project, while, as director of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, he supplied me with a pleasant, quiet office in which to work. The staff members of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library were, as always, my most helpful aides in research. Barbara E. Benson of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation Publications Department typed most of the first draft, read the manuscript, and made innumerable suggestions for its improvement; and Ella Phillips, another Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation employee and friend, typed

the final version. Professors James Newton of the University of Delaware and Harold B. Hancock of Otterbein College graciously lent me a draft of their forthcoming anthology on the history of black Delawareans. Gerald George, managing editor of the Bicentennial State Histories series, was unfailingly helpful; and Martha Strayhorn, copy editor, made a number of excellent suggestions that improved the felicity as well as the sense of the manuscript. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to my colleague at the University of Delaware, John A. Munroe, a truly distinguished scholar and writer in the field of Delaware history, who read and commented on the manuscript. Edward F. Heite, Historic Registrar of the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, and William P. Frank, a notable local journalist, also saved me from egregious errors. For any mistakes that remain, either of fact or interpretation, I must claim sole responsibility.

## Part I

### *The Land by the Water*

3/1/89

# Drug Event

Invitation of Gov. Castle  
smattering of law enforcement <sup>officials</sup> Radisson Hotel

prosecutors

judges

correctional off

sheriff

county policeman

city policeman

of "

(maybe) MADD

Michael Ratchford  
Chief of Staff, Gov.  
302 571-3210

- o Ensuring that every law enforcement officer in the nation who wants body armor has access to it.

To those who think America will shrink from this war against drugs, say this: We have not spent the last 200 years defending our country from despots and dictators, only to lose our streets to drug dealers and gangs.

We are all the victims of these thugs -- our families and our communities, peaceful, orderly places that are all too often now just a memory -- places where doors weren't always locked, and parents didn't worry about their children when they went out to play, where school corridors were safe, and teachers didn't worry about going home alive.

To fight this war -- to recapture America -- we've got to do, in the words of Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates, "whatever it takes, for as long as it takes."

\* \* \*

#### DRUGS

George Bush believes that to win the war on drugs everyone must be a soldier: students must reach out to peers in trouble; parents must learn the signs of troubled children; communities must pull together; every level of government must respond; the federal government must lead.

Drugs are a complex social problem of national and international importance. The situation demands an ongoing, consistent effort by families, schools, churches, community leaders, health organizations, law enforcement and heads of state. We must wage this battle on four fronts: education/prevention, treatment, eradication/interdiction, and enforcement.

#### George Bush Will Lead The Fight Against Drugs On Four Fronts:

- o Establishing "zero tolerance" as an attitude and a way of life by educating our children at home and at school, from kindergarten through college on the dangers of even experimenting with drugs;
- o Encouraging those who fail to heed the signals and do use drugs to seek treatment -- we want to reclaim lives, not abandon them;
- o Obliterating drugs at the source by stopping them before they cross our borders and eradicating domestic production in our own country;
- o Enacting and enforcing tough drug enforcement laws, including the death penalty for drug kingpins and drug-related murders.

Consistent and Sustained Leadership:

- o George Bush will appoint Vice President Quayle to lead a Cabinet-level Council of War on Drugs. He will have full authority to commit the resources necessary to put turf battling agencies at bay and get the job done.
- o George Bush will call for a summit of the hemisphere's leaders for the sole purpose of getting these leaders on the record with their plans for eradicating drugs where they are grown and for getting tough with international drug smugglers.
- o George Bush will challenge every student government of every high school in this country to work to stop drug use at their schools.

How Far We Have Come:

- o Drugs aren't cool anymore. For too many, they used to be. Attitudes have changed dramatically. That's the difference leadership can make.
- o Zero tolerance will be the watchwords of a Bush Administration. President Bush will build on this positive change in attitudes to create a nation where it is unacceptable for any person -- no matter what age, no matter what lifestyle -- to use illegal drugs.
- o In the last eight years, the Reagan/Bush Administration tripled spending on drug enforcement, doubled the spending on treatment for drug users and quadrupled spending for prevention of drug use.
- o We were the first to systematically seize the assets of drug dealers -- last year we seized enough to pay for the entire DEA budget. Some of this money goes to states and helps to pay for added efforts against drug dealers. We pumped this money into new and strengthened efforts.
- o We were the first to use military resources and the intelligence agencies to aid law enforcement in stopping drug smugglers. We also increased international cooperation tenfold.
- o In 1981, only 2 countries worked with us to eradicate illegal drug crops. Today 23 are involved in the fight.

THE FIRST FRONT: EDUCATION AND PREVENTION

During his first campaign for President in 1980, George Bush emphasized the importance of educating our children and young adults on the dangers of

drugs and called for the federal government to work with parents, teachers, churches and other community groups to develop a comprehensive drug education program.

Today, he believes it is more important than ever. The first front in the fight against drug abuse is to get our children to realize the threat to their health, their future and their lives. When George Bush spoke to Chaffey High School in Ontario, California he said it best:

"When I was 18, I headed off to war. Your war is right here at home, and it starts way before you're 18."

George Bush knows that the best way to put drug suppliers out of business is to take away their customers by teaching our kids not to buy their deadly wares. He knows they must learn that their friends' lives are more important than drugs.

As President, George Bush will help parents drive home the moral and medical message against drug use to their children by:

- o Urging that all schools -- from kindergarten to college that receive federal funds, develop and implement anti-drug programs for the classroom. The Department of Education will act as a clearinghouse for information on programs that work and those that do not.
- o Challenging students to end drug use by establishing the President's Drug-Free Challenge: George Bush will recognize student governments whose emphasis on a drug-free student body results in real reductions in the number of classmates on drugs. We need to get the students involved in the process. George Bush knows that anti-drug education programs are most successful when students teach other students about the dangers of drugs.
- o Urging schools and colleges to adopt tough "no use" disciplinary policies to emphasize that drug use will not be tolerated. Parents, educators and law enforcement officers need to work together to drive home to young people that using drugs is a crime that kills.

#### TREATMENT

Since 1968, George Bush has supported federal grants for the treatment of addicts. He recognizes that drug users are not strangers -- they are our neighbors, our children and our friends. His policy balances firmness with compassion:

- o George Bush believes we cannot afford to lose those who are addicted to drugs.

- o George Bush will maintain confidentiality for those who seek drug testing to encourage drug users to help themselves.
- o George Bush will help schools develop special education/treatment programs for students who do use drugs and alcohol. We should temper strict discipline by reaching out to those kids who do try drugs despite our best efforts. We want kids to learn from their mistakes -- we don't want to lose them.
- o George Bush will link federal assistance to the success rate of drug treatment programs. We will support the programs with proven results.
- o George Bush will target drug education and treatment to expectant mothers. We need to end the heart-rending tragedy of addicted infants.
- o George Bush will also take action against AIDS and HIV-related drug problems.

#### ERADICATION AND INTERDICTION

George Bush has stressed the importance of taking the fight against drugs right to the source, both in the U.S. and internationally. He knows from experience that once drugs leave the fields, labs and warehouses of the drug lords, it is infinitely more difficult to either trace them or stop them.

Eradication at the source cannot happen, though, without international cooperation. George Bush has spent nearly two decades working with other countries. He already knows how to get the job done:

- o Convene a summit of Western hemisphere nations to develop a strategy and a framework for cooperation.
- o Provide training, advice and equipment to foreign law enforcement and military units assigned to fight the drug lords.
- o Create an international strike force capable of rapid deployment to "hot spots" of local eradication efforts.
- o Help drug-producing countries develop crop substitution programs to follow up eradication.

George Bush knows that stopping drugs before they reach our borders is an enormous challenge, but one that is won every time a shipment of drugs fails to make it to the street.

Seizures of cocaine increased over 1,300 percent between 1981 and 1987, yet the tide of narcotics continues to rise in our country. Effective interdiction requires an unprecedented intelligence effort and a sustained commitment by a multitude of agencies and personnel. George Bush has the know-how, and the will, to put it all together:

- o He will coordinate sophisticated aerial reconnaissance with land and sea forces to identify and search suspicious planes, vessels and vehicles, using the military on an on-going basis as we did with the successful South Florida Task Force.
- o George Bush will replicate the South Florida Task Force, tailoring it to other areas that demand concentrated focus.
- o He will insist on intelligence assistance from other Western nations on drug shipments, implementing agreements initiated by the Vice President and Prime Minister Mulroney at the Toronto summit.
- o Strengthen "money laundering" controls to trace and attach the illegal profits of drug traffickers through FBI operations, disclosure requirements, asset forfeitures, changes in the Financial Privacy Act and a full-scale attack on the business-side of the drug trade.
- o George Bush will never payoff or bargain with drug smugglers.
- o We will take on the Democrats in Congress -- who cut the Coast Guard's operating budget -- to be sure the Coast Guard gets the money it needs.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT

Like other Republicans, George Bush has been pushing for tough drug laws for a generation:

- o In 1968, Congressman Bush sponsored laws imposing criminal penalties for possession of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs.
- o In 1968 George Bush voted in favor of legislation imposing criminal penalties for illegally obtained depressants and amphetamines.
- o In 1970, he fought for stiffer penalties for pushers.

- o Since 1982, George Bush has implemented a successful prototype (the South Florida Task Force) that forced drug traffickers to channel efforts elsewhere -- where we will use the George Bush model to hit them again. He knows we are facing an immense problem and a long, tough one-on-one battle. There are no glib answers, no easy solutions, no one piece of legislation that will do the trick.
- o George Bush will never payoff or bargain with crooks.

George Bush will:

- o Demand even tougher and mandatory sentences for dealers, including the death penalty for drug kingpins and those who commit drug-related murders. He will call for laws requiring that appeals from drug death penalty cases be expedited -- we must assure swift and certain justice to those who deal in death.
- o Demand tough sentences for dealers who hire kids to carry or sell their drugs.
- o Treat drug use as the crime that it is -- not legalize it, as some have suggested.
- o George Bush will call a national conference with the states to toughen drug laws throughout the country. Drug possession should lead to arrest and a sentence.
- o George Bush will lead a coordinated 50 state attack on the demand for drugs. George Bush will work to take state enforcement programs that have worked -- like the ones that keep drug smugglers out of New Jersey -- to all fifty states. George Bush will lead states to take decisive action on zero tolerance and testing. A driver's license is a privilege and should be suspended from those who are convicted of a drug offense.
- o If a car can be hauled away for a parking violation and a license can be revoked for drunk driving it seems appropriate to at least suspend a license for a drug conviction.
- o Expand the Zero Tolerance policy, not just as a law enforcement policy for prosecutors, but a way of life. It sends the right message: it is not enough for us to say no to drugs ourselves -- we must impress upon our friends, neighbors, co-workers and others that there is no such thing as acceptable drug use.

- o Codify and extend the good faith exception to the "exclusionary rule." There is no reason why evidence seized in good faith by officers should not be used in court -- there are better ways to protect Constitutional rights than sanctioning a jailbreak through a legal loophole.
- o Help alleviate prison overcrowding by making use of unneeded military bases or other federal property for new prison space or treatment facilities.
- o Order that parole for federal prisoners should be conditioned on drug-testing. The evidence of the connection between drug use and crime is undeniable -- if convicts cannot stay clean, they shouldn't be on the street.
- o Ask for new measures to protect the physical safety of law enforcement officers, such as tough mandatory penalties for any assault on officers.
- o Appoint judges who will enforce, not make, law -- judges who are more interested in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution than rights dreamed up by the ACLU.
- o George Bush believes drug testing should be mandatory for jobs involving public health and safety and national security.
- o George Bush will stamp passports of those convicted of drug sales, and will suspend the passports of those convicted of major drug offenses.

\* \* \*

#### PORNOGRAPHY

I favor fighting pornography, especially child pornography, within the limits of the First Amendment, in order to combat its effects -- violence toward, and the degradation of, women and children, and the tearing of our social fabric.

I support the 1984 Republican Party platform on this issue:

- o "We will vigorously enforce constitutional laws to control obscene materials which degrade everyone, particularly women, and depict the exploitation of children."
- o "We call upon the Federal Communications Commission ... to strictly enforce the law regarding cable pornography and the abuse of telephone service for obscene purposes."

\* \* \*

# The Compelling Economics of Prison Construction

By RICHARD B. ABELL

On Oct. 20, 1973, 28-year-old James Allen of Detroit fatally shot 17-year-old Steven Ellis Taylor in the chest. Allen was arrested three years later, convicted of second-degree murder, and after spending nine and a half months in jail, was sentenced to 15 to 30 years in a Michigan prison in March 1977.

James Allen had quite an impressive prior juvenile record at the time—breaking and entering, armed robbery, assault, and carrying a concealed weapon—all of which had resulted in probation or confinement in a state training school. Allen was paroled in December 1983 after serving only seven and a half years of his original 15 to 30-year sentence.

During a series of robberies in 1984, Allen and two other parolees killed at least four people and seriously wounded two others. After shooting one victim in the face, Allen is alleged to have told an accomplice: "That's the way you play the murder game—leave no witnesses." Allen was convicted of first and second-degree murder for two of the killings and returned to prison once again, this time for life—we hope.

Every day, other James Allens are being unleashed on an unsuspecting society, despite the public's demand to crack down on crime.

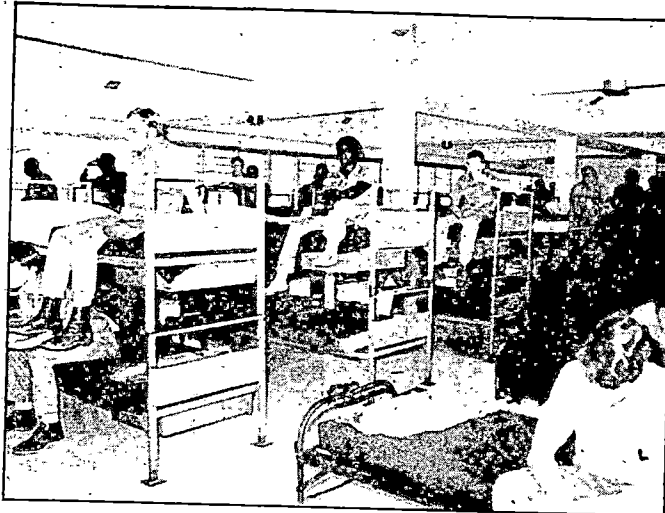
While 35 million felonies were reported to the FBI in 1986, some 1.8 million persons were arrested for those crimes, and only 35,000 were ultimately imprisoned. This translates roughly to a thousand reported offenses for every incarceration and only about two in 100 persons arrested ending up going to prison. In reality, even though those "unlucky" few who do get imprisoned will, on average, serve less than one-half of their court-ordered sentence.

Why do the odds so favor the criminal? Obviously, the ascendance of the criminal rights lobby during the 1960s and '70s and the resultant institutionalization of procedural constraints to thwart arrest and conviction have had a major impact in keeping criminals out of prison.

This is confirmed by the fact that prison commitments for the most serious crimes, i.e. murder, non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary, dropped from 62 in 1960 to 23 by 1970 and had risen to only 25 by 1980. But, while Reagan-appointed judges have been imposing longer and tougher sentences over the last eight years, "one-man crime waves" are being released back into our communities every day simply because we do not have sufficient places to put them.

The public's demand for harsher

*Mr. Abell is assistant attorney general for the Office of Justice Programs, within the Department of Justice. He also serves as a member of the Board of Directors, Federal Prison Industries, Inc., and as a member of the Advisory Board of the National Institute of Corrections.*



Only a few empty bunks can be found in many prisons.

punishment is being frustrated by simple arithmetic. Between 1981 and 1988, the number of felons sentenced to federal prisons increased by 92 per cent, reaching an all-time high of 48,300, but the federal prison system's design capacity stood at 29,000. Over the same period, state prison populations increased by 75 per cent, to 533,300, but these facilities had an estimated capacity to hold between 436,000-501,000 prisoners.

Local jails are feeling the crunch as well—operating at 98 per cent of capacity in 1987, up from 85 per cent in 1983. Over 11,250 inmates were being held in local facilities because of lack of federal and state prison space. Even though the opening of 138 new state prisons and the renovation and expansion of existing facilities between 1979 and 1984 increased total housing space by 29 per cent, the number of inmates grew by 45 per cent.

It was fortunate that the liberal establishment's embrace of the Massachusetts furlough program finally focused national attention on the fallacy of "putting someone away for life." But while the infamous Willie Horton incident revealed the futility of attempting to rehabilitate violent offenders, far too many felons being released into the community today are there as a result of court-ordered early release procedures designed to free up space in our crowded prison systems.

Once legitimate alternatives to incarceration for offenders who posed little threat to the community and who showed likelihood of rehabilitation, such as probation, parole, and the granting of credits for good behavior while incarcerated, are now being routinely granted to dangerous felons as prison escape valves. While we appreciate the fact that our judicial system does a good job of protecting against innocent persons being unjustly imprisoned, we must question seriously why so few found guilty are actually

incarcerated and why so many of them are let out early.

While the public is certainly the victim of these prison release policies, it is frequently an accomplice as well.

For example, when Michigan voters abolished "good time" credits for 80 serious types of crime in 1978, state prison populations began to swell. As a result, the state Department of Corrections was placed under court order to keep its prison population within a 95 per cent capacity ceiling. But, at the

which provided most inmates with 90-day sentence reductions whenever the capacity ceiling was reached.

The act was triggered nine times between mid-1981 and the end of 1984, enabling 10,000 prisoners to get out up to 27 months earlier than they would have otherwise. But in defense of the policy, State Corrections Director Robert Brown was quoted to have said, "Don't complain about who I'm putting out there. Tell me who I should have put out... in their place."

A study of over 5,700 Michigan parolees in 1983 revealed that the prisoners released early were worse risks to the community than those who served their minimum sentence. By Jan. 10, 1985, 794 had been convicted of new crimes. The early releasees were convicted of 70 per cent of the crimes against people, 80 per cent of the crimes against property, and 78 per cent of drug and other offenses. Of those convicted, 267 committed their crimes during a time they would have been in prison had it not been for the Prison Overcrowding Emergency Powers Act. James Allen was a typical example.

Tough mandatory sentencing is theoretically supposed to avert such instances, but with too few prison cells, we have created a dangerous game of musical chairs that all too often puts the criminal on the wrong side of the wall.

For political reasons, states are naturally reluctant to admit the extent to which their early prison releases are directly attributable to prison capacity problems, but according to data collected by the Office of Justice Pro-



Inmates watching television during their leisure time.

same time, the state's voters were forcing tougher and longer criminal sentencing; in 1980, they rejected a \$300-million bond issue for prison construction.

The state legislature responded to the court order by enacting the Prison Overcrowding Emergency Powers Act

gram's Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 1985, 19 states reported over 18,600 early releases because of crowding. The Cook County jail in Illinois alone released 1,200 low-bail defendants between November and December 1986 to avoid violating a federal court order

(Continued on next page)

limiting its inmate population.

At the end of 1987, eight states were operating their entire prison system under a court order or consent decree to relieve prison crowding. Another 27 states and the District of Columbia were operating at least one major prison under a similar court order or consent decree. Between 1986 and 1987, the prison populations, in states entirely under court order rose by only 3.2 per cent, compared with an 8.5 per cent increase in states not experiencing court intervention. It does not require a degree in logic to figure out the consequences.

Today, over one-third of the nation's adult probation population consists of persons convicted of felonies, as opposed to misdemeanors—the types of crimes for which probation was originally designed.

In fact, between 1974 and 1983, while the prison population increased by 48 per cent, the probation population rose by 63 per cent. Incredibly, during 1983,

crowded that a decision to increase imprisonments will mean either that current prisoners will have to be released to make room for the new or that new prisons will have to be built.

At today's prices, adjusted for geographical variables and level of security, a single prison bed space will cost between \$50,000 and \$100,000, including the cost of the land. By the time maintenance costs are added, the cost to incarcerate one person for a year runs about \$25,000.

To compound the problem, it is well acknowledged that prisons tend to fall into the same category as waste treatment plants and trash dumps — while everyone recognizes the need for them, no one wants one in "his neighborhood." So it should come as no surprise that "sticker shocked" legislators are reluctant to reach deeper into the taxpayers' pockets for new prison construction, or, for that matter, that taxpayers are willing to let them.

The value of an imprisonment decision depends primarily on the accuracy of how much public safety is purchased for \$25,000. But assessments of this nature can only be made if something is known about the criminality of the offender population. Unfortunately, the debate over prison construction has typically focused on the first and most visible portion of the equation, the costs of building and operating prisons, while the other side of the equation—confinement benefits—has been largely ignored.

The most readily obtainable statistics on inmate criminality, sentencing statistics, provide a very misleading profile because the sentencing offense is usually the last entry on a long ledger of criminal activity. Remember, the infamous Al Capone was officially sentenced for tax evasion—his "first" offense.

Sentencing statistics do not reveal what offenses were committed by those who turned state's evidence and plea bargained a lesser offense, and because they do not accurately assess past offender behavior they provide little predictive data about their future behavior.

The latest sentencing statistics, which indicate that about 50 per cent of state prisoners and about 70 per cent of

federal prisoners are incarcerated for nonviolent crimes, are frequently cited by opponents of prison construction as evidence that we have a wealth of candidates for less restrictive "alternative sentencing," such as community service, restitution, intensive supervision, and house arrest with electronic monitoring.

Although it makes intuitive sense that a drug addict who is convicted of a single property offense probably has committed additional crimes, an important study by the Rand Corp. for the Department of Justice tested this premise.

Based on interviews of a broad sample of prisoners in three states, the study found that those who were primarily burglars averaged between 76 and 118 burglaries per year, and that lesser larceners, such as shoplifters and pickpockets, averaged between 135 and 202 thefts per year. By aggregating the crimes committed outside the offender's conviction status, the study concluded that inmates averaged between 187 and 287 crimes per year, exclusive of drug deals.

The Rand research confirmed that the criminal justice system incarcerates a wide range of low-rate and high-rate offenders by finding that while about half of the offenders committed fewer than 15 crimes per year, 25 per cent committed more than 135 crimes per year, and 10 per cent committed as many as 600 crimes annually.

Taking these findings, in conjunction with the analysis of California's probationers and the inherent weaknesses in sentencing offense statistics, the offender population has been largely demystified. Placing those who should be in prison on probation or inappropriately assigning them to a less restrictive alternative sentence to save the costs of prison construction is a false economy when these less restrictive sentences permit offenders to murder, rape, or rapidly commit property offenses. Society pays for the decision not to imprison. But how much?

Even though calculating the cost of crime remains an inexact science, techniques are improving. The Office of Justice Program's National Institute of Justice calculated total published expenditures on crime for 1983, including victim losses, criminal justice,

commercial security costs, etc., and arrived at a figure of \$99.8 billion.

By dividing the number of victimizations for that year, 42.5 million, into the expenditures, the researchers arrived at an average cost per crime of \$2,300. Applying this figure to the information on offense rates gleaned from the Rand research (between 187 and 287 offenses per year), they concluded that a "typical inmate" is responsible for \$430,000 in crimes costs per year, or 17 times the \$25,000 cost of incarceration.

**Sentencing just 1,000 more offenders to prison would obligate our correctional systems to an additional \$25 million per year, but on the flip side, 187,000 crimes would be prevented with a net saving to society of \$405 million. Not a bad investment return.**

The decade of the 1960s and early 1970s brought about a shift in the dominant value of self-control to self-expression and with it the notion that community health and safety must take a back seat to the claims of individuals to do whatever they please, whenever they please, without regard to the social consequences. The zealous defenders of the supremacy of rights over obligations helped to cause our nation's crime rate to more than triple between 1963 and 1981.

To embrace the facile liberal nostrum that community disintegration is the root cause of crime and that sending criminals to prison tends only to worsen their already anti-social behavior is to ignore the most basic of our Judeo-Christian values—that we each possess the God-given free will to make our own decisions about right or wrong, and that in turn each of us is responsible and accountable for our actions. In line with this most basic tenet, President George Bush pledged that, "If you do the crime, you're going to do the time."

The establishment of justice is the highest duty of government, and fairness and predictability are preeminent goals of a society that adheres to the rule of law. The first goal of our criminal justice system must be to protect the innocent; the second, to punish the guilty. If we wish to secure these intrinsic social priorities we must restore the equilibrium to our criminal justice system by building more prisons. ■

**Criminal history summary of State prison inmates: Recidivism by record of violence, 1986**

Record of violence	Percent of inmates who are:		
	Recidivists	First-timers	Total
Violent offenders*	52.5%	13.2%	65.7%
Nonviolent offenders	29.0%	5.3%	34.3%
Total	81.5%	18.5%	100.0%

\* Includes current or prior offense. Source: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

21 states reported releasing into the community 578 inmates serving "life sentences," of which nearly 25 per cent had served time for a prior felony conviction. The median "life sentence" for those released from prison for the first time was a scant 10 years and nine months.

What happens when felons are released? A study of felony probationers in California's Los Angeles and Alameda counties in 1983 revealed that over a 40-month period, only 35 per cent managed to stay clean (as far as official records could show). Fifty-three per cent of the group had official charges filed against them, and 75 per cent of their offenses involved burglary, robbery, or other violent crimes. Fifty-one per cent of the sample were ultimately re-convicted — 18 per cent for homicide, rape, weapons offenses, assault, or robbery; and 34 per cent eventually were re-incarcerated.

In 1986, four out of five state prison inmates were repeat offenders, and over half of them had at least one prior conviction for a violent offense (see table). An astonishing 20 per cent had been either imprisoned or placed on probation six or more times.

While criminologists, sociologists, and a host of assorted experts debate the causes of crime, the merits of alternative methods of punishment, and incarceration costs, one thing is certain—society will pay the price one way or another—either by accepting the need to spend more on prison construction, or by continuing to incur the financial and physical costs of thuggery.

**Simply put, our prisons are so**

**CAMBODIA / From page 10**

rebels, Nuon Chea, was also close to Pol Pot, serving in the assembly during Pol Pot's reign and as the deputy secretary of the CPK since 1960.

Finally, Pol Pot's former foreign minister, Ieng Sary, is believed to be involved with the Khmer Rouge rebel movement, and his close ties with Pol Pot continue to this date. He has reportedly accompanied Pol Pot on visits to the PRC.

Former leaders under Pol Pot are not restricted to service with the Khmer Rouge rebels. Even the leaders of the current puppet Cambodian government have had ties with the former tyrant. Heng Samrin, president of the Vietnamese puppet government, was a divisional commander under Pol Pot, and Hun Sen, the prime minister, was previously one of Pol Pot's mid-level commanders.

These seldom-reported facts are ironic given that the Phnom Penh government has spent considerable time warning about a return of Pol Pot protégés. But such a threat does exist, and it is a threat to which the United States cannot afford to be blind.

Unfortunately, U.S. influence in the region is limited. But this does not prevent the U.S. from increasing its aid commitments to the KPRLF and ANS resistance movements and working to ensure that the details of any potential Cambodian settlement do not endanger the prospects for a genuine democratic and independent Cambodia.

Specifically, the U.S. should ensure that the KPRLF and ANS are duly represented in any coalition government. And if the U.N. commits peacekeeping troops during this interim period, the U.S. should use its financial

leverage with the U.N. to ensure that the U.N. commits itself to effective verification of the Vietnamese withdrawal and preventing intimidation tactics by the PRK government forces and the Khmer Rouge.

In the meantime, we should make it clear to the Vietnamese that we will not consider any official diplomatic contact, such as interest sections, until Cambodia receives the political self-determination it deserves.

With Angola, Namibia and Nicaragua, Cambodia is a nation whose future is likely to be decided in the coming year. Whether that future will be one of democratic pluralism or continued totalitarianism depends largely on whether the Bush Administration and the U.S. Congress act assertively to ensure the success of democratically-inclined political movements.