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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: 13835
Folder ID Number: 13835-006

Folder Title:
Crime--DeSalle Catholic Church 9/28/92 [OA 7581] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 4 STORIES

The Associated Press

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April 22, 1987, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 584 words

HEADLINE: Former Inmate Arrested One Block From Scene of Fatal Stabbing

DATELINE: DUMAS, Ark.

KEYWORD: Shopkeeper Stabbing

BODY:

An inmate released early because of prison overcrowding was arrested Wednesday, two days after he was freed, in the killing of a shop owner stabbed with a pair of scissors, authorities said.

Larry Dean Robertson, 28, was captured less than a block from the fabric store-bus depot where Laverne Sanderlin, 68, was found stabbed to death Tuesday afternoon, said Sgt. Sam Gordon of the state police. The slaying occurred during an apparent robbery attempt, police said.

Robertson, one of about 100 inmates granted early release Monday, was charged with capital murder in Desha County Circuit Court, said Prosecuting Attorney John Frank Gibson. Robertson had been serving time on a handgun conviction.

A state trooper spotted him Wednesday, standing next to a pickup truck in downtown Dumas and pursued him by car, Gordon said.

"By the time the trooper returned, the subject had disappeared into a thicket full of grown-up vines. We sent the dogs in there and flushed him out," Gordon said.

"He ran two or three blocks. He ran up to the sheriff's car. The sheriff had seen him running down the street and the sheriff pulled across the sidewalk. The subject ran up to the sheriff's car and laid over the trunk. He did not resist arrest," Gordon said.

Robertson was released in the first implementation of the new Emergency Powers Act by the state Correction Board. Gov. Bill Clinton, who signed the law during the recently completed legislative session, said Wednesday that he did not regret taking that action.

Calling the slaying a terrible tragedy and emphasizing that he did not want to politicize it, Clinton nevertheless said it might increase support among lawmakers to provide more money for prisons. Clinton said it would take a "few million" dollars to help the prisons, adding that his staff was still working on specific figures.

The Associated Press, April 22, 1987

The governor said the slaying "raises a red flag to me" that inmates who are considered for early release but who have not met requirements for parole be screened by both the Pardons and Parole Board and the Correction Board.

Asked whether he thought the slaying would prompt legislative action, Correction Board Chairman Woodson Walker of Little Rock said Wednesday, "I hope that there will be some positive benefit to come from this."

Prison officials have said 350 more inmates could be released early during the next three months.

According to David White, a prison spokesman, Robertson normally would have been released June 25. Robertson entered prison Nov. 10, 1986, for a Johnson County conviction of being a felon in possession of a handgun and normally would have undergone pre-release counseling, White said.

Pre-release counseling was waived for many inmates released early, however. The Correction Board discussed the consequences of releasing prisoners without counseling before deciding to invoke the Emergency Powers Act on Friday, White said.

White said that when an inmate was released and no one was at the prison to pick him up, the inmate was taken by prison officials to the nearest public transportation. In Robertson's case, that was the bus station operated by Mrs. Sanderlin, where White said Robertson was to catch a bus for Mississippi, his home state.

Robertson had served time in Mississippi prisons from 1980 to 1983 after being convicted of aggravated assault, White said. Warrants for burglary and grand larceny had been outstanding in Marshall County, Miss., against Robertson, but were dropped Feb. 10, White said.

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 4 STORIES

The Associated Press

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April 22, 1987, Wednesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 364 words

HEADLINE: Shopkeeper Stabbed To Death, Released Inmate Accused

BYLINE: By RICH HARRIS, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: DUMAS, Ark.

KEYWORD: Inmate Sought

BODY:

A convicted felon who had been let out of an overcrowded prison system two months early was arrested today in the fatal stabbing of a fabric store clerk with a pair of scissors.

Larry Dean Robertson, 28, was arrested less than a block from the store, which also serves as a bus depot, after a police officer spotted him and gave chase, said state police Sgt. Sam Gordon.

About 50 officers using bloodhounds had begun searching for him after Laverne Sanderlin, 68, was found dead in the store, where Robertson was dropped off Tuesday.

A witness to the stabbing gave a description matching Robertson's, said Sgt. J.W. Hale of the Arkansas State Police. He said the attack occurred during an apparent robbery attempt.

This morning, as the search continued, Robertson was charged with capital murder in Desha County Circuit Court, said Prosecuting Attorney John Frank Gibson of Monticello.

Robertson was granted an early release from the Varner Unit near Dumas on Monday in the first implementation of a new Emergency Powers Act by the state Correction Board.

Before the arrest, officers searched woods on the southwest side of this town of about 6,500 because of a tip, said Police Chief Richard Bonds. A door-to-door search was conducted during the night.

Prison officials said about 100 inmates were freed Monday and 350 others could be released early during the next three months under the emergency act.

Gov. Bill Clinton, who signed the act, would not comment on the stabbing, a spokesman said.

The Associated Press, April 22, 1987

Under normal circumstances, Robertson, who was in prison for possession of a handgun, would not have been released until the end of June, said prison spokesman David White.

Robertson had served time in Mississippi prisons from 1980 to 1983 after being convicted of aggravated assault, he said.

White said the Correction Board on Friday discussed the ramifications of releasing prisoners without pre-release counseling.

"They decided that our financial situation and the population situation made it necessary to implement the Emergency Powers Act," White said.

Robertson was taken to the bus station when he was released because no one came to pick him up, White said.

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 4 STORIES

The Associated Press

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April 23, 1987, Thursday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 302 words

HEADLINE: Arkansas Governor Says Slaying Shows Need For Special Session

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

KEYWORD: Shopkeeper Stabbing

BODY:

Gov. Bill Clinton says the arrest of an early release inmate on a murder charge shows that a special legislative session is needed to address the problems of prison overcrowding and underfunding.

"It's a terrible tragedy," Clinton said of the slaying of Laverne Sanderlin, 68, who was fatally stabbed Tuesday with scissors in her fabric store, which also operates as a bus depot.

Larry Dean Robertson, 28, was arrested Wednesday less than a block from the store, said state police Sgt. Sam Gordon.

Robertson was released from the new Varner Unit at Dumas on Monday, two months early because of prison overcrowding. He was one of about 100 inmates gaining early release Monday in the state Correction Board's first implementation of the Emergency Powers Act.

Prison spokesman David White said Robertson normally would have been released June 25. He had been in prison since Nov. 10, 1986, after being convicted in Johnson County of being a felon in possession of a handgun.

Clinton, who signed the Emergency Powers Act into law during the recently ended legislative session, said he did not regret taking that action.

Rep. Charlotte Schexnayder, who voted for the emergency act, said Clinton told her he was "seriously considering holding a special session and asking for a halt" to the early release program until better screening procedures could be devised.

Robertson was being held Wednesday in the Dumas City Jail. Prosecuting Attorney John Frank Gibson said the former inmate was charged with capital murder.

Clinton said it would take a few million dollars to help the prisons.

Clinton said use of the Emergency Powers Act "was always intended to be an emergency procedure only. It's not something you'd have to do every month,

The Associated Press, April 23, 1987

month in and month out from now on, to deal with the problem."

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 4 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1987

October 13, 1987, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Arkansas

LENGTH: 268 words

HEADLINE: Robertson convicted; sentence debated

DATELINE: ARKANSAS CITY, Ark.

KEYWORD: Robertson

BODY:

Larry Dean Robertson, 29, of Grenada, Miss., was convicted Tuesday in Desha Circuit Court of capital murder. The jury was deliberating on the sentence in late evening.

Robertson was convicted in Arkansas City, after less than 1 hours of deliberation, for the April 21 death of Laverne 'Bernie' Sanderlin, 68, a Dumas shopkeeper who was stabbed in the eye with a pair of scissors. Under Arkansas law, he could receive a sentence of death by lethal injection, or life in prison without parole.

Robertson's attorneys tried to prove he was mentally incompetent during the trial, but after the defense rested Monday, Robertson insisted on taking the stand. Despite the objections of his attorneys, Circuit Judge Paul Roberts allowed Robertson to testify, saying that denying him a chance to testify could violate Robertson's rights under the Fifth Amendment.

Robertson admitted killing Sanderlin on the day after Robertson was freed from prison on an early release program. He said she was a member of a child pornography ring and had pulled a handgun on him.

During a rambling statement on the witness stand, Robertson said he left Mississippi because a drug dealer threatened his life. He said he had worked with the Mississippi Bureau of Narcotics in arresting people selling drugs to juveniles.

Before Robertson was released from prison, he had been serving an 18-month term from western Arkansas for being a felon in possession of a firearm.

State-appointed psychologist Dr. Douglas Stevens of North Little Rock had said Robertson probably could not have understood the criminality of his act.

The Hotline, May 5, 1992

HILLARY QUILTS BOARDS: Hillary Clinton 5/4 resigned from the boards of Wal-Mart Inc., yogurt franchise TCBY, and cement company Lafarge Corp., in order to devote herself "full-time" to her husband's campaign. ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE's Harter notes an OH-based subsidiary of Lafarge has come under fire from activists for burning hazardous waste. Mrs. Clinton is expected to remain with the Rose Law Firm, which the DEM-GAZETTE estimates has made \$41,450 from government-related litigation since 1989. Twenty other AR law firms did more government business than Rose (5/5). W. POST reports Mrs. Clinton drew \$60,700 from the three boards last year, and \$110K from Rose (5/5).

DEATH PENALTY: N.Y. NEWSDAY's Jordan examines Clinton's record on the death penalty, noting the scheduled execution 5/7 of Steven Douglas Hill, who shot and killed a state trooper in 1984. Clinton allowed the execution of Ricky Ray Rector three months ago; a sidebar story repeats earlier questions as to his mental competence. Rector also killed a police officer. Clinton "zealously defends his record on crime issues," saying Dems "should no longer feel guilty about protecting the innocent." A third story notes research on Clinton's record by conservative activist Floyd Brown and his PAC. Possible subjects for independent expenditure TV spots: escaped furlougher Charles

The Hotline, May 5, 1992

Lloyd Patterson -- still at large -- and Larry Dean Robertson, who was released in '87 to ease jail overcrowding, and murdered a woman the next day. Both men are white (5/4).

AR PROTESTS: About a dozen state employees, some of whom represented state worker unions, "angered by having to take a 20 percent pay cut" to cover the AR deficit picketed outside Little Rock state offices. Many "blamed the state's budget crisis on the absent (Clinton)." But both Clinton and LG Jim Guy Tucker "reviewed and agreed with the cuts." Clinton spokesperson Mike Gauldin said he "would have made the same decision had he been in (AR) every day" (Walker, DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 5/5).

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1992 Newsday, Inc.
Newsday

May 4, 1992, Monday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3
Other Edition: City Pg. 14

LENGTH: 510 words

HEADLINE: Seeking Ammunition

BYLINE: George E. Jordan

KEYWORD: ARKANSAS; CAPITAL PUNISHMENT; EXECUTION; BILL CLINTON; 1992; ELECTION;
CAMPAIGN; CANDIDATE; ISSUE

BODY:

When Arkansas prison inmate Charles Lloyd Patterson hijacked an airplane and fled the state last month, Republicans were gleeful and Gov. Bill Clinton braced for an attack on the crime issue.

Patterson is a candidate to star this summer in an anti-Clinton advertising campaign by the committee that used felon Willie Horton against Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis in 1988.

Patterson escaped while on a five-day furlough from his 40-year sentence for hiring a hit man to murder a lawyer.

"Americans are sick and tired of being victims of crime. They want to be protected from criminals," said Floyd Brown, chairman of the Virginia-based Citizens United, a conservative political action committee with no direct ties to any party. "We can motivate voters on that issue and we use it."

The Presidential Victory Committee, a division of Brown's group, paid for the television ads in 1988 featuring Horton, a black convicted murder who committed rape while on furlough from a Massachusetts prison. The ads severely damaged Dukakis' presidential campaign and brought charges of racism from civil-rights groups.

President George Bush hammered away at Dukakis on the furlough program, and Dukakis' record on crime emerged as a negative campaign issue.

Clinton, who touts himself as a tough-on-crime Democrat, warned Brown late last month to "be careful with this criminal-justice business . . . If I were them, I'd be careful."

Brown said he has "taken my lumps" over Horton and said he would avoid ads featuring anyone black.

Unlike Horton, Patterson is white and is not known to have physically harmed anyone since he fled in a twin-engine plane on April 9, the day he was due back at prison.

Newsday, May 4, 1992

Authorities said he flew himself to central Arkansas, where he went to the home of the key witness who put him in jail, taunting him for several hours at gunpoint. Patterson, who has not been seen since, hijacked another plane that was recovered in Texas.

Brown said two researchers spent several months in Arkansas and are still searching old newspapers for ammunition against Clinton, such as the 1987 release of Larry Dean Robertson by the Arkansas Correction Board to ease jail overcrowding. The next day, Robertson murdered a woman.

"We feel if we use the ammunition we've been collecting, Gov. Clinton might be denied the nomination. We're going to wait until he's nominated," said Brown.

If the Victory Committee launches a campaign, it would not be the first time Clinton has been attacked for his record on crime.

In 1980, Clinton commuted the life sentence of 74-year-old murderer James L. Surridge, who then went on a crime rampage that included murder and bank robbery. Mike Gauldin, Clinton's spokesman, said Surridge singlehandedly prompted Clinton to severely limit executive clemency.

Surridge, one of 44 murderers whose life sentences were commuted by Clinton in his first two-year term, figured in Clinton's 1981 loss to Republican Frank White. Clinton returned as governor in 1983 and has been re-elected three more times.

GRAPHIC: Photos- 1) Charles Patterson. 2) James Surridge

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1992 Gannett Company, Inc.
USA TODAY

April 17, 1992, Friday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6A

LENGTH: 592 words

HEADLINE: His record on crime scrutinized

BYLINE: Bill Nichols

KEYWORD: PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:BILL CLINTON:ELECTION ISSUE

BODY:

Republicans searching for vulnerabilities in Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's record have a new name to ponder: Charles Lloyd Patterson.

Last week, Patterson, an Arkansas inmate serving a 40-year sentence - on charges that include solicitation to commit murder - escaped during a furlough, hijacked a charter flight and disappeared.

In 1987, another Arkansas inmate, released early to help ease crowding in state prisons, stabbed a store clerk to death the day of his release.

Willie Horton revisited, say Republicans, who for decades have painted Democrats as 'soft' on crime.

Horton is the Massachusetts inmate who raped a woman after failing to return from a weekend furlough and was the chief symbol of an ad campaign against Michael Dukakis.

But Clinton, with a fairly conservative record on crime issues, seems eager to fight any such attack.

Clinton 'strictly reflects the public stance that it's necessary to be tough on crime,' says state Rep. Charlotte Schexnayder, a Democrat.

Schexnayder also edits the Dumas Clarion, the weekly newspaper in the town where Larry Dean Robertson killed Laverne Sanderlin in 1987 after his early release.

She says few in Dumas blame Clinton mostly because the early release program was passed by the Legislature and accepted by the public as a way to curb crowded jails.

'I don't see how people can blame the governor,' she says.

Arkansas Republicans disagree and tried to tar Clinton with the Robertson case during his 1990 re-election campaign.

The issue got little media attention, says state GOP consultant Jerry Russell, who complains that Clinton, 'hasn't had anybody take the tough issues and use them against him.'

USA TODAY, April 17, 1992

But Arkansas liberals criticize Clinton for favoring longer sentences and more jails cells over social policies aimed at the root causes of crime.

That makes for a prospective nominee who, on law and order issues, could cause Republicans problems:

- Clinton supports the use of the death penalty and has presided over three executions.

Democrats, he likes to say, "should no longer feel guilty about protecting the innocent."

Clinton was criticized in Arkansas and by Democratic rivals for allowing the execution in January of Rickey Ray Rector, a convicted murderer who was severely brain damaged.

Another execution is set for May 7. And another death-row inmate, Barry Lee Fairchild, is mildly retarded.

- Clinton commuted 70 sentences in his first term, including the death sentence of James Surridge, a 73-year-old convicted murderer who later killed a man during a robbery.

But after that issue contributed to his 1980 defeat, Clinton apologized. Since 1981, he's commuted seven sentences.

- On furloughs, Clinton already asked for a review of the program, used for decades. And, unlike Dukakis, he quickly reacted to last week's incident, suspending the program.

Arkansas averages 250 furloughs a year, said David White, of the state corrections department, and had only two escapes or crimes committed last year and none in 1990.

White also notes that furloughs are widely used. Of 85,000 furloughs nationwide in 1990, including 5,000 from federal prisons, only 800 prisoners escaped or committed crimes.

Clinton, more so than Dukakis, will fight back on crime.

"Before 1980, he was kind of like Dukakis," says Ernie Dumas, former columnist at the defunct Arkansas Gazette.

"But since then, he gives it better than he takes it. He'll come back with the meanest, toughest ads you ever saw. Like George Bush, he'll do anything to win."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; b/w, AP (1988 photo)

CUTLINE: PATTERSON: Inmate will be profiled tonight on Fox TV's 'America's Most Wanted.'

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION; CANDIDATE; CRIME; ARKANSAS; GOVERNOR

USA TODAY, April 17, 1992

NOTES: WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD; See main story; Clinton pushes economic plan //
Calls for emphasis on future

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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January 24, 1992, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: Political News

LENGTH: 608 words

HEADLINE: Clinton's Prison Release Record Long, Possibly Troublesome

BYLINE: By RON FOURNIER, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK

KEYWORD: Clinton-Death Row

BODY:

Voters looking for a tough-on-crime Democrat may favor Bill Clinton, a Southern governor who has set 68 execution dates, seen two carried out and is scheduled to allow a third murderer to be put to death tonight.

But Clinton, a Democratic presidential candidate, may be open to the same charges of leniency that weighed down former Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis's run for the White House.

In 1979, Clinton, then in the first year of his first term as governor, commuted the death sentence of James L. Surrridge, a 73-year-old convicted murderer who doctors said was ill and near death.

Surrridge, who had been in prison since 1964, was released on Feb. 13, 1980. By the end of that year, Surrridge had shot and killed 61-year-old Russell Ratliff during a robbery.

"Clinton could have his own Willie Horton there," said Claibourne Darden, an Atlanta-based Democratic pollster.

In 1988, an independent campaign ad assailed the weekend furlough of Horton, done while Dukakis was governor. Horton, a convicted murderer serving in Massachusetts, raped a Maryland woman and terrorized her husband while he was on the furlough.

From 1979 to January 1981, Clinton commuted 70 sentences, 40 of which were life sentences.

After losing a re-election drive in 1980, Clinton in the 1982 gubernatorial race apologized for the mistakes of his first term and promised not to commute any more first-degree murder sentences.

Since then, Clinton has commuted just seven sentences.

The Associated Press, January 24, 1992

Clinton has a total of 68 execution dates and presided over his first two executions, both in 1990. Convicted cop killer Rickey Ray Rector is scheduled to be killed by lethal injection tonight.

Clinton said he reluctantly commuted one first-degree murder sentence since 1983, under pressure from the Department of Correction.

"You always think about something like that," Clinton said in a 1989 interview of the Surridge incident. "That old man was not as sick as people thought he was."

In that interview, Clinton criticized Dukakis's handling of the damaging Willie Horton ad.

"It was a terrible mistake not to answer the Willie Horton thing," Clinton said. "If the issue were raised I would explain my position. I've tightened up the procedure. I also drafted a bill that set longer sentences, and I've set 54 execution dates, so I think I've got a more conservative record on the issue than Governor Dukakis has."

In a debate among the five major Democratic presidential candidates last Sunday, Clinton, speaking of his support for the death penalty, said Democrats "should no longer feel guilty about protecting the innocent."

Despite the change, Surridge, now back in prison, could still haunt Clinton, Darden says.

"This kind of issue is a standing liability for any politician in that position," Darden said. "When you want to run for president, that liability becomes inflamed."

"It will remind everyone of that fine governor of Massachusetts," he said. "That's what the Republicans would like to do."

Of Surridge, Clinton said, "It was a judgment call and all judgment calls are subject to misjudgment. It was a terrible thing, something I have to live with."

Dukakis did not take an active role in the release of Willie Horton, like Clinton did in commuting Surridge's sentence. More like the Horton incident was the April 1987 case of Larry Dean Robertson.

The Arkansas Correction Board released Robertson as part of an effort to relieve prison overcrowding. The next day, he stabbed and killed Laverne "Bernie" Sanderlin.

After the Sandlerlin murder, Clinton ordered the board not to release inmates unless they were reviewed by the board first.

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1992 Levitt Communications, Inc.
Roll Call

January 13, 1992

SECTION: Pennsylvania Avenue

LENGTH: 1251 words

HEADLINE: Sex Questions On Clinton? Let's Settle Them Now

BYLINE: By Morton M. Kondracke

BODY:

The first votes of the Democratic primary season won't be cast for four weeks yet, but already Bill Clinton is being touted as the all-but-sure Democratic nominee.

"There is a certain giddiness around here," said one Clinton strategist after Doug Wilder's withdrawal and Clinton's endorsement by AFSCME and the teachers' unions. But there is also a certain terror rife among Clinton supporters and other Democrats - that just about the time the candidate actually seals the nomination, the so-called "personal issue" will explode and destroy the party's best chance in years of winning the White House.

So, now is the time for the press's scrutiny machine to be turned on full throttle, and for some discussion to take place of what kind of sexual conduct should disqualify a candidate from being president. For that matter, any other flaws in Clinton's record ought to be exposed as soon as possible, before more rivals drop out, and it's too late for any new candidates to get into the race.

Let's be clear: A lot of mud already has been thrown at Clinton and none of it has stuck. The candidate's hometown of Little Rock is hip-deep in dirt spread by three unsavory local characters - a right-wing kook who has filed suits naming at least ten women as Clinton paramours, a bankrupt restaurateur who used the back of his barbecue menu to accuse Clinton of fathering an illegitimate baby, and Clinton's 1990 Republican opponent, who routinely briefs out-of-town reporters on charges by the other two.

Local journalists have tracked down a number of the women named in the suits, have interviewed Clinton's state patrol guards and household employees - and have come up with nothing. Reportedly, two major national news organizations have pursued the trail, too, with the same results. If that's true, the organizations ought to say what they know, or don't know.

Then, there is another story making the rounds in Washington that I've checked out and determined is false, too. Allegedly, after one of his policy speeches at Georgetown University, Clinton put the make on an attractive black woman who turned out to be the daughter of Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown.

Brown says that his daughter, a law student in New York, didn't attend the Georgetown speeches. He says that his daughter has met Clinton precisely once, in 1989, at a luncheon in Aspen, Colo., at which Brown and his wife were also present. "The whole thing is absurd," says Brown.

Roll Call, January 13, 1992

In spite of a total lack of any substantiation of any Clinton rumors, however, his supporters are terrified that something will surface. At parties, they huddle together and fret. The fears are based partly on the rumors, partly on the Gary Hart disaster in 1988, and partly on Clinton's own admissions: that his marriage has "had difficulties" but is solid now and that "if the standard is perfection, I can't pass."

In October, Donald Baer of U.S. News and World Report reported Clinton as saying that his parents' divorce caused him to act "40 at the age of 16," and the discovery of his brother's drug addiction caused him to act like a 16-year-old at the age of 40.

So, what's there? It is not up to Clinton to say any more. He's perfectly right to stick to governance issues and let others try and find out what they can. But, should the press print whatever it finds about a presidential candidate's sex life? If not, what is appropriate for the public to know? And, for the public, what kind of conduct is disqualifying?

Libertarians and liberals may say that somebody's sex life is none of the public's damn business, but Gary Hart's was - because it suggested compulsive and reckless behavior. John F. Kennedy's certainly would have been, had anyone known about it, because it was compulsive, reckless and - involving a Mafia moll - might have opened the President up to blackmail.

Aides who say they have discussed the subject with Clinton have the impression that whatever infidelity he engaged in dates to the period just after his 1980 defeat for re-election as governor. They say they do not know when it stopped but have the impression it was years ago, rather than months, and they say Clinton has assured them that there will be "no Gary Hart" embarrassments during the campaign.

Media specialist Frank Green says that Clinton "is a warm guy. He flirts - harmlessly, I mean."

My guess is that in the 1990s, when half of all marriages end in divorce, voters are not going to disqualify a presidential candidate if his indiscretions were reasonably few in number, occurred some time ago, and have stopped - and if they were not attended by any illegal or otherwise outrageous activity.

If a newspaper finds out that Clinton's indiscretions were of this mild variety, should it print the facts with names, dates, and places? I think so; the public is grown up enough to accept it. If it finds out that Clinton was a wastrel, should it print that? Absolutely.

And, the sooner, the better. Bill Clinton is the Democratic front-runner, without question. And he deserves to be, even if no votes have been cast yet. Of all the Democratic candidates now in the field, he stands the best chance of beating George Bush. As Democratic activist Mark Siegel points out in his latest newsletter, a non-liberal like Clinton has the potential of winning 20 states in the East, North, and Far West, for a total of 202 electoral votes, against a Bush base of 25 states and 214 electoral votes in the South, Midwest, and Mountain West.

Siegel figures that six states with 119 votes, including California, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Delaware, and Maine, would be the battleground and

Roll Call, January 13, 1992

that Clinton would be in good shape to contest them. If David Duke runs as a third-party candidate and takes white votes away from Bush in the South, Clinton could carry six Southern states, including Texas, with a total of 84 electoral votes.

Clinton's electability accounts for the fact that usually-liberal unions like AFSCME are supporting the former head of the Democratic Leadership Council. And Clinton's DLCism - his new-ideas stances on welfare, education and the economy - is what makes him electable.

But before the Democratic party talks itself into an early marriage to Clinton, the press and Clinton's opponents need to look at him -hard - to make sure that whatever flaws the Republicans are likely to uncover later are exposed.

For instance, Republicans likely will say that Clinton is soft on crime because he has commuted the life sentences of 42 murderers. It turns out that 38 of these were in his first term. The putative Willie Horton of Arkansas, one Larry Dean Robertson, committed a murder after early release from prison - but it turns out he would have been released later anyway.

Republicans also will say that Clinton is a big taxer, but, per capita, Arkansas still has the second-lowest state and local taxes in the country. A fairer rap is that he has given too-large tax breaks to business (\$400 million worth) and has been soft on the natural gas, lumber, and poultry industries.

In 1988, with a large number of able candidates to choose from, the Democratic party nominated Michael Dukakis and only later found out that his Massachusetts Miracle wasn't so miraculous. This year, the field is a lot thinner. So if Clinton has clay feet, or hyperactive glands, Democrats ought to find it out soon, while there's still time to saddle up another horse.

September 18, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: NEW STUMP SPEECH

MESSAGE

When Joe S. Pack leaves the rally, here are the items he should have in his goody bag:

- 1) a general good feeling about himself and his country.
- 2) a context that names the chaos of change at home and abroad, that diagnoses this discomfort as growing pains -- not mortal symptoms.
- 3) a sense that the two candidates are fundamentally different: they may argue towards the same ends, but start with two radically different premises, each dictating a different approach on any given issue.
- 4) a grounding in the values we all share, a feeling that all is within our reach....if we only reach within ourselves.

TONE

- o We must be an optimism superpower: naming uncomfortable things, but saying they will get better; naming differences, but saying how ours isn't just smarter or cheaper, but is more optimistic, more filled with faith in the American people.
- o Humor must be his own: gentle, grandfatherly, self-deprecating.
- o No angry man. Honest, simple, Texan.

OUTLINE

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Clinton calls for change, but change is here, it is all around us.

- A. As we attend to the moment we must not forget the hour.
 1. At long last the world is moving ahead in our direction....why would we go back in theirs. The world is turning toward democracy, turning toward free markets, turning toward free trade. Should we now turn to world and say: Just kidding?
 - 2) We are witnessing one of the greatest economic

- transformations in our history. No nation is an island. We must be an economic and export superpower.
- B. You don't diagnose the growing pains and advise the patient to stop growing: IT'S GOING TO GET BETTER
- 1) He's a pessimist, I'm an optimist. He looks backward, I look forward.

II. TWO VISIONS

Intellectual context: throughout history there have been two ways of looking at the world: one says that government will do great things, if only it is given enough power and money. The other says that people can do great things, if only they are set free.

Emotional context: It all started out real innocent, government wanted to hold your hand while you were crossing the street -- now they won't let go. They look down on you. They think they're better than you.

III. THE THINGS THAT MUST GUIDE CHANGE ARE THE THINGS THAT MUST NEVER CHANGE

--Change: the sea surges and the wind blows....you've got to give them something to hold on to. The answers are not so much behind us nor ahead of us...they're within us.



Department of Justice

REMARKS MADE BY

WILLIAM P. BARR

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

AT THE OGDETF CONFERENCE

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

SEPTEMBER 2, 1992

GOOD MORNING. IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE THIS MORNING. AND FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO PLAY A PART IN THE ORGANIZED CRIME DRUG ENFORCEMENT TASK FORCE (OCDETF) PROGRAM, YOU ARE THE LEADERS AND THE WARRIORS IN OUR NATION'S GREATEST STRUGGLE -- THE WAR ON DRUGS. THIS YEAR IS OCDETF'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY. AND THIS WEEK IN SAN ANTONIO WE ARE TRULY MARKING A DECADE OF EXCELLENCE, AND A DECADE OF ACHIEVEMENT. AND SO I'D LIKE TO BEGIN BY THANKING EVERYONE HERE FOR THE OUTSTANDING WORK THAT YOU HAVE DONE OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS.

ALTHOUGH WE STILL HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO IN THE WAR ON DRUGS, A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND MUCH OF THE CREDIT MUST GO TO THE MEN AND WOMEN IN THIS ROOM, AND I THANK YOU.

AS ATTORNEY GENERAL I'VE TRIED TO SET FORTH A CLEAR SET OF PRIORITIES. STARTING WITH MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS AND REPEATEDLY SINCE THAT TIME I'VE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST AND HIGHEST LAW ENFORCEMENT PRIORITY IS THE ALL-OUT PROSECUTION OF THE WAR ON DRUGS. AND THIS REFLECTS OUR PRESIDENT'S UNWAVERING COMMITMENT TO RIDDING OUR COUNTRY OF THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS. ILLEGAL DRUG TRAFFICKING AND THE ADDICTION AND VIOLENCE IT SPAWNS ARE THE MOST INSIDIOUS THREATS THAT OUR NATION HAS FACED. I DON'T THINK WE CONFRONTED A GREATER CHALLENGE AS A PEOPLE IN OUR HISTORY. AND WE TRULY ARE ENGAGED IN A WAR. THE COSTS OF THIS WAR IN BLOOD, TREASURE AND SPIRIT,

RIVAL THE COST OF ANY OTHER CONFLICT WE HAVE WAGED. IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, ALL AMERICANS ARE VICTIMS OF ILLEGAL DRUGS. DRUGS AFFECT EVERY CITIZEN OF OUR COUNTRY, FROM CRACK ADDICTED BABIES TO SENIOR CITIZENS BEATEN AND ROBBED BY DRUG USERS TO LOVED ONES WHOSE LIVES HAVE BEEN POISONED BY DRUGS. NO PART OF SOCIETY IS UNTOUCHED BY THE MISERY AND SUFFERING CAUSED BY DRUGS AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS. THEY WREAK HAVOC ON OUR NEIGHBORHOOD STREETS, IN OUR SCHOOLS, IN OUR WORKPLACES. DRUG ADDICTION TAKES AN ENORMOUS TOLL ON OUR SOCIETY:

THE COST OF JUST ONE ASPECT OF ADDICTION IS STAGGERING. EVERY YEAR MORE THAN 375,000 INFANTS ARE BORN WITH SOME TYPE OF DRUG RELATED PROBLEM. AND THESE KIDS FACE A LIFETIME OF SERIOUS HEALTH AND LEARNING DISABILITIES. OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS WE WILL SPEND \$100 BILLION ON MEDICAL CARE AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TO TREAT THOSE INFANTS EXPOSED TO COCAINE. AND THAT IS JUST ONE ASPECT OF THE ADDICTION PROBLEM.

ILLEGAL DRUG USE ALSO PLACES HUGE BURDENS ON THE AMERICAN ECONOMY AND OUR BUSINESSES IN THE FORM OF ABSENTEEISM, INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS, HIGHER INSURANCE PREMIUMS AND LOSS OF PRODUCTIVITY AND COMPETITIVENESS IN THE WORLD. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT DRUG ABUSE COSTS THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY BETWEEN \$60 AND \$100 BILLION A YEAR.

OF COURSE THE CRIPPLING FINANCIAL STRAIN CAUSED BY DRUGS IS

ONLY PART OF THE STORY. ANOTHER MORE TRAGIC ASPECT, AS WE ALL KNOW, IS THE VIOLENT TRAUMA THAT GOES HAND IN HAND WITH DRUG TRADING. WE KNOW THAT VIOLENT CRIME IS AT INTOLERABLY HIGH LEVELS IN OUR SOCIETY TODAY AND WE KNOW THAT DRUG TRAFFICKING AND DRUG ABUSE IS THE SINGLE GREATEST CAUSE OF THIS EPIDEMIC OF VIOLENCE. WE KNOW THAT PEOPLE WHO USE DRUGS COMMIT A DISPROPORTIONATELY HIGH PERCENTAGE OF VIOLENT CRIMES WE SEE ABOUT US. NOW IT'S HARD TO PUT A PRECISE PRICE TAG ON THE DAMAGE DONE BY THIS DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE THAT PLAGUES OUR CITIES, SUBURBS, AND NOW OUR RURAL AREAS. THE DIRECT ECONOMIC LOSS MIGHT EXCEED \$100 BILLION A YEAR. AND THEN THERE ARE MORE INTANGIBLE -- BUT NO LESS PALPABLE -- COSTS OF VIOLENT CRIME:

-- THE PERVASIVE ANXIETY AND FEAR THAT COSTS THE LIVES OF OUR CITIZENS.

-- THE FEAR THAT FORCES MANY IN OUR INNER CITIES TO LIVE BEHIND BARS AS PRISONERS IN THEIR OWN HOMES.

-- THE FEAR THAT DESTROYS COMMUNITIES AND THE FEAR THAT DRIVES HOPE AND OPPORTUNITY AWAY.

NOW WE DIDN'T GET TO THIS SAD STATE OF AFFAIRS OVERNIGHT. IT TOOK US AT LEAST 25 YEARS -- SINCE THE MID-1960'S -- TO DIG OURSELVES INTO THIS HOLE. AND DURING MUCH OF THIS TIME, MANY INFLUENTIAL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY TOOK AN EXTREMELY PERMISSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD DRUG USE. FOR TOO LONG, OUR YOUNG PEOPLE WERE SENT EXACTLY THE WRONG MESSAGES: THAT MARIJUANA WAS NOT HARMFUL; THAT COCAINE WAS NOT ADDICTIVE; THAT THERE WAS SUCH A THING AS A

RECREATIONAL USE OF DRUGS. AND WELL INTO THE 1980'S, THE MOVIE INDUSTRY AND THE POPULAR CULTURE GLAMORIZED DRUG USE. THIS PERMISSIVENESS HAD A DEVASTATING IMPACT. AND BY THE EARLY 1980'S THERE WERE OVER 25 MILLION USERS OF ILLEGAL DRUGS IN THIS COUNTRY.

FINALLY IN THE 1980'S WE WOKE UP. WE DECLARED OUR WAR ON DRUGS.

BUT NOW TODAY, THERE ARE SOME CRITICS WHO STAND ON THE SIDELINES HOLDING A STOPWATCH ASKING WHY THE WAR ON DRUGS ISN'T OVER YET -- AS IF 25 YEARS OF ADDICTION IS SUPPOSED TO DISAPPEAR OVERNIGHT; AS IF, AFTER DECLARING THE WAR ON DRUGS, WE WERE SUPPOSED TO WAKE UP THE NEXT MORNING AND FIND THAT OUR DRUG PROBLEM HAD VANISHED. FRANKLY, MANY OF THESE CRITICS WERE HOLDING A STOPWATCH ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO, BY ADVOCATING THE PERMISSIVENESS DURING THE 60'S AND 70'S, DID ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF THE DRUG CULTURE WE NOW FIND SO DIFFICULT TO ERADICATE. CRITICS OF THE DRUG WAR WANT INSTANT GRATIFICATION, NOW, JUST LIKE THEY WANTED INSTANT GRATIFICATION IN THE 60'S AND 70'S .

AT THE FIRST SIGN OF ADVERSITY -- AT THE FIRST SIGN THAT THIS IS GOING TO BE A HARD, AND LONG FIGHT -- THEY ARE READY TO DECLARE DEFEAT AND THROW IN THE TOWEL.

WELL, I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL IGNORE THESE DEFEATISTS AND WILL SHOW -- IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS -- THE SAME STAMINA, MATURITY, AND STEADY DETERMINATION THAT THEY DID IN WAGING AND WINNING THE LONG COLD WAR.

AND I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT A PROBLEM AS DEEP AS THE DRUG PROBLEM CANNOT BE SOLVED QUICKLY OR EASILY. IT WILL TAKE NATIONAL POLITICAL WILL AND COMMITMENT, AS WELL AS THE LONG-TERM SUSTAINED EFFORT BY LAW ENFORCEMENT AND BY EVERY SEGMENT OF SOCIETY, TO RESCUE OUR NATION FROM THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS.

ALMOST THREE YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT BUSH SET FORTH THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY FOR FIGHTING THE WAR ON DRUGS. AND THE PRESIDENT HAS BACKED UP HIS PLAN WITH UNPRECEDENTED RESOURCES TO CARRY IT OUT. WITH THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET REQUEST THIS YEAR, FUNDING FOR ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS WILL HAVE DOUBLED SINCE 1989.

I BELIEVE OUR EXPERIENCE OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS HAS SHOWN THAT THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGY IS A SOUND ONE -- AND THAT, IF WE PURSUE IT WITH UNRELENTING TENACITY, IT WILL ULTIMATELY LEAD TO VICTORY. THIS STRATEGY RECOGNIZES THAT WE MUST FIGHT THE DRUG WAR ON TWO FRONTS -- BOTH THE SUPPLY SIDE AND THE DEMAND SIDE. THIS STRATEGY RECOGNIZES THAT THE WAR CANNOT BE WON WITHOUT VICTORY ON THE DEMAND SIDE. AT BOTTOM, THIS IS A STRUGGLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE.

AND SO THE STRATEGY CALLS FOR A REDUCTION IN THE DEMAND FOR -- AND THE USE OF -- ILLEGAL DRUGS BY EDUCATING OUR CHILDREN ABOUT DRUGS, BY DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR ADDICTS, AND BY HOLDING DRUG USERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS.

NOW AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGY CALLS FOR VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE SUPPLY OF DRUGS. IT CONTEMPLATES A CONTINUOUS AND UNRELENTING FIGHT ACROSS A BROAD FRONT -- PUTTING AS MUCH PRESSURE AS POSSIBLE ON ALL LEVELS OF DRUG PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION -- EXPLOITING EVERY POTENTIAL VULNERABILITY OF OUR ADVERSARY.

AND SO WE ARE ATTACKING THE DRUG PROBLEM IN THREE THEATERS OF OPERATION:

-- THROUGH AGGRESSIVE DOMESTIC ENFORCEMENT WE ARE ATTACKING WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRAFFICKERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

-- THROUGH VIGOROUS INTERDICTION EFFORTS WE ARE ATTACKING THE FLOW OF DRUGS INTO THE UNITED STATES AT OUR BORDERS, IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND AIRSPACE, AND IN TRANSIT COUNTRIES.

-- AND THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OVERSEAS WE ARE SEEKING TO ATTACK THE DRUG SUPPLY AT ITS SOURCE AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS IN THEIR LAIRS.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO DISPARAGE THE NEED FOR VIGOROUS LAW ENFORCEMENT IN FIGHTING DRUGS. BUT I THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT'S

STRATEGY IS EXTREMELY WISE IN CALLING FOR STRONG ACTION TO REDUCE SUPPLY.

IN MY VIEW, STRONG SUPPLY-SIDE ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS ARE INDISPENSABLE TO REDUCING DEMAND. NO COUNTRY HAS BEEN ABLE TO REDUCE DEMAND WITHOUT AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST SUPPLY. LAW ENFORCEMENT DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTES TO DEMAND REDUCTION.

STRONG ENFORCEMENT DEMONSTRATES SOCIETY'S CONDEMNATION OF DRUGS AND THUS SENDS YOUNG PEOPLE THE RIGHT MORAL MESSAGE ABOUT DRUG USE. IT DETERS MANY FROM TRYING DRUGS. IT CAN DIRECTLY REDUCE CONSUMPTION BY MAKING DRUGS MORE EXPENSIVE AND HARDER TO GET. AND IT DIRECTLY REDUCES DEMAND BY DIVERTING ADDICTS INTO DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAMS.

AND SO WE HAVE A SOUND AND BALANCED STRATEGY. AND THE FACT IS THAT, IN PURSUING THIS STRATEGY OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS, AND FOR OCDETF OVER THE PAST DECADE, WE HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL AND IMPRESSIVE PROGRESS IN THE WAR ON DRUGS.

OUR GAINS ON THE DEMAND SIDE ARE INDEED HEARTENING. YOU KNOW THAT:

- OVERALL DRUG USE IS DOWN 50% SINCE 1985.
- IT IS DOWN 15% SINCE 1988.
- AND MOST PROMISING OF ALL, THERE HAS BEEN A SHARP DECLINE OF DRUG USE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE.

-- ADOLESCENT DRUG USE IS DOWN 26%.

-- ADOLESCENT COCAINE USE IS DOWN 63%.

THIS BODES WELL FOR THE FUTURE. PROGRESS ON THE DEMAND REDUCTION FRONT HAS BEEN GREATER AND FASTER THAN MANY SKEPTICS THOUGHT POSSIBLE.

AS IN ANY LONG AND COMPLEX WAR, WE WILL HAVE OCCASIONAL SETBACKS AND PERIODS OF FRUSTRATION. PROGRESS ON THE DEMAND SIDE WILL BECOME SLOWER AS WE ENCOUNTER THE HARD-CORE ADDICT POPULATION. BUT WE CANNOT LET THE NEWS OF THE DAY OBSCURE THE BIG PICTURE -- AND HERE THE BIG PICTURE IS BROAD AND UNMISTAKABLE PROGRESS.

AND LIKEWISE THERE HAS BEEN IMPRESSIVE GAINS ON THE SUPPLY SIDE. IT IS HARDER TO MEASURE PROGRESS ON THE SUPPLY SIDE. AND, IN THE FOG OF WAR, IT IS SOMETIMES HARD TO DISCERN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DEVELOPMENTS. BUT, AGAIN, I THINK THE BIG PICTURE IS ONE OF CLEAR FORWARD MOVEMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT.

I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU HOW MUCH WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT. OCDETF IS OUR FLAGSHIP PROGRAM.

PERHAPS OUR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT HAS BEEN THE HONING OF OCDETF INTO THE EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE WEAPON IT HAS BECOME IN ATTACKING MAJOR DRUG TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS. OCDETF WEAVES TOGETHER THE SPECIAL SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE OF 9 FEDERAL AGENCIES

AS WELL AS THE STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT, AND FOCUSES THEM ON A SINGLE PROBLEM -- DISMANTLING LARGE-SCALE DRUG ENTERPRISES.

THE HALLMARK OF THIS EFFORT HAS BEEN COOPERATION BETWEEN FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT. AND THANKS TO THOSE OF YOU IN THIS ROOM WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE AN UNPRECEDENTED COOPERATION.

OCDETF'S PRIMARY STRENGTH IS THE DIVERSITY OF ITS PARTICIPANTS AND ITS FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. ON ANY GIVEN CASE WE CAN BRING TO BEAR AN IMPRESSIVE ARRAY OF SPECIAL SKILLS AND RESOURCES:

- THE STREET SMARTS AND DRUG SPECIFIC EXPERTISE OF DEA
- THE METHODOICAL RACKETEERING -- ENTERPRISE TYPE OF INVESTIGATION PERFECTED BY THE FBI
- THE SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE OF ALIEN AND ETHNIC GROUPS POSSESSED BY INS AND THE BORDER PATROL
- THE DECADES OF EXPERIENCE DEALING WITH TRACKING SMUGGLERS AND INTERDICTION METHODS OF CUSTOMS
- THE SPECIAL MARITIME AND SHIPPING EXPERTISE OF THE COAST GUARD
- THE UNIQUE BATF KNOWLEDGE OF THE WEAPONS TRADE AND VIOLENT GANG ACTIVITY
- THE VITAL LOCAL INTELLIGENCE AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE LOCAL CRIMINAL COMMUNITY POSSESSED BY OUR STATE AND LOCAL COLLEAGUES
- THE ASSET SEIZURE AND MANAGEMENT EXPERTISE AND THE MYRIAD

OF OTHER SERVICES BY THE MARSHALS SERVICE

- LAST, BUT FAR FROM LEAST, THE INSTITUTIONAL EXPERTISE IN FINANCIAL INVESTIGATIONS BY IRS.

THE RECORD ACHIEVED BY OCDETF HAS TRULY BEEN IMPRESSIVE.

THERE HAVE BEEN:

- OVER 23,000 CONVICTIONS
- ABOUT 20,000 PRISON SENTENCES
- A LIFE SENTENCE METED OUT EVERY 10 DAYS
- OVER \$2 BILLION IN PROPERTY TAKEN AWAY FROM DRUG TRAFFICKERS.

IT IS CLEAR THAT, AT AN ACCELERATING PACE, OCDETF IS CUTTING DEEP INTO THE DRUG TRAFFICKING NETWORK WITHIN THE UNITED STATES. OCDETF'S WORK IS PIVOTAL TO OUR OVERALL SUPPLY REDUCTION EFFORT, AND I CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE GREAT PROGRESS YOU HAVE MADE AND KNOW YOU WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE IN THE FUTURE.

OUR INTERDICTION EFFORTS HAVE ALSO BEEN MOVING FORWARD. THESE INTERDICTION EFFORTS LIKEWISE REQUIRE A HIGH DEGREE OF COOPERATION: THE MILITARY, THE COAST GUARD, CUSTOMS, DEA, AND INS, MUST WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER.

WE MUST ALSO WORK WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO TRANSLATE DETECTION AND MONITORING INFORMATION INTO DRUG SEIZURES, FOLLOW-UP INVESTIGATIONS OF TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS, ASSET SEIZURES,

ARRESTS AND PROSECUTIONS.

THESE EFFORTS ARE PAYING BIG DIVIDENDS.

LAST YEAR, COCAINE SEIZURES IN THE SOURCE AND TRANSIT NATIONS BROKE ALL RECORDS, EXCEEDING 200 METRIC TONS. ANOTHER 100 METRIC TONS WERE SEIZED THROUGH OUR DOMESTIC EFFORTS. THAT IS OVER 300 METRIC TONS THAT DIDN'T REACH OUR CITIES AND TOWNS.

NOW, INTERDICTION, IS A HIGHLY DYNAMIC EFFORT. AND LIKE ALL SUCH EFFORTS THERE IS GOING TO BE TRIAL AND ERROR, LEARNING WHAT WORKS AND WHAT DOESN'T WORK, IMPROVING OUR INTELLIGENCE AND OUR TECHNIQUES.

WHILE THERE WILL BE FRUSTRATIONS AND SETBACKS, ONCE AGAIN THE BIG PICTURE IS THAT WE ARE MOVING FORWARD AND BECOMING INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE.

THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECT OF THE DRUG WAR IS, IN A SENSE, ITS INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION. AND IN MANY WAYS, THE MOST FRUSTRATING.

IF DRUGS WERE PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED WHOLLY WITHIN THE U.S. AND BY DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS, THE DRUG WAR WOULD BE MUCH EASIER. WHERE THE UNITED STATES HAS DIRECT CONTROL OVER THE AREAS WHERE DRUGS ARE PRODUCED AND FROM WHICH THEY ARE

DISTRIBUTED, OUR ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS CAN BE DEVASTATINGLY EFFECTIVE.

AND WE HAVE SEEN THIS IN THE GREAT PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN DEALING WITH MARIJUANA AND METHAMPHETAMINES. BUT THE TWO GREATEST DRUG THREATS TODAY -- COCAINE AND HEROINE -- ARE PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED OVERSEAS. AND THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION ARE BASED OVERSEAS.

WE RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHER NATIONS, AND THUS THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO ATTACK SUPPLY ULTIMATELY DEPENDS ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. AND SO, MUCH OF OUR EFFORTS IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN PUTTING INTO PLACE THE BUILDING BLOCKS NECESSARY FOR SUCCESSFUL, COORDINATED INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKERS. THIS HAS MEANT PUTTING INTO PLACE MULTI-LATERAL AND BI-LATERAL ENFORCEMENT STRUCTURES AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS. IT HAS MEANT PUTTING IN PLACE INTELLIGENCE AND INTELLIGENCE-SHARING MECHANISMS. IT HAS MEANT ENCOURAGING OTHER COUNTRIES TO REFORM THEIR OWN DOMESTIC LAW TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING.

ONCE AGAIN, THE PRESIDENT HAS DONE AN EXCEPTIONAL JOB IN MOBILIZING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS IS NO EASY TASK. IT CAN'T BE DONE OVERNIGHT. BUT, SURELY AND STEADILY, THE BUILDING BLOCKS NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION HAVE

BEEN PUT INTO PLACE.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THOSE BUILDING BLOCKS IS THE U.N. VIENNA CONVENTION WHICH BECAME EFFECTIVE IN NOVEMBER OF 1990. THIS TREATY IS A MILESTONE IN THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO FIGHT DRUG TRAFFICKERS. IT PROVIDES THE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING BY REQUIRING SIGNATORIES TO PASS DOMESTIC LAWS PROVIDING FOR DRUG ASSET REMOVAL, THE CONTROL OF ESSENTIAL AND PRECURSOR CHEMICALS, AND DRUG CONSPIRACY LAWS THAT ALLOW DRUG KINGPINS, NOT JUST COURIERS, TO BE PROSECUTED.

SINCE DECEMBER 1988, 64 NATIONS, INCLUDING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, HAVE RATIFIED THE CONVENTION.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES THE CREATION OF THE FINANCIAL ACTION TASK FORCE. THIS GROUP WAS CONVENED BY THE 1989 G-7 ECONOMIC SUMMIT. THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF THE TASK FORCE HAS BEEN TO DEVISE WAYS TO PREVENT TRAFFICKERS FROM USING FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS TO LAUNDER THEIR ILLEGAL DRUG MONEY.

AS IMPORTANT AS MONEY IS TO TRAFFICKERS, CERTAIN CHEMICALS ARE ALSO NECESSARY TO PROCESS RAW MATERIALS INTO MARKETABLE DRUGS, SUCH AS COCAINE OR HEROIN.

IN 1988, WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE CHEMICAL DIVISION AND TRAFFICKING ACT, THE UNITED STATES BECAME THE FIRST MAJOR

CHEMICAL-PRODUCING NATION TO ADOPT MANDATORY CONTROLS OVER
PRECURSOR AND ESSENTIAL CHEMICALS USED IN THE ILLEGAL PRODUCTION
OF DRUGS.

FROM 1989 TO 1990, WE SAW A 50% DROP IN THE SHIPMENT OF
CHEMICALS USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF COCAINE FROM THE UNITED
STATES TO LATIN AMERICA.

BUT OUR LAWS DO LITTLE GOOD IF EUROPEAN AND OTHER CHEMICAL
MANUFACTURERS, SUPPLIERS, AND BROKERS SIMPLY PICK UP THE SLACK.
SO WE HAVE PUSHED TO ESTABLISH THE CHEMICAL ACTION TASK FORCE TO
ENCOURAGE AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL CONTROL PROGRAM.

AGAIN, PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS
PASSED A REGULATION REQUIRING ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES TO ESTABLISH A
BASIC SYSTEM OF CHEMICAL EXPORT CONTROL. IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR,
TEN ADDITIONAL CHEMICALS WERE ADDED TO THE CONTROL LIST OF THE
U.N. CONVENTION -- AT THE URGING, PRIMARILY, OF THE UNITED
STATES.

WE HAVE ALSO WORKED BILATERALLY WITH THOSE NATIONS AT THE
HEART OF THE DRUG TRADE TO ELEVATE THEIR COUNTER-NARCOTICS
EFFORTS. THE RECENT DRUG SUMMIT HERE IN SAN ANTONIO WAS AN
HISTORIC EVENT THAT FURTHER SOLIDIFIED INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS
AGAINST OUR COMMON GLOBAL ENEMY -- DRUGS AND THEIR TRAFFICKERS.

AS DRUG CONSUMPTION BECOMES NOT JUST A NORTH AMERICAN PROBLEM, BUT A GLOBAL ONE, WE CAN BE PROUD OF THE LEADERSHIP ROLE PLAYED BY THE U.S. IN MOBILIZING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. AS THESE INTERNATIONAL BUILDING BLOCKS ARE PUT IN PLACE, WE ARE STARTING TO SEE SIGNS THAT THEY ARE TAKING HOLD AND THAT THEY ARE HAVING AN IMPACT.

TAKE THE COLOMBIAN COCAINE KINGPINS, FOR EXAMPLE. FIVE YEARS AGO, THEY SEEMED INVINCIBLE. TODAY, MANY OF THEM HAVE BEEN TOPPLED; THEY ARE EITHER DEAD OR IN JAIL -- OR ON THE RUN.

CARLOS LEDER IS SERVING LIFE IN PRISON. JOSE RODRIGUEZ GACHA IS DEAD. MANUEL NORIEGA IS CONVICTED AND SENTENCED TO 40 YEARS IN PRISON. THE MEDELLIN CARTEL HAS BEEN DECIMATED. AND THE CALI CARTEL IS COMING INCREASINGLY UNDER PRESSURE.

WITH THE TOP MEDELLIN CARTEL REELING, OUR CURRENT EFFORTS ARE FOCUSED ON THE CALI CARTEL. IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR, THE COLOMBIAN NATIONAL POLICE CONDUCTED THE FIRST RAIDS EVER ON THE CARTEL IN CALI ITSELF. IMPORTANT FINANCIAL RECORDS WERE SEIZED AND TRAFFICKER BANK ACCOUNTS IN COLOMBIA, MIAMI, AND LONDON WERE FROZEN. AND IN APRIL, THE COLOMBIAN NATIONAL POLICE ARRESTED IVAN URDINOLA, ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT LEADERS OF THE CALI CARTEL.

SINCE MARCH, WITH OUR ASSISTANCE, BOLIVIA HAS MOUNTED AN

AGGRESSIVE ENFORCEMENT OPERATION CALLED GHOST ZONE, DESIGNED TO SHUT OFF THE CALI CARTEL'S ACCESS TO THE CHAPARE REGION, THE SOURCE OF ONE-THIRD OF THE WORLD'S COCAINE.

WE ARE MATCHING THOSE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS ABROAD WITH A FULL-COURT PRESS AT HOME. LAST NOVEMBER, WE DESTROYED A MAJOR CALI DISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATION IN NEW YORK CITY, ARRESTING THE HEAD OF THE NEW YORK BRANCH, AND OVER 100 MEMBERS OF THAT ORGANIZATION. MORE THAN \$20 MILLION IN CASH AND ASSETS WERE SEIZED IN THIS RAID AND OVER 14 METRIC TONS OF COCAINE WERE TAKEN OFF THE STREETS.

IN DECEMBER, DEA AND U.S. CUSTOMS SEIZED 15 TONS OF CALI COCAINE HIDDEN IN CEMENT FENCE POSTS IN MIAMI AND TEXAS.

AND IN APRIL, AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THAT INVESTIGATION, A MAJOR CALI CARTEL LEASER WAS ARRESTED IN MIAMI WHEN DEA AND CUSTOMS SEIZED 7 1/2 TONS OF CALI COCAINE.

THESE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS DISRUPTED THE CALI CARTEL. AND BOTH OF THESE EFFORTS AS WELL AS OUR GROWING SUCCESSES AT INTERDICTION AND DOMESTIC ENFORCEMENT HAVE RESULTED IN ONLY THE SECOND RISE EVER IN THE PRICE OF COCAINE IN THE U.S. IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THIS YEAR, THE WHOLESALE PRICE OF COCAINE IN OUR FOUR MAJOR GATEWAY CITIES ROSE BY AS MUCH AS 50 PERCENT. BY SUSTAINING ALL THESE EFFORTS PURSUANT TO OUR STRATEGY WE CAN

DRASTICALLY REDUCE THE AVAILABILITY OF COCAINE IN THE U.S.

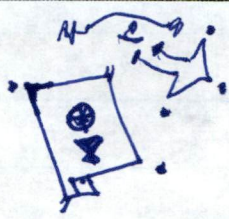
AS I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR, WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED A LOT AND REAL PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. THROUGH OCADET WE HAVE ASSEMBLED A FIRST-RATE LAW ENFORCEMENT TEAM. DEMAND IS FALLING. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT, IN THIS WAR ON DRUGS THAT WE ARE WAGING, THE BEST IS YET TO COME.

WE CANNOT FALL PREY TO THE DEFEATIST ATTITUDE OF SOME OF OUR CRITICS. A PERVASIVE AND DANGEROUS DRUG CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT INEVITABLE. SEEN IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE, THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ARE AN ABERRATION IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

THIS IS A WAR THAT CAN BE WON. IT WILL BE WON.

ONCE AGAIN, I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE TREMENDOUS WORK YOU ARE DOING. YOU HAVE MY GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION -- AND MY HIGHEST EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

GOD BLESS YOU ALL.



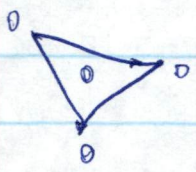
Crime.

White **Bob**

Clinton

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crime dropped
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3 speeches

1.) positive news news

2.) Clinton

3.) Big come

336-7080

David Telly
22 pages
on crime +
Clinton

opposition
research

of Congress moves
Crime bill on Wed.

- Brief statement -

or
asst.

in Research. - Convention -

Arkansas record

- Unbelievable

Big picture ones.

- book : accomplishments of Prez.

4-pt. attack

Key issues

fact sheets

"- Stung speech"

New stuff

Crime Bill

Biden - Barr

- Cloture vote
- Kill crime bill
- Biden would intro new crime bill
 - carjackings
 - drive-by
 - Habeas
 - Deadbeat dads
 - Brady attached

Crime

1. Security : #1 govt job .
2. The record :
 - policies
 - + appointments
 - more convictions + incarcerations
 - #5 - good .
3. Victims' rights
4. Crime Bill
 - habeas corpus reform
 - increased penalties on firearms
 - etc .

Drugs

1. Working .

- use down
 - more convictions
 - " interdiction
 - neighborhood reclamation
 - rehabilitation
-
- Crime creates jobs
 - ~~Abolish~~ Recreational abortions - highest achievement of femininity - the abortion organ!
 - Chinese - official language
 - Mormonism - official rel. George Romney as Pope
 - DHI - 28th Amendment
 - Billy Graham on ~~Trissa~~ - Nat'l Currency .
 - Draconian drug policy . Death w/ no trial . Turns to caffeine . And hourly drug tests on every citizen

Replace LOC

• Nixon Library

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GETTING TOUGH ON CRIME

"When we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our goal must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe."

— President Bush
May 15, 1992

President Bush believes that government's first responsibility is to make sure Americans are safe and secure in their homes and communities. The vast majority of Americans work hard and obey the law. Those who do not deserve the toughest penalties. Our neighborhoods will not be strong and our children safe until violent criminals are put where they belong -- behind bars.

President Bush's war on crime and drugs is getting results.

Because of Bush anti-crime policies and appointment of tough law-and-order judges and prosecutors, more criminals than ever are being convicted and sentenced to prison.

- Thanks to Reagan and Bush law and order prosecutors, the number of criminals convicted of federal crimes jumped 63% from 1980 to 1990. Of those convicted, more than twice as many were sentenced to prison in 1990 than were sentenced in 1980. Tough Reagan and Bush judges sentenced criminals to prison for 30% more time than criminals sentenced in 1980.
- Even more impressive progress has been made in getting drug criminals off the streets. Comparing 1990 to 1980, the number of drug traffickers convicted tripled; of those convicted, the number sent to prison more than tripled; and the average sentence was 74% longer.
- Under President Bush, those convicted of federal drug crimes serve, on average, 40% more time in prison than criminals sentenced before 1989. Drug criminals now spend on average of six and a half years in prison.
- In fiscal years 1990-91, federal law enforcement agencies seized more than \$5 billion in cash and assets from drug dealers, money launderers and racketeers. Of this amount, more than \$500 million went to building new prisons to hold other criminals.

President Bush believes prison terms must be determined by the severity of crimes, not by the availability of prison space.

- Under President Bush, more than twice as many criminals, once convicted of federal crimes, were sent to prison, with average sentences increasing by almost one-third.

President Bush wants secure families in safe neighborhoods.

President Bush:

- Is doubling federal prison capacity so murderers, drug kingpins and other violent criminals receive and serve longer prison sentences.
- Fought for a new law stiffening punishment for criminals who use guns in committing crimes. Now, instead of negotiated light sentences too often received in state courts, these felons receive tougher mandatory federal sentences. As a result, more than 500 gun-toting criminals are behind bars for a total of 2,500 years.
- Fought for and won enactment of a new law requiring mandatory sentences for drug traffickers and other violent criminals. President Bush has encouraged state mandatory sentencing of murderers and rapists.
- Assigned 2,400 F.B.I. agents to attack violent crime and problems with street gangs — including reassignment of 300 who had been working in counterintelligence.
- Opened the first federal "boot camp" prisons for first-time offenders, one for men in Pennsylvania in February 1991, and another for women in Texas in July 1992.
- Established Safe Street Task Forces in 38 cities.
- Moved aggressively to fight government corruption. During his term, federal prosecutors brought 2,216 corrupt state and local officials to justice for fraud, bribe-taking and other crimes.

President Bush believes in protecting the rights of the victim instead of the criminal.

President Bush:

- Won a landmark Supreme Court victory to give relatives of murder victims the right to testify during sentencing about the crime's impact on them.

- Has expanded the \$144-million federal program to help victims of violent crime overcome their pain and suffering.
- Demands that Congress pass his proposed Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act to reform criminal justice and require new penalties for life-threatening crimes. Key elements of his proposal are:
 - A federal death penalty for drug kingpins; those involved in drug-related murders; terrorists who commit executions abroad; and contract killers.
 - An end to repetitive, frivolous appeals -- so-called "*habeas corpus* appeals" -- that delay justice.
 - An end to legal loopholes that prevent evidence seized by good cops acting in good faith from being used in court.
 - Increased penalties for firearms offenses, including a 10-year mandatory prison term for use of semi-automatic firearms in drug offenses or violent felonies; a five-year mandatory sentence for possession of firearms by dangerous felons; and a ban on rifle magazines that permit the firing of more than 15 rounds without reloading.
 - Stiffer penalties, including mandatory sentences, will keep criminals who use guns behind bars for longer periods. They will stop potential criminals from getting their hands on guns without requiring federal registration.

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CLINTON: SOFT ON CRIME

Clinton practices revolving-door justice.

- Very few Arkansas prisoners serve full sentences. According to The Associated Press, a 1991 state study found that most served only between 6 and 18 months even though their sentences were much longer than that.
- "Judges, prosecutors, even a parole board member could not tell you today when a prisoner would be able to come out. There is no longer any confidence in the system". [Mike Gaines, chairman of the Arkansas Board of Parole and Community Rehabilitation, quoted by The Associated Press, 8/13/91]

Clinton has a prison furlough program.

Clinton has suspended Arkansas' prison furlough program, but only after a convicted contract murderer on furlough from an Arkansas prison hijacked an airplane and fled. [The Associated Press, 4/10/92]

- The convict is Charles Lloyd Patterson, who in 1988 was sentenced to serve 40 years in prison after he was convicted of hiring someone to murder a prominent lawyer, intimidating a witness, burglary, and terroristic threatening. [The Wall Street Journal, 4/14/92]
- Last April 9, while on his third furlough, Patterson chartered a single-engine airplane and, about 15 minutes after takeoff, pulled a gun on the pilot and put a bag over his head, and then flew the plane to Carlisle, Arkansas, where he pushed the pilot out. Patterson continued on to Batesville, Arkansas, where he allegedly stole a car and drove to the home of a former business associate, from whom he stole cash and a firearm. [United Press International, 4/14/92]
- On June 19, Patterson was arrested by FBI agents in Texas and charged with two counts of air piracy, one for the airplane theft in Arkansas and the other for later stealing a second plane in Erie, Colorado. [The Associated Press, 6/20/92]

Under Clinton, Arkansas crime is up.

- Arkansas' violent crime nearly doubled in the last decade. Between 1986 and 1991, violent crime increased by almost half. [The Associated Press, 9/19/91]

Clinton goes easy on drug criminals.

- In May 1985, Clinton refused to grant the extradition of a Little Rock native to New York on felony cocaine charges, saying that New York's mandatory sentencing for first time offenders was too harsh.
 - "I made the decision," Clinton said, "and I'm the governor, and it was my decision to make."
 - The Queens County, New York, district attorney, however, was puzzled "that the laws of New York and Arkansas treat such serious drug offenses so differently."

[The Arkansas Gazette, 6/1/85]

Under Clinton, Arkansas has the lowest spending on crime control.

With Clinton as governor, Arkansas ranked at or near the bottom among the 50 states in terms of state funds spent on its justice system.

- 50th in total state and local justice system *per capita* expenditures.
- 50th in *per capita* spending on police protection.
- 48th in *per capita* corrections spending.

[Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1990, U.S. Department of Justice, fiscal 1988 figures]

Who interviews Arkansas' judicial candidates?

- Arkansas judicial candidates are not interviewed by Gov. Clinton or his staff. Instead, Mrs. Clinton interviews them. Arkansas attorneys predict she would do the same should her husband become president. [The New York Times, 4/3/92]

Gore is soft on crime.

- Gore has voted against the death penalty, for gun control, against a ban on flag burning, and against a ban on federal funding of obscenity.
- In 1990, *The National Journal* rated Gore on social issues as 81 percent liberal and 0 percent conservative.

Gore introduced the world to Willie Horton.

- Gore attacked Michael Dukakis in April 1988 for granting "weekend passes" to first-degree murderers ineligible for parole.

BACKGROUND

Issues Office



July 29, 1992

PRESIDENT BUSH IS STRONG ON CRIME

- o Achieving results in the war on crime and drugs: Because of Bush anti-crime policies and appointment of tough law-and-order judges and prosecutors, more criminals than ever are being convicted, and of those convicted, more are being sentenced to prison for longer periods.
 - The number of criminals convicted of federal crimes jumped 63% from 1980 to 1990. Of those convicted, more than twice as many were sentenced to prison in 1990 than were sentenced in 1980. Tough Reagan and Bush judges sentenced criminals to prison for 30% more time than criminals sentenced in 1980.
 - Even more impressive progress has been made in getting drug criminals off the streets. Comparing 1990 to 1980, the number of drug traffickers convicted tripled; of those convicted, the number sent to prison more than tripled; and the average sentence was 74% longer.
- o Making sure criminals serve their time: Under President Bush, those convicted of federal drug crimes serve, on average, 40% more time in prison than criminals sentenced before 1989. Drug criminals now spend on average six and a half years in prison. Under Clinton, however, Arkansas state inmates serve, on average, between six and eighteen months in prison regardless of their original sentence. Almost no inmate serves a full sentence.
- o Appointing Law and Order Judges and Prosecutors: President Bush has appointed 228 law and order prosecutors and judges. To back them up, under President Bush, the Department of Justice has added 813 FBI agents, 735 DEA agents, and 1,237 assistant Federal prosecutors.
- o Funding of State and Local Law Enforcement: Under President Bush, aid to state and local law enforcement for anti-drug activities has tripled to \$496 million. Under Clinton, Arkansas ranks 50th in total state and local justice system expenditures per capita.
- o Clinton is all bark and no bite: Clinton says that he "want[s] to be tough on crime." But, under his stewardship, Arkansas ranks 50th in per capita spending on police protection, and 48th in per capita corrections spending.

All rankings are for 1988, the latest year for which data are available.

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WINNING THE WAR ON DRUGS

"Success in the drug war depends crucially on our churches and synagogues, our schools, our service clubs, and young peoples' organizations. Most important: American families strengthened by the virtues and bonds of love and honor and just plain strength. American families — that's the key.

— President Bush
January 27, 1992

President Bush recognizes that the scourge of drugs — more than anything else — threatens law and order in America. Drugs ravage children's minds, tear communities apart, destroy families, and menace our American culture.

President Bush is winning the war on drugs. More illegal drugs are being seized than ever before. More criminals are being put behind bars for longer periods. More resources are being invested in stopping drugs from entering our country. Drug users are being held accountable for their actions, while treatment programs have been expanded to get young Americans off drugs for good.

Drug prevention and education programs have been stepped up, their activities evaluated on the basis of results. Drug testing is required for federal prison inmates and parolees.

Communities have been mobilized to combat drugs. Schools and workplaces must be drug-free zones. To qualify for federal funds, colleges and universities must implement anti-drug programs.

President Bush's anti-drug program is working.

- President Bush's National Drug Control Strategy - interdiction, enforcement, prevention, education, treatment and international efforts — has cut overall drug use by 13 percent for all Americans, and by 27 percent for adolescents, the most important group in the fight against drugs.
- "Occasional" cocaine use has dropped by 29 percent, and adolescent cocaine use fell by more than 60 percent. [Source: Office of National Drug Control Policy]

Under President Bush's orders, federal authorities are seizing more illegal drugs.

- President Bush more than tripled seizures of cocaine in the Western Hemisphere — from 98 metric tons in fiscal 1990 to 300 metric tons during 1991.

President Bush's policies are putting more drug criminals behind bars for longer periods.

- Tougher Reagan-Bush crime policies are catching and convicting more drug criminals than ever. Federal drug convictions rose during the 1980s from 29,943 to 48,730, and, of those convicted, the number sent to prison nearly doubled, from 13,766 to 29,430.
- Because of President Bush's tough law-and-order policies and appointment of tough prosecutors and judges, the average sentence for federally convicted drug dealers has nearly tripled — from about 57 to 78 months.
- President Bush used more than half a billion dollars produced from property seized from drug dealers and other criminals to build new prisons for other convicts.

President Bush is stopping drugs at our borders.

- President Bush organized new coalitions with Latin American countries to wage war on drugs to where narcotics traffickers live, investing \$768 million this year alone to support international drug enforcement.
- President Bush has invested major new resources to eliminate drugs at their source. The President wants next year to invest 2.5 times what was spent in 1989 -- from \$304 million to \$768 million.
- President Bush convened the first-ever drug summit in Cartagena with leaders of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, and another this year in San Antonio, to coordinate eradication of drugs at their source.
- Destroyed drug crops in the fields and enlisted our best intelligence resources to detect and interdict smugglers.

President Bush is reclaiming our neighborhoods.

- President Bush is using new ways to tackle drug traffickers at home. Last year, he launched "Weed and Seed" projects in 20 cities, reclaiming crime-ravaged neighborhoods by:
 - Using federal, state and local law enforcement to "weed" out drug dealers, gang leaders and street criminals.
 - "Seeding" the communities with school "dropout" prevention programs, job training, programs to improve conditions in public housing, new drug prevention and treatment programs, and increased government health programs, including prenatal care and HIV testing and counseling.

President Bush is expanding drug rehabilitation.

- President Bush proposed nearly doubled federal funding for drug-related programs to \$12.7 billion for fiscal 1993, including a near-doubling of federal drug treatment to a proposed \$2.3 billion in fiscal 1993. Next year, the President's drug rehabilitation program will treat more than 402,000 addicts.
- Under President Bush, the federal government nearly tripled federal anti-drug assistance to *state and local* enforcement — from \$334 million in fiscal 1989 to a proposed \$991 million in fiscal 1993.

CLINTON: WHO NEEDS TO INHALE?

In Bill Clinton's Arkansas:

- Marijuana was Arkansas' Number One cash crop in 1989. [1990 annual report, National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), a Washington, D.C., lobby advocating the drug's legalization]
- Serious drug and alcohol abuse among Arkansas' minority population, among those receiving drug treatment at state centers, more than doubled in a decade. It affected 15 percent in 1979-81. Ten years later, it was 37 percent. [1979-80 and 1989-90 reports, Arkansas Department of Human Services]
- Arkansas was one of 12 states that, according to Congressman Pete Stark, a California Democrat, were "contributing to the country's failure to win its war on illegal drugs." In a 1989 congressional report, Stark noted that Arkansas spends only \$3.36 *per capita* for drug and alcohol treatment, compared with the national average of \$8. [*The Arkansas Gazette*, 12/27/89]
- In May 1985, Clinton refused to grant extradition of a Little Rock native to New York on felony cocaine charges. He said New York's mandatory sentencing for first offenders was too harsh.
 - "I made the decision, and I'm the governor," Clinton said, "and it was my decision to make."
 - The New York district attorney was puzzled "that the laws of New York and Arkansas treat such serious drug offenses so differently." [*The Arkansas Gazette*, 6/1/85]

Illicit Drugs

Campaign Trail

It is nearly impossible to point to any prioritizing on Clinton's behalf for the drug issue -- simply put, he supports more law enforcement, more drug treatment, more prevention, more everything. Clinton has not been asked many specifics on the drug issue and has only offered rhetoric that seems almost bi-partisan. So generic are Clinton's few drug policy opinions that they have even been compared to President Bush's drug strategy.¹ While it is clear that Clinton's policies are different from the President's, it does appear that Clinton is such a novice with drug policy that he is not fully in touch with Democrat-pushed drug policies. While appearing conservative for supporting boot camps, he liberally advocates treatment on demand. In general, Clinton is a moderate and a big spender when it comes to drug issues.

As a presidential candidate, Clinton mainly calls for drug treatment on demand and advocates "boot camps" for first time, non-violent drug offenders. Clinton also supports community policing and more funding for community initiatives to rid neighborhoods of drugs.² He says he "oppose[s] drug decriminalization and believe[s] we need to take tougher steps in the war on drugs to decrease both supply and demand."³ Clinton's experience dealing with the drug problem is relatively minor and unsophisticated compared to that of other governors. An insight into his unfamiliarity with this issue came during a tour of a Chicago public housing project Clinton took in July 1991 under Democratic Leadership Council-auspices. The project had instituted an anti-drug program for children. Clinton, who asked a group of children what they were being taught, showed a shallower grasp of the problem than the children had: "No drugs," answered one child to Clinton's question. "No gun shooting," said another. "No gang-banging. No knives. No kicking. No cursing," added other children. "No cursing," Clinton repeated, "That's a good one."

Another example of Clinton's drug policy naiveté is found in his assertions that the crack epidemic is actually a racial problem. In July 1989, Clinton told a black audience that crack was a black problem. Clinton claimed that blacks disproportionately used crack cocaine. He also noted that perhaps a white person, especially one seeking re-election, should not say that. Though this may have been the easiest way to write off the problem, Clinton demonstrated his ignorance of who uses cocaine nationally and in his own state.⁴ Minorities have never constituted the majority of cocaine drug users or traffickers nationally or in the state of Arkansas. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse's (NIDA) major drug indicator, Total Emergency Room Drug Mentions, from 1989 to 1991 the vast majority of drug mentions were of white individuals compared to the mentions of minorities (e.g., in 1991, there were 101,099 white drug mentions and only 45,569 black drug mentions).⁵ Though the images of drug abuse and the crime associated with it are laden with inner cities and minorities, the actual numbers of casual drug use and drug trafficking prove to be

largely white and suburban. The same is true in Arkansas; although while it is true that minority drug use is rapidly increasing in Arkansas, in 1990 63 percent of drug admissions at Benton Detoxification Center were white and 37 percent were minority.⁶

Clinton's rhetoric throughout the years has consisted mostly of ambiguous fence-sitting statements (e.g., in 1989, he urged Democrats to not make deals with drug dealers and also to offer treatment on demand.)⁷ Clinton is equally as ambiguous on how he stands on the root causes theory -- he usually comes down in the middle. However, in 1989 Clinton claimed the following about the increase in crime: "And in the 1980s young people without an education became much more economically vulnerable, and people who are that vulnerable are more likely to commit crimes."⁸ Also in September 1991, Clinton explained the allure of drug dealing by saying that people "watch the same television news you and I do, and they know that the most irresponsible people in the 1980s were the people on the top of the totem pole, not the people on the bottom." As a solution to this understandable allure, Clinton suggested that Democrats offer people more options.⁹ Clinton often speaks of drugs as a result of poverty and a lack of opportunities. Clinton has made it clear that he believes the demand of drugs must be addressed (to what cost of the supply side, he has not said). In 1990 he said, "We cannot enforce our way out of this [drug] problem."¹⁰ In fact, Clinton originally opposed the state drug czar position because he believed that it would favor law enforcement over demand-side remedies.¹¹ Clinton has managed to balance these sort of statements with a "tough on drugs" image due to his support of boot camps and quiet support of the death penalty for drug king-pins.

Mainly, Clinton has demonstrated that he underestimates the real threat of drugs. An example of this was in 1989 when a Gallup poll discovered that most Americans believed that drug addiction was the top problem, Clinton was saying that drugs were not the problem -- he believed that deterioration of the traditional family was the number one problem.¹² Clinton was equally insensitive to the public's opinion of drugs when in 1977 he suggested that tough anti-marijuana laws may not be the best deterrent for Arkansas youth. And again in the presidential campaign, after shocking the public with his "didn't inhale" comment, he later told MTV that if he could do it over again, he would try to inhale.¹³ According to another major drug indicator, the High School Senior Survey, even high school seniors increasingly disapprove of occasional marijuana drug use (in 1991, 29 percent more students disapprove of casual marijuana use than they did in 1988) -- Clinton has apparently not recognized these indicators.¹⁴

Demand

Drug Treatment: Throughout the campaign, Clinton has said that treatment on demand "without delay" ought to be a national goal.¹⁵ At the National Women's Political Caucus in July 1991, Clinton said that the treatment on demand "works" and treatment centers ought to be close to where people live.¹⁶ Clinton believes that drug addiction is "an illness." At the same time, he has tried to separate himself from those

who believe purely in root causes by using "tough" rhetoric: "Some people are dumb enough to want to kill themselves with drug addiction. Most people are sick."¹⁷

Clinton's strong call for drug treatment on demand during the presidential campaign has not exactly been backed by strong action in Arkansas. In 1989, Clinton believed that taxes should be substantially raised for a number of programs (including drug treatment). He also called for a state policy of treatment on demand.¹⁸ In this controversial 1989 tax plan, Clinton proposed \$1.1 million for outpatient treatment of adolescent drug abusers to be implemented by the Arkansas Education Department's regional cooperatives.¹⁹ In 1989, Clinton's tried to pass a \$33 million, two-year drug package -- it failed. Within this package was \$6 million for treatment units (estimated to supply treatment for 500 adults and 1,500 youths) and funding for 40 spots in treatment centers for addicted youth. In 1990, the state drug czar, Robert Shepard, admitted, "Quite frankly, right now if you have a young person in the state of Arkansas with a drug-addiction problem ... they are simply falling through the cracks."²⁰ Addicted youth were "falling through the cracks" because the state almost solely relies on expensive private treatment centers.²¹

In 1991, Hillary Clinton went on television boasting how Arkansas was taking care of its addicted youth with a new program called "Fight Back!" This program, funded by a \$200,000 grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and administered by Blue Cross, provides treatment insurance for students of the Little Rock School District. This grant only affects students in the Little Rock School District and needs to be renewed in 1993.²²

Since the failure of the 1989 drug package, Clinton passed three drug treatment laws in 1991. One law mandates accreditation of treatment programs, another provides a state board with voluntary treatment services for addicted pharmacists, and the last law allows the court to place an addicted person in the Benton Detoxification Service Center for treatment on an involuntary basis if a law enforcement officer requests it.²³

All considered, the availability of drug treatment in the state of Arkansas is not very good -- and not near the "treatment on demand" level. In October 1990, Clinton agreed that Arkansas needed to provide more treatment.²⁴ As an example of the inadequacy of drug treatment in Arkansas, in 1990 the largest non-profit drug and alcohol treatment center, Decision Point, had only 107 beds and a total staff of 28 (only 15 of whom were counselors).²⁵ While the number of treatment centers has increased from 19 in 1979 to 26 in 1991, the increase has been slow and the need of treatment has not been met in the least. For example, the treatment centers are not geographically accessible to many addicts -- DHS reports have listed this problem a number one priority problem since at least 1989; the number of those treated has fluctuated and often decreased since 1979; and the number of those treated is only a fraction of those who are known to need treatment (e.g., in 1990-91, 2,791 were treated but 18,695 went without treatment).²⁶

- *Efficacy of Treatment:* Clinton has said that "appropriate treatment works." Without going into any detail of what kind of drug treatment programs are more efficient, he has only commented that, "All the serious studies show that appropriate levels of treatment for appropriate lengths of time yield a success rate

slightly in excess of 60 percent."²⁷ While Arkansas has accreditation standards for its drug treatment centers, as of 1989 they had not been updated since 1983 and while they do have patient follow-up, it does not seem that the efficacy of the treatment programs are reviewed as part of the accreditation -- they appear to be simple paperwork requirements.²⁸ According to the National Drug Strategy, "a key component of these plans is state estimates of service needs at the local level." Given Arkansas' problem with drug treatment geographic imbalance, local drug treatment needs are not met and the appropriateness of the existing treatment to the given population is apparently not matched either.²⁹

Annual reports from the Arkansas Department of Human Services claim that the success rate of treatment increased from 1979 to 1988 -- however, there is some room for suspicion of these numbers: from 1983 to 1985, the department claims that the success rate rose from 36 percent to 85 percent; in 1987 the format of the report was changed; and these numbers are no longer included in the annual reports since 1988-89 (the year that the federal drug war was launched and funding has increased to the state every year since).³⁰

Drug Prevention: In 1990, Clinton spoke about the need to stop the demand of drugs: "We cannot enforce our way out of this problem."³¹ On the stump in 1991, Bill Clinton spoke of the necessity of drug prevention: "You've got to have comprehensive drug education programs and every poor child in this country has got to have available to them by the time they reach adolescence ..." ³² Clinton has used this kind of rhetoric when speaking about drug prevention and the importance of drug education -- this is also as detailed as he gets on the issue. For being so supportive of drug prevention efforts, Arkansas does not reflect it -- teachers do not have to be formally trained in drug education in Arkansas:³³ In fact, it is not at all clear that every child in Arkansas is being offered drug education and prevention programs.

Clinton's drug prevention "policy" seems to be increasing funding -- in 1987 he proposed \$4.5 million for drug education and prevention "so that a quality program on substance abuse will be presented to every school-age child in Arkansas."³⁴ Mostly however, Clinton's idea of good drug prevention seems to be praising various private, federal, or local plans: in 1988 Arkansas started to participate in the National Red Ribbon campaign and initiated drug awareness week; in 1989 Clinton praised Anheuser-Busch for their anti-drug videotape that a local prevention group, Project ARK, was using; also in 1989 the Governor's Drug-Free Team added high school athletes and spirit groups to the team. The Governor's Drug-Free Team, implemented by the state drug czar, Robert Shepard, set the standards for the high schools: each high school must have at least two drug awareness rallies each semester, appoint a drug awareness coordinator and have students sign a drug-free pledge. If the schools do these things, the school gets a trophy and the students get patches to wear.³⁵

While Clinton suggested giving drug-free students patches, the drop out rate due to alcohol and drug abuse in Arkansas grew 29 percent from 1987 to 1989.³⁶ The scourge of drug and alcohol abuse on teen-age drop outs in Arkansas has been known for some time: in 1983-84, the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, using Arkansas Department of Education data, discovered that "9 out of 10 students who

dropped out of school or were asked to leave had used or at least experimented with a controlled substance, with most using more than one substance."³⁷

- **Drug Free School Zones:** Following federal guidelines, Arkansas has established increased penalties for "selling, delivering, dispensing, transporting, administering, or distributing" controlled substances within 1,000 feet of public or private elementary, secondary or vocational schools and universities. The punishment set by the 1989 law was an extra two years of jail (beyond the sentence for the violation itself) and a fine not less than \$1,000.³⁸ In 1991, the law was amended by adding city and state parks, skating rinks, Boys Club, Girls Club, YMCA, and YWCA to the list of drug-free zones; by changing the supplemental jail sentence to 10 years; by making early release or parole impossible for the extra jail sentence; and by requiring drug-free zone notices.³⁹

Supply

Criminal Justice/Law Enforcement: In general, Bill Clinton has not displayed a serious dedication to law enforcement or to tough laws against drugs. In 1985, Clinton signed a law which authorized law enforcement officers to investigate and arrest offenders of the Uniformed Controlled Substance Act of 1971.⁴⁰ The 1971 law remains the main law regarding punishments regarding illegal drugs in Arkansas -- it has not been amended much since Clinton became governor. In terms of law enforcement, in 1992, Clinton called for more federal aid for local law enforcement (especially more cops on the beat) and also accused the President of cutting aid to police and covering it by focusing attention on the death penalty. Clinton also called for more community-based policing of neighborhoods.⁴¹ Clinton supports boot camps and approves of U.S. military interdiction of drugs. In drug law enforcement, just as in other drug issues, Clinton mostly calls for more funds as a solution.

In 1989 Clinton (usually quick with statistics) demonstrated his shakiness regarding drug law enforcement: in August 1989 Clinton had a public feud with U.S. Representative Tommy Robinson regarding drug statistics. Robinson claimed that Clinton had lied about the numbers, saying that Clinton "told the biggest lie I ever heard in my life" when he claimed that Arkansas led the nation in currency seized in drug trafficking. Clinton claimed that Robinson just wanted to run for governor and did not like how successful Arkansas had been and that is why Robinson "squealed like a stuck hog." Finally Clinton admitted that Arkansas had been number one in currency seized for only one quarter in 1987 and that he was simply misinformed -- he had said that Arkansas was the best in the nation in this category.⁴² A similar episode of possibly using the drug war for political gain occurred with Clinton's television ads on Arkansas' drug enforcement. The *Arkansas Gazette* discovered that the Clinton ads "overstated by a half-billion dollars the drugs seized by the Criminal Apprehension Patrol." The police admitted that they had given Clinton the mistaken information: "We regret that it took so long to catch the error."⁴³

Later in 1989, Clinton called for a special drug legislation session -- Robinson called the session a fiasco and said that Clinton was a "Johnny-come-lately drug fighter" and was holding the session only to capitalize on the political saliency of the drug issue. Robinson also claimed that Clinton was "long on [drug] rhetoric" but did not do his "homework."⁴⁴ The 1989 drug war special session was heavily criticized and the *Arkansas Gazette* wrote that some believed Clinton was late in creating his proposals and failing to push his programs effectively with the legislators. An important measure in the package was the replacement of all the state's police cars. The plan was also laden with sin taxes and a temporary 2 percent surtax.⁴⁵ In the end, Clinton had to veto the entire package due to a lack of appropriations. Simply put, it is difficult to find if Clinton has ever done anything significant for drug law enforcement in Arkansas.

- *Drug Law Enforcement and the Courts in Arkansas:* In March 1988, a federal court mandated that profiling was illegal (i.e., it was not due cause for the Arkansas police to stop and search cars on the interstate simply because the driver and car match a drug runner profile {i.e., Hispanic from Texas}). The Arkansas police appealed the decision saying that the mandate was too restrictive.⁴⁶ By October 1990, the interstate interdiction policy was permitted once again. In a compromise, a modified version of the original program is now allowed -- there are video cameras in 15 cars to record these stops and searches. Searches are now to be conducted with verbal agreements with the drivers. While this seems a reasonable balance of tough law enforcement and upholding of civil rights, only 15 cars were affected by this compromise Clinton worked out.⁴⁷ This compromise was publicized about two weeks before the 1990 election.⁴⁸
- *Asset Forfeiture:* Out of the two asset forfeiture laws that the national drug policy suggests states have, Arkansas has one law only since the 1991 legislative session. The asset forfeiture law of 1991 allows seizures of property from out of state or that is non-drug related.⁴⁹ The biggest weakness in the asset forfeiture program in Arkansas is that it lacks a law to require at least 90 percent of the seized proceeds to be used for law enforcement. This 90 percent initiative has been almost universally supported by local, state, and national law enforcement groups since the funds are always desperately needed.⁵⁰ In Arkansas, only 20-40 percent of seized assets go to law enforcement.⁵¹ In 1989, Clinton signed a law that required that forfeited property be first sold at a public sale before it goes to private sales.⁵²
- *Death Penalty for Drug King-Pins:* Like the President, Clinton agrees that the death penalty should be an option for drug king-pins.⁵³ Unlike the President, Clinton does not mention this view frequently and the current death penalty law in Arkansas (which Clinton signed) does not include drug king-pins.
- *Drugs in Public Housing:* Though Clinton has mentioned that he favors community action and empowerment programs as a solution to the drug problems in public housing, he has not mentioned much more about how to stop drug use and sales in

public housing (such as barricades, etc.). Arkansas did not have a law mandating eviction of drug offenders from public housing projects in 1990.⁵⁴

In 1990, North Little Rock Housing Authority Director William Clements, and North Little Rock Housing Board Chairman Bob Lyon, asked Clinton to send in the state police and/or the National Guard to help rid the public housing projects of drugs. Lyon added Clements believed that the public housing projects were out of control with drug problems. According to the *Arkansas Gazette*, the city police made a number of busts and eventually Clements decided to hire private investigators to help identify drug suspects in the projects. This one-year contract was estimated to cost \$105,820. It is not clear what Clinton has ever done to alleviate this problem.⁵⁵

- **Bootcamps:** One of Clinton's favorite prison reform ideas is boot camps for first-time, non-violent offenders. He is advocating them in his presidential stump speeches and he has instituted a program in Arkansas. While opening a boot camp in August 1991, the *Arkansas Gazette* reported that Clinton said the boot camp offered "a way to combat prison overcrowding."⁵⁶ Also in the summer of 1991, the commander of the state Department of Corrections boot camp program resigned. "I quit because the program is going backwards and I wasn't going to be a part of that. It is slowly being chipped away," boot camp program director Captain Tom Matthews asserted. Matthews cited infighting within the Department of Corrections, saying some want the boot camp program to fail: "I think the senior staff looks at it like a threat because this place takes prisoners and rehabilitates them and puts them back on the street."⁵⁷

Not everyone is sold on the success of the boot camps, however. "There's no evidence anywhere that the boot camps work," says Jerry Miller, director of the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives. The Center advocates prison reform and runs correctional programs in Maryland. Dale Parent, a policy consultant with Abt Associates in Cambridge, Mass., conducted a 1987-88 Justice Department study of prison boot camps in eight states. He said, "My general understanding is that so far, we haven't really shown that the boot camps are effective in changing post-release behavior."⁵⁸ Yet, as Arkansas Corrections Department spokesman David White pointed out in 1991, "The cost per prisoner per day is higher for boot camp than the \$26.60 average for the entire prison system."⁵⁹

Beyond the efficacy questions of the boot camps, there has also been some scandal regarding the employees of the boot camps. In one case, an ex-drill sergeant, Jimmie Armstrong, was indicted for counterfeiting along side of his three partners in crime who had been boot camp inmates. Planning of the counterfeiting started while the men were in the boot camp and while Armstrong was a drill sergeant there. David White, a spokesman for the state Department of Corrections said, "And on occasion we do have employees that get involved in crimes. That is a fact of life."⁶⁰

- **Drug Paraphernalia:** In 1981, a law was created in Arkansas to establish penalties for selling or being in the drug paraphernalia business.⁶¹ In 1988, revenues were created through a \$.25 tax per package on rolling papers -- the law was also intended to discourage people from buying them.⁶² In 1991, State Revenue Commissioner, Tim Leathers, claimed that the rolling papers tax had brought in \$1.3 million from 1988 to 1991. This increase in revenues was Clinton's defense in not banning rolling papers when activists in the state asked him to.⁶³ However, Clinton supported a group, DIGNITY, which protested the businesses they believed were selling drug paraphernalia. In July 1991, their protests became lawless and several members were arrested for trespassing.⁶⁴ Clinton said he was "very sympathetic with what they're trying to do."⁶⁵ In August 1991, DIGNITY threatened Kmart with civil disobedience and Clinton gave the group \$5,000 in state money.⁶⁶
- **Precursor Chemicals:** In 1989, Clinton signed a law which requires record keeping of precursor chemical transactions.⁶⁷ The National Drug Control Strategy suggests that the states "regulate" these chemicals in order to crack down on ICE production.⁶⁸

Interdiction Efforts (International and Domestic):

- **Use of the Military:** One area where Clinton is definitely out of step with most Democrats is in the use of the military in attacking the supply of drugs into the U.S. In October 1986, Clinton said that he did not know if he would go so far as to use the military to stop the drug supply into the U.S., but he said that it was good the U.S. House of Representatives was considering this as an option.⁶⁹ By November 1986, however, Clinton said that he favored the "practice of popular protectionism" in the area of using federal troops to stop drug trafficking. Clinton noted that he disagreed with some of the proposed methods to use the troops, but agreed with the principle. "We'd be a lot better off if the only drugs we had to worry about were those manufactured or grown in America."⁷⁰

On the campaign trail, Clinton has commented on the positive role of the military in the fight against drugs -- he has become more vigilant in the use of the military. While not mentioning the *Andean Plan*, Clinton seems to support many of President Bush's initiatives in this area -- though he may deny it. In March 1992, Clinton said he favored "expanded use of the military, especially for purposes of tracking and stopping small planes coming into this country."⁷¹ At the Bronx Democratic presidential debate in March 1992, Clinton was asked if the U.S. should boycott commodities of drug producing countries, he responded:

"I think the problem with that is that even those countries which try to contain the illegal drugs on their own are having limited success, and we've had many good people in the government of Colombia actually be killed for their efforts to try to contain the export of drugs. What I think we need to do is to beef up the traditional sources of restraint, the Coast Guard, the border patrols, the Customs

Service. We need to become much better at monitoring the flights into this country, and then we need to work much more closely with those governments that are making a good faith effort. I wouldn't be opposed to taking action against a government that obviously was not trying, but those which are we have to try to deal with."⁷²

In April 1992, Clinton was asked what kind of supply strategy he would use, he replied: "I do support utilizing the U.S. military in drug interdiction. Furthermore, I recognize that many Latin American governments have provided invaluable assistance in the war on drugs. As President, I will work to improve U.S. cooperation with the Latin American governments involved in containing the smuggling into the United States of cocaine, marijuana, and other addictive drugs manufactured or harvested in Latin America."⁷³

- *Money Laundering:* Though it appears that Clinton has not addressed the issue of money laundering, he has down-played the insinuations that money laundering and drug trafficking were taking place at the Mena airport in Arkansas. [For more information on the Mena/Iran-Contra scandal, refer to the Mena paper.]
- *Extradition of Drug Criminals:* As a governor, Clinton has not had much experience with the extradition of drug criminals. However, in 1985, Clinton did go out of his way to ensure that Nicole Cowan, a 19 year-old girl, was not extradited to New York to stand trial for drug running. [For more details of the Cowan scandal, see Cowan paper.]
- *Marijuana Eradication:* In 1989, Clinton received almost \$400,000 from the Defense Department for helicopter-led marijuana surveillance to be done by the Arkansas National Guard. With this federal assistance, crews were to fly 1,027 hours compared to the previous 400 hours Clinton had dedicated for marijuana surveillance -- this was paid by the federal government as well.⁷⁴

In terms of marijuana eradication, Clinton boasts of Arkansas' successful program that has destroyed large numbers of costly plants. However, there are two things which discredit his claims of success. First, the number of plants destroyed has not increased every year -- the number declined 12 percent from 1990 to 1991, and declined from 1988 to 1989 as well.⁷⁵ Second, Arkansas has received an extremely large portion of federal funds for marijuana eradication compared to the number of plants seized. As an example, in 1990 Arkansas seized 125,420 plants and received \$125,000 from the DEA in surveillance money; Missouri seized 1,141,687 plants and received \$200,000 from the DEA in surveillance money.⁷⁶ Like Missouri, many other states are getting a much bigger bang for the federal buck compared to Arkansas.

Despite Arkansas' federally-paid marijuana eradication effort, NORMAL still estimates that Arkansas' number one cash crop is marijuana. In fact, according to the 1990 estimate, Arkansas ranked ninth in the top-grossing crop value. It also ranked an incredible fifth in estimated harvest value (which indicates that many of

the expensive plants are being harvested and not eradicated -- Hawaii ranked sixth). For being a mid-size producer of marijuana, Arkansas ranks remarkably high in these cultivation numbers -- it joins the likes of major marijuana-producing states such as Tennessee, California, Oregon, etc.⁷⁷

- **Public Lands:** In 1985, Clinton signed a law which made it illegal to "install or maintain" booby traps on one's own property or on any other property punishable by a Class D felony.⁷⁸ The purpose of the law was to crack down on drug traffickers who use public lands to grow marijuana or who set up drug labs (such as methamphetamine labs). The drug traffickers often set up booby traps to keep their actions clandestine and this problem plagues states which have large rural areas or public lands. How effective this law has been is questionable -- as an example, only one year later in 1986, two turkey hunters stepped on a trap that exploded and police believed that it was a mine that marijuana growers had set.⁷⁹

Stand on Particular Drugs

Marijuana: Beyond his personal confrontation with marijuana, Clinton also possesses a legislative small record regarding marijuana. In Clinton's early years, he was considered to be weak on marijuana laws. In 1977, Attorney General Clinton claimed that it was difficult for youth to have respect for the law when their friends are being imprisoned for marijuana offenses. Clinton said that he did not support the decriminalization of marijuana, but jailing youth for marijuana offenses was too costly and a waste of law enforcement funds that could be spent on more serious crimes.⁸⁰ A 1977 *Arkansas Gazette* editorial claimed that Clinton was not in favor of decriminalization but that the penalties were simply too harsh for the crime.⁸¹ The penalty for marijuana possession at that time was a misdemeanor punishable by up to one year in jail and a \$250 fine.⁸² In 1985, Clinton signed a law which provided imprisonment for marijuana traffickers and growers.⁸³

In June 1992, while participating on CBS's National Town Meeting, Clinton answered a question about marijuana legalization: "All medical evidence is that marijuana now in use is now more than three times as toxic as it was a generation ago. I just think it would be a mistake to legalize it, and I am opposed to it."⁸⁴ Even though Clinton opposes decriminalization, some of the counties in Arkansas are having difficulty dealing with marijuana arrests. In 1990, the District Attorney of the 16th Judicial District (Batesville), Don McSpadden, testified that "80 percent or more of our arrests are marijuana related ..." David Butler, the prosecutor for the 13th Judicial District (Magnolia), claimed that there was a real marijuana problem in his part of the state but, "we don't have time to deal with marijuana" given the threat of other drugs like ICE and crack.⁸⁵ Marijuana use in Arkansas has decreased since 1979, but the drug that these addicts moved to is much dangerous.⁸⁶

Cocaine and Crack: Cocaine and crack have become a raging problem in Arkansas. In 1979 and the early 1980s, cocaine use in Arkansas was minuscule (3-7

percent of all drugs used); however in the mid- to late 1980s, cocaine use sky rocketed. From 1989-91, cocaine use in Arkansas stabilized, but is still increasing (in 1989-90, cocaine use was 55 percent of all drugs used; in 1990-91, cocaine use was 60 percent of all illicit drug use).⁸⁷ Steve Sargent, Executive Director of the largest non-profit treatment center in Arkansas, Decision Point, testified that his center saw a 347 percent increase of crack and cocaine use from 1988 to 1989.⁸⁸

In July 1989, Clinton told a black audience that crack was a racial problem -- that it was a black problem. Clinton claimed that blacks disproportionately used crack cocaine. He also noted that perhaps a white person, especially one seeking re-election should not say that. "I'm glad to see a group of black leaders treat this as a racial issue." Though this may have been the easiest way to write off the problem, Clinton demonstrated his ignorance of who uses cocaine nationally and in his own state.⁸⁹ Minorities have never comprised the majority of drug users or traffickers nationally or in the state of Arkansas. According to NIDA's major drug indicator, Total Emergency Room Drug Mentions, from 1989 to 1991 the vast majority of drug mentions were of white individuals compared to the mentions of minorities (e.g., in 1991, there were 101,099 white drug mentions and only 45,569 black drug mentions).⁹⁰ Though the images of drug abuse and the crime associated with it are laden with inner cities and minorities, the actual numbers of casual drug use and drug trafficking prove to be largely white and suburban. The same is true in Arkansas: while it is true that minority drug use is rapidly increasing in Arkansas, in 1990 63 percent of drug admissions at Benton Detoxification Center were white and 37 percent were minority.⁹¹

In the same month Clinton was saying that crack was simply a black problem, the Arkansas Legislative Council and 75 sheriffs both expressed great concern about the rising cocaine problem in Arkansas and asked Clinton to do something.⁹² Besides comments about the horrors of crack, Clinton has not offered a policy to work specifically against the tide of crack problems in Arkansas. Little Rock and El Dorado are besieged with crack houses and dealing; District Attorneys and sheriffs from all around the state testified in front of the Senate Government Operations committee in 1990 about the severe, unmanageable problems resulting from crack cocaine in Arkansas.

Another area which Clinton does not seem to have addressed in the least is that of *crack babies and drug-addicted pregnant women*.

Heroin: Though Arkansas has a relatively small heroin problem, Clinton appears to have never addressed the issue of heroin. Heroin use in Arkansas decreased in the early 1980s and then it significantly increased in the late 1980s. The number of heroin users in Arkansas is growing: in 1989-90, heroin use was at 17 percent and in 1990-91, heroin use was at 18.4 percent.⁹³

Ice (also known as Crank or Methamphetamine): In 1989, Clinton proposed that tougher penalties be created in order to discourage Methamphetamine labs which are abundant in the rural parts of the state.⁹⁴ Since that time, however, Clinton does not seem to have addressed the national growing crisis of ICE. In 1990, several witnesses at a congressional hearing Senator David Pryor held on the drug problems in Arkansas

testified that ICE is tremendous growing problem in several parts of the state -- especially in the northern sections. Steve Sargent, Executive Director of the largest non-profit treatment center in Arkansas, Decision Point, testified that his center saw a 195 percent increase of ICE use from 1988 to 1989.⁹⁵

Alcohol Abuse/DUI: Alcohol abuse in Arkansas is a very serious problem. The most telling statistic about alcohol abuse in Arkansas is that in 1979-1980 the Arkansas Human Services Division of Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention estimated that there were 130,406 alcohol abusers and only 1,135 were treated. From 1982 to 1989, the Arkansas Department of Human Services maintained that the number of estimated abusers remained exactly at 130,406 while the number of those treated rose to 9,314 in 1989. Since 1989, the number of those given treatment is no longer in the state reports -- alcohol abuse admissions is the new statistic. From 1988 to 1989, alcohol admissions grew from 6,104 to 6,524. Even though it appears that more individuals are receiving alcohol abuse treatment, it is also clear that alcohol abuse is a growing problem in Arkansas -- despite the static number of abusers the Human Services department has offered throughout the 1980s.

In 1989, arrests for drunkenness comprised 12.9 percent of all arrests in Arkansas. After years of alcohol and drug arrests decreasing from 50 percent of all arrests in 1979, total arrests due to alcohol and drugs appear to be increasing once again: rising 7 percent from 1988 to 1990-1991. Another problem regarding alcohol abuse in Arkansas is that alcohol abuse has been increasing specifically for minorities since 1985 -- alcohol use decreased for Caucasians in the same time period.⁹⁶

In 1981, Arkansas started creating penalties and regulations for DUI. While out of office in 1982, Clinton suggested that Arkansas should consider shaming drunk drivers by giving them special license plates for several months -- once he became governor again, it appears that he never signed such a bill.⁹⁷ A 1985 law creates penalties for DUI focusing on suspension of the driver's license for different time periods depending upon the number of offenses (the maximum penalty being "revocation for the fourth or subsequent offense occurring within a three year period of the first offense. Revocation shall continue for a period of three-years").⁹⁸ Despite the Arkansas laws, DUI has been steadily increasing: in 1989 DUIs comprised 12.7 percent of all arrests; from 1990-1991, DUIs increased 8.3 percent from 1988.

The 1991 Arkansas legislative session produced two laws on alcohol abuse. One law allows those found guilty of offenses and forced to take alcohol treatment and/or education to pay fees to offset the costs of the program.⁹⁹ The second law outlaws the manufacturing or selling of fake I.D.s for minors -- it appears that this may have been Arkansas' first law to punish the use and creation of fake I.D.s.¹⁰⁰

Steroid Abuse: In 1991, Clinton signed two steroid laws. These laws define "anabolic steroid," make it a misdemeanor to sell steroids or to distribute them to minors.¹⁰¹

Drugs in Jail

While Clinton speaks of the need for treatment for criminals in boot camps and jails, he has had problems offering treatment to criminals in Arkansas jails. In 1987, Clinton told the Arkansas Department of Corrections to comply with circuit court orders that inmates have drug and alcohol treatment and education programs "insofar as possible." Circuit Judge Jack Lessenberry believed that treatment orders were being "ignored" by the Corrections Department. The Corrections Department claimed that treatment was not being provided because of a lack of funds -- Clinton said he would investigate. Circuit Judges Lessenberry and Loftin had tried to use the Alternative Service Act (Act 378 of 1975) which offered more flexibility in sentencing first-time, nonviolent criminals, in order to get treatment to those who needed it. Unfortunately, the judges claimed that the Corrections Department was not abiding by this law (and offering treatment) either.¹⁰² It is not clear what Clinton did to resolve this problem.

In 1986, Arkansas prisons were exposed for having many problems, one of which was drug trafficking in prisons -- two correctional officers at the Tucker Unit were arrested for trafficking that year.¹⁰³ In 1988, Bill Clinton was beginning to realize that the surge in prison population was due mainly to drug arrests. He proposed to the state legislature that more money be spent on drug prevention and that prisoners be offered more drug education (even though the law currently stated that prisoners could get up to 90 days off their sentence for taking drug education courses).¹⁰⁴

Drugs and AIDS

According to the Division of Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention of the Arkansas Human Services Department, there were 23 IV drug users with AIDS from 1985 to 1989. From 1985 to 1990, there were 31 IV drug user AIDS cases in Arkansas (there was a significant proportionate rise in IV drug user AIDS cases from 1989-1990).¹⁰⁵ While Clinton often speaks of the scourge of AIDS on the homosexual community and the growing threat to the heterosexuals, he has barely discussed a policy for AIDS and IV drug users. In fact, in Clinton's campaign AIDS policy paper, IV drug users are not even mentioned. Clinton has said that he favors an expanded clinical definition of AIDS in order to include more IV drug users.¹⁰⁶ As of May 1992, Clinton had not taken a public position on needle-exchange programs.¹⁰⁷

Drug Testing and Drug-Free Workplace

In August 1986, Clinton remarked that he would take a drug test just as President Reagan and then-Vice President Bush did. However, Clinton said that he had not thought about asking his staff to be drug tested.¹⁰⁸ By September 1986, Clinton and his campaign manager, Betsey Wright, had taken drug tests and he challenged his gubernatorial opponents to do the same.¹⁰⁹ This set off what became known in

Arkansas as "Jar Wars," (i.e., all the candidates and their wives took drug tests). When asked if state employees should have to take drug tests in 1986, Clinton said, "I don't know that I think every state employee should have to do it. [Drug testing is] a whole new area and we're feeling our way along."¹¹⁰ The *Arkansas Gazette* reported that Clinton believed drug testing should only be done "on a case by case basis 'and there should be some reason to ask a person to take a test' ... 'Before we act like taking a drug test' will solve the country's drug abuse problems, 'we need to think it through and ask some tough questions'."¹¹¹ Even though it was estimated that drug and alcohol abuse had cost Arkansas \$310 million in 1984 due to crime, lost productivity, and medical bills, Clinton said that there were "some grounds" to test security-related jobs but wanted to see what the federal government wanted to do first. "Before we just start throwing the net over people, saying that, because you're a state employee or federal employee or journalist or whatever, you have to take a drug test, I think we've got to have a clear rationale."¹¹²

By May 1989, Clinton complied with new federal laws requiring all state agencies with federal contracts meet drug-free standards (i.e., possession or use of controlled substances at the workplace is illegal and subject to termination or discipline). While Clinton decided to apply this policy to all Arkansas state workers, no drug testing was required.¹¹³ Despite Clinton's clear hesitancy of flatly endorsing drug testing, the people of Arkansas went forward in their quests for drug testing. In September 1989, the police chief of Forrest City, Joe Goff, mandated random drug testing of his employees and subjected himself to the same at the request of the mayor.¹¹⁴ In October 1989, Arkansas' legislative drug study committee recommended drug testing in the workplace.¹¹⁵ In the 1989 legislative session, Clinton proposed the Workplace Drug Testing Act which would have stopped unemployment benefits for workers fired because of drug use and also would have required state employees to submit to drug testing.¹¹⁶ Because of funding problems, Clinton ended up vetoing all of his proposed drug legislation.

By February 1990, Clinton was saying: "A lot of people have been all bent out of shape about drug testing, and frankly I don't see why. We have to be tested or vaccinated for all kinds of diseases and problems that our chances of being troubled with are far less than drugs."¹¹⁷ Though Clinton has not spoken about the issue of drug testing on the campaign trail, his spokesman did say that Clinton had no position on mandatory drug testing for federal employees.¹¹⁸

Arkansas only has one of the three federally-suggested drug testing laws. As of 1991, Arkansas has a law requiring drug testing as a condition of parole for drug offenders. It does not have a law requiring drug testing for specific public sector employees nor does it possess guidelines for random drug testing in the private sector.¹¹⁹

Drugs in Arkansas

Numbers: The actual number of drug users in Arkansas is not offered in the Department of Human Services' drug office's (ADAP) biennial reports. Estimates of abusers were offered until 1989 and then only drug admissions at Benton Detoxification Center were offered. From 1979 to 1987 the estimated number of drug abusers oddly remained exactly at 18,578. In 1987 the number suddenly sky-rocketed to 101,828. In 1989 to 1991, estimated numbers of drug users were no longer figured, only a drug admission number from Benton was offered: in 1989-90 ADAP says there were 3,090 drug admissions and in 1990-1991, there were 3,308. Beyond the obvious ambiguity in these reports, it should also be noted that the number of drug abusers "served" each year is extremely low -- in 1979-81 it was 1,135 served; it maximized at 5,307 served in 1987-89. Even if the number of estimated drug abusers did remain at 18,578 for eight years, the number actually served by the state is fractional. It is also important to note that drug-induced crimes has always accounted for a significant amount of the total arrests in Arkansas -- this indicates that there is a significant amount of abusers in Arkansas and not only that there are more addicts in treatment.

Race and Substance Abuse: One very serious trend in drug and alcohol abuse in Arkansas is that minority drug and alcohol abuse has increased from 15 percent in 1979-81 to 37 percent in 1990-91. Caucasian drug and alcohol abuse, however, has decreased from 85 percent in 1979-81 to 63 percent in 1990-91.¹²⁰ This data demonstrates that drug and alcohol abuse in Arkansas is dominated by its white population -- however, it also indicates that as time progresses an increasing percentage of Arkansas' minority population is becoming drug dependent [Arkansas's minority population was 17.7 percent in 1990]. [Note: ADAP's biennial reports only offer drug abuse numbers with racial characteristics of those receiving drug treatment. The reports do not offer exact number of drug abusers in Arkansas].

State Drug Offices: The main source of drug services in Arkansas is the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Office which is located in the Department of Human Services. Besides the Deputy Director, the head of the ADAP office, Arkansas has two other peers in the drug war: the Director of the Governor's Partnership of Substance Abuse Prevention and the state Drug Czar. Under the Deputy Director of ADAP are three Assistant Deputy Directors, two handling administration and one overseeing the medical services at Benton Detoxification Center (the 80-bed treatment center that the state runs). Beyond this there is only the state coordinator of Drug-Free Schools in the Arkansas Department of Education and there is local representation of federal agencies such as DEA and FBI.¹²¹ On the supply side, the Arkansas corrections department and local and state police are involved. Clinton also created Drug Task Forces.

Arkansas Drug Task Forces: Corruption within the state's drug task forces, which were set up at Clinton's urging, has been exposed. Proposed cuts of 15 percent

for the 26 drug task forces have been officially explained by saying that only waste and excessive overhead in these programs will be cut.¹²² A report in July 1991 by the Arkansas First Judicial District Drug Task Force showed that, "[d]uring six months of operation in 1990, the task force resolved 13 drug cases. But all of the defendants avoided prison sentences by handing over more money and cars."¹²³ This same task force, and others, have now become the subject of controversy for junket-taking and other corruption. The task forces were created by the state but paid for with federal funding. Press accounts described one example: nine members of the First Judicial District Task Force and the Crittenden County Drug Task Force went on a training mission on a cruise boat to the Bahamas. State Drug Czar Robert Shepherd countered the charges, saying the cost of the Bahamas cruise trip for the drug task forces wasn't "out of line" while noting the course, held by the Broward County Sheriff's Office of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, is considered "one of the best."¹²⁴ In another case of alleged corruption, a former coordinator of the Seventh Judicial District Task Force, for whom an arrest warrant (for failing to appear as a witness in a burglary trial) was issued in February 1991, is also wanted for questioning in the disappearance of about \$4,000 in task force money. Three members of the Twentieth Judicial District were charged with tampering with evidence; they are accused of putting cocaine into baking soda to nail suspected drug dealers.¹²⁵ Reports in the March 1992 *Arkansas Times* describe this blunder:

Crossett, where officers from the Southeast Arkansas Delta Drug Task Force ... and the State Police burst into the home of Pete Dawkins, a paper mill worker and volunteer basketball coach, knocked Dawkins to the floor, forced his mother-in-law to the floor at gun point, and shoved his son against a wall before realizing they had targeted the wrong house for a drug raid. Meanwhile, a suspect who lived a block away escaped in a pickup truck.

National War on Drugs: When President Bush announced his war on drugs in 1989, Clinton was quite optimistic about President Bush's plan. The State Drug Czar, Robert Shepherd was pleased as well: "I think that's what the president's game plan is, and I think a big portion of the funds will go up front to street level activities in law enforcement. I think a good portion will go to treatment and education, too, and that's in line with what the people in Arkansas are thinking." Various Arkansas department directors praised the new funding in the plan. Clinton hoped that the federal strategy would include "everything [Bush] can do to help cut off the supply" from other countries.¹²⁶ "It's a question of whether we're going to control our own destiny," Clinton said, while advocating the use of the military "where appropriate" to fight drug trafficking. In keeping with his general theme of responsibility in return for government programs, Clinton exhorts, "the American people [who] are going to have to help, too ... Our culture has also failed, and we've got to take responsibility for it."¹²⁷

Though Clinton was optimistic about the national drug strategy in 1989, on the campaign trail Clinton curiously commented: "What we need is a national drug policy

...¹²⁸ Perhaps Clinton does not know that the Bush Administration has offered four comprehensive National Drug Control Strategies since 1989.

State Drug Czar: On the idea of having a state drug czar, Clinton said the following in February 1989: "We don't want to create someone who has any jurisdictional authority over state and local officials, I don't think. We may need a spokesman, someone who could be a more visible advocate for the education, prevention and treatment programs than we now have." The post was to be an appointment of the state's attorney general.¹²⁹ Clinton originally opposed the state drug czar position because he believed that it would favor law enforcement over demand side remedies.¹³⁰ By August 1989, Clinton had appointed the state's first drug czar, Robert Shepherd (a former Grant County sheriff). Shepherd was the third individual and the first law enforcement expert to be offered the job by Clinton. The position is paid with funds from Clinton's office budget. Clinton was also allowed to define what the job would be: "coordinating, cajoling, and persuading" and acting as chairman of Clinton's new Drug Abuse Coordinating Council. Technically, the state drug czar also distributes the federal money. Shepherd admitted in 1989 that he "wasn't appointed because I have all the answers" but because he had "the ability to listen and work with people."¹³¹ In August 1989 Clinton introduced the new state drug czar as "the Arkansas drug dealer."¹³²

Funding: Arkansas has received ample federal funds for fighting the war against illicit drugs. Since George Bush has been President, Arkansas has received significantly more federal drug grant funds -- in FY89 Arkansas received \$5.9 million, in FY90 the state received \$11.1 million, and in FY91, Arkansas received \$12 million.¹³³ Arkansas received \$6.1 million in federal funding for anti-drug purposes in 1989 alone.¹³⁴ While Arkansas has received much federal money, it has had a problem contributing its own share. In December 1989, the *Arkansas Gazette* reported that U.S. Representative Pete Stark said that Arkansas was one of 12 states that was "contributing to the country's failure to win its war on illegal drugs." Rep. Stark released a report, "War on Drugs Failure Blamed on Arkansas' Neglect," that pointed out that Arkansas only spends \$3.36 per capita for drug and alcohol abuse treatment -- compared to the national average of \$8.¹³⁵

Throughout the years, Clinton has proposed increasing the state budget to fight drugs many times. In 1989 Clinton offered his first and most encompassing drug package to the state legislature. He proposed spending \$15-16 million on law enforcement and treatment within the drug package.¹³⁶ He proposed that most of the money for this package come from taxes (sin taxes, a two-year 2 percent income surtax, taxes on trusts and estates, and on corporate incomes of \$100,000 or more, etc.).¹³⁷ The taxes for the drug package were contained under a general "Item 98:" "To increase various excise taxes and permit fees."¹³⁸ Arkansas Representative William Walker called the tax for the package a \$17 million tax increase.¹³⁹ Clinton sought funds for this package from almost every source: in 1989 he even originally supported a measure to raise \$2.3 million in tax revenues for drugs from a \$200 income tax credit for all retirees.¹⁴⁰ Clinton told the legislature that he was against paying for the drug

war with the revenue growth (with which he wanted to fund education).¹⁴¹ Clinton claimed that drug war expenses would not be made at the expense of education or the human services budget.¹⁴²

In the end, most of the revenue measures for the package were voted down and thus, Clinton ended up vetoing the drug package due to a lack of funding because the legislature failed Clinton's 2 percent surtax on income tax bills.¹⁴³ The fallout from this drug package failure was expected to be fatal for the state's matching funds. Clinton had wanted \$3.2 million for the state's matching funds -- but the entire package was simply too loaded with taxes for the state legislature to accept. The state even considered using its Revenue Stabilization Trust Fund (which is used for natural disasters, etc.) to make its drug matching funds that year. Clinton's spokesman said, "It looks like most of the federal money will go unused." The state drug czar said he was "at a loss" for what to do.¹⁴⁴

Beyond many offering proposals to increase funding for both supply and demand programs, starting around 1986, Clinton seems to have not been very effective -- most of them were never passed. Many of the state's drug programs have also been plagued by waste and corruption. One example of this is the state's 26 drug task forces which are to be cut 15 percent in 1992.¹⁴⁵ State Rep. Tim Hutchinson said shortly after his legislation creating the Arkansas drug czar's office was passed, "[M]uch of the money in past federal assistance programs was used up in administration and bureaucracy."¹⁴⁶ The recent funding cuts were announced by Drug Czar Robert Shepherd, who also hinted at the waste involved: "It will just force them to cut the fat out of their budgets."¹⁴⁷ Given Clinton's inclination to pay for programs by increased taxation and given the waste and corruption found in many of the state's drug programs, it appears that the Arkansas legislature may not be confident in increasing funding for drug programs under Clinton.

Arkansas Drug Legislation: The main drug law in Arkansas is Act 590 of 1971, the Uniformed Controlled Substances Act. The act has barely been amended (usually to redefine definitions or to clarify) since 1971 (only in 1985 and 1987).¹⁴⁸ Since Act 590, it is fair to say that Arkansas has not legislated on drugs very much and when laws were passed they were often to meet a pressing need (e.g., in 1983 booby trap laws were passed to meet the immediate threat on public lands). Drug legislation in Arkansas from 1979 is marked by two things: much DUI legislation starting in 1981 and a surplus of more substantial drug legislation in 1991.

According to the State Drug Control Status Summary of 1990, Arkansas was a below average state in possessing the best drug laws. In 1990, Arkansas possessed only six of the possible 18 federally-recommended laws. Since 1990, Arkansas added four new federally-recommended laws (the most important drug legislation ever passed in Arkansas was passed in the 1991 session).¹⁴⁹

- **Various Legislation:** In 1989 Clinton proposed and signed into law the prohibition of students carrying beepers. Beepers are often used by drug dealers.¹⁵⁰ In March 1989, the drug hotline was created to field questions about drug treatment and to

report drug crimes.¹⁵¹ In 1991, a law was created to suspend the drivers' licenses of drug criminals for six months.¹⁵²

• *Clinton's 1989 Drug Package:* In October 1989, Clinton held a special session to address his drug package. On October 11, 1989, Clinton told the *Arkansas Gazette* that he had not figured out how much the entire package would cost.¹⁵³ Clinton's drug package consisted of the following items: increasing Arkansas' funds to match federal grants for law enforcement; increasing funding for drug treatment; increasing penalties for Drug Free Zones; increasing penalties for use of minors in drug crimes; "organizing activity to commit drug crimes and to make such an offense punishable by death or by imprisonment for life without parole;" increasing penalties for drug labs; increasing penalties for the use or threatening of force while committing drug crimes or conspiracy; revoking drivers' licenses for drug criminals who are minors; hiring more undercover police officers; hiring more staff for boot camps; revising involuntary drug treatment admission law; increasing penalties for distribution and for public officials who do drug crimes; authorizing women's bootcamps; and funding provisions for these bills (taxes).¹⁵⁴

After being stalled in committee, funding became a problem: "Governor Bill Clinton and legislators ... beat a disorderly retreat in their war against illegal drugs. They agreed to scale back spending on the drug war from \$20 million to \$10 million, but they still couldn't reach a consensus on a tax increase to pay for those [drug] programs."¹⁵⁵ Clinton's efforts to increase taxes for new revenue had been on "shaky grounds" with his effort to increase education funds (much less to fund the drug war).¹⁵⁶ By early November 1989 the bill (HB 1023 to primarily fund the drug war with a two-year personal and corporate income surtax) failed and Clinton promised to veto the drug package without its \$16 million funding.¹⁵⁷ Clinton said that this package would have only "contained" the drug problem, not stopped it.¹⁵⁸

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- ⁵1992 Drug Strategy, p. 7.
- ⁶DHS report, 1991.
- ⁷Governor lists strong stands for platform, 5/21/88, AG.
- ⁸Jail crisis a vicious cycle, 4/24/89, AG.
- ⁹Clinton honing message, 9/16/91, AG.
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- ¹¹Legislative Digest, 2/18/89, AG.
- ¹²Loss of family values is nation's biggest problem, 8/11/89, AG.
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- ⁴⁶Brakes applied to drug arrests on interstates, 9/1/89, AG.
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