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Various Clips on 1994 Crime Bill - '93 Spring to '94 Summer [Drugs] [1]

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The Associated Press

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October 13, 1993, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 734 words

HEADLINE: Experts: Drug Profits Behind Haitian Military Violence

BYLINE: By RICHARD COLE, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: MIAMI

BODY:

Haiti's military stands to lose more than political power if it allows the restoration of democracy - it might have to give up millions of dollars in profits from the illegal drug trade.

"These guys are making a substantial amount of money running drugs through their country," said Bruce Bagley, director of the drug-trafficking task force at the North-South Center, a federally funded think tank in Miami. "They would rather drive their country to wrack and ruin, to anarchy, than to give up their deal."

The military's leaders have repeatedly voiced distrust of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and opposition to being pushed by international pressure. Bagley said the drug trade provides an underlying motive.

Aristide is due to return to Haiti in about two weeks under an internationally brokered agreement to restore democracy.

U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration confidential reports show drug interdiction has all but vanished in the two years since the military takeover that ousted Aristide.

Both Haitian military leader Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras and police chief Lt. Col. Michel Francois have been named in General Accounting Office reports as allegedly protecting drug deals, Bagley said.

He estimated 50 tons of Colombian cocaine flow through Haiti each year, generating \$ 200 million to \$ 300 million in profits. Bagley said the figure may be as high as \$ 500 million.

"That's what lies behind the unwillingness of both the police commander and Cedras to accept the international force in Haiti," Bagley said.

DEA officials, worried about the safety of their agents in Haiti, refuse to talk publicly about the military's role in drug trafficking.

In September 1992, Haiti's resident DEA liaison, Tony Greco, was forced to leave the country, according to a confidential DEA summary given to Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., who headed a congressional delegation to Haiti earlier this year. Greco had supplied information leading to the arrest of a Haitian army narcotics intelligence officer on drug charges.

"Approximately one week later ... Greco received a life-threatening phone call directed at his family from an individual who identified himself as the boss of the arrested officer," the

DEA said. The individual used Greco's confidential line at the U.S. Embassy.

At the time, Greco was pursuing a case against Haiti's largest alleged drug trafficker, Colombian citizen Fernando Burgos Martinez, who operates freely despite ample DEA evidence given to Haiti's military, according to the report.

The report said Haiti is being used by cocaine traffickers from Colombia and the Dominican Republic to stockpile drugs before shipment to Miami.

"Corruption levels within the narcotics services (which to all levels is the Haitian military) is substantial enough to hamper any significant drug investigation attempting to dismantle a Colombian organization in-country," the DEA report said.

The DEA summary said cocaine seizures in Haiti, which totaled 3,812 pounds in 1990, plummeted after the September 1991 coup. No major seizures were made in Haiti from the time of the coup through the end of 1992, one report shows. Seizures in 1992 totaled only 105 pounds.

Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., who heads the House drug policy caucus, said he was meeting with President Clinton on Wednesday about the situation in Haiti.

"There is no question drugs play a role in the military's resistance - these people are making a lot of money through shakedowns, and this is their last hour," Rangel said. "It was one of the first things Aristide went after, and it was a factor in his ouster."

The Haitian military's involvement in drugs is nothing new.

At a 1988 Senate hearing, witnesses testified that then-interior and defense minister Gen. Williams Regala - and his DEA liaison officer - protected and even supervised shipments of Colombian cocaine traffickers.

Lt. Col. Jean-Claude Paul, commander of the powerful Dessalines Barracks, was indicted in Miami in 1988 for alleged drug trafficking - then found poisoned when his extradition became a political controversy.

In 1989, under pressure from U.S. authorities, Haiti's then-military leader Lt. Gen. Prosper Avril dismissed 140 officers - most suspected of drug trafficking. The purge resulted in a coup attempt in April 1989, which both Avril and U.S. diplomatic sources blamed on drug-trafficking officers.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 13, 1993

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October 29, 1993, Friday, 2 STAR Edition
SECTION: A; Opinion; Pg. 31

LENGTH: 860 words

HEADLINE: Clinton too quiet about Haiti military's links to thriving cocaine traffic
BYLINE: CLARENCE PAGE

BODY:

PRESIDENT Clinton has not been very candid about what may be the most important element in Haiti's troubled politics: cocaine.

Haiti's ruling military elite, which runs its police department, has been linked repeatedly to the tons of Colombian cocaine that flow through Haiti every year on its way to American streets.

Colombian and Dominican Republic drug lords reportedly drop it off in waterproof bags or slip into remote ports, all of which are guarded by troops beholden to the kleptocracy that runs the country.

Longtime Haiti watchers say interdiction of the cocaine by U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents working in cooperation with Haitian authorities improved during the rule of its elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, then dropped off substantially when Aristide was deposed two years ago by the military kleptocracy of Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras.

A confidential DEA report recently supplied to Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., who led a congressional delegation to Haiti, names alleged drug traffickers it says operate freely while American drug agents stand by helplessly.

The DEA's resident liaison, Tony Greco, unable to reach Haitian narcotics officials after a tip, watched helplessly in May 1991 as a plane dropped bales of cocaine to waiting boats, the report said.

Greco, whose information had led to the arrest of a Haitian army narcotics intelligence officer on drug charges, fled the country last year after receiving a death threat against his family over a confidential telephone line at the American Embassy.

""Corruption levels within the narcotics services (run by the Haitian military) are substantial enough to hamper any significant investigation attempting to dismantle a Colombian organization" in Haiti, the DEA report says.

Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., who heads the House drug policy caucus, has been quoted in news reports as saying drugs and related shakedowns by Haiti's military elite were among Aristide's first targets, that they were an important factor in his ouster and that they remain an important factor in the stubbornness of Cedras.

General Accounting Office reports also have named Cedras and police chief Lt. Col. Michel Francois as allegedly protecting drug deals.

But, while DEA agents risk their lives in the war to stop Haitian drug traffickers, the agency itself is working hand in hand with their alleged protectors, providing information to

the very same Haitian military officers who have been accused of trafficking the narcotics, according to a U.S.Embassy official, speaking to reporters last weekend in return for a promise of anonymity, in Port-au-Prince.

At a briefing in the Haitian capital, the official justified the practice as necessary, no matter what the reputation of the key officers, saying the DEA cannot operate unilaterally without the host country's cooperation. A DEA spokesman in Washington agreed, calling the Haitian cooperation "'reliable and good," in an interview with the Los Angeles Times.

Even so, it is hard to believe that cocaine shipments estimated at 50 tons or more per year could slip through Haiti without the island's military elite knowing about it and cooperating with it.

It also makes you wonder about the CIA report, leaked through Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., a leading opponent of Aristide's return, that alleged Aristide had been treated for mental illness.

It turns out that the time during which the report alleges he was treated for mental illness at a Canadian hospital falls within the period when Aristide, a Roman Catholic priest, was studying and teaching in Israel.

Ah, well. Inaccuracies like that stand as one more embarrassment for an intelligence apparatus that apparently was not intelligent enough to warn President Clinton of the hostile demonstrators waiting at the docks who recently turned away an aid ship loaded with American technical assistance troops.

What's the deal? Bill Clinton has been quite outspoken in his support for Aristide, despite sniping from the likes of Helms. He has pointed out quite properly that, whatever one may think of the man's politics (he comes from a socialist background that must have the conservative Helms chafing), he was elected by two-thirds of an electorate that defied a flood of propaganda and constant risks to their lives just to cast a vote.

In the post-Cold War world, cocaine is a good bet to replace communism as the most subversive force threatening American life.

""Crack" cocaine is the major reason for the upsurge in savage, irrational street violence that has had kids killing kids, fueling street gang activity and catching Florida tourists in the cross fire.

Cocaine was cited by former President Bush to justify his invasion of Panama and arrest of dictator Manuel Noriega. Much of that Panamanian traffic probably has been rerouted through Haiti, which sorely lacks such inconveniences to the traffickers as radar.

What will we do now?

Maybe that's why Clinton is so reluctant to talk about Haiti's cocaine. It might mean he'd have to do something about it.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

TYPE: Editorial Opinion

NOTES: Page is a Pulitzer Prize-winning syndicated columnist specializing in urban issues. He is based in Washington, D.C.

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 30, 1993

OCT 31 1993

Departing DEA Chief Assails Clinton Drug Policy

Narcotics: Robert C. Bonner says government is not 'sending a clear signal' on problem. He questions focus on treatment of hard-core addicts.

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Departing Drug Enforcement Administration chief Robert C. Bonner is warning that the government is no longer "sending a clear signal" on illicit narcotics, and he questioned the Clinton Administration's strategy of focusing its efforts on treatment of hard-core drug addicts.

In an interview last week—held for publication until today, when he officially steps down—Bonner said that emphasizing treatment for hard-core abusers "is doomed to failure" if it means curtailing money for efforts to curb casual use.

As a result, he said, a steady stream of less-addicted users would more than replace the ranks of cured addicts.

Moreover, he maintained that "the success record of treatment programs is not very good."

Bonner, a former federal judge and U.S. attorney in Los Angeles, has headed the DEA since August, 1990. He has said he decided to leave the DEA to return to a private law practice, where he expects "to be handling high-stakes kinds of litigation matters." No successor has been named.

The focus on hard-core addicts was the centerpiece of the interim drug strategy that Lee P. Brown, director of the White House's Office of National Drug Control Policy, presented to the Senate Judiciary Committee earlier this month.

Brown, acknowledging that some progress had been made in reducing casual or intermittent drug use, said that emphasis now must be placed on reducing the hard-core abusers who are responsible for a large portion of cocaine use.

Bonner said he does not oppose drug treatment or research into treatment methods, but he does not believe that the government should pay for such programs by shifting money from enforcement.

He also said the government is sending out a "more ambiguous and muted" signal about drugs than it once did. The Administration has been criticized for failing to draw up a clear, strong drug policy.

Bonner did not place the blame entirely on President Clinton. "Backsliding" began during the George Bush Administration, around the time of the buildup for the Persian Gulf War, he said.

As evidence, Bonner cited previously reported surveys indicating increasing drug use among eighth graders and "the beginning of a very significant increase in the number of heroin abusers in the United States."

Bonner said the increased heroin use also reflects "that there is an absolute glut of heroin in the country."

He also called for reducing the emphasis on interdicting drugs by locating and seizing shipments. That approach plays to the strength of the major trafficking organizations, he said.

"We are playing into their hands because they have the financial capability and the organization simply to increase the production

of cocaine relatively quickly to make up for losses, and the profits are so great that there's no problem doing it," he said.

He said large amounts of resources could be moved from expensive interdiction efforts to "a more highly focused attack on the leadership, key members and infrastructure of these major trafficking organizations." This is the "kingpin" strategy the DEA emphasized under Bonner.

The Administration has already announced a "controlled shift of emphasis" away from interdiction toward pursuing drug producers in source countries. Last week, it scaled back the use of aircraft and ships for drug interdiction in the Caribbean, claiming a savings of \$200 million.

Previously reluctant to discuss turf wars that have hampered the nation's anti-drug efforts, Bonner addressed the friction among the DEA, the FBI and the U.S. Customs Service, the federal agencies most involved in fighting drugs.

While noting that he was pleased by Atty. Gen. Janet Reno's decision not to merge the DEA into the FBI, Bonner said he found fault with her naming of FBI Director Louis J. Freeh to head a new Justice Department office devoted to mediating disputes involving the FBI, the DEA, the U.S. Marshals Service and the Border Patrol.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1993

EXITING DRUG CHIEF WARNS OF CARTELS

Former Head of D.E.A. Says
Agency Is No Match for
Colombian Drug Lords

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

Special to The New York Times

ARLINGTON, Va. — Robert C. Bonner, who has headed the country's main drug-fighting agency for three years, says the United States is ill-prepared to do battle with the world's powerful, highly mobile and tightly managed cocaine trafficking organizations.

"I've had a devil of a time trying to respond to the traffickers," Mr. Bonner said in an interview shortly before stepping down as head of the Drug Enforcement Administration on Friday to join a Los Angeles law firm.

The 51-year-old former Federal prosecutor and judge said that in contrast to Colombia's drug lords, who can spend tens of millions of dollars and shift tactics in an instant without having to consult anyone, American law enforcement officials must develop agency budgets two years in advance and run a gauntlet of competing interests before they can strike out in a new direction.

"We're just not organized well enough in Washington to respond with any degree of alacrity," Mr. Bonner said.

Mr. Bonner, a Bush Administration appointee, said that like many drug experts outside the Government he had grave doubts about whether President Clinton was "serious about drug control" and wanted "to develop not just a drug strategy, but has the will to move Congress and the American people."

Alluding to Mr. Clinton's record of rarely mentioning drugs since taking office and of having quietly acceded to



Robert C. Bonner for The New York Times

Robert C. Bonner

Congressional cuts in his anti-drug budget, Mr. Bonner said he had seen little evidence that the President "considers this an important issue." In contrast, President George Bush doubled Federal spending to fight drugs to nearly \$12 billion.

Mr. Bonner, who reorganized the drug agency to focus on the major drug organizations in Colombia and de-emphasized marijuana raids to free resources for investigations against cocaine and heroin, said he believed that much of the Pentagon's \$1.17 billion drug budget was being wasted on efforts at intercepting drugs and that more of the military effort should go toward training and strengthening Latin American police forces and justice systems. He disagreed with some experts who say some Latin American governments are unreliable partners because of corruption and an unwillingness to challenge the traffickers.

On Thursday, the Pentagon announced that it was reducing its interception campaign with ships, planes and radar by 6 percent to 11 percent and increasing its support of Latin American police and other institutions by 5 percent.

Mr. Bonner said he was skeptical of current drug treatment methods but said he favored spending more on research to develop better approaches. He said he opposed shifting large amounts of law-enforcement money, as many have advocated, to provide more treatment, despite studies showing that heavy drug users consume most of the drugs in the United States and are responsible for most of the drug-inspired crime. At present there is room for about 500,000 people in residential and outpatient centers, but the population of heavy drug users is an estimated 4 million to 6 million, Federal health officials say.

Opposed Agency Merger

Mr. Bonner said he was pleased that the Clinton Administration had dropped plans to merge the Drug Enforcement Administration into the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But he said that appointing Louis J. Freeh, the Director of the F.B.I., to resolve jurisdictional disputes between the agencies was "comparable to telling the chairman of the board of I.B.M. to resolve disputes between I.B.M. and Apple."

Mr. Bonner, whose replacement has not been named, said he believed that overall authority for countering drugs should be concentrated in the hands of one official.

"You've got to place somebody in command," he said. "If you don't have that, it becomes a committee thing and a lot of initiatives are stalled by bureaucratic inertia and killed."

Congress created the Office of National Drug Control Policy five years ago with that concept in mind. But it did not give the head of that office, sometimes referred to as the drug czar, control of the Federal drug budget, which now totals \$13.1 billion. In the end, the drug czar, now Lee P. Brown, the former police commissioner in New York City, was armed with little more than the powers of persuasion.

BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

PAGE 5 OF 7

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2

tributed at crack houses in major U.S. cities, and substantial increases in street-level purity of the drug.

At least part of the problem, Bonner said, is the lack of a vigorous international attack in the "source" countries. While the largest supplier of raw opium to the United States is Burma (Myanmar), that country's government "is not bearing any message from the U.S. government" on drugs because of what he contended was the State Department's preoccupation with human rights abuses.

Bonner's resignation comes shortly after he and his agency won a crucial bureaucratic victory, staving off a proposal by Vice President Gore to fold the DEA into the FBI. Instead,

Attorney General Janet Reno gave FBI Director Louis J. Freeh new powers to resolve operational disputes among all Justice Department agencies, including the DEA.

But Bonner said the new setup created many potential problems. Within hours of Reno making her announcement last month, DEA agents and FBI agents in one city began squabbling over who should prepare an affidavit—with bureau officials threatening to "take it up to the Freeh committee," Bonner said.

Designating the FBI director to adjudicate disputes between the FBI and DEA is like "trying to resolve disputes between IBM and Apple" by giving the job "to the chairman of IBM," he said.

BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

PAGE 4 OF 7

He said it represented "an abdication of the responsibility of the Justice Department," which he contended should "exercise civilian policy control over federal law enforcement agencies."

While Bonner expressed "the highest regard for Freeh," he said that "having the director of the FBI call the shots here certainly is not going to create the perception of impartiality, neutrality that I think is important."

Bonner said his Washington experience showed "that the agency that prevails when there is some dispute is the agency with the ear to the throne." In this case, senior FBI officials who meet with Freeh daily "will have the ear to the throne," he said.

He expressed concern that every minor dispute between the FBI and the DEA out in the field "now will be sucked up to the Freeh committee." He cited a recent dispute between the FBI and the DEA in San Francisco over submitting an affidavit to a court for authority to use a listening device.

Freeh said this was a minor dispute usually left to the local U.S. attorney to resolve, but that an FBI supervisor, whom he did not identify, said: "Either a bureau agent is going to sign the affidavit or we're going to take it to the Freeh committee. That's the mentality of the FBI."



BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times
 ...t C. Bonner is stepping
 down as chief of the DEA to re-
 turn to a private law practice.

7/2

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6

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Drug Haze

WHEN LEE Brown, the president's drug policy director, testified before the Senate about President Clinton's interim drug strategy, the response was one loud catcall. Sen. Biden said the administration had "not paid enough attention" to the drug problem. Sen. DeConcini saw the administration as "drifting into a lack of determination in this area." Sen. Hatch denounced the strategy as "a placebo" and, more ominous, accused the administration of "slipping inexorably into the old permissiveness of the Carter era."

Mr. Clinton isn't "soft" on drugs. But the administration is beginning to run some real political and substantive risks by giving the impression that it doesn't much care about the drug issue. Drugs were propelled to the top of the nation's agenda because President Bush decided to put the issue there, and because Democrats such as Sen. Biden agreed it belonged there. There is no question that drug addiction is a serious problem, and so is the street violence spawned by the drug trade. Its victims are often innocent children who get caught in the middle when the bullets fly. But there has always been a chicken-and-egg debate over how to look at the problem. Should drugs be seen as the primary cause or the effect of problems, especially in the inner city?

Which set of assumptions you start from can influence where you end up. The Clinton administration suggests, without quite saying so, that it sees drugs in the context of other problems. Mr. Brown's drug strategy, for example, speaks not just of what the administration wants to do about drugs but also

of other aspects of Mr. Clinton's urban policy, including his proposal to use federal funds to put up to 50,000 more police on the streets, as well as its community banking, "empowerment zone" and health care initiatives.

The broader approach is perfectly rational. If that's how the administration wants to deal with the drug issue, it should say so explicitly. As it is, Mr. Brown is being forced to make small adjustments in policies inherited from Mr. Bush. He spoke to Congress in general terms about shifting the focus of drug treatment to "hard-core users" and called for a "controlled shift of emphasis" away from interdiction toward hitting drug producers in source countries. This week the administration announced the first fruits of its shift, scaling back the use of aircraft and naval ships for drug interdiction in the Caribbean, for a savings of \$200 million. The move was greeted harshly by Republican Rep. Clay Shaw of Florida, who charged that the administration was "in full retreat in the war against drugs."

That isn't true, but by failing to be more specific about its plans (including its spending proposals) and its underlying assumptions, the administration is turning itself into a large target. Mr. Brown, whose staff was cut from 140 people to 25 in Mr. Clinton's White House reorganization, is not the problem. The administration as a whole should read the warning signs: Democrats who care about the drug issue are discouraged, and Republicans sense a political opportunity. The administration's drug strategy needs fixing.

BURRELLE'S

NewsExpress

PAGE 5 OF 7

8

LOS ANGELES TIMES OCT 26 1993

COLUMN LEFT/
ALEXANDER COCKBURN

The Rambos Still Run Drug Policy

■ 'Czar' Brown is saddled with
the same old billion-dollar sham
confusing crime with economics.

The Clinton Administration's "drug czar," Lee Brown, came to Los Angeles over the weekend to explain the new policy. Earlier in the week he had unveiled it before a skeptical congressional committee, which posed simple but unanswered questions about the degree of budgetary commitment bolstering any new proposals.

And indeed, as expressed in Los Angeles, Brown's plan has all the hallmarks of a Clinton package: bracing rhetorical commitment to fundamental change; substantive adherence to business-as-usual.

The rhetoric proclaims a shift from "war" to rehabilitation. One of the Administration's favorite models is the drug court in Miami instituted in the late 1980s that has tried to clear the judicial logjam by putting drug-using offenders into rehab programs rather than prison.

But Brown's speech to an all-day "town meeting" on drug policy, co-sponsored by the ACLU and the Nation magazine, was a depressing affair.

Drug use, the former New York and Houston police chief asserted, "creates a culture where employment is scarce." This claim was greeted with open derision by an audience that knew firsthand the economic chronology in Los Angeles: de-industrialization of the inner city, particularly in auto and tire production; then metastasis of the drug culture.

At times Brown sounded like George Bush, with heavy pledges to attack drug problems at the source, in the export zones of Latin America. Governments there, Brown said, would be given the requisite assistance to combat the cartels.

After his 15-minute speech and a brief exchange with the audience, Brown was gone. In his wake, another police veteran remarked informally that the czar's substantive powers were tiny and that Brown was confessing privately that in bureaucratic battles with such behemoths as the Drug Enforcement Agency, he already had lost.

The fate of the DEA tells the whole story. Back when the "war on drugs" began, in the late 1960s, there were two federal agencies enforcing the drug laws on a total budget of less than \$10 million. Today there are 54 agencies involved, including every branch of the armed forces, and the overall budget is \$13 billion, with more than \$8 billion going to the DEA alone. None of this has had any noticeable

**'In today's blighted inner cities
there are no realistic economic
strategies to substitute for the
drug commerce.'**

impact on drug importation, distribution or consumption.

From the moment that "Operation Intercept" prompted, in 1969, a shift in smuggling from bulky marijuana bales—the "square grouper" beloved of Florida's fisherfolk—to compact cocaine, the war has been impotent, except in its impact on constitutional protections and guarantees.

Travel to Northern California in the fall and you will see U.S. Army helicopters used in police raids on marijuana gardens, in open violation of the law. As police roam and spy at will, constitutional guarantees of privacy and against unwarranted searches and seizures similarly are being flouted.

In the inner cities, the "drug war" has been an excuse for search-and-destroy missions against the poor, as "Operation Hammer," in the recent era of police chief Daryl Gates in Los Angeles, most blatantly

1/2

2063

attested.

A kindred cost of the war has been the corruption of police forces and the implication of U.S. government agencies in drug smuggling. The role of the CIA in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan has been amply chronicled. The day after Lee Brown's speech, newspaper headlines announced that the DEA was sharing information about drug shipments with Haitian military, even though it is well known that this same military controls the drug trade through Haiti.

Straightforward legalization, a strategy now urged by many respectable citizens, has one unremarked flaw. In peasant economies across the world, in the Andean nations, in Southeast Asia, not to mention rural counties in Northern California, cultivation of marijuana, coca or the opium poppy is either the major or sole economic standby. Often there are no realistic alternatives in an era when commodity prices have otherwise plunged.

Similarly, in today's blighted inner-cities there are no realistic economic strategies to substitute for the drug commerce that is often the only rational career option for urban youth. Certainly the tycoon impresarios of "Rebuild L.A." have come up with no alternative.

Legalization would mean government licensing of monopolies to large corporations, which would swiftly wipe out the small producers and vendors. A better answer is to decriminalize drugs, apply the sort of fines and penalties attached to illegal parking or speeding, declare the war over and move on.

Alexander Cockburn writes for the Nation and other publications.

7/2
3063

BALTIMORE SUN

DATE: OCT 26 1993

Send in the Guard? No, Dollars

Washington's mayor, Sharon Pratt Kelly, says her police department cannot control crime and needs the assistance of the National Guard. She said she needed the power (which governors have) to call guardsmen to active duty to fight crime, particularly in violent neighborhoods where drug-related crime is routine. President Clinton has responded by passing the issue off to Congress.

What the guardsmen would be expected to do, we are not sure. Nor are we sure the mayor is sure. She has said or implied that guardsmen would and would not be armed, would and would not patrol high crime streets, would and would not man roadblocks. She has even said she would just use the Guard for police administrative chores, thus freeing up police officers now doing those for street duty. (If that's the case, why the National Guard? Just send in the General Accounting Office.)

That something drastic needs to be done about violent street crime in Washington is obvious. There were 443 murders plus 16,237 other crimes of violence there last year. Clearly the local police force has failed. The city is a disaster area, and guardsmen and other troops often go to the rescue of communities hit by disasters. But there are many reasons why calling for the National Guard is not the right way to deal with this disaster.

For one thing, crime in Washington is chronic. Put guardsmen on patrol and even if crime goes down dramatically as a result, when the Guard leaves, criminal activity is likely to go back up. And

leave the Guard will. It is a civilian and part-time entity which politicians will not force to patrol dangerous streets or even safe ones for a long time.

Another reason the Guard is not the answer to urban crime is that Washington is not the only big city where crime has overwhelmed police. In Baltimore last year there were 335 murders and 1,464 other crimes of violence. Dozens of cities have destructive crime rates. It is politically impossible to put guardsmen in them all, even briefly.

Still another reason why Mayor Kelly's idea is a bad one is that most National Guard units are not trained for crime control.

The real crime crisis exists in big cities. What they need are more police officers. Most can't afford them. We wish we could believe the new crime bill now in Congress and touted by President Clinton would do what its supporters say: pay for 50,000 officers to do "community policing." It won't. To subsidize 50,000 cops, the federal government could give localities only \$12,000-\$14,000 per cop per year. Maybe Sheriff Andy Taylor can hire Barney Fife for that in Mayberry, but the police chiefs of Washington, Baltimore and other urban centers in desperate need of more cops on the beat surely can't do much with it.

Mayor Kelly has done the crime debate a favor by asking for so drastic a solution as military rescue. Maybe this will force Congress — and governors and state legislatures — to deal with urban crime with the sense of urgency that is required.

1061

DETROIT FREE PRESS

OCT 28 1993

DRUG WAR *a.14*

No quick victory, but nation needs clear strategy

Drug czar Lee Brown went up to Capitol Hill the other day and got bloodied by the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose members don't think he or his boss, Bill Clinton, are doing enough to fight the drug war.

The senators were miffed at the staff cutbacks in the drug policy office in the White House, as well as at the administration's failure to call for more federal substance abuse treatment funds.

The policy office has always been an exercise in public relations — who can remember anything that the first drug czar, William Bennett, did besides promote his own political fortunes? But the lack of support for substance abuse treatment borders on the tragic. The president is missing a beat if he does not

reverse that trend and articulate his own drug policy more clearly. But what policy?

Unhappily, there is no silver bullet with which to slay the drug demon. You have only to look at our failure to curb alcohol abuse and its accompanying ravages to understand that drug abuse also will be a chronic, persistent cancer the country must cope with for years to come.

But we can try to curb the violence linked to the drug trade, to protect neighborhoods from the corrosion induced by the local crack house, and to offer treatment to users who want to kick the habit. We're talking, of course, about gun control, about banning the possession of handguns by juveniles, about forfeiture, community policing, mentoring, anti-drug

education and jobs for urban youths.

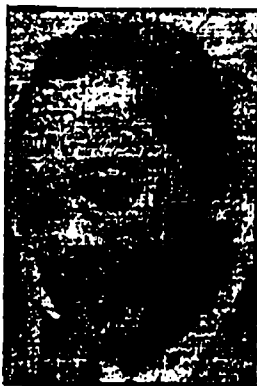
We're also talking about Congress and state legislatures doing less posturing, about wasting fewer resources on mandatory sentences for minor drug infractions, and instead finding more funds for meaningful probation and parole programs. Yes, there's a terrible triteness and lack of glamour to all these recommendations. That doesn't mean they wouldn't be helpful if they ever were funded adequately.

The president's health care plan, the last we heard, will include funds for substance abuse treatment. Reserving even a small chunk of the huge health care budget for such treatment will be a major advance. Meanwhile, we don't hear as much rhetoric about interdiction of drugs

from abroad or dropping paratroopers into Andean coca fields. If that means we're going to stop blaming Peru and Colombia for our own bad habits, and concentrate on reducing demand at home, that's good, too.

So the administration may have a de facto drug policy taking shape after all. If so, the president needs to articulate it more forcefully, to shape federal anti-drug efforts more clearly, and to give local communities more support and sense of direction. If Mr. Clinton has some better ideas in his back pocket, we're eager to hear those, too.

But he can't expect Mr. Brown to be an effective anti-drug crusader, in front of Congress or anywhere else, if he himself has not made the issue a priority and laid out a coherent policy to deal with it.



Brown: Be specific

BURRELLE'S

NewsExpress

PAGE 2 OF 4

3

THE NEW YORK TIMES FRIDAY OCTOBER 29, 1993

Pentagon Plans Shift in War on Drug Traffickers

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

The Defense Department announced a modest shift yesterday away from its ineffective and heavily criticized attempts at intercepting drugs to a greater emphasis on helping countries in Latin America attack the major drug trafficking organizations. But drug experts said the change was likely to have little effect on the flow of illegal drugs into the United States.

Brian E. Sheridan, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Drug Enforcement Policy and Support, said the military planned to cut spending on the interception of drugs, which now accounts for 71 percent of its \$1.17 billion anti-drug budget, by 8 to 11 percentage points. It intends to increase spending on training and equipment for countries that grow, refine and export illegal drugs to 16 percent, up by 5 percentage points.

The biggest impact on the military's anti-drug programs, which have repeatedly been criticized in Congress and by independent drug experts as among the country's most expensive and least effective anti-drug efforts, is being brought about by Congress. Pentagon officials said Congress was likely to cut the overall military anti-drug budget by as much as \$250 million, or nearly double what the Pentagon had recommended after an internal review.

Some drug experts said the Pentagon shift represented little change from that of the Bush Administration and pointed out that in making the announcement today, the Clinton Administration failed to address the main issue of debate: how much of the proposed \$13.1 billion annual drug budget should be devoted to law enforcement and how much to rehabili-

tation and other health measures.

The Clinton Administration's budget allocates about 65 percent to law enforcement and 35 percent to health measures, or about the same as the last Bush budget. Members of Congress and many drug experts have been urging a substantial increase for treatment, and some have suggested a 50-50 split.

The Administration issued a national drug strategy last week that

Stress on helping Latin countries fight the trade.

emphasized health issues. But the strategy was widely criticized by Democrats as well as Republicans and independent experts for not giving any indication of how spending would be apportioned.

Drug experts questioned the fundamental direction of the Pentagon's shift, saying corruption and a lack of enthusiasm for tackling the drug problem in some Latin American countries made putting more money into them an extremely questionable enterprise. Colombia has been the most cooperative by far in helping the United States achieve its goals in Latin America, they said, and it has focused almost entirely on quelling the domestic violence of drug gangs rather than on trying to destroy their ability to produce and ship drugs.

"They're taking money out of interdiction, which is good" said Peter Reuter, the director of drug policy

research at the Rand Corporation. "But they're moving it to an area that I think is even less promising: helping governments that don't want to be helped."

Mr. Reuter characterized the Pentagon's changes as "minor programmatic changes of the kind that go on every year without pronouncement."

Futile but Morally Essential

Rensselaer Lee 3d, a consultant on international drug issues and the author of "White Labyrinth: Cocaine and Political Power," said he regarded attempts at fighting drugs abroad and at intercepting drug shipments as futile but morally essential. "We have to show that we care, that we're taking a stand," he said.

Mr. Sheridan said the assistance to Latin American countries would probably include increases in United States Army Special Forces training teams and perhaps more radar equipment to help the countries track smugglers' planes. Drug Enforcement Administration officials say the radar sites are ineffective and should be shut down.

Mr. Sheridan said the Pentagon also planned to provide more intelligence information to the Latin American governments and to step up assistance in planning anti-drug investigations and raids. He emphasized that American forces would not be accompanying Latin American police and military units on operations.

To cope with a reduced total budget of \$900 million to \$950 million, Mr. Sheridan said the Defense Department was replacing some of its larger warships — cruisers and destroyers — on patrol in the Caribbean with smaller vessels that had been used to monitor Soviet submarines.

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BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

PAGE 2 OF 17

5

er than law enforcement and interdiction.

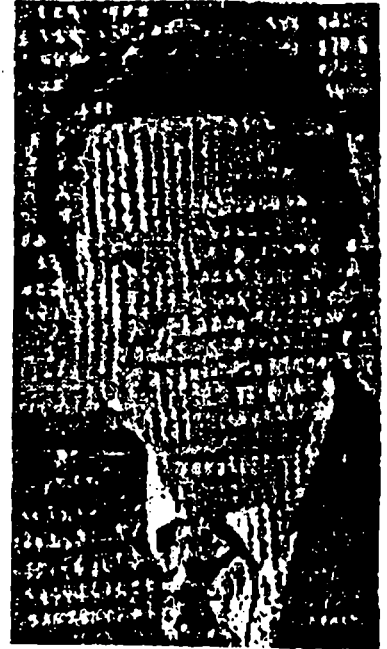
"This just signals the Clinton administration is in full retreat in the war against drugs," said Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R-Fla.) "It's going to have a hell of an impact on South Florida. . . . I think it's absolutely outrageous that the White House would do this."

Shaw argued that the proposal to expand support for law enforcement efforts along the southwest border was only needed because Pentagon assets, which provide support for the Customs Service and Coast Guard, have helped disrupt trafficking patterns and forced smugglers to shift their routes there.

But Sheridan said a Pentagon review found that some of the Caribbean interdiction programs, such as use of sea-based radar balloons to detect drug smugglers, do not work and can be replaced by cheaper, more cost-effective initiatives such as land-based radar.

"I think there was a sense that we needed to adjust our efforts and our programs," said Sheridan. "Obviously, if something's not broke, you don't fix it. Clearly, there was a recognition that when the Latin American countries can produce somewhere around 1,100 metric tons of cocaine per year . . . unless you can interdict hundreds and hundreds of metric tons . . . you've got a lot of work to do."

Sheridan said many details had yet to be worked out and will ultimately depend on final congressional action on the department's appropriation bill. But compared with current \$1.1 billion anti-drug budget, Sheridan said the administration is planning on an anti-drug program for next year "that can be run somewhere in the \$900 million to \$950 million range."



REP. E. CLAY SHAW JR.

... sees "full retreat" in war on drugs

BURRELLE'S

NewsExpress

PAGE 2 OF 4

7

could be moved to an inpatient facility or we could intensify treatment," Mr. Carver said. The Department of Corrections has an inpatient facility available in Northwest. The outpatient treatment will be at 400 F St. NW, just a block from the courthouse.

"This Drug Intervention Program is an all-out effort to break the vicious cycle of drugs and crime," he said.

Last month, 61 percent of 15-year-olds entering the juvenile court system tested positive for drugs, according to Mr. Carver.

"We know that by virtue of an arrest, the criminal justice system can exercise a great deal of influence over a person," he said. "The court can encourage and even compel drug treatment. It can require drug testing. And, it can use its broad powers to sanction or punish violations of its orders."

"This is the first step in breaking an all-too-common problem we see here everyday — drug use," said Judge Ugast.

Miss Reno said failure can be expected by some defendants, but they should not be forgotten.

"If you have cancer, you get treatment and it can go into remission. If the cancer comes back, you don't stop treating it," she said. "Treatment, education and prevention are absolutely as critically important as our law enforcement efforts."

Federal drug czar Brown said it still is not clear to what extent the

■ "You don't have
to be a rocket
scientist to figure out
we have a serious
problem in our
nation and the
community."

drug court program will reduce jail population, court overload or savings to taxpayers.

"But, we clearly know the magnitude of our loss now," he said, noting that about \$170 million now is spent on alcohol and drug abuse.

"We cannot afford not to treat those who need it," he said.

Before leaving, Mrs. Kelly said the court system is overloaded so it's time to try something new.

"You don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure out we have a serious problem in our nation and the community," she said.

Drug courts are being used or formed in about 23 cities and counties. Most, including the District's program, were modeled largely on the one in Dade County, which includes Miami.

2/2

BURRELLE'S

NewsExpress

PAGE 3 OF 3

9

KANSAS CITY STAR

OCT 29 1993

'We must not fail,' says U.S. drug-control chief

**President's policy will cut
drug use, violence, he says.**

By KAREN DILLON
Staff Writer

President Clinton's proposed drug strategy could break the cycle of hard-core drug use and end the violence that is tearing apart African communities, a White House Cabinet member told the Kansas City Crime Commission on Thursday.

"Every person is responsible to battle drugs," said Lee Brown, director of the White House Office of National Drug Con-

trol Policy.

"The lives of our children and the future of our country depend on us," Brown said. "We must not fail."

Brown was in Kansas City to promote the president's plan and to speak at the Crime Commission's 44th annual luncheon. He also toured the Guadalupe Center, visiting with children and Hispanic community leaders.

The president's plan was criticized after Brown outlined it last week to a panel of senators in Washington. Republicans, Democrats and drug-fighting experts said it was inadequate.

But at a press conference Thursday,

See DRUG, C-2, Col. 2



TAMMY LUNBLAD/The Star

"Every person is responsible to battle drugs," said Lee Brown, flanked by County Executive Marsha Murphy (right) and Chris Medina of the Guadalupe Center.

BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

OCT 29 1993

Haiti's drug role draws questions

By Nathaniel Shoppard Jr. *1/4*
 TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—American drug-enforcement agents here share intelligence with the Haitian military, but a knowledgeable U.S. official says they don't get much information back.

Nor, he added, does the U.S. have a means of determining what happens to narcotics confiscated by the military, whom exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has accused of deep involvement in narcotics trafficking.

The arrangement raises questions of whether the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration inadvertently may be helping the movement of drugs through Haiti to the U.S. by divulging American surveillance capabilities.

U.S. authorities receive—but haven't been able to verify—regular reports that high-ranking Haitians were involved in the drug traffic, the official said, describing Haiti as a hub for Colombia's Cali cartel because of its proximity to the Windward Path, the shortest route from Colombia to Miami.

He said approximately a ton of cocaine is shipped there each month and "at any given moment, there are 4,000 kilos (4.4 tons) waiting to be shipped out, and drug merchants love it there:

"Having officials you know you can bribe, having a situation where control is only in the hands of a few, and having contact with officials who have contacts with the method of transportation."

U.S. congressional testimony in 1988 linked Haitian military officers to narcotics trafficking.

The next year, under U.S. pressure, then-military leader, Lt. Gen. Prosper Avril, dismissed 140 officers suspected of trafficking.

A General Accounting Office report alleges that Haiti's current army commander, Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, and police chief, Lt. Col. Michel Francois, protected narcotics deals.

About 18 military officers have been arrested on drug trafficking charges in the last few years, the U.S. official said. The highest-ranking is a captain.

Aristide and others have questioned how military leaders can afford luxurious homes and expensive vehicles on their small salaries. Cedras' official pay is \$800 a month.

Aristide told the United Nations Thursday that the military junta has been skimming off a profit of \$200 million a year from the estimated \$1.2 billion worth of cocaine that passes through Haiti on its way to markets in North America.

"As it stands now, the military is the law-enforcement arm so we must work with the military," the U.S. official said.

"We can't tell you what happens to seizures and have no idea of what methods of storage and destruction are used. We really don't know what the situation is here—and won't until there is a full flow of information between both sides."

1866

MIAMI HERALD OCT 29 1993

Sources: Haiti not haven for drug trade

Reports of bribe-taking disputed

By JEFF LEEN
Herald Staff Writer

A16

Reports that members of the Haitian military are receiving more than \$100 million a year in bribes from drug traffickers are "misleading, unfounded and mere speculation," law enforcement sources in South Florida said Thursday.

Some officials suggested the reports were being deliberately exaggerated to sway public opinion and the Clinton administration into military intervention against Haitian officers who oppose President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to power.

The Associated Press, quoting from a confidential three-page U.S. Senate report, reported Wednesday that Port-au-Prince police chief Lt. Col. Michel Francois receives more than \$100 million in bribes and that more than 1,000 Colombians are working in the drug trade in Haiti.

But law enforcement officials in Miami and diplomatic sources in Haiti say they have no evidence that the Haitian military is reaping huge profits from the drug trade.

Not invasion-worthy?

"This is not a Noriega situation," said one official, speaking on condition of anonymity. He referred to the drug-trafficking allegations against Panamanian strongman Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega that contributed to the U.S. invasion of Panama on Dec. 20, 1989.

"If a congressional informant is alleging this, I question the validity of that because we've never been told that," the official said. "You've got a lot of misinformation."

Thomas V. Cash, DEA special agent in charge in Miami, said he was unaware of the \$100 million figure even though he is responsible for U.S. drug enforcement in Haiti and recently returned from the nation.

"I certainly can't give any credibility to that because I don't know from whence it came," Cash said.

Cash also said another part of the Associated Press story was wrong — a statement from a Justice Department source saying that the DEA would be withdrawing its agents from Haiti soon.

"We have no intention of withdrawing those agents any time soon," Cash said. "I don't know where that's coming from."

\$100 million sounds real high

The Miami Herald has learned that DEA briefers have recently warned members of Congress to be wary of erroneous information on drug trafficking in Haiti.

Even for Colombian drug lords, \$100 million in bribes is an astonishingly high figure.

For example, Medellin Cartel leader Carlos Lehder, who ran an operation that shipped tons of cocaine out of the Bahamas in the 1970s, allegedly paid \$200,000 a month in bribes to Bahamian authorities.

Noriega, convicted of taking a cut of the action to let cartel traffickers smuggle drugs through Panama, received \$660,000 for allowing four 300-kilogram loads through Panama over a two-year period.

Law enforcement experts say both Lehder and Noriega serviced drug operations far larger than the current smuggling through Haiti.

No evidence of conspiracy

The Associated Press said the Senate report found little direct evidence to tie Haiti's military chief, Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, to drug money. But the report added: "Obviously, there is an arrangement" between Cedras and Francois.

Law enforcement officials knowledgeable about smuggling in the Caribbean said they have no evidence of such a conspiracy, however.

"People are always alleging that Cedras and Francois are involved in drug trafficking," said one source. "Yes, we have allegations, but it's been uncorroborated to date. But the same allegations were made when Aristide was in power about his administration. So that's really nothing new."

A U.S. Embassy official familiar with the drug situation in Haiti added: "We receive reports regularly that elements of the military are involved in drug trafficking. These reports have not been verified. We have no concrete proof... only information from time to time that there is some involvement of military officials."

1/2
BURRELLE'S

NewsExpress

PAGE 3 OF 17

14

Since the mid-1980s, Haiti has played an important role as a transshipment and refueling point for Colombian smugglers moving their cocaine to the United States. Haitian military involvement in the trade has been an ongoing problem.

In March 1988, a federal grand jury in Miami indicted Col. Jean-Claude Paul, commander of Haiti's most powerful battalion, for allegedly conspiring to ship 250 kilograms of cocaine to the United States. The next year four high-ranking Haitian military officers were fired for their alleged drug ties.

U.S.-Haiti cooperation

U.S. law enforcement sources say that since that time they have cooperated many times with Haitian military and police officers on drug investigations. From Oct. 31, 1989, to Aug. 20, 1993, roughly 20 seizures have been made, including 150 pounds of cocaine in June 1991 and 227 pounds in March of this year.

The sources say the Haitian military on its own is little threat to drug traffickers because it has few resources for catching planes that drop cocaine to boats waiting off the Haitian coast. In the past year, U.S. law enforcement has tracked two cocaine air drops into Haitian waters.

"Had the Haitians wanted to do something, they did not have the means to do it — no air force and their coast guard is out of gas," a source said. "They have been unable to do any drug interdiction."

Law enforcement sources say Haiti trails Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic as drug-smuggling havens in the Caribbean.

"The U.S. government is not denying that cocaine is going from Haiti to the United States, but not in the massive quantities being quoted," a source said.

Some reports have put the amount of cocaine going through Haiti as high as four tons a month. But the DEA estimates a truer figure would be less than one ton.

"Puerto Rico has always been the No. 1 hot spot," said a source. "Then Santo Domingo is maybe coming in second. But Haiti is just a small portion."

Herald Staff Writer Don Bohning contributed to this report.

42
BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

PAGE 4 OF 17

15

act on Aristide's request to tighten sanctions against Haiti, they foresaw a period of deepening misery and violence in the hemisphere's poorest country.

The Clinton administration, which has made Aristide's return a centerpiece of its Haiti policy "really underestimated the depths of division in Haitian society," said Richard Millet, a specialist in Latin military affairs at Southern Illinois University.

The U.N. Security Council reimposed an oil and arms embargo against Haiti Oct. 19 after Cedras refused to resign as he had pledged to do. The council is now drafting a total ban on all commerce with the nation but diplomats said they don't expect to bring the measure to a vote until next week.

Defiant flourishes missing

The United States, with six warships stationed near Haiti, is leading international efforts to enforce the current embargo. It was unclear Thursday whether the council would act on Aristide's call for an "air blockade" and suspend commercial flights to the country.



HANDSHAKE OF SUPPORT: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, left meets with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at U.N. Thursday.

Aristide, under pressure from U.S. officials to present a conciliatory image, delivered a somber speech Thursday that was devoid of the defiant flourishes that peppered his remarks before the General Assembly last year.

He stressed the need for national healing without violence or vengeance, and said the Governors Island agreement could still provide the framework for a settlement despite the missed deadlines.

"The agreement will always be viable," he said later at a press conference. "We believe in it. So

does the U.N. Those who have violated it, it is up to them" to honor their commitment.

The carefully sequenced accord reached an impasse this month when Haiti's Parliament failed to approve laws that would ratify an amnesty for all those involved in the 1991 coup that ousted Aristide and to legislate a police force that would be separate from the Haitian military and subject to civilian control.

Urges supporters to hang on

Several pro-Aristide lawmakers, citing fears for their safety in

2/3
BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

WASHINGTON TIMES

OCT 30 1993

Overlooked Haiti tie to drug trafficking

P. 0-3

President Clinton has not been very candid about what may be the most important element in Haiti's troubled politics: cocaine.

Haiti's ruling military elite, which runs its police department, has been linked repeatedly to the tons of Colombian cocaine that flow through Haiti every year on its way to American streets.

Colombian and Dominican Republic drug lords reportedly drop it off in waterproof bags or slip into remote ports, all of which are guarded by troops beholden to the kleptocracy that runs the country.

Longtime Haiti-watchers say interdiction of the cocaine by U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents working in cooperation with Haitian authorities improved during the rule of its elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, then dropped off substantially when Mr. Aristide was deposed two years ago by the military kleptocracy of Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras.

A confidential DEA report recently supplied to Rep. John Conyers Jr., Michigan Democrat, who led a congressional delegation to Haiti, names alleged drug traffickers it says operate freely while American drug agents stand by helplessly.

The DEA's resident liaison, Tony Greco, unable to reach Haitian narcotics officials after a tip, watched helplessly in May 1991, as a plane dropped bales of cocaine to waiting boats, the report said.

Mr. Greco, whose information had led to the arrest of a Haitian army narcotics intelligence officer on drug charges, fled the country in September of last year after receiving a death threat against his family over a confidential telephone line at the American Embassy.

"Corruption levels within the narcotics services (run by the Haitian military are) substantial enough to hamper any significant investigation attempting to dismantle a Colombian organization" in Haiti, the DEA report says.

Rep. Charles Rangel, New York Democrat, who heads the House drug policy caucus, has been quoted in news reports as saying drugs and related shakedowns by Haiti's military elite were among Mr. Aristide's first targets, that they were an important factor in his ouster and that they remain an important factor in the stubbornness of Gen. Cedras.

General Accounting Office reports also have named Gen. Cedras and police chief Lt. Col. Michel Francois as allegedly protecting drug deals.

But, while DEA agents risk their lives in the war to stop Haitian drug traffickers, the agency itself is working hand-in-hand with their alleged protectors, providing information to the very same Haitian military officers who have been accused of trafficking the narcotics, according to a U.S. Embassy official, speaking to reporters last weekend in re-

turn for a promise of anonymity, in Port Au Prince.

At a briefing in the Haitian capital, the official justified the practice as necessary, no matter what the reputation of the key officers, saying the DEA cannot operate unilaterally without the host country's cooperation. A DEA spokesman in Washington agreed, in an interview with the Los Angeles Times, calling the Haitian cooperation "reliable and good."

Even so, it is hard to believe that cocaine shipments estimated at 50 tons or more per year could slip through Haiti without the island's military elite knowing about it and cooperating with it.

It also makes you wonder about the CIA report, leaked through Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, a leading opponent of Mr. Aristide's return, that alleged Mr. Aristide had been treated for mental illness.

It turns out that the time during which the report alleges he was treated for mental illness at a Canadian hospital falls within the period from 1979 to 1982 when Mr. Aristide, a Roman Catholic priest, was studying and teaching in Israel.

Ah, well. Inaccuracies like that stand as one more embarrassment

for an intelligence apparatus that apparently was not intelligent enough to warn President Clinton of the hostile demonstrators waiting at the docks who recently turned away an aid ship loaded with American technical assistance troops.

What's the deal? Bill Clinton has been quite outspoken in his support for Mr. Aristide, despite sniping from the likes of Mr. Helms. He has pointed out quite properly that, whatever one may think of the man's politics (he comes from a socialist background that must have the conservative Mr. Helms chafing), he was elected by two-thirds of an electorate that defied a flood of propaganda and constant risks to their lives just to cast a vote.

In the post-Cold War world, cocaine is a good bet to replace communism as the most subversive force threatening American life. "Crack" cocaine is the major reason for the upsurge in savage, irrational street violence that has had kids killing kids, fueling street gang activity and catching Florida tourists in the cross-fire.

Cocaine was cited by former President Bush to justify his invasion of Panama and arrest of dictator Manuel Noriega. Much of that Panamanian traffic probably has been re-routed through Haiti, which sorely lacks such inconveniences to the traffickers as radar.

What will we do now?

Maybe that's why Mr. Clinton is so reluctant to talk about Haiti's cocaine. It might mean he'd have to do something about it.

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

PAGE 1 OF 7

42

BOSTON GLOBE NOV 01 1993

Experts criticize US foreign policy team

By Anthony Flint
GLOBE STAFF

When President Clinton took office in January, he recruited experts from the nation's universities, including a dozen from Harvard. But as the dust begins to settle after early stumbles in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti, many scholars and policy intellectuals are suggesting that in the area of foreign affairs, Clinton's cultivation of academia was insufficient.

Since the president built a brain trust of scholarly experts to advise him on the economy, health care, the war on drugs and welfare reform, these scholars ask, where are the big-thinking people who could help forge a foreign policy for the post-Cold War world, or navigate the correct path in complex situations such as those in Haiti or Somalia?

Where is someone who could write the 1953 equivalent of the Mr. X article, George Kennan's celebrated treatise that framed the policy of Cold War containment?

"He didn't want to highlight foreign policy, but he's gone to the opposite extreme and chosen people who are almost not up to the task. He's got people who don't seem to realize they are at a historic turning point," said Jonathan Clarke, a former member of the British diplomatic service and a writer on foreign affairs in Washington.

Richard E. Neustadt, a professor of government at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government who has chronicled presidential teams, noted that most of Clinton's policy makers, particularly in the State Department, are from President

Carter's foreign-policy team. These advisers are not so much "academics but returnees, spoiling for a second chance," Neustadt said.

Expectations were initially high for National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, who was plucked from a political science professorship at Mount Holyoke College. Although Lake served under Nixon and as assistant secretary of state under Carter, he spent his time in exile at Amherst and Mount Holyoke after Carter's defeat in 1980 and is regarded as a well-schooled figure.

But Lake has kept a relatively low profile in Washington and has been criticized for deferring to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the memory perhaps fresh in his mind of Carter-era squabbles between Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski. So the man academicians initially considered one of their own is better known for quiet consensus than vision or bold strokes.

"To the extent academics are appointed in the fields where they have expertise, one would expect them to have ideas, and a sense of how the problems might be dealt with, and would get off to a faster start," said Samuel P. Huntington, director of Harvard's Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, at the Center for International Affairs.

However, Huntington, who was a member of the National Security Council under Carter, maintained that many Clinton appointees who came from universities have been effective in the foreign policy arena. He cited Ashton Carter and Graham Allison of the Kennedy School and John Deutsch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who all took top positions at the Department of Defense.

Some observers argue that because Clinton's

1/2

40 of 5

38

Focus on 'hard-core' drug user

New crime-fighting ideas needed, Brown says in talk here

By ERIC HANSON
Houston Chronicle

A 33

The country's drug czar, Lee P. Brown, said in a Houston speech Friday that drug abuse and the violence and crime associated with it are the nation's premier domestic problems.



Brown

Brown, who was chief of the Houston police department for eight years, outlined the Clinton administration's plan to combat drug use and crime.

He said that the time has come for government to come up with some new ideas in the war against drug abuse.

"Our policies will differ from those in the past in that we will focus on the hard-core drug user," Brown said.

Brown, who is the director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, said heavy drug users consume the majority of drugs in the United States and cause the most crime.

"The senseless violence that takes place on the streets of America must stop," Brown said.

Brown said he plans to push forward a program that stresses drug prevention, education and treatment.

However, Brown said law enforcement will continue to play a large role in the battle and that interdiction of drug trafficking will remain a high priority.

He said that there will be a change in emphasis of the interdiction programs with law officers concentrating on aiding foreign governments in

the battles against drug producers instead of spending most of their time trying to intercept drug shipments.

"As we look at the vastness of our border, it's kind of like trying to catch the bees as they come across the border. It makes good sense to me to go to the beehive in the source country," Brown said.

But the drug czar said that prevention and education remain at the heart of his anti-drug programs and he said that instruction should start as early as possible.

He said that an educational program that begins at the kindergarten level and continues through the last year of high school should be in-

stalled in every U.S. school.

"We want to immunize our children from the allure of drugs, certainly from the mystique of drug use. To do that we intend to provide them with factual and accurate information that is relevant to their age group," he said.

"Any person that uses drugs has three choices: One, they can stop, which is what we hope they will do; two, they will end up in jail; and three, they will end up in the morgue," Brown said.

Brown was in Houston to address more than 1,000 volunteers in Houston Crackdown, a community-based anti-drug program.

BURRELLE'S

NEWS EXPRESS

PAGE 3 OF 9

Drug office aide reported gift late

By Michael Hedges
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A woman chosen for a high-level post in the White House anti-drug office did not promptly report an attempt by a Japanese group to give her a cash gift while she was a Los Angeles law enforcement official.

Rose M. Ochi, a former Los Angeles Police Department official, was appointed last week as associate director of the bureau of state and local affairs within the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Ms. Ochi was criticized by the media and some public officials in Los Angeles after she admitted she had been given a cash gift during an April 1991 trip to Tokyo by an organization with ties to a computer company doing business with her city department.

Another official on the same trip, Virginia's secretary for public safety, Robert L. Suthard, resigned in December 1991 after revealing he was given a cash gift that he did not return or report to authorities until months later.

While Ms. Ochi said she returned the \$3,000 gift soon after discovering it, she did not inform Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley about the incident until press inquiries triggered

Former LAPD official returned cash

a disclosure many months later.

An ethics commission report said there was no evidence she violated the law, but it said her actions did "create an issue of questionable appearances."

Ms. Ochi accepted an all-expenses-paid trip to Japan sponsored by the Japanese-American Agon Friendship Foundation, which was headed by a vice president of Nippon Electric Corp.

Between 1985 and when she made the trip, NEC had sold nearly \$9 million worth of computers to the Los Angeles Police Department, where Ms. Ochi headed the criminal justice planning office.

During the trip, Ms. Ochi said she was given a scarf as a present. When she unwrapped it later, she found 30 \$100 bills inside.

According to news reports, at least three of the seven U.S. officials on the trip admitted they were also given envelopes containing about \$2,100 in "expense money" in addition to the scarf-wrapped "gifts." The envelopes displayed the name of the NEC president, Tadahiro Sekimoto.

Ms. Ochi told ethics investigators

in Los Angeles that she was given no expense money.

Nine months after the trip ended, a reporter from the Richmond Times-Dispatch called Ms. Ochi about the gifts distributed on the trip. At that point, Ms. Ochi wrote a memo to the mayor about the gift.

Mr. Suthard resigned Dec. 17, 1991, after it was reported that law enforcement officials received cash gifts of \$3,000 to \$12,000 during the Japan trip. Mr. Suthard did not return his cash gift until Dec. 12, 1991.

Ms. Ochi was criticized for not disclosing the attempted payoff.

The Los Angeles Daily News wrote in an editorial: "When Ochi found 30 \$100 bills wrapped in a scarf the foundation had given her, she did not feel the need to report the gift to anyone. She simply returned the money, she told the Daily News, and chalked the gift up to customary Japanese gift-giving. (If this is customary gift-giving for tourists, book us on the next flight to Tokyo, please.)"

Benjamin Bycel, executive officer of the Los Angeles Ethics Commission, criticized Ms. Ochi for not promptly reporting the gift.

"One does not have to be a genius to know that to pass the smell test, any responsible individual should report that to the nearest law enforcement authorities, whether it be the Ethics Commission, the city attorney or the Police Department, he said.

Mr. Bycel said this week he stands by his earlier statement that the attempted gift should have been reported to legal authorities.

In May 1992 after an interview with Ms. Ochi, the City Ethics Commission released its finding in the case: "Our investigation of the case revealed no evidence to indicate that you violated any law. . . . While the accompaniment of NEC officials on the trip does not in itself violate the Governmental Ethics Law it does create an issue of questionable appearances."

Ms. Ochi did not return calls to her Los Angeles office for comment.

Jim Miller, a spokesman for the Office of National Drug Control Policy, said: "Rose Ochi has had a long and distinguished career unmarred by allegations of impropriety. With regard to this issue, the Ethics Commission conducted a thorough investigation and found no evidence she violated the law. She was completely exonerated."

Aspin feeling heat from the military

By Frank Aukofer
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

In 22 years as a Wisconsin congressman, Les Aspin landed in his share of hot water, even to the point of temporarily losing the chairmanship of the House Armed Services Committee.

He was variously accused of breaking promises, aloofness and insensitivity. But none of that came close to the invective that has been dumped on him because of one decision he made as secretary of defense.

He refused a request, brought to him twice by Gen. Colin Powell, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to send tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles to support U.S. Rangers in Somalia.

Then on Oct. 3, 18 soldiers were killed and 78 were wounded when they were pinned down and could not be rescued immediately because of a lack of armored support. Mr. Aspin admitted later that he had made a mistake but said he had made his judgment based on the information available at the time.

That didn't satisfy some critics. Several Republican senators and congressmen called for his resignation, and editorial writers sharpened their rhetorical stiletos.

"If he were a general, Les Aspin would make a good candidate for a court-martial," the Cleveland Plain Dealer asserted.

"Almost as important as getting our troops out of Somalia is getting Secretary of Defense Les Aspin out of the Pentagon," the Atlanta Journal-Constitution said.

House petition calls for ouster

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

Two Texas congressmen are gathering signatures on a petition demanding the resignation of Defense Secretary Les Aspin over his handling of the U.S. mission in Somalia.

Rep. Sam Johnson of Dallas and Rep. Bill Archer of Houston, both Republicans, will call for Mr. Aspin's removal at a Capitol news conference today. They want to focus attention on "Aspin's failure to take steps to protect the lives of

Americans in Somalia."

The defense secretary, a former Wisconsin congressman, came under fire after it was revealed that he rejected requests from field commanders in Somalia for additional tanks and other armored vehicles. Mr. Aspin's decision to deny the equipment became public after 18 Americans died as a result of a failed Oct. 3 raid.

Mr. Aspin has acknowledged that he made a mistake.

The furor since has died down, and Mr. Aspin's people at the Pentagon say the spotlight has swung elsewhere. They even believe that the secretary's decisiveness and willingness to accept responsibility may have added to his stature — much as it did for Attorney General Janet Reno when she accepted the blame for the Branch Davidian debacle in Texas.

Nevertheless, the incident prompted a fresh round of questions about Mr. Aspin's stewardship at the Pentagon, which has been beset by controversies over homosexuals in the military and the handling of the Tailhook sexual harassment scandal, as well as anxieties over military budget cuts and downsizing in the post-Cold War era.

Some of the anxieties surfaced in a front-page story last week in the Los Angeles Times. It said military leaders were dismayed at what they

perceived as fuzzy policy-making by the Clinton administration in Somalia and Haiti.

One officer, who has served in the Pentagon under three previous defense secretaries, referred to the Times story and said he had never heard "the kind of intemperate, dispirited, disgusted, disappointed, dismayed, real concern I'm hearing now in the hallowed halls."

Mr. Aspin was in Europe late last week to confer with NATO officials and could not be reached for comment. However, a Pentagon official characterized the secretary as "a tough guy trying to do some tough things, making mistakes, recognizing and learning from them."

A similar assessment came independently in an interview with Rep. Ronald V. Dellums, California Democrat, who succeeded Mr. Aspin as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Referring directly to the situation in Somalia, Mr. Dellums noted that over the years the nation's military leadership had developed a great deal of Cold War expertise. Now, he said, it's an entirely new game.

"In the post-Cold War," Mr. Dellums said, "there are no experts. We're into uncharted waters and unprecedented situations. There are risks, dangers and opportunities, including the opportunity to make mistakes."

Former Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, who stays in close touch with Pentagon issues, said he believed Mr. Aspin should have spent more time working with Gen. Powell on the request for armor in Somalia. He said it was not a good idea for the secretary to publicly reject a recommendation of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Mr. Laird also questioned Mr. Clinton's public statement that he had not known about the request. Mr. Laird noted that under federal law the Joint Chiefs chairman is the military adviser to both the president and the secretary of defense.

"I'm sure the White House was fully briefed on what the request was," Mr. Laird said.

An official familiar with the situation said it was the secretary's job to make such calls and that this was just one of many conflicts between military and civilian assessments.

The official also said Mr. Aspin had been hampered by not having his team fully in place — a point also made by Mr. Laird.

"He's operating with a shadow Defense Department," Mr. Laird said.

• Distributed by Scripps Howard

Time to try something new: Enter drug court

By Kristan Metzler
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The District's new "drug court" program was unveiled yesterday with lots of official support. Federal, court and city leaders applauded the initiative as a way to break the cycle of crime in the city by treating drug addicts in custody.

The officially named Drug Intervention Program got a boost from Attorney General Janet Reno on a Sunday news interview program. And yesterday, she was among a half-dozen officials in the juror's lounge at D.C. Superior Court who endorsed it.

"Violence on the streets of America is a priority with the American citizens and we need to do everything we can about it," said Miss Reno, who started the nation's first drug court when she was Dade County's top prosecutor in South Florida.

Miss Reno sat next to D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly at the news conference. Also present were Fred Ugast, chief judge of D.C. Superior Court, who will retire this month; Lee Brown, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy; U.S. Attorney Eric H. Holder Jr.; and Lisa Scheckel, acting director of the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment.

Mrs. Kelly didn't linger long at the gathering. But Jay Carver, director of the Pretrial Services Agency, stayed behind to answer questions about the \$5 million, five-year demonstration project.

He said the program, to begin



Photo by Tracy A. Woodward/The Washington Times

Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and Attorney General Janet Reno

Monday, will annually treat about 600 people arrested for felony drug possession who test positive for drugs.

Three judges now handle such cases. As part of the program, two judges will have computer screens at their benches. They will be able to access up-to-date treatment and drug-test results on each defendant standing before them.

The computers will show whether the defendant has tested positive since he or she began the program and whether the defendant has been consistently appearing for treatment.

The defendants, who must ap-

pear about once a month in court for status hearings, will be tested for drugs twice a week.

Treatment will begin after arrest and continue until sentencing, which could be delayed until a person is fully treated. It will include group therapy and individual counseling, plus acupuncture — the ancient Chinese practice of inserting needles in the body at designated sites. This method is believed effective in reducing the craving for drugs.

"Outpatient defendants who are having trouble adopting to less-restrictive outpatient treatment

could be moved to an inpatient facility or we could intensify treatment," Mr. Carver said. The Department of Corrections has an inpatient facility available in Northeast. The outpatient treatment will be at 400 F St. NW, just a block from the courthouse.

"This Drug Intervention Program is an all-out effort to break the vicious cycle of drugs and crime," he said.

Last month, 61 percent of 15-year-olds entering the juvenile court system tested positive for drugs, according to Mr. Carver.

"We know that by virtue of an arrest, the criminal justice system can exercise a great deal of influence over a person," he said. "The court can encourage and even compel drug treatment. It can require drug testing. And, it can use its broad powers to sanction or punish violations of its orders."

"This is the first step in breaking an all-too-common problem we see here everyday — drug use," said Judge Ugast.

Miss Reno said failure can be expected by some defendants, but they should not be forgotten.

"If you have cancer, you get treatment and it can go into remission. If the cancer comes back, you don't stop treating it," she said. "Treatment, education and prevention are absolutely as critically important as our law enforcement efforts."

Federal drug czar Brown said it still is not clear to what extent the

■ "You don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure out we have a serious problem in our nation and the community."

drug court program will reduce jail population, court overload or savings to taxpayers.

"But, we clearly know the magnitude of our loss now," he said, noting that about \$170 million now is spent on alcohol and drug abuse.

"We cannot afford *not* to treat those who need it," he said.

Before leaving, Mrs. Kelly said the court system is overloaded so it's time to try something new.

"You don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure out we have a serious problem in our nation and the community," she said.

Drug courts are being used or formed in about 25 cities and counties. Most, including the District's program, were modeled largely on the one in Dade County, which includes Miami.

The case for drug prevention

By Andrew M. Mecca

Amidst much Capitol Hill speculation on the status of combatting the U.S. drug epidemic, Lee Brown, the White House drug czar, recently unveiled the administration's 1993 Interim National Drug Control Strategy. He called it a blueprint for the nation's drug control efforts. The complete strategy is scheduled for presentation to Congress in February 1994.

The Senate Judiciary Committee had concerns about the lack of punch behind the rhetoric; they even invited former drug czar William Bennett as a witness during Dr. Brown's statement on the strategy. Sens. Joseph R. Biden Jr., Orrin G. Hatch, Arlen Specter and Dennis DeConcini all challenged the new drug plan for the nation, mostly because it lacked "teeth." Overall, the plan was labeled by many as an inadequate strategy for reducing drug abuse with no mechanism for funding.

Washington can look to California for a drug policy strategy that is working. Guided by Gov. Pete Wilson's commitment to preventive government, this state's drug policy serves as a model for the nation in its comprehensive approach to drug problems.

In California, a careful balance has been struck between resources for law enforcement efforts and drug treatment and prevention. Un-

fortunately, Dr. Brown's plan overly focuses on treatment for chronic drug users at the expense of prevention programs for young children and teenagers at risk of starting a vicious cycle of drug abuse and criminal activity. An effective national drug control policy should reflect our investment in prevention and treatment.

Why should we spend precious resources on prevention? One look at the data on drug use by children will show you the facts. A new report issued by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation indicates that by the time children in the U.S. reach the eighth grade, 70 percent have tried alcohol, 44 percent have smoked cigarettes, 10 percent have tried marijuana and 32 percent have used cocaine.

And if we don't spend a few dollars on prevention, we will end up spending millions more to treat addicted adults. In the same study, results show that as many as two-thirds of homicides and serious assaults involve alcohol. Half of the men arrested for homicide and violent assaults test positive for drugs.

The national strategy proposes to start work with the highest priority populations — pregnant women, women of child-bearing age, children and other groups at risk for drug use. It proposed to give these drug users, as well as all other addicts, access to drug treatment through the new health care proposal.

Sounds good — but will it work? California's experience shows that most pregnant addicts have better success rates in longer-term, on-site programs. The federal plan must accommodate this fact with an appropriate financial investment. It's either investing millions now or

paying billions in social costs later.

Mr. Wilson invested \$25 million in 1991 to create alcohol and other drug treatment programs for addicted mothers and their babies. Today, the amount has increased to \$42 million. These community-based treatment programs serve several thousand women and their children and provide critically needed services that have proven to be successful. Not only do they save taxpayer dollars; more important, they save precious lives.

I look forward to the opportunity to represent Mr. Wilson at the White House conference for governors and mayors on national drug policy in Washington in December. Brown has made an important departure by calling for programs based on proven strategies and knowledge gained from research. He is asking for input on the full strategy to be presented to Congress. A key issue for the administration and Congress is putting the funding behind this plan. Why not begin by shifting out-of-country crop eradication expenditures to domestic demand reduction strategies?

Being a former New York City Commissioner, Dr. Brown knows the streets. He's no newcomer to the drug battle. Yet, he is new to the nation's capital. Brown's office will face sunset legislation when Congress decides next month to renew the Office of National Drug Control Policy. Drug policy could become the dinosaur of the 1990s instead of the cornerstone of domestic policy. President Clinton must make the necessary investment to make this strategy work, or the White House Drug Policy Office could become obsolete.

Andrew M. Mecca is director of the California Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs. He received the Bronze Star for his work in administering the drug treatment program in Vietnam.

Center for Drug Intelligence Opens, But Some Ask if It Is Really Needed

By MICHAEL deCOURCY HINDS

Special to The New York Times

JOHNSTOWN, Pa. — The National Drug Intelligence Center, the Government's newest agency for combating drug traffickers, opened here on Aug. 9 and is still dealing with its first puzzle: finding a mission.

At the dedication of the \$50 million center in August, Attorney General Janet Reno said it would coordinate intelligence from rival Federal law-enforcement agencies. She called it a symbol of the Clinton Administration's effort to eliminate waste and inefficiency in the fragmented \$13 billion-a-year fight against drugs.

Ms. Reno read a letter from President Clinton saying, "This center marks a crucial turning point in our efforts to combat the devastating effects of drug trafficking."

'Pork-Barrel Politics'

But in the view of many drug experts and former anti-drug officials, the Administration, which played no role in creating the Johnstown center, selected a political boondoggle as symbol of reform.

They say that the agency, which is administered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, duplicates the work of 19 other drug intelligence centers around the country and that it cannot function effectively in this western Pennsylvania mill town, 182 miles from Washington. For these critics, the center is a wasteful display of political patronage that primarily benefits the constituents of one Democratic Congressman, Representative John P. Murtha.

"It's an egregious example of pork-barrel politics," said Peter B. Bensinger, a Chicago consultant on drug abuse who was administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration from 1976 to 1981.

At a news conference after the dedication ceremony, Ms. Reno dodged questions about why the center was situated in Johnstown. When reporters asked Mr. Murtha the same question, he replied, "Because that's where I wanted it."

'Real Asset to Our Fight'

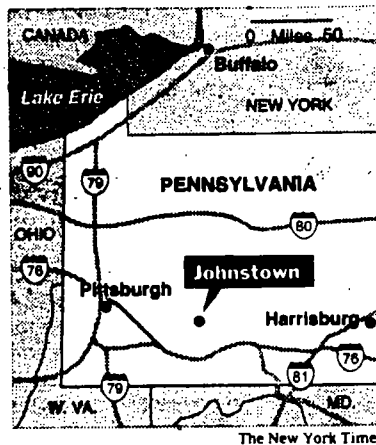
Presidents, members of Congress and lobbyists pay special attention to Mr. Murtha because, as chairman of the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee, he has an important role in drafting the military's budget — \$263 billion this year — and saying where it is spent.

The Congressman defended the center in a recent interview. "The more I look at it," he said, "the more convinced I am that this thing will be a real asset to our fight against drugs. Of course, we'll have to wait and see."

Since 1968, the Federal Government has undertaken a dozen efforts to coordinate drug intelligence activities but has achieved little success, according to a Federal audit released in April. The audit, conducted for Congress by the General Accounting Office, characterized the drug intelligence network as lacking focus and having "unnecessary overlap and duplication."

The Federal auditors found, for example, that 4 of the 19 intelligence centers monitor the same air traffic near Mexico, and that 3 centers monitor drug traffickers in the same parts of Central America. Four other centers generate information about long-term trends in drug trafficking. The Johnstown center, the 20th drug intelligence center, is the fifth performing this kind of strategic work.

The center's 130-person staff includes about 60 new employees from Johnstown and Washington and about



The National Drug Intelligence center in Johnstown, Pa., is 182 miles removed from Washington.

70 agents and analysts who are on leave from a dozen other departments and agencies, including the Defense Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Internal Revenue Service. The center expects to have 211 employees, but it does not yet have an estimated annual budget.

The Johnstown office is most similar to one run by the D.E.A. in El Paso. Though both agencies were set up to encourage cooperation, they are likely to compete against each other, Mr. Bensinger said. "Johnstown will have to come up with something El Paso doesn't do," he said, "and that means

A symbol of reform or political boondoggle?

that people will be spending more time talking about their roles, turf and data bases than they will spend on the Colombian cartels."

Douglas A. Ball, an F.B.I. special agent who is director of the Johnstown center, says that there is no overlap and that his center is doing valuable work.

The Bush Administration proposed a National Drug Intelligence Center in 1990. How the center would operate was never precisely defined, but it was supposed to be the national clearinghouse for drug intelligence.

John P. Walters, who was President George Bush's acting drug czar in 1990 and 1991 and who helped plan the center, said in an interview that the Johnstown office was a complete distortion of the original plan. That plan called for the center to be situated within the Department of Justice in Washington, Mr. Walters said, so that it would be near the headquarters of the F.B.I., the D.E.A., the C.I.A., the Customs Bureau and other Federal agencies that track drug trafficking.

Influential Democrat

"It was to bring together anti-drug agencies' senior leadership and encourage them to share their agencies' most jealously guarded intelligence information about the highest level of drug traffickers," Mr. Walters said. Agencies rarely share such information, he said, because they do not want to share the credit with other agencies in making splashy arrests, which gen-

erate publicity, build reputations and justify budget increases.

The original idea died for lack of money and interest. Enter Mr. Murtha, a 60-year-old, 10-term Congressman from Johnstown, a city of 35,000 people that is surrounded by abandoned steel mills and coal mines and has a 12 percent unemployment rate. The city's most famous moment was a disaster: the 1889 flood of the Conemaugh River, which killed 2,209 residents.

Though he is considered one of the most influential Democrats on Capitol Hill, Mr. Murtha is not well known outside Washington and his district. Yet he is not shy about his political power, in public or in private. That was evident in a 1980 videotape made by undercover F.B.I. agents conducting the Abscam sting operation that ultimately sent a half-dozen Congressmen to prison for bribery and conspiracy. "I've got as much influence in that goddamned Congress with the leadership and the White House as anybody in Congress," Mr. Murtha was recorded as telling some undercover F.B.I. agents. Mr. Murtha, who was then a member of the House Ethics Committee, was secretly videotaped as he declined a \$50,000 bribe, saying, "It might be that I would change my mind some day."

Mr. Murtha, who asserted that he was only trying to bring investment to his district, was not charged with any crime, and the House Ethics Committee absolved him of any wrongdoing.

Bring Money to His District

Mr. Murtha lists no national achievements on his résumé, which reads like an economic development brochure for the 12th Congressional District here. He takes credit for bringing many hundreds of millions of Federal dollars to his district for projects like highways, a prison, the expansion of the Johnstown-Cambria County Airport, an armed forces reserve center, a Marine helicopter base, three military research centers and a historic district of refurbished mills and mines.

In 1990, Mr. Murtha revived the proposal for a national drug intelligence center, but in name only. Instead of consolidating and coordinating all of the Government's drug intelligence activities, as the Bush Administration's plan called for, Mr. Murtha's center is a much more limited operation, one that analyzes information on relatively few projects. And he placed it in Johnstown, not Washington — a cost-saving measure, Mr. Murtha said, because rents are lower here.

No Congressional hearings were held on Mr. Murtha's plan; he created the center by inserting a brief amendment into a defense appropriations bill just before it became law. The center was started with \$10 million and given \$40 million more last year to carry it through September 1995.

The center is situated in a former department store in downtown Johnstown. Its officials acknowledge the agency's political roots, its inconvenient location and its foggy mission, but they say they are making the best of an awkward situation.

"When I came here in 1992, I was handed very general parameters and guidance with which to work from," said Mr. Ball, the center's director. The center has just completed research on organized crime and narcotics trafficking by Russians, Nigerians and Jamaicans, he said.

Mr. Ball said the agency was trying to overcome problems posed by the Johnstown location by leasing an office in McLean, Va., for \$144,000 a year, but financing for that office is uncertain.

White House Reduces Drug Abuse Coverage In Health Care Plan

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

The White House this week cut back the coverage for drug and alcohol treatment in its health care plan to hold down costs.

Critics charged that this could undermine one of the principal goals of President Clinton's anti-drug strategy.

The reductions are among many "technical corrections" being made in the president's health care bill before it is formally introduced in Congress.

Only last month, the administration released its anti-drug plan, proposing expanded treatment for hard-core cocaine and heroin abusers as its major priority. Although White House drug policy director Lee P. Brown did not announce any new funding for treatment programs, the drug plan promised that the health care reform proposal would provide a "substantial drug treatment benefit so that those who need treatment have the means to get it."

This week, however, White House officials, prodded by actuaries concerned about the cost of treatment, cut in half the length of some substance abuse and mental health treatments in the health care benefit package proposed to Congress last month. Under the new provisions, individuals will receive coverage for 30 days of residential treatment and 120 days for intensive community-based programs, according to an internal White House memo outlining the changes that has been circulating on Capitol Hill.

A residential treatment center is a live-in facility offering intensive therapy and counseling. The Betty Ford Center in California is one of the best-known examples. Community-based treatment is conducted at clinics where addicts receive therapy during the day but return to their homes at night.

Many drug specialists have argued that drug and alcohol abuse is a long-term problem that cannot be "cured" in such brief time periods. In addition, the new changes would require individuals participating in community-based programs to start paying half the costs after 60 days.

"The hard-core drug user that the administration says it was going to reach has been left totally out in the cold," said Ellen Weber, co-director of national policy for the Legal Action Center, a group that lobbies on substance abuse and AIDS issues. "This could very well be a step backward" in the availability of drug treatment because states might reduce their current programs and put the total burden on health care plans.

The proposed changes also

prompted criticism yesterday from six senators who sent a letter of protest to Ira Magaziner, the chief White House advisor on health care. The senators said they were "very concerned" that the revised benefit "will not gain the support of the American people" in part because "it is less than many people now have."

The letter was signed by Sens. Paul D. Wellstone (D-Minn.), Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Paul Simon (D-Ill.), Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.) and Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.)

A White House official who asked not to be identified said the changes were prompted by Health Care Financing Administration concerns that the substance abuse and mental health care package in the proposed legislation would cost far more than the \$241 per person estimated by the administration.

"This is not something we wanted to do," the official said. "This has been very painful." But the decision to maintain some substance abuse and mental health coverage in the package was still a "historic" move that will for the first time provide such treatment to millions of Americans, according to the official.

The cutbacks are politically sensitive because the Clinton administration has been criticized in recent months for its handling of the drug issue. Although candidate Clinton promised last year to provide "treatment on demand" for all drug abusers and make it a centerpiece of his drug program, administration officials recommended only modest increases in spending for treatment programs in its proposed budget last spring and then acquiesced last summer in reductions made by Congress.

White House officials have argued that the health care package as now written remains an important first step in meeting the anti-drug goals, providing coverage for a broad range of services, including hospitalization for drug and alcohol overdoses, treatment in private residential clinics, and outpatient counseling and relapse prevention services.

But some outside critics have said the health care plan was severely flawed from the start. Long-term treatment in "therapeutic communities," which often require stays of up to a year and have proven to be among the most successful in treating addiction for some groups, would not be covered at all. In addition, the legislation will permit states to cut back funding for treatment programs on the theory that many of their residents would now be covered under the health care plan.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1993 THE WASHINGTON POST

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now - will have 90 days
by 2001

OAKLAND-PIEDMONT-EMERYVILLE MUNICIPAL COURT

661 Washington Street
Oakland, California 94607
Administration Office

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax # (510) 268-7695

Date: NOV. 29, 1993

To: LIZ BERNSTEIN

From: JUDGE JEFFREY TAUBER

Telephone Number: (510) 268-7606

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Ray Kelly

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JUDGE

661 WASHINGTON STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94607
IS/O 268-7606
FAX (510) 268-7695

11/29/93

Dear Liz,

I thought you might be interested
in learning about the response to Director Brown's
visit to the Oakland Drug Court last week.

(T.V. stations ch 4 (Fox) & ch 7 (abc)
also did stories, and CNN is running a report today.)

Hope all is going well

Sincerely

Jeff

1a
SAN FRANCISCO

Daily Journal

Wednesday, November 24, 1993

Official Newspaper of the
San Francisco Municipal, Superior and
United States Northern District Courts

Drug Czar Lauds Oakland Court as Solution

■ The FIRST Diversion program is what the Clinton administration wants nationwide, Lee Brown says.

By Michael Moline
Special to the Daily Journal

Programs like Oakland's model drug court will be the key to the Clinton administration's efforts to control drug abuse and violent crime, the nation's top drug policy official said during a visit to the program Tuesday.

Lee Brown, director of the Cabinet-level Office of National Drug Control Policy, sat in during a morning court session while a string of drug offenders appeared before Municipal Judge Jeffrey Tauber.

Later, Brown told reporters that the comprehensive new anti-drug strategy he'll deliver to President Clinton in February will draw heavily upon the example of programs like Oakland's,

which treats the drug epidemic as a medical as well as a criminal problem.

"This program is very similar to what we are trying to do at the federal level," Brown said. "It presents an alternative to the traditional system — one that we support."

Later, he said in a short speech to judges, lawyers, and city and county officials from around the Bay Area that the new crime bill before Congress will promote similar efforts.

"It's like we copied you or you copied us," Brown said. "When people are on the same wavelength, it means we must be going in the right direction."

Brown said the key to the program is that it uses the court and probation system to steer drug defendants into treatment, keeping close watch over their progress and using both the threat of prison and the promise of a clean criminal slate to keep them on the right path.

Participants — mostly first offenders facing felony possession charges — are funneled into the diversion program, usually within 24 hours

of their initial arraignment. They must complete an intensive regimen of drug education and therapy, undergo frequent testing, pay court fees and report frequently to their probation officers.

The program can take up to two years, but participants can reduce that time by keeping all their appointments and keeping "clean." If an offender isn't doing well, the frequent reporting means officials know about it right away, before the "divertee" can slip through the cracks.

The program assumes many participants will backslide, but a positive drug test won't necessarily mean failure, unless they are also missing court dates or probation appointments, skipping counseling sessions or simply not trying.

Several participants graduated from the program as Brown looked on Tuesday. They got a handshake from Tauber, a round of applause from other participants and a certificate.

Several other participants who weren't doing so well were hauled off to jail.

"This is not about the court trying to beat you

Continued on Page 7



XIANG XING ZHOU / Daily Journal

LEE BROWN - "This program is very similar to what we are trying to do at the federal level."

Drug Czar Praises Oakland Court As Model Program for the Nation

Continued From Page 1

down," Tauber told one participant. "This is about you taking control of your life and surviving."

Brown said the national strategy will similarly "recognize drug dependence for what it is: a chronic, recurring disorder requiring treatment and aftercare."

He estimated drug and alcohol abuse costs Americans \$170 billion each year. Tauber has estimated the Oakland program has saved \$3 million in two years.

"It's difficult to estimate with any precision exactly what savings will result from treating drug dependent offenders in Oakland. But I have spent a good deal of time with the president addressing health-care reform and can tell you that we know the cost of not treating those addicted to drugs and alcohol," Brown said. "We can't afford not to treat those who need it."

Brown, who did his post-graduate work at the University of California, Berkeley, served as police chief in Atlanta, New York and Houston before being chosen by Clinton to be the nation's third "drug czar." Clinton has cut back on the office's funding, but has elevated its director to Cabinet rank.

Brown said drug policy will be a cornerstone of the administration's overall domestic agenda, paired with efforts to create jobs, reform health care and curb youth violence by offering alternatives to gang life. He said the policy will pay special attention to heavy drug users, and will promote "certain, swift and appropriate punishment for drug offenders."

He said Clinton's approach to the "drug war" is informed by his experience with his brother, Roger. As governor of Arkansas, Clinton personally approved Roger's arrest on cocaine charges.

"Simply put, drug-dependent offenders would not likely enter or remain in treatment without criminal justice pressure," Brown said.

Roger Clinton "never would have sought treatment [for his cocaine problem] on his own," Brown said. "Probably, going through the criminal justice system saved his life."

Oakland's FIRST Diversion program - for "fast, intensive, report, supervision and treatment" - claims a recidivism rate of about half that for traditional diversion programs featuring less-intensive monitoring of participants.

He said Clinton views the drug problem as part of a broader pattern of social ills, including the lack of jobs, poor schools, inadequate health care and housing, and the general erosion of public safety.

"What we have to do is to provide hopefulness, so that people can see a future," he said.

16
WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 24, 1993

San Jose Mercury News

Alameda County drug court is a national model

BY RACUL V. MOWAT
Mercury News Staff Writer

OAKLAND — It's a rare courtroom where defendants often leave with huge grins and to the sound of applause. It's rarer still that the law enforcement officials leaving those courts are just as pleased.

But on Tuesday, President Clinton's "drug czar," Lee Brown, found one courtroom that fits that description: a novel East Bay

drug court in which minor drug offenders are put in a diversion program that keeps them from going back to jail.

The program, started two years ago by Municipal Court Judge Jeffrey Tauber, has received national acclaim, and supporters boast that it reduces the chance of drug offenders being rearrested and saves the county and city more than \$3 million.

Brown, director of the Office of

National Drug Control Policy, was visiting Oakland to outline anti-drug strategies. He said the Clinton administration would work to support similar courts on the federal and state levels.

"What we have to understand is we have to do something different," he said. "What we have done so far has not worked. The drug courts are not the panacea, but it's one in a spectrum of programs" to implement.

State law allows people with no felony convictions in the previous five years and no prior drug convictions to participate in diversion programs, which leave them with clean criminal records upon completion.

Supporters of the Oakland program say it is unusual in that participants start attending counseling sessions shortly after they are arrested. The program's underlying philosophy is that the

sooner people are given help, the more likely they will take it.

After studying participants from the program's first year, organizers found that participants between 18 and 30 years old their chances of being rearrested for a felony in the two years following their arraignment cut by almost two-thirds. Those between 31 and 45 saw their chances decline by just over 40 percent.

See DRUG CZAR, Page 4B

U.S. drug control director visits model program in Oakland

■ DRUG CZAR
from Page 1B

"What they've found is that when people are in crises like being arrested, they're more susceptible to doing whatever you want them to do," said Sonia Tateo, a deputy Alameda County probation officer. "But when you wait six weeks, the scariness of jail is gone."

Defendants sign contracts that reward them with points for completing such tasks as attending drug and AIDS education classes, passing urine tests and meeting with their probation officers.

And the more points people earn, the less time and money

they will have to spend on the program. By earning perfect scores, participants stand to have their two-year period of supervision slashed to six months — and the \$220 fee reduced to \$45.

On Tuesday, with Brown and several reporters looking on, Tauber ran his courtroom with an unusual combination of compassion, strictness and efficiency. The court calendar is structured so that people just starting the program watch as those further along are rewarded — or punished — for their behavior.

First was Florence Dominguez, who lives with her mother in Fremont. She turned 33 on Tuesday, and Tauber lavished praise on her as a birthday gift.

"You've been just about perfect over the last few months," he told her before sending her further in the program.

She was about to walk a couple of blocks away to meet her new probation officer for the first time. On her way out, she said, "All right" and hugged her present officer twice.

Dominguez has been a drug addict and alcoholic all her life, and said she's sampled all narcotics at least once. She was arrested in Oakland on Sept. 7 for possessing a quarter-gram of heroin. Thanks in large part to the program, she said she hasn't had a drink or a hit since.

"This is like a blessing in dis-

guise," she said enthusiastically. "This is God's will."

She said the difference between the drug diversion program and the many other courts she's been in for drug offenses is that people really seem to care. "They don't tell me stuff putting me down, cussing at me," she said. "They just come at me right."

Other cases went before Tauber, with many defendants earning applause from observers for their progress.

The contracts account for relapses and allow for second chances. Those who fail to earn enough points can repeat each of the three stages of the program once. People kicked out for not

earning enough points can be reinstated once. And failing a drug test doesn't mean automatic dismissal.

For instance, Tauber addressed the type of defendant the program strives to reach: a woman who was arrested on two drug charges within days of each other as she was starting the program.

"Since then, you've been an exemplary diveree," he told her. "When we see you again in three months, I'm going to have the pleasure of dismissing both cases."

Another man tested positive for drugs about a week and a half ago. "It's clear to me and it should be clear to you that you

need to work to change," Tauber said.

But for one case, there was no kindness in Tauber's voice. He ordered a man in a gray suit taken into custody for failing to meet his probation officer and for testing positive for drugs in August.

At one point, he addressed seven people who are just beginning the program. He first pointed to the public exit to the courtroom, then to the door where a sheriff's deputy had taken the man moments before.

"You've got to decide if you're going to walk through that with a new lease on life, or if you're going to walk through that door in custody and facing three years in state prison," the judge said soberly.

FROM: OAKLAND MINI. S102637695

TO:

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NOV 30, 1993

1:49PM P.05

San Francisco Chronicle

THE LARGEST DAILY CIRCULATION IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1993

U.S. May Adopt Oakland's Innovative Drug Program

By Judy Ronningen
Chronicle Correspondent

The nation's drug czar said yesterday in Oakland that he intends to increase treatment opportunities for addicts and reduce the demand for drugs that are pouring into low-income neighborhoods.

Lee Brown, director of national drug control policy for President Clinton, visited an Oakland Municipal Court program that puts offenders into counseling instead of jail and said it is a model program for the administration's new drug strategy.

"It's as if you copied us, or we

copied you," he told a gathering of judges, probation officers and other court personnel.

Brown, a former Houston police chief and New York City po-

***The drug czar said
he wants to change
mandatory
sentencing laws***

lice commissioner, said drug treatment would be offered as a part of the proposed Clinton health plan, reflecting the administration's

view that drug abuse is as much a health problem as a criminal problem.

He said federal drug programs will target hard-core users of cocaine and heroin rather than recreational drug users. Brown estimated that 80 percent of illegal drugs are used by hard-core addicts.

Brown said the strategy is to reduce demand for drugs by making sure treatment is available to those who want it — and using the criminal justice system to prod people into participating.

One man who graduated yesterday from the drug diversion

program in Oakland, in front of Brown and a gaggle of reporters and photographers, said fear of going to jail kept him in the program and off drugs.

"I had never been of the belief that drugs were the answer, but getting arrested really made me reconsider my way of life," said the Oakland man, who asked that his name be withheld because of the stigma of being known as a drug user.

The Alameda County court program involves about 1,200 people a year. It requires offenders to take drug and AIDS classes through the

PROGRAM: Page A17 Col. 2



BY MICHAEL MACOR/THE CHRONICLE

National drug czar Lee Brown praised Oakland's drug diversion program during a visit

PROGRAM: U.S. May Borrow from Oakland

From Page A15

probation department, participate in community drug treatment and pass regular urine tests.

Successful graduates are half as likely to be rearrested for another felony, compared to other first-time drug offenders, according to Municipal Court Judge Jeffrey Tauber, who oversees the program. For graduates under 30, rearrests are down by two-thirds.

One graduate yesterday unsuccessfully tried to complain to Brown about the volume of drugs

entering black neighborhoods. The 45-year-old Oakland man said he believes the federal government looks the other way while international drug smugglers bring drugs into minority communities.

But Brown, who was sworn in in July, said he had already visited Central American countries to continue the effort to stop drugs before they cross U.S. borders. He said the government has seized 330 tons of illegal drugs in the past year.

The drug czar said he also intends to try to change mandatory

sentencing laws that send young black men to prison for possession of crack cocaine, while offenders caught with the same amount of powdered cocaine — used more by the white middle class — can get jail time or probation.

Brown told Oakland city officials and drug treatment professionals yesterday afternoon that he opposes legalizing drugs.

"As sure as night follows day, it will lead to more addiction, more crime and more degradation in our low-income communities," he said.

The Oakland Tribune

Wednesday
November 24, 1993

U.S. drug czar studies Oakland's diversion program

■ Officials developing new policy
after ending war on drugs

By Cecily Burt
and Craig Staats
STAFF WRITERS

The nation's drug czar came to Oakland Municipal Court Tuesday to see first-hand how a local drug diversion program might become a model for the Clinton Administration's strategy to control illegal drug use.

Lee P. Brown's visit to Oakland's award-winning drug court was part of a whirlwind tour that also included a Probation Department orientation session for seven drug offenders who had appeared in court and joined the diversion program only minutes earlier.

Brown, a former New York City police commissioner, took over as the director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy in July and is scheduled to submit a comprehensive drug control strategy to Congress in February.

However, Brown already has reshaped at least the federal government's rhetoric, abandoning the "war on drugs" talk of earlier administrations in favor of a greater emphasis on treatment, rehabilitation and education. Today, about 80 percent of the money that the U.S. spends to control drug abuse goes to law enforcement approaches.

"We don't believe the government should declare war on its own people," Brown told a community forum at the Lakeside Park Garden Center later in the day.

And he said what he saw Tuesday was exactly what the administration's interim drug control strategy calls for: reducing the demand for drugs, and with it reducing street violence, through a combined effort of law enforcement, education, counseling and treatment programs targeted at hardcore drug abusers.

"You've made clear your willingness to divert from business as usual to function as a team in the interest of both public safety and public health," he said. "And, significantly, you have built the infrastructure and staff necessary to identify, refer, treat, monitor and report on the progress of drug-depen-

dent offenders."

Brown said one element that will not be part of the administration's drug strategy is legalization, which he called "the moral equivalent to genocide."

And he pledged more dollars to local governments that merge criminal justice efforts with drug treatment and education programs, such as Alameda County's FIRST Drug Diversion Program.

"Those types of programs are cost effective in the long run because the drug problem affects the health care system. It also overwhelms the criminal justice system, impedes the learning process and makes the streets unsafe," he said.

Brown called drug use "America's problem," because it no longer knows racial or geographic boundaries. But he did not ignore the fact that most of the offenders filtering through the drug court were minorities.

"Minorities are more likely to use crack cocaine and whites are more likely to use powder. Five grams of crack cocaine equals a prison sentence but five grams of powder cocaine equals probation," he said. "So prisons get darker and darker. That's a disparity that must be addressed."



RON RIESTERER — SHUT

President Clinton's drug czar, Lee Brown, sits in on an Oakland drug trial during part of his visit to the Bay Area on Tuesday.

Court-run program puts drug offenders in treatment, not jail

By DONNA WASICZKO

Staff writer

OAKLAND — Several times each weekday, the rare sound of applause spills out of a sixth-floor courtroom into the hallway of the Oakland-Piedmont-Emeryville Municipal Court.

The courtroom has been transformed into a sanctuary and source of help for people who have become drug-addicted and entangled in the criminal justice system.

Oakland's "drug court," one of several across the country, is aimed at merging the usually opposed goals of criminal justice and drug treatment into a court-managed drug abuse treatment program.

FIRST, — for fast, intensive, report, supervision and treatment — began in 1991 and has cut in half the rate of repeat offenders, according to the court.

Drug defendants who stand before Oakland Municipal Court Judge Jeffrey Tauber are often surprised when he looks up from their case files into their eyes, asks them how they're doing and waits for an answer.

If they join the growing number who have completed the program, their reward includes a personal handshake from the judge and a round of applause.

"This program is not about your jumping through hoops for me or anyone else," Tauber told a defendant who appeared before him Tuesday. "It's about you taking control of your life."

Lee P. Brown, director of the federal Office of National Drug Control Policy, visited Oakland's drug court Tuesday and found it a departure from "business as usual."

"Significantly, you have built the infrastructure and staff necessary to identify, refer, treat, monitor and report on the progress of drug-dependent offenders," Lee said.

His office has just released the report "Breaking the Cycle of Drug Abuse," which advocates rehabilitating, rather than punishing, drug offenders.

Diversion, sanctioned by the California Penal Code, allows some defendants accused of committing some nonviolent felonies to participate in education and counseling programs to rehabilitate them. If they successfully complete the court-ordered requirements, the charges are dismissed, and no convictions appear on their records.

Drug courts take diversion one step further. In Oakland, a team that includes Tauber, some probation officers and attorneys handle all the cases. Defendants who agree to diversion must take drug education classes, attend group and individual counseling, submit to drug-testing and check in regularly with their probation officers.

The FIRST program is based on the principle that intervention should be immediate, so offenders enter the program within an hour of their first court appearance and begin treatment immediately. Those monitoring the program provide vigilant supervision and award points to defendants who follow the rules.

Successful participants receive tangible rewards and incentives during their treatment, including reductions in their diversion sentences and fees. If they complete all requirements, they receive a diploma.

Those just beginning the program learned much as they waited for their turns on Tuesday. Some defendants getting their diplomas described the joy of kicking their habits. Tauber questioned others who were only partially successful. One man who did not follow the rules was taken into custody.

U.S. to stress treatment for drug addicts

Administration sees growing problem with hard-core abusers, the young

By Charles C. Hardy
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

OAKLAND — Lee Brown, President Clinton's drug czar, says more focus will be put on the demand side of the America's drug problem and greater efforts made to get hard-core addicts off drugs.

Brown, a cabinet level appointee, said Tuesday the nation's drug problem "will be a cornerstone of this administration's domestic policy, and will be linked with efforts to spur economic growth, reform health care, curb youth violence."

The director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy came to Oakland to visit Alameda County's highly successful drug diversion program founded by Municipal Judge Jeffrey Tauber. Brown sat in on Tauber's "drug court" proceedings for an hour Tuesday morning.

He said that program, which keeps 1,200 people a year from going to jail, is the kind of program the Clinton administration will recommend as a national model.

Brown, former police chief in Atlanta, Houston and New York City, said the administration will mount an aggressive drug treatment strategy.

Brown said studies show drug abuse is declining in America among frequent users while increasing among hard-core addicts. He said cocaine-related emergency room episodes were up 18 percent and heroin-related episodes up 34 percent.

"It has been increasingly clear that the drug epidemic that began in the late 1970s is becoming increasingly concentrated among the nation's heaviest users and in the nation's poorest neighborhoods," he said.

The second major drug concern is among young people, he said.

Recent data, he said, indicate that a long-term decline in drug use among youth may have ended, and "their use of some drugs, marijuana, and hallucinogens such as LSD, is now actually increasing. And fewer 8th-graders perceived that cocaine or crack use was harmful in 1992 than in 1991. This may be the most troubling trend of all."

Brown said Clinton's health reforms include treatment — which would be covered under the president's health care package.

"We recognize too that if we want to make any headway again



Lee Brown, President Clinton's drug czar, praises Oakland drug diversion program.

drugs in the long term, we'll have to confront with renewed urgency not only the symptoms of our crime and drug problems, but their causes as well: Poverty, alienation, inadequate housing and education, poor schools, weakened social institutions, discrimination and racism," Brown said.

Brown said the administration is concerned about an inequity in cocaine sentencing. He said that while the federal government has added a mandatory minimum sentence for crack cocaine abusers, it has not done so for powder cocaine.

The result, he said, is crack users who are predominantly minority, are going to jail while predominantly white powder cocaine abusers are receiving probation.

Some questioned whether the

administration was ignoring much of the supply side of the drug problem.

Brown responded by saying he has already visited several countries that supply most of the drugs to the United States.

He said "citizens and police" are dying fighting the drug war in Colombia, which spends \$10 to every \$1 the United States spends combatting drugs.

Peru, he said, is trying but not moving as quickly as he would like. Both, he said, are countries in need of economic development. But, Brown said, "whenever I talk with them I bring up the issue of the drug problem."

Yet, Brown added that 330 tons of drugs are seized each year in the United States, and about the same

amount consumed. "We are dealing with enforcement," he said "but our major focus is deal with prevention."

SECTION: WASHINGTON LETTER; Region; RA-93-08; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 736 words

HEADLINE: Uncertainty over anti- drugs policies

BODY:

The Peruvian government has been warned by the Clinton administration that the US may have to end its support for the anti-drugs efforts in the Upper Huallaga valley, Peru's main coca-growing area, US officials said in Washington on 20 September.

Uncertainty over US antidrugs efforts in Latin America has intensified since the US Senate's appropriations committee slashed US\$ 47m from the US\$ 147m State Department budget for joint anti-drugs operations in Peru, Bolivia and Guatemala. **Washington sources suggested that the cut reflected the fact that Congress is now convinced that repressive action in Latin America is not effective. The Senate's Foreign Operations Subcommittee recently expressed its 'concerns regarding the effectiveness of Andean counter-narcotics efforts' (RA-93-06).**

It has not helped matters that the Clinton administration has been having second (and third, say critics) thoughts about its anti- drugs policies. Soon after President Bill Clinton took office government officials said the new administration would be reviewing the entire trust of the 'war against drugs' conducted by former President George Bush's administration. Noting the scant impact of repressive measures in Latin American producer countries on the volume and price of drugs flowing into the US, the officials said that the new emphasis would be on the consumption side, with far greater attention to be paid to reducing the use of drugs in the US through education, and treatment and rehabilitation.

The first indication that the Clinton administration was having second thoughts about its emphasis on domestic prevention rather than international repression came when Timothy Wirth, who had been chosen as Under-Secretary for Global Affairs, appeared before the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee in July. Of all the 'global issues' he was asked about, the one most directly concerning Latin America was 'counter-narcotics policy'. Wirth specifically expressed the State Department's 'concern about the action of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations in reducing the administration's request for the programs of the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters [. . .]'. He stated that, 'Abdication of US leadership in this struggle would seriously demoralise [the Andean and Mexican] governments, which now see narcotics as a common threat to their democratic institutions, social welfare and economic growth.'

Observers noted that, by reclassifying drugs as one of the 'global issues' on which foreign policy would concentrate, the Clinton administration was sending out a signal that repression at the producer end would still play an important role, even though Latin American governments would be expected to participate to a much greater extent.

It now seems that yet another shift is in the offing. In mid-September the Washington Post reported that the National Security Council had prepared an outline of a new strategy, which would soon become the basis for a presidential directive. According to the report, the kernel of the NSC's diagnosis is that interdiction of drug shipments (an effort involving the use of military surveillance facilities, the Coast Guard and Customs) has proven far too costly and ineffectual. Therefore, the emphasis should be on military assistance for Latin American governments to seek out and destroy processing labs and to disband drug-trafficking networks in their territories.

Observers note that, as far as Latin America is concerned, this seems to mark the closing of a full circle back to the emphasis of the Bush administration, and the initial reaction has been a renewal of criticism of the "militarisation" of the anti-drugs effort.

The Peruvian government is one that appears to have lost patience with the vagaries of US policymaking in this area. President Alberto Fujimori has announced that he will launch a new strategy of his own, not relying on outside assistance. As explained by his interior minister, this will concentrate on introducing stricter controls on the production and marketing of 'precursor chemicals', the solvents and other substances used in the process of extracting cocaine from coca leaves. The minister has said that this is expected to lead to a '40% reduction of production' in the Huallaga valley, although the time in which this is to be achieved has been left vague.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

October 31, 1993, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 27; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 865 words

**HEADLINE: DEPARTING DEA CHIEF ASSAILS CLINTON DRUG POLICY;
NARCOTICS: ROBERT C. BONNER SAYS GOVERNMENT IS NOT 'SENDING A
CLEAR SIGNAL' ON PROBLEM. HE QUESTIONS FOCUS ON TREATMENT OF
HARD-CORE ADDICTS.**

BYLINE: By RONALD J. OSTROW, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Departing Drug Enforcement Administration chief Robert C. Bonner is warning that the government is no longer "sending a clear signal" on illicit narcotics, and he questioned the Clinton Administration's strategy of focusing its efforts on treatment of hard-core drug addicts.

In an interview last week -- held for publication until today, when he officially steps down -- Bonner said that emphasizing treatment for hard-core abusers "is doomed to failure" if it means curtailing money for efforts to curb casual use.

As a result, he said, a steady stream of less-addicted users would more than replace the ranks of cured addicts.

Moreover, he maintained that "the success record of treatment programs is not very good."

Bonner, a former federal judge and U.S. attorney in Los Angeles, has headed the DEA since August, 1990. He has said he decided to leave the DEA to return to a private law practice, where he expects "to be handling high-stakes kinds of litigation matters." No successor has been named.

The focus on hard-core addicts was the centerpiece of the interim drug strategy that Lee P. Brown, director of the White House's Office of National Drug Control Policy, presented to the Senate Judiciary Committee earlier this month.

Brown, acknowledging that some progress had been made in reducing casual or intermittent drug use, said that emphasis now must be placed on reducing the hard-core abusers who are responsible for a large portion of cocaine use.

Bonner said he does not oppose drug treatment or research into treatment methods, but he does not believe that the government should pay for such programs by shifting money from enforcement.

He also said the government is sending out a "more ambiguous and muted" signal about drugs than it once did. The Administration has been criticized for failing to draw up a clear, strong drug policy.

Bonner did not place the blame entirely on President Clinton. "Backsliding" began during the George Bush Administration, around the time of the buildup for the Persian Gulf War, he

said.

As evidence, Bonner cited previously reported surveys indicating increasing drug use among eighth graders and "the beginning of a very significant increase in the number of heroin abusers in the United States."

Bonner said the increased heroin use also reflects "that there is an absolute glut of heroin" in the country.

He also called for reducing the emphasis on interdicting drugs by locating and seizing shipments. That approach plays to the strength of the major trafficking organizations, he said.

"We are playing into their hands because they have the financial capability and the organization simply to increase the production of cocaine relatively quickly to make up for losses, and the profits are so great that there's no problem doing it," he said.

He said large amounts of resources could be moved from expensive interdiction efforts to "a more highly focused attack on the leadership, key members and infrastructure of these major trafficking organizations." This is the "kingpin" strategy the DEA emphasized under Bonner.

The Administration has already announced a "controlled shift of emphasis" away from interdiction toward pursuing drug producers in source countries. Last week, it scaled back the use of aircraft and ships for drug interdiction in the Caribbean, claiming a savings of \$200 million.

Previously reluctant to discuss turf wars that have hampered the nation's anti-drug efforts, Bonner addressed the friction among the DEA, the FBI and the U.S. Customs Service, the federal agencies most involved in fighting drugs.

While noting that he was pleased by Atty. Gen. Janet Reno's decision not to merge the DEA into the FBI, Bonner said he found fault with her naming of FBI Director Louis J. Freeh to head a new Justice Department office devoted to mediating disputes involving the FBI, the DEA, the U.S. Marshals Service and the Border Patrol.

He said it represented "an abdication of the responsibility of the Justice Department," which he contended should "exercise civilian policy control over federal law enforcement agencies."

While Bonner expressed "the highest regard for Freeh," he said that "having the director of the FBI call the shots here certainly is not going to create the perception of impartiality, neutrality that I think is important."

Bonner said his Washington experience showed "that the agency that prevails when there is some dispute is the agency with the ear to the throne." In this case, senior FBI officials who meet with Freeh daily "will have the ear to the throne," he said.

He expressed concern that every minor dispute between the FBI and the DEA out in the field "now will be sucked up to the Freeh committee." He cited a recent dispute between the FBI and the DEA in San Francisco over submitting an affidavit to a court for authority to use a listening device.

Freeh said this was a minor dispute usually left to the local U.S. attorney to resolve, but that an FBI supervisor, whom he did not identify, said: " 'Either a bureau agent is going to sign the affidavit or we're going to take it to the Freeh committee.' That's the mentality of the FBI."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Robert C. Bonner is stepping down as chief of the DEA to return to a private law practice. BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

Copyright 1993 The Washington Post
October 30, 1993, Saturday, Final Edition
SECTION: OPINION EDITORIAL; PAGE A20
LENGTH: 525 words
HEADLINE: Drug Haze
SERIES: Occasional
BODY:

The Washington Post

WHEN LEE Brown, the president's drug policy director, testified before the Senate about President Clinton's interim drug strategy, the response was one loud catcall. Sen. Biden said the administration had "not paid enough attention" to the drug problem. Sen. DeConcini saw the administration as "drifting into a lack of determination in this area." Sen. Hatch denounced the strategy as "a placebo" and, more ominous, accused the administration of "slipping inexorably into the old permissiveness of the Carter era."

Mr. Clinton isn't "soft" on drugs. But the administration is beginning to run some real political and substantive risks by giving the impression that it doesn't much care about the drug issue. Drugs were propelled to the top of the nation's agenda because President Bush decided to put the issue there, and because Democrats such as Sen. Biden agreed it belonged there. There is no question that drug addiction is a serious problem, and so is the street violence spawned by the drug trade. Its victims are often innocent children who get caught in the middle when the bullets fly. But there has always been a chicken-and-egg debate over how to look at the problem. Should drugs be seen as the primary cause or the effect of problems, especially in the inner city?

Which set of assumptions you start from can influence where you end up. The Clinton administration suggests, without quite saying so, that it sees drugs in the context of other problems. Mr. Brown's drug strategy, for example, speaks not just of what the administration wants to do about drugs but also of other aspects of Mr. Clinton's urban policy, including his proposal to use federal funds to put up to 50,000 more police on the streets, as well as its community banking, "empowerment zone" and health care initiatives.

The broader approach is perfectly rational. If that's how the administration wants to deal with the drug issue, it should say so explicitly. As it is, Mr. Brown is being forced to make small adjustments in policies inherited from Mr. Bush. He spoke to Congress in general terms about shifting the focus of drug treatment to "hard-core users" and called for a "controlled shift of emphasis" away from interdiction toward hitting drug producers in source countries. This week the administration announced the first fruits of its shift, scaling back the use of aircraft and naval ships for drug interdiction in the Caribbean, for a savings of \$ 200 million. The move was greeted harshly by Republican Rep. Clay Shaw of Florida, who charged that the administration was "in full retreat in the war against drugs."

That isn't true, but by failing to be more specific about its plans (including its spending proposals) and its underlying assumptions, the administration is turning itself into a large target. Mr. Brown, whose staff was cut from 140 people to 25 in Mr. Clinton's White House reorganization, is not the problem. The administration as a whole should read the warning signs: Democrats who care about the drug issue are discouraged, and Republicans sense a political opportunity. The administration's drug strategy needs fixing.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

The Associated Press

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October 29, 1993, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 210 words

HEADLINE: Pentagon Shifts Focus From High-Seas Drug Interdiction

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The Pentagon plans to put more effort into helping train foreign military and police to fight narcotics traffickers and will spend less on trying to catch drug smugglers headed for this country.

"We are adjusting our efforts in hopes of achieving greater effectiveness," said Brian Sheridan, the deputy assistant secretary of defense for drug enforcement policy, said Thursday.

The shift is in line with a new Clinton administration anti-drug plan, which has drawn some fire on Capitol Hill from those who contend it does not take the drug problem seriously enough.

The change means the Pentagon will not focus so much on keeping Navy warships at sea in the interdiction and monitoring effort, but instead use new technologies such as over-the-horizon radar and specially outfitted surveillance ships to conduct monitoring missions, the official said.

"The bottom line for us is we can do the same job, but at significant savings," Sheridan said.

At a news briefing, Sheridan said the Defense Department will increase its support for Colombia, Bolivia and Peru by providing training and equipment for their police and military forces. The goal is to help those nations battle drug kingpins where they conduct their primary operations, he said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 29, 1993

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The Houston Chronicle

October 29, 1993, Friday, 2 STAR Edition
SECTION: A; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 343 words

HEADLINE: U.S. to scale back Caribbean drug-war programs
BYLINE: MICHAEL ISIKOFF; Washington Post

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- The Clinton administration will begin scaling back the use of aircraft and naval ships for drug interdiction in the Caribbean as part of a projected \$ 200 million reduction in the Pentagon's counter-narcotics program, officials said.

After significant increases in the Pentagon's anti-drug budget during the past four years, the new Clinton policy represents a marked shift in the military's anti-drug role. The use of a wide range of military assets that have been deployed to help stop the flow of drugs -- such as aerostat balloons, Aegis cruisers and AWACS radar planes -- will be either reduced or ended, officials said.

At the same time, Brian Sheridan, assistant defense secretary for drug enforcement, said some Pentagon anti-drug resources will be redirected to help destroy cocaine labs and attack trafficking organizations in the Latin American "'source" nations. There will be increased logistical support, such as transport vehicles and intelligence analysis, for U.S.law-enforcement agencies along the southwest border, he said.

The shift follows a recently completed National Security Council review that concluded, despite spending hundreds of millions of dollars a year, the military's efforts in the "'transit" zones of the Caribbean and Central America have made little, if any, dent on the flow of cocaine into the country.

It also reflects a broader Clinton administration anti- drug strategy, announced last week by White House drug policy director Lee P. Brown, that places new emphasis on treatment and prevention programs, rather than law enforcement and interdiction.

"This just signals the Clinton administration is in full retreat in the war against drugs," said Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fla.

"It's going to have a hell of an impact on South Florida. I think it's absolutely outrageous that the White House would do this. "

But Sheridan said a Pentagon review found that some of the Caribbean interdiction programs do not work and can be replaced with less-costly programs.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 30, 1993

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The New York Times

October 29, 1993, Friday, Late Edition - Final
SECTION: Section A; Page 6; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 737 words

HEADLINE: Pentagon Plans Shift in War on Drug Traffickers
BYLINE: By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

BODY:

The Defense Department announced a modest shift yesterday away from its ineffective and heavily criticized attempts at intercepting drugs to a greater emphasis on helping countries in Latin America attack the major drug trafficking organizations. **But drug experts said the change was likely to have little effect on the flow of illegal drugs into the United States.**

Brian E. Sheridan, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Drug Enforcement Policy and Support, said the military planned to cut spending on the interception of drugs, which now accounts for 71 percent of its \$1.17 billion anti-drug budget, by 6 to 11 percentage points. It intends to increase spending on training and equipment for countries that grow, refine and export illegal drugs to 16 percent, up by 5 percentage points.

The biggest impact on the military's anti-drug programs, which have repeatedly been criticized in Congress and by independent drug experts as among the country's most expensive and least effective anti-drug efforts, is being brought about by Congress.

Pentagon officials said Congress was likely to cut the overall military anti-drug budget by as much as \$250 million, or nearly double what the Pentagon had recommended after an internal review.

Some drug experts said the Pentagon shift represented little change from that of the Bush Administration and pointed out that in making the announcement today, the Clinton Administration failed to address the main issue of debate: how much of the proposed \$13.1 billion annual drug budget should be devoted to law enforcement and how much to rehabilitation and other health measures.

The Clinton Administration's budget allocates about 65 percent to law enforcement and 35 percent to health measures, or about the same as the last Bush budget. Members of Congress and many drug experts have been urging a substantial increase for treatment, and some have suggested a 50-50 split.

The Administration issued a national drug strategy last week that emphasized health issues. But the strategy was widely criticized by Democrats as well as Republicans and independent experts for not giving any indication of how spending would be apportioned.

Drug experts questioned the fundamental direction of the Pentagon's shift, saying corruption and a lack of enthusiasm for tackling the drug problem in some Latin American countries made putting more money into them an extremely questionable enterprise.

Colombia has been the most cooperative by far in helping the United States achieve its goals in Latin America, they said, and it has focused almost entirely on quelling the domestic

violence of drug gangs rather than on trying to destroy their ability to produce and ship drugs.

"They're taking money out of interdiction, which is good" said Peter Reuter, the director of drug policy research at the Rand Corporation. "But they're moving it to an area that I think is even less promising: helping governments that don't want to be helped."

Mr. Reuter characterized the Pentagon's changes as "minor programmatic changes of the kind that go on every year without pronouncement."

Futile but Morally Essential

Rensselaer Lee 3d, a consultant on international drug issues and the author of "White Labyrinth: Cocaine and Political Power," said he regarded **attempts at fighting drugs abroad and at intercepting drug shipments as futile but morally essential**. "We have to show that we care, that we're taking a stand," he said.

Mr. Sheridan said the assistance to Latin American countries would probably include increases in the number of United States Army Special Forces training teams and perhaps more radar equipment to help the countries track smugglers' planes. Drug Enforcement Administration officials say the radar sites are ineffective and should be shut down.

Mr. Sheridan said the Pentagon also planned to provide more intelligence information to the Latin American governments and to step up assistance in planning anti-drug investigations and raids. He emphasized that American forces would not be accompanying Latin American police and military units on operations.

To cope with a reduced total budget of \$900 million to \$950 million, Mr. Sheridan said the Defense Department was replacing some of its larger warships -- cruisers and destroyers -- on patrol in the Caribbean with smaller vessels that had been used to monitor Soviet submarines.

SUBJECT: DRUG ABUSE AND TRAFFIC; FINANCES; BUDGETS AND BUDGETING
ORGANIZATION: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

NAME: TREASTER, JOSEPH B; CLINTON, BILL (PRES)

GEOGRAPHIC: UNITED STATES; UNITED STATES; LATIN AMERICA

United Press International 1993

October 28, 1993, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 474 words

HEADLINE: New Pentagon anti-drug front de-emphasizes interdiction

BYLINE: BY CHARLES DOE

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The U.S. armed forces' anti-drug campaign will concentrate more on disrupting cocaine production in Latin America rather than intercepting smugglers at U.S. shores, the Pentagon said Thursday.

"We are seeking to assist the countries of South America," said the Pentagon's top anti-drug policy maker, Brian Sheridan. **"The interim strategy...calls for enhanced support to the source nations."**

As in the past, Sheridan said, U.S. forces would not undertake direct action against illegal drug producers in such nations as Bolivia, Columbia and Peru, but would rather assist local authorities to do so.

"We provide training, communication systems, ground-based radars (and) planning support," he said

In order to increase the resources available to concentrate against foreign drug producers, Sheridan said, the resources devoted to interception of drug smuggling by ship and aircraft would be cut back.

"We will continue to do some detection and monitoring of the transit zone," he said, "but in accordance with the interim national strategy, we will begin to shift and do less of that."

In the past, such interception operations using the Air Force's huge AWACS radar surveillance planes or Navy cruisers equipped with powerful Aegis anti-aircraft radar had taken up as much as 70 percent of the Pentagon's \$1.1 billion annual anti-drug budget.

The interception effort has been criticized in recent months by a number of officials, including **Attorney General Janet Reno. "General interdiction, which has been very costly," she said recently, "does not work."**

But Sheridan said interdiction would not be abandoned, just scaled back.

Much of the remaining effort, he said, will be concentrated in the southwestern U.S. border area, where 70 percent of the cocaine enters the country.

"We will continue to detect and monitor because it does have benefits," he said, "It disrupts the traffickers. It forces them to do things they don't want to do. They have to use means of transport that we know they'd prefer not to use."

Sheridan said the military had found ways to do anti-drug surveillance more efficiently than in the past, using, for example, the Navy's small but effective TAGOS anti-submarine ships, which are equipped with both sonar and radar and are largely crewed by civilians.

"The bottom line for us," he said, "is that we can do the same job we were asked to do but at a significant savings."

Such efficiencies, he said, could cut the Pentagon's anti-drug budget down to about \$950 million a year or less.

The Pentagon's new anti-drug strategy is its part of a more general policy revision announced last week by the Clinton administration's drug policy director Lee Brown. It emphasizes reduction in the demand for drugs as well as their supply.

October 26, 1993, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; COMMENTARY; EDITORIALS; Pg. A16

LENGTH: 552 words

HEADLINE: Just say 'probably not'

BODY:

Bill Clinton's drug policy strategy was unveiled last week, and, like a lot of the president's social policy initiatives, it turned out to be long on rhetoric and short on details. Mr. Clinton's drug czar, former New York City police commissioner Lee P. Brown, was sent to the Senate Judiciary Committee to present and elucidate the "interim" strategy, which is contained in a 31-page report grandiosely entitled "Breaking The Cycle of Drug Abuse". But when he got there, he wouldn't, or couldn't, even say whether Mr. Clinton plans to change the current policy of allocating 70 percent of drug funds to law enforcement and 30 percent to treatment. Nor could he provide any estimates as to the possible costs of the plan. The best he could do was to explain that the Clinton health-care reform would cover a good part of the treatment aspect of the drug-control strategy, and to promise that all would be made clear next February, when he submits a budget to Congress.

Committee members on both sides of the aisle were noticeably miffed by Mr. Brown's vague and unenlightening testimony. But if the drug policy is in line with the rest of the administration's social policy, we can surely figure out - details or no details - how much it will cost (plenty, might be a good guess) and who will pay for it (how about all those rich people making more than \$130,000 a year?).

And the policy is certainly squarely in line with the liberal zest for social engineering that marks this administration's domestic endeavors. Treatment and rehabilitation - rather than law enforcement and punishment - are to be emphasized. Of course, the underlying causes of drug abuse - poverty, joblessness, hopelessness - will be addressed. The president's pet projects all get favorable mention in the report: health care reform, naturally, and national service and "reinventing" government; even Head Start. And lip service is paid to drug education programs. But the key to the Clinton policy is treatment, treatment, treatment - including for the more than half-a million hard core drug abusers in prisons.

There can be - and there is - disagreement among serious people about the merits of the case, about the value of drug interdiction, about the efficiency of one program or another, about the virtues of treatment as opposed to punishment (particularly from those who will be asked to foot the bill for treatment on demand for every junkie in the land). But about one thing virtually all drug experts are in agreement: the value of strong and public presidential involvement.

Ronald Reagan sent Nancy throughout the country on a "just say no to drugs" campaign. George Bush made a point of addressing the issue personally (indeed, many experts credit that fact with a noticeable decline in recreational drug use on his watch). Mr. Clinton, on the other hand, is definitely keeping his distance. One of his first presidential acts was to reduce the size of his drug office staff from 146 to 25. He rarely speaks on the subject. And even when it came to unveiling his drug policy, such as it is, he left it to Lee Brown. This is hardly the behavior of a president interested in sending a powerful anti-drug message to the country.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

October 20, 1993, Wednesday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 554 words

HEADLINE: Lee Brown's Strategy;

Drug policy director to unveil new national anti-narcotics plan

BYLINE: By Martin Kasindorf. WASHINGTON BUREAU

DATELINE: Washington

BODY:

In Senate testimony today, White House drug policy director Lee Brown will unveil a new national anti-narcotics strategy placing more emphasis on prevention, targeting hardcore addicts for treatment and shifting interception efforts from America's borders to source countries.

The strategy, outlined in an "interim" document, is an attempt to rebalance Reagan and Bush priorities that emphasized the "supply side" of law enforcement over the "demand side" of reducing drug use. But some opponents of the Republican policies criticized the new plan yesterday for lacking dollar figures or timetables for change.

In the report, Brown warns that America is "still in the midst of a drug epidemic" although recreational use has declined.

"There's been no success whatsoever with the hard core user," Brown, a former New York City police commissioner, said in an interview. "There's a direct link between drug abuse and the violent crime epidemic that we're now experiencing. But drug abuse is more than just a problem for the criminal justice system. Rather, we see the drug issue as the foundation for domestic policy. Jobs, health care reform, education reform are all part of the drug control strategy."

The paper reflects the well-known views of Brown, President Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno that the \$ 13 billion-a-year federal drug battle stresses law enforcement at the expense of prevention and treatment. Rehabilitation facilities are so inadequate that 1.1 million applicants can't get it, the document notes.

The Clinton policy adopts recent National Security Council findings that the \$ 2.1 billion military air and sea search for incoming drugs along U.S. borders and in Caribbean and Central American "transit zones" has largely failed. Promised is a "controlled shift of emphasis" to cooperating source countries, focusing on "democratic institution-building" of law enforcement and judicial systems.

Rep. Charles Schumer (D-Brooklyn) commented approvingly: "If there's one place there's overspending, it's on the military aspects of interdiction. "

Robert Lynch, executive assistant to New York Deputy Mayor Fritz Alexander, said funding increases for prevention and treatment "would be welcomed here." But while hailing the proposed change of direction, other demand-reduction advocates bemoaned the absence of specifics.

"It is unfunded rhetoric, long on strategy and short on resources," said Paul Samuels, president of the New York-based Legal Action Center.

"We don't have much of anything," concluded Rep. Charles Rangel (D-Manhattan), who

said he will ask Brown to meet with the 32-member House Drug Caucus to "get a better idea of what he hopes to accomplish."

Brown implied that more detail will appear in the annual strategy statement required by Congress in February, based on 1995 budget figures still being thrashed out among squabbling agencies.

Questions about Clinton's commitment to the drug issue remained. Rangel complained that the president hasn't spotlighted it in a speech. White House budgeters cut Brown's staff from 146 to 25, though Congress is restoring it to 40.

But Brown, the drug "czar," said that the administration's giving him elevation to Cabinet rank has meant heightened personal clout. "We can still get the job done," he said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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October 2, 1993, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 22; Column 4; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 489 words

HEADLINE: There Are Cheaper and Better Ways to Win the War on Drugs

BODY:

To the Editor:

The National Security Council has concluded what every cop in America has known for years: the Pentagon's programs to fight drug smuggling don't work (news article, Sept. 17).

This year, the Pentagon will spend \$1.1 billion to stop the supply of drugs into this country. A lot of this money goes to radar planes and Navy cruisers to detect drug traffickers along the southern United States border. The Coast Guard and Customs Service spend \$1 billion more. And we've spent \$1.5 billion to date fighting drug production in the Andes.

Almost all of this money is wasted. Government Accounting Office studies have shown for years that interdiction efforts have had virtually no impact on the price or availability of drugs. Why? Because even if we were wildly successful, only a small percentage of drug smugglers would be intercepted. We would have to multiply our efforts 100 times before we would have any significant effect on the supply of drugs in this country.

So this new, classified report is no surprise. But its conclusion -- spend more money on dismantling cocaine labs and military aid to foreign governments -- makes no sense. After acknowledging miserable failure, the report still calls for fighting the supply of drugs abroad.

Why not admit we need a new strategy? There are cheaper and more effective ways to win the war on drugs. We should spend less in the Andes and more on programs that work: local law enforcement, treatment and prevention.

Any cop in New York City will tell you how to solve the drug problem: Get the addicts into treatment and prevent abuse before it starts.

Many studies have shown that treatment not only reduces drug abuse and related health-care costs, but it also results in fewer arrests, lessens the danger of contracting AIDS and doubles the patient's success rate in finding a job. Some studies estimate that for every \$1 invested in treatment, we save \$11 in social services, health costs and crime.

President Clinton has stated that he believes in treatment on demand, and he has included modest treatment improvements in his national health plan. But there are 4 million to 6 million people in this country who need treatment, and even with health reform, they won't get all the help that they need. Why not shift Pentagon funds to pay for treatment?

Controlled experiments with high-risk youth show that prevention programs can reduce the use of drugs, alcohol and tobacco by 500 percent.

And let's put more cops on our streets, instead of spending our money trying to wipe out Peru's drug crops. Community policing has proved effective, particularly in inner-city neighborhoods.

Dressing up the old strategy with talk of a new policy is doomed to fail. Let's not make the same mistakes again. Let's try a plan that can work.

(Lieut. Gov.) STAN LUNDINE

Albany, Sept. 22, 1993 The writer heads the Governor's Anti-Drug Abuse Council.

October 21, 1993, THURSDAY, FIVE STAR Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 6B

LENGTH: 560 words

HEADLINE: DRUG WAR: STILL NO PROGRESS

BODY:

The Department of Defense has been a major player in the drug war for four years, having spent nearly \$ 976 million for air and sea programs alone to detect and monitor international smugglers. That investment, and many other military ones, turned out to be a big waste of resources, according to a new General Accounting Office study. It said funding the surveillance missions was never based on measurable goals or results, and the time devoted to the surveillance outweighed the benefits.

These findings should persuade the Clinton administration to abandon the 1980s idea of interdiction as the prime approach to this nation's drug problems. Even though billions of dollars are poured into these interdiction programs annually, they have brought no corresponding drop in the supply of drugs coming to this country from Latin nations.

In spite of the investment in drug interdiction, drugs such as marijuana and cocaine are perceived as being easily available among students. One recent survey showed that students felt these drugs are more available now than they were a decade ago.

At one point during the 1980s, the Reagan administration was tempted to argue that its interdiction programs and police crackdowns on drug abusers were helping this nation win the drug war. The administration was buoyed at the time by data showing that casual drug use had tapered off considerably. The evidence helped the White House overlook the fact that the nation still had a serious problem of drugs on the streets, demonstrated mainly by the high level of drug-related criminal activity and violence in American cities.

Last year, the American Bar Association called for changing the drug control strategy by focusing on problems that induce drug use. These problems, it said, include chronic unemployment, unresponsive public schools, inadequate housing and health systems and a dysfunctional family system.

The good news is that the Clinton administration appears open to shifting this nation's anti-drug strategy by focusing on some of these domestic issues. They must be addressed by any administration that is serious about attacking the drug problem.

LANGUAGE: English