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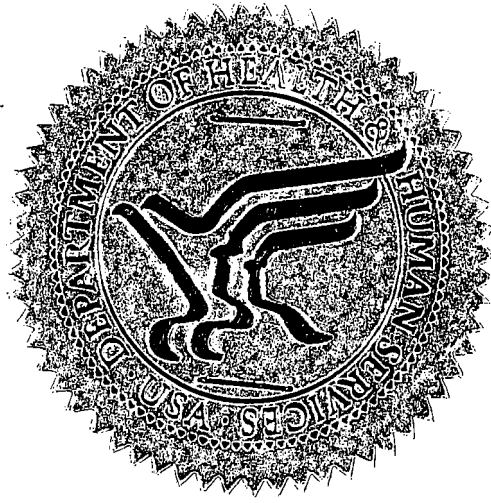
The 1996 National Drug Control Strategy

Reducing Drug Use and its Consequences in America



Barry R. McCaffrey
Director

Office of National Drug Control Policy



The Three Ps of Drug Prevention

Targeted Messages for Caring Adults

1 Parents

- *Weekly Reader Parent Supplement* (5/96) - **2.8 million** households
- *Scholastic Magazine Parent Supplement* (9/96) - **2.3 million** households
- *Keeping Youth Drug Free* (6/96) - est. **14.0 million** households
(Collaboration with PTA)

2 Physicians

- Drug companies will distribute our drug prevention materials to **400,000** physicians

3 Partnerships

- Since 1994, we have funded **124** new community partnerships
- We are working to increase the numbers and strength of community coalitions nationwide, now totalling **4,000**

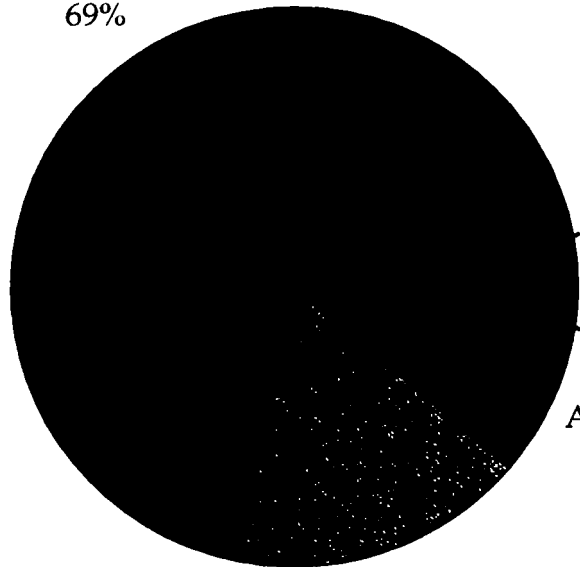
Cost to Society of Drug Abuse

About \$70 Billion

Health Care Costs for Drug Abuse

About \$3 Billion

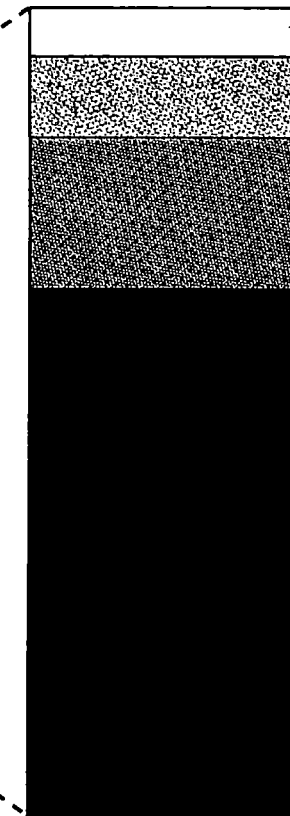
Crime, Criminal Justice,
and Property Loss
69%



Lost Productivity Due to
Illness and Premature Death
17%

AIDS
9%

Health Care Costs
5%



Dept. of VA - 6%

Medicaid - 10%

Other Federal - 19%

Private - 29%

State and Local - 36%

Source: Dorothy Rice et al. estimates for 1990

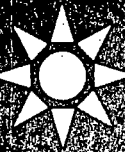
Source: Richard Frank et al. estimates for 1990
Health Affairs, Spring 1994

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A guide for

Keeping

Parents, Grandparents,

Youth

Elders, Mentors,

Drug-Free

and other Caregivers



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration

**REALITY
CHECK**

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Q. You've spent three years working with President Bill Clinton on children's issues. What's the one thing you'd like to tell parents and guardians of young children?

A. That's easy: You are by far the most important people in your children's lives.

Q. Why is that message so important?

A. Kids need their mothers and fathers, their guardians and their grandparents now more than ever. The fact is, your children are probably exposed to a lot more than you were at their age: violence on TV, cigarettes at the playground, marijuana use by someone they know.

Serious stuff. But when it comes to your children, no one has more influence than you. And there's help available if you want it; just check out the back page.

Q. So how can parents protect their children?

A. Start with the basics: Love your children and let them know it, have fun with them, listen to them, be firm when necessary, and get to know their friends. And remember, good communication is the best prevention there is.

With summer coming, kids need structured, positive things to do and lots of supervision. They also need balanced diets and regular physical activity both to help them grow and to teach them to take care of their bodies.

Your children appreciate clear messages from you: Tell them and show them you don't want them to smoke, drink or use drugs, or get in fights. Your values are the gold standard.

Q. Shouldn't parents put off these discussions until their kids become older?

A. I don't think so. It's safer to start earlier; silence can send the wrong message.

Take cigarette smoking: The fact is, from an early age, your children have been bombarded with messages that it's cool or glamorous to smoke. As a result, most smokers take up the

An Interview With Donna E. Shalala

Secretary, U.S. Department of
Health and Human Services



habit as children. And 31 percent of smokers tried their first cigarette by sixth grade.

That's why President Clinton and I are fighting to make sure that tobacco advertising does not reach your children. We want to put power in your hands, not Joe Camel's, when it comes to teaching kids the facts about tobacco.

Q. And how can parents get the facts about tobacco, drugs, and other issues?

A. Lots of ways. Talk to other parents. Ask your doctor. Call your children's school.

But HHS can provide help as well. On the back of this supplement is a list of federal organizations that can provide you with free and confidential information on almost anything that affects your children.

So contact us. We created these services for you.

Secretary Shalala helps kids make healthful choices.



official HHS photo by Chris Smith



THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
ON PHYSICAL FITNESS
AND SPORTS

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Document Title:

**Las drogas no caben
En una vida saludable**

(Weekly Reader / NIDA – National Institute On Drug Abuse

**¡Las drogas no
en una vida sal**





EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
Washington, D.C. 20503

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON COUNTER NARCOTICS

MAY 28, 1996

Cabinet Room -- 11:45 a.m.

AGENDA

Introductory Remarks:

- **The President** (pool spray if appropriate)
- **The Vice President**
- **Director McCaffrey**

Report by selected cabinet officers on how the *1996 National Drug Control Strategy* is being implemented:

- **Secretary Riley, Secretary Shalala, Secretary Cisneros**
Goal # 1: *Motivate America's youth to reject illegal drugs and substance abuse.*
- **Attorney General Reno**
Goal # 2: *Increase the safety of America's Citizens by substantially reducing drug-related crime and violence.*
- **Secretary Shalala, Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Pena**
Goal # 3: *Reduce health, welfare, and crime costs resulting from illegal drug use.*
- **Secretary Rubin, Secretary Perry, Secretary Pena**
Goal # 4: *Shield America's air, land, and sea frontiers from the drug threat.*
- **Secretary Christopher, Secretary Rubin, Ambassador Albright, Attorney General Reno, Director Deutch**
Goal # 5: *Break foreign and domestic drug sources of supply.*

Closing Remarks:

- **The President**

1:00 pm - 1:30 pm Post Council Press Conference

(White House Press Room or Stake out area; attended by all Council Members)



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
Washington, D.C. 20503

FY 1997 NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL BUDGET STRATEGY HIGHLIGHTS

The President has requested \$15.1 billion for FY 1997 to fund drug control efforts. This request represents an increase of \$1.3 billion over the estimated FY 1996 enacted level of \$13.8 billion, or a 9.3 percent increase.

The Federal drug control budget is grouped into four major functional areas: (1) Domestic Law Enforcement, (2) Demand Reduction, (3) Interdiction, and (4) International.

Domestic Law Enforcement, by far the largest component of the National Drug Control Budget, increases by 9.3 percent, from \$7.6 billion in FY 1996 to \$8.3 billion in FY 1997. Major enhancements include:

- ▶ expanding activities; such as, DEA's Domestic Enforcement operations and FBI's Organized Criminal Enterprises program;
- ▶ expanding BOP's bedspace capacity by 2,420 beds; and
- ▶ continuing support for COPS' hiring goal of 100,000 new police officers by the year 2000.

Demand Reduction, the second largest component of the National Drug Control Budget, increases by 8.7 percent, from \$4.6 billion in FY 1996 to \$5.0 billion in FY 1997. Major enhancements include:

- ▶ expanding the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program;
- ▶ expanding the Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Performance Partnership; and
- ▶ expanding treatment programs that provide treatment and rehabilitative services for incarcerated individuals in prisons, jails, and juvenile detention, and probationers and parolees.

Interdiction increases by 7.3 percent, from the FY 1996 level of \$1.3 billion in FY 1996 to \$1.4 billion in FY 1997. Major enhancements include:

- ▶ expanding enforcement operations on the Southwest Border (SWB) including Customs' Border Initiative and INS' SWB Initiative.

International programs increase significantly, by 25.4 percent, from \$320 million in FY 1996 to \$401 million in FY 1997. Major enhancements include:

- ▶ expanding source Nation counternarcotic activities to better address drug production, trafficking, and money laundering;
- ▶ improving international controls of precursor and essential chemicals; and
- ▶ supporting programs that promote democratic institutions, and assist with police training and criminal justice improvements.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

Washington, D. C. 20503

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) was established by the National Narcotics Leadership Act of 1988 (21 U.S.C 1501 et seq.), and amended by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

The Director is assisted by the Deputy Director for Supply Reduction and the Deputy Director for Demand Reduction. The Bureau for State and Local Affairs is headed by an Associate Director. Within ONDCP is the Counter-Drug Technology Assessment Center (C-TAC) which serves as the central counter-drug research and development organization of the United States Government.

The Director also designates areas of the United States as High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTA) and directs Federal assistance to such areas.

Policy Responsibilities

- Establishes the policies, goals, objectives, and priorities for the National Drug Control Program.
- Annually promulgates the National Drug Control Strategy to be submitted to Congress by the President.
- Participates in the National Security Council on drug control matters.

Budgetary Responsibilities

- Develops a consolidated National Drug Control Program budget proposal to implement the National Drug Control Strategy.
- Certifies the adequacy of department and agency budget requests to implement the objectives of the National Drug Control Strategy.
- Requests the heads of departments or agencies to include in their budget submissions funding requests for specific initiatives consistent with the President's drug control priorities
- Approves all agency drug-related reprogramming requests greater than \$5 million.
- Issues funds control notices to agency heads to ensure compliance with the National Drug Control Strategy.
- Transfers funds appropriated to a drug control program agency account to a different drug agency account in an amount that does not exceed 2% of either account with the approval of Congress.

Interagency Responsibilities

- Coordinates and oversees the implementation of the National Drug Control Strategy by the departments and agencies.
- Notifies agencies if its policies are not in compliance with the National Drug Control Strategy and inform the President of such noncompliance.
- Provides by July 1 of each year budget recommendations to the heads of drug control departments and agencies for the second following fiscal year.
- Certifies whether policy changes proposed by department or agencies are consistent with the National Drug Control Strategy.

Powers of the Director

- Request the head of drug control agency or department to place on temporary detail personnel engaged in drug control activities to another department or agency to implement the National Drug Control Strategy.
- Monitors the implementation of the National Drug Control Program through program and performance audits and evaluation; and requesting assistance from the Inspector General of the relevant agencies in such audits and evaluations.
- Recommends to the President changes to the organization, management, budgets, and the allocation of personnel of departments and agencies engaged in drug enforcement to implement the National Drug Control Strategy..

Presidential Documents

Title 3—

The President

Executive Order 12992 of March 15, 1996

President's Council on Counter-Narcotics

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 301 of title 3, United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. *Establishment.* There is established the President's Council on Counter-Narcotics ("Council").

Sec. 2. *Membership.* The Council shall comprise the:

- (a) President, who shall serve as Chairman of the Council;
- (b) Vice President;
- (c) Secretary of State;
- (d) Secretary of the Treasury;
- (e) Secretary of Defense;
- (f) Attorney General;
- (g) Secretary of Transportation;
- (h) Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations;
- (i) Director of the Office of Management and Budget;
- (j) Chief of Staff to the President;
- (k) Director of National Drug Control Policy;
- (l) Director of Central Intelligence;
- (m) Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- (n) Counsel to the President;
- (o) Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; and
- (p) National Security Advisor for the Vice President.

As applicable, the Council shall also comprise the Secretary of Health and Human Services; the Secretary of Education; and the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy and such other officials of the departments and agencies as the President may, from time to time, designate.

Sec. 3. *Meetings of the Council.* The President, or upon his direction, the Vice President, may convene meetings of the Council. The President shall preside over meetings of the Council, provided that in his absence, the Vice President will preside. The Council will meet at least quarterly.

Sec. 4. *Functions.* (a) The functions of the Council are to advise and assist the President in: (1) providing direction and oversight for the national drug control strategy, including relating drug control policy to other national security interests and establishing priorities; and (2) ensuring coordination among departments and agencies concerning implementation of the President's national drug control strategy.

(b) The Director of National Drug Control Policy will continue to be the senior drug control policy official in the executive branch and the President's chief drug control policy spokesman.

(c) In matters affecting national security interests, the Director of National Drug Control Policy shall work in conjunction with the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) The Council may utilize established or ad hoc committees, task forces, or interagency groups chaired by the Director of National Drug Control Policy or his representative, in carrying out its functions under this order.

(b) The staff of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, in coordination with the staffs of the Vice President and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, shall act as staff for the Council.

(c) All executive departments and agencies shall cooperate with the Council and provide such assistance, information, and advice as the Council may request, to the extent permitted by law.

William Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 15, 1996.

[FR Doc. 96-6803

Filed 3-18-96; 11:06 am]

Billing code 3195-01-P

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Coral Gables, Florida)

For Immediate Release

April 29, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ANNOUNCING THE 1996 NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL STRATEGY

George Washington Carver Middle School
Coral Gables, Florida

10:46 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. Didn't Rachel do a good job? Give her another hand. She was great, wasn't she? (Applause.)

Principal Heise, thank you for hosting us today, and for your fine remarks, which I heard from behind the way there. I'm delighted to be on this stage with our two Cabinet members from Miami, Attorney General Reno and Secretary Rubin. (Applause.) And with General McCaffrey, who moved the SOUTHCOM here and wishes he were from Miami -- you can tell by the Spanish speech he gave you -- and he's doing a wonderful job and I'm very proud of him. (Applause.)

I want to thank three of your distinguished state officials who came in with me today who are here -- Lieutenant Governor Buddy McKay, Attorney General Bob Butterworth and Senator Daryl Jones, who has a son here somewhere -- there he is. (Applause.) Your son is clapping for you, Daryl.

I want to thank Alva Chapman and Marilyn Culp and Tad Foote, and local television and other media executives. Judge Goldstein, of the local drug court. I thank him and all those involved in the drug court. I thank Dorothy Perry and all the community leaders.

I want to thank all these young people in D-FY-IT. And I thank not only those who are here, but those who came out to the airport to meet me. We have the leader of America's Coast Guard, the leader of our customs service and others here today, along with the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury and General McCaffrey.

We are here in Miami to announce a new drug strategy because of what Miami is doing to make the children of Miami and the future of Miami drug free. I thank all of you who have been any part of that -- the local officials, the religious leaders, the community leaders, the school leaders. And I agree with Rachel that if we keep working, we can have the children of America educating the rest of us about this problem and then it will go away for sure. (Applause.)

Miami has dealt with the biggest challenges that drugs present to America. And Miami knows that what I have said

about the world toward which we are moving is true. We are going into a world of enormous possibility for our people, dominated by global trade and high technology. You have worked very hard to see that the people of southern Florida reap the benefits of global trade and high technology.

But you also know that the more open our borders are, the more freely people can travel, the more freely money can move and information and technology can be transferred, the more vulnerable we are to people who would seek to undermine the very fabric of civilized life, whether through terrorism, the weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, or drugs -- and sometimes through all of the above.

So the great challenge we face, my fellow Americans, is how to get the benefits of this world toward which we are moving and not be exposed to the forces that would undermine our ability to raise strong children in strong families in good, strong communities.

That's what this national drug strategy is about. It focuses on rising drug use among children; it confronts head-on the fact that crime and drugs are vicious co-conspirators. You heard General McCaffrey allude to that. A significant percentage of the people in the prison systems of America today are there because of drug problems. If they weren't stealing money to pay for a drug habit, dealing drugs in the first place, or behaving irrationally because of an addiction to drugs, we would be spending that money on educating our children and building our future instead of maintaining a prison system. And that's what we ought to do. (Applause.)

But all of you here at George Washington Carver are a shining example of what it will ultimately take to make a drug strategy work all across America -- people at the grass-roots level. This school -- I've heard you cheering for it before. But I want you to know why we're here. We are not here by accident. And we are not here because of anything we have done. We are here because of what you have done -- zero guns, zero assaults, zero incidents of drug-related violence, zero drugs. That's where America ought to go and where America can go. (Applause.)

We are here because of what Miami has done. I have watched this city and this county recover from a massive storm to host the Summit of the Americas, to attract the Southern Command of the United States Military and now to set a standard that all other cities should follow in reducing the problem of drug abuse. The Coalition for a Safe and Drug Free Community has worked hard with all the rest of the people here so that drug use dropped more than 50 percent between 1991 and 1993 alone. That was the biggest decline in any metropolitan area in the country. I'd like to see that on some of the TV shows on prime time about Miami. (Applause.)

Let me again thank the members of the Coalition. I thank the students here today and I thank the Attorney General, who was a founding member back when she had her other job here in Dade County -- or as those of us in the administration say, back when we had a life, Janet Reno lived in Miami, and I thank her for what she did and for what you are doing. (Applause.)

Now, while it is true that in the end this work has to be done student by student, family by family, school by school, neighborhood by neighborhood, we must acknowledge that the nation's government has a role to play. In this new era, when we are reducing the size of government and its burden, when we have a federal establishment that today in 1996 is the smallest the national government has been since 1965 -- and by the end of this year it will be the smallest its been since 1962 -- we still have responsibilities to help people throughout America make the most of their own lives and their families and their communities.

And a big part of that is the make sure Americans can feel secure in their homes, on their streets and in their schools, with drug free homes, drug free streets and drug free schools. (Applause.)

Our Crime Bill is helping reduce the crime rate by giving communities police officers, 100,000 of them in community settings in America; banning 19 deadly assault weapons. The Brady Bill, which now requires a waiting period before you can buy a handgun, has kept 60,000 people with criminal records from purchasing guns and endangering innocent citizens. It is working. (Applause.)

I was so inspired by my personal experience watching your drug court here, and the Attorney General's experience when she took office, that we have worked hard to help others establish drug courts around America. There are now more than 100 of them in the United States, and I think every community ought to have one and we're going to keep going until every community has the chance to have one. (Applause.)

We've also used the Crime Bill to help schools fight drugs and violence, to help them support programs like DARE and GREAT, to help them with gang prevention; and when they're needed, with things like metal detectors and increased securities. We are opening the way to do more in this area.

But I want to say a special word of thanks to the people here who have taken a pledge to abstain from drugs and alcohol. You heard Rachel talk about that. I believe that if every student in every school in America took that pledge and reaffirmed it on a regular basis, a lot of these other things would not be necessary. So I'd like to ask all the students who have taken that pledge to stand today. If you took a pledge to be free of drugs and alcohol, stand up and the rest of us would like to applaud you. (Applause.)

While not every community in America can claim the results that Miami can, you should know that every year for the last three years, murders have dropped and robberies have dropped and drug use has dropped. Monthly drug use today is roughly half of what it was 10 years ago in America. The number of cocaine users has fallen by 30 percent in the last three years alone. But we have a lot to do. And, again, it's why we're at this school. The most perplexing problem that we face in this area is this: While the drug rate has gone down, drug usage among people under 18 has gone up. While the crime rate has gone down, random violence among people under 18 has gone up. The children who are here today are the battleground of today and tomorrow. They are the people for whom we must fight this great battle, and they are the ones we must rely on to win it by working with them.

That is why I am announcing today a new and intensified strategy to battle drugs that builds and improves on the work we have done over the last three years, calls for more resources from the nation than ever before, and targets those resources better than ever. This National Drug Control Strategy of 1996, as General McCaffrey said, is meant to be a 10-year plan. He worked on it very, very hard with many others. I want to thank him again for it, and I want to thank him for being willing to give up his four stars and his military command to fight America's most important battle for the future. (Applause.)

Very briefly, this strategy has five very concrete goals. Number one, to get young people to reject drugs. That's what you're doing here. Number two, to use effective treatment and prevention to break this vicious cycle that link drugs to violent crime. Third, to stop drugs at the border, the way we are doing at the Miami Customs Office where technology and street smarts are catching more drugs with less inconvenience to arriving visitors. Fourth, to break up the sources of supply, whether they are cocaine farms in Colombia or methamphetamine labs in California. And, finally, to reduce the terrible social and economic costs imposed by drugs on our society -- \$69 billion in the last year.

Now, to meet these goals, we are asking Congress as we cut spending and move toward a balanced budget, to increase funding for the drug war by 9.3 percent. We can't stop drugs if our schools, hospitals and communities don't have the tools they need to get the job done. We have to have the support of Congress to do this.

Make no mistake about it, this has got to be a bipartisan, American, non-political effort. If we're going to keep our commitment to put 100,000 new community police officers on the street, we are going to have to do that. If we are going to keep our commitment to give schools the funds they need for the Safe and Drug Free Schools Program, we have to do that. And I am proud that the budget I signed last week from the Congress included both those programs. (Applause.)

We are also working hard in Washington to try to protect you from new problems before they come to your doorstep, and that's an important job of the nation's government. I thank Secretary Rubin for getting the early warning on Rohypnol, a powerful and dangerous sedative, to stop it from flooding across our borders. I thank the Attorney General for the work she has done with General McCaffrey and others on the methamphetamine strategy. That is a deadly drug. It is gaining in popularity. In two years, deaths from this drug have doubled. I'm glad it's not here yet, but we have to stop it before it becomes the crack of the 1990s. And we are going after it right now. (Applause.)

So let me say again, if we're going to win this battle, we have to be prepared to pay the price of time, we have to be prepared to ask ourselves -- each and every one of us -- what is our job. This national drug control strategy is our effort to answer the question: What is our job? What is the President's job? What is the Cabinet's job? What is General McCaffrey job?

But we know in the end it is all of you here at the community level doing your jobs that will determine the fate of the children who are here. And ultimately it is their job to say "no" to destructive forces in their lives and "yes" to the future -- "no" to an empty fantasy land and "yes" to the fantasy of an unimaginable future that is out there for all of our young people who will prepare themselves for it. That is, ultimately, the goal we must all share and work for as Americans.

Thank you and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

11:02 A.M. EDT

DONALD LAMBRO

Unattended war on drugs

Perhaps nowhere else in Bill Clinton's presidential record is there a more glaring contradiction between rhetoric and reality than in his handling of "the war on drugs."

Mr. Clinton dropped the word "war" on this issue soon after taking office, and his ill-fated surgeon general, Joycelyn Elders, actually suggested that some drugs should be legalized.

Even Mr. Clinton's political allies openly fault him for an embarrassing record of neglect, with some of them publicly wishing for a return to the days when Ronald Reagan went after drug abuse and traffickers much more aggressively and much more effectively.

As with virtually every other issue, Mr. Clinton is out on the campaign trail making exaggerated boasts about his handling of the nation's drug epidemic which do not square with the facts.

In a campaign speech at Miami, Florida's George Washington Carver Middle School on April 29, Mr. Clinton said, "You should know that every year for the last three years, drug use has dropped. . . . The number of cocaine users has fallen by 30 percent in the last three years alone."

But that's not how reports from his own administration see it. Just last November, the Department of Health and Human Services issued its "Preliminary Estimates from the Drug Abuse Warning Network." Among its shocking findings:

"Cocaine-related episodes (in hospital emergency cases have) reached their highest level in history. An estimated 142,400 cocaine-related episodes were reported in 1994, a 15 percent increase from 1993."

"In 1994, there were 508,900 (total) drug-related hospital emergency department episodes representing an increase of 10 percent from the 1993 estimate," the report said.

Then there is this bombshell report from HHS's 1994 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse which was issued last September:

"The rate of current illicit drug use increased for youth 12-17 years

old between 1993 and 1994 (from 6.6 percent to 9.5 percent), after declining from 18.5 percent in 1979 to 6.1 percent in 1992."

Contrary to Mr. Clinton's campaign-spun rhetoric that drug abuse is declining on his watch, the evidence is overwhelming that not only is drug abuse much worse than it was, but that Mr. Clinton has done

little to combat it during his 3-plus years in office.

Who says so? Democratic Rep. Charles Rangel of New York, the well-respected former chairman of the drug and narcotics subcommittee in the House. "I've been in Congress for over two decades. I have never seen a president who cares less (about drugs)," he says.

The statistics, which fly in the face of Mr. Clinton's denials that drug use is getting worse, are alarming and should frighten every parent in America. Among them:

Marijuana use by young people has mushroomed by an average of 50 percent since 1992, according to the HHS National Household Survey on Drug Abuse.

Especially disturbing, recent marijuana use since 1992 has skyrocketed 137 percent among 12-to 13-year-olds and 200 percent among 14- to 15-year-olds.

"The use of drugs among American secondary school students rose again in 1995, continuing a trend that began in 1991 among eighth-grade students, and in 1992 among 10th- and 12th-graders," according to a University of Michigan study released last December, called "Monitoring the Future."

Between 1991 and 1995, the number of eighth graders who had experimented with or used an illicit drug in their lifetime "rose nearly 10 percent, from 18.7 to 28.5, and tenth graders having done so rose over 10 percent, from 30.6 to 40.9," said a recent analysis of the drug crisis by Amy Moritz, president of the National Center for Public Policy Research.

"The percentage of students having used any illicit drugs within the past 12 months rose over 10 per-

centage points in each of the three grade levels — 8th, 10th and 12th," Ms. Moritz said.

Another study by HHS's Drug Abuse Warning Network, which tracks trends and numbers of drug-related hospital cases, found "Marijuana/hashish-related episodes rose from 28,900 in 1993 to 40,100 in 1994, a 39 percent increase."

Moreover, the increase was seen "among both sexes, all age groups, and both whites and blacks," this November 1995 study said.

The study also found increases in cocaine-related cases, up by 15 percent in 1994. Methamphetamine-abuse cases jumped by 75 percent between 1993 and 1994. LSD and heroin cases continue to rise among young people: In 1995 cases among 8th, 10th and 12th graders were "almost a full percentage point higher than the 1994 results."

What is Mr. Clinton doing about this? A lot less than in the 1980s when Ronald Reagan declared a full-scale "war on drugs," and the drug use numbers fell during Nancy Reagan's "just say no" campaign.

Despite his campaign-timed concern about drugs, the Justice Department says that 227 positions have been slashed from the Drug Enforcement Agency between 1992 and 1995. A White House drug office has been abolished. And between the end of 1992 and 1994, there has been a 12 percent decline in the number of drug crime prosecutions.

After more than 3 years of being silent on drugs in the schools, Bill Clinton is now running for re-election as a president who led on this issue. But the cold hard facts show that drug abuse has risen substantially among young people while his administration has been looking the other way.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Criminal Oversight

The new Republican Congress a failure? Maybe that perception has taken root because there's been so little news about GOP legislative successes. Case in point: The Prison Litigation Reform Act of 1996. Ever heard of it? Probably not, but the act, written by Senator Spencer Abraham (R., Mich.) and included in the budget package signed by President Clinton in April, represents significant progress in the federal fight against crime.

The first problem addressed by the act is the ballooning numbers of civil suits filed by prisoners alleging their rights have been violated. According to Sen. Abraham, there were 65,000 prisoner lawsuits filed in federal courts alone in 1995—more than the entire number of federal prosecutions. Among the examples cited by the freshman Senator:

- A New York inmate wanted \$1 million in damages for civil rights violations because his ice cream had melted (the judge ruled that "the right to eat ice cream . . . was clearly not within the contemplation" of our nation's forefathers).

- An Oklahoma jailbird alleged that being forced to listen to country and western music constituted cruel and unusual punishment.

- A Nevada convict sued because he was served chunky instead of smooth peanut butter.

Many cases are fomented by do-gooders like the ACLU's National Prison Project, which can win legal fees at "prevailing market rates" if the suits are successful. Of course about 94% of inmates don't win anything. But the National Association of Attorneys General estimates that states spend \$81 million a year on prisoners' litigation. To free up some of those resources for fighting crime, the Prison Litigation Reform Act imposes new hurdles to inmate suits. For instance, the act revokes good-time credits accumulated by prisoners who file frivolous suits, and it prohibits prisoners who've filed three non-meritorious suits from filing any more unless they're in imminent danger of bodily harm.

The second problem addressed by the legislation is that of judicial tyranny over the penal system. In many jurisdictions around the country, federal judges have decided that local prisons are somehow violating the rights of inmates. So they've bludgeoned local officials into signing "voluntary" consent decrees that give the judges virtual control of the prisons. Often these decrees stay in effect

for decades, long after the original problem has disappeared. In 1990, more than 1,200 state prisons were operating under judicial supervision.

Sometimes these decrees are merely a nuisance for state governments, which have to spend money coddling criminals instead of busting crime. In Michigan prisons, for example, Senator Abraham says that federal courts monitor the temperature of food, the brightness of the lights, the number of electrical outlets in every cell, and the cutting of inmates' hair (only licensed barbers allowed!). In New York City, the courts ensure that every inmate has access to free newspapers, telephones and TVs.

While those consent decrees are simply risible, others are positively dangerous. Federal Judge Norma L. Shapiro decided to alleviate alleged overcrowding in Philadelphia jails by releasing defendants awaiting trial for drug and property crimes, such as car theft. According to criminologist John DiIulio, 67% of those released failed to appear for trial. In one recent 18-month period, he found, 9,732 arrestees out on the streets because of Judge Shapiro were arrested on second charges, including 79 murders, 90 rapes, 701 burglaries, 959 robberies, 1,113 assaults, 2,215 drug offenses and 2,748 thefts.

To curb this court-mandated jail break, the Prison Litigation Reform Act forbids judges from entering orders for prospective relief unless the order is needed to correct violations of inmates' federal rights. The act also requires that any order to release prisoners be brought by a three judge panel, not just a lone judge. And the act tells courts to end any consent decree after two years unless there are on-going constitutional violations. Even before the law was passed, Judge Shapiro saw the writing on the wall and relaxed her cap on the size of the prison population. Now prosecutors in states from New York to Texas are moving to have consent decrees vacated.

Together, the two sections of the Prison Litigation Reform Act will help carry out the public's wish to lock up criminals and throw away the key. The legislation represents a real victory for this Congress over the criminals' rights and lawsuit manias that have gripped certain parts of the Democratic Party in recent decades. This, we suspect, is precisely the sort of change in political direction that voters wanted in 1994 when they turned Congress over to the Republicans.

CHARLES B. RANGEL

15TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
NEW YORK

DEPUTY WHIP

COMMITTEE:

WAYS AND MEANS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN
RESOURCES

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3215

December 28, 1995

JAN - 2 1996

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PLEASE RESPOND TO
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Hon. William Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As we approach the end of an historic year, I wish to commend your outstanding leadership on the world stage. Your wise diplomacy and stalwart action have brought peace and real hope for freedom and democracy to the peoples of Haiti, Bosnia, Northern Ireland and the Middle East. In the continuing debate over the budget, you have demonstrated your steadfast commitment to the defense of the aged, the poor, the sick and our children.

I am eagerly awaiting your State of the Union message and, in anticipation, would like to share a few urgent thoughts regarding the narcotics abuse and urban crises, which I hope you will address in your speech.

As indicated in my November 17th letter (see enclosed), I was encouraged by your unprecedented crackdown on Colombian drug smugglers, announced at the United Nations last October, and your plans for a White House conference on youth, drugs and crime, early next year. I remain greatly concerned, however, that despite your personal commitment to these issues, I have seen no evidence that your domestic team has moved forward with the same enthusiasm.

There was no question that Dr. Lee Brown, a dedicated professional and his staff at the Office of National Drug Control Policy, shared your commitment. But with his departure, I do not believe that another Drug Czar can be effective without the full support of your cabinet.

As you know, the problem of narcotics abuse and the deterioration of our inner cities are intertwined, and must be approached in a coordinated fashion, by a variety of Departments. Failed education, poor health, inadequate housing and unemployment combine to breed a cycle of hopelessness, desperation and family breakdown that ultimately result in crime and violence.

Hon. William Clinton
December 28, 1995
Page 2

For God's sake, Mr. President, our children are being chewed up by drugs, by violence, by guns, by a blind hopelessness that is tearing our cities to shreds. And even as we fail to save those living in our urban centers, their problems are spreading into the suburbs and rural communities.

The preparation of your State of the Union address would be the ideal opportunity for every cabinet secretary to assist you in addressing these issues. I would suggest that each Department provide you with information on what they have done and what new programs are planned for the coming year to contribute to your drug policy, urban agenda and Empowerment Zones program. In discussing these issues, I wish to express my great appreciation of Secretary Henry Cisneros, whose work with the Empowerment Zones has proven his commitment to solving our urban crises.

Mr. President, again, your leadership has made me proud to serve in government at this time in history, despite the difficulties we are facing. I remain convinced that under your guidance we have a chance to surmount them all, and I remain at your service on these or any other issues in which I might be helpful. Please let me know how I can be of assistance.

My deepest regards to you and your family in the new year.

Sincerely,

CHARLES B. RANGEL
Member of Congress

CBR/em
enclosure

CC: Hon. Al Gore
Hon. Ronald Brown
Hon. Henry Cisneros
Hon. Robert Reich
Hon. Janet Reno
Hon. Richard Riley
Hon. Robert Rubin
Hon. Donna Shalala
Hon. Andrew Cuomo
Hon. Patrick Griffin
Hon. Alexis Herman
Hon. Harold Ickes
Hon. Leon Panetta
Hon. Carol Rasco
Hon. Alice Rivlin

CHARLES B RANGEL

15th Congressional District
New York

DEPUTY WHIP

COMMITTEE

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PLEASE RESPOND TO
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Hon. William Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Your leadership in making certain that your goals on behalf of the people of the United States are not jeopardized by the blatant political interests of Republicans in Congress has made me particularly proud of my service in government. Your stalwart position in holding your ground has strengthened the American people and won support across the nation. By all indications, every Democratic member of Congress has also benefitted from improved ratings among their constituents.

As proud as I have been of your leadership during the current debate over the budget, I was deeply hurt by your decision not to veto HR 2259, the bill rejecting the U.S. Sentencing Commission's recommendation to equalize federal mandatory sentences for crack and powder cocaine offenses. As a former U.S. Attorney, I hold no brief for narcotics offenders, whom I used to prosecute. But it serves no worthwhile purpose to maintain the egregiously discriminatory mandatory sentencing structure that the Sentencing Commission proposal would have changed.

Every law enforcement and narcotics abuse expert--including Secretary Lee Brown--has admitted that the existing sentencing law has had no impact on reducing consumption, distribution, or international trafficking in illegal narcotics. If anything, the law seems to target poor, hopeless, unemployed, drug-dependent young Black men who sell drugs to support their addictions.

Mr. President, I have started several letters to express my disappointment over your response to this issue, but tore them up, reluctant to add to your problems with the Republican majority. By waiting, I hoped to contribute in a positive way to your formulation of an urban and drug strategy, instead of joining the chorus of critics who agree that building more jails and deploying more police are not the only answer to drug dependency and unemployment.

Hon. William Clinton
November 17, 1995
Page 2.

In the fall of 1991, I asked Dick Darman, President Bush's Director of Management and Budget, to share with me the economic impact of drug addiction. He included the measurable financial costs of crime and violence, law enforcement and prisons, health care, homelessness, AIDS, and all the other liabilities growing out of drug abuse. A relatively minor example of the figures contributing to his calculations was the \$60,000 a year it costs to hold a prisoner at Rikers Island jail in New York City, where the level of economic distress is today measured by the battle over spending \$6,000 a year to educate a child in public school.

Darman then factored in the waste in lost productivity and revenues attributable to drug addiction and arrived at a total estimate of more than \$250 billion. Most economists today would double that estimate.

When one considers our huge investments to discourage the cultivation and processing of narcotics in foreign countries, and to impede international trafficking, then include the costs associated with crime, health, homelessness and the rest, it seems to me that it makes far more sense to avoid addiction in the first place than to suffer its horrendous consequences.

The U.S. leads the world with one million people incarcerated and millions more under criminal justice supervision. In some jurisdictions, 90% of the inmates are jailed on drug related offenses. Prisons are a leading growth industry, and in some states such as California, prison guards are among the most powerful political forces. State legislators are waging political battles over the locations of an ever-growing number of prisons, in the same way cities used to compete for military bases.

On every level of government, less money is available for education and training. But for some reason, the private sector continues in its failure to join as partners with the school system to help prepare qualified workers to compete in the high-tech global economy. We will fail as a nation if we fail to train our people.

Your adoption of Empowerment Zones and support of its passage was a giant first step in dealing with an urgent national problem. It sent a signal of your awareness of the growing problems in our urban centers.

Hon. William Clinton
November 17, 1995
Page 3

You won't believe this, but since we organized the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone months ago with the blessing of Mayor Giuliani, it was only last week that the State government finally granted its approval. So we're getting a late start. But working closely with Secretary Cisneros and Assistant Secretary Andrew Cuomo at HUD, the city and state, I am certain we will make you proud.

Mr. President, I greatly appreciate your support of the Empowerment Zone, just as I commend your strong recent initiative announced at the United Nations to sanction Colombia's Cali drug cartel. Like the Empowerment Zones, however, that crackdown should serve as a beginning, not a substitute for a sound drug and urban policy.

There never has been a better time than now for you to strike out against this crisis that is sapping the strength of our cities and dividing our nation. You have already assembled a most able team to carry it out.

Armed by a comprehensive coordinated strategy with the power of your office behind them, your cabinet secretaries will be fortified for the effort. Attorney General Reno and Secretary Lee Brown will find it less difficult and costly to prevent addiction and crime than to contain it. Education Secretary Riley will be empowered to prepare all of our graduates to compete globally. Secretary Shalala will be equipped to stop the spread of tuberculosis, AIDS, diabetes and other debilitating diseases. Secretary Cisneros will find housing for the homeless. Secretary Reich will apply his creative genius to putting our young people to work. And Secretary Ron Brown will help business to better understand that their investment in people is an investment in their own future.

As you know, Mr. President, all of the problems facing our cities are intertwined, making each one even more difficult to solve. Therefore a full array of resources must be assembled to get the job done. Some of the tools are already at hand: wage credits, capital gains relief, market-driven education and training programs, national service, student stipends, scholarships, and many more. Other ideas will emerge from the creativity of your cabinet and other members of the government, and from those of us who are already involved in our cities. One thing is certain, however, no solutions will be viable without the full participation and cooperation of the private sector.

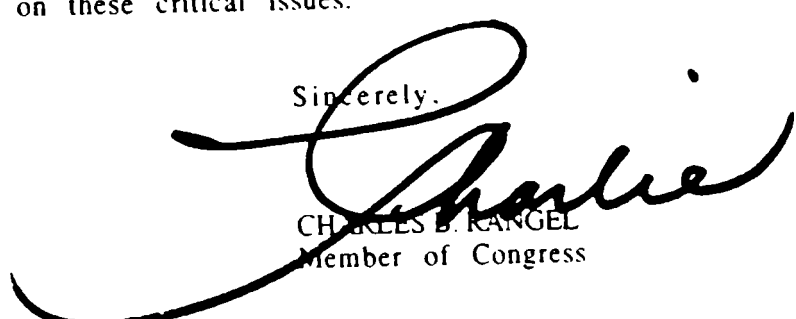
Hon. William Clinton
November 17, 1995
Page 4

These are ideas that I know are not new to you. I have spoken about them with Secretary Rubin and others in your Administration. But it seems to me that the time is now right for a major Presidential initiative and statement on the growing crisis in our urban communities. The people are beginning to recognize that the hopelessness of poor urban youth not only dooms the ghettos, but robs the Treasury, cripples our international competitiveness, threatens our personal security and dangerously divides the nation. They also know that young people who are educated, trained and armed with hope for the future, don't use drugs, bear children before their time or commit acts of violence.

I know the love you have for this country, and your sensitivity to the problems of our people. I can only hope that you feel the urgency of the situation. I am anxious to work with you and am prepared to pull together Jack Kemp and my colleagues Speaker Gingrich and Chairman Kasich, all of whom share our concern and agree that the private sector must be involved.

Mr. President, once again, congratulations on your leadership, and I respectfully look forward to hearing from you on these critical issues.

Sincerely,



CHARLES B. RANGEL
Member of Congress

CBR/em

CC: Hon. Al Gore
Hon. Lee Brown
Hon. Ron Brown
Hon. Henry Cisneros
Hon. Robert Reich
Hon. Janet Reno
Hon. Richard Riley
Hon. Robert Rubin
Hon. Donna Shalala
Hon. Andrew Cuomo
Hon. Alexis Herman
Hon. Harold Ickes
Hon. Leon Panetta
Hon. Carol Rasco
Hon. Alice Rivlin

cc Mrs. Hillary Clinton

Mexican Drug Kingpin Is Said to Aid FBI

Information on 'Gulf Cartel' Provided as Plea Negotiations Continue

By Pierre Thomas
Washington Post Staff Writer

Juan Garcia Abrego, accused of heading a multibillion-dollar drug trafficking empire that controlled a third of Mexico's cocaine smuggling, has begun assisting federal authorities in a wide-ranging investigation of narcotics smuggling across the U.S. southern border, sources familiar with the talks said.

Officials described Garcia Abrego's cooperation as a dramatic and potentially politically sensitive development because he could provide insight on corruption within recent Mexican federal administrations, including that of former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, which the Clinton administration lauded during the 1993 debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Garcia Abrego has provided information about his organization, known as the "Gulf Cartel," in extended briefings with FBI agents, several sources said. The ongoing interviews were still underway yesterday, a little more than a week after he was arrested by Mexican authorities and then flown to the United States to face charges brought by a federal grand jury.

While the talks were described as preliminary and fragile with no deal yet over a plea bargain, federal authorities expressed hope that Garcia Abrego's interrogations would prove a watershed in their knowledge of Mexican narcotics trafficking. "The matter is at a very sensitive stage, but the fact that there is an extended conversation and he is continuing to talk, does mean that something is going on," one source said. Telephone calls to his attorney's office yesterday were not returned.

"This man (Garcia Abrego) has tentacles that goes who knows where," said another federal official. "What he says could have a potentially devastating international impact."

Garcia Abrego, known to some as "el director," "the doll" and "the engineer," was the first alleged international drug trafficker to be placed on the FBI's Most Wanted List. In 1993, a federal grand jury in Houston indicted him in a conspiracy to ship tons of cocaine into the United States in collaboration with Colombia's Cali Cartel.

Garcia Abrego is also suspected of involvement in dozens of murders in Mexico and the assassination of promi-

nent Mexican politicians, including Luis Donaldo Colosio, the 1994 presidential candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. Officials are also investigating whether part of the \$120 million fortune amassed by Raul Salinas, the jailed brother of former president Carlos Salinas, came from Garcia Abrego.

A law enforcement source said that Garcia Abrego had at first offered information that was of limited value, but that in recent days the content of the talks had improved. Upon receiving information from Abrego, investigators were attempting to verify its accuracy, said a number of sources, who declined to describe the substance of Garcia Abrego's statements. "We have to see whether he is blowing smoke to save his own hide," said a federal official.

Asked why Garcia Abrego would assist authorities, a law enforcement source noted that Garcia Abrego had few options and needed to be concerned about his protection, even in an American prison. The source said Garcia Abrego's stature within his organization had recently begun to "slide" and that he may have been a target for assassination even prior to his arrest. "He is clearly in danger," the source said.

Mexico serves as a major trafficking center for about half the cocaine from South America entering the United States. Garcia Abrego controlled much of the flow, U.S. officials maintain.

The indictment brought against Abrego and several others depicts the routine transfer of millions of dollars from illicit cocaine smuggling that stretched into Texas, Florida and New York. Garcia Abrego is portrayed as a kingpin often directly involved in his organization's activities, authorizing in one instance "the bribery and payment of \$100,000 . . . to a special agent of the [FBI], who was acting in an undercover capacity as a corrupt federal law enforcement official." The indictment then describes several direct telephone conversations between Garcia Abrego and with the supposed corrupt federal official.

Drug Enforcement Administration officials in internal briefings maintain that Mexican gangs "are sophisticated and possess unparalleled ability to corrupt and intimidate."

INSTANT
DEMOCRATS
— p. 19

Clintonomics: Much to Be Modest About

NATIONAL REVIEW

400 READERS RESPOND TO SPECIAL ISSUE

IS THE WAR
ON DRUGS
REALLY

Reply by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

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Paris in 1992 under the auspices of the French National Academy of Medicine. Professor Henri Baylon, the President of the Academy, summarized the conclusions of the meeting as follows:

"1. The toxicity of cannabis is well established, experimentally and clinically. The drug adversely affects the central nervous system, the lungs, and the immunity and reproductive functions.

"2. Epidemiological studies have reported that the use of 'hard drugs' rarely occurs among subjects who have never used cannabis.

"3. Consequently, the participants in this colloquium rebut the distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' drugs.

"4. The trivialization ('decriminalization') of cannabis use, where it has occurred, has resulted in a considerable increase of its consumption and of its subsequent damaging effects."

What I wrote (page 36): "Professor Steven Duke of Yale Law School, in his valuable book, *America's Longest War: Rethinking Our Tragic Crusade against Drugs*, and scholarly essay, 'Drug Prohibition: An Unnatural Disaster,' reminds us that it isn't the use of illegal drugs that we have any business complaining about, it is the abuse of such drugs. It is acknowledged that tens of millions of Americans (I have seen the figure 85 million) have at one time or another consumed, or exposed themselves to, an illegal drug. But the estimate authorized by the federal agency charged with such explorations is that there are not more than 1 million regular cocaine users, defined as those who have used the drug at least once in the preceding week. There are (again, an informed estimate) 5 million Americans who regularly use marijuana; and again, an estimated 70 million who once upon a time, or even twice upon a time, inhaled marijuana. From the above we reasonably deduce that Americans who abuse a drug, here defined as Americans who become addicted to it or even habituated to it, are a very small percentage of those who have experimented with a drug, or who continue to use a drug without any observable distraction in their lives or careers."

One wonders why Mr. Howard wastes his time (and ours) by his misreadings and irrelevancies. When the French National Academy of Medicine reports that cannabis is "toxic" in that it "affects the central nervous system," it is telling us nothing that is not obvious. There is no other reason to use marijuana than that it affects the nervous system. And *any* inhalation of tar affects the lungs. If marijuana seriously affects the reproductive functions, one can only wonder at the success of the Woodstock generation in reproducing itself. To say that everyone who uses cocaine probably once used marijuana is correct and meaningless. Everyone who rapes probably once masturbated. Most excesses are progressive. To conclude that there is no distinction between soft and hard drugs is simply to ignore the discriminating capacity of our senses, to distinguish between the man who has taken a glass of beer and the man who has taken a half-dozen martinis.

And this, of course, is the key insight. Nothing the Academy says about cannabis or cocaine can't be said about alcohol, which the United States finally decriminalized after

13 ugly (and cheerless) years. It is especially curious that Mr. Howard failed to grapple with the point, given that the sentence in the *NR* issue immediately after the one he quoted above read: "*About such users [i.e., occasional marijuana and indeed cocaine users] one might say that they are the equivalent of those Americans who drink liquor but do not become alcoholics, or those Americans who smoke cigarettes but do not suffer a shortened lifespan as a result.*"

And a factual point. Mr. Howard: "Robert Sweet does urge the acceptance of 'the recommendations of President Nixon's commission on drug law to end the criminalization of marijuana.' That would seem to support his view, except

*Nothing the Academy says about
cannabis or cocaine can't be
said about alcohol, which the United
States finally decriminalized after
13 ugly (and cheerless) years.*

it is flatly untrue. That commission recommended that marijuana remain contraband, subject to confiscation by law-enforcement officials."

The National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse (The "Nixon Marijuana Commission") found in 1972 that "there is little proven danger of physical or psychological harm from the experimental or intermittent use" of marijuana. On the question of law enforcement, the panel recommended a "decriminalization" of possession of marijuana for personal use on both the state and the federal levels. Specifically, it recommended that:

"—Federal and state laws be changed to no longer make it a crime to possess marijuana for private use.

"—The distribution in private of small amounts of marijuana for no remuneration or for insignificant amounts should no longer be an offense.

"—State laws should make the public use of marijuana a criminal offense punishable by a \$100 fine. Under federal law, marijuana smoked in public would merely be subject to seizure."

• • •

Most of the letters received fall into one or another of the categories enumerated below.

2. The Demands of the Natural Law

"... in most arenas (the suicide business, abortion, others) you make reference to natural law, but in the isolated area of drug legalization you seem to discount the possibility of any higher guidance and use expediency as the rationale."

—Dr. T. P. Collins, Portsmouth, Virginia

No such thing was intended. But laws do not for the most part instruct us whether to engage in particular activi-

ties. Of the seven deadly sins (gluttony, avarice, sloth, pride, lust, envy, wrath) only two are also proscribed by statute law, and even they, only marginally. Jimmy Carter con-

Of the seven deadly sins (gluttony, avarice, sloth, pride, lust, envy, wrath) only two are also proscribed by statute law, and even they, only marginally.

fessed to lust in his heart, but the policeman materializes only when lust activates aggression. Wrath is okay (in fact it is even encouraged, in times of war) except when it causes you to kill or maim innocents.

3. Personal Responsibility

Much indignation is expressed over the tacit position of many anti-prohibitionists that the addicted class is free to become a public burden.

"Several years ago, our Congress chose to follow the leadership of American liberals by deciding that taking illegal drugs was a 'disease.' In reality, the use of drugs describes a behavior. . . . The result? The illegal drug-takers are 'rehabilitated' to the point where they no longer need to work to make their way in life; they simply hand the tab to the taxpayer."

—Jack W. Pace, Lincoln, Rhode Island

But surely it is not plausible that anyone well and persuasively instructed in the tortures of addiction would think to take up drugs merely as a means of effecting a personal welfare program? What several symposium contributors stressed was different, namely that the dollar spent on instruction and therapy effects a higher return than the dollar spent on detection, trial, and imprisonment.

4. Can Anyone Function With Drugs?

Some viewers of the *Firing Line* programs aired in February featuring contributors to the NR drug symposium were astonished to hear (from Mr. Nadelmann and Dr. Szasz) that indeed some drug users can and do lead apparently normal lives.

"On Saturday morning, you sat there and countenanced the proposition that heroin was less dangerous than alcohol . . . Especially appalling was the suggestion that the addict could 'function' if he or she were freed from the problem of obtaining enough money to fund an illegal habit. The idea that an addict can function is almost as insane as the addict's substance abuse is insane. How do you define 'function'? Does it mean to lead a responsible, productive life? Does it mean simply to be able to feed and dress oneself? Does it mean to live and not be a threat to

other people? How much self-reliance and safety do you include in your definition?"

—Louise H. Perret, Rye, New York

It is established that some people can "function" even after ingesting cocaine. Dr. Szasz has written on the matter in several of his books. He is arguing two positions. The first is that the "abuse" of drugs is a variable. Even as we know those who can tolerate five drinks, and those who can't tolerate one, it is evidently so with cocaine. This is hardly to recommend the use of it, since for the overwhelming majority it is immobilizing. Dr. Szasz makes the point that it is clinically incorrect to assume that everyone is equally affected. His other point is that to impose legal sanctions against someone merely because it is established that he has used the drug is an encroachment on human rights.

5. Is Drug Legalization Analogous To Choice in Abortion?

"I'm surprised no one has thought of the parallel between the legalization of drugs and the legalization of abortion. The same arguments . . . could easily be used to legalize drugs. Right to privacy, freedom to do what one wishes with one's body, even the threat that if abortion were illegal women would have to resort to the back-alley butcher. Just change this last one to read back-alley pusher and the two are identical."

—Frank F. Bellotti, Seattle, Washington

The parallel is of limited use, surely, inasmuch as opposition to abortion springs from the belief that there is an aggrieved party, with human rights.

6. Would Legalization Bring More Government?

"Another almost certain consequence [of decriminalization] would be the creation of a Federal Drug Control bureaucracy that would make the current Drug War machine seem trivial. . . . Another worry concerning the legalization of drugs is its probable effect on the workplace. Today, we employers can fire drugged-up employees. But, with legalization, I can imagine that employers will be forced to continue the employment of worthless workers under the Americans with Disabilities Act."

—John F. Brinson, Allentown, Pennsylvania

Surely implausible? There was less government, in respect of alcohol, affecting individual lives after Prohibition than during it. Besides, it must by no means be taken for granted that all the contributors to NR's symposium favor diminished social and economic sanctions, were legalization to come. It is not inconsistent to favor legalization alongside an intensification of these other sanctions.

The columnist Nicholas von Hoffman lists what society is in a position to do to make its point. The taking of drugs ought to be legislated as a civil offense. What then might a drug consumer expect? To begin with, everyone would have to submit to periodic blood testing.

"Anyone testing positive for drug use would be subject to

the revocation of a huge army of privileges, ranging from temporary to permanent loss of driver's license, the revocation of one's license to practice law, operate a barber shop, work as an electrician, practice medicine or be a plumber, rent property, buy and sell securities. Civil penalties for drug use could also include cancellation of eligibility for every kind of government loan insurance, loss of eligibility for welfare, student grants in aid, subsidies, and government payments of any kind, large or small. Persons found selling drugs would be subject to cancellation of medical insurance, and Social Security, up to and including refused admission to hospitals or hospices. No criminal penalties, no long trials, no F. Lee Blundermouths, or Whirling Dershowitzes. Civil society, through quick, essentially unappealable administrative tribunals, would turn its back on such people for a greater or lesser period of time."

The promulgation of the Hoffman Protocols would require some fiddling with the Constitution. But can it be said that Mr. Hoffman is soft on drugs, though he advocates legalization?

7. The Federalist Implications

"We tend to speak of the 'legalization' of drugs, when we really are referring to the repeal of national drug legislation. . . . Why should the conservative coalition split itself apart in arguments over whether 'government' ought [to] act aggressively against drug production and consumption, or adopt a libertarian unconcern and let the market proceed to do its work? The issue cuts too deeply. Where are we likely to find a better opportunity to educate the American people about federalism? The remanding of drug policy to the states would dramatically illustrate the futility and destructiveness of much meddlesome federal administration."

—Scott Rutledge, Richardson, Texas

State-bounded experiments lifting criminal sanctions against marijuana use have been attempted in a dozen states. But of course, drugs being light and unbulky, it would require an extraordinary mobilization of state constabulary to prevent border crossings. But yes, it would be prudent to repeal the federal law against marijuana use, leaving it to the states to define laws of their own. The distinguished neuroscientist Professor Michael Gazzaniga, writing in *NR* (February 5, 1990), advocated a federal drugstore in which drugs were clearly—even dramatically—labeled, detailing toxicity and possible/probable side effects. Such drugs would be available at a cost low enough to eliminate a black market.

8. How to Measure Social Unacceptability?

Several correspondents see a difficulty in any proposition to the effect that general disobedience of a law, as with drug consumption in America, should lead to the law's abrogation.

"... The Buckley corollary seems to be that if the enforcement of a criminal law measured by an unspecified ratio of persons convicted of the crime to those engaged in the conduct criminal-

ized is too low, then the conduct should be legalized. I would like to have your views on whether, for example, you believe laws making homicide criminal should be repealed if it became apparent that most homicides were unsolved."

—Walter S. Lewis, Princeville, Hawaii

The point is argumentatively interesting, but collapses under scrutiny. Many sometime laws withered away with the separation of church and state, and sluggish observance. Attendance at Sunday services was theoretically compulsory in some localities even after the Constitution was ratified. Such laws gradually disappeared, as also, almost two centuries later, laws against commerce on the Lord's Day. What looms is greater emphasis on the distinction between victimless crimes and other crimes. Laws against sodomy are de facto relics of another age, although they are still on the books in some states. Laws against suicide are formalistic, inasmuch as prosecution is, in the nature of the case, impossible.

To be sure, the term "victimless" is used glibly. Isn't a prostitute, even if she engages in her profession voluntarily, in some real sense a victim? The drug consumer can, by his habit, victimize his family, but then so can the wage earner who dissipates his salary at the race track. It is preposterous to argue that the drug consumer does no damage, but my colleagues in the symposium are agreed that the sum of human damage done by the drug laws is greater than would be done without them, and that the primary—and sometimes only—victim in the latter case would be the drug user. The murderer's victim is someone whose rights are theoretically guaranteed by the Constitution; and the promiscuity of homicide is, up to a point, evidence of the delinquency of law enforcers. There is no evidence, the contributors to the drug symposium are agreed, that increasing the severity of prison sentences, or the density of patrolmen on our frontiers, would so successfully interdict drug traffic as to make the war on drugs victorious.

9. Isn't It a Matter of Law Enforcement?

On this point—law enforcement—many correspondents dwelled. Blame for the ineffectiveness of the drug laws is laid on the shoulders of politicians, judges, police officers, lawyers, jurors, educators, parents, and doctors.

"I do not believe that the drug war has been lost; it has not yet been fought. What we have had up to this point have been ploys designed by politicians to appease as many of the various segments of the voting public as possible. A law that is not vigorously enforced is no deterrent. It is not the existence of a law that is the deterrent, it is the enforcement of the law. . . ."

—Howard R. Jeter, North Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Arriving at a different conclusion, in our symposium, were Joseph McNamara, who has served as police chief in two major U.S. cities; Judge Robert Sweet of New York, who, called upon to implement the Rockefeller drug laws, has seen the tumbrils pass by, en route to twenty years' imprisonment; and Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore, who

has presided for nine years over the government of a drug-torn city. Federal money appropriated to prosecute drug traffic and drug use rose by 1,000 per cent between Nixon and Clinton. We have seen oscillations in drug use, especially a sharp diminution in cocaine consumption, but these have little bearing on the intensity of the drug war. It is for that reason that the panelists join in concluding that, this side of draconian punishment (flogging?) (hanging?) (public?), the drug war cannot claim victory.

10. Where Do You Draw the Line?

"... How do you make the decision which is which? You did not distinguish among drugs. Are there no drugs that should be banned, and if some should be, how is the line drawn?"

—Francis S. Webster III, Austin, Texas

The text on the cover of the drug issue read,

THE WAR ON DRUGS IS LOST

—Kill It

—Go for Legalization

—Free up Police, Courts

—Reduce Crime

The panelists were not asked to draw the line. But in order to accomplish the stated objectives (free up police, courts; reduce crime), the profit from the merchandising of drugs would need to be all but abolished. This means, clearly, legal access to the most popular drug (marijuana) and the runner-up (cocaine). For most users, soft drugs are preferred over the most toxic, even as beer and wine are preferred over 200-proof alcohol. Crack cocaine is of course readily deduced as a (now) cheap byproduct of cocaine.

There is some evidence that crack cocaine can induce violent conduct. How, then, to handle the hypothetical buyer who enters a federal drugstore and asks for crack cocaine? Perhaps as was for so many years required in New Zealand of customers for beer—that they consume it on the premises. . . . But on such specifics, the panelists were not questioned. Dr. Szasz is, on the subject, a libertarian absolute. My sense of it is that most of the others would move step by step provided the profit in drugs were hugely reduced. A beginning might be the legalization of marijuana.

11. Alcohol and Drugs

"... you make the ludicrous mistake of comparing alcohol with drugs. With alcohol, you may have a hangover, but you will never experience a 'snapback' to full and complete intoxication. Take a visit to a drug hospital. You will see people wandering around like mind-numbed robots, oblivious to the world around them."

—Oliver A. Rockwag, La Puente, California

To compare drugs and alcohol is not to equate them. An analogy, by definition, marks similarities on the understanding that there are also dissimilarities. Marijuana, cocaine, and whisky are all psychotropic drugs. Of the three, only marijuana can't kill—there is no record of death from over-

dose. Alcohol is responsible for an estimated 100,000 premature deaths every year. And alcohol is the most common wrecker of personal and professional lives, and by far the most common inducement to crime and mayhem. The damage done by drugs to the human body similarly varies. There are the cocaine-induced zombies, some of whom will never recover, and the alcoholics who suffer from more than a hangover because when they wake they turn again to the bottle.

The primary distinction is that alcohol is a happy part of Western culture, and there is the presumptive case against introducing another species of psychotropic drug into that culture. But the panelists, in the issue under discussion, weren't arguing in favor of a supplementary drug. We were addressing the question: What do we do under present circumstances?—having failed to stop drug traffic, and become progressively accustomed to privations caused by the endless war against drugs?

12. Hard-Drug Users Are Criminals To Begin With

"As a 22-year prosecutor in a small rural area, I believe I have a better view of the everyday criminal than does a big-city prosecutor. . . . Marijuana is a fairly harmless substance that could be legalized without any real effect on the crime problem in general. Marijuana is a substance whose effects on the lives of those who take it are similar to alcohol, and people who use it have the ability to be normally functioning members of society. . . ."

"On the level of everyday street crime, however, the drug laws are a major advantage to law enforcement. Most of the '50 per cent' of criminals in prison for drug offenses are not there because they are major dealers or dealers at all. They are there because they have a long history of criminality prior to being caught with drugs. Possession of drugs is both easy to prove and very inexpensive to prosecute. But when you send these people to prison, you prevent innumerable thefts and acts of violence. Only very rarely is violence by drug addicts directly related to drugs themselves."

—Fred Schroeder, Marysville, California

The point plays on a theme widely distracting. Some students of the drug question believe that drug traffic is, as here suggested, merely a convenient vehicle for criminal energies that will find another outlet should the profit in drugs come to an end. What percentage of the drug-related prison population falls into this category (Category #1) is of course unknown. But it is known that many non-criminally-inclined Americans have experimented with drugs (we have used the figure 70 million). Some of these, caught in the act, are in jail (Category #2). And then there are those who become addicted and, in order to satisfy their craving, engage in criminal activity they'd never have engaged in but for their addiction and the high price of drugs. They are in jail either because they were detected in theft, or because they were caught consuming or trafficking in drugs (Category #3). The argument that in order to expedite the imprisonment of Category #1 we should not object to the imprisonment of Categories #2 and #3 is not persuasive.

13. 'I Saw What Happened . . .'

"I saw what happened to promising young men and women in the late Sixties and Seventies when drugs were popularized. I had to raise four children under peer pressure . . . I saw the 'burnouts' and the dropouts. It would tear you to pieces. I saw friends of my sons go off to the University of Michigan clean and come back hopelessly on drugs. I saw families spending themselves into bankruptcy trying to dry them out."

—Lawrence E. Flora, Stuart, Florida

Who "popularized" drugs? An indulgent lifestyle. You write of the burnouts you have seen. How do you propose to diminish their number? They are there notwithstanding

'I had to raise four children under peer pressure . . . I saw the "burnouts" and the dropouts. It would tear you to pieces.'

our war on drugs. What do you propose? Longer prison terms?

14. It's Simple: It's Wrong

"I started using marijuana at age 14, speed at 15, mescaline and LSD at 16, THC at 17, cocaine at 18, and freebasing cocaine at 22. I know from first-hand experience what the use of illegal drugs can do. . . . I started doing drugs at age 14 and continued until I reached the age of 27, when I overdosed on cocaine. I believe that I am a better expert than any pundit who has ever read a paper, done a test, or contributed to any article. I know why drugs should never be legalized: to use drugs is wrong. Simple, isn't it? But that is where we must all begin to answer the question involved here."

"Drug use is wrong; to consciously ingest any substance for the purpose of changing or altering your mood is wrong. The effects of long-term drug use are clearly proven; to be involved in drug use while young affects the mind while growing up; it shapes the emotions of the pubescent who is going through the normal growing pains that all must go through, yet doesn't allow the teenager to view life through a normal viewpoint. I know. I have had to learn how to deal with people all over again since coming clean. It cannot be repeated enough: the use of drugs for the purpose of enjoyment is wrong."

"I know. I have done drugs in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, California, Washington, Vancouver, B.C., Hawaii, Guam, Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Mombasa Kenya, and Singapore. I have done drugs at Parris Island during boot camp; Cherry Point, North Carolina; Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii; 29

Palms, California; on board the USS LaMoore County, USS Okinawa, and USS Belleau Wood. It's wrong." —Unsigned

We agree, it's wrong. And your experiences certainly document that the war against drugs has failed. . . . You were wise to leave Singapore. If caught, you would not have completed your itinerary. But we don't want to bring Singapore to America.

15. The View from Abroad

"As a career Foreign Service Officer, I have served in drug-producing countries and seen the disastrous effects our policy has on those nations and how it benefits our enemies. We have created new sources of funds for politicians and cops already disposed to corruption. We risk the lives of brave American agents in a fight in which our 'allies' have no interest and see, rightly, as our problem, not theirs. We have huge bureaucracies in the State Department, Pentagon, CIA, DEA, FBI, AID, and Justice and legions of Beltway bandits thriving on the 'war' and its programs, conferences, etc. But the drugs still come; prices still drop; availability still rises—and the body count in our streets doesn't stop. The war is a massive fraud with incalculable negative effects at home and abroad."

—Name Withheld by Request

16. Devolution

"The most embarrassing aspect of the articles was that Steven 'I-am-not-a-conservative' Duke was the only person to recognize what we should do: devolve the matter to the states. Let Utah maintain its prohibition, let the People's Republic of New York legalize . . . and let NR stop searching for a national solution."

—Steven C. Russell, Bountiful, Utah

17. If It Isn't Illegal . . .

"Tell me something, Mr. Buckley, if you can't educate someone on the dangers of drug use when it is illegal, how are you going to do so after it is legalized? I have two sons who are alcoholics. One of my uncles and my older brother both drank themselves to death. I shudder to think of the additional tragedies we would have had to deal with if drugs were legal. Our laws against drug use are important, Mr. Buckley. May God help you to see that and to engage the enemies of right behavior."

"What are my credentials? I am a janitor who has more sense than a fistful of intellectuals that write articles for magazines."

—Jerry G. Allen, St. Louis, Missouri

Were the people who, 63 years ago, ended Prohibition responsible for the tragedies experienced by your family? The argument would appear to be saying exactly that.

• • •

We are grateful to our readers, as ever; and regret we can't, for obvious reasons, publish all that you wrote. The argument goes on. You have contributed to the public understanding, and to my own.

—WFB

400 READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS

EDITED BY WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

THE issue of NATIONAL REVIEW dated February 12, 1996, gave the conclusion of the magazine that the time had come to revise our laws on drug trafficking. Seven writers contributed to the symposium. There were no differences among them on the primary findings. They were 1) that the famous drug war is not working; 2) that crime and suffering have greatly increased as a result of prohibition; 3) that we have seen, and are countenancing, a creeping attrition of authentic civil liberties; and 4) that the direction in which to head is legalization, whatever modifications in kind, speed, and variety commend themselves in study and practice.

The response from the magazine's readers is, in volume, second only to the response to the issue in 1991 given over to the exploration of anti-Semitism. We have had over four hundred communications, and the only civil way to introduce fragments from these letters, as we now do, is to apologize to their authors for our failure to acknowledge them individually. (One letter is approximately eight thousand words long and is marked, "Not for publication in whole or in part.") Four hundred letters addressed to the President of the United States, or even to a senator or congressman, would almost certainly be acknowledged, by using form letters A, B, and C. But even a letter so spare as to have been usable to all our correspondents would have broken our clerical bank. Add to this an indisposition to craft letters so diffuse as to fail to qualify as serious answers. (H. L. Mencken's formula was always to say, "You may be right. Sincerely, HLM.")

Readers are about evenly divided on the recommendations of NR. A heavy majority were grateful that NATIONAL REVIEW had ventilated the subject extensively; all agree that the drug problem is acute, and no one disputes that the drug war is being lost. Those who oppose legalization are divided on what then to do, one half asking for harsher penalties, the other proposing different strategies. Inasmuch as the heavy majority of those who lean toward, or forthrightly advocate, legalization endorsed the findings and analyses of our own panel, they are given, to avoid repetition, less space in this summary. The analyses by Messrs. Buckley, Duke, McNamara, Nadelmann, Schmoke, Sweet, and Szasz are requoted here only when their recollection helps to achieve perspective in answering our critics.

1. The Classic Prohibitionist View

Prominence should be given to a long letter from our old friend and fellow warrior John A. Howard, founder of the Rockford Institute, now counselor to Rockford (which also publishes *Chronicles*). Commentary on his and subsequent letters is done by me—WFB. What I say does not presume to be exactly what my colleagues would have said, but I have endeavored to avoid any disharmony with their views.

Mr. Howard says that he is surprised by the "ignorance"

of the writers in respect of "the large body of scientific research which contradicts their presuppositions and assertions. Bill Buckley denies any serious concern about the impact of cocaine and marijuana upon the millions of regular users because most of them continue their use 'without any observable distraction in their lives or careers.' Ethan Nadelmann asserts, 'Most people can use drugs without doing much harm to themselves or anyone else.' The other authors seem to assume the same benign character of drug use."

Mr. Howard goes on, "An international colloquium on the human effects of cannabis consumption was held in