

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Turner, Carlton E.: Files

**Folder Title:** Senator Joseph Biden

**Box:** 71

---

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

ANSWERS TO SENATOR BIDEN'S QUESTIONS RE: DRUG ENFORCEMENT  
COORDINATION

a.) Yes

1. Coordination of the overall drug enforcement effort is important. I feel that, in general, board members themselves should attend and would do my best to ensure that the Cabinet level members of the board are personally present at meetings.

2. I cannot agree that U.S. diplomatic efforts to control drugs "consistently take a back seat to other foreign policy concerns." Both the Attorney General and the Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotic Affairs, backed by the President and the Secretary of State, have taken more aggressive steps in dealing with other countries on this problem than ever before. It must be recognized, however, that there are times when other major U.S. interests, such as national security, are at stake and there will be a balance determined by the competing objectives. I believe we should continue a strong and aggressive policy toward drug control in foreign countries.

3. Yes, I would be willing to advise the President to terminate all U.S. aid to a drug source if I felt that course of action would be appropriate. Likewise, I would not hesitate to recommend working through multi-national financial organizations, if in the light of all the facts, they appeared to be an appropriate means of assuring drug control cooperation.

4. As stated above, the U.S. has initiated and is improving its efforts to stop illicit drugs from foreign sources. I believe there is room for more diplomatic efforts and a need to continue to make this subject a priority item of discussion when the President and other high officials meet with the leaders of the countries involved.

5. I would propose that the State Department make drug control a major subject of concern in training ambassadors and in regular communications with the countries involved. I would propose that the Treasury Department examine ways in which it could influence better control of drugs at foreign sources through cooperative customs agreements and through incentives employed in our financial relationships.

6. I do not have sufficient information at the present time to make a judgment as to whether the governments of the countries listed are making a good faith effort to cooperate with the U.S. in drug control, but I would make this subject a matter of immediate concern if confirmed at Attorney General.

7. I would generally support eradication of poppy and marijuana crops by aerial spraying of herbicides in the countries listed. However, to make a definitive judgment, I would need more information on each of the countries to be sure that such action would be both appropriate and effective. Where aerial spraying is to be undertaken, the U.S. assisted by provided equipment, technical assistance and training for the foreign governments.

8. I believe that we should encourage the international banking community to include drug considerations in their lending and operating protocols. It would be a mistake to attempt to dictate such terms because we are likely to make better progress through friendly agreements.

9. The Intelligence Community has increased its contribution to the drug control effort. However, I look forward to receiving more extensive briefings on current efforts and would continually encourage greater intelligence activity as available resources permit.

10. The agencies and departments which use the intelligence produced by the Intelligence Community also contribute to the establishment of the intelligence collection requirements. The Intelligence Community, including the Central Intelligence Agency, can provide intelligence support consistent with existing statutory restrictions. I look forward to receiving further information that will enable me to suggest additional support that the CIA and other intelligence agencies might provide.

11. I have not had an opportunity to analyze the requirements and resources that form the basis for the budget of the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotic Matters. I would endeavor to obtain such information as quickly as possible so that I could make my suggestions to the appropriate officials for future budget requests.

12. I agree with the strategy that calls for the encouragement of foreign governments to recognize that their own populations also can be victims of drug abuse. I think we should increase our effort to urge other countries to add drug control to their foreign policy agendas. I think we should do everything possible to assist and cooperate with other countries in their drug control efforts, particularly in providing them information about successful prevention and drug control programs that have worked in the U.S.

13. Following Congressional approval of the exception to the Posse Comitatus Act, which now allows the military services to provide support to civilian drug law enforcement, the Department of Defense has been cooperating by providing equipment, sharing information, and deploying ships and planes to assist in drug interdiction efforts. I believe that the Defense Department can play an increasing role in drug interdiction consistent with military requirements of readiness and training.

14. I handled this announcement and briefing because I had helped to develop the National Narcotic Board Interdiction System and was the most knowledgeable White House staffer on this subject. The briefing of the press was a staff function and full recognition was given to the leadership role of the Vice President.

15. The border interdiction system is to promote cooperation and coordination among existing agencies. While I expect increases in the overall resources dedicated to this effort, further experience will be needed to determine whether still additional resources may be required in the future.

16. The military services have been cooperating with the border interdiction effort and the Vice President has established the system for coordination. The goal was and is to reduce the flow of illicit drugs coming into the United States. The Customs Service, the Coast Guard, and the armed forces are all supporting the interdiction effort and we will vigorously pursue this effort in both air and sea interdiction.

17. The goal of the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System was and is to increase the effectiveness of the U.S. efforts to intercept drugs being smuggled, by land, sea, or air, into the United States.

18. I have not seen the detailed analysis of the changes in the Customs air program but you may be assured that the President, the Vice President and the Executive Board of the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System, of which I am a member, will not allow the effectiveness of the overall air interdiction program to deteriorate.

19. Yes. The commitment of this Administration and the resources devoted to the "drug fight" exceed any previous effort by the Federal government. Further, for the first time in recent history, surveys are beginning to show a decline in overall drug use.

20. I am not aware of a formal evaluation of the South Florida Task Force Program.

21. I am not personally familiar with the report requirement, but we will strive to provide timely reports, as required.

22. I believe the bottom line is really the absence of people abusing drugs. The law enforcement efforts support this goal many ways; reducing the availability of illicit drugs by stopping the drugs and removing the trafficking organizations, by making it too hot or risky to be involved in drug smuggling or trafficking, by raising the cost of doing business to the trafficker and raising the price of doing drugs to the user. However, seizures, price, and availability do not tell the whole story. Drug users tend to substitute other drugs of abuse if one drug is in short supply. To improve the future of our country, we must also seek a change in public attitudes and make drug abuse unacceptable personal behavior.

23. I am a member of the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy that has responsibility for issues relating to the Federal drug effort.

24. I am familiar that an issue exists concerning maintenance of the Customs Service drug interdiction aircraft which is currently a subject of discussion between the Treasury and Defense Departments.

25. I am aware of the general budget for the customs service. I have been advised that the proposed reduction in personnel can be accommodated by efficiencies in administrative and operational procedures and will not adversely affect the level of customs drug law enforcement. I am also advised that the air operations and interdiction effort will likewise not suffer any impairment.

26. No.

27. To the best of my knowledge, this issue has not been discussed by any policy committee for any other group responsible for coordinating drug enforcement policy.

28. I have been informed that the current budget will not result in a cut in law enforcement resources devoted to the overall drug enforcement program. If I should find that such a result has occurred, I will make appropriate recommendations to the President and other appropriate officials to restore and maintain the necessary level of effort.

29. This would probably be resolved within the framework of the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy and, if not agreed at a lower level by the President.

30. During this Administration there has been no consideration of a single budget document which would include all of the resources committed to the drug program. I would be willing to explore the possibility of such a document as an adjunct to the current budgeting system.

31. The one individual responsible for overall strategy and formulation of one budget document for the many agencies and departments with drug abuse responsibilities is the President. We also have a system to distribute the varied responsibilities and resources among the Cabinet Departments and agencies. To approach this whole area of international narcotics control, drug law enforcement, and health-related drug abuse programs with the idea that one individual other than the President could have line authority over the entire set of activities is imaginative, but impractical. It would be more likely to generate such newspaper articles as the one quoted, rather than eliminate them.

RESPONSES OF EDWIN MEESE III TO QUESTIONS  
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN

You have asked whether I have had any contacts with the Department of Justice concerning ongoing investigations or prosecutions.

I have been interviewed by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning background and other investigations, I have referred allegations received by my office to the Department of Justice for appropriate handling, and I have been present when the Attorney General has briefed the President on sensitive investigations. I wish to stress, however, that at no time have I contacted representatives of the Department of Justice, either directly or indirectly, for the purpose of influencing any ongoing investigation or prosecution.

DRUG COORDINATOR

MR. MEESE, I'M SURE YOU ARE AWARE OF THE RECENT PASSAGE BY THE SENATE OF A BILL THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO ME. THE SU-CALLED "DRUG CZAR" BILL IS NOW PENDING ACTION IN THE HOUSE.

a.) HAVE YOU HAD A CHANCE TO REVIEW THAT BILL?

THEN IT SHOULD COME TO YOU AS NO SURPRISE THAT, AS ATTORNEY GENERAL, YOU WILL BE THE DRUG COORDINATOR UNDER MY BILL.

THE PRESS HAS REFERRED TO THIS BILL AS A WATERED-DOWN VERSION COMPARED TO THE BILL VETOED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN LAST CONGRESS.

THAT IS NOT MY PERCEPTION AT ALL. THE BILL CALLS FOR A BOARD OF ALL INTERESTED CABINET OFFICERS WHO WILL INITIALLY SIGN-OFF ON A CENTRALIZED DRUG STRATEGY AND BUDGET. HOWEVER, ONCE THE STRATEGY IS AGREED TO, IT WILL BE YOUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARRYING IT OUT. YOU WILL BE THE "PRIMARY ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DRUG LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAMS AND POLICIES" AND THE PERSON WE WILL LOOK TO ON ALL ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM.

THEREFORE, IT IS ONLY FAIR THAT YOU HAVE SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO SEE THAT THE STRATEGY IS CARRIED-OUT. AS YOU



MAY HAVE ALREADY HEARD FROM SOME OF THE CABINET SECRETARIES,  
THAT AUTHORITY RESTS IN SEC. 4(C) 2 AND 3, WHICH READS:

"...PROVIDE GUIDANCE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION AND  
MAINTENANCE OF POLICY, STRATEGY AND RESOURCES DEVELOPED  
UNDER SUBSECTION (A)..."

AND ALSO

"...REVIEW AND APPROVE THE REPROGRAMMING OF FUNDS  
RELATING TO BUDGETING PRIORITIES DEVELOPED UNDER  
SUBSECTION (A)..."

THAT MEANS THAT ONCE THE BOARD HAS VOTED APPROVAL OF THE  
CENTRAL STRATEGY AND BUDGET, YOU HAVE AUTHORITY TO SEE THAT  
IT IS CARRIED-OUT.

THESE TWO PROVISIONS ARE THE ESSENCE OF THE BILL AND  
THAT WHICH WILL GIVE YOU THE AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT OUR  
FEDERAL DRUG POLICY.

WITH THAT AS BACKGROUND, LET ME ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS  
THAT COVER THE FOUR MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT  
ISSUE, WHICH ARE: 1.) THE FOREIGN ASPECT OF ERADICATION,  
CROP SUBSTITUTION AND TREATIES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS 2.)  
INTERDICTION OF DRUGS BEFORE THEY REACH THE UNITED STATES  
BOARDERS 3.) INVESTIGATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF THOSE  
INDIVIDUALS INVOKED IN DRUG TRAFFICKING AND 4.) COLLECTION  
OF INTELLIGENCE WHICH IS USEFUL IN INTERRUPTING THE FLOW OF  
DRUGS AT EACH OF THESE STAGES.

## FOREIGN POLICY AND FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE QUESTIONS

Mr. Meese, in my judgment, if the National Narcotics Act of 1984 becomes law and the Attorney General becomes chairman of the National Drug Enforcement Policy Board, one of the Attorney General's most important duties, and one against which his adequacy as an Attorney General must be judged, will be his leadership of this board.

Consequently, although questions about the foreign policy or foreign intelligence sides of U.S. drug control operations might traditionally have been inappropriate for a potential Attorney General, they are now appropriate because of these possible additional responsibilities.

### Questions

1. The membership of the proposed Drug Enforcement Policy Board would include the Attorney General, the Director of Central Intelligence, and the Secretaries of Defense, State, and Transportation.

-- Do you feel that the coordination of U.S. drug control objectives is important enough so that, in general, at meetings of this Board the members themselves should attend and not simply their lower ranking representatives?

-- Would you undertake a commitment to ensure that, in general, the cabinet level members of the Board themselves attend meetings?

2. -- One of the most plaguing concerns that I and many other members of Congress have about U.S. diplomatic efforts to control drugs is that they consistently take a back seat to other foreign policy concerns. If the U.S. has a military or a political or a commercial interest in a foreign country in addition to a drug control interest, we have traditionally been timid in demanding that that country take aggressive drug control steps for fear of jeopardizing our other interests.

3. Last year, the Congress passed legislation that requires termination of all U.S. foreign and military aid to drug source countries if they do not act more aggressively against drug trafficking.

-- Would you, as Chairman of the Drug Policy Board and therefore primary advisor to the President on drug issues, be willing to advise him to terminate all U.S. aid to a drug source if appropriate? Colombia, for example, supplies over 80% of all U.S. marihuana and 75% of U.S. cocaine.

-- Should the U.S. terminate the approximately \$20 million a year in total U.S. aid and vote against IMF and World Bank assistance if Colombia does not take meaningful action against drug traffickers?

4. -- What do you see as some of the major weaknesses in U.S. efforts to control the foreign sources of illicit drugs?

5. -- What initiatives would you, as Chairman of the National Drug Enforcement Policy Board, propose that the State Department undertake in order to correct these weaknesses? What initiatives could the Treasury Department take?

6. -- Discussing, in general terms, some of the specific countries that are most important in the supply of illicit drugs to the United States - such as Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Pakistan, Thailand, and Italy - could you explain whether you feel that the governments of those countries are making a good faith effort to cooperate with us in this area of vital importance to the United States?

7. -- In Mexico, eradication of poppy and marihuana crops by aerial spraying of herbicides has been effective. Do you feel that the U.S. government should urge this technique on the governments of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia in order to cut coca and marihuana production? Should the Burmese and Thai governments spray poppy fields that support the Southeast Asia heroin trade which now fills up to 20% of the U.S. market? What steps should the U.S. take to urge these governments to undertake aerial eradication?

8. -- What sort of priority do you feel that U.S. drug control objectives should take in U.S. actions in multi-national financial organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank?

9. -- Because we are in open session, you will not be able to go into detail. But could you discuss, in general terms, whether you feel that the intelligence agencies, such as the CIA, are making an adequate contribution to U.S. drug control enforcement efforts?

10. -- By law [The National Security Act of 1947] the CIA is prohibited from engaging in law enforcement activities. In general, what sorts of support should the CIA and other intelligence agencies provide to U.S. drug control programs consistent with this statutory restriction?

11. -- The State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters has a 1984 budget of \$53 million to support its drug control, enforcement, and eradication programs overseas. Do you feel that this is an appropriate amount [as opposed to half or double that amount]? Why?

12. -- The United States is not the only country with a major drug abuse problem. West Germany and Italy are only two examples of our allies who have serious domestic, illicit drug usage problems. Do you feel that the United States is making an adequate effort to urge other countries to add drug control to their foreign policy agendas? What steps could the United States take to urge some of our allies to assist us in this important area?

13. -- The Department of Defense has some significant reconnaissance assets - such as AWACS aircraft - that can support Coast Guard and Customs Service drug interdiction efforts. What role should the Defense Department play in drug interdiction?

## DOMESTIC ENFORCEMENT

MR. MEESE, WE HAVE SEEN AN INCREASE OF ALMOST 43% IN THE JUSTICE BUDGET, AND AN INCREASE OF 900 NEW FBI AND DEA AGENTS IN THE LAST 4 YEARS. BASED ON YOUR EARLIER TESTIMONY, YOU INDICATE THAT YOU HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THESE INCREASES.

MOST OF THIS INCREASE IN THE DRUG AND CRIME ENFORCEMENT AREA, IS A RESULT OF THE TASK FORCES SET-UP IN 1982. WE CURRENTLY HAVE TWO TASK FORCE PROGRAMS IN OPERATION. ONE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND ONE THAT YOU ANNOUNCED LAST YEAR, WHICH IS HEADED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT.

TO DATE, WE HAVE SEEN AND HEARD ABOUT SEVERAL SUCCESSFUL CASES PRODUCED BY THESE TASK FORCES THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CLAIMS JUSTIFY THE SUCCESS OF THE ENTIRE PROGRAM.

IN YOUR PRESS BRIEFING ON MARCH 23, 1983, CONCERNING THE INTERDICTION TASK FORCES TO BE HEADED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT YOU STATED THE FOLLOWING:

"...THIS IS PART OF TOTAL, NATIONAL PROGRAM THAT HAS BEEN USED SUCCESSFULLY AND WE HOPE WILL CONTINUE TO BE EVEN MORE SUCCESSFUL IN THE PRIMARY, FEDERAL REponsIBILITY IN THE FIELD OF LAW

ENFORCEMENT, WHICH IS PREVENTING AND CONTROLLING  
DRUG ABUSE..."

QUESTION **14** FIRST OFF, WHY DID YOU HANDLE THIS ANNOUNCEMENT  
AND BRIEFING IF IT IS SUPPOSED TO BE DIRECTED BY THE VICE  
PRESIDENT?

**15.** IN THE BRIEFING YOU ANNOUNCED THAT THERE WERE NO NEW  
RESOURCES BEING ALLOCATED FOR THE INTERDICTION TASK FORCE  
WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO COVER 96,000 MILES OF UNITED STATES  
BOARDER. DO YOU STILL BELIEVE THAT PROGRAM CAN BE  
SUCCESSFUL WITH OUT ADDITIONAL RESOURCES?

**16.** I HAVE HEARD THAT SOME OF THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE  
PROGRAM HAVE HAD DIFFICULTY IN GAINING THE FULL COOPERATION  
OF THE MILITARY. WITHOUT THEIR SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY IN THE  
AREA OF EQUIPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF EQUIPMENT,- HOW IS THIS  
PROGRAM GOING TO BE SUCCESSFUL?

AT THE BRIEFING, YOU INDICATED THERE WERE NO GOALS SET  
FOR THE PROGRAM AT THAT TIME. **17.** ARE THERE ANY GOALS NOW?

**18.** HOW WILL THE RECENT CUTS PROPOSED IN THE CUSTOMS AIR  
INTERDICTION PROGRAM AFFECT THE SUCCESS OF THIS PROGRAM?

**19.**  
FOLLOW-UP -(ARE WE MAKING PROGRESS IN DRUG FIGHT?)

THIS IS A REAL CONCERN OF MINE. I GET VERY CONCERNED  
WHEN MAJOR NEW PROGRAMS ARE ANNOUNCED WITHOUT ANY CLEAR  
INFORMATION AS TO HOW THEY WILL OPERATE OR HOW WE WILL KNOW

WHETHER THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL OR NOT. YOU AND OTHERS HAVE CLAIMED THE BASIS FOR MOVING AHEAD WITH BOTH OF THESE NEW TASK FORCE PROGRAMS, WAS THE SUCCESS OF THE SOUTH FLORIDA TASK FORCE PROGRAM IN 1981.

QUESTION **20.** HAS THERE BEEN OR WAS THERE PREVIOUSLY ANY FORMAL EVALUATION CONDUCTED OF THE SOUTH FLORIDA PROGRAM?

FOLLOW-UP: -AS YOU MAY BE AWARE, IN THE CONFERENCE REPORT PREPARED FOR THE APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS FOR THE ORGANIZED CRIME AND DRUG TASK FORCE, I HAD THE FOLLOWING INSERTED:

"...THE COMMITTEE BELIEVES AN ANNUAL REPORT SHOULD BE DELIVERED TO THE PRESIDENT, APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES AND JUDICIARY COMMITTEES STARTING NO LATER THAN MARCH 31, 1984 WHICH INDICATES BY COMPARISON TO SIMILAR STATISTICS, INFORMATION AS OTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES FROM PREVIOUS YEARS, WHETHER THIS PROGRAM HAS MADE CONTRIBUTIONS..."

I THEN PROCEEDED TO LIST OUT A NUMBER OF CRITERIA FOR MEASURING THE SUCCESS OF THIS PROGRAM.

QUESTION **21.** ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH THAT REPORT REQUIREMENT? CAN WE EXPECT, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, TO RECEIVE SUCH REPORTS ON TIME FROM THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT?

FOLLOW-UP **22.** WE CAN TALK ALL WE WANT ABOUT ONE CASE HERE, OR ONE CASE THERE, BUT THE BOTTOM LINE IS WHAT VOLUME OF DRUGS



ARE ON THE STREET, WHAT IS THE PRICE AND PURITY OF DRUGS BEING CONSUMED, HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED AND HAVE WE REALLY PUT ANY TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS OUT OF BUSINESS. IF THOSE NUMBERS DON'T CHANGE THEN WE AREN'T SHOWING POSITIVE SIGNS OF SUCCESS.

OBJECTIVE MEASUREMENTS OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE IS VERY IMPORTANT. WE MUST BE WILLING TO ADMIT WHEN WE MAKE A MISTAKE AND MOVE FORWARD WITH ADJUSTMENTS IN POLICY TO CORRECT THE PROBLEM. OTHERWISE, WE ONLY WEAKEN THE CONFIDENCE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT. IF WE CONTINUE TO TELL THEM WE ARE WINNING A WAR AGAINST CRIME AND DRUGS, WHEN IN REALITY, WE ARE NO FURTHER ALONG THEN WE WERE BEFORE.

COORDINATION AND CUSTOMS BUDGET

FOR DRUG INTERDICTION

MR. MEESE, I WOULD LIKE TO FOLLOW UP ON SOME QUESTIONS SENATORS DECONCINI AND HEFLIN ASKED YOU YESTERDAY. YESTERDAY YOU TOLD THIS COMMITTEE THAT YOU FELT, SINCE THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS COME INTO OFFICE, COORDINATION OF DRUG ENFORCEMENT HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED. YOU TOLD US HOW THE LEGAL POLICY COMMITTEE WAS TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF COORDINATION BETWEEN THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, TREASURY, JUSTICE, STATE, TRANSPORTATION, THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, ETC..

QUESTIONS **23.** ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE CABINET COUNSEL ON LEGAL POLICY THAT IS CURRENTLY COORDINATING THE FEDERAL DRUG EFFORT?

**24.** ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH THE CURRENT ARGUMENT BETWEEN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENT CONCERNING MAINTENANCE OF THE CUSTOM'S AGENCIES DRUG INTERDICTION AIRCRAFT?

**25.** ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH THE TREASURY BUDGET REQUEST THAT WILL ELIMINATE 1,000 POSITIONS IN THE PATROL AND INSPECTION DIVISIONS CAUSING A REDUCTION IN FORCE OF 500 PEOPLE AND REDUCE BY 45% THE AIR OPERATIONS AND INTERDICTION PROGRAM THAT YOU, ONLY YESTERDAY, INDICATED HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM?

**26.** ARE YOU AWARE THAT CUSTOMS IS EXPERIENCING AN AVERAGE workload increase of 7-9% per yr?

**27.** -HAS THIS ISSUE BEEN DISCUSSED BY THE LEGAL POLICY COMMITTEE OR ANY OTHER COORDINATING GROUP THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING A COORDINATED DRUG ENFORCMENT POLICY?

**28.** -DO YOU SUPPORT A CUT LIKE THIS TO A MAJOR ARM OF THE DRUG ENFORCMENT PROGRAM?

**29.** -WHU, UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION'S CURRENT COORDINATING STRUCTURE, WILL RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM?

**30.** -HAS THE LEGAL POLICY COMMITTEE EVER CONSIDERED FORMULATING ONE BUDGET DOCUMENT WITH BUDGET PRIORITIES THAT CLEARLY DEFINES WHAT EACH OF THE VARIOUS AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENTS WILL COMMIT TO THE DRUG PROGRAM?

**31.** -IF THERE WAS A CENTRAL DRUG POLICY THAT INCLUDED A STRATEGY AND BUDGET WITH ONE INDIVIDUAL CLEARLY REPOSIBLE FOR CARRYING OUT THAT STRATEGY, DO YOU BELIEVE WE WOULD BE READING ARTICLES LIKE THE WASHINGTON TIMES STORY ON FEBRUARY 29, 1984, ENTITLED, "REAGAN FACES FLACK, LACKS PENTAGON AIR SUPPORT."?

QUESTION SUBMITTED BY SENATOR BIDEN

MR. MEESE should be asked whether he, during the period he has served in the White House, has had any contacts, direct or indirect, would anyone in the Department of Justice on the subject of ongoing investigations or prosecutions, and if so the nature of those contacts?

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1983

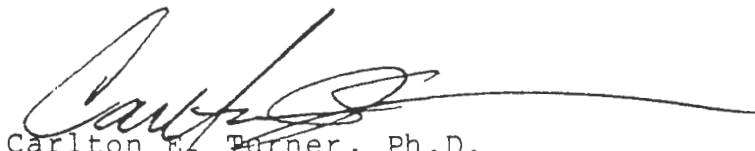
Dear Senator Biden:

I regret that you were unable to attend the briefing yesterday at the White House. The purpose of the briefing was to discuss the newly established National Narcotics Border Interdiction System (NNBIS). Mr. Meese stated during the meeting that the new border interdiction effort would complement the existing South Florida Task Force and the twelve organized crime/drug enforcement task forces.

NNBIS is the next step in the President's program to bring all available resources to bear on reducing the supply of illegal drugs. The new system is designed to strengthen interdiction efforts along our borders, to detect and intercept the drug smugglers, and to stop the drugs before they get into domestic distribution.

Enclosed is a copy of a press release announcing the formation of the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Carlton E. Turner', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Carlton E. Turner, Ph.D.  
Director  
Drug Abuse Policy Office

The Honorable Joseph Biden  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

---

FOR RELEASE AT THE CONCLUSION  
OF THE BRIEFING

March 23, 1983

The President today announced the formation of the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System (NNBIS) to interdict the flow of narcotics into the United States. NNBIS will be headed by Vice President George Bush. There will be an Executive Board which will include the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense and Transportation, the Attorney General, the Counsellor to the President, the Director of Central Intelligence, and the Director of the White House Drug Abuse Policy Office.

Designed to coordinate the work of those federal agencies with existing responsibilities and capabilities for interdiction of sea-borne, air-borne and cross-border importation of narcotics, NNBIS will complement but not replicate the duties of the regional Drug Enforcement Task Forces operated by the Department of Justice.

NNBIS will monitor suspected smuggling activity originating outside national borders and destined for the United States, and will coordinate agencies' seizure of contraband and arrests of persons involved in illegal drug importation.

The Coordinating Board for NNBIS will be headed by Admiral Daniel J. Murphy, Chief of Staff to the Vice President, who has chaired the Working Group of the South Florida Drug Task Force, also under Vice President Bush. The Coordinating Board membership will be composed of ranking officials from the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury, Justice, Transportation, Central Intelligence and their subordinate agencies and offices.

# # #

CONTROLLING CRIME:  
A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NECESSITY

AN ADDRESS BY

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.  
United States Senator

AT THE OPENING GENERAL SESSION  
89TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
NOVEMBER 15, 1982

There can be no better place than this worldwide forum on the administration of criminal justice, provided by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, to acknowledge frankly what the police officers and ordinary citizens of every nation have long realized.

The criminals of the world are at war with civilization.

Their well-organized and well-financed operations, funded largely by the proceeds of the international traffic in illicit drugs, violate national boundaries at will; and law-enforcement authorities everywhere are finding it increasingly difficult to resist them.

Drug addiction and violent crime have become major dimensions in the life of an increasing number of nations, not only imposing heavier burdens on law enforcement but also altering the very quality of life enjoyed -- or too often today, not enjoyed -- by the people of the societies under assault.

It has become more and more difficult for citizens -- in their homes, schools, streets, parks and places of work -- to feel the sense of personal security they expect government to provide. That sense of security is a basic requirement for civilized human life. People can develop, maintain and expand humane values only so long as they can believe that life will continue tomorrow, and that it will be worth living.

That is a proposition we recognize as nations. Every nation on earth is concerned for its national security, and providing for the national defense is a fundamental obligation of government all over the planet. Defense expenditures are typically among the largest budgeted by every government.

The democratic nations of the West, for example, spend nearly \$260 billion a year to defend their national security, while only a small fraction of that amount is devoted to enforcing the law and turning back the rising tide of crime.

Here in the United States, as elsewhere, law-enforcement authorities are forced to contend with crime on a relative shoestring. Trafficking in illegal drugs, on the one hand, is a rapidly growing, more than \$80-billion-a-year criminal enterprise, while the total law-enforcement expenditure of the federal government for dealing with all types of crime is less than \$5 billion. The high rate of violent street crime, much of it directly related to drug abuse, has similarly exceeded the resources to combat it in the state and local jurisdictions most of you here today represent.

Nobody has to tell you, least of all a politician from Washington, what that means. It means that more and more criminals will go unapprehended, unpunished -- and undeterred from committing further crimes. It means that the quality of life in your communities, large and small, will continue to deteriorate. It means that young and old, black and white, rich and poor will find themselves increasingly unable to go about their daily lives free from fear.

It means that the sense of personal security so vital to all of us will continue to diminish, and as it does, the value system of civil liberties and civil rights that is the very heart of our democratic society will be increasingly threatened.

When we feel we are losing ground in our struggle with crime, there is an almost irresistible temptation to even the odds by cutting down on the rights we all enjoy as Americans, and none of us in this room has been able to avoid being tempted from time to time in our frustration.

But if ever the devil whispers in our ears, it is just at those moments, because we are all Americans, and all of us -- our wives and children, our friends and neighbors, the just along with the unjust -- would suffer consequences of emasculating any of the guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And even if we were willing to run such a risk, we would find in the end that we had made a very bad bargain, because, tempting as the demagogues in Congress and elsewhere make it sound, it would not make law enforcement easier; it would give us no greater impact on crime.

But that does not mean there is nothing to be done about crime. None of us would be here today if we believed that. And it does not mean that crime itself has had no effect on our civil liberties and civil rights. All we need do is look around our own communities to see that crime has done more damage to our rights and liberties than anything else in recent years. It is no exaggeration to say that unless we do a better job of controlling crime, crime will more and more control us. And that's not a prediction -- as you know better than anyone else, it's happening already.

All of us here today are aware of the impact crime has had on our society over the past 15 years, and I'm sure none of us takes much solace from the FBI statistics that suggest that the rate of increase in crime has leveled off somewhat in the United States last year. One swallow doesn't make a summer, and one year's statistics don't add up to even a temporary victory over crime, especially not



when the crime rate was already far above the level any society, particularly a democratic society, can safely tolerate. Besides, we all know how difficult it is to assemble reliable national crime statistics, no matter how well intended, out of the welter of federal, state and local jurisdictions differing in their organization, procedures and challenges. We all know that victimization studies have pegged the crime rate at a much higher level.

And if we are willing to admit it, we all know what that means: a great deal of crime never gets reported, because people have decided not to get involved, because people fear the consequences of reporting crime, and because people don't believe government can do anything about it anyway.

If we hope to make any headway at all in improving our capabilities for fighting crime, we have to begin with that realization, no matter how embarrassing it is, no matter how much it hurts.

People just don't believe us any more.

That's embarrassing to a United States Senator who is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. That's embarrassing to those of us who are supposed to be political leaders, who are supposed to represent the people and make government work.

It should be no embarrassment to police officers who must contend with criminals in the street every day. It should be no embarrassment to law-enforcement agencies that are under-budgeted, undermanned and under-equipped. It should be no embarrassment to the men and women who daily risk their lives -- and too often sacrifice their lives -- on society's front lines. It should be no embarrassment to you and to those brave officers you lead, but I know you feel embarrassed, and I know it hurts.

I don't know where police officers find the personal discipline to keep up their morale under such circumstances. I don't know how a police chief goes about improving morale. I do know that a sense of abandonment by and isolation from the very society you have sworn to defend is the most debilitating problem you have to deal with -- and I am lost in admiration at how well you do deal with it.

I'm not at all sure we politicians deal with our embarrassment half so well, especially with your example before us.

But we do share this much in common: we have to get the public back on our side in the fight against crime, and it's not going to be easy. We have to persuade the media and the opinion-makers to understand the importance of tougher, more practical efforts to curtail the drug trade and reduce violent crime. We have to generate support for measures which, while protecting civil liberties, make it more difficult for violent criminals and drug traffickers to pursue their criminal careers, and to return too quickly to the streets even when they are apprehended and convicted.

And it's going to take the concerted efforts of the entire law-enforcement community -- police officers, politicians, Presidents and senators (little as you may like having to keep such company!) -- to rebuild a constituency that will believe in and support our programs for controlling crime.

One thing is certain -- nobody, neither the doubting public nor those of us concerned with law enforcement, doubts the need for renewing our fight against crime.

Let me review for a moment, for the press the the public here among us, the kind of statistics already much too familiar to us:

- Drug addiction, the source of more than half of the violent street crime in this country, is on the rebound.

What has happened in Washington, D.C., is an index to what's happening all over the country. After declining nearly to zero in the mid-1970's, deaths from heroin overdose climbed to a new high of 114 in our national capital last year. The toll for this year has already reached 85 by the end of last month.

And, contradicting the popular notion that drug abuse is somehow confined to the underprivileged elements in our society, are the growing number of corporate drug counselling and treatment programs that big business has found to be a necessary personnel policy, and the films many of us have seen of the long line of well-dressed heroin buyers purchasing their daily fix literally in the shadow of Wall Street.

- There is no shortage of drugs to supply those who will abuse them.

Marijuana is a major, if illegal, crop in perhaps half a dozen states.

The South Florida Task Force has had some gratifying successes, but even while that \$100,000,000 program has been under way, the street-price of cocaine -- the conspicuous-consumption drug of well-heeled abusers among the "beautiful people" -- has actually gone down.

And heroin, the most dangerous and addictive drug of all, continues to flood into this country in record quantities.

- Violent crime in America has increased 33 percent since 1975, and there is no longer any doubt that a major portion of the street crime you have to deal with is spawned directly out of the traffic in addictive drugs.

- Just this fall, the Justice Department characterized crime as a leading household danger in America. Remember when the Home Ec people used to warn against kitchen fires and bathtub falls? Well, today American families are more likely to have a member attacked by serious crime than to suffer injuries from fire or accident.
- Crime has also become, for many businesses, part of the expected cost of doing business. A recent study of the Middle Atlantic area showed that crime outweighs both wages and taxes in influencing corporate decisions to move out of an area.

Nearly 68 percent of 332 businesses reported that they had shown losses to crime in the past two years, and nine out of 10 said they considered nothing more important than crime in deciding on relocation. And when they leave, they take with them tax resources and jobs badly needed in cities already suffering from declining revenues and growing unemployment.

- On a broader scale, drug traffickers and organized criminals have been using their ill-gotten gains to move in on previously legitimate businesses.

Reliable statistics are hard to come by, because criminals out to subvert legitimate businesses don't advertise the size and extent of their investments -- but properties forfeited in a vastly improved DEA drive to confiscate criminal assets include a dazzling collection of corporate interests, wholly owned businesses, farms and ranches, expensive homes and real estates, boat and airplanes, certificates of deposit and Swiss bank accounts.

Between 1980 and 1982, the DEA's seizures jumped from just under \$39 million to more than \$64 million, and forfeitures from \$6 million to \$33 million. That's very nearly \$100,000,000 -- a lot of money, but obviously no more than a fraction of the total.

Such examples, although they barely scratch the surface of crime, go a long way toward explaining why -- although people consistently rate crime at or near the top of their domestic concerns -- their expectation of anything being done about it has fallen steadily for nearly two decades.

And, if you think about it, a one-third increase in crime in less than seven years, a resurgence of drug addiction over the same period, crime as a major household danger and a standard cost of doing business, all add up to an indictment of the political leadership over the past 20 years -- a leadership which has wavered between doing nothing much about crime, or making grandiose declarations of "war against crime," and then doing nothing much about it.

But the same polls that register the people's pessimism about crime also make it clear they don't hold the police responsible. They regard police officers with mixture of sympathy and respect. They know how hard you work at a thankless task. They realize the risks you run day and day out. And they don't believe you have had the support you deserve from government at any level.

They focus their criticism where you and I know it really belongs -- on the Congress, the courts and the White House -- and a glance at the recent history of federal anti-crime programs shows they're right.

Ambitious anti-crime programs have failed because they were never given the tools and resources needed to meet their goals. Millions of dollars flowed through other programs, never well thought out and never followed up, and disappeared like water into the desert sands, without having any significant impact on crime. And there has been a persistent and chaotic lack of coordination among the 10 or more agencies of the federal government responsible for enforcing anti-drug laws.

The new anti-crime program announced by President Reagan last month was overlong in coming, but it was no less welcome to those of us who have tried for years to put some real muscle into federal anti-crime efforts. But even since the President's announcement, there have been reports that the bureaucratic infighting has continued.

First, there was apparent disagreement within the Administration over the extent of resources to be devoted to the program. Then, when it was agreed that the cost would be about \$200 million, there was another dispute over which existing budgets would be tapped to produce that sum. There were assurances, or so it seemed, that none of it would be taken from law-enforcement funds; but that assurance faded almost in the next breath, and the Administration has yet to specify the sources it proposes to draw from.

There have been reports in the press that the Justice Department and other agencies have been contending over who is to control the money, wherever it comes from. And it has been reported, too, that even within the Justice Department itself there have been arguments over who is to conduct prosecutions and how the President's program is to be coordinated with existing programs.

I have not lingered over these contentions to condemn the Administration's initiative against drugs and organized crime. As Chairman of the Senate Democratic Task Force on Crime, I introduced a package of anti-crime bills nearly 18 months ago that proposed an even broader federal attack on crime. And this year, as the ranking Democratic member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I joined Chairman Strom Thurmond in introducing a bi-partisan compromise bill that passed the Senate by 95-1, with the support of the Administration. So I would be the last Senator to play down the importance of what the President has proposed. In fact, I sympathize with the President for the difficulties these continuing turf-battles have caused him.

But that does bring me to the first of what I believe are three major deficiencies in the Administration program as it has been outlined so far, and that is the absence of a strong central authority to make it work.

It was precisely for that purpose that both anti-crime packages I have been associated with in the past two years have mandated creation of a cabinet-level post with the authority to knock bureaucratic heads together, impose a truce on their quarrels, task each agency for its appropriate contribution, and allocate budget resources to achieve the maximum efficiency and economy in going after drug traffickers and organized criminals.

The experience of the past few weeks confirms that no committee can get the bureaucrats marching together against drugs and crime. I understand, in fact, that a General Accounting Office report identifies four committees trying to pull the agencies together, and the current joke among GAO staffers is that we now need still another committee to coordinate those committees! That's good for a laugh, I suppose, but it's too close to the truth for me to find it really funny.

We're just not going to get anywhere until we have a single cabinet-level officer, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate -- and enjoying the full support of both.

I intend to pursue that proposal as vigorously as I can. In fact, I intend to re-introduce both anti-crime packages, including that office, when the new Congress convenes. I hope the President will agree.

I hope, too, as he moves his program beyond this first year, that he will agree that robbing Peter to pay Paul, as he has been forced to do this year, will not suffice to support a continuing effort. I understand that the lateness of this initiative, long after the budget had been locked in by his own Office of Management and Budget, left him little choice this year if he was going to get it going. But it's a good start that won't keep going if it is not adequately and independently funded over the long term.

Poll after poll has reported the people are more than willing to underwrite the costs of an effective fight against crime, and I hope the Administration will pay attention to their wishes in drawing up the 1984 budget.

I now find some encouragement about what I felt was another shortcoming in the President's program -- an insufficient emphasis on heading off illegal drugs before they reach our shores. Just last week, the Administration announced an agreement that ties American aid to Bolivia to the flow of illegal Bolivian drugs into this country.

And just a couple of days ago, Attorney General William French Smith returned from a journey over ground familiar to me in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, from which I feel he will draw many of the same conclusions I summed up in a Foreign Relations Committee report called The Sicilian Connection when I returned from a similar journey three years ago:

- It's going to be all but impossible to impede the flow of illegal drugs unless we enlist the cooperation of governments in Europe and Asia who are as eager as we are to shut down the drug-trafficking networks that stretch from the poppy fields of Asia, through the underground processing laboratories along the Mediterranean, to the streets of the United States and Western Europe.
- It's going to be all but impossible to head off those illegal drugs unless the farmers in whose fields they originate can be assisted to make ends meet for their families while growing legitimate crops.
- It's going to be all but impossible to put the processing labs out of business unless we work closely with police agencies in those countries, and unless we make the commitment of agents and resources their cooperation deserves.
- And it's going to be all but impossible to keep those illegal drugs off American streets unless we break the enormous power of the organized-crime families in this country who underwrite and profit hugely from that vicious trade.

I concluded my report three years ago with 19 specific proposals toward achieving these goals, and not one of them has been implemented. But now that the Attorney General has traced for himself the international outlines of our drug problem, I have real hope we may begin to see some progress toward solving it before it arrives in our streets and uses up more pages in your logbooks.

Look, I'm not saying the federal government can help you eradicate crime. That has never happened at any time in human history, so we have to stop making promises like that. I'm not even saying we can cut it in half. I know very well that 90 percent of the crimes committed in this country occur outside the jurisdiction of the federal government. They are primarily your responsibility as state and local agencies. That's how it should be, and you know what you're doing better than anyone else.

But we have our own responsibilities for dealing with crime, and it's time we began meeting them. The plain fact is that only the federal government can deal with the international dimensions of the drug trade and the interstate operations of organized crime, and by doing so we can begin reducing the crimes committed in your communities by drug addicts. In the end, it will still be your problem, but we at the federal level can take some of the heat off, and we should.

For the first time in 10 years as a Senator, I believe there is a chance that we may.

A comprehensive anti-crime package that deals with drug trafficking and organized crime, with forfeiture of criminal assets and off-shore laundering of dirty money, with murder-for-hire and arson-for-profit, with flat-time sentencing and bail reform, has the unanimous support of Senate Democrats.

The bi-partisan bill incorporating most of those features was supported by the Administration and passed overwhelmingly by the Senate. The President himself has announced a plan that in many ways complements our progress in the Senate. And both the public and professional organizations like yours have enthusiastically supported all of those initiatives.

We just may be getting our federal anti-crime act together at last.

But we have a long way to go, and -- not for the first time -- you on the front lines of law enforcement have been breaking ground ahead of us, especially in professional development through activities like the Law-Enforcement Accreditation Program. Every profession is characterized by its capability for objective self-assessment and growth, and the American law-enforcement community today gets very high marks by that standard.

You have also provided leadership and inspiration to the citizen crime-prevention programs like the neighborhood patrols and town watches that involve ordinary people, at last, in protecting their own communities, and, no less important, give them a fresh perspective into the problems and responsibilities of law enforcement.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the determination and sacrifice with which police officers all over the world are joining us in an increasingly international campaign against crime. As all police officers know, the price of such an effort can come painfully high -- as it did in the case of the assassination of a very great officer who was to have been honored at this 89th Annual Conference of your Association.

General Carlos Alberto Della Chiesa was a truly professional police officer, and a man of extraordinary purpose and courage. He led the successful effort to control terrorism in Italy and was responsible for the daring rescue of our own Brigadier General James L. Dozier, as General Dozier will tell you himself later today.

When General Della Chiesa was assigned to command the attack on the Sicilian Mafia on its own ground, he refused to countenance the great personal danger facing him and his family. He took up those duties with his customary vigor and bravery.

But he did so, tragically, at the cost of his own life and that of his young wife, who died at his side.

It was the moment every officer knows may be part of every day he goes on duty -- a reality totally beyond the ken of those of us who will always be civilians in the fight against crime -- and to see such a life snuffed out by such dirty hands is almost more than the human spirit can bear.

It is certainly beyond our capacity to understand.

Basically, I believe, police work at its best is a vocation that beckons only those who can meet its demands.

It is a vocation to which few are genuinely called, and even fewer find they can answer.

It is a vocation that provides society with one of the most fundamental of human needs -- that sense of personal security which allows us to believe there is a future -- and a vocation for which society is eternally and profoundly in your debt.

Thank God, you have heard that call. Thank God, you have answered to it, despite the sacrifice it entails. And, please God, may you all fare well in the days and years ahead.

Thank you -- thank you, very much.



JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

Profession: Lawyer  
 Voting Residence: Wilmington, DE  
 Birthdate/Place: November 20, 1942; Scranton, PA  
 Wife: Jill  
 Religion: Roman Catholic  
 Education: University of Delaware, B.A. 1965  
               Syracuse University, J.D. 1968

Biographical Sketch:

- Admitted to Delaware Bar, 1968.
- Practicing Attorney.
- Councilman, New Castle County, 1970-72.

Personal:

- Widower of the former Jill Jacobs.
- Three Children; two sons surviving.
- Elected to the 93rd Congress in November 1978; subsequently re-elected in 1980 and 1982.

Still one of the youngest members of the Senate after a decade in it, Biden is gradually living down an early reputation as an enfant terrible and gaining influence on key committees.

"Why should I be here to be just one of 100 who vote?" he asked. "I want to be one of those guys who change people's minds."

Biden has moved away from traditional liberal positions on some domestic spending issues. He would force all programs except Social Security and Medicare to compete for money from the regular appropriations pie. "I have an extreme aversion to the proposition that money we'll solve all our problems," he has said.

He was a strong supporter of the "sunset legislation."

## Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D)

Wilmington — Elected 1972

born: Nov. 20, 1942, Scranton, Pa.  
Education: U. of Del., B.A. 1965; Syracuse U.,  
J.D. 1968.

Profession: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Jill Jacobs; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: New Castle County Council,  
1970-72.

**In Washington:** Still one of the youngest members of the Senate after a decade in it, Biden gradually living down an early reputation as an *enfant terrible* and gaining influence on key committees.

Not yet 40, he has emerged as the ranking Democrat on the Senate Judiciary Committee, the second in line on Foreign Relations and third on both Budget and Select Intelligence — an extraordinary array of committee plums for any senator, let alone one so young. If he remains in the Senate, he seems all but certain to become chairman of one or more of these major panels when and if the Democrats regain control.

Biden may not be content to serve indefinitely in the Senate, however, even if Delaware voters elect him a third time in 1984. Although he does not discuss his plans much anymore, he has demonstrated unmistakable national ambitions in the past. Asked once how he reacts when people suggest that he run for president, he said "I write their names down."

Biden nearly abandoned his Senate career before it even started. Just weeks after he was elected in 1972, his wife and daughter were killed and his two sons injured in an automobile crash. Biden at first said he did not want to take the job of office, but then-Majority Leader Mike Mansfield talked him into assuming his seat. Born in at his son's hospital bedside, he became, at age 30 one of the youngest popularly elected senators ever seated.

For much of his first year, Biden was distracted by family problems, dividing his time between Washington and his home in Delaware. But as time went on, he became more absorbed by the Senate and emerged as a rather brash and markedly ambitious maverick. "Why should I be here to be just one of 100 who vote?" he asked. "I want to be one of those guys who change people's minds."

On occasion, Biden was so eager to "change people's minds" that his mouth outran his

thought processes. Once when he was in the middle of explaining one of his own amendments to the Judiciary Committee, a staff assistant passed him a copy of the proposal, which brought Biden to a stammering halt. "Obviously I don't know what the hell I'm talking about," he admitted cheerfully.

Biden, who once participated in sit-ins to desegregate restaurants along U.S. Route 40, startled his colleagues in 1975 when he broke liberal ranks to win Senate approval of an anti-busing amendment. Suddenly, he was allied with Southern conservatives on an emotional national issue. "It is not a comfortable feeling for me," he said. "I mean, I've never been there before." But it was time, he argued, to admit that "busing does not work" regardless of how ardently it might be supported by traditional civil rights groups. He has continued his opposition since then, coming within two votes in 1978 of gaining Senate approval of an amendment restricting the power of courts to order busing for racial balance.

He has had some trouble devising a position he can accept on abortion. As a Catholic, he is basically opposed to it. But he has conceded there is a rational argument for abortion in special cases. He votes against federal funding for abortions but also against legislation to ban them entirely.

Biden has moved away from traditional liberal positions on some domestic spending issues. He has proposed, for example, an end to all federal entitlement programs except Social Security and Medicare. He would force all programs except those two to compete for money from the regular appropriations pie. "I have an extreme aversion to the proposition that if we spend enough money we'll solve all our problems," he has said.

To help control federal programs, he has also

**Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del.**

joined Delaware GOP Sen. William V. Roth Jr. in pushing "sunset" legislation, which would bring federal programs to an end after a specified number of years unless they were specifically renewed.

In 1977, Biden began working on an issue that eventually produced a new law, on "graymail." He was then chairman of an Intelligence subcommittee concerned that defendants could force prosecutors to abandon espionage cases by threatening to disclose classified information in their own defense. To avoid jeopardizing national security, charges were sometimes being dropped. It was a form of legal blackmail, Biden said. Cases at the time concerned illegal acts connected with U.S. covert operations in Chile. A Biden bill finally was enacted allowing judges to screen classified information before a trial to see if the data could be used.

One of the few senators to serve on both Foreign Relations and Intelligence, Biden used his role on them to press hard for approval of the SALT II treaty during the Carter administration. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Europe, he traveled extensively in 1980 and 1981, meeting with key leaders in Moscow and Bonn to discuss SALT and other topics. In October, 1979, he released a committee report contending ratification of SALT II was essential to the well-being of NATO countries. Although the treaty never got beyond the committee, a Biden amendment was included to protect Europe from a buildup of Soviet missiles aimed its way in the future.

With SALT dead, Biden shifted to a similarly futile effort to hold the line on defense spending in the Budget Committee. "I'm not at all convinced the national interest requires (the increases)," he said at one point.

In early 1981, Biden was fighting the Reagan administration on Foreign Relations over a proposal to sell sophisticated AWACS surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia. He objected that the sale threatened the security of Israel and, by extension, the security of the United States.

Biden was considered a swing vote on Judiciary under Edward M. Kennedy's Democratic chairmanship in the 96th Congress. He was unwilling to go along with Kennedy, for example, on legislation to overturn the Supreme Court's 1977 *Illinois Brick* decision and give consumers the right to sue corporations for price-fixing. He went along reluctantly with a bill by Democrat Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio to block major U.S. oil companies from acquiring other large corporations. "I'd be willing to go this way (with Metzenbaum)," he said, "just to stick it in their

left ear, I'm so angry with the way the oil companies treat us here."

As chairman of Judiciary's Criminal Justice Subcommittee in the 96th Congress, Biden had responsibility for defending the 1974 "speedy trial" act requiring judges to dismiss any federal criminal case where prosecutors failed to go to trial within 100 days of arrest. When the Justice Department protested it could not get the necessary machinery in place to meet the law's deadlines, Congress enacted a one-year extension, but Biden warned, "As far as I'm concerned, the critics of the Speedy Trial Act have had their day in court and it is time for judges and prosecutors to get together and make this act work."

**At Home:** Biden was 29 years old when his celebrated brashness pushed him into the 1972 Senate race against GOP incumbent J. Caleb Boggs. With service on the New Castle County Council his only electoral credential, Biden seemed a sure loser.

But he ran hard on a dovish Vietnam platform and accused the Republican of being a do-nothing senator. He called for more spending on mass transit and health care services. The Biden campaign was essentially a family operation, without state-of-the-art media management, but it was sophisticated enough to cover a state with an electorate as small as Delaware's. Boggs awoke to the threat too late, and watched helplessly on election night as his "safe" seat went down the drain by 3,162 votes. Being an institution in Delaware Republican politics was not sufficient insurance against a personable and energetic challenger.

Delaware Democratic leaders, certain that a challenge to Boggs was hopeless, had given Biden little support in 1972. And he gave them little attention for most of his first term. At the 1976 Democratic National Convention in New York, he even stayed in a separate hotel from the state delegation.

By 1978, however, Biden had made up with the party. More important, however, was his opposition to busing. As he ran for re-election, a long disputed busing plan was taking effect in New Castle County, outraging voters in the white suburbs of Wilmington.

With this anti-busing position offsetting his liberalism on some other social issues, Biden seemed unbeatable in 1978, and big-name Delaware Republicans refrained from taking him on. The task fell to an obscure southern Delaware poultry farmer, James H. Baxter, who gamely tried to paint the Democrat as too far left for the state. Biden easily beat him.

An early 1976 Jimmy Carter backer, Biden

often claimed Carter adminis

Budget (3rd of 10)  
Foreign Relations (27)  
European Affairs  
Judiciary (Ranking De)  
Criminal Law; Se  
Select Intelligence (3)  
Collection and Fo

1978 General  
Joseph Biden (D)  
James Baxter (R)  
Previous Winning Pe  
1972 (51%)

1978  
Biden (D)  
Baxter (R)

Year  
1980  
1979  
5  
72  
66

**Delaware - Junior Senator**

often claimed his friendly connections to the Carter administration helped the state win fed-

eral grants. With Carter gone, he no longer has that advantage.

**Committees**

- Budget** (3rd of 10 Democrats)
- Foreign Relations** (2nd of 8 Democrats)  
European Affairs; International Economic Policy.
- Judiciary** (Ranking Democrat)  
Criminal Law; Security and Terrorism.
- Select Intelligence** (3rd of 7 Democrats)  
Collection and Foreign Operations.

**Elections**

**1978 General**  
Joseph Biden (D) 93,930 (58 %)  
James Baxter (R) 66,479 (41 %)

**Previous Winning Percentages**  
1972 (51%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1978</b>			
Biden (D)	\$487,637	\$126,100 (26 %)	\$487,504
Baxter (R)	\$207,637	\$9,923 (5 %)	\$206,250

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1980	72	9	70	15	23	67
1979	66	12	68	14	14	68

1978	71	17	67	22	28	68
1977	77	15	72	14	13	76
1976	28	49	71	9	10	68
1975	27	56	77	13	14	74
1974 (Ford)	28	66				
1974	30	65	73	18	19	75
1973	30	49	75	10	9	81

†Not eligible for all recorded votes.

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

**96th Congress**

- Maintain relations with Taiwan (1979) N
- Reduce synthetic fuel development funds (1979) N
- Impose nuclear plant moratorium (1979) Y
- Kill stronger windfall profits tax (1979) N
- Guarantee Chrysler Corp. loans (1979) Y
- Approve military draft registration (1980) ?
- End Revenue Sharing to the states (1980) Y
- Block Justice Dept. busing suits (1980) Y

**97th Congress**

- Restore urban program funding cuts (1981) Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1980	67	18	76	31	
1979	53	20	87	0	8
1978	50	27	61	44	
1977	70	13	84	11	
1976	75	17	82	13	
1975	78	14	72	23	
1974	81	5	64	0	
1973	80	8	80	0	

CONTROLLING CRIME:  
A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NECESSITY

AN ADDRESS BY

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.  
United States Senator

AT THE OPENING GENERAL SESSION  
89TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
NOVEMBER 15, 1982

There can be no better place than this worldwide forum on the administration of criminal justice, provided by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, to acknowledge frankly what the police officers and ordinary citizens of every nation have long realized.

The criminals of the world are at war with civilization.

Their well-organized and well-financed operations, funded largely by the proceeds of the international traffic in illicit drugs, violate national boundaries at will; and law-enforcement authorities everywhere are finding it increasingly difficult to resist them.

Drug addiction and violent crime have become major dimensions in the life of an increasing number of nations, not only imposing heavier burdens on law enforcement but also altering the very quality of life enjoyed -- or too often today, not enjoyed -- by the people of the societies under assault.

It has become more and more difficult for citizens -- in their homes, schools, streets, parks and places of work -- to feel the sense of personal security they expect government to provide. That sense of security is a basic requirement for civilized human life. People can develop, maintain and expand humane values only so long as they can believe that life will continue tomorrow, and that it will be worth living.

That is a proposition we recognize as nations. Every nation on earth is concerned for its national security, and providing for the national defense is a fundamental obligation of government all over the planet. Defense expenditures are typically among the largest budgeted by every government.

The democratic nations of the West, for example, spend nearly \$260 billion a year to defend their national security, while only a small fraction of that amount is devoted to enforcing the law and turning back the rising tide of crime.

Here in the United States, as elsewhere, law-enforcement authorities are forced to contend with crime on a relative shoestring. Trafficking in illegal drugs, on the one hand, is a rapidly growing, more than \$80-billion-a-year criminal enterprise, while the total law-enforcement expenditure of the federal government for dealing with all types of crime is less than \$5 billion. The high rate of violent street crime, much of it directly related to drug abuse, has similarly exceeded the resources to combat it in the state and local jurisdictions most of you here today represent.

Nobody has to tell you, least of all a politician from Washington, what that means. It means that more and more criminals will go unapprehended, unpunished -- and undeterred from committing further crimes. It means that the quality of life in your communities, large and small, will continue to deteriorate. It means that young and old, black and white, rich and poor will find themselves increasingly unable to go about their daily lives free from fear.

It means that the sense of personal security so vital to all of us will continue to diminish, and as it does, the value system of civil liberties and civil rights that is the very heart of our democratic society will be increasingly threatened.

When we feel we are losing ground in our struggle with crime, there is an almost irresistible temptation to even the odds by cutting down on the rights we all enjoy as Americans, and none of us in this room has been able to avoid being tempted from time to time in our frustration.

But if ever the devil whispers in our ears, it is just at those moments, because we are all Americans, and all of us -- our wives and children, our friends and neighbors, the just along with the unjust -- would suffer consequences of emasculating any of the guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And even if we were willing to run such a risk, we would find in the end that we had made a very bad bargain, because, tempting as the demagogues in Congress and elsewhere make it sound, it would not make law enforcement easier; it would give us no greater impact on crime.

But that does not mean there is nothing to be done about crime. None of us would be here today if we believed that. And it does not mean that crime itself has had no effect on our civil liberties and civil rights. All we need do is look around our own communities to see that crime has done more damage to our rights and liberties than anything else in recent years. It is no exaggeration to say that unless we do a better job of controlling crime, crime will more and more control us. And that's not a prediction -- as you know better than anyone else, it's happening already.

All of us here today are aware of the impact crime has had on our society over the past 15 years, and I'm sure none of us takes much solace from the FBI statistics that suggest that the rate of increase in crime has leveled off somewhat in the United States last year. One swallow doesn't make a summer, and one year's statistics don't add up to even a temporary victory over crime, especially not

when the crime rate was already far above the level any society, particularly a democratic society, can safely tolerate. Besides, we all know how difficult it is to assemble reliable national crime statistics, no matter how well intended, out of the welter of federal, state and local jurisdictions differing in their organization, procedures and challenges. We all know that victimization studies have pegged the crime rate at a much higher level.

And if we are willing to admit it, we all know what that means: a great deal of crime never gets reported, because people have decided not to get involved, because people fear the consequences of reporting crime, and because people don't believe government can do anything about it anyway.

If we hope to make any headway at all in improving our capabilities for fighting crime, we have to begin with that realization, no matter how embarrassing it is, no matter how much it hurts.

People just don't believe us any more.

That's embarrassing to a United States Senator who is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. That's embarrassing to those of us who are supposed to be political leaders, who are supposed to represent the people and make government work.

It should be no embarrassment to police officers who must contend with criminals in the street every day. It should be no embarrassment to law-enforcement agencies that are under-budgeted, undermanned and under-equipped. It should be no embarrassment to the men and women who daily risk their lives -- and too often sacrifice their lives -- on society's front lines. It should be no embarrassment to you and to those brave officers you lead, but I know you feel embarrassed, and I know it hurts.

I don't know where police officers find the personal discipline to keep up their morale under such circumstances. I don't know how a police chief goes about improving morale. I do know that a sense of abandonment by and isolation from the very society you have sworn to defend is the most debilitating problem you have to deal with -- and I am lost in admiration at how well you do deal with it.

I'm not at all sure we politicians deal with our embarrassment half so well, especially with your example before us.

But we do share this much in common: we have to get the public back on our side in the fight against crime, and it's not going to be easy. We have to persuade the media and the opinion-makers to understand the importance of tougher, more practical efforts to curtail the drug trade and reduce violent crime. We have to generate support for measures which, while protecting civil liberties, make it more difficult for violent criminals and drug traffickers to pursue their criminal careers, and to return too quickly to the streets even when they are apprehended and convicted.

And it's going to take the concerted efforts of the entire law-enforcement community -- police officers, politicians, Presidents and senators (little as you may like having to keep such company!) -- to rebuild a constituency that will believe in and support our programs for controlling crime.

One thing is certain -- nobody, neither the doubting public nor those of us concerned with law enforcement, doubts the need for renewing our fight against crime.

Let me review for a moment, for the press the the public here among us, the kind of statistics already much too familiar to us:

- Drug addiction, the source of more than half of the violent street crime in this country, is on the rebound.

What has happened in Washington, D.C., is an index to what's happening all over the country. After declining nearly to zero in the mid-1970's, deaths from heroin overdose climbed to a new high of 114 in our national capital last year. The toll for this year has already reached 85 by the end of last month.

And, contradicting the popular notion that drug abuse is somehow confined to the underprivileged elements in our society, are the growing number of corporate drug counselling and treatment programs that big business has found to be a necessary personnel policy, and the films many of us have seen of the long line of well-dressed heroin buyers purchasing their daily fix literally in the shadow of Wall Street.

- There is no shortage of drugs to supply those who will abuse them.

Marijuana is a major, if illegal, crop in perhaps half a dozen states.

The South Florida Task Force has had some gratifying successes, but even while that \$100,000,000 program has been under way, the street-price of cocaine -- the conspicuous-consumption drug of well-heeled abusers among the "beautiful people" -- has actually gone down.

And heroin, the most dangerous and addictive drug of all, continues to flood into this country in record quantities.

- Violent crime in America has increased 33 percent since 1975, and there is no longer any doubt that a major portion of the street crime you have to deal with is spawned directly out of the traffic in addictive drugs.



- Just this fall, the Justice Department characterized crime as a leading household danger in America. Remember when the Home Ec people used to warn against kitchen fires and bathtub falls? Well, today American families are more likely to have a member attacked by serious crime than to suffer injuries from fire or accident.
- Crime has also become, for many businesses, part of the expected cost of doing business. A recent study of the Middle Atlantic area showed that crime outweighs both wages and taxes in influencing corporate decisions to move out of an area.

Nearly 68 percent of 332 businesses reported that they had shown losses to crime in the past two years, and nine out of 10 said they considered nothing more important than crime in deciding on relocation. And when they leave, they take with them tax resources and jobs badly needed in cities already suffering from declining revenues and growing unemployment.

- On a broader scale, drug traffickers and organized criminals have been using their ill-gotten gains to move in on previously legitimate businesses.

Reliable statistics are hard to come by, because criminals out to subvert legitimate businesses don't advertise the size and extent of their investments -- but properties forfeited in a vastly improved DEA drive to confiscate criminal assets include a dazzling collection of corporate interests, wholly owned businesses, farms and ranches, expensive homes and real estates, boat and airplanes, certificates of deposit and Swiss bank accounts.

Between 1980 and 1982, the DEA's seizures jumped from just under \$39 million to more than \$64 million, and forfeitures from \$6 million to \$33 million. That's very nearly \$100,000,000 -- a lot of money, but obviously no more than a fraction of the total.

Such examples, although they barely scratch the surface of crime, go a long toward explaining why -- although people consistently rate crime at or near the top of their domestic concerns -- their expectation of anything being done about it has fallen steadily for nearly two decades.

And, if you think about it, a one-third increase in crime in less than seven years, a resurgence of drug addiction over the same period, crime as a major household danger and a standard cost of doing business, all add up to an indictment of the political leadership over the past 20 years -- a leadership which has wavered between doing nothing much about crime, or making grandiose declarations of "war against crime," and then doing nothing much about it.

But the same polls that register the people's pessimism about crime also make it clear they don't hold the police responsible. They regard police officers with mixture of sympathy and respect. They know how hard you work at a thankless task. They realize the risks you run day and day out. And they don't believe you have had the support you deserve from government at any level.

They focus their criticism where you and I know it really belongs -- on the Congress, the courts and the White House -- and a glance at the recent history of federal anti-crime programs shows they're right.

Ambitious anti-crime programs have failed because they were never given the tools and resources needed to meet their goals. Millions of dollars flowed through other programs, never well thought out and never followed up, and disappeared like water into the desert sands, without having any significant impact on crime. And there has been a persistent and chaotic lack of coordination among the 10 or more agencies of the federal government responsible for enforcing anti-drug laws.

The new anti-crime program announced by President Reagan last month was overlong in coming, but it was no less welcome to those of us who have tried for years to put some real muscle into federal anti-crime efforts. But even since the President's announcement, there have been reports that the bureaucratic infighting has continued.

First, there was apparent disagreement within the Administration over the extent of resources to be devoted to the program. Then, when it was agreed that the cost would be about \$200 million, there was another dispute over which existing budgets would be tapped to produce that sum. There were assurances, or so it seemed, that none of it would be taken from law-enforcement funds; but that assurance faded almost in the next breath, and the Administration has yet to specify the sources it proposes to draw from.

There have been reports in the press that the Justice Department and other agencies have been contending over who is to control the money, wherever it comes from. And it has been reported, too, that even within the Justice Department itself there have been arguments over who is to conduct prosecutions and how the President's program is to be coordinated with existing programs.

I have not lingered over these contentions to condemn the Administration's initiative against drugs and organized crime. As Chairman of the Senate Democratic Task Force on Crime, I introduced a package of anti-crime bills nearly 18 months ago that proposed an even broader federal attack on crime. And this year, as the ranking Democratic member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I joined Chairman Strom Thurmond in introducing a bi-partisan compromise bill that passed the Senate by 95-1, with the support of the Administration. So I would be the last Senator to play down the importance of what the President has proposed. In fact, I sympathize with the President for the difficulties these continuing turf-battles have caused him.

But that does bring me to the first of what I believe are three major deficiencies in the Administration program as it has been outlined so far, and that is the absence of a strong central authority to make it work.

It was precisely for that purpose that both anti-crime packages I have been associated with in the past two years have mandated creation of a cabinet-level post with the authority to knock bureaucratic heads together, impose a truce on their quarrels, task each agency for its appropriate contribution, and allocate budget resources to achieve the maximum efficiency and economy in going after drug traffickers and organized criminals.

The experience of the past few weeks confirms that no committee can get the bureaucrats marching together against drugs and crime. I understand, in fact, that a General Accounting Office report identifies four committees trying to pull the agencies together, and the current joke among GAO staffers is that we now need still another committee to coordinate those committees! That's good for a laugh, I suppose, but it's too close to the truth for me to find it really funny.

We're just not going to get anywhere until we have a single cabinet-level officer, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate -- and enjoying the full support of both.

I intend to pursue that proposal as vigorously as I can. In fact, I intend to re-introduce both anti-crime packages, including that office, when the new Congress convenes. I hope the President will agree.

I hope, too, as he moves his program beyond this first year, that he will agree that robbing Peter to pay Paul, as he has been forced to do this year, will not suffice to support a continuing effort. I understand that the lateness of this initiative, long after the budget had been locked in by his own Office of Management and Budget, left him little choice this year if he was going to get it going. But it's a good start that won't keep going if it is not adequately and independently funded over the long term.

Poll after poll has reported the people are more than willing to underwrite the costs of an effective fight against crime, and I hope the Administration will pay attention to their wishes in drawing up the 1984 budget.

I now find some encouragement about what I felt was another shortcoming in the President's program -- an insufficient emphasis on heading off illegal drugs before they reach our shores. Just last week, the Administration announced an agreement that ties American aid to Bolivia to the flow of illegal Bolivian drugs into this country.

And just a couple of days ago, Attorney General William French Smith returned from a journey over ground familiar to me in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, from which I feel he will draw many of the same conclusions I summed up in a Foreign Relations Committee report called The Sicilian Connection when I returned from a similar journey three years ago:

- It's going to be all but impossible to impede the flow of illegal drugs unless we enlist the cooperation of governments in Europe and Asia who are as eager as we are to shut down the drug-trafficking networks that stretch from the poppy fields of Asia, through the underground processing laboratories along the Mediterranean, to the streets of the United States and Western Europe.
- It's going to be all but impossible to head off those illegal drugs unless the farmers in whose fields they originate can be assisted to make ends meet for their families while growing legitimate crops.
- It's going to be all but impossible to put the processing labs out of business unless we work closely with police agencies in those countries, and unless we make the commitment of agents and resources their cooperation deserves.
- And it's going to be all but impossible to keep those illegal drugs off American streets unless we break the enormous power of the organized-crime families in this country who underwrite and profit hugely from that vicious trade.

I concluded my report three years ago with 19 specific proposals toward achieving these goals, and not one of them has been implemented. But now that the Attorney General has traced for himself the international outlines of our drug problem, I have real hope we may begin to see some progress toward solving it before it arrives in our streets and uses up more pages in your logbooks.

Look, I'm not saying the federal government can help you eradicate crime. That has never happened at any time in human history, so we have to stop making promises like that. I'm not even saying we can cut it in half. I know very well that 90 percent of the crimes committed in this country occur outside the jurisdiction of the federal government. They are primarily your responsibility as state and local agencies. That's how it should be, and you know what you're doing better than anyone else.

But we have our own responsibilities for dealing with crime, and it's time we began meeting them. The plain fact is that only the federal government can deal with the international dimensions of the drug trade and the interstate operations of organized crime, and by doing so we can begin reducing the crimes committed in your communities by drug addicts. In the end, it will still be your problem, but we at the federal level can take some of the heat off, and we should.

For the first time in 10 years as a Senator, I believe there is a chance that we may.

A comprehensive anti-crime package that deals with drug trafficking and organized crime, with forfeiture of criminal assets and off-shore laundering of dirty money, with murder-for-hire and arson-for-profit, with flat-time sentencing and bail reform, has the unanimous support of Senate Democrats.

The bi-partisan bill incorporating most of those features was supported by the Administration and passed overwhelmingly by the Senate. The President himself has announced a plan that in many ways complements our progress in the Senate. And both the public and professional organizations like yours have enthusiastically supported all of those initiatives.

We just may be getting our federal anti-crime act together at last.

But we have a long way to go, and -- not for the first time -- you on the front lines of law enforcement have been breaking ground ahead of us, especially in professional development through activities like the Law-Enforcement Accreditation Program. Every profession is characterized by its capability for objective self-assessment and growth, and the American law-enforcement community today gets very high marks by that standard.

You have also provided leadership and inspiration to the citizen crime-prevention programs like the neighborhood patrols and town watches that involve ordinary people, at last, in protecting their own communities, and, no less important, give them a fresh perspective into the problems and responsibilities of law enforcement.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the determination and sacrifice with which police officers all over the world are joining us in an increasingly international campaign against crime. As all police officers know, the price of such an effort can come painfully high -- as it did in the case of the assassination of a very great officer who was to have been honored at this 89th Annual Conference of your Association.

General Carlos Alberto Della Chiesa was a truly professional police officer, and a man of extraordinary purpose and courage. He led the successful effort to control terrorism in Italy and was responsible for the daring rescue of our own Brigadier General James L. Dozier, as General Dozier will tell you himself later today.

When General Della Chiesa was assigned to command the attack on the Sicilian Mafia on its own ground, he refused to countenance the great personal danger facing him and his family. He took up those duties with his customary vigor and bravery.

But he did so, tragically, at the cost of his own life and that of his young wife, who died at his side.

It was the moment every officer knows may be part of every day he goes on duty -- a reality totally beyond the ken of those of us who will always be civilians in the fight against crime -- and to see such a life snuffed out by such dirty hands is almost more than the human spirit can bear.

It is certainly beyond our capacity to understand.

Basically, I believe, police work at its best is a vocation that beckons only those who can meet its demands.

It is a vocation to which few are genuinely called, and even fewer find they can answer.

It is a vocation that provides society with one of the most fundamental of human needs -- that sense of personal security which allows us to believe there is a future -- and a vocation for which society is eternally and profoundly in your debt.

Thank God, you have heard that call. Thank God, you have answered to it, despite the sacrifice it entails. And, please God, may you all fare well in the days and years ahead.

Thank you -- thank you, very much.

CONTROLLING CRIME:  
A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NECESSITY

AN ADDRESS BY

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.  
United States Senator

AT THE OPENING GENERAL SESSION  
89TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
NOVEMBER 15, 1982

There can be no better place than this worldwide forum on the administration of criminal justice, provided by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, to acknowledge frankly what the police officers and ordinary citizens of every nation have long realized.

The criminals of the world are at war with civilization.

Their well-organized and well-financed operations, funded largely by the proceeds of the international traffic in illicit drugs, violate national boundaries at will; and law-enforcement authorities everywhere are finding it increasingly difficult to resist them.

Drug addiction and violent crime have become major dimensions in the life of an increasing number of nations, not only imposing heavier burdens on law enforcement but also altering the very quality of life enjoyed -- or too often today, not enjoyed -- by the people of the societies under assault.

It has become more and more difficult for citizens -- in their homes, schools, streets, parks and places of work -- to feel the sense of personal security they expect government to provide. That sense of security is a basic requirement for civilized human life. People can develop, maintain and expand humane values only so long as they can believe that life will continue tomorrow, and that it will be worth living.

That is a proposition we recognize as nations. Every nation on earth is concerned for its national security, and providing for the national defense is a fundamental obligation of government all over the planet. Defense expenditures are typically among the largest budgeted by every government.

The democratic nations of the West, for example, spend nearly \$260 billion a year to defend their national security, while only a small fraction of that amount is devoted to enforcing the law and turning back the rising tide of crime.

Here in the United States, as elsewhere, law-enforcement authorities are forced to contend with crime on a relative shoe-string. Trafficking in illegal drugs, on the one hand, is a rapidly growing, more than \$80-billion-a-year criminal enterprise, while the total law-enforcement expenditure of the federal government for dealing with all types of crime is less than \$5 billion. The high rate of violent street crime, much of it directly related to drug abuse, has similarly exceeded the resources to combat it in the state and local jurisdictions most of you here today represent.

Nobody has to tell you, least of all a politician from Washington, what that means. It means that more and more criminals will go unapprehended, unpunished -- and undeterred from committing further crimes. It means that the quality of life in your communities, large and small, will continue to deteriorate. It means that young and old, black and white, rich and poor will find themselves increasingly unable to go about their daily lives free from fear.

It means that the sense of personal security so vital to all of us will continue to diminish, and as it does, the value system of civil liberties and civil rights that is the very heart of our democratic society will be increasingly threatened.

When we feel we are losing ground in our struggle with crime, there is an almost irresistible temptation to even the odds by cutting down on the rights we all enjoy as Americans, and none of us in this room has been able to avoid being tempted from time to time in our frustration.

But if ever the devil whispers in our ears, it is just at those moments, because we are all Americans, and all of us -- our wives and children, our friends and neighbors, the just along with the unjust -- would suffer consequences of emasculating any of the guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And even if we were willing to run such a risk, we would find in the end that we had made a very bad bargain, because, tempting as the demagogues in Congress and elsewhere make it sound, it would not make law enforcement easier; it would give us no greater impact on crime.

But that does not mean there is nothing to be done about crime. None of us would be here today if we believed that. And it does not mean that crime itself has had no effect on our civil liberties and civil rights. All we need do is look around our own communities to see that crime has done more damage to our rights and liberties than anything else in recent years. It is no exaggeration to say that unless we do a better job of controlling crime, crime will more and more control us. And that's not a prediction -- as you know better than anyone else, it's happening already.

All of us here today are aware of the impact crime has had on our society over the past 15 years, and I'm sure none of us takes much solace from the FBI statistics that suggest that the rate of increase in crime has leveled off somewhat in the United States last year. One swallow doesn't make a summer, and one year's statistics don't add up to even a temporary victory over crime, especially not



when the crime rate was already far above the level any society, particularly a democratic society, can safely tolerate. Besides, we all know how difficult it is to assemble reliable national crime statistics, no matter how well intended, out of the welter of federal, state and local jurisdictions differing in their organization, procedures and challenges. We all know that victimization studies have pegged the crime rate at a much higher level.

And if we are willing to admit it, we all know what that means: a great deal of crime never gets reported, because people have decided not to get involved, because people fear the consequences of reporting crime, and because people don't believe government can do anything about it anyway.

If we hope to make any headway at all in improving our capabilities for fighting crime, we have to begin with that realization, no matter how embarrassing it is, no matter how much it hurts.

People just don't believe us any more.

That's embarrassing to a United States Senator who is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. That's embarrassing to those of us who are supposed to be political leaders, who are supposed to represent the people and make government work.

It should be no embarrassment to police officers who must contend with criminals in the street every day. It should be no embarrassment to law-enforcement agencies that are under-budgeted, undermanned and under-equipped. It should be no embarrassment to the men and women who daily risk their lives -- and too often sacrifice their lives -- on society's front lines. It should be no embarrassment to you and to those brave officers you lead, but I know you feel embarrassed, and I know it hurts.

I don't know where police officers find the personal discipline to keep up their morale under such circumstances. I don't know how a police chief goes about improving morale. I do know that a sense of abandonment by and isolation from the very society you have sworn to defend is the most debilitating problem you have to deal with -- and I am lost in admiration at how well you do deal with it.

I'm not at all sure we politicians deal with our embarrassment half so well, especially with your example before us.

But we do share this much in common: we have to get the public back on our side in the fight against crime, and it's not going to be easy. We have to persuade the media and the opinion-makers to understand the importance of tougher, more practical efforts to curtail the drug trade and reduce violent crime. We have to generate support for measures which, while protecting civil liberties, make it more difficult for violent criminals and drug traffickers to pursue their criminal careers, and to return too quickly to the streets even when they are apprehended and convicted.

And it's going to take the concerted efforts of the entire law-enforcement community -- police officers, politicians, Presidents and senators (little as you may like having to keep such company!) -- to rebuild a constituency that will believe in and support our programs for controlling crime.

One thing is certain -- nobody, neither the doubting public nor those of us concerned with law enforcement, doubts the need for renewing our fight against crime.

Let me review for a moment, for the press and the public here among us, the kind of statistics already much too familiar to us:

- Drug addiction, the source of more than half of the violent street crime in this country, is on the rebound.

What has happened in Washington, D.C., is an index to what's happening all over the country. After declining nearly to zero in the mid-1970's, deaths from heroin overdose climbed to a new high of 114 in our national capital last year. The toll for this year has already reached 85 by the end of last month.

And, contradicting the popular notion that drug abuse is somehow confined to the underprivileged elements in our society, are the growing number of corporate drug counselling and treatment programs that big business has found to be a necessary personnel policy, and the films many of us have seen of the long line of well-dressed heroin buyers purchasing their daily fix literally in the shadow of Wall Street.

- There is no shortage of drugs to supply those who will abuse them.

Marijuana is a major, if illegal, crop in perhaps half a dozen states.

The South Florida Task Force has had some gratifying successes, but even while that \$100,000,000 program has been under way, the street-price of cocaine -- the conspicuous-consumption drug of well-heeled abusers among the "beautiful people" -- has actually gone down.

And heroin, the most dangerous and addictive drug of all, continues to flood into this country in record quantities.

- Violent crime in America has increased 33 percent since 1975, and there is no longer any doubt that a major portion of the street crime you have to deal with is spawned directly out of the traffic in addictive drugs.

- Just this fall, the Justice Department characterized crime as a leading household danger in America. Remember when the Home Ec people used to warn against kitchen fires and bathtub falls? Well, today American families are more likely to have a member attacked by serious crime than to suffer injuries from fire or accident.
- Crime has also become, for many businesses, part of the expected cost of doing business. A recent study of the Middle Atlantic area showed that crime outweighs both wages and taxes in influencing corporate decisions to move out of an area.

Nearly 68 percent of 332 businesses reported that they had shown losses to crime in the past two years, and nine out of 10 said they considered nothing more important than crime in deciding on relocation. And when they leave, they take with them tax resources and jobs badly needed in cities already suffering from declining revenues and growing unemployment.

- On a broader scale, drug traffickers and organized criminals have been using their ill-gotten gains to move in on previously legitimate businesses.

Reliable statistics are hard to come by, because criminals out to subvert legitimate businesses don't advertise the size and extent of their investments -- but properties forfeited in a vastly improved DEA drive to confiscate criminal assets include a dazzling collection of corporate interests, wholly owned businesses, farms and ranches, expensive homes and real estates, boat and airplanes, certificates of deposit and Swiss bank accounts.

Between 1980 and 1982, the DEA's seizures jumped from just under \$39 million to more than \$64 million, and forfeitures from \$6 million to \$33 million. That's very nearly \$100,000,000 -- a lot of money, but obviously no more than a fraction of the total.

Such examples, although they barely scratch the surface of crime, go a long way toward explaining why -- although people consistently rate crime at or near the top of their domestic concerns -- their expectation of anything being done about it has fallen steadily for nearly two decades.

And, if you think about it, a one-third increase in crime in less than seven years, a resurgence of drug addiction over the same period, crime as a major household danger and a standard cost of doing business, all add up to an indictment of the political leadership over the past 20 years -- a leadership which has wavered between doing nothing much about crime, or making grandiose declarations of "war against crime," and then doing nothing much about it.

But the same polls that register the people's pessimism about crime also make it clear they don't hold the police responsible. They regard police officers with mixture of sympathy and respect. They know how hard you work at a thankless task. They realize the risks you run day and day out. And they don't believe you have had the support you deserve from government at any level.

They focus their criticism where you and I know it really belongs -- on the Congress, the courts and the White House -- and a glance at the recent history of federal anti-crime programs shows they're right.

Ambitious anti-crime programs have failed because they were never given the tools and resources needed to meet their goals. Millions of dollars flowed through other programs, never well thought out and never followed up, and disappeared like water into the desert sands, without having any significant impact on crime. And there has been a persistent and chaotic lack of coordination among the 10 or more agencies of the federal government responsible for enforcing anti-drug laws.

The new anti-crime program announced by President Reagan last month was overlong in coming, but it was no less welcome to those of us who have tried for years to put some real muscle into federal anti-crime efforts. But even since the President's announcement, there have been reports that the bureaucratic infighting has continued.

First, there was apparent disagreement within the Administration over the extent of resources to be devoted to the program. Then, when it was agreed that the cost would be about \$200 million, there was another dispute over which existing budgets would be tapped to produce that sum. There were assurances, or so it seemed, that none of it would be taken from law-enforcement funds; but that assurance faded almost in the next breath, and the Administration has yet to specify the sources it proposes to draw from.

There have been reports in the press that the Justice Department and other agencies have been contending over who is to control the money, wherever it comes from. And it has been reported, too, that even within the Justice Department itself there have been arguments over who is to conduct prosecutions and how the President's program is to be coordinated with existing programs.

I have not lingered over these contentions to condemn the Administration's initiative against drugs and organized crime. As Chairman of the Senate Democratic Task Force on Crime, I introduced a package of anti-crime bills nearly 18 months ago that proposed an even broader federal attack on crime. And this year, as the ranking Democratic member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I joined Chairman Strom Thurmond in introducing a bi-partisan compromise bill that passed the Senate by 95-1, with the support of the Administration. So I would be the last Senator to play down the importance of what the President has proposed. In fact, I sympathize with the President for the difficulties these continuing turf-battles have caused him.

But that does bring me to the first of what I believe are three major deficiencies in the Administration program as it has been outlined so far, and that is the absence of a strong central authority to make it work.

It was precisely for that purpose that both anti-crime packages I have been associated with in the past two years have mandated creation of a cabinet-level post with the authority to knock bureaucratic heads together, impose a truce on their quarrels, task each agency for its appropriate contribution, and allocate budget resources to achieve the maximum efficiency and economy in going after drug traffickers and organized criminals.

The experience of the past few weeks confirms that no committee can get the bureaucrats marching together against drugs and crime. I understand, in fact, that a General Accounting Office report identifies four committees trying to pull the agencies together, and the current joke among GAO staffers is that we now need still another committee to coordinate those committees! That's good for a laugh, I suppose, but it's too close to the truth for me to find it really funny.

We're just not going to get anywhere until we have a single cabinet-level officer, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate -- and enjoying the full support of both.

I intend to pursue that proposal as vigorously as I can. In fact, I intend to re-introduce both anti-crime packages, including that office, when the new Congress convenes. I hope the President will agree.

I hope, too, as he moves his program beyond this first year, that he will agree that robbing Peter to pay Paul, as he has been forced to do this year, will not suffice to support a continuing effort. I understand that the lateness of this initiative, long after the budget had been locked in by his own Office of Management and Budget, left him little choice this year if he was going to get it going. But it's a good start that won't keep going if it is not adequately and independently funded over the long term.

Poll after poll has reported the people are more than willing to underwrite the costs of an effective fight against crime, and I hope the Administration will pay attention to their wishes in drawing up the 1984 budget.

I now find some encouragement about what I felt was another shortcoming in the President's program -- an insufficient emphasis on heading off illegal drugs before they reach our shores. Just last week, the Administration announced an agreement that ties American aid to Bolivia to the flow of illegal Bolivian drugs into this country.

And just a couple of days ago, Attorney General William French Smith returned from a journey over ground familiar to me in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, from which I feel he will draw many of the same conclusions I summed up in a Foreign Relations Committee report called The Sicilian Connection when I returned from a similar journey three years ago:

- It's going to be all but impossible to impede the flow of illegal drugs unless we enlist the cooperation of governments in Europe and Asia who are as eager as we are to shut down the drug-trafficking networks that stretch from the poppy fields of Asia, through the underground processing laboratories along the Mediterranean, to the streets of the United States and Western Europe.
- It's going to be all but impossible to head off those illegal drugs unless the farmers in whose fields they originate can be assisted to make ends meet for their families while growing legitimate crops.
- It's going to be all but impossible to put the processing labs out of business unless we work closely with police agencies in those countries, and unless we make the commitment of agents and resources their cooperation deserves.
- And it's going to be all but impossible to keep those illegal drugs off American streets unless we break the enormous power of the organized-crime families in this country who underwrite and profit hugely from that vicious trade.

I concluded my report three years ago with 19 specific proposals toward achieving these goals, and not one of them has been implemented. But now that the Attorney General has traced for himself the international outlines of our drug problem, I have real hope we may begin to see some progress toward solving it before it arrives in our streets and uses up more pages in your logbooks.

Look, I'm not saying the federal government can help you eradicate crime. That has never happened at any time in human history, so we have to stop making promises like that. I'm not even saying we can cut it in half. I know very well that 90 percent of the crimes committed in this country occur outside the jurisdiction of the federal government. They are primarily your responsibility as state and local agencies. That's how it should be, and you know what you're doing better than anyone else.

But we have our own responsibilities for dealing with crime, and it's time we began meeting them. The plain fact is that only the federal government can deal with the international dimensions of the drug trade and the interstate operations of organized crime, and by doing so we can begin reducing the crimes committed in your communities by drug addicts. In the end, it will still be your problem, but we at the federal level can take some of the heat off, and we should.

For the first time in 10 years as a Senator, I believe there is a chance that we may.

A comprehensive anti-crime package that deals with drug trafficking and organized crime, with forfeiture of criminal assets and off-shore laundering of dirty money, with murder-for-hire and arson-for-profit, with flat-time sentencing and bail reform, has the unanimous support of Senate Democrats.

The bi-partisan bill incorporating most of those features was supported by the Administration and passed overwhelmingly by the Senate. The President himself has announced a plan that in many ways complements our progress in the Senate. And both the public and professional organizations like yours have enthusiastically supported all of those initiatives.

We just may be getting our federal anti-crime act together at last.

But we have a long way to go, and -- not for the first time -- you on the front lines of law enforcement have been breaking ground ahead of us, especially in professional development through activities like the Law-Enforcement Accreditation Program. Every profession is characterized by its capability for objective self-assessment and growth, and the American law-enforcement community today gets very high marks by that standard.

You have also provided leadership and inspiration to the citizen crime-prevention programs like the neighborhood patrols and town watches that involve ordinary people, at last, in protecting their own communities, and, no less important, give them a fresh perspective into the problems and responsibilities of law enforcement.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the determination and sacrifice with which police officers all over the world are joining us in an increasingly international campaign against crime. As all police officers know, the price of such an effort can come painfully high -- as it did in the case of the assassination of a very great officer who was to have been honored at this 89th Annual Conference of your Association.

General Carlos Alberto Della Chiesa was a truly professional police officer, and a man of extraordinary purpose and courage. He led the successful effort to control terrorism in Italy and was responsible for the daring rescue of our own Brigadier General James L. Dozier, as General Dozier will tell you himself later today.

When General Della Chiesa was assigned to command the attack on the Sicilian Mafia on its own ground, he refused to countenance the great personal danger facing him and his family. He took up those duties with his customary vigor and bravery.

But he did so, tragically, at the cost of his own life and that of his young wife, who died at his side.

It was the moment every officer knows may be part of every day he goes on duty -- a reality totally beyond the ken of those of us who will always be civilians in the fight against crime -- and to see such a life snuffed out by such dirty hands is almost more than the human spirit can bear.

It is certainly beyond our capacity to understand.

Basically, I believe, police work at its best is a vocation that beckons only those who can meet its demands.

It is a vocation to which few are genuinely called, and even fewer find they can answer.

It is a vocation that provides society with one of the most fundamental of human needs -- that sense of personal security which allows us to believe there is a future -- and a vocation for which society is eternally and profoundly in your debt.

Thank God, you have heard that call. Thank God, you have answered to it, despite the sacrifice it entails. And, please God, may you all fare well in the days and years ahead.

Thank you -- thank you, very much.