

Whereas parental involvement is critical to helping young Americans resist the temptations of drugs and to establishing a healthy learning environment;

Whereas violent crime rates across the United States have declined due to strong parental involvement and cooperation among local, State, and Federal law enforcement agencies;

Whereas the same unified effort and commitment are needed to fight drugs in our schools, playgrounds, and communities; and

Whereas Congress has the unique ability to provide leadership on this issue by raising awareness of the dangers of drugs in schools in every community across this great Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Congress that—

- (1) all schools should be drug-free;
- (2) the distribution, sale, and use of illegal drugs in the Nation's schools is unacceptable;
- (3) all Federal, State, and local drug fighting agencies should work together with schools and parents to ensure that a renewed effort is made to fight the distribution, sale, and use of illegal drugs in our schools and to America's youth;
- (4) all governmental leaders, educators, and parents share a role in raising the awareness of this issue and offering constructive alternatives to illegal drug use; and
- (5) Congress and the President should work to end the distribution, sale, and use of illegal drugs in the Nation's schools and, work with local communities, schools, and parents to implement meaningful policies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER) and the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) each will control 20 minutes.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire, is either gentleman opposed to the legislation?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) opposed to the legislation?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am not opposed to the legislation.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to claim the time in opposition.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) will be recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that 7 minutes of my 20 minutes be controlled by the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER).

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SOUDER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be involved with this very important sense of the House resolution. Although this resolution is non-binding in nature, it is important. It sends a wakeup call to Americans.

By way of background, this resolution was introduced by the gentleman

from New Jersey (Mr. PAPPAS), my friend and colleague, last fall. I commend his leadership in bringing this resolution to the floor today.

H. Res. 267 enjoys the bipartisan support of 181 cosponsors, including most of the Republican members of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, which reported out the resolution, as amended by the committee substitute, by voice vote on March 11.

Additionally, this bill has been endorsed by a variety of interest groups: The Partnership for a Drug Free America; the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Youth to Youth; American Society of Addiction Medicine; National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence; D.A.R.E. America; and the Elks Drug Awareness Program.

Mr. Speaker, this simple resolution addresses a complex problem that plagues modern America: Illicit drug usage and trade. House Resolution 267 is clear and concise. It expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that the citizens of the United States must remain committed to combat the distribution, sale and use of illegal drugs by the Nation's youth. If we fail to convey this vital message, our children's minds and bodies will continue to be poisoned by drugs.

Let me just say up front where I stand on the crisis of illicit drug use in America. I have addressed this body last week to explain my anti-drug amendment to the Higher Education bill and amendment to the underlying language offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON). In doing so, I challenged Congress to get serious about the epidemic of illicit drugs in this country.

As I emphasized last week on this floor, we have a major drug crisis in this country and the question is are we serious about it or not? It is too easy for us to criticize Mexico and Colombia for their apparent endless supply of poisonous drugs to this country. We must continue to find effective and creative ways to fight the demand problem within our own borders.

House Resolution 267 is a first step in sending a clear and concise message that we are serious about this crisis.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD some details of this crisis in particular, and not go into detail at this point.

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The evidence of the drug crisis is in, and it is quite compelling. Consider these telling statistics:

DRUG AVAILABILITY & USE IS ON THE RISE

A majority of all high school seniors would say "yes," they've used an illegal drug in their short lifetime. In 1992, 40.7% had ever used an illicit drug; by 1997, the number jumped to 54.3%. (Source: December 1997, "Monitoring the Future Study" a.k.a. the "National High School Survey," University of Michigan's Survey Research Center)

Marijuana use is up. In 1992, one-out-of-three high school seniors (32.6%) had tried the drug—a mere six years later in 1997, nearly half of all high school seniors (49.6%) had experimented with pot. (Source: same as above)

The number of 4th–6th graders (9-to-12 year olds) experimenting with marijuana increased 71% from 334,000 in 1993 to 571,000 in 1997. (Source: April 13, 1998, "Partnership Attitude Study," Partnership for a Drug-Free America)

"Children's exposure to marijuana doubled from 1993 to 1997." In 1993, 7% of kids said that they had close friends who "use marijuana sometimes" to 14% in 1997. (Source: same as above)

72% of people in the U.S. and 65% of people in Latin America favor U.S.-imposed sanctions on countries that don't do enough to combat drug production or trafficking. (Source: same as above)

34% see drug interdiction as a top priority foreign policy issue—more than illegal immigration (22%), the threat of terrorism (22%), and free trade (17%). (Source: February 26, 1998, "America Assesses Drug Policy," Family Research Council)

Mr. Speaker, that's what we're up against. As the evidence suggests, we can no longer allow the use and trade of illicit drugs to continue unchecked.

It's time we send an unequivocal message to America that the House unequivocally opposes illicit drugs. If you are a drug user or

pusher—beware. We are watching and we will find innovative ways to combat what you are doing.

By the time the average teenager reaches age 18, 68% can buy marijuana within a day—nearly half within an hour. In fact, 42% find marijuana easier to buy than either beer or cigarettes. (Source: September 1997, "Back to School 1997," Center for Addiction & Substance Abuse)

By the time the average child reaches age 13, ONE-in-FOUR have attended a party in the last six months where marijuana was available. (Source: same as above)

Fewer than one-in-three teenagers under 18 say they attend a drug-free school. (Source: same as above)

A third of teenagers (33%) were offered drugs at school in 1997—a significant increase of 44% from 1993 (23%). For children 9-to-12 years old (4th–6th graders), almost three out of ten (28%) were offered drugs in 1997—a 47% increase since 1993 (19%). (Source: April 13, 1998, "Partnership Attitude Study," Partnership for a Drug-Free America)

THE UNTOLD COSTS

Drug abuse killed 14,218 Americans in 1995 at the cost of more than \$67 billion. (November 10, 1997, "What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs: 1988–1995," Office of National Drug Control Policy)

If this casualty rate should continue, 114,000 Americans—many of them youth—will die from drug abuse and overdose on President Clinton's watch. These numbers do not take into account deaths from drug-related crime and violence, which the Drug Enforcement Agency estimates would easily reach 20,000 Americans per year.

By the time a child reaches age 13, ONE-in-TEN will say they know a schoolmate who has died because of drugs or alcohol. (Source: September 1997, "Back to School 1997," Center for Addiction & Substance Abuse)

American taxpayers footed a \$150 billion bill for drug-related criminal and medical costs in 1997 alone. (November 10, 1997, "What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs: 1988–1995," Office of National Drug Control Policy)

That's more than what we spent in 1997's federal budget for programs to fund education, transportation improvements, agriculture, energy, space, and all foreign aid combined.

Illegal drug users in the United States spent more than \$57 billion on their street poisons in 1995 alone. American consumers could have more wisely used that money to purchase a four-year college education for one million kids; or 22 billion gallons of milk to feed babies; or, one year's worth of child care for 14 million children. (November 10, 1997, "What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs: 1988–1995," Office of National Drug Control Policy)

THE CRIMINAL ELEMENT

70% of all hard drugs and illegal narcotics found in the United States originally crossed the U.S./Mexican border. (CRS)

More than 1.5 million people were arrested from drug offenses in 1996 alone. That's more than the number of residents living in Montana and North Dakota COMBINED. (November 10, 1997, "What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs: 1988–1995," Office of National Drug Control Policy)

Between 70%–90% of all persons incarcerated in state prisons are there for drug offenses. (November 10, 1997, "What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs: 1988–1995," Office of National Drug Control Policy)

Street cops, our foot soldiers in the War on Drugs, say that reducing drug abuse would

have the greatest single impact on reducing violent crime. (Source: Fall 1997, "Drug Facts for the Record," House Government Reform & Oversight Subcommittee on National Security, International Affairs & Criminal Justice briefing paper citing a 1995 study conducted by the University of Maryland)

PERCEPTIONS & REALITIES ABOUT DRUGS

Nearly 9 in 10 people (85%) believe solving our drug crisis is more urgent than less urgent. (Source: February 26, 1998, "America Assesses Drug Policy," Family Research Council)

82% oppose drug legalization. (Source: same as above)

Teenagers say drugs (35%) are their most important problem, far ahead of social pressures (19%), crime (12%), sexual issues (8%), academic pressures (8%), or family problems (3%). (Source: September 1997, "Back to School 1997," Center for Addiction & Substance Abuse)

45% of parents believe their son or daughter may have friends who smoke pot. Yet 71% of teens say they have friends who use the drug. (Source: April 13, 1998, "Partnership Attitude Study," Partnership for a Drug-Free America)

Just 21% of parents acknowledged the possibility that their teen might have tried marijuana, significantly lower than the 44% of teens who say they've done so. (Source: same as above)

Some 54% of parents say they talked with their teenagers about drugs at least four times in the last year, yet less than a quarter (24%) of those teens recalled those discussions. (Source: same as above)

Less than one-third of teens (28%) named parents as a source of drug information, while another third (31%) said that in the past year their parents had never talked to them about drugs. (Source: same as above)

A plurality of those surveyed in the U.S. (39%) say the primary objective of U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America should be to decrease drug trafficking. (Source: April 16, 1998, "A Meeting of Minds, From Peoria to Patagonia," The Wall Street Journal)

Mr. Speaker, these facts that we have been hearing about on this floor for the past week are what we are up against. As the evidence suggests, we can no longer allow the use and trade of illicit drugs to continue unchecked.

It is time we send an unequivocal message to America that the House opposes illicit drugs. Drug users and pushers, beware. We are watching and we will find innovative ways to combat what users and pushers are doing in every category of legislation that we are facing.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution is a simple, yet important first step putting the United States Congress on record.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this bill, not so much in any objection to what the goals are. The goals are very laudable. The first time I read this resolution, I was in agreement with everything until the very end. Then I had some disagreements with it.

I have taken this time so I would have adequate time to explain my position and why I oppose this bill. Obviously, this country is facing a serious problem with drugs. As a physician, I

can attest to it. We have major problems in this country, something should be done. But I thought it was necessary to take some time to point out that what we have done for 20 to 25 years has not been all that good. And I see this resolution as an endorsement of the status quo, not an introduction of one single new idea about how to approach this problem. And it is for this reason that I have taken this time to try to get people to think about maybe an alternative some day that we might look at, because so far the spending of the money and the abuse of our civil liberties that has occurred with the war on drugs has not accomplished a whole lot.

I object strongly to the Federal approach to law enforcement. That is one of the major issues I have contention with. When we think about when we tried to make a better world in 1919, and we thought we should prohibit certain substances being used in this country, in those days we had enough respect for the Constitution that we actually believed then that we should amend the Constitution, and we did and we had an experiment and after 14 years of a failed program, we repealed that amendment on alcohol.

In 1937, it was decided that possibly we should restrict marijuana, even for medical use, and even then it was not assumed that this was a Federal prerogative. It was not banned, it was not outlawed. It was still assumed that it was the responsibility of the States to deal with problems of drugs and marijuana and law enforcement.

In 1937, and I am sure some of my conservative colleagues might be interested in this because it was the great FDR who decided to impose a great tax on marijuana, putting \$100 tax on a pound of marijuana, essentially making it illegal. And even today those States who would like to legalize marijuana even for the sick and dying AIDS patients and the cancer patients are not even permitted to. It is because we have carelessly assumed that all regulation and all controls and all policing activities should be done here in Washington.

I am here just to suggest quite possibly our attack on drugs has not been correct, that we have possibly made some mistakes. Maybe we spent some money that we have not gotten our dollars' worth. Maybe we are going in the wrong direction.

It is estimated that we have spent over \$200 billion in the last 25 years fighting drugs. And yet it is the same old thing again. Play on the emotions of the people, condemn drug usage, which I do. As I said as a physician, I know they are horrible. But as a politician and somebody in the legislature, we should think about the efficiency and the effectiveness of our laws.

The evidence quite frankly is not there to show that we are doing a very good job. And even though I commend the individuals who are promoting this legislation, the motivations are there,

the desires are there, but I think, in my view, that it is the same old program of the Federal war on drugs that has a lot of shortcomings.

The first "whereas" of this resolution, I strongly agree with. It says, "Whereas recently revealed statistics demonstrate America is not winning the battle to keep young Americans drug-free." This is my point. This is conceded by everyone. We are not winning this fight, so why pursue the same policies over and over again, and especially since there are some shortcomings with the policy. Not only have they not been effective, there are some serious shortcomings, shortcomings on civil liberty and property rights and other things.

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We ought to put the war on drugs in a proper perspective. Yes, it is easy to talk about a heroin addict and a crime committed and people narrowing in on one instance, but we ought to look at this in a proper manner.

There is talk that there are 20,000 deaths with illegal drugs. But that, in the best of my estimates, includes all the violent drugs which, to me, are a consequence of the war on drugs.

I have statistics that say there is about 6,000 people who die from overdosing and taking illegal drugs. A horrible figure. It is horrible. Nobody should be using these drugs. But let us put this in a different perspective.

We lose 37,000 people on highways every year, government-managed highways. And 36,000 people die each year from guns. But we do not take the guns away from the innocent people because there are gun accidents and gun deaths. It is 36,000 in comparison to 6,000.

There is one other figure that is astounding that was in the media, recorded in the media here the last couple of days. The medical profession has a responsibility here. It is estimated that we are losing 106,000 people a year. These are reports from 1994; 106,000 a year from drug reactions, legal prescription drugs coming from doctors.

If we want to go after a problem, let us go after the highways, let us go after the guns, let us go after the drug reaction. What about alcohol? There are 200,000 deaths, approximately, from alcohol. But do we come here and propose that we go back to prohibition? No. We do not. It is a serious problem. It is really the big problem.

Cigarette killing may be up to 400,000 a year. But if we make the suggestion that we want to go after them, then we have a President that says, yes, we will go after the kids that are taking a puff on the cigarette and apply the same rules.

There are 10 million new cases of sexually transmitted diseases diagnosed each year. It is probably higher because most of those cases do not get reported. So that is a serious problem. I mean, look for serious problems.

To dwell on the drug war and casually and carelessly violate civil lib-

erties, as we so often do, and have confiscation and seizure of property that we just blow it off because we are fighting the drug war, I think we are going in the wrong direction. We need some new ideas and new proposals on this drug war. I hope today to have time to make some of these suggestions on what we might do about the drug war.

Former HEW Secretary Joseph Califano said, not too long ago, he was comparing the drug war to the problem of alcohol, he said: The drug war is a grain of sand compared to alcohol.

If we look at the college issue, the overwhelming drug that is a problem on college campuses is alcohol. Yet, 99 percent of our concerns and our expression of horror is directed toward a narrower group of people; that is, on the illegal drugs.

Why might it be that we dwell on the illegal drugs? Alcohol of course is legal, but why would it be that maybe this Congress might not be as aggressive against the abuses of alcohol and the deaths? If we have compassion, should we show less compassion to the 200,000 people dying of alcohol deaths or the 400,000 dying from cigarette deaths? But we do.

It just happens that those who produce alcohol happen to come to Washington quite frequently. They make donations to candidates. They have a lobby. They do have a presence here in Washington. Not only those who make the alcohol, but what about the hotels or the restaurants?

I mean, if we even thought about doing anything or saying anything about alcohol, of course we would hear from the hotels and the restaurants, and maybe rightfully so, if we argue that people have a right to have a glass of wine with their dinner in their hotel or restaurant. But the point I am trying to make is that we dwell on certain things out of proportion to its danger.

Also, one reason why we might not talk about the tremendous abuse with alcohol is the fact that, quite possibly, a few Members of Congress actually participate in using such a thing. There are now probably 13 million people in this United States suffering from abuse or alcoholism, a serious, serious number.

Now, there is a lot more that has to be said, especially if we can someday open up the debate and go in a new direction, have some new ideas dealing with the drug program. But I want to pause here for a minute, and I want to emphasize just one thing; that is, that, constitutionally, it was never intended that the Federal Government fight the war on drug. And they never did until recent years. For 25 years now, we have done it. We have spent \$200 billion.

It is failing, and we are not willing to stand up and say, hey, maybe we are doing something wrong. Maybe we ought to have another idea. Maybe we ought to have a new approach.

I think when we talk about not only looking at this outer perspective of other problems that we have in the

country, but also the serious consequences of the drug laws which we all should be concerned about because it involves property rights and civil liberty rights, maybe we can get around to the point of saying maybe could there be a new approach.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

(Mr. MARTINEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the other side and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAPPAS) for bringing this resolution, of which I am a cosponsor, to the floor today.

I just want to take a second today to say that all of the "whereases" deal with much of the problem that the previous speaker outlined. But in the end, the resolve is a resolve that he talks about, because Congress, in a unique way, can bring leadership and emphasis to the people in the communities to take an extra effort to combat this horrible disease that exists in our communities today: drugs.

Obviously the extent of drug distribution, sale, or use by our Nation's youth today is extremely troubling. A joint effort by Republicans, Democrats, the President, and the American people really, I believe, is needed to fight this pressing issue.

Too many of our Nation's youth have come to the perils of drugs. And I would not compare alcohol, which is a legal distribution, to drugs, as an illegal distribution, as being necessarily the same thing. They are horses of a different color.

I want to commend the other side, and Representative PAPPAS, for bringing this resolution, of which I am a cosponsor, to the floor today. Obviously, the extent of drug distribution, sale, or use by our Nation's youth is extremely troubling and a joint effort by Congress, the President and the American people is needed to combat this pressing problem.

Too many of our Nation's youth succumb to the perils of drugs and this resolution sends a strong message that we must continue to commit ourselves to ending the tragedy caused by illegal drug abuse.

For those who have followed the legislative history of this resolution, you are aware that I offered an amendment during committee consideration of this measure to include language regarding the need to improve the infrastructure of school buildings and their grounds as a component of our efforts to fight drug abuse.

Anyone who has visited the schools in our Nation's worst drug plagued communities realize the impact that deteriorating buildings, lack of proper lighting and unmaintained grounds have on the likelihood of illegal drug sales and use. A well maintained, or newly constructed school is an important tool in the battles waged by local law enforcement and educators against youth drug abuse. In addition, the discussion of school infrastructure is a key component in our efforts both as a Congress, and a nation, to combat drug abuse by our Nation's youth. Unfortunately, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle did not support this amendment.