

**HUD PROGRAMS TO COMBAT DRUG ABUSE
IN PUBLIC HOUSING**



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HEARING
BEFORE A
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS
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HUD PROGRAMS TO COMBAT DRUG ABUSE IN PUBLIC HOUSING

MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1988

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
White Plains, NY.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:15 p.m., at Thomas Slater Center, White Plains, NY, Hon. Tom Lantos (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Tom Lantos and Joseph J. DioGuardi.
Also present: Representative Benjamin A. Gilman.

Staff present: Celia Boddington, professional staff member; and Matthew Behrmann, minority professional staff, Committee on Government Operations.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN LANTOS

Mr. LANTOS. The hearing of the Subcommittee on Employment and Housing will please come to order. This is a full hearing room and we will need complete silence from the audience to conduct this hearing properly.

I am Congressman Tom Lantos of California. I am chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing and Employment of the House Government Operations' Committee.

I would first like to offer my thanks to my good friend and colleague, Congressman Joseph DioGuardi, for welcoming us to White Plains. I want to acknowledge the presence of Congressman Benjamin Gilman of the State of New York who is the ranking minority member of the Select Committee on Narcotics, and has probably done more than any individual in this country to fight the epidemic of narcotics that is sweeping this Nation.

This hearing of the Subcommittee on Employment and Housing in White Plains is being held at Congressman DioGuardi's request, and deals with a problem which has figured much in the media recently, the problem of drug abuse. In particular, we will be examining the impact of drug abuse on public housing, and the effectiveness of Federal programs available through the Department of Housing and Urban Development to combat the problem.

Let me say at the outset that we have no illusions that the problem of the drug epidemic can be handled in any one corner of this very complex dilemma. It is my view that we have to deal with five aspects of the drug problem at the same time and with equal vigor: First, we have got to go to the source, to Colombia or Peru, or

wherever the product is grown and the product is manufactured. So our first step in this tremendously important war that the American people are engaged in is to go to the source.

Second, we have got to do a far better job of interdicting the flow of supplies into the United States. And I, for one, favor the use, to the full extent possible, of all of our resources, including the Navy and the Air Force, to interdict the supply of drugs into the United States.

Third, we have got to see to it that the laws are fully implemented, and that the full extent of the law is brought to bear on pushers of drugs. We have to do our utmost to rehabilitate those who have fallen into this nightmare habit and to see whether they can be brought back to civilized society. In the final analysis, and most importantly, we have got to educate our population, and principally our young people, that drugs are a nightmare, that they destroy lives and families and societies. No stone must be left unturned to bring about a drug-free society.

Now, in dealing with a social problem, it is important to understand that this is not a new phenomenon. As a matter of fact, in American society we went through another phase which began about 1880 and ran until about 1920, which was a period of heavy drug use. American society rose to the challenge and in the 1920's, to a very large extent, we succeeded in eliminating drugs as a major threat to the fabric of our society. In the last 15 years or so we have been going through the same cycle. It is probably fair to say there is no danger facing the survival of our free and open and democratic society which is more serious, more dangerous, more devastating than the threat of drugs.

It is in this context that today we will be looking at how we are fighting drugs within public housing complexes. The tragic effects of drug abuse are being felt throughout the country, and they have touched every aspect of life in the United States. We read about the highly ambitious, highly paid young men and women on Wall Street who resort to cocaine, the affluent college kids who seek their daily high. But drug abuse has no more devastating effect in any group than among the poor and the underprivileged of our Nation. These are the people who don't always have loving, caring families to whom they can turn, who cannot afford high priced rehabilitation, and who face daily temptation from drug dealers. Frequently they are driven onto the streets where drug addicts now constitute a significant proportion of our homeless.

Drug abuse brings with it crime and terror. In my own part of the country, in the San Francisco Bay area, metro buses now have police escorts to enter areas where drug deals occur with great frequency. Unlike the metro bus passengers, the people living in public housing have to stay in these areas. They are at the front line of the war against drugs.

In 1937, we made a commitment to provide low-income families with a decent, secure home. For many years the public housing program met these goals. In the early 1950's a young naval officer by the name of James Earl Carter and his wife Rosalynn lived briefly in a public housing project in Georgia. A quarter of a century later the White House became their residence.

However, it seems that much public housing no longer provides secure and decent housing. Widespread drug abuse has rendered much public housing little more than a war zone. The tenants are fighting for their homes and for their families. Many projects have become unsafe, unsanitary, and unwanted by those most in need of housing. We hear stories about fearful tenants remaining prisoners inside their own homes, frightened of venturing outside, less a stray bullet from a drug deal strike. Today we will be hearing what it is like to face drugs on a daily basis and how residents are faring in the war against drugs.

It is time for us to come to the aid of these residents. During the course of this hearing we will be exploring the effectiveness of both the Federal and private response to the crisis in public housing. We shall begin to establish what future steps can be taken to help residents in public housing units.

We all know that Federal dollars are in short supply. In recent years public housing has been a prime target for cuts, and there are questions as to whether remaining units meet the objectives outlined by the 1937 Housing Act. Drug abuse has played a pivotal role in that transformation. Today we will be asking how we can reclaim public housing from the drug dealers and restore it to the standards originally intended, so that men and women and children can live again in safety and decency under secure and civilized conditions. There is no job before the Congress of the United States that has greater urgency or greater importance.

I now would like to call on the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Employment and Housing who has done so much to make the work of our committee as effective as it has been. Housing, employment, and the fight against drugs are nonpartisan issues. They hit Democrats and Republicans, young and old equally. Housing, employment and the fight against drugs is of equal importance to whites and blacks, wealthy and poor, and I am proud to have as my ranking member Congressman Joseph DioGuardi of this district. I would like to call on him to make his opening statement.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Westchester County I want to welcome you and the subcommittee to the 20th Congressional District.

I am pleased that you share my concern that the problem of drugs and public housing poses a great threat to the quality of life for so many of our citizens, so many of our most vulnerable citizens. You have shown time and time again that we share the same concern for how Government policies directly affect the lives of individuals. You and I both realize that our decisions are not made in a vacuum and have real consequences in the lives of our citizens.

Mr. Chairman, today we are here to look at illegal drug activity in public housing developments. I believe it is very appropriate to hold this important hearing in Westchester County. Everyone thinks of the Westchester of tree-lined streets. But there is another Westchester with many of its citizens struggling to get a grip on a growing problem. The troubles this county has with illegal drugs drive one point home: Drugs have spilled over into every community in our country, and no neighborhood can claim insulation from this terrible problem.

Drug dealers across our Nation are turning our public housing developments into open-air markets for drugs. The dealers have taken hold of public housing and we are here today to put them on notice: The Federal Government wants our housing back. I believe the Federal Government has a great role to play in reclaiming public housing for those citizens for whom it was originally intended to benefit. This problem has real impact on the daily lives of our public housing residents. They live in fear that drug dealers will grow more violent and lash out senselessly at the residents. They are victimized by the increases in crime that any police officer go hand in hand with the increase in drug activity. Their very community is destroyed by the ominous present of drug dealers and users who rule their yards and their hallways.

I have particular concern for the children who live in this environment with little or no sanctuary from drugs. These children must run the gauntlet of drug pushers every day from the time they leave for school in the morning. I was amazed to learn in my recent walking tour of the Winbrook Apartments, right across the street from this setup, that crack viles are often left as "freebies" to get kids to experiment with this poison so they can get hooked and that they will then come back and buy it again. It is bad enough that our streets and schools have been compromised by illegal drug activity, but with the movement of drug dealers into public housing, the last refuge of our kids is now gone. Gun toting drug dealers have become the role models of these kids and we are not doing an adequate job of countering this very dangerous development.

There are a number of factors leading to this tragic situation of public housing. The problem starts with the island mentality with which we approach public housing. All too often the community isolates public housing and their residents, both physically and socially, and there is not adequate resource allocation for the day-to-day security needs of these developments and their residents. Elements in the community involved in pushing illegal drugs have targeted public housing developments as open-air drug markets. This is not a simple problem that can be addressed with a Band-Aid approach. That is why we are here today.

The drug problem in public housing is multidimensional, and will require the best effort of cooperating Federal legislators and administration officials. If we hope to fashion an effective attack on this problem, we must be prepared to take a hard look at antiquated housing regulations that prevent timely evictions of blatant drug dealers. We must investigate the most effective way to address the security needs of residents with limited resources and for the protection of Federal property as well.

Mr. Chairman, we came here today to listen. Congress wants to know what public housing residents have to deal with everyday, and how the Federal Government can help. Witnesses who can provide some of the answers have been asked to testify. I am excited about the prospects for the effort we begin here today. I look forward to the testimony of the experts and of the witnesses, and I want to thank you once again, Mr. Chairman, for bringing this hearing to Westchester County.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Congressman DioGuardi.

I would now like to call on Congressman Benjamin Gilman, who is the ranking minority member on the Select Committee on Narcotics, and to whom we look at as our expert in this field.

Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will try to keep my voice up. I don't think we have enough microphones to make the rounds here.

First of all, I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, as our important chairperson on the Government Operations Subcommittee for coming to New York State to focus attention on the problems of narcotics in public housing, and to our distinguished colleague from this congressional district for inviting us to give attention to the problem and to see what we can learn from some of the experts in this area who have been confronted with narcotics in public housing.

The problem of drug abuse and narcotics trafficking is one that has been pervasive in virtually every neighborhood throughout our Nation. None of us are immune from the related crime and the violence that is associated today with the menace, the epidemic, of narcotics addiction and drug trafficking. We are here today to explore the extent of this epidemic in public housing and how the Federal Government can best alleviate what has become a pressure cooker for too many who are subjected to this kind of abuse, to this kind of crime in some of these isolated areas where public housing finds many of the problems.

As many of you know, the White House Conference on a Drug Free America convened earlier this month in Washington, after a number of regional meetings throughout our Nation, and brought together many of the experts in our land, many of the activists, many of the people who were concerned about trying to evolve a new strategy. We are now awaiting the reports of that Conference. I hope that some of you would address yourself to what we can do at a national level to add to what was reported, what will be reported by the White House Conference. Although it will be several months before we do receive a report that will be filed with the Congress, your observations are crucial to those of us who serve on the various congressional committees dealing with housing and with drug matters. It will help us put in perspective some of these other recommendations that may be forthcoming, addressing the needs of what you see to be most critical at this time.

It is conservatively estimated that there is about \$130 to \$150 billion of illicit narcotics trafficking in our Nation. Nobody truly knows how extensive it is, but when we hear about seizures of \$1 billion at a time, we know that it is a significant amount and that it has become more and more substantial as the years go on. The price of drug abuse in our Nation today is over \$100 billion in drug-related correction costs, in drug-related health costs, in loss of productivity, in so many other areas over \$100 billion going down the drain because we have allowed this menace to become so pervasive in our Nation, not to mention the loss of life and the loss of the health of our young people.

The most severe human costs are indicated today in the drug emergency room admissions, and with the number of deaths that we account for each and every year. Those numbers have increased

dramatically year after year. We witnessed the growing business of drug traffickers through murders carried out in cold blood on the streets of New York City, on the streets of many of our other major cities, right in our own Capital, our Nation's Capital, we have an ongoing drug war between two factions of drug traffickers. Violent gangs now threaten to take over whole neighborhoods as they peddle their dangerous and deadly substances of heroin, cocaine crack, and other illegal substances openly on the streets in open-air markets.

This afternoon we have an impressive array of witnesses who I hope are going to bring some vital suggestions to us, suggestions that we can take back to Washington and, hopefully, implement by way of some legislative action. In this time of rising deficits and threatened budgets, we need the creative thinking that will accomplish this task in a practical and realistic manner.

Along with many of my colleagues, I have worked for many years to try and assure that proper funding will be made available to carry out the provisions of the legislation that we have on the books. I was proud of the bipartisan support, the virtually unanimous support in the Congress in adopting the 1986 Omnibus Anti-drug Act which, for the first time, provided some real funds to fight the drug war. We have talked about fighting a drug war for many years, but have not made the resources available.

In the 1986 act we provided some \$3 billion spread out over a 3-year period to fight the drug war over five vital fronts, some of which have been accounted for by our chairman: To eradicate the narcotics at its source in the drug producing countries; to make certain that we beef up our interdiction efforts, even bringing the military into the fold to try to assist in cutting off the supply; then, when the supply finally reaches our own country, to assist our local law enforcement people in their work. Then, on the demand side, to provide, for the first time, some real money to help educate our young people to prevent them from getting involved in the first place, and I dare say that some of that money is not being distributed as quickly and as effectively as we would like to see it being distributed and getting into the local school districts. Finally, to help in treatment and rehabilitation, \$3 billion over a 3-year period, that's not the end all, but it is a base on which we can build and hopefully will continue to build. But with all of the programs and with all of the legislative initiatives, unless our local communities get involved, unless you and I get involved in our schools, in our churches and synagogues, unless the family becomes involved, these programs are going to be meaningless.

That is why this hearing is so important, to hear from you how best we can become more involved and how we can become more effective in trying to save lives and prevent us from becoming another Colombia, a Colombia that has become virtually hostage to the drug traffickers around the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Congressman Gilman.

Before we call our first panel of witnesses, I want to express my appreciation to Miss Celia Boddington of the subcommittee staff for preparing this hearing and doing such an outstanding job.

I also want to welcome in particular the young people in the audience, because this hearing is principally dedicated to you because it is our hope that if Congress succeeds in this fight, you will be spared the nightmare that so many of your older brothers and sisters are suffering from as they are throwing away their lives and their opportunities.

Our first panel will be comprised of Elsie Harry; Ron Jackson; the White Plains Housing Authority, and Mr. Charles Booth, executive director of the Slater Center.

Would the three of you please come up to the witness table.

I also want to acknowledge the very helpful assistance of Matt Behrmann of our minority staff in getting this hearing ready.

We are delighted to have all three of you.

We will begin with Mr. Ron Jackson.

STATEMENT OF RON JACKSON, LOCAL RESIDENT, WHITE PLAINS, NY

Mr. JACKSON. Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress. My name is Ronald Jackson and I reside in Winbrook (public housing).

I did not, this afternoon, prepare a statement for this committee, but I do have in front of me an outline in which you asked that I discuss—and you were very brief about what you would like me to discuss.

I would like to first say that I resided in Winbrook for the past 12 years. I am one of the members of the White Plains Housing Authority. I represent the tenants; I am the tenant rep commissioner. Winbrook is a development which is just behind you, which is comprised of 450 units. I can also say to you with respect to the drug activity, activity with respect to drugs has been a haven for as long as you have been stating early in your opening statement, and even longer. For instance, at night, when people are trying to rest, hallways are being used, stairwells are being slept on, elevators are being mutilated with people using it for personal bathrooms. It has become a problem where the housing authority, to its endeavors with respect to operation, spends its dollars just in its maintenance alone of the Federal Government's money just to try to repair the vandalism. There are brandnew doors that have been put on that have been taken off. There is crack being sold openly, and when I say "openly," let's give you a for instance:

On any given day of the week I have often said to the city fathers of this city, there is more traffic on Lexington Ave. on one block than there is on Main Street at noon time. I have often said, "What do you mean you have a problem with cars?" I says, "No, I am talking about people," OK? I am talking about we have gone through year in and year out of spending the taxpayers dollars and looking at what you get for what you have right now, I have a serious question whether or not the living in public housing will always be or like it used to be.

I grew up in public housing in New York. And when I went to school, and where I played out, crack was not the subject matter. Now, we used to say there used to be a little bit of marijuana and all that, but nothing so deadly as the crack has been today. And

when you talk about children, our children go to school every day, and they get on that bus right across the street from this building, and in the morning times, there is not a day that passes that one won't pick up a little vial and ask the little boy on the bus "What is this?" And the little boy on the bus might say, "Oh, don't bother with this, that's an empty crack vial." Or there may be a parent who can't come out or who sheltered our seniors in the evening in the summertime are being held hostage, not just in White Plains, but in Mount Vernon, Yonkers, and throughout. When you have the summertime when someone cannot sit on a bench and be told, "I live in fear." We pay rent; we would like to live like you do, in a home. I would like some day to own a garage, but I figure that my garage in front of my building should be well enough and clear enough that my wife or my family or my visitors should be able to go in and out of that building without being harassed or being put through embarrassment changes, or the crack dealer wants to stand in the hallway and tell somebody, "This is our turf."

Mr. Chairman, they are coming as far as Brooklyn into Westchester County. When I read and hear in the news about the solution to resolving crack and drugs, there's two solutions that I can see: One you speak of every day is when you have to give aid to our foreign countries. I would have somebody not even ask why, why should we take our good American money, send it over to a country, and in exchange all we get is some crack? Why should our children who live in schools, go to schools who live in public housing in this Nation should have to live in fear? Why should I, as a young man, have to wonder whether or not will I be able to afford to stay in public housing because the Federal Government may have some day another idea for it, turn it into co-op because the Federal Government probably may say, "Well, we're not in the business of housing people," because the expense has gone higher.

When I look at the deficits that HUD presents—and I see no policy coming out of HUD that relates directly to the admission and occupancy policy which governs public housing. Public housing is governed by regulations. We get more paper in 1 month about regulations, and the only thing you can do is by the time you resolve that one you have got a new one. You keep coming up with what are suggestions and ideas? I see one idea: If we can put a man on the moon—and I can see that—then we can resolve drugs in public housing.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Jackson.

Our next witness is Elsie Harry, local resident.

We are delighted to have you.

STATEMENT OF ELSIE HARRY, LOCAL RESIDENT, WHITE PLAINS, NY

Ms. HARRY. Thank you, Mr. DiGuardi and your committee.

My name is Elsie Harry, and I am a resident of Winbrook. At the present time I am the chairperson of the tenants association.

When I moved into Winbrook in 1952, the place was an oasis staffed with a group of individuals who had strong commitments and convictions about people's lives. The only piece at that time

which was missing and always has been missing was a social worker. I, therefore, have a sense of Winbrook and what we call the "good old days" to the Winbrook of now. Roach infested, rat infested, crack walls, crack drugs, in spite of the federalization with substantial rehabilitation program, a 30-month program originally, awarded to a contractor with a \$12 million package, which continues to date, 3 years plus. The contract included many things to better the living conditions at Winbrook, but in some instances it has made it worse. Job not completed; cost overrun; work order changed; the contractor shoddy; the materials are inferior; those responsible are insensitive. The tenants are being inconvenienced. The master antenna has been eliminated, which is a violation of a person's lease.

All this leads me to believe that in this development the interests of the tenants is secondary. Might I add that during this federalization with a substantial rehabilitation program, it was original understanding that work was supposed to be done with people in place. I have noticed with great interest the hue and the cry from homeless advocates about new apartments being available for the homeless population. Yet, since 1979 the number of empty apartments which were made available for the federalization program through attrition has grown tremendously.

It is because of the increased growth of the menacing problem of drugs that it was necessary for you to take this time out of your busy schedule to investigate why the residents of public housing live in fear of impact of drugs on their family. I postulate that is because of the greed, selfish, manipulation of programs such as the one in which I lead, that leads our tenants to helplessness, hopelessness, and a lack of worth. Yet, during this same period of time of federalization, our rents have moved from 25 percent in 1980 to 30 percent gross family income. Our allowance to claim dependents and our certification has been reduced. As it relates to the youth, there is one overriding factor in my estimation that lends support to our youngsters involving themselves in the sale and the use of drugs, particularly crack; and that is this factor of the 30 percent gross family income, it is my understanding that the minimum wage law protects every American from slave labor with the exception of young people living in this municipal housing. If a youngster living in municipal housing takes a job at the minimum wages of \$3.35 an hour, the housing authority reduces his hourly wages to about 30 percent, to \$2.22 an hour.

People living in municipal housing are a lost and forgotten colony of people colonized by the large community who wants to keep them in their place. And that place—because in their eyes they are a lawless, shiftless group of people who don't deserve the basic service which municipal housing was designed to give, safe, decent, and sanitary housing. If the larger community did care, then why would we be excluded from the laws such as rent control, rent stabilization, especially during these perilous times when housing stock in our community—on their records—is less than 1 percent vacancy. In other words, our clients can't move—those who can afford to—because of the lack of housing. And yet the greedy arms of Government is penalizing them twice, 30 percent of gross income, and denying the basic services of safe and decent housing.

Why not correct this to day by putting a cap on the rents? May I suggest by using the formula that is used by Section 8 Housing Act. Do a thorough investigation of the work that is being done here; and also go by the contractors and administration of service. Also, try to go back and establish some drug treatment programs that all people in this country can be able to afford and rehabilitate themselves if they so desire.

Thank you very much, and be sure to do something about it.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Ms. Harry.

We next hear from Mr. Charles Booth. He is also a local resident and executive director of the Slater Center.

Glad to have you, Mr. Booth.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES BOOTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SLATER CENTER

Mr. BOOTH. It is my pleasure to be here. Unfortunately the circumstances are not pleasurable. However, Congressman Lantos, Congressman DioGuardi, my Congressman Gilman, the rest of the committee, I welcome this opportunity to be here today.

You have narrowed my presentation to cover why, the reason we had to organize around drugs here at Winbrook. Well, let me tell you, one day Ms. Harry came to my office, and she said to me, "We have to do something." That was no surprise to me. I didn't know where to turn or what to do, and welcomed one other person who came down. But the reason Ms. Harry was driven to my office is because we have seen a tremendous increase in the incidents of drugs and substance abuse in the community. We have witnessed the lives of about six or seven youngsters that we had known between White Plains and Greenberg. Those were the circumstances that were compelling. We also witnessed the graduation of a bunch of pretty good youngsters who had gone through our high schools here in White Plains, starred on the basketball team, starred on the football team, had worked here at the Slater Center with us over the summer months, and one or two of them had worked with us during the winter, a few odd jobs that we would have to offer them. But let me tell you, and Ms. Harry's presentation is that our correlation between 30-percent gross family income is the most unconscionable policy that I have ever seen put on anybody in this country, short of the Indians on the reservation.

That 30 percent gross family income is certainly a decentive, not an incentive, for a young man graduating from high school or a young woman that is not going on to college to work. It is a decentive in the sense that the parent really shouldn't encourage him to work if the rent is going up 30 percent. The second part is the housing authorities throughout the country have people in a position where they feel that they are worthless. I have had request after request of people who would come to the Slater Center and say, "I would like to give my 9-year-old a birthday party, and can I have the Slater Center for Saturday." I can't work my staff for nothing so if I work them 40 hours a week I have to pass the cost along, because when I work them on Saturday and Sunday, then it becomes time and a half. So I will say to them, "It is not cost effective; why not take them into your apartment?" And I almost in-

variably get the answer, "I would like to invite friends that I don't want to know that I live in Winbrook."

That's true. Nobody should have to live under those conditions. My question is why should so many have to pay for so few? There's a group of very fine people, some of the finest individuals I have ever met who live right here in Winbrook. I have dined with them. I have been in their homes. They have been in my home. We have socialized together. I have no problem with that. The only difference is the reservation in which you have them living in.

HUD—can't say enough about HUD—probably one of the sorriest agencies ever legislated because they are interested in the paper trail, they're interested in tacking responsibility on top of responsibility. HUD has the responsibility for the relationship between agencies such as mine and the housing authorities. Since I have been here for the last 8 years, I have had the pleasure to see three executive directors come in, and two of them are no longer here. But I will say to you I hear almost repeatedly the same thing from all three: That is they are guided pretty much by HUD's rules and regulations. It would seem to me that they're in the business, the human business, to be guided by the needs of those individuals.

I would just like to share with you a case that bothers me today. We have a young man who was born with a handicap, a severe handicap; he had little or no control over his bowels, et cetera. I was with him New Year's Day when I was visiting another friend of mine in the hospital. He was walking in the hallway and I was talking to him, and I said, "Pat, what are you doing in here?" He said, "My mother just had a massive stroke, I am here to see her." I went on to give him a little advice and some comfort. What happened? January, late January, the mother died.

This youngster, by all definitions of a psychologically independent person, was just that. He has now been evicted; he was a nuisance to the community. No, he couldn't have the apartment the housing authority wants to give him. Well, who should have and who could have intervened? It would seem to me that HUD would give the housing authority somebody to work with youngsters such as this. Can you imagine? An only child; mother died late January; you are then evicted. He was a nuisance, I stood and watched. Our police in the city of White Plains deal with the indigent; no less than five or six calls at that apartment building, no less than five or six times they had the paddy wagon there. Each time they would bring out 7, 8, up to 12 I am told—I have to rely a little bit on community gossip—they couldn't do anything but enforce the law. It would seem to me that this youngster is a victim many times over. The housing authority had the responsibility to eliminate the nuisance, but who had the responsibility to take this youngster who was in so much pain and hurt from the loss of the mother, now the loss of the apartment, the loss of pride and everything else that go along with this. It would seem to me that through the housing authority HUD should place somebody who understands that behavior and understands the trail of people and advocate for these youngsters.

I can suggest to you that in our community we should have half-way houses, and we do. It would seem to me he would qualify for OVR; it seemed to me if not, certainly Westchester developmental

or some other halfway housing. No, he couldn't manage the apartment, but neither can he manage the jail that he is in today. It is this kind of insensitiveness that belongs to the feeling of worthlessness that I hear everyday coming from the tenants.

I would recommend very strongly that you investigate the whole housing program in this country. I would recommend very strongly that you turn around and put the tenants in charge of the housing authority. They can't do any worse. The composition here in White Plains is five appointed by the mayor and two tenant reps. I would reverse that. I would put five tenant reps and two advisers.

Take a look at the history of the housing authority over the last 20 years, and see if the tenants could do any worse? I think they can do better.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Booth. Let me also thank you for making the arrangements here at the Slater Center. We are very grateful to you.

Let me say to all three of our witnesses, Mr. Jackson, Ms. Harry, Mr. Booth, this community is very lucky to have you as leaders of the community in dealing with these issues. You have done an excellent job in effectively and eloquently presenting the case.

I have a couple of questions I would like to ask you about the specifics of drug dealing in this area.

Do the drug dealers live in the public housing units or do they come in from the outside?

Mr. JACKSON. Is your question of me, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. LANTOS. Yes, all three of you. Please speak right into the mike.

Ms. HARRY. Let me speak first to that.

Mr. LANTOS. Please.

Ms. HARRY. There are some that live in, but the mass majority of them are coming from other areas here.

Mr. LANTOS. Let me ask you about the ones that live in the public housing unit. A couple of weeks ago CBS, on "60 Minutes," had a program—I don't know how many of you watched it—about a neighborhood where there was drug dealing in a particular unit. The community kept pressing the police to go after them, and it took them a long, long time to finally have a bust and have them arrested.

What is the situation here? What do you do with the people who live in the housing unit who engage in drug dealing?

Ms. HARRY. Well we have—I have a committee, which I am the chairperson of the tenants association. We have been to some of the people's houses that we have had rumors about the trafficking coming in. We have talked to them. We have made them aware of the community program to combat drugs which is held at the Slater Center every Thursday from 11 to 12. We have tried to get them to come and even if we have a problem, if you want this eventually there is going to be some help for you. We have some referrals, which is very hard for disadvantaged people, of course, because right now I have been trying to get a person in the rehabilitation program since December 3, and they continue to say "We don't have nothing available." It is not that they don't have anything available, but they know that this is one of the youngsters

that has no money, you know, and it is taking them forever to get a Medicaid card. We almost had him in, but the lack of the Medicaid card which took so long, then he was turned down.

So what we are saying, there are people here that need help, but the waiting lists are so long, there are so few programs that they can get into until they even get, I guess, disillusioned and impatient with what we are trying to do, and they just go wait. And I think if we could have some maybe halfway houses, some places that we could get these people in immediately, it would really help them to help themselves. But it is not in existence at this time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, in response to your question, I find a twofold problem: I have to first say to you that as a tenant, I represent the tenants that live in public housing. As a policymaker and a member of the authority, it now becomes a problem for the authority to deal with its justice system. The justice system in the State of New York is like a revolving door. The justice system needs to be revamped and needs to be reviewed. When a city judge, after the police department has done its job, and the city judge politely sends that individual back on the street quick before the policeman finishes his paperwork, then there are questions about the justice system. The justice system has a twofold deal: It goes that when you are arrested, you live in public housing, the housing authority has no tool but the public safety department. The public safety department does its job to the best of its ability. I am not saying, you know, that the White Plains Police Department is Starsky and Hutch, all I am saying is that they are doing the best they can with the tools they have.

Now we get to the justice system, city court. The individual now appears before a city judge, who is only accountable to the next highest court. His position is twofold: Well, the jailhouse is crowded, we'll put him back on the street; he hasn't hurt anyone. But the problem that I see that could happen in public housing in this community, in Westchester County, like New York, has not yet happened, is when a child is either forced or is killed due to drug-related scenarios.

Now, what do I see as a menacing problem? This is twofold again. The housing authority sets policy. We must go back now to the handbook. The regulations state quite clearly—there's somebody here from HUD who could cite the handbook better than I could. He's the general counsel, I believe. He told me in Atlanta, GA, at the Housing Conference, the Secretary of HUD said in Atlanta, GA, "Go back to your communities and be creative." Now when a Secretary of HUD can tell me to go back to my community and be creative, I then tell the colleagues on the board of the housing authority that the Secretary is either out to lunch at MacDonalds, or he is just not understanding. The bottom line is money. We all understand the bottom line in America. You pay the cost to be the boss. Now, what do we do about the situation when we have a constant repeater of an individual who lives in public housing either using or selling drugs?

Let's talk about the selling. Using is a habit; they're small change. We want to get to the dealer, OK? I want to get to the man who sits on the corner and tells me, "I'm not going to work at

Mickey D [sic]. Why should I go to Mickey D? I can stand out here and in one night make more than what an average policeman makes." And that's the bottom line. There are two pay phones one block from here that stay busier at night than the supermarket, OK? And that's a fact. From 9 and 10 and 2 in the morning—I get up and take walks. I act like a little maverick, OK? I act like I'm Jessie James. I don't want to get killed, but when Mr. Ronald Jackson dies someone else is going to come in behind and be like me. [Applause.]

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Booth.

Mr. BOOTH. Congressman, to answer your question from my observation, as to whether people are selling in house or out of house, I think we have some people in house selling, quite a few. We recently had 62 sale indictments. Those certainly were not people from the outside, those were people from the inside. But when you have people on the inside, then it is an invitation for people from the outside to feel free to come in and push their wares. That is where the big problem is as I see it. As it relates to getting rid of those people, I do think we have got to contact our State legislators and see if we can't have the promoters look at the laws a little more severe. But I think that we must take a look at this in terms of a multiapproach.

Again, I go back to my suggestion about the reorganizing of housing authorities. Just recently, and when I say "recently," last year about this time I attended a conference in Atlanta. One of the things that was so revealing about that conference was that you had a chance to talk to people throughout the country. I am reminded of a young lady that we spent quite a bit of time talking to from Omaha, NE. She had somewhat of a new position serving the Nebraska, Omaha Public Housing Authority as a coordinator. It was a person who was not a heavy for the housing authority, not a heavy for the tenants. It was somebody to mediate some of the conflicts. I am told about the story of a young man who wanted his car payment. He didn't have enough money to do it, and this one time he decided he would double his money by selling drugs and got caught.

I think we have to separate and take a look at the motivations as to why people are doing what they are doing. Again, in my presentation, I was not able to give you the full explanation as to what I am talking about with the kids. Some of the same kids that graduated from White Plains High School were not bad kids; I know them. I am writing to one now who is in prison. We are exchanging letters back and forth. The young man was forced to be idle. He was forced to be idle by the fact that there was no work, only to work for nothing. Nobody wants to work for nothing unless you are a volunteer, or independently wealthy. Certainly the young man that I am talking about is neither. So I think you have to take a look at it from more than one point of view.

Some of our parents are condoning their kids selling drugs. They have to be dealt with. Other parents are fighting like heck to stop the kids from doing it. We have a new label among us. We talk about child abuse, spouse abuse, let's talk about parent abuse because I hear it every day, people afraid of their own kids.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Booth. [Applause.]

Congressman DioGuardi.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think, Ron, your testimony was excellent in the sense that you brought out something that we are going to bring out later when we hear from the Justice Department. But, you know, Mr. Chairman, HUD is the lead agency when it comes to housing, and it seems to me that what we are hearing now is that there is really very little coordination when it comes to the many programs that we in society have on the shelf when it comes to dealing with people in housing and problems like the ones we are hearing today. And I hope that if there is anything we can take out of this hearing it is ideas on how we can better coordinate the efforts of the housing people with the Justice Department and the local police and everything else.

I had a meeting this morning, Mr. Chairman, in Mamaroneck, and took some testimony at a formal meeting with some public officials, and you know we have got a new kind of public housing; you know what it is? Motels. We have got people in motels; it is just like the public housing problem you have here. You have got drug dealers all around these motels, and you have got a motel in Mamaroneck right near a middle school. Now, they are trying to do a good job. They have actually put their own police people in dangerous positions acting undercover, Mr. Stutman—and we will hear from the DEA in a minute. I know Bob Stutman is here—and they were so tired of seeing the same people come back, they finally went to the DA and the other officials to say, "Hey, why is it? Why is it that we have got this revolving door? We keep uncovering these people. We send them to you, but they come back in 30 days, 60 days." Well, they got the list. One individual was arrested 33 times. When they looked at the list, one time it was parole; one time it was 30 days. They are plea bargaining all over the place, and they come right back out to the same place.

Now, if it is happening in these motels, I bet you it is happening here at Winbrook. So we have got the Justice Department to look into this as much as HUD, but Mr. Chairman, I think that what we have got to do here in taking this testimony is look for the ways in which we can get a coordinated effort to deal with it, and also to maybe provide the expertise we need for social type work that has to be done dealing with the people who have so many problems as well.

Now, Ron, you and I walked through Winbrook a couple of weeks ago, and I was shocked when you showed me the hundreds of vials of crack, empty vials, laying around the courtyard there and on the streets, in all these beautiful little colors that are so tempting to young kids. And I think it is almost insidious that that is probably the way it is being marketed to make it look like it is harmless. I think that you or someone picked up five full vials of crack. And I think someone mentioned that was there because these drug dealers are trying to entice the kids to use it. These were the freebies I mentioned in my testimony so that when they use it once or twice, it is such a powerful form of cocaine, that you get hooked.

Now is this literally what you see going on?

Mr. JACKSON. Congressman, I would say to some degree, yes. I would say that the crack dealers know how to prey on the users.

A crack dealer can prey on a user just like the number man preys on the runner. OK? We have two things in society that we will always live with, and not even Congress or anyone, not even the Supreme Court will stop, and that is prostitution and numbers. It runs every day as a smooth, trusty business. If there is some way that we can crack down on crack and declare an all-out war without killing somebody, you know, I watched that "60 Minutes," Mr. Chairman, and it was quite interesting. I find that in society, where you stated in your open statement, that is not the question of the color of our skin nor the neighborhood we live in, but we have to be about loving one another. And the people who pay more attention to that song that I used to remember that around the world we are God's children. And, gentlemen, you represent a big majority of people. I ask that some way in your wisdom, that the signs here and Nancy say "Let's say no," that you and Members of Congress outrightly say to the people, "We will not tolerate crack being used in public housing."

Mr. LANTOS. Couldn't agree with you more.

Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I certainly welcome hearing from our panelists here.

If you had the authority to do whatever you want to do with coming back on drug abuse and narcotics trafficking in your own area, what would be the most important thing that you would like to recommend for us to pursue?

I have made note of a number of your suggestions, of increasing the number of lay people on the board; more severe penalties; and making certain that it is not a revolving door; to make certain that the HUD agency does a lot more, not just a paper trail. But what would you consider the most important measure that we could undertake to rid the public housing area of some of the use that you have been talking about?

Mr. LANTOS. Before our witnesses answer the question, there are a couple of automobiles that are blocking a fire lane. If you want to protect yourself from having your car towed, please move it. One is a Volvo, 90378DJ. The other is a Cadillac, 108EL. These two cars will need to be moved immediately. Thank you.

Mr. Booth.

Mr. BOOTH. To answer your question, Congressman, I have been in this community for 8½ years. Prior to coming here I had to consider some things. We have a new shiny city. But I think the overriding fear is the overriding factor in all of this. There is a pervasive fear among the tenants, if you talk to them it will come out, and that is the fear that they are going to lose their homes. There are buildings going up all around them. I am not making any predictions. I am not here to make predictions. I am here to tell you what I hear in every conversation that I have with a tenant that lasts more than 5 minutes. Pervasive fear because they know they have no controls over their home or their destiny. I think if you could eliminate that fear once and for all, I think you could get the tenants to make the kind of commitment to their neighborhood that you and I have to ours.

I live within one block of the Greenberg public housing and I am a watch dog. And I am a dog if someone comes into my neighbor-

hood and tries to do that. And you have tenants here that want to do the same thing. They are small in number sometimes. They don't really know what to do or how to do it, and that is the reason why we formed the committee, to organize, to identify the problem and talk about it, to interject pride and to eliminate some of this fear by opening your mouth and telling somebody to get out of your hall.

You know, people have armed themselves since I have been here. Do you know what the weapon is? Bottles of ammonia. They have so many people smoking in the neighborhood from time to time, they will open the bottle of ammonia, open their door quick, throw it down in the stairwell, cause a stench, and that causes the smokers and the people to run. A heck of a weapon isn't it? A bottle of ammonia, but that is what it is.

I just want to say one other thing to you about the dangers and some of the other things that I have heard since I have been here. Just imagine the kid with respiratory problems. Imagine the frail elderly with respiratory problems. Imagine them walking through the hallways where you have this crack being smoked. Have you ever smelled it? It smells almost like a skunk. I had a mother come to me and say she almost lost a kid. They had to take the kid to the doctor, and ultimately they ended up putting their kid in the hospital for a short period of time. The kid is an asthmatic kid. He walked through the hallway, somebody was smoking crack; the kid got sick. So from my vantage point and from my investigation, that pervasive fear that people are going to lose their houses contributes a great deal to the problem we are talking about.

Mr. GILMAN. Elsie Harry.

Ms. HARRY. I think that there should be a cap on the rents at Winbrook, stabilizing rents so that people can see their way out. You know, 30 percent of gross income is devastating. When they are rent controlled other places, why not stabilize rents in Winbrook so that people can be able to live. And also the minimum wage, which I have been hearing is going to be raised, but this is in 1991 or something; \$3.35 an hour minimum wages, which some of the people are not qualified to go any higher because of the educational rate, I think is a disgrace because the cost of living everywhere has gone up. A person making \$3.35 an hour can hardly exist. It is no money with the cost of living. Then, also, there should be, as I have always said, some social worker on the premises that can deal with some of the problems of the people. Also, you can look at Winbrook now, there is no recreation at all over there. The playground which we used to have which was manned and controlled and people had things for their children to do, there is no playground area there, it is a place where the contractors have their vans and there is messy high garbage over there. The place looks like you are living in some lowly country or something where nobody even comes by.

I think to enhance people's life style you have got to give them something decent to look at. Give them some incentive or do something. Give them recreation. Give them places where they can hold recreation for their children. We had that in the very beginning which was very meaningful. Now it is nothing to attract young people's minds from nothing except going into the drug situation.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Congressman, I recall on Wednesday morning of last week, you and I were having breakfast and the subject came up with respect to UDAG [sic]. And UDAG was discussed with, I think the good Senator from New York, Senator D'Amato, said it quite eloquently out in the hallway when I said to him, "Mr. Senator, do you realize that in public housing, that drugs in public housing are used to such an extent that the landlord is being held hostage?"

He says, "What do you mean, Mr. Jackson?"

"Well, you have federal regulations, Mr. Senator, that do not give enough teeth for a landlord to deal with."

I used to know of members of the authority who used to tell me, "We are not in the social business, we are in the landlord business." Well I happen to take a different view in that since I am on the other side of the fence. I represent; I am a consumer; and when we go into management's office there should be someone there sensitive enough to say to that individual family, there should be some outreach agencies in the community where we would have a methadone clinic, psychiatric service center, down the block.

When I was past president of the tenant's association the doctor's name was Dr. Upalat, a million dollar methadone doctor. He lived in Scarsdale. Today his clinic is one of the members that sit every Thursday morning with the White Plains Committee to Combat Drugs. He has become an asset as opposed to a liability. He helps to direct the people who have either social problems or who have a problem with drugs.

What do I see then, if I were you, as an idea to stop the problem? First, we want to go to the source, to the regulatory agency. We want the regulatory agency, since it has many wisdoms of fundings—in our annual budget, for instance, there are line items which they no longer fund: tenant activity, social programs. The social programs have been eliminated. When I think of Udad, you know, someone here this afternoon could help me, the Udad program or a similar program such as community development funds, could be made available to public housing to either go out and contact or hire staff to deal directly with the social problems of tenants who live in public housing, and it needs to be a twofold problem. Not only should the Federal Government assist, the board of education should assist.

Each city and municipality in this State has a board of education, a school. Now the child spends 70 percent of his time in the classroom. The other percent of the time he is at home. If he lives in public housing, he can't go so far; he has got a square block to play within. Especially across the street, behind you, it's too far. I don't say that it is Disney World, but I do believe that, you know, we will see a time when public housing will either do—the tenants will either get involved enough to take it over, or the Federal Government will go out on a limb, or business. And one or the other must occur if we want public housing to exist and stay a sound market.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. GILMAN. I thank the panelists for their response.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. I want to thank all three members of this outstanding panel. You have done an outstanding job and we are very grateful to you.

We will now call the next panel: Mr. Steve Glaude, executive director, National Association of Neighborhoods; Ms. Mildred Seegars, Mothers Against Crack, New Rochelle; and Mr. Ron Range, of the Oasis Institute.

Before we begin with the second panel, I want to recognize the mother of our distinguished Congressman, Mrs. Grace DioGuardi. Will you please stand? [Applause.]

I would like to recognize the mother of Mr. DioGuardi, Congressman DioGuardi's wife, Ms. Mary Aselta.

Finally, I want to recognize Cara DioGuardi, the Congressman's daughter. [Applause.]

We are pleased to have all three of you. We begin with you, Mr. Glaude.

STATEMENT OF STEVE GLAUDE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Mr. GLAUDE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee.

You have received copies of my written testimony and I am going to just briefly make some remarks about the National Association of Neighborhoods and our drug-free neighborhoods initiative. I have two sets of messages: One is for the subcommittee here and the other is for the community because that is who we work most directly with.

NAN is a national membership association, one made up of over 2,000 community groups in 38 States. Our people work in housing, public housing, health care, education, crime prevention, drug abuse prevention, and almost every field that affects the quality of life. We got started about 13 years ago because we saw that as urban renewal was taking place that many inner-city residents were being displaced from outside forces, developers, and other people interested in reinvesting in the community. So we saw a need to protect the residents from being removed from their homes. Well, today we find a new enemy to fight, and that is an enemy that is within and that is drug abuse. It is one of the top areas of concern for our association.

As a result of not only this increasing problem that we see, but also as a result of our belief that there are some problems that only the community can solve, we have initiated a drug-free neighborhoods initiative, and we are asking all of our 2,000 affiliates across the country to initiate drug abuse prevention programs in their communities.

All of us know too much the horror stories and some of the specific examples of what drugs are doing to our communities and our children, but I just want to go on record as saying that our members see this as possibly destroying at least one if not two generations of Americans, especially in poor, blighted communities. One of our messages is simply that if we don't initiate prevention activities and focus on the very, very young now, we might as well allocate 30 more years of drug treatment moneys now. We might as

well continue to build prisons because we are going to need them. We think this problem can be turned around and we know the community, rather than government, has to take the primary role in attacking this problem. That is one of my messages.

We believe that education and prevention are critical. Only the community can successfully implement these. I think government has a role as a facilitator, but it is on the community to do the work, to get the message out. We also believe a new life style is critical because it does no good to have them go through a program and then not have options when they come out, to not provide the opportunity for a new way of life that they can pursue and to not have support for that new way of life. Otherwise they will fall right back into the problem and we will continually be putting them back in programs.

The other is stopping the overt drug traffic in our communities at the community level. Some of you who have worked in public housing and have been involved that know of some of what we call now heroes of public housing, Kimmi Gray in Washington, DC; Bertha Gilke in St. Louis; Mildred Haley, in Boston. All of them have done some of this. They have taken it on themselves to provide education and prevention initiatives. They are integrating former drug abusers into the community, giving them jobs, training, giving them hope and giving them some insulation from the things that got them there in the first place. And all of them have played some role in stopping overt drug trafficking. A couple of quick examples: In Washington, a community in a public housing setting pleaded to the police, tried to get more surveillance, more presence of police there, and finally realized that that wasn't going to work. So what they started doing was manning the corners themselves and taking pictures of the cars that came by, getting the license plates and printing them in the newspaper. After a while the people who were selling the drugs and buying the drugs relocated. Now that did not solve all of the drug problems in Washington, DC. It did, however, get drugs out of that community.

I think one of the other things that the community has to do is to stop viewing the police as adversaries, but rather as allies. I think that we are seeing more and more increased recognition that together they have a better chance of attacking the problem than separately. Particularly in public housing, in some places the police are viewed as adversaries. The police cannot solve this problem alone and neither can the community. We think they have to work together.

For the community, I want to quickly say that the reason why we have to take a primary role in attacking this problem is because we can't win this war on an economic basis. When you have counselors now dealing with juvenile delinquency, very young drug sellers, and they go to him and say, "Get in this job training program; get a minimum wage paying job," and the kid can take the counselor over to the trunk of his car and show the counselor more money than he makes in 3 years, and say, "I have made this in the last 6 months," we are not going to win the war economically. We have to fight it ethically and morally.

One of your previous witnesses mentioned that there are some parents and some community leaders that condone and some that

condemn, and I agree. I have heard many stories about how a kid comes in the house with TV's, VCR's, leather coats, and the mother will initially ask, "Where did you get the money to get that?" And the kid will pull out 2 months' rent, and she will say, "I'm sorry I asked."

In other cases you will have a mother who will say, "I don't care where you got it; if you didn't get it from legal means, it doesn't come in this house. And if you continue to do this, neither do you." Now we have to take that second, that latter example and make them heroes. We have to really promote them so that we are winning the battle morally and ethically. We cannot win it economically.

The second thing I would say to the community is that we can't look for Government to be the primary solver of this problem. The problem is too entrenched; it's too big and we have to do it ourselves with the help of Government and with their support, but we have to view ourselves in the community as a primary solver of this problem. So, to that effect, I would simply say that the problem is something that we can win in the long run. It is what we in the neighborhoods do best; we don't go away because the problem's tough. We need the help of Government to give us the support that we need, and I would just say one thing to Members of Congress: One of the things that I think can help, and I work with and am a member of the Council for Black Economic Agenda and the detailed list of recommendations I would like to give you later, but one of the things that Congress can do to help is to remove some of the barriers that prevent people who are on public assistance from getting training and job opportunities that are adequate to support their initiatives.

We have made a number of recommendations that range from extending medical benefits as well as cash benefits to people on public assistance so they have a chance to get training and go into the work place. I think if we can give them some options, we have a chance of solving this problem.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Glaude.

Our next witness is Mildred Seegars.

STATEMENT OF MILDRED SEEGARS, MOTHERS AGAINST CRACK, NEW ROCHELLE

Ms. SEEGARS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that I am one of the founding members of the Mothers Against Crack. The reason that that group was started was because we had people pulling in and out of our parking lot like it was Burger King. They would drive in, someone would be there at the end of the walkway, they would make their purchases and drive off. They would come into the buildings. It was so bad we would have to fight the people who did not live in the area to get into our own houses.

The final straw for me was one Sunday afternoon at 1 in the afternoon, my daughter, who was 8 at the time, she is 10 now, had to come around to the window—I live on the first floor—she said "Mommy, I can't come in because there is so much smoke in the hallway." No 8-year-old child should not be able to get into her

own building at 1 p.m. on a Sunday afternoon. No tenant, young or old, should have to fight through people who don't live in the area to get into the building. We would have to say, "Excuse me," to pull our shopping carts.

We have stopped the traffic from coming in and out of the parking lot. It is not as bad as it was. It is not entirely gone, but it is not as bad as it was. We went down, a group of us, spoke to our Police Commissioner Armanto, who worked with us a 1000 percent and got us better patrols in the area. We had a shooting incident in our area, OK? Those bullets were flying past my children's bedroom windows. Nobody knows how I felt as I threw my children's bodies on the floor with mine on top of them to keep them from perhaps getting hurt, fearing that a bullet may ricochet and come through the window. It is not fair.

As he said, we have to work with the government. It is up to us, the tenants, to take control again. And, again, the Housing Commission is run by people who go home to safe little worlds; they don't know what it is like to live here. We, as tenants, have to have some say in who governs us and how we are governed. We also need the use of our recreation areas again. We have three recreation rooms and we cannot use them. I am not blaming the board entirely, it comes down from HUD who says "There is no insurance so your tenants cannot use those rooms." Why? Why can't we give our children something to do when they come home from school? A lot of our children are latchkey kids. And that is another thing I am tired of hearing. Ninety-eight percent of people in municipal housing are good, decent, God fearing, hard-working people. [Applause.]

I am tired of the 2 percent who aren't who get the publicity all the time.

Another thing: I think that the Government, if you are going to be landlords, those people who don't give 2 cents about where they live, evict them. I could understand the plight of the homeless. You go into one of those motels where there is somebody decent living there. Reverse the situation. You don't care where you live, you don't want to be there any more, you go to live in that homeless motel and see what it is like. Keep those people in here who want someplace to live.

The process of evicting these people is too slow. We had one man they fought for 5 years to get out. That's not fair. Their hands were tied. You're going to tell me that it is easier to evict someone if they don't pay their rent than if they are a danger, a threat to me and my family and the rest of my neighbors? I don't understand that. Tell me why? Explain to me why that is? [Applause.]

That is all I wanted to say.

Mr. LANTOS. You said it well and you said it eloquently, and we all agree with you 100 percent.

Let me call on Mr. Ron Range of the Oasis Institute. Please talk into the microphone.

STATEMENT OF BRUCE QUINT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, OASIS
INSTITUTE

Mr. QUINT. I am not Mr. Ron Range. Ron Range is my partner. He is the deputy director of the Oasis Institute. He is off today fighting drugs and doing some sensitive undercover work which we can't get into right now.

My name is Bruce Quint. I am the executive director of the Oasis Institute.

Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, on behalf of the Oasis Institute I am honored to come here today to talk about the problems and solutions concerning drug-free public housing. As you have no doubt heard before and will continue to hear throughout these proceedings, the issues related to drug-free public housing are as varied as they are serious. The Oasis Institute believes it is in a good position to comment on these issues because it has worked to combat drugs in public housing authorities in such areas as Los Angeles, CA; Houston, TX; Louisville, KY; Miami and Tampa, FL.

These cities contain public housing developments that are large and small, tenanted by low-income blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and whites. The majority of these developments are in blighted neighborhoods that are impacted by conditions of poverty, high unemployment, low educational achievement, and crime. We have found, however, that despite the considerable obstacles that poverty, high unemployment, low educational achievement, and crime present, there is another condition that exists in and around public housing developments that is equally debilitating. This condition is called "mental poverty." By mental poverty we mean that defeatist attitude that says nothing will change, life will never get better, and the problems will always be with us.

If this defeatist attitude were found only in public housing it would be serious enough. Unfortunately, our experience shows that this defeatist attitude exists all too often in the general public as well as program officials and staff who work with public housing residents. I mention this defeatist phenomenon because it is under this blanket of mental poverty that drug abusers and drug sellers flourish. In public forums such as this, well meaning people say many of the right things, and are properly indignant about the impact of drugs in our society. Too often, however, when our good intentions are put in the form of police, counseling, treatment, and other such programs, they run up against the invisible walls of doubt that are maintained by the program implementers and program recipients. Thus, these programs are often doomed to fail before they begin.

The people who live and work in our drug infested communities see ample proof of program failure because the same drug pushers, drug users, and other criminal elements seem to congregate on the same street corners day in and day out and thumb their noses at us. It is little wonder that some of our youth adopt the attitude that it is better to join them than resist them, while many of our neighbors sit back in quiet resignation saying, "I will not get involved."

Given this kind of untenable situation, the logical question that must be asked, is it really possible to create drug-free communities

and drug-free public housing? Although many people publicly say yes, they may not believe it is an obtainable goal. If this situation exists, the next questions are: Can we turn this situation around? Are there any methods that can systematically make a difference? And can these methods be institutionalized? The answer to these questions is yes.

Since we are dealing with a credibility problem in addition to a drug problem, the first step is to define our intentions in such a way that they are acceptable to a majority of people. By this I mean that the goal of drug-free public housing is an admirable goal, but not one that is immediately credible in the eyes of many people, particularly those that are most affected by the problem. This latter point is crucial because in this room we, as speakers, usually preach to the choir. The residents of public housing are not always the choir.

When we talk of drug-free public housing, we are not clear whether we are talking about heroin, cocaine, crack, marijuana, tranquilizers, or alcohol. We are not clear whether we mean use or abuse. For example, some drugs such as alcohol are socially and legally acceptable, thus to most public housing residents alcohol use is acceptable, while alcohol abuse is not.

The issue of credibility becomes even more important when we factor in the problem of getting diverse groups such as residents, police, housing managers, social service personnel, and agency administrators working in a coordinated manner. Some of these groups frequently maintain an adversarial relationship, while others simply do not cooperate because of bureaucratic turf-guarding. Experience has taught us that it is hard enough to get diverse groups to work together when they fully believe in program goals, but it is often unmanageable to get these groups to cooperate when they maintain different beliefs and perceptions.

Experience has also taught us that the sequence in which services are offered is important. For example, drug treatment or drug education programs will not be as effective as they could be if the drug users and sellers operate in defiance of the law in the same location as the treatment and education services. In the case of public housing we have frequently witnessed open drug dealing while boys clubs, tenant councils, and other entities speak against drugs. When we questioned local public housing youth, the targets of the antidrug programs, they felt the service providers were naive in their approach. They claimed an effective police presence is essential right before and sometimes during the treatment and education services, otherwise these services would be seen as unrealistic. In other words, we need a coordinated sequence of activities that leverages our limited resources.

The Oasis technique is one of the methods that has addressed the preceding concerns, and has produced credible results in fighting drugs in public housing. In brief, the Oasis technique improves living conditions in neighborhoods characterized by drugs, crime, slum and blight. It achieves its results by utilizing strategies that reinforce the strengths of a neighborhood while minimizing its weaknesses. The technique leads to the establishment of a plan that builds on the positive social structure of a neighborhood so that the caring residents of the neighborhood take pride in their

surroundings. These residents create new standards so that the criminals and people involved in drugs cannot freely and openly operate.

One of the reasons for the success of the Oasis technique is its ability to crystallize what are the quality of life issues affecting people residing in and around public housing. In essence, the technique operationalizes those factors that impact positively and negatively on the day-to-day lives of people. Therefore, if a public housing administrator comes to us and says he or she has a drug problem in their public housing authority, we determine not only the nature of the problem, but specifically where is the problem located and how is it truly affecting residents in that development. For example, in a large multiunit public housing development, we may find that one section of the development is affected by winos sleeping on people's porches, another section is affected by the gunshots of rival cocaine dealers trying to establish their territory, while another section is affected by teenagers who hang out and get high on marijuana while they play loud music all hours of the night.

In all instances a drug is at the heart of the problem, but to the residents in the different sections of the development the quality of life issues differ. In reality, the immediate problems to the affected residents is not drugs, but the behavior of the people who are involved with different drugs. Consequently, the strategies needed to solve the different behavioral problems are distinctly different. The Oasis technique has devised the kind of strategies which specifically address the individualized concerns of the residents. These strategies are meant to avoid the costly, quick-fix solutions that have frustrated taxpayers for years. The Oasis track record is that our results last over time because residents and program staff in the target areas work together to solve common problems overcoming the defeatist mentality.

What appears to distinguish the Oasis program from other programs is that it doesn't focus on general issues such as drugs and crime. It focuses on people, places and time. Operationally speaking, we claim we do not have merely a drug or crime problem, we have a people problem. Somebody is doing something that positively or negatively influences the quality of life of others, and these people have names and they are often well known. Therefore, the strategies that are employed by the Oasis program identify key people, key places and key times that affect the day-to-day living conditions of public housing developments and the neighborhood in which it is located. Then, using tactics developed during the process, residents, police, housing officials, and other resource agency personnel work together, often for the first time, to solve common problems. Moreover, we devise additional strategies that teach the various groups how to maintain their gains once achieved. It must be clearly emphasized that the methods we need to solve drug-related problems are different than the methods we need to prevent their recurrence.

With respect to cost and allocation of manpower, we have found that in many cases less money and manpower is needed as opposed to more. The issue is not new dollars and personnel, but a smarter reallocation of what exists. This latter point is critical because public officials are often reluctant to reallocate money and person-

nel because the status quo has become a way of life. We have gone on record before and shall do so again: Given the seriousness of the drug problem as well as its complexities, unless public officials make the necessary public adjustments of human and financial resources, the likelihood of even coming close to realizing drug-free public housing is small.

A further point that is worthy of mention is that of program integrity. In most cities we have worked, we discovered that some housing authority staff, police and/or other local officials were part of the drug problem. Public housing residents were often well aware of the indiscretions of these individuals. Thus, when programs were instituted to correct drug problems in public housing, and some of the program staff were known to be part of the problem, residents felt the efforts were insincere and hypocritical. This situation widened the credibility gap we have already referred to and further reduced the chance of program effectiveness.

The Oasis technique has aggressively pursued a policy of addressing the drug problems inherent in the agencies authorized to implement antidrug programs. We have found that tackling our own drug problems has had substantial positive impact on subsequent efforts with public housing residents. This was best illustrated at a public housing site in Houston, TX, where the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development sponsored a national demonstration of the Oasis technique. The Oasis program staff helped identify a housing manager believed by residents to be involved in local drug activities. We recommended her immediate transfer pending a more thorough investigation. Before her transfer most residents refused to be involved in any program by the housing authority. Directly following her transfer, tremendous resident support was forthcoming. Within 5 months local television stations reported police officers testifying that the drug problem was reduced 95 percent, and crime in the area was reduced over 60 percent.

I realize in the short time allowed for this presentation I have only been able to provide a brief overview of how the Oasis program works. In the effort to achieve drug-free public housing, I believe the aforementioned ideas provide a context for collective action from the diverse entities involved in the drug-free public housing challenge.

Based on the Oasis experience we would like to offer the following recommendations:

One, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development continue to use up to 10 percent of its modernization funds, CIAP funds, to support management improvements like the Oasis technique which combats drug activities.

Two, Congress should carefully review the methods it employs to foster cooperation between entities such as housing, criminal justice, social service, and education. Today, too many programs work in a vacuum, spend all their money, sometimes demonstrate individual administrative success, but rarely show lasting neighborhood results.

Three, establish realistic criteria to evaluate the effectiveness of its current and future antidrug programs, then aggressively defund those that do not work and refund those that do. Historically, we have too often supported the status quo for programs once funded.

Consequently, we have been an active participant in reinforcing the failures that have led many people to believe that our drug problem cannot be solved.

I appreciate the opportunity you have afforded me to speak about this most serious issue. I am happy to answer any questions you may have. [Applause.]

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much.

All three of you gave us an excellent presentation. I will turn to Congressman DioGuardi for questions.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. Thank you for that excellent testimony.

You know, in Westchester, and especially in New Rochelle where I live and I know you live, Ms. Seegars, we have many neighborhood associations, and I think they work very well because these are tenants or owners who want to see their neighborhood kept as well as possible, and they are willing to be, in effect, a partner with local police, with local government in doing their fair share. We have had many good models on how those things work.

Now, I guess when you look at public housing which is kind of a vertical neighborhood, not a horizontal neighborhood, but you nevertheless have a neighborhood. You have yards and things like that. What is the experience? Do we have neighborhood crime watchers in these public housing authorities or some kind of neighborhood watch concept?

I think, Mr. Glaude, you referred to it—

Mr. GLAUDE. Yes.

Mr. DIOGUARDI [continuing]. Somewhat. And if you were to start one in Winbrook, let's say tomorrow, where would you start? How would you get tenants involved in something like that?

Mr. GLAUDE. Well, I think that the key is getting the tenants to do two things: One, invest themselves in their own quality of life. I mean, that is a very general and kind of generic approach. But there are some specific things that can be done. We have been funded by HUD for a few years now to set up demonstration programs where we are taking residents of public housing and not telling them to go out and get rid of the drugs and do this, but we are getting them involved in setting up and running their own businesses. Now these businesses begin to give them a sense that this is their community. And so, I will give you a good example: In Ashville, NC, we have a project where some kids we have helped form a company—these are residents of public housing—and their job is to clean up the grounds. They got frustrated just like government has so often become frustrated because 1 day after they would clean up the grounds, the grounds would be dirty again. We realized that just the contract was not enough. So we restructured how it was done and we set the kids up in their own company and they all own stock in it. And once they realized that that company was theirs and at the end of the year they may split about \$1,500 profit in addition to their salaries over the year, they took a whole different approach to how they clean the grounds. They not only cleaned the grounds, but then they went to all of their neighbors and all of their friends and said, "Look, we are responsible for cleaning this up. This is our company. This is our community. We are going to keep the grounds clean."

One of the things that people, not only in public housing but just community groups in general represent, is a vastly underutilized resource for the country right now. And we all know, especially you Members of Congress know, the fact that revenues are shrinking and that dollars are not what they once were. Well, the only thing that offsets a lack of dollars to solve the problem is additional human resources. These community groups become those human resources.

Most groups are formed because they organize around a single issue. And if they are successful in tackling that issue, then they then tend to stay together and take on new issues. I would say that drug abuse or drug prevention can be one of the issues that initially brings people together, and usually you just kind of come together. There is leadership who may put up a sign in a public housing building and say, "We're having a meeting at 8:00," and if five people show up they then become the catalyst for developing an official organization. We have many community development corporations who are very sophisticated who started out years ago just that way. So usually there is some leadership in the community that simply sees a problem and takes some actions to correct the problem.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to commend the panelists. I think you have stimulated some thinking, not only amongst the congressional panel, but I hope the community.

This mike isn't working too well.

I commend the panelists for providing some important initiatives that the community can undertake and evolve for themselves, as well as our exploration for what we can do from the Federal level. I would hope that our HUD people who are here would be listening closely and try to publicize some of the good things that you are recommending and have accomplished. I am particularly pleased that you are encouraging initiative right in the community. I think that is certainly needed, no matter what the program may be and no matter what the funding may be. We need that grass root support in all of these endeavors.

I thank the panelists for their thinking.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much.

Ms. SEEGARS. May I say something?

Mr. LANTOS. Please.

Ms. SEEGARS. I don't know if you mean to put it that way, but when you talk about municipal housing, to me it is as if you put it in a little tiny box and you say what affects municipal housing just affects municipal housing. But understand if things go wrong where we are, it spills out into every other place that surrounds us. We are not an entity unto ourselves. OK? When we say the neighborhood, it affects everyone. When we started Mothers Against Crack, it was not just for us. It was because when it spilled out from there it went out to other places. Our kids have friends up the block, down the hill and over to the sides of municipal housing, and what affects us affects those kids also. So we have to come to-

gether. The entire neighborhood has to be involved in anything that is done.

If we say we are going to have a neighborhood watch, which is what we do because we have to work with our policemen—like you said, they are our allies; OK? We have to stop treating them like they are something to be afraid of and you ignore them. We call them. Something has gone wrong, you call them. And that means that you would have to call them on your brother, your mother, your sister, your uncle, or your cousin, because sometimes your family is your own worst enemy. It's a shame to say it and it hurts, but if it means cleaning up your area where you live so that our kids have some place that is decent to live, then that is what we have to do. And that's the steps that we have to take. But there is still more that has to be done.

You know, we, as tenants, can be out there and we can watch or we can call, but the policeman can only do so much if his force is limited. I am tired of hearing from HUD that they do not have money. God, somebody in a uniform is going to be there; it is an important aspect, because people respect authority. I do not understand why you can give me \$11 million to renovate but you don't protect. You don't protect it. You build it up, but you allow it to be torn down because nobody else is there. You know, it is a joke when you tell somebody, "We're going to build it up," but nobody is there to say, "You can't do that again." We as tenants can do it, but it is going to take more of an authority to help also.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much. The chairman certainly agrees with the points you have made.

I only have one question of the Oasis Institute, how many projects have you been involved in across the country so far?

Mr. QUINT. We have been in about 10 different cities, north, south, east, and west. And the number of developments varies. Some were large housing authorities, some were small housing authorities. For example, in Miami where we are working, there are 102 projects that we have something to do with. Not all of them had the same degree of drug problems.

I think the major issue, and this was alluded to by previous testimony, relates to the fact that you have got rules and regulations which are promulgated by the Federal Government, which are then administered by HUD. These rules and regulations sometimes tie the hands of the administrators that want to do a good job. But you also have, in addition to those rules and regulations, people out there on the street who are very sophisticated—I am talking now about the drug users, drug abusers, the people living in public housing who want to support that system, who know how to work in between those rules and regulations and make it work for them. I think that when you create programs you have to really begin to look at those statutory requirements that you have for the Government, which really handcuffs the ability to do things. Because we can have all the good intentions in the world, but until we get right down to it you have got—and Ms. Seegars rightly said—maybe 2, 3, 4, 5 percent of the people who are causing most of the problem, and we have actually taught them how to beat us at our own game. But there are rules on the books. There are laws on the books in every city that allow us to deal with those people who

would break the rules and break the law. The problem is sometimes we are afraid to use them because we don't want to, again, upset that status quo. I think that one of the things you need to look at is not necessarily the implementation of new laws and regulations, but take a look at what you are not using that is on the books and free up your hands to do things the way you always want to do them.

Mr. LANTOS. I would like to thank all three of you. You have done an outstanding job, and you have helped our committee a great deal.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. LANTOS. Our next panel consists of Mr. Michael Dorsey, the general counsel for HUD; Mr. Robert Stutman, special agent in charge of the Drug Enforcement Agency in New York. We are pleased to have you, gentlemen.

We begin with you, Mr. Dorsey.

**STATEMENT OF MICHAEL DORSEY, GENERAL COUNSEL,
DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

Mr. DORSEY. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to be here this afternoon. Members of the Subcommittee on Employment and Housing, I am pleased to appear before you today on behalf of Secretary Pierce. I will be submitting a formal statement for the record and I will not read the whole thing, but I would like to make a few remarks.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection, the entire statement will be in the record.

Mr. DORSEY. Thank you.

HUD is the lead agency in combating drug abuse in public housing. In September 1986, President Reagan announced the formation of a partnership including the Attorney General and the Secretaries of Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, and Labor. Secretary Pierce was asked to take the lead role in moving the partnership forward.

At the request of Secretary Pierce, and on his behalf, I coordinate the partnerships actions. As a former commissioner and chairman of the board of commissioners of the Kansas City, MO, Housing Authority, I brought firsthand experience with public housing operations to this effort.

The purpose of the partnership is to reduce or, ideally, eliminate drug activity in public housing. We did not believe at the beginning of this effort, nor do we believe now, that the people who live in public housing use or deal in drugs at a rate any greater than the rest of the population. What we did know is that in many locations public housing is somewhat isolated from the larger community, including, but not limited to, its law enforcement. This isolation makes public housing an attractive location for illegal activity.

Public housing agencies are not Federal agencies. They are created under State law and are usually separate municipal corporations. The boards of commissioners of housing authorities are commonly appointed by the mayor or county executive or a combination of the executive and the local legislative body. The employees

of the housing authority are the employees of that corporation and not Federal employees. HUD has a contractual relationship with public housing authorities and provides funding for the construction of their properties, for operating subsidies, and for modernization of their properties. In return for the funding, authorities are to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for their low-income residents. Decent, safe, and sanitary housing is obviously not possible where drug activity is a controlling influence.

The first step in our activities was a national conference on public housing, cosponsored with the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment officials, held in May 1987 in Atlanta. You have heard from several speakers already today who participated in that conference. There were a total of over 600 public housing authority executive directors, staff, managers, resident leaders, law enforcement officials from all levels, the media, and leaders from the private sector in attendance. They learned and articulated effective, hands-on strategies and techniques for addressing drug abuse problems in public housing. The national conference gave us a description of the problem. It also reinforced the notion of a local problem needing a local solution.

Following the national conference we conducted five regional conferences in Boston, Kansas City, San Antonio, San Francisco, and Nashville. Those conferences were attended by an additional 1,200 people. Specific problems identified at our conferences included admission policies, screening policies, eviction policies, and security.

HUD has identified the Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program, or CIAP, as the main funding vehicle for housing authorities to combat the drug problem. CIAP funds are presently available for modernization of public housing. The 1988 funding round has just started; applications were due the first part of March and they are in now. The 1988 funding level is \$1.7 billion. Of this amount, up to 10 percent can be spent for management improvements. You have heard Bruce Quint just say that he advocated continuing that, and HUD intends to and has notified housing authorities that the 10 percent is available for management improvements, including drug-related activity such as contracts with his organization and others.

We have included activities directed toward the elimination of drugs as management improvement. By way of further clarification, CIAP funding is limited to either physical improvements to the property such as security systems, additional lighting, structural changes to facilitate observation of criminal activity, or the improvement of defensible space. Management improvements can include training contracts, computer systems or other system improvements. CIAP funds cannot be used for continuing management expenses such as salaries for employees.

The Department of Health and Human Services, through its Office of Substance Abuse Prevention [OSAP], gives grants to organizations for the development of model prevention programs for high-risk youth. A portion of the Department of Education grants goes to the States for drug education programs to be used for high-risk youth. Some of that money is going to substance abuse pro-

grams to work with public housing residents and management to deal with drug-free public housing.

The Labor Department is in the process of awarding grants to private industry councils funded under the Job Training Partnership Act for demonstration projects linking job training programs to public housing authorities. One of the most difficult problems in dealing with drugs in public housing is the lack of an alternative, an attractive alternative to drugs. We all hear about teenagers making \$1,000 a day as drug runners and spotters. We have heard today about the problem of the minimum wage. No job training program, including MBA programs at the Nation's universities, provides a comparable salary of \$1,000 a day. The job training programs can introduce the notion of options, the confidence of an obtainable future; and law enforcement can show that the \$1,000-a-day job as a drug runner is not a good alternative.

We have a number of specific positive activities in public housing authorities around the country, and I can share those with you in the question and answer session, if you would like, and I am certainly available to answer any questions that you may have.

Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Dorsey.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dorsey follows:]

STATEMENT OF J. MICHAEL DORSEY
GENERAL COUNSEL
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND
URBAN DEVELOPMENT

ON
DRUG ABUSE IN PUBLIC HOUSING

BEFORE THE
EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT RELATIONS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 21, 1988

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE. I AM PLEASED TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TODAY ON BEHALF OF SECRETARY PIERCE REGARDING THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT'S ROLE IN COMBATING DRUG ABUSE IN PUBLIC HOUSING.

IN SEPTEMBER 1986, PRESIDENT REAGAN ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE SECRETARIES OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND LABOR. SECRETARY PIERCE WAS ASKED TO TAKE THE LEAD ROLE IN MOVING THE PARTNERSHIP FORWARD.

AT THE REQUEST OF SECRETARY PIERCE AND ON HIS BEHALF, I COORDINATE THE PARTNERSHIP'S ACTIONS. AS A FORMER COMMISSIONER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, HOUSING AUTHORITY, I BROUGHT FIRSTHAND EXPERIENCE WITH PUBLIC HOUSING OPERATIONS TO THIS EFFORT.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PARTNERSHIP IS TO REDUCE, OR IDEALLY ELIMINATE, DRUG ACTIVITY IN PUBLIC HOUSING. WE DID NOT BELIEVE

AT THE BEGINNING, NOR DO WE BELIEVE NOW, THAT THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN PUBLIC HOUSING USE OR DEAL IN DRUGS AT A RATE ANY GREATER THAN THE REST OF THE POPULATION.

WHAT WE DID KNOW IS THAT IN MANY LOCATIONS, PUBLIC HOUSING IS SOMEWHAT ISOLATED FROM THE LARGER COMMUNITY, INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO, ITS LAW ENFORCEMENT. THIS ISOLATION MAKES PUBLIC HOUSING AN ATTRACTIVE LOCATION FOR AN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY.

PUBLIC HOUSING AGENCIES ARE NOT FEDERAL AGENCIES. THEY ARE CREATED UNDER STATE LAW AND ARE USUALLY SEPARATE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS. THE BOARDS OF COMMISSIONERS OF HOUSING AUTHORITIES ARE COMMONLY APPOINTED BY THE MAYOR, OR COUNTY EXECUTIVE, OR A COMBINATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LOCAL LEGISLATIVE BODY. THE EMPLOYEES OF THE HOUSING AUTHORITY ARE EMPLOYEES OF THAT CORPORATION AND NOT FEDERAL EMPLOYEES. HUD HAS A CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES AND PROVIDES FUNDING FOR CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR PROPERTIES, FOR OPERATING SUBSIDIES, AND FOR MODERNIZATION OF THEIR PROPERTIES; IN RETURN FOR THE FUNDING, AUTHORITIES ARE TO PROVIDE DECENT, SAFE, AND SANITARY

HOUSING FOR THE LOCAL LOW-INCOME POPULATION. DECENT, SAFE AND SANITARY HOUSING IS OBVIOUSLY NOT POSSIBLE WHERE DRUG ACTIVITY IS A CONTROLLING INFLUENCE. HUD'S PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTNERSHIP, THEN, PROCEEDED FROM TWO SEEMINGLY CONFLICTING PREMISES:

- PUBLIC HOUSING IS LOCALLY-OWNED AND OPERATED; ANY SOLUTION TO THE DRUG PROBLEM WOULD HAVE TO BE DESIRED, AND DEVELOPED, LOCALLY.

- THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS A CONTRACTUAL RIGHT TO, AND AN ENORMOUS FINANCIAL STAKE IN, SEEING THAT THE FEDERAL INVESTMENT IS ACTUALLY BUYING GOOD HOUSING; DRUG ACTIVITY DENIES GOOD HOUSING.

IT SEEMED REASONABLE TO START BY TRYING TO GAIN AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEM AS LOCALITIES SAW AND EXPERIENCED IT.

TOWARD THIS GOAL, A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON DRUG-FREE PUBLIC HOUSING, CO-SPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS (NAHRO), WAS HELD IN MAY 1987 IN ATLANTA. SIX HUNDRED PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, STAFF, MANAGERS, RESIDENT LEADERS, LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS FROM ALL LEVELS, THE MEDIA, AND LEADERS FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR ATTENDED TO LEARN AND ARTICULATE EFFECTIVE, HANDS-ON STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES FOR ADDRESSING DRUG ABUSE PROBLEMS IN PUBLIC HOUSING. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE DID GIVE US A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM; IT ALSO REINFORCED THE NOTION OF A LOCAL PROBLEM NEEDING LOCAL SOLUTION. TOWARD THAT END, FIVE REGIONAL CONFERENCES ATTENDED BY OVER 1,200 WERE SUBSEQUENTLY HELD DURING THE MONTHS OF NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1987 IN BOSTON, KANSAS CITY, SAN ANTONIO, SAN FRANCISCO, AND NASHVILLE TO PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION TO ALL WHO ARE FACED WITH DRUG ABUSE IN THEIR COMMUNITIES, AND GAIN THE INSIGHT OF THOSE WHO HAD FACED THE PROBLEM AND WON.

WITHOUT FAIL, THE CONFERENCES EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR COORDINATED PLANNING AND ACTION. REPRESENTATIVES SPOKE ABOUT LOCAL SUCCESSES AND FAILURES. SOME TOLD HOW THEY HAD DEVELOPED COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE HOUSING AUTHORITY, RESIDENTS, AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS. OTHERS EXPRESSED THEIR FRUSTRATION AT GETTING LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS TO ARREST DRUG PUSHERS IN PUBLIC HOUSING. SOME TALKED ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY THEY HAVE IN WORKING WITH SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES IN THEIR COMMUNITY, AND OTHERS PRAISED THE GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS DEVELOPED. MANY, MANY EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION AT THE DIFFICULTY AND SLOWNESS OF THE EVICTION PROCESS.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED AT OUR CONFERENCES INCLUDED ADMISSION, OR SCREENING POLICIES, EVICTION POLICIES, AND SECURITY. SOME HOUSING AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT THEY SHOULD TAKE ALL APPLICANTS WHO QUALIFY UNDER THE INCOME STANDARDS REGARDLESS OF ANY OTHER FACTORS SUCH AS KNOWN CRIMINAL OR DRUG ACTIVITY; OTHERS BELIEVE THAT THEY MUST ADMIT ALL WHO ARE POOR ENOUGH. IN FACT, HUD REGULATIONS ALLOW HOUSING AUTHORITIES TO SCREEN

APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION TO PUBLIC HOUSING AND, WITH OTHER LANDLORDS, TO REFUSE TO HOUSE PEOPLE WHOSE BACKGROUND PREDICTS A TROUBLED TENANCY.

MANY PEOPLE ALSO WERE CONCERNED ABOUT EVICTION POLICIES. HUD REGULATIONS NOW REQUIRE AN ADMINISTRATIVE HEARING BY THE HOUSING AUTHORITY PRIOR TO EVICTION FROM PUBLIC HOUSING. THIS REQUIREMENT WAS MANDATED BY SEVERAL COURT DECISIONS WHICH HELD THAT FEDERAL DUE PROCESS REQUIREMENTS WERE NOT ALWAYS BEING MET IN LOCAL LANDLORD TENANT COURTS. THE PRESENT POLICY UNDENIABLY MAKES EVICTION VERY DIFFICULT AND TIME-CONSUMING. HUD IS NOW DEVELOPING A REGULATION WHICH WILL FACILITATE THE EVICTION OF PROBLEM RESIDENTS FROM PUBLIC HOUSING THROUGH A MORE STREAMLINED, BUT STILL LEGALLY ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURE.

ANOTHER COMMON ISSUE DISCUSSED WAS SECURITY. SOME REPRESENTATIVES BELIEVE THAT IMPROVED SECURITY COULD BE DONE WITH PASSIVE SYSTEMS SUCH AS SECURITY ENTRY SYSTEMS. SOME ADVOCATED PRIVATE SECURITY SERVICES PAID FOR BY THE HOUSING AUTHORITY. STILL OTHERS ADVOCATED BETTER WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH LOCAL

POLICE DEPARTMENTS. MY EXPERIENCE AS A COMMISSIONER IN KANSAS CITY LEADS ME TO BELIEVE THAT THE LAST SOLUTION IS THE BEST. IN KANSAS CITY, AT ONE TIME, BECAUSE OF A HIGH CRIME RATE IN PUBLIC HOUSING, WE HAD 83 ARMED GUARDS EMPLOYED BY THE HOUSING AUTHORITY. IN 1981 WE ELIMINATED THE GUARD SERVICE AND WORKED WITH THE KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, POLICE DEPARTMENT TO DEVELOP A BETTER SYSTEM OF RESPONDING TO CALLS FROM RESIDENTS. WE ALSO HELD A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH RESIDENTS, HOUSING AUTHORITY MANAGEMENT, AND THE LOCAL POLICE DEPARTMENT, INCLUDING THE POLICE OFFICERS WHO WOULD ACTUALLY BE PATROLLING THE PROPERTIES. THIS ENABLED US TO DEVELOP A LEVEL OF TRUST SO THAT THE RESIDENTS WOULD FEEL MORE CONFIDENT IN REPORTING CRIMINAL ACTIVITY TO THE POLICE.

RESIDENT MANAGEMENT WAS ALSO DISCUSSED AS AN IMPORTANT METHOD OF IMPROVING MANAGEMENT OF PROPERTIES AND ENSURING RESIDENT INVOLVEMENT. WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL RESIDENT COMMITMENT, IT IS OBVIOUSLY NOT POSSIBLE TO STOP DRUG ACTIVITY IN THE PUBLIC HOUSING COMMUNITY.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT HAS IDENTIFIED THE COMPREHENSIVE IMPROVEMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (CIAP) AS THE MAIN FUNDING VEHICLE HUD HAS FOR HOUSING AUTHORITIES TO COMBAT THE DRUG PROBLEM. CIAP FUNDS ARE PRESENTLY AVAILABLE FOR MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC HOUSING. THE 1988 FUNDING LEVEL IS \$1.7 BILLION DOLLARS. OF THIS AMOUNT, UP TO 10% CAN BE SPENT FOR "MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENTS," AND THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC HOUSING HAS PROPERLY INCLUDED ACTIVITIES DIRECTED TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF DRUGS AS "MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENT." BY WAY OF FURTHER CLARIFICATION, I WILL ADD THAT CIAP FUNDING IS LIMITED TO EITHER PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENTS TO THE PROPERTIES, SUCH AS SECURITY SYSTEMS, ADDITIONAL LIGHTING, STRUCTURAL CHANGES TO FACILITATE OBSERVATION OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY, OR THE IMPROVEMENT OF "DEFENSIBLE SPACE." MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENTS CAN INCLUDE TRAINING CONTRACTS, COMPUTER SYSTEMS, OR OTHER SYSTEM IMPROVEMENTS. CIAP FUNDS CANNOT BE USED FOR CONTINUING MANAGEMENT EXPENSES, SUCH AS SALARIES FOR EMPLOYEES.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, THROUGH ITS OFFICE OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION (OSAP), GAVE GRANTS TO ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODEL PREVENTION PROGRAMS FOR HIGH-RISK YOUTH. A PORTION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION GRANTS WAS TO THE STATES FOR DRUG EDUCATION PROGRAMS TO BE USED FOR HIGH-RISK YOUTH.

THE LABOR DEPARTMENT IS IN THE PROCESS OF AWARDING GRANTS THROUGH PRIVATE INDUSTRY COUNCILS, FUNDED UNDER THE JOBS TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT, FOR DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS LINKING JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS TO PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES. ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEMS IN PUBLIC HOUSING IS THE LACK OF AN ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVE TO DRUGS. WE ALL HEAR ABOUT THE TEENAGERS MAKING \$1,000 A DAY AS DRUG RUNNERS AND SPOTTERS. NO JOB TRAINING PROGRAM, INCLUDING THE MBA PROGRAMS AT THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, WILL PROVIDE A COMPARABLE SALARY. BUT JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS CAN INTRODUCE THE NOTION OF OPTIONS, AND CONFIDENCE IN AN OBTAINABLE FUTURE.

IN LINE WITH OUR BELIEF IN THE IMPORTANCE OF OPTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES, WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH MANY PRIVATE SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE JUST SAY NO CLUBS, THE BOYS CLUBS OF AMERICA, THE NATIONAL JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, THE OASIS INSTITUTE, AND OTHERS. LATOYA JACKSON HAS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE WITH THE JUST SAY NO FOUNDATION IN ITS EFFORT TO PLACE JUST SAY NO CLUBS IN EVERY PUBLIC HOUSING COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTRY. THERE ARE OVER 11,000 SUCH COMMUNITIES. AS PART OF THAT EFFORT, MS. JACKSON RECENTLY RELEASED A VIDEO AND A RECORD CALLED "JUST SAY NO" AND DEDICATED A BILLBOARD, THE FIRST OF FORTY, IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

SECRETARY PIERCE AND JEREMIAH MILBANK, PRESIDENT OF THE BOYS CLUBS OF AMERICA, LAST YEAR SENT OUT A LETTER TO ALL PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES ASKING THAT THEY COOPERATE WITH LOCAL BOYS CLUBS IN CREATING NEW CHAPTERS IN PUBLIC HOUSING. OVER 200 CLUBS ARE NOW LOCATED IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROPERTIES.

THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FOR A DRUG-FREE AMERICA INCLUDED A COMPONENT ON DRUG-FREE PUBLIC

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HOUSING. THE CONFERENCE HELD SIX REGIONAL CONFERENCES AROUND THE COUNTRY WITH A BREAKOUT SESSION DEVOTED AT EACH CONFERENCE TO DRUG-FREE PUBLIC HOUSING. AT ITS NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, THERE WAS AN ALL-DAY SESSION HELD TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS. A REPORT WILL BE PRESENTED TO CONGRESS LATER THIS YEAR FROM THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FOR A DRUG-FREE AMERICA.

IN ADDITION, HUD PARTICIPATES ON THE NATIONAL DRUG POLICY BOARD AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEES ON HIGH-RISK YOUTH, PREVENTION, TREATMENT, AND MAINSTREAM ADULTS.

I THINK -- I HOPE -- WE HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT SUCCESSFUL IN MATCHING THE GOOD OFFICES AND RESOURCES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WITH UNIQUE LOCAL CONDITIONS.

FOR THEIR PART, THE PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES IN THIS COUNTRY, BY WHICH TERM I MEAN EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS AND MANAGERS, RESIDENTS AND MAINTENANCE MEN, HAVE BEEN REMARKABLY RESILIENT AND INNOVATIVE IN TAKING ON ONE OF SOCIETY'S BIG PROBLEMS.

AS A TEAM, WE CAN'T LOSE.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Stutman.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Stutman proceeds, I would like to make some comments.

We are very pleased to have Mr. Stutman appear today. Mr. Stutman is one of our outstanding agents in drug enforcement throughout our entire Nation. I have known of Mr. Stutman's work for over 10 years. He used to be in Washington in a very responsible post, and then became a regional director in the Boston area, and now is the regional director in one of the worst drug areas in the country, in the New York City metropolitan area. And throughout drug enforcement, Mr. Stutman is looked at as one of the most effective drug enforcement agents in our entire national administration. We welcome Mr. Stutman to the panel today.

Mr. LANTOS. I want to thank my colleagues for this interruption. We are delighted to have you.

Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. STUTMAN, SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE, NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION, DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mr. STUTMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Gilman, Mr. DiGuardi. It is a pleasure to appear before this particular committee. I would ask, as Mr. Dorsey did, that my prepared remarks be placed in the record and I will certainly shorten them up.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection.

Mr. STUTMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Rather than talk about what I was going to talk about, I think it is important to very quickly discuss how the drug problem has changed in the Greater New York area over the past year or two, and hopefully what can be done about it, and, frankly, what isn't being done about it today. I would like to highlight, some of the remarks that I think were especially salient by two of the previous speakers, Mr. Ron Jackson and Mr. Steve Glaude, both of whom I think made points that should be amplified upon because I think they really got to the heart of the issue.

Two-and-a-half years ago crack was virtually an unknown drug throughout the Greater New York area. In a short period time it has gone from an unknown drug to becoming virtually the drug of choice in the largest city in the United States of America. As Mr. Gilman said, I have been in drug enforcement 23 years and have never seen a drug completely permeate an area as we have seen it permeate the 12 million population of this particular city. Unfortunately, along with crack, of course, has come a very severe addiction, because unlike what we were told in the early eighties, cocaine, and crack in particular, is extremely addicting. As a matter of fact, it is far more addicting than heroin in many of its forms.

In addition to the addiction we have seen something new that Mr. Gilman and I were talking about beforehand. That is, we have seen the level of violence in this country grow rapidly over the past 2 years. When Mr. Gilman and I traveled to Colombia in 1976 and 1977 on a congressional delegation, we began to see the level of violence growing in Colombia. As you know, Mr. Chairman, over the past 2 years traffickers in Colombia have assassinated two attor-

neys general, they have assassinated the two editors of the largest newspapers in Colombia, they have assassinated about 25 Federal judges, and over 150 police officers. Many people in this country said it can't happen here.

In 1978 to 1981 when we had the "Cocaine Cowboy" wars in Dade County, FL, when we had killings and assassinations taking place in parking lots, and innocent people getting killed, a lot of people in this country said, "That's an aberration of Florida, there is something crazy in the water down there, it can't happen to us." Well, unfortunately, as we have seen over the past year and as some of the previous speakers have described, it is beginning to happen everywhere in the country. Five weeks ago, the DEA had two agents assassinated in your home State of California. We had a police officer sitting on guard duty, a uniformed kid 23 years of age sitting in front of a witness' house in South Jamaica, NY, four people walked up and assassinated him for no reason at all except to give a message to law enforcement that "We are not going to tolerate what you are doing to us." That is how the rules of the ball game have changed. The level of violence has gone up significantly and unfortunately so has the level of addiction.

The problem is growing in New York. It is growing specifically because of cocaine and more specifically because of crack. It is an issue that must be addressed from the highest to the lowest level.

That brings me to the remarks that both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Glaude made, and I would like to frankly expand upon them a bit. One of the things that is extremely important to remember is that drug trafficking is a white-collar crime. It is a crime that people commit for profit. It is not a crime of passion. It is not like getting mad at your neighbor and beating him or her up. You sell dope to make a profit. It is a basic facet of law enforcement that until the potential deterrent is at least as great as the potential profit, people are going to continue to sell dope; and unfortunately, right now, in many areas of this State, that is not the case. The potential deterrent is not nearly as great as the potential profit. It is not a fault of the police departments who very often are losing people, getting killed, getting beat up, et cetera. It is the fault, unfortunately, of people who are arrested who never see the inside of the jail.

Let me share with you some of the numbers from New York City which admittedly are not Westchester County, but I have a feeling they would not be greatly different here than they would be for the city. Last year in New York City 80,000 people were arrested by the New York City Police Department for drug violations; only about 5 percent of them ever spend more than 10 days in jail. I would proffer to you, Mr. Chairman, that is not a deterrent to drug trafficking. Until there is a philosophy in this State that says if you are arrested and convicted, with all protections of the law, for drug trafficking, you will receive a punishment, sure and swift. If not we will continue to have dope peddlers walking around public housing, inner cities, in the suburbs. And that must change.

The second issue that must change is there must no longer be an attitude of toleration of drugs within the community. By "toleration" I mean by government, by private entities, by corporations, and by neighborhoods. A lot of things can be done to change that.

Let me just share a couple of things that have not been done that I think could begin to change that attitude. Will any one of these change the drug problem? Of course not. But when you add a lot of things together, they begin to give an attitude of change. And that is what has to happen, not only in public housing, but in the community in general.

Somebody mentioned, one of the previous speakers, and I am not sure who it was but he was very right, about the problem of buying crack pipes and crack vials and seeing them all over the place. Thirty-eight States in the United States have passed a law stating that it is illegal and criminally illegal to sell paraphernalia to be used only for the use of drugs in stationery stores, in drug stores, et cetera. New York is not one of those 38 States, and I think it is a shame that people are allowed to sell crack paraphernalia legally in many stores so that our 9-, 10-, and 11-year-old kids, while their parents go around and tell them it is wrong to do, they have got to question, well, if it is wrong to do, why can I buy it in a store? And I think that is one issue that should be looked at.

There is a model State legislation that allows States to forfeit assets that are seized from drug traffickers in a very clear quick way, much as the way the Federal Government has. The Federal Government last year seized \$550 million from drug traffickers that are going to go back into the fight against drugs and I think it is appropriate. Many States have passed a model State forfeiture program that allows local and State police to do the same thing. Unfortunately, New York is not one of those States, and I think this is another issue that we should address.

Finally, I would like to refer to something that Mr. Glaude said that is right on the money: In the long run, all the cops, all the feds in the world are not going to win the drug war. What is going to win the drug war is giving our kids, when they reach age 10, 11, and 12, and have to make a decision whether or not to use drugs, giving them the opportunity to make an appropriate decision and preparing them to make that decision. You do that by working with school systems so that from the day your kid hits kindergarten until the day he graduates, he has dealt with the drug issue. And when he is 12 years old and somebody says to him, "Hey, Man, you want to try some crack?" And he has to make a decision that quickly, in 1 second, at least our kids have been trained to make a decision, and they know about drugs and they know about peer pressure. Unfortunately, most New York school systems, the vast majority of them, if they have any meaningful drug education at all, start generally in grades seven and eight, and I am not an educator, but I know if the average age of first drug use is age 12, and the average age of first drug education is age 13 or 14, something is wrong with the system. These things can be changed; they should be changed. Most of them can be done without a lot more money. It is a change in attitude on, No. 1, the criminal justice system; and, No. 2, the attitude of toleration.

I thank you for having me. I found it an education, frankly, listening to the previous panels, and I think it has been a very worthwhile hearing. [Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Mr. Stutman follows:]

Statement

of

Robert M. Stutman
Special Agent in Charge
New York Field Division
Drug Enforcement Administration

before

the

Subcommittee on Employment and Housing
Committee on Government Operations
House of Representatives

concerning

Drugs and Public Housing: DEA's Responsibility

on

March 21, 1988

White Plains, New York

Mr. Chairman, Members of the House Subcommittee on Employment and Housing: I am pleased to appear before you today to discuss the role of the Drug Enforcement Administration regarding drugs and public housing.

DEA was established in 1973 as a result of Presidential Reorganization Plan No. 2, which consolidated the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, and the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence, with a portion of the Customs Service of the Department of the Treasury.

We are responsible for the development of overall drug law enforcement strategy, programs, planning, and evaluation. We investigate and prepare for prosecution those individuals suspected of violating federal drug trafficking laws. We regulate the manufacture, distribution, and dispensing of licit pharmaceuticals. We coordinate with federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies on drug investigations.

We work with our counterparts in other nations in order to reduce the supply of illegal drugs into the United States from foreign source and transit countries.

DEA's mission is critical to the success of America's campaign against drugs. Recent statistics serve to highlight the

seriousness of the drug abuse problem today. It is reported that one in ten Americans uses an illicit drug at least monthly. And one in five of our citizens 12 years of age or older has used an illicit drug in the past year.

More and more, our society is realizing the magnitude of the problem. Drug abuse, drug trafficking, and drug-related crime clearly are issues that today affect us all.

Reports indicate that two-thirds of all persons arrested on criminal charges in New York City or Washington, D.C. had traces of illegal drugs in their systems. In our inner cities, we are seeing an increase in the incidence of drug-related violence. It would not be unreasonable to assume that this drug-related violence has attacked public housing projects with any less intensity than it has wrought throughout our cities generally.

In order to address the drug problem, we need to attack it from every angle and with every resource. This means not only stopping the international drug kingpins, but the street traffickers as well. DEA will continue its efforts on the international front to assist drug source nations with the eradication of illicit crops, to interdict drugs in transit, to seize ill-gotten assets, and to work with our foreign counterparts to support their efforts to imprison international drug merchants.

But, the problem must also be addressed here at home. We need to serve notice that we will no longer tolerate the infiltration of drugs into our communities. We need to take steps to purge the drug dealer from our places of business, from our inner city parks and recreational areas, and particularly from peoples' homes -- often, our public housing facilities.

We, at DEA, are committed to battling the war on drugs on the home front. Our primary mission is to direct our efforts at the upper-echelons of drug trafficking; that is, the international and interstate trafficking organizations. But, we also recognize the importance of drug enforcement initiatives directed at the mid-level and street level. Although this level of the traffic is generally within the jurisdiction of state and local enforcement, DEA is, nonetheless, involved in drug investigations at all levels of the traffic.

Our involvement at the lower levels of the traffic is almost always done in concert with state and local authorities. We are actively involved with them, serving in leadership, coordination, and participant capacities.

For example, often in the course of a major investigation we develop intelligence which can be exploited through a local investigation. Through both formal and informal channels, DEA forwards this critical drug intelligence to law enforcement agencies at the state and local levels.

Additionally, we operate a state and local task force program aimed at reducing the middle level of drug trafficking. At present, there are over 51 task forces in operation across the country. These task forces capitalize on DEA's investigative and intelligence resources, as well as the expertise of the state and local officers with respect to their environment.

We also train state and local officers in drug enforcement techniques either in their own jurisdictions or at our facility in Quantico, Virginia.

DEA is actively involved in the Law Enforcement Coordinating Committees program. This program, under the direction of the U.S. Attorneys, serves as a vehicle for communicating ideas, building strategies, and devising courses of action designed to meet a particular community's needs. The problems of public housing, as well as other community issues, are addressed through the drug subcommittees of the LECCs.

This past fall, DEA Special Agents in Charge from our field divisions participated as federal law enforcement representatives to regional conferences sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. These conferences in Boston, San Francisco, Kansas City, and Nashville focused attention on the problem and solutions to achieving drug-free public housing.

More recently, DEA hosted a meeting involving what is

primarily a local problem, crack cocaine and the record number of drug-related homicides, particularly violent deaths of young victims, plaguing our major cities. Police chiefs from New York, Washington, Phoenix, Dallas, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Miami, Boston, and Houston came to Washington to get briefed on the scope of the crack problem and, equally important, to brief the others about the situation in their cities. The balance of the meeting focused on initiatives that are available to local enforcement agencies and the support that the Federal agencies can provide. Representatives from other federal law enforcement agencies also participated.

While DEA diligently pursues traditional drug enforcement strategies, we are nonetheless aware that the drug problem can never be fully addressed without also taking steps to significantly reduce the demand for drugs. Consequently, DEA has implemented a strong, active demand reduction program, with emphasis on effective drug abuse education, prevention, and treatment.

As the lead federal drug law enforcement agency, the Drug Enforcement Administration is at the forefront on the war on drugs. We are dedicated toward our mission of preventing drug abuse and will continue to strengthen and expand our initiatives aimed at reducing both the supply of and demand for drugs.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to discuss DEA's

role regarding drugs and public housing. I will be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Mr. LANTOS. We have found it an education to listen to you, gentlemen, and I have a question of you, Mr. Stutman.

Taking the pattern that I outlined at the beginning, the five areas, going after the source, interdicting the flow, going after the pusher, rehabilitating and education, we have dealt with the last, if you were drug czar for the whole country tomorrow morning, which may not be such a bad idea—

Mr. STUTMAN. I think it would be.

Mr. LANTOS [continuing]. How would you evaluate our effectiveness in these various areas, and what specific recommendations would you have in each?

Mr. STUTMAN. Your opening statement, Mr. Chairman, was right on the money. You specifically hit each of the areas we are concerned with.

If you think of the drug problem, I believe very simplistically. Think of it as a three-legged stool, and as soon as you take away one of the legs the entire program collapses. The three legs are, No. 1, meaningful enforcement; No. 2, meaningful treatment; and No. 3, meaningful prevention. You have got to have all three of those legs on that stool if any of us are going to get anywhere.

Let me address, if I may, very quickly the three legs. Enforcement: Very frankly, it is nice to say that we are going to close the borders of the United States. It is nice to say we are going to put the Army around the United States arm in arm and build a wall around the United States. If we built a 12-foot wall around this country the dope peddlers would learn in about 60 seconds, you need a 13-foot ladder to get over a 12-foot wall. Unfortunately, one of the prices we pay for living in a free society, and I would proffer to you, Mr. Chairman, I don't think this is going to change, is drugs are always going to be available. Can we who carry a badge make them less available? Absolutely. Will we ever completely clean up the streets of this country so that the kids that these people talked about before never had drugs in front of them? I don't think so.

One of the things that was not mentioned today is that of the 20 most widely abused drugs in the United States, 14 were made right here in this country. They did not come in from Colombia or Peru or Bolivia or China or Southwest Asia. They were made right here. We can do a better job in law enforcement and must have an attitude that says, "If you get caught and are convicted, there will be a punishment." That must happen. And I think, on the law enforcement side the police are probably doing the best job and, very frankly, it is behind the police, the rest of the criminal justice system that is falling down. I think it was Ron Jackson who rightfully said "There is something wrong when a person can be arrested for drugs literally, not figuratively, literally 15 to 20 times and never see more than 2 or 3 days in jail." There is something wrong with that kind of system.

I think the second issue we have to look at is the treatment issue, and I think that was also hit upon by the previous panelists. We need different treatment modalities. We need more treatment. We should not be locked into any one methodology as the answer. Very frankly, whatever works for different people should be made available to them.

The third leg is very frankly, Mr. Chairman, the issue that I think we have fallen down on the most, and that is the prevention issue. From the different professional disciplines that deal with drugs, 10 years ago we didn't talk to each other. Those of us who carry a badge didn't talk to the treatment people and we certainly didn't talk to the educators. What is interesting is, today all of us agree on one thing, absolutely agree: The single most important issue on drugs in this country today is meaningful prevention programs in our communities. Period. Nobody argues that issue. Yet, if you look at where the dollars and where the attention is going, that is always the last issue that is faced.

I think I, as a parent—I have two kids—I think I, as a parent, have an absolute right to demand that my kids go to high school and not be surrounded by jerks selling dope in the parking lot. My kids have the right to walk in the men's room or ladies' room of any school system in this State and not see people smoking roaches or bullets in that particular men's room or ladies' room. I have a right to demand that, and we can do that if we mean serious business. I also think I have a right to demand that when my kid goes to kindergarten they start to openly talk about drugs—and this education, which is not something far out, it works, we know it works—if it is made available to our kids in K through 12, 5 years from now we won't worry about how many police officers he has in his housing projects or how many cops Ben Ward has or how many police officers the White Plains Police Department has or how many DEA agents. We will have made a significant difference without increasing the law enforcement side. I think that is what must happen.

Until that happens, those of us who are in law enforcement are fighting a holding action. We can do better and we will do better, but we are not going to solve it.

Mr. LANTOS. One more question: You talked about the sale of paraphernalia. What is your view of a Federal law that would prohibit the sale of paraphernalia that enter interstate commerce?

Mr. STUTMAN. I think it would be appropriate, I am not sure what the law is on interstate commerce—I think there is one on the books right now, although I am not sure. I think clearly the better answer is the model legislation that was written by the Department of Justice that has been passed by 38 States and has been upheld in the U.S. Court of Appeals as constitutional, that says more importantly than interstate commerce, that guy on the corner in the variety store cannot sell crack pipes, vials, or roach clips to the 9-, 10-, and 11-year-old kids that come in for the pack of candy. Right now in New York State, other than some civil statutes, there is no law against that. I think that this is the type of law that is most meaningful.

Mr. LANTOS. Why isn't there any law?

Mr. STUTMAN. You are asking the wrong person, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. I am not blaming you, I am just asking you.

Mr. STUTMAN. I don't know. I honestly do not know the reason. It certainly can't be civil rights because it has been upheld everywhere and it has been passed by 38 States, including States like Massachusetts which have a history of a very liberal legislature and a very liberal Governor, and New Jersey. It is not that some-

how in the Northeast we are looking at a crazy bunch somewhere else, this is a national issue.

Mr. LANTOS. Sure.

Mr. DioGuardi.

Mr. DioGUARDI. Thank you. I think Mr. Stutman is doing a wonderful job here in Westchester County. It was probably less than 2 years ago that we started a task force under his leadership, and he had deputized 45 local police officials who worked with him in part of their time to deal with the issue, mainly to obviously get the drug dealers in large busts. But he has been very cooperative, as has the DEA to our suggestions. And I am sure the DEA has that attitude around the country, but as we can see, Mr. Chairman, that is still not enough. There has got to be a lot of other creative approaches taken. How we deal with this revolving door in the Justice Department, I don't know. Maybe Bob would give us a few clues, because it keeps coming up that the better job the police officials do in apprehending and getting convictions, it seems like they are right back on the streets. I have heard this complaint in Mount Vernon. I have heard it in New Rochelle, Mamaroneck. Where the local police in Mamaroneck were actually being used for the undercover, they were finding out the same people were coming back to the motel rooms.

Mr. LANTOS. They need more jails, Joe.

Mr. DioGUARDI. Well, if that is the issue then maybe we have got to face that because obviously, as you said, there is a three-legged stool for drugs, but maybe there is a three-legged stool for criminal justice and we have got to figure out which leg is missing so we can fix it because it is not working right now, and the chain is only as strong as its weakest link and we have got a weak link here and it goes right back to those kids. We are not helping them.

Mr. STUTMAN. Let me just comment on how bad it gets, Mr. Chairman.

I go to many neighborhood meetings in New York City, the Bronx and Bedford Stuyvesant and hear lots of complaints. The first complaint I always hear from people living in neighborhoods is the cops are all corrupt. And I say, "Why do you say the cops are all corrupt?" They say "because that guy is standing on the same corner selling dope every day, and if I know it he must know it, so he must be taking payoffs." [Applause.]

What they don't know is that guy selling dope on that same corner has probably been arrested 10 times by those police officers and is right back out on the street the next day. So after a while you are right, the system falls down and it leads to terrible cynicism by people within the community about the system. You say to me how dangerous can that get? I know Mr. DioGuardi and Mr. Gilman, I assume you were here yesterday, and maybe, Mr. Chairman, you read something that happened last night in New York City. This tells you how dangerous this cynicism can get, it can lead to vigilantism. Allegedly last night a crack addict stole \$20 from a woman. She got help from the neighborhood. This was two nights ago. The neighbors got so upset about it that they went out and caught the guy, but they beat him to death. Now I think that we are going to end up with a bunch of people indicted for murder. That is the end result very often, if in fact that is the way it hap-

pened, of the cynicism that develops in the community about the system not working.

Mr. DioGuardi and Mr. Gilman, you are both exactly right. Something has got to change. I wish I had the answer. Maybe Mr. Gilman had the answer. We have got to have a philosophy that says, if you are convicted—we are talking about overriding civil rights—if you are convicted for drug violations, there is a sure and swift penalty. And you and I could argue whether that penalty should be 30 days or 30 years, I don't care. The issue is it should be swift and sure so there is a meaningful penalty for violations.

Mr. DioGuardi. Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment on that because while we don't have the Judiciary Committee of Congress represented here, at least officially, I know Bill Hughes is very interested in the subject and was even tempted to come to the meeting, but I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that he get a copy of this testimony, because it is important that his committee have this evidence and this testimony because we have got to make that part of this work. It is apparently a very weak link at this point.

Mr. LANTOS. Very good point.

Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think one of the first things we should do is assign Bob Stutman to a new role and have him go out lecturing around the Nation, pointing out these problems. I think primarily with regard to the penalty problem, it is obvious, we are going to have to build new jail space. Our prison space is overcrowded today and the courts are reluctant to send anyone to jail because of the overcrowding. They have been criticized by the Federal judiciary for allowing this to happen. Until we build additional jail space we are going to have a revolving door. So I think it is up to us to face the reality.

I appreciate Mr. Stutman pointing out the lack of State legislation in seizures in drug or crack paraphernalia and the need for greater prevention programs. I am hoping that our State legislators will be listening to what happened here today and will take up the cudgels and bring forth some of this legislation. I, for one, intend to notify our State narcotics committee that was created in the past year of the need to do some of these things.

I would like to ask Mr. Stutman, why do you feel there is such a major problem in public housing? I know it is pervasive throughout the community, but why is there such a concentration of the problem in public housing today?

Mr. STUTMAN. Very frankly, I am not an expert on public housing. And as you know, Mr. Gilman, DEA generally does not work cases at the street level, we work at the level that is supplying the people who four levels down are dealing with the public housing issue on the streets of the inner-city issue. We have seen an interesting change take place in drug-trafficking patterns in the Greater New York area. We have seen heroin addiction level off in the Greater New York area, and in fact we have probably seen it decline. Our addicts are getting older every year. Unfortunately, that's the good news. The bad news is that the advent of crack has more than overtaken the new advent of heroin. We have young men and women constantly tell us, our agents on the street, our

sources of information, that the basic philosophy is, "Heroin is an old people's drug, man, crack is our thing. We're not going to mess with heroin, we are going to mess with crack." Unfortunately, crack is far more addicting.

Crack is a drug that has been around for a lot of years, since 1978 in Florida, then in California, but it was always used by a very, very small number of people. When it hit New York, I don't know if our dope peddlers are better marketers than the people in the other areas, but it very quickly left that very small group of users and spread throughout the city. Well, I shouldn't say city, I should say the Greater New York metropolitan area. If I left this job today, which I won't do, and said to myself, "I want to be a dope peddler and design a drug that is specifically designed for kids," I couldn't have designed a better drug than crack. It is the ultimate marketing tool for young people for three very separate reasons:

No. 1, although it isn't cheap, it is extremely expensive, it is sold in such small amounts that a kid can spend \$5 to \$10 and buy a vial of crack, and there are some areas of New York City where you can buy them for \$3. Before the advent of crack, if a kid wanted cocaine he had to spend about \$80 for a gram. There is a big difference. So you can spend a very, very small amount of money for crack.

The second issue with crack is, it is a very unobtrusive method of using it, you smoke it. That's not obtrusive. No needles in the arm; no sticking powder up your nose; you smoke it. It doesn't intrude on the body, at least we don't think it does.

Then, of course, the third issue, crack is the ultimate immediate high. Every person I know who uses drugs uses them for one basic reason: "I want to feel good now. I don't want to wait. I don't want to work for it. I want to feel good now."

Well, crack, as you know, Mr. Gilman, is the ultimate feel good now. When I smoke crack I am stoned in 8 to 12 seconds. You can compare that with heroin that takes 1½ to 3 minutes, or cocaine hydrochloride which takes about 2½ minutes. Now, the downside, of course, is that the crack high is only 12 minutes long and when you come down there is a severe depression which often leads to paranoia. That paranoia, along with violence, leads to the violence within communities, and very often leads to violence against the people whom that crack user most trusts and loves, such as family, clergymen, et cetera.

I believe there has been a tremendous instance in the Greater New York area over the past year of marketing crack, particularly among the poorer socioeconomic areas of New York, not just in public housing. I think the lady that was the Mothers Against Crack was right on. I think you make a mistake if you simply say it is only happening in public housing. It is happening in neighborhoods and areas, and the people who live in public housing are generally no better or worse than anyone else in a community. I think what has happened is we have seen a significant marketing attempt within lower socioeconomic neighborhoods in the Greater New York area to get young people to become crack users.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Dorsey, you have identified the problems in housing of lack of security; the eviction, slow rate of eviction; the lack of proper screening. What has HUD done about correcting some of these problems?

Mr. DORSEY. Well, those three specific areas, Congressman, the first one, the security, there are two ways to address that: First of all, CIAP funds can be used for physical security systems and in some instances, housing authorities have provided card entry systems or other kinds of electronic surveillance systems which can be funded.

Mr. GILMAN. What about housing police?

Mr. DORSEY. Some housing authorities have local housing police.

Mr. GILMAN. Can they use those funds for that purpose?

Mr. DORSEY. No, you cannot use CIAP funds for that.

Mr. GILMAN. What funds can they use for it out of housing?

Mr. DORSEY. They can use operating subsidy, although operating subsidy is very limited. It is used in some cities. We encourage, frankly, cooperation with the local police department instead of establishment of the private police department.

Mr. GILMAN. So, then, there is no actual housing authority police to protect a public housing development?

Mr. DORSEY. In some cities there is.

Mr. GILMAN. Not out of HUD money though?

Mr. DORSEY. Yes. In some cities housing authorities fund police departments. But there is a limited amount of money that the housing authority has available to fund—

Mr. GILMAN. For example, in White Plains could they fund a housing police?

Mr. DORSEY. Not if they don't already have one.

Mr. GILMAN. Pardon?

Mr. DORSEY. Not if they don't already have a policeman.

In New York City, the New York City Housing Authority does have a housing authority police that is funded in part by HUD. It is also funded by the city, about two-thirds of the cost would be by the city.

Mr. GILMAN. How would the local community go about getting a housing police force?

Mr. DORSEY. At this point they could not use HUD funds to establish a police department using HUD operating subsidy. They could fund it with block grant funds, if you wanted to use funds from the local city, or from the city's resources. My recommendation, based on my experience in Kansas City, would be to cooperate with the police department.

We had an 83 member—

Mr. GILMAN. What you are saying is that HUD then can't provide any resources to do policing at the present time; is that correct? Is that a fairly accurate statement?

Mr. DORSEY. We are not providing any additional funds; that is correct.

Mr. GILMAN. What about with regard to the eviction process? What have you done to expedite the eviction? I hear it so often, that we have someone dangerous in the community, he should be out of that community, and they can't get him out of the communi-

ty. It takes months, sometimes years to get him out of there. What have you done to expedite that process?

Mr. DORSEY. We are changing our eviction procedures to eliminate the requirement for an administrative hearing by the housing authority if the local landlord-tenant court provides due process protection for the tenant. There were some court cases in the late sixties and early seventies that mandated due process hearing requirements before a termination of Federal rights under various programs. The court case was under the welfare department.

Mr. GILMAN. How long does it take to evict a tenant now with some undesirable who is violating the law?

Mr. DORSEY. It depends on the local court system, but the average is several months. The usual process would be for an administrative hearing at the housing authority; a determination by that administrative officer, whether it is a judge or a panel, administrative law judge or a panel, then, that determination—the housing authority, assuming that they win at that level, would have to go to the local landlord-tenant court and start the process right over again.

Mr. GILMAN. So you are talking now 6 months to a year, are you not?

Mr. DORSEY. In some cases that is correct. And in some local courts they don't evict people.

Mr. GILMAN. What are you doing to try and accelerate that process?

Mr. DORSEY. What we are doing is eliminating that administrative step where the landlord-tenant court in the local community or in the State meets the Federal due process requirements.

Mr. GILMAN. So you are still then confronted with at least a 3- to 6-month period before there is an eviction?

Mr. DORSEY. Well, there are due process requirements for an eviction from any kind of housing. If you have a lease on an apartment, the Constitution guarantees you a certain amount of due process. You can't just throw somebody out on the street. You have to have a certain hearing and a right to confront and cross-examine witnesses.

Mr. GILMAN. Will the elimination of this administrative procedure take place at an early date?

Mr. DORSEY. Yes. We are anticipating that that regulation will be published for effect this summer.

Mr. GILMAN. What about the screening policies, what are you doing to improve the screening policies?

Mr. DORSEY. We don't feel that present HUD policy is an impediment to screening. The Congress, in the 1987 Housing Act, authorized housing authorities to require applicants to provide us with social security numbers so we can do a better job, or housing authorities can do a better job, of checking up on records of their applicants. Now, that is designed primarily for income verification. But housing authorities are allowed now to check police records, to check prior tenancies in public housing, to check how somebody acted in a private rental situation, and to not let them in. Many housing authorities do that effectively now, others don't. We have found in the conferences that we held, that that issue is mostly an

education effort and an effort of convincing of housing authorities that they should screen people.

Mr. GILMAN. Do you have a program that you have embarked on to better educate your local housing authorities with regard to their screening responsibilities?

Mr. DORSEY. Well, we have conducted, as I said in my statement, we have conducted a national conference, and have conducted five regional conferences. We also participated in the six regional White House Conferences on Drug Free America, and the National White House Conference. We are making every effort to work with the HUD field offices to provide information to housing authorities and to emphasize that they can screen, they can evict.

Mr. GILMAN. Have you notified each of the local housing authorities with regard to what they can do with regard to screening?

Mr. DORSEY. We haven't sent out a notice specifically on that issue related to the drug issue.

Mr. GILMAN. Is there some problem about doing that, providing that kind of notification?

Mr. DORSEY. No, I don't think there would be any problem with that.

Mr. GILMAN. I would urge your agency to do just that. I think it could be extremely helpful.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Congressman DioGuardi.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. I understand that you would not be in a position to set HUD policy, but obviously as a result of what you are hearing today, I hope that you will input some information into the system so that maybe the administration can rethink, at least from an administrative point of view, what is happening before this committee looks at it, and I think we would be inclined to look at it, and maybe there is a legislative remedy here to.

To me it is ridiculous, as Congressman Gilman has pointed out, and others have pointed out, to be spending millions of dollars to take care of the physical condition of these properties—and I know what is going on right here at Winbrook because they are in the middle of a \$16 million renovation program, and when I walked through it a couple of weeks ago they showed me a glass door that was replaced three times this year alone—now, how can the Federal Government be throwing money away like this? It seems to me that you need day-to-day security for the property and certainly for the people. I think your testimony was evasive in answering Congressman Gilman's questions. There is no money right now coming out of HUD for any day-to-day security. The CIAP program has had many restrictions, and basically the money that comes out of that is capital in nature, whether it is security devices and things like that. But there isn't money for day-to-day security, unless you are talking about New York City where they have a well established housing police program, and I don't know why they have it and we can't, but the point is today, what I see in Westchester County is no security unless, as they are doing in Winbrook, they decide to take dollars—and these are dollars that are very precious because there is hardly enough money to keep up with what they need for lighting and all the other things that a housing authority

needs—but they may divert money to some kind of security guard. I did meet with the gentleman who is doing it at Winbrook.

I dare say that is not the approach. The approach should be that the Federal Government should be protecting its investment, and at the same time protecting the people, the citizens that were intended to benefit from public housing. That is not going on. So whatever policies you think are in place today at HUD, I have to tell you they are misguided because we can't spend millions of dollars on property like this and then see it go down the tube almost immediately and then have another renovation program in a few years. So we have got to get ahead of this problem. I think security on a day-to-day basis has got to be a part of it.

Mr. Chairman, I have got a lot of other questions, especially for HUD. I would like to have the opportunity to send those questions so that we have it for the record as part of the testimony, both Mr. Stutman and Mr. Dorsey.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection.

I just have one final question, Mr. Dorsey: What is the estimated value of the public housing stock that HUD owns nationally?

Mr. DORSEY. HUD does not have an estimate of the value. There are approximately 1.3 million units. They are owned by local housing authorities, HUD does not own them.

Mr. LANTOS. But it is basically your housing stock?

Mr. DORSEY. Well, we have financed the construction of it and we hold the mortgages in those cases.

Mr. LANTOS. You are talking about property worth tens of billions of dollars?

Mr. DORSEY. Yes.

Mr. LANTOS. Have you requested in your budget submission to the President funds for policing this enormous asset?

Mr. DORSEY. The Department does not feel on a national basis that it would be appropriate to fund such—

Mr. LANTOS. If there ever was a national problem, this is a national problem. I find it incomprehensible, and an outrageous dereliction of duty on the part of HUD not to protect the billions and billions of dollars worth of public housing by failing to ask funding to provide police protection for these facilities. [Applause.]

I would like you to comment on this.

Mr. DORSEY. We certainly feel that it is important to protect the housing authority properties. In some situations it is appropriate and cost effective to do that with housing authority police, with private police hired by the housing authority. In some situations around the country that occurs. In other situations, housing authorities can, and do, work very effectively with their local police departments—

Mr. LANTOS. I don't want you to dump the whole thing on the local police department.

Mr. DORSEY. I am not at all.

Mr. LANTOS. We understand that the local police has a responsibility. They are overworked; there are plenty of other jobs; let's just not give them this job also. I am intrigued by your point, I want you to explain to me, that in New York City funds can be used for public housing police, but in White Plains that could not be the case. I take it there is a grandfather clause?

Mr. DORSEY. That is correct.

Mr. LANTOS. Well, have you asked to eliminate that grandfather clause?

Mr. DORSEY. No, we have not.

Mr. LANTOS. Why not?

Mr. DORSEY. I haven't—

Mr. LANTOS. If it makes sense in the city of New York to have public housing police, it surely makes sense in White Plains to have public housing police. [Applause.]

Mr. DORSEY. Congressman, we are not familiar with the situation in White Plains. I will be glad to investigate that and report back to the committee.

Mr. LANTOS. I am not asking you to be familiar with the local situation here. I am asking a generic question. What rational justification is there to saying if you have public housing police you can use funds for that, but if you don't have it you can't begin using it. Explain the logic of that to me.

Mr. DORSEY. I wasn't involved in the decision.

Mr. LANTOS. I am not asking you personally. You are representing the agency.

Mr. DORSEY. My understanding is that at the time the funding system was established for public housing back in the mid-1970's, there were some housing authorities that had guard services funded, and that those were continued to be funded under the performance funding system. The ones that didn't were not funded and there has not been any expansion of funding since then.

Mr. LANTOS. The logic of that is comparable to saying that if you have a city which has a school system it is all right to use funds for the school system, but if it is a new city it cannot have a school system. I mean, it boggles the mind. It just boggles the mind.

I would like you to submit to the subcommittee in writing from Secretary Pierce why he has not chosen to ask that this grandfather clause be lifted. All housing authorities should be entitled to hire police. Does he intend to do so in the next budget submission. [Applause.]

I want to thank both of you gentlemen. We have learned a great deal.

Our next panel is Chief John Henry of the New York City Housing Authority Police; Chief Patrick J. Gleason of the White Plains Police Department; and Commissioner Michael Armiento of the New Rochelle Police Department.

We are delighted to have you, sir. Please proceed with your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN P. HENRY, CHIEF, NEW YORK CITY
HOUSING AUTHORITY POLICE DEPARTMENT**

Chief HENRY. Mr. Chairman, distinguished members, it is an honor and a pleasure to appear before this committee.

Mr. GILMAN. Would you please identify yourself for the record.

Chief HENRY. I am John P. Henry, chief of the New York City Housing Police.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Chief HENRY. The New York City Housing Authority is by far the Nation's largest housing authority and its program is generally recognized as the most successful. Public housing represents 9 percent of the city's rental apartments. The 178,000 apartments in our 312 operating developments house at least 600,000 people.

The authority is, in fact, a \$3 billion public corporation and the largest single residential real estate operation in the world. It has more people than Buffalo; more police than Pittsburgh; utility bills larger than the State of Utah. It is a city within a city that would itself be the 29th largest in the country.

By any yardstick, the public housing program in New York City is a stupendous achievement and an indispensable part of the social fabric of New York. The New York Times headlined a recent article, "City Projects Offer a Home For Hope," and said that public housing is for many the only chance for a decent, affordable place to live.

The fact that New York City's public housing is sound and stands as an example and firm foundation for the city and Nation to build on is evident. The authority has a zero vacancy rate; the turnover rate is now at an all-time low of 3.2 percent, and its 2-year waiting list is at a high of over 200,000 families.

Police service for public housing is provided for by the authority's own police department which numbers approximately 2,200 men and women in all ranks, making it one of the largest police forces in the country. The patrol function is a combination of foot and mobile units. Officers are assigned to foot patrol in specific projects, and people actually get to know the cop on the beat. The housing police have often been called the last of the neighborhood cops. While the housing police has primary jurisdiction for police service in the projects, our cooperative efforts with the New York City Police Department, which has concurrent jurisdiction, is essential.

Almost 100 housing police officers are assigned to New York City Police Department's support and specialized units. Recruit training and continuing inservice training is conducted by the New York City Police Department. Both departments are dispatched on the same radio frequencies, ensuring the best possible police service available. Last year housing police responded to 340,000 calls for service, while the city police disposed of the remaining 28 percent of calls on housing authority properties.

Much of the city's crime is related to the drug trade, and in particular the cocaine derivative crack. Crack is hitting our projects hard, as indeed it has the entire city, and I might add the entire country. The New York City Housing Authority population, of which more than 40 percent are under the age of 21, could hardly expect to escape the drug problem with all its attendant crime, related problems, or social dilemmas.

In January 1984, newly appointed police commissioner, Benjamin Ward, promised to clear those areas where street drug traffic openly flourished. His first selected area on the Lower East Side of New York was dubbed "Operation Pressure Point." The New York City Housing Police, in a cooperative effort with the NYPD, committed personnel to this venture as seven of our projects were in the original boundaries. Because we feared displacement of drug

dealers and addicts to nearby projects, we included five additional projects in our committed coverage of Operation Pressure Point. Literally thousands of arrests have been made, reflecting tremendous improvement. However, Pressure Point remains because, quite frankly, elimination of this program with a heavy commitment of manpower would probably see a return to the horrible situation that existed prior to 1984.

Basically our traditional police enforcement strategies throughout public housing, in relation to drug enforcement, consists of vertical patrols of hallways, lobbies, elevators, and checking of rooftops. This, on average, netted between 400 to 500 arrests monthly on assorted charges of minor drug violations, loitering, and disorderly conduct. For more serious drug dealing within apartments, the aid of the New York City Police Department was solicited as they had the expertise of undercover officers and "buy and bust" operations.

The arrest of street level peddlers and their clients with small amounts of drugs in the lobbies, hallways, and project playgrounds is critical so that legitimate persons can feel some sense of security and well being. However, it is hardly enough. It is behind the closed doors of project apartments and in fortified storefronts or other outlets on project perimeters where many drug operations are based that can so negative impact our tenants.

The chairman of the housing authority, Emanuel Popolizio, and the general manager, Mr. Shuldiner, were committed to meet this challenge head on. In 1986, the authority established a special narcotics task force. With their blessings I met with Benjamin Ward, the police commissioner, and proposed the following: The New York City Housing Authority Police would assign 21 police officers and 2 sergeants to the New York City Police Department's seven narcotics districts throughout the city, to be trained as investigators and to work with them in a joint New York City Police Department and housing police initiative.

This concerted enforcement effort would be directed at illegal drug activity conducted within and on the immediate perimeter of housing authority properties throughout New York City. Suspect locations and related intelligence information would be provided by the commanders of the nine housing police precincts to serve as a basis for initial field investigations, pinpointing individuals engaged in outside illicit operations. Inside buys would be made by undercover officers in preparation for search warrant applications. Police Commissioner Ward pledged his fullest cooperation and within 2 weeks our officers were in training.

Since September 1986, this joint initiative commenced 18 separate day-long enforcement actions, including search warrant executions and "buy-and-bust" operations. Our efforts have borne fruit: More than 16,000 tins of cocaine; more than 16,000 vials of crack; more than 4,000 dime bags of heroin; more than 7,000 nickel bags of marijuana; assorted other drugs and paraphernalia; we have confiscated numerous automobiles; nearly a quarter million dollars; 57 handguns, 2 shotguns, 1 machine gun, and a rifle; 140 search warrants have been executed and over 1,800 persons were arrested for felonies and nearly 600 for misdemeanors. The total value of all property and contraband seized was over \$1 million.

As a result of this successful venture, the identities of tenants running drug operations from their apartments were turned over to the management and legal departments of the housing authority for eviction proceedings. In addition to these active law enforcement initiatives, the housing police also focuses efforts on drug abuse awareness and education. Our community relations officers confer with community leaders and schedule meetings for tenants and employees. They lecture on the dangers of drug abuse and educate parents and guardians to recognize the signs of abuse. Over 570 such meetings have been held in community centers delivering our message to more than 22,000 tenants.

Housing police have distributed a trilingual form in English, Spanish, and Chinese, which permits tenants to inform us anonymously about drug operations, drug dealers, or other serious crimes which they know about. More than 1,700 forms have been returned to date and many have yielded excellent results.

Working closely with the housing police are tenant patrols. Started in 1968, the patrols now have over 14,000 tenant members. They man lobbies, patrol grounds, and in general act as an extra set of eyes and ears for the housing police. The authority's tenant patrols pioneered civilian participation in security and are being emulated in many other areas.

The police also interact continuously with tenant associations; project managers who receive copies of all police reports; community councils, set up by our community relations officers; and New York City Police Department commanders who meet regularly with the local housing police commanders. Although attacking the drug crisis from a law enforcement standpoint has yielded the most visible results, the other action committees which comprise the housing authority narcotics task force have been similarly busy and effective.

The tenant remedies and employee remedies committees focus on tenant/employee drug user assistance programs and enlist tenant/employee aid in antidrug efforts. The information and education action committee focuses on all-media antinarcotics campaigns and providing alternate activities for the large numbers of idle youth who are at the heart of the drug problem.

For the law enforcement initiatives to be meaningful, there needs to be an earnest commitment from local police agencies to develop directed enforcement strategies; from housing administrators at the highest levels to follow up police intervention with the civil process of eviction; and for the Federal Government to accept its responsibility to prevent the importation of cocaine and heroin into the United States through forceful drug interdiction efforts. As a nation we must awaken and realize the drug menace is killing us. For all of us here, and each of us throughout the country, a concerted attack on buyers as well as sellers is required.

While much has been achieved in combating the war on drugs in public housing, the challenge remains. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, very much, Chief Henry. [Applause.]
Congressman DioGuardi.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. I have some questions which I will submit for the record, Mr. Chairman.

[Submissions to Mr. DioGuardi's questions follow:]

BILL GRANT, FLORIDA
TED WEISS, NEW YORK
NANCY PEASE, CALIFORNIA

ONE HUNDRETH CONGRESS

WALTER P. REAGAN, NEW YORK
JON L. KYL, ARIZONA
CHRISTOPHER SHAYS, CONNECTICUT

225-4751

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 8-349-A

WASHINGTON, DC 20515

March 29, 1988

Michael Dorsey, General Counsel
Department of Housing and Urban Development
451 7th Street SW
Washington DC 20410-0050

Dear Mr. Dorsey:

In connection with our recent hearing on Department of Housing and Urban Development programs to combat drug abuse in public housing, your response to the following questions would be appreciated:

1. Some housing authorities, like New York, are permitted to use money from their operational subsidy to pay for the policing of public housing developments. Why are those public housing authorities which did not have police at the time the funding system was established now prohibited from using federal money to pay for policing?

Representative DiGuardi's Questions

1. What are the parameters of HUD's designation of up to 10% of Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP) Funds for drug intensive programs.

2. Why did HUD decide to put drug program funding into the CIAP program?

Do you favor the permanent dedication of a percentage of CIAP funds to drug related programs? Could, or should, what you have done administratively be done legislatively?

3. What is the Department's schedule for getting regulations written on the "Flake" amendment in the recently passed housing bill? It is my understanding that this provision will provide for additional use of CIAP funding for security and drug related programs?

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Michael Dorsey

4. I know that you support a regional approach to this problem. How would you feel about legislation to fund a "training team" that could go from region to region instituting a week to two week seminar for PHA Directors and local police on ways to fight this concentrated drug activity?

5. I think the Department ought to have an office designed to "trouble shoot" drug programs once they are off the ground and fighting this menace in real ways. What is the Department's position and how do you feel about this idea?

6. How is New York City's Housing Police Force recognized by the Department of Housing and Urban Development?

Your prompt response to these questions would be appreciated so as not to delay the printing of the hearing transcript.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Cordially,

Tom Lantos

TOM LANTOS
Chairman

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

April 19, 1988

THE GENERAL COUNSEL

Honorable Tom Lantos
Chairman, Employment and Housing
Subcommittee
Committee on Government Operations
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Lantos:

Thank you for your letter of March 29, 1988 transmitting questions pertaining to the hearings on the Department of Housing and Urban Development's programs to combat drug-abuse in public housing. I will respond to your questions in the order in which they appear in your letter.

Question 1:

Some housing authorities, like New York, are permitted to use money from their operational subsidy to pay for the policing of public housing developments. Why are those public housing authorities which did not have police at the time the funding system was established now prohibited from using federal money to pay for policing?

Answer:

No public housing agencies (PHAs) are prohibited from using either locally generated income or operating subsidies to pay for security services either through contracts or PHA personnel hired for that purpose.

The formula under which PHAs receive operating subsidies essentially represents an Authority's operations as they existed in 1974, the "base year" for calculating the various expenses that would be considered part of a PHA's normal operations. This 1974 "snapshot" normally did not second guess PHA operations by adding or deleting functions so that all Authorities would be exactly the same. New York City's public housing police force was an established part of that Authority's operation in 1974; its cost became an "allowable" expense for purposes of receiving operating subsidy.

Thus, while PHAs are not prohibited from paying for policing, those without such a system in place in 1974 would not be able to cover its cost with the operating subsidy received.

Congressman DioGuardi's QuestionsQuestion 1:

What are the parameters of HUD's designation of up to 10% of Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP) Funds for drug intensive programs?

Answer:

The Department has identified the Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program, or CIAP, as the main funding vehicle HUD has for housing authorities to combat the drug problem. CIAP funds are presently available for modernization of public housing. The 1988 funding level is \$1.7 billion dollars. Of this amount, up to 10 percent can be spent for "management improvements," and the Office of Public and Indian Housing has properly included activities directed toward the elimination of drugs as "management improvement." CIAP funding is limited to either physical improvements to the properties, such as security systems, additional lighting, structural changes to facilitate observation of criminal activity, or the improvement of "defensible space." Management improvements can include training contracts, computer systems, or other system improvements. CIAP funds cannot be used for continuing management expenses, such as salaries for employees.

Question 2:

Why did HUD decide to put drug program funding into the CIAP program?

Do you favor the permanent dedication of a percentage of CIAP funds to drug related programs? Could, or should, what you have done administratively be done legislatively?

Answer:

Drug program funding under CIAP is not a new initiative, these activities have always been eligible under the program. In the Fiscal Year 1987 CIAP processing notice and through other publications, HUD simply clarified that certain drug-related activities were eligible.

The Department does not favor the permanent dedication of a percentage of CIAP funds to drug-related programs; this could work to the detriment of the modernization program and discourage local programs that are serving public housing already without CIAP funding.

The Department's position is to promote and encourage an approach which is flexible with respect to this initiative and a legislative mandate would not be advantageous. The current legislation is sufficient to allow a broad range of drug-related activities.

Question 3:

What is the Department's schedule for getting regulations written on the "Flake" amendment in the recently passed housing bill? It is my understanding that this provision will provide for additional use of CIAP funding for security and drug related programs?

Answer:

With reference to Representative Flake's amendment at section 120 of the 1987 Act, the Department has indicated to him that rule amendments implementing that section will not be forthcoming until sometime in FY 1989.

Note also, however, that HUD is working with the Congress to develop statutory changes in the method of allocating assistance under the Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (under section 119(f) of the new Act) that may be expected to lead to much greater local discretion in expending CIAP funds consistent with local needs. Indeed, the CIAP amendments provided for under section 119 of the Act might largely render the eligibility provisions in section 120 redundant.

Pending further action under either of these 1987 Act CIAP-related amendments, security expenditures under the CIAP program are already eligible for funding as management improvement costs under HUD's current CIAP regulations. (See 24 CFR 968.4(b)(2)(iii)(B).)

Question 4:

I know that you support a regional approach to this problem. How would you feel about legislation to fund a "training team" that could go from region to region instituting a week to two week seminar for PHA Directors and local police on ways to fight this concentrated drug activity?

Answer:

The drug problems in public housing will vary from development to development within a community, appropriate solutions need to be developed locally. Therefore, through our National and regional conferences we have presented a universe of possible solutions so PHAs can tailor their action plans to specific local circumstances. Since the end of the regional conferences in December of 1987, a number of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials' regional meetings are addressing drugs and some of HUD's Area Offices, such as Sacramento, are holding conferences on Drug Free Public Housing as well. This kind of local activity, and information and experience sharing, is the most effective way to help PHAs address drug abuse.

Question 5:

I think the Department ought to have an office designed to "trouble shoot" drug programs once they are off the ground and fighting this menace in real ways. What is the Department's position and how do you feel about this idea?

Answer:

The Department's role in achieving drug-free public housing is to give PHAs the necessary information and tools so they may effectively address the problem. My office receives calls from PHAs around the country asking for help, advice and information on drug-related problems. We answer their questions and refer them to someone or some organization in their region with whom they could work. I don't feel an office solely designed to "trouble shoot" drug programs is needed. Organizations such as National Association of Housing Redevelopment Officials or the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities could take on such a role if it is needed by their members.

Question 6:

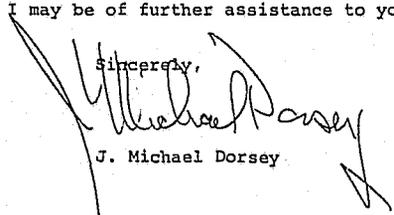
How is New York City's Housing Police Force recognized by the Department of Housing and Urban Development?

Answer:

New York City's Housing Police Force is recognized by the Department of Housing and Urban Development as part of the operations of the New York City Housing Authority.

Please contact me if I may be of further assistance to your Subcommittee.

Sincerely,



J. Michael Dorsey

Mr. LANTOS. Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. I just want to commend Chief Henry for coming to explain what you are doing in New York City, the exemplary process that you have developed there. I just hope other communities would adopt some of these methods and procedures. We have the highest regard for the New York City housing police and what they have been doing.

I would hope that your message would be heard around the Nation, that we have to work cooperatively with all sorts of community leaders to try to stem this flow of drugs and the abuse and the trafficking. Do you have any recommendations after hearing the comments today and hearing the frustration from the tenants groups and the associations? What can they do here locally, Chief Henry?

Chief HENRY. I would only say that I don't think there are any simplistic answers, whether it is you gentlemen as Congressmen, whether it is myself in law enforcement, or Bob Stutman, or whether it is the tenants. But it just has to be a concerted thing.

I think the one thing I would suggest to the tenants, and perhaps they are already doing it, I think that tenant patrols send a message. We do not pay our tenant patrols. It is just people who live in that housing project who get together. Quite honestly, we do not have them in each and every building, but many of the buildings do. I believe the authority gives a very small stipend to the person who would organize it. So if I lived in this particular building and I became the organizer, I would try to convince you and these other people as tenants, let's get together. Just their mere sitting there, we insist then that our police officers visit them, just to pass the time of day. "How are you doing?" "How are the children?" "Can I get you coffee?" Whatever it is. But just their sitting there does send a message. I think there are serious, serious problems with the drugs, but I don't think there is anything, as long as we are all sincere and really mean it, that we don't get together and that we can overcome this menace somehow.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

On this police information sheet that you have attached to your testimony, that doesn't have to be signed by anyone?

Chief HENRY. Absolutely not. In fact, we stress anonymity. So that all we want, just tell us the information. Tell us what the guy is wearing; what type of car; when he comes. Those are the things. Then we will send out our anticrime officers who operate in civilian clothes and they will sit and watch. Sometimes people, and perhaps all of us as people, make a judgment and their judgment is wrong. Perhaps the guy is doing something else. But we will go out; we will look at it; we then pass it on to the New York City Police Department.

Mr. GILMAN. How do you distribute this to the tenants?

Chief HENRY. We have what you would refer to as precincts. We have nine police precincts. In every one of our precincts we have a specific officer who does community affairs work. They meet; they have tenant association meetings, tenant patrol meetings, and that is where we do it. If this was a tenant association meeting, I would, as the community affairs officer, tell the people, "I have these forms at the end of the desk, if you know anything"—you know,

there are a lot of things happening. There have been meetings in New York City where sometimes the drug dealers have infiltrated the meetings. So people are intimidated and they have some good reason to be based on some of the violence that has occurred throughout the country. We tell them they are here, so if they feel inhibited from coming and picking it up tonight, they can pick it up anytime. We put it under doors; we give it to the managers when they collect rent. We just keep printing them and passing them out. We told them we don't care how they come back here. You can mail them to us. We put the captain's address on them. Don't tell us who you are, just give us the information and we will work on it.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Chief.

Chief HENRY. My pleasure.

Mr. LANTOS. Chief, that is very impressive testimony, and the work of your people and yourself is well known throughout the country.

Let me ask you, in the city of New York, are you gaining ground or are you losing ground? What would it take for you to do the job that you would like to do? Twice the staff that you have got? Do you have enough people? Tell us about your situation.

Chief HENRY. I assume you are talking just about public housing?

Mr. LANTOS. Just about public housing.

Chief HENRY. I don't know, in view of the fact—and I might add, before I go on to public housing, I am on leave from the New York City Police Department.

Mr. LANTOS. Yes.

Chief HENRY. I have 32 years in law enforcement, 28 with the New York City Police Department. I now report to Commissioner Ward and to the chairman of the housing authority.

I think in view of the recent surge of crack, I don't know that any law enforcement official in this country, whether he be in public housing or in a city or in a State, would say that he is winning the battle. I think that what we are doing is we are fighting the battle. I think Commissioner Ward, on many things that he has done, and the fact that I report to him if he demands, "I want you to do this." So I think they are doing an excellent job in fighting the battle. I think there are just so many hundreds of items, and probably they have all been touched on here today by different speakers in different ways, I think, quite honestly, Congress has to do more.

I was at a breakfast yesterday morning where the Honorable Senator from New York, Alfonse D'Amato, told of a vote in Congress last year where he said only 38 U.S. Senators voted affirmatively. And I found that shocking, and it was something to do with censoring certain countries that are pushing drugs into this country. He turned and pointed to a gentleman who was sitting there, who I happen to know is the father of slain Police Officer Eddie Byrne, and he told him, he said, "I promise you I lead the fight again." But I think that is rather sad that out of the 96 or 100 Senators that we have, that only 38 would come forward and say, "Yes, we should stop."

I think there are many things that have to be done. I don't think we are winning the war. I do think we are doing a very good job of fighting the war, and I do feel very confident that eventually we are going to win it. There are too many good people in the country to lose.

Mr. LANTOS. I want to thank you very much. It was an outstanding presentation. We are very grateful to you.

Chief HENRY. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Chief Henry follows:]

Testimony:

John P. Henry, Chief
New York City Housing Authority
Police Department

Employment and Housing Subcommittee
of the
Committee on Government Operations

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Committee.

It is an honor and a pleasure to appear before this committee.

The New York City Housing Authority is by far the nation's largest public housing authority and its program is generally recognized as the most successful. Public housing represents nine percent of the city's rental apartments. The 178,000 apartments in our 312 operating developments house at least 600,000 people.

The Authority is in fact a \$3 billion public corporation

and the largest single residential real estate operation in the world. It has more people than Buffalo, more police than Pittsburgh, utility bills larger than the state of Utah's -- it is a "city within a city" that would itself be the 29th largest in the country.

By any yardstick, the public housing program in New York City is a stupendous achievement and an indispensable part of the social fabric of New York. The New York Times headlined a recent article "City Projects Offer a Home for Hope" and said that "public housing is for many the only chance for a decent, affordable place to live."

The fact that New York City's public housing is sound, and stands as an example and firm foundation for the city and nation to build on, is evident. The Authority has a zero vacancy rate; the turnover rate is now at all-time low of 3.2%

and its two-year waiting list is at a high of over 200,000 families.

Police service for public housing is provided for by the Authority's own police department which numbers approximately 2200 men and women in all ranks, making it one of the largest police forces in the country. The patrol function is a combination of foot and mobile units. Officers are assigned to foot patrol in specific projects and people actually get to know the cop on the beat. The Housing Police have often been called "the last of the neighborhood cops." While the Housing Police have primary jurisdiction for police service in the projects, our cooperative efforts with the New York City Police Department, which has concurrent jurisdiction, is essential. Nearly 100 Housing Police Officers are assigned to NYC Police Department support and specialized units. Recruit training and continuing in-service training is conducted by the NYC Police

Department. Both departments are dispatched on the same radio frequencies, ensuring the best possible police service available. Last year, Housing Police officers responded to 340,247 calls for service while the City police disposed of the remaining 28% of calls on Housing Authority Properties.

Much of the city's crime is related to the drug trade and in particular the cocaine derivative "Crack". Crack is hitting our projects hard, as indeed it has the entire city.

The New York City Housing Authority population, of which more than 40% are under 21 years of age, could hardly expect to escape the drug problem with all its attendant crime related problems or social dilemmas.

In January 1984, newly appointed Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward promised to clear those areas where street drug traffic openly flourished. His first selected area on the

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Lower East Side was dubbed "Operation Pressure Point". The New York City Housing Police, in a cooperative effort with the NYPD, committed personnel to this venture as seven of our projects were in the original boundaries. Because we feared displacement of drug dealers and addicts to nearby projects, we included five additional projects in our committed coverage of Operation Pressure Point. Literally thousands of arrests have been made reflecting tremendous improvement.

However, Pressure Point remains because, quite frankly, elimination of this program with a heavy commitment of manpower would probably see a return to the horrible situation that existed prior to 1984.

Basically, our traditional police enforcement strategies throughout public housing in relation to drug enforcement consists of vertical patrols of hallways, lobbies, elevators

and checking of rooftops. This on average netted between four to five hundred arrests monthly on assorted charges of: minor drug violations, loitering and disorderly conduct. For more serious drug dealing within apartments, the aid of the NYCPD was solicited as they had the expertise of "undercover officers" and "buy and bust" operations.

The arrests of street level peddlers and their clients with small amounts of drugs in the lobbies, hallways and project playgrounds is critical so that legitimate persons can feel some sense of security and well being. However, it is hardly enough. For it is behind the closed doors of project apartments and in fortified storefronts or other outlets on project perimeters where many drug operations are based that can so negatively impact our tenants.

The Chairman of the Housing Authority, Emanuel P. Popolizio, and General Manager Joseph Shuldiner were committed

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to meet this challenge head on. In 1986, the Authority established a special Narcotics Task Force. With their blessing I met with Benjamin Ward, the Police Commissioner of the City of New York, and proposed the following: the New York City Housing Authority Police would assign 19 police officers and 2 sergeants to the New York City Police Department's seven narcotics districts to be trained as investigators and to work with them in a Joint New York City Police Department Narcotics Division/Housing Police Initiative.

This concerted enforcement effort would be directed at illegal drug activity conducted within, and on the immediate perimeter, of Housing Authority properties throughout New York City. Suspect locations and related intelligence information would be provided by the Commanders of the 9 Housing Police Precincts to serve as a basis for initial field investigations pinpointing individuals engaged in outside operations. Inside

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buys would be made by undercover officers in preparation for search warrant applications. Police Commissioner Ward pledged his fullest cooperation and within two weeks our officers were in training.

Since September 1986 the joint city-wide Narcotics Division/Housing Police enforcement initiative commenced 18 separate day-long enforcement actions including search warrant executions and "buy-and-bust" operations. Our efforts have borne fruit:

- more than 16,000 tins of cocaine
- more than 16,000 vials of CRACK
- more than 4,000 dime bags of heroin
- more than 7,000 nickel bags of marijuana
- as well as other assorted drugs and paraphernalia
- we have confiscated numerous automobiles
- nearly a quarter million dollars and
- 57 handguns, 2 shotguns, 1 machine gun, 1 rifle

140 Search Warrants have been executed and over 1800 persons were arrested for felonies and nearly 600 for misdemeanors. The total value of all property and contraband seized was over \$1 million. As a result of this successful venture, the identities of tenants running drug operations from their apartments were turned over to the management and legal departments of the Housing Authority for eviction proceedings. (see attachment "Request for Legal Action").

In addition to these active law enforcement initiatives, the Housing Authority Police Department also focuses efforts on drug abuse awareness and education. Our Community Relations Officers confer with community leaders and schedule meetings for tenants and employees. Community Relations Officers lecture on the dangers of drug abuse and educate parents and

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guardians to recognize the signs of abuse. Over 570 such meetings have been held in Community Centers delivering our message to more than 22,000 tenants.

Housing Police have distributed a tri-lingual form in English, Spanish and Chinese which permits tenants to inform us anonymously about drug operations, drug dealers or other serious crimes which they know about. More than 1700 such forms have been returned to date and many have yielded excellent results.

Working closely with the Housing Police are Tenant Patrols. Started in 1968, the patrols now have over 14,000 tenant members. They man lobbies, patrol grounds and in general act as an extra set of eyes and ears for the Housing Police. The Authority's Tenant Patrols pioneered civilian-participation in security and are being emulated in many quarters.

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The police also interact continuously with

- Tenant Associations
- Project Managers, who receive copies of police reports
- Community Councils, set up by Community Relations Officers
- NYCPD Precinct Commanders who meet regularly with local Housing Police Commanders

Although attacking the drug crisis from a law enforcement standpoint has yielded the most visible results, the other action committees which comprise the Housing Authority Narcotics Task Force have been similarly busy and effective.

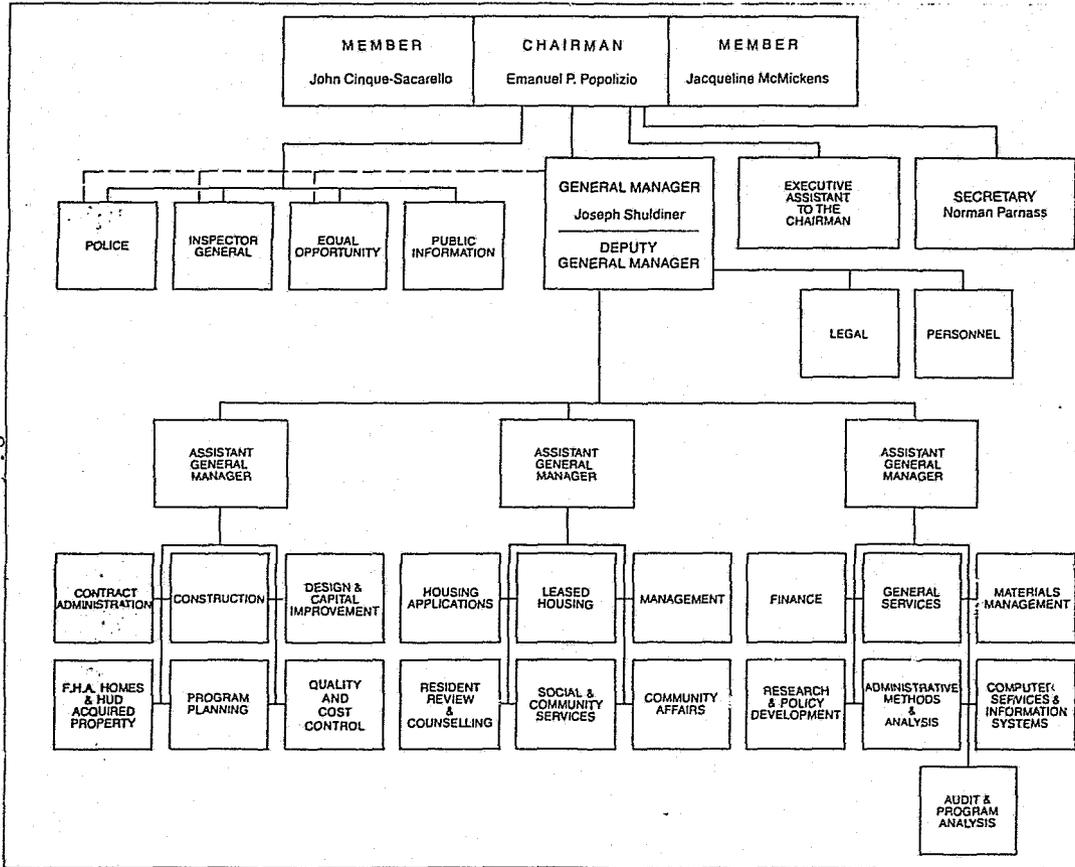
The Tenant Remedies and Employee Remedies Committees focus on tenant/employee drug user assistance programs and enlist tenant/employee aid in anti-drug efforts. The Information and Education Action Committee focuses on all-media anti-narcotics campaigns and providing alternate activities for the large numbers of idle youth who are at the heart of the drug problem.

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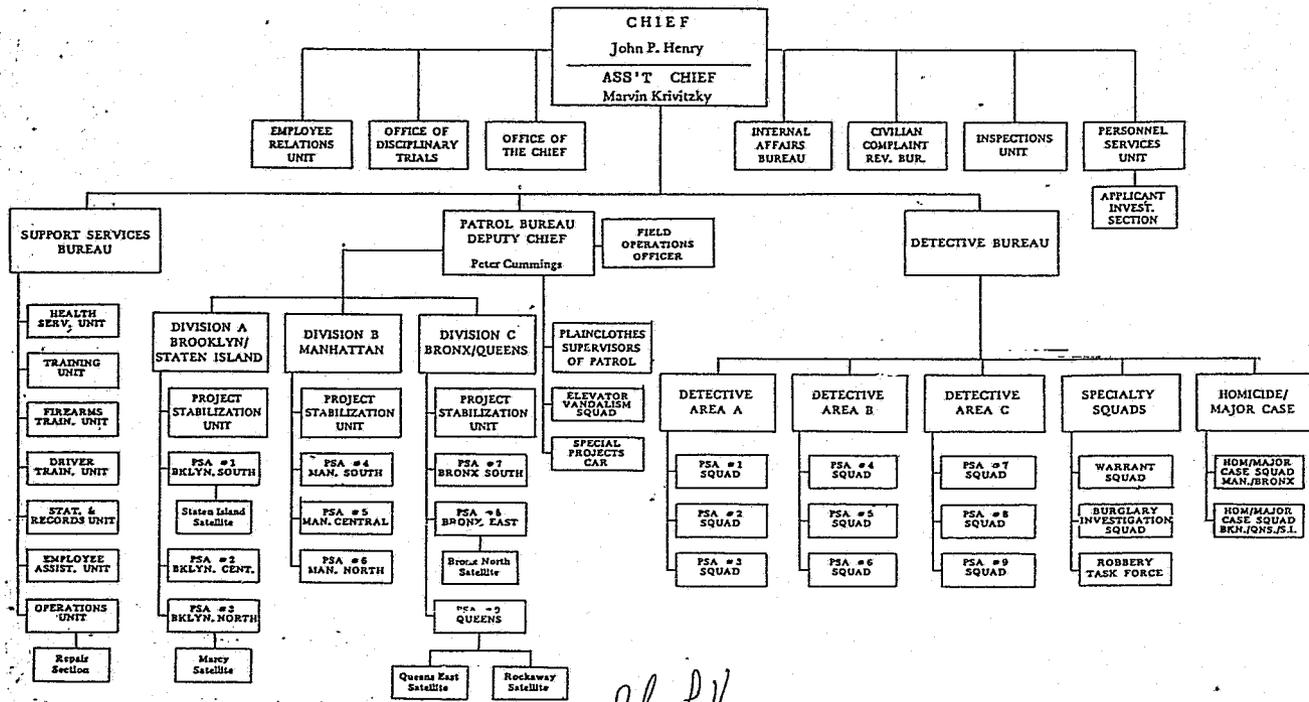
For the law enforcement initiatives to be meaningful, there needs to be an earnest commitment from local police agencies to develop directed enforcement strategies; from Housing administrators at the highest levels to follow-up police intervention with the civil process of eviction and, for the Federal Government to accept its responsibility to prevent the importation of cocaine and heroin into the United States through forceful drug interdiction efforts.

As a nation, we must awaken and realize the drug menace is killing us. For all of us here, and each of us throughout the country, a concerted attack on buyers as well as sellers is required.

While much has been achieved in combatting the war on drugs in public housing, the challenge remains.



NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
POLICE DEPARTMENT - ORGANIZATION CHART



Effective:

John P. Henry

**NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
POLICE DEPARTMENT**

CASE FOR LEGAL ACTION

01. PROJECT

02. I.C.R. #

03. DATE OF INCIDENT

04. CONTROL #

TENANT INFORMATION

05. NAME

06. ADDRESS

07. APT. #

08. OCCUPATION

09. SEX

10. RACE

11. D.O.B.

12. ARRESTED
YES NO

13. IF APARTMENT IS BEING USED IN THE COMMISSION OF A CRIME, EXPLAIN :

ARRESTED INFORMATION

14. NAME

15. ADDRESS

16. APT. #

17. TENANT ?
YES NO

18. RELATIONSHIP TO TENANT

19. OCCUPATION

20. SEX

21. RACE

22. D.O.B.

23. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

24. SPECIFIC CHARGES

PCT #

ARREST #

COMPLAINT #

ALARM #

VOUCHER #

1.

2.

3.

4.

25. ARREST TYPE

ARREST WARRANT

||

DOCKET #

SEARCH WARRANT

||

DOCKET #

OTHER

26. EVIDENCE AND CONTRABAND RECOVERED :

27. REMARKS :

REPORTING OFFICER

SHEILD #

ASSIGNMENT

DATE

SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE

NEW YORK CITY HOUSING POLICE DEPARTMENT
SUSPECTED DRUG - CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

NOTE: We do not need your name. We only ask for specific information which will assist us in addressing illicit narcotics or other criminal activity in your building or neighborhood. Remember - together we can make a difference.

DRUGS: () Cocaine () Crack () Heroin
() Marijuana () Pills () Other _____

Date(s) _____

Day(s) _____ Time _____

Location _____
Project Address Apt.(s)

SPECIFIC AREA: () Hailway () Lobby () Stairwell _____
() Roof Landing () Roof () Other _____ Floor(s)
Indicate

SUSPECT VEHICLE: _____
Lic. Plate # Year Make Color

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF SUSPECT: () Male () Female
() Black () White () Other _____

Complexion _____ Weight _____ Shoes _____
Hair _____ Build _____ Sneakers _____
Mustache _____ Hat/Cap _____ Blouse _____
Beard _____ Shirt _____ Skirt _____
Scar _____ Pants _____ Dress _____
Glasses _____ Jacket _____
Height _____ Sweater _____

NAME OF SUSPECT: _____ Alias/Nickname _____

ADDRESS (IF KNOWN) _____

PLACE(S) FREQUENTED _____

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON SUSPECT: Weapons Involved/Carried () Yes () No
Lookouts Involved () Yes () No
Children Involved () Yes () No

DETAILS (FOR ANY "YES" CHECKED): _____

REMARKS: Do you have any information on wanted people or serious crimes which have yet to be solved _____

WHEN COMPLETED MAIL TO YOUR
LOCAL P.S.A. AS FOLLOWS:

DEPARTAMENTO DE POLICIA DE VIVIENDA DE LA CIUDAD DE NUEVA YORK

SOSPECHA DE ACTIVIDADES CRIMINALES Y DE DROGAS

NOTA: No necesitamos su nombre. Solamente pedimos información específica que nos ayudara resolver actividades ilícitas en su edificio o vecindario relacionadas con narcóticos o crímenes. Recuerde juntos, podemos hacer una diferencia.

DROGAS: () Cocaine () Crack () Heroin
 () Marijuana () Pastillas () Otra

Fecha(s) _____

Día(s) _____ Tiempo _____

Localidad _____

Proyecto Dirección Apartamento(s)

AREA ESPECÍFICA: () Pasillo () Vestibulo () Escalera _____

Piso(s)

() Descanso de la Azotea () Azotea () Otro _____

Indique

VEHICULO SOSPECHADO: _____

Tablilla Año Tipo de Carro Color

APARIENCIA DE SOSPECHOSO: () Hombre () Mujer
 () Negro () Blanco () Otro

Carácter _____ Paso _____ Zapatos _____

Pelo _____ Talle _____ Tenis _____

Bigote _____ Sombrero/Gorra _____ Blusa _____

Barba _____ Camisa _____ Falda _____

Cicatriz _____ Pantalones _____ Vestido _____

Lentes _____ Chaqueta _____

Altura _____ Suéter _____

NOMBRE DE SOSPECHOSO: _____ APODO _____

DIRECCION: _____

LUGARES QUE FRECUENTA: _____

INFORMACION ADICIONAL SOBRE SOSPECHOSO: Armas Envueltas/Cargadas () Si () No

Vigilantes Envueltos () Si () No

Niños Envueltos () Si () No

Detalles (Para "Si" marcados arriba) _____

COMENTARIOS: ¿Sabe usted información sobre personas buscadas por la ley o sobre crímenes serios que no han sido resueltos? _____

 Cuando este completado, envíe a su Oficina de P.S.A. local:

死者的姓名 _____ 卓號 _____

址(如果知道的話) _____

常出沒的地方 _____

您有關嫌疑人的資料：

有沒有攜帶武器 ()有 ()沒有

有没有人把屋(跡場) ()有 ()沒有

有没有幼童介入 ()有 ()沒有

說明：(如果上述問題答案是“是”的話，請說明) _____

附註：您有沒有任何通訊紀錄或是警方還沒有便破的器重罪案消息 _____

看您填好後請寄到您附近的警察局 _____

Mr. LANTOS. I believe the final witness this afternoon is Mr. Tony Tascione, director of the White Plains Housing Authority.

We are pleased to have you.

You may proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF TONY TASCIONE, DIRECTOR, WHITE PLAINS HOUSING AUTHORITY

Mr. TASCIONE. It is good to be here today before this congressional subcommittee. I have listened to many speakers today talk about the problems in public housing, and I would like to talk to you from the front lines.

We are here today as community representatives to give testimony before this congressional subcommittee on the problem of drugs in public housing. We have heard other community representatives discuss the problem of drugs, the education system, the high dropout rates, and children completing school who cannot read and write. Others are discussing pregnancy, the welfare syndrome, and that, along with the lack of education, relegates individuals to a life of poverty. While I am not here today to deal at length with these issues, we do see a growing number of poor people in America who are becoming a permanent underclass, consisting of people with all those social ills: A lack of education; minimum job skills; teen pregnancy; homelessness; child abuse; and drug use.

I have managed low-income housing here in White Plains for 5 years and I see public housing becoming here a repository for individuals and families with these problems. Walk these grounds across the street and you will see children who are not in school; teenagers having babies; alcoholism; drugs; and the unemployed standing around with nowhere to go. I am sure that committee members have heard housing lobbyists and other special interest groups talk about the legacy of the Reagan administration as it relates to HUD-funded programs. However, to emphasize my testimony, I believe it is important that we understand what we in the community, such as White Plains, have been faced with in managing low-income housing; dealing with escalating costs; flat rents; drugs; and the vandalism and crime associated with drug use in public housing.

The Reagan administration's fiscal year 1989 proposed budget, the last of his term in office, proposes \$2 billion in additional spending cuts to HUD-funded programs from the current level. Under this budget request HUD would receive \$13.5 billion for all programs, which represents a cumulative reduction in dollars to HUD-funded programs since 1981, the first year of the Reagan administration is 70 percent. That is right, 70-percent cut in new activities for low-income housing assistance in the past 8 years. Seventy-percent cuts in funding, while all costs associated with operating HUD programs, including housing assistance programs, have gone through the ceilings. Contract costs, labor, fringe benefits, insurance, replacement of equipment, modernization, compliance work. As managers we have attempted to do with less and less to provide services. Now we are faced with a major drug epidemic and we do not have the resources to deal with the problem, nor do we

have the resources to deal with the vandalism, the crime, and the destruction which is the aftermath of this problem.

We in White Plains have been somewhat lucky because of our good working relationship with the local police department and existing in-house security program paid for out of our reserve funds, I might add, not HUD subsidy. These efforts have resulted in a 300-percent increase in drug related arrests in the past 3½ years, with virtually all of the crack arrests occurring right across the street here at the Winbrook Apartments. We have had the largest single drug arrest in Westchester County history this past June, approximately 10 months ago, resulting in 61 sealed indictments. In short, we have arrested them, but they are right back on the street. I see people convicted of class C felonies getting 5 years probation, and they are right back out there doing the same thing within hours after being released. We have a situation where welfare pays the rent while they are in jail and legal aid defends them. That is a reality. Yet we are supposed to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing to all residents. We can't evict because Federal regulations stop us. Do you know that the standard eviction for nonpayment in public housing in New York City takes up to 2 years, largely due to Federal regulations.

Good tenants and community groups ask us what we are doing about people who get arrested. Our answer is that we are spending more and more time preparing and appearing in court than we are managing housing, and we are still not winning the war on drugs, gentlemen.

I ask you to visit any public housing structures where drugs are a problem, and look at the destruction. Talk to the people who manage them. Talk to the police, the firefighters, the local building department employees who provide services to these families. Ask them about drugs and what drugs are doing to the children, the social fabric of the community and the buildings that these people are living in. We cannot continue to spend less and less money to deal with drugs and other quality of life issues in public housing. I ask that the committee consider the statements of all those who offered testimony today. These are individuals who deal with the problem on a day-to-day basis.

From a housing authority perspective we need, of course, more funds. But as importantly, we need new regulations on continued occupancy, admission, eviction procedures, and a timely national commitment to dealing realistically with the drug problem.

Finally, from a taxpaying citizen's perspective, we need community involvement, starting with the education of our children concerned with the evils of drugs. We need the development of laws that deter drug dealing with stringent jail terms that cannot be circumvented by lawyers in the courts. We need the commitment from social service agencies to assist in providing rehabilitative programs to families and individuals affected by drugs. Most of all, we need a commitment from those individuals and families living within these communities to rise up against drugs and speak out against those who are destroying their homes, their communities, and their lives.

Thank you, sir. [Applause.]

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much.

Congressman DioGuardi.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. Thank you for that very lucid testimony, and thanks for the cooperation a few weeks ago in going through Winbrook.

Mr. TASCIONE. You are welcome, sir.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. It is obvious to me that you are trying within the constraints to deal with this problem. It almost seems from the testimony today that the U.S. Government is sending a signal that it wants to get out of the housing business. I can't believe if it had its heart in the place of really delivering the service called housing for a constituency that it would go about it in this way. I am just wondering, you have been in this field for some time and you are a professional, what do you think the Federal Government is trying to do today with public housing?

Mr. TASCIONE. I think it is really sending us a mixed message. On one hand we are spending about \$15 million, \$16 million across the street to renovate the buildings, but they are cutting back on our operating funds which result in a reduction of staff, fewer and fewer innovative programs to deal with the problems that we are having.

I will give you an example: We are the only housing authority in Westchester County that has a security force—with the exception of Mount Vernon which pays for it out of city dollars—we pay for it out of our reserve funds. In the past 3½ years we have expended approximately \$500,000 of our reserve funds. Reserve funds, if you are not aware, is money that we have put aside because we have run an effective housing authority, not because we have gotten subsidy. We have not gotten subsidy here in White Plains in 3 of the last 4 years. We have been able to implement a security program here because we had money in reserve. On one hand you are giving the money to renovate the buildings, but on the other hand we are really not getting enough dollars for things like legal fees because going to court, preparing briefs, takes an enormous amount of time, not only our in-house staff, but agency counsel, the appeals process, things like that. They do change the laws, and they don't provide you with the wherewithal, the funds, to address those issues.

So, really, in answer to your question, we are really getting a mixed message on the local level.

Mr. DIOGUARDI. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, as you said before, we have tens of billions of dollars' worth of housing, but, you know, I have said it before, some of it comes out of the business sector. We don't have a balance sheet at Government. We spend things. All this military equipment, once it is charged to this year's budgets, since we don't have what they call a capital budget where you could track these things, the same with the housing, it is like it is gone, and why worry about it. I think this mentality is pervading every part of government.

Here we have tens of billions of dollars of taxpayers' dollars spent, and now we are not protecting it. It is almost like we have a patient in the hospital, we are giving the patient medical treatment, but we refuse to feed the patient. So the patient is going to starve as opposed to dying from the medical problem. I can't see the logic behind what we are doing here.

Mr. TASCIONE. I read an interesting article in the New York Times yesterday. There's a bill in the Senate that is being introduced by the Senator from, I believe it is either Nevada or New Mexico. It is a writeoff of \$8.8 billion in fees that are owed to, I believe it is the Department of Commerce, from the industry that produces uranium, and the Government is the sole provider of a service enriching uranium so it can be used in nuclear facilities. On one hand we are talking about cutting \$2 billion in housing programs again this year, and Congress is considering writing off \$8.8 billion that they are owed. You know, to us on the local level it is kind of ludicrous.

Mr. DIUGUARDI. It is. It is shocking. Again, when I was on, Mr. Chairman, the Legislation and National Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, we took testimony from the military many times that demonstrated the lack of regard that they have for billions of dollars of assets that we spent of our \$1 trillion budget this year; \$300 billion is spent on the military, but \$100 billion of that \$300 billion is on assets and we don't have the proper kinds of systems to track those assets, to safeguard them, and now we are hearing the same situation with HUD. Their focus is on what is it we need this year to get done with the budget, and let everything else go for next year, and we don't really have a way to manage the vast sums of money that have been invested into public housing, and it is a shame. Something has got to be done about it.

Mr. LANTOS. Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank Mr. Tascione for taking the time to come before the committee.

In all the testimony, and I see you have sat through all of it today, is there anything that you can make use of, or take advantage of, in trying to enhance the quality of living in your public housing units here?

Mr. TASCIONE. Well, I heard of two groups that were here, both of which, I believe, were consulting groups: One was the Oasis program, and the gentleman who sat at the table at the same time, I didn't get his name.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Glaude.

Mr. TASCIONE. Those programs cost money, and the money has to come from somewhere. If HUD wants to use those innovative programs throughout the Nation, they are going to have to provide us with the dollars to operate those programs on the local level. We are really taxed. With the security guard program that we are running here in White Plains, we don't have an extra dime.

Mr. GILMAN. How many security guards do you have?

Mr. TASCIONE. We have one shift, seven men.

Mr. GILMAN. For how many tenants?

Mr. TASCIONE. We have 712 families here in White Plains, at three locations.

Mr. GILMAN. What does that security cost to your authority?

Mr. TASCIONE. Approximately \$160,000 to \$175,000 a year.

Mr. GILMAN. And you get no help at all from HUD?

Mr. TASCIONE. Absolutely none.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Tascione.

Mr. LANTOS. I want to thank you for an excellent testimony. Let me assure you that the suggestion by the Senator that suggests we write off \$9 million for the nuclear power industry is not going to pass, because not many in the Congress will vote for it.

Ron Jackson said at the outset that if we can get a man on the Moon then we can clean up public housing. I couldn't agree more. I think all of us in this room should know that a growing number of us in the Congress feel that probably the single most neglected area of funding in recent years has been public housing.

In my own area, which is supposed to be a relatively comfortable area, there are literally thousands of individuals and families desperately in need of public housing, with no public housing available. We held a hearing in my district on child care, and one of the obvious conclusions of that hearing, of course, is that mothers who would love to get a job, and are fully qualified to get a job, can't get a job because if they do they lose their child care, they lose their public housing, and they are permanently forced to live in a life style that we would all want to get out of.

Many of us are not going to vote for fancy appropriations like getting space stations up in the air as long as the very elementary question of public housing is not dealt with. There is no way to live a civilized life unless you have decent housing. This wealthiest Nation on Earth will have to see to it that public housing will be put on a very high level of priority so that all of the elderly and all of the families and all of the children who are living in public housing will be proud to do so.

This hearing is completed.

[Whereupon, at 4:29 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

PUBLIC HEARING

EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

John Daly, Director of New Rochelle Housing Authority

By way of introduction, I would like to start off by saying that the New Rochelle Housing Authority manages three Family and two Senior Citizen Projects within the City Limits. Although violence and crime is a national issue, for your purposes, I am going to restrict my comments to those Housing Projects which have drawn most of the attention and concern to the PHA.

Hartley House is situated in a low income residential area, within walking distance to Queen City Towers for Senior Citizens, and the New Rochelle Hospital.

Eleven Million dollars was earmarked for revitalization of the Hartley House, and this revitalization had its purpose to provide decent and safe housing for the low income population living there.

Since this revitalization began, Hartley House has been the object of numerous and costly assaults. A new roof that cost approximately \$300,000 was slashed almost as soon as it was installed. Untold vandalism and property damage has cost an additional \$100,000 for repairs and maintenance.

Senior Citizens living at Queen City Towers and employees of New Rochelle Hospital suffered a rash of purse snatchings, and some of the stolen property was found at Hartley House.

Since weekends were pinpointed as the prime time for most of the damage to Hartley, the Housing Authority hired off-duty Police Officers to guard the ^{construction} property, and ~~protect the innocent tenants~~. At an estimated cost of \$65,000, the presence of guards deterred, but did not stop the vandalism nor the crime at the project.

Our worst fears of escalating drug traffic materialized at early dawn on a Sunday morning when an opposing drug gang from the Bronx staged a shoot out in the parking lot of Hartley. The ripple effect of fear and rage can still be felt among the tenants.

The Housing Authority arranged several tenant meetings in cooperation with the New Rochelle Police Department. The objective of these meetings was to construct positive steps that could be taken in order to regain some safety at the project.

Since fear has a way of paralyzing people, in the wake of feelings of powerlessness, initially the tenants insisted that the Police Department and the Housing Authority "do something", and leave them out of it, Or hire full time guards to patrol the project. This suggestion was investigated by the Housing Authority, and was found to have a cost so formidable as to be unrealistic.

Concerned tenants appealed to the New Rochelle City Council to establish a Police Precint on the property, but that was also deemed to be an idea with no cost effective elements.

A full fledged Police effort has made numerous drug arrests at Hartley, as of this date. But what happened was, that this Police effort moved the drug dealers elsewhere in the City. Some of them into the Senior Citizen Project, using their more frail Grandmothers

and Grandfathers as a front.

As a consequence, a meeting with Police and the Senior Citizen residents has also taken place. And Undercover Police Agents enter the complex on a regular basis.

I do not presume to have answers to resolving this menace that prevades our society, but I would like to suggest some consideration be given to the following:

1. Allocate funding for an intense Educational Program. A program that would teach Housing Authority tenants how to organize an effective Tenant Organization that is trained how to work with the Police Department and the Housing Authority.
- 1A. An Educational Program that utilizes every media source regarding Drug Education. The "Just Say No" program is the tip of the iceberg, and additional, follow-up programs must be implemented now. HUD sponsored a work shop with Fr. Egan, the Junky Priest. Managers of Housing Authorities could purchase a Video Tape Fr. Egan produced. Although excellent, a similar effort could be made where the message is made by a Minority Leader, tailored to minority youth, since we don't want to send a mixed message that drugs is a white, middle-class problem.
2. A Housing Manager has leverage to evict a convicted Drug Peddler, but the Court System must take a stronger stand, meeting out the conviction the Housing Manager needs. Prison over-crowding is a reality, but releasing drug offenders leads to the cat chasing its tail syndrome.
3. Bishop Fulton Sheen once suggested on his old T.V. Program, that certain crimes have the offender assigned to a labor program, like

Highway Construction, under the supervision of strict foremen. If the word went out that Drug trafficking will not be tolerated, and that the debt to society will be tough, we might see a slow turn around.

4. Revamp the Parole System, so that Drug Dealers and users know that not only will they serve their full time, but that they will be accountable for a long time.

5. Allow Housing Managers the use of a stricter eligibility tool for housing drug offenders. Currently, restricting housing to offenders is unconstitutional, but without a stricter tool, one Housing Manager evicts, and another takes them in.

In closing, I can see where one might think that these recommendations lean to the punitive side. This is not my intention, but somewhere in the Drug nightmare, there is a responsibility to the innocent tenant sitting on the time bomb, and to the residents living the neighborhoods of Housing Projects.

