110TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION S. 1711

To target cocaine kingpins and address sentencing disparity between crack and powder cocaine.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 27, 2007

Mr. BIDEN introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To target cocaine kingpins and address sentencing disparity between crack and powder cocaine.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-

2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the "Drug Sentencing Re-

5 form and Cocaine Kingpin Trafficking Act of 2007".

6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

7 Congress finds the following:

8 (1) Cocaine base (commonly known as "crack
9 cocaine") is made by dissolving cocaine hydro10 chloride (commonly known as "powder cocaine") in

1 a solution of sodium bicarbonate (or a similar agent) 2 and water. Therefore, crack and powder cocaine are 3 simply different forms of the same substance and all 4 crack cocaine originates as powder cocaine. 5 (2) The physiological and psychotropic effects 6 of cocaine are similar regardless of whether it is in the form of cocaine base (crack) or cocaine hydro-7 8 chloride (powder). 9 (3) One of the principal objectives of the Anti-10 Drug Abuse Act of 1986, which established different 11 mandatory minimum penalties for different drugs, 12 was to target Federal law enforcement and prosecu-13 torial resources on serious and major drug traf-14 fickers. 15 (4) In 1986, Congress linked mandatory min-16 imum penalties to different drug quantities, which 17 were intended to serve as proxies for identifying of-18 fenders who were "serious" traffickers (managers of 19 retail drug trafficking) and "major" traffickers 20 (manufacturers or the kingpins who headed drug or-

21 ganizations).

(5) Although drug purity and individual tolerance vary, making it difficult to state with specificity
the individual dose of each form of cocaine, 5 grams
of powder cocaine generally equals 25 to 50 indi-

1	vidual doses and 500 grams of powder cocaine gen-
2	erally equals 2,500 to 5,000 individual doses, while
3	5 grams of crack cocaine generally equals 10 to 50
4	individual doses (or enough for a heavy user to con-
5	sume in one weekend) and 500 grams of crack co-
6	caine generally equals 100 to 500 individual doses.
7	(6) In part because Congress believed that
8	crack cocaine had unique properties that made it in-
9	stantly addictive, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986
10	established an enormous disparity (a $100\ {\rm to}\ 1$ pow-
11	der-to-crack ratio) in the quantities of powder and
12	crack cocaine that trigger 5- and 10-year mandatory
13	minimum sentences. This disparity permeates the
14	Sentencing Guidelines.
15	(7) Congress also based its decision to establish
16	the 100 to 1 quantity ratio on the beliefs that—
17	(A) crack cocaine distribution and use was
18	associated with violent crime to a much greater
19	extent than was powder cocaine;
20	(B) prenatal exposure to crack cocaine was
21	particularly devastating for children of crack
22	users;
23	(C) crack use was particularly prevalent
24	among young people; and

1 (D) crack cocaine's potency, low cost and 2 ease of distribution and use were fueling its 3 widespread use.

4 (8) As a result, it takes 100 times more powder 5 cocaine than crack cocaine to trigger the 5- and 10-6 year mandatory minimum sentences. While it takes 7 500 grams of powder cocaine to trigger the 5-year 8 mandatory minimum sentence, it takes just 5 grams 9 of crack cocaine to trigger that sentence. Similarly, 10 while it takes 5 kilograms of powder cocaine to trig-11 ger the 10-year mandatory minimum sentence, 50 12 grams of crack cocaine will trigger the same sen-13 tence.

14 (9) Most of the assumptions on which the cur15 rent penalty structure was based have turned out to
16 be unfounded.

(10) Studies comparing usage of powder and
crack cocaine have shown that there is little difference between the 2 forms of the drug and fundamentally undermine the current quantity-based
sentencing disparity. More specifically, the studies
have shown the following:

23 (A) Both forms of cocaine cause identical
24 effects, although crack is smoked, while powder
25 cocaine is typically snorted. Epidemiological

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1 data show that smoking a drug delivers it to 2 the brain more rapidly, which increases likelihood of addiction. Therefore, differences in the 3 4 typical method of administration of the two 5 forms of the drug, and not differences in the in-6 herent properties of the two forms of the drug, 7 make crack cocaine potentially more addictive to typical users than powder cocaine. Both 8 9 forms of the drug are addictive, however, and 10 the treatment protocol for the drug is the same 11 regardless of the form of the drug the patient 12 has used;

13 (B) Violence committed by crack users is 14 relatively rare, and overall violence has de-15 creased for both powder and crack cocaine of-16 fenses. Almost all crack-related violence is sys-17 temic violence that occurs within the drug dis-18 tribution process. Sentencing enhancements are 19 better suited to punish associated violence, 20 which are separate, pre-existing crimes in and 21 of themselves:

(C) The negative effects of prenatal exposure to crack cocaine were vastly overstated.
They are identical to the effects of prenatal exposure to powder cocaine and do not serve as

a justification for the sentencing disparity between crack and powder;

(D) Although Congress in the mid-1980s was understandably concerned that the low-cost and potency of crack cocaine would fuel an epidemic of use by minors, the epidemic of crack cocaine use by young people never materialized to the extent feared. In fact, in 2005, the rate of powder cocaine use among young adults was almost 7 times as high as the rate of crack cocaine use. Furthermore, sentencing data suggest that young people do not play a major role in crack cocaine trafficking at the Federal level;

14 (E) The current 100:1 penalty structure 15 undermines various congressional objectives set 16 forth in the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986. 17 Data collected by the United States Sentencing 18 Commission show that federal resources have 19 been targeted at offenders who are subject to 20 the mandatory minimum sentences, which 21 sweep in low-level crack cocaine users and deal-22 ers.

(11) In 1988, Congress set a mandatory minimum sentence for mere possession of crack cocaine,
the only controlled substance for which there is a

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1	mandatory minimum sentence for simple possession
2	for a first-time offender.
3	(12) Major drug traffickers and kingpins traffic
4	in powder, not crack.
5	(13) Contrary to Congress's objective of focus-
6	ing Federal resources on drug kingpins, the majority
7	of Federal powder and crack cocaine offenders are
8	those who perform low level functions in the supply
9	chain.
10	(14) As a result of the low-level drug quantities
11	that trigger lengthy mandatory minimum penalties
12	for crack cocaine, the concentration of lower level
13	Federal offenders is particularly pronounced among
14	crack cocaine offenders, more than half of whom
15	were street level dealers in 2005.
16	(15) The Departments of Justice, Treasury,
17	and Homeland Security are the agencies with the
18	greatest capacity to investigate, prosecute and dis-
19	mantle the highest level of drug trafficking organiza-
20	tions, but investigations and prosecutions of low-
21	level offenders divert Federal personnel and re-
22	sources from the prosecution of the highest-level
23	traffickers, for which such agencies are best suited.
24	(16) The unwarranted sentencing disparity not
25	only overstates the relative harmfulness of the two

1	forms of the drug and diverts Federal resources
2	from high-level drug traffickers. It also dispropor-
3	tionately affects the African-American community.
4	According to the United States Sentencing Commis-
5	sion's May 2007 Report, 82 percent of Federal
6	crack cocaine offenders sentenced in 2006 were Afri-
7	can-American, while 8 percent were Hispanic and 8
8	percent were white.
9	(17) Only 13 States have sentencing laws that
10	distinguish between powder and crack cocaine.
11	SEC. 3. COCAINE SENTENCING DISPARITY ELIMINATION.
12	(a) CSA.—Section 401(b)(1) of the Controlled Sub-
13	stances Act (21 U.S.C. 841(b)(1)) is amended—
14	(1) in subparagraph (A)(iii), by striking " 50
15	grams" and inserting "5 kilograms"; and
16	(2) in subparagraph (B)(iii), by striking "5
17	grams" and inserting "500 grams."
18	(b) Import and Export Act.—Section 1010(b) of
19	the Controlled Substances Import and Export Act (21
20	U.S.C. 960(b)) is amended—
21	(1) in paragraph $(1)(C)$, by striking "50
22	grams" and inserting "5 kilograms"; and
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23	(2) in paragraph $(2)(C)$, by striking "5 grams"

SEC. 4. ELIMINATION OF MANDATORY MINIMUM FOR SIM PLE POSSESSION.

3 Section 404(a) of the Controlled Substances Act (21
4 U.S.C. 844(a)) is amended by striking the sentence begin5 ning "Notwithstanding the preceding sentence,".

6 SEC. 5. INCREASED EMPHASIS ON CERTAIN AGGRAVATING 7 AND MITIGATING FACTORS.

8 Pursuant to its authority under section 994 of title 9 28, United States Code, the United States Sentencing 10 Commission shall review and, if appropriate, amend the 11 sentencing guidelines to ensure that the penalties for an 12 offense involving trafficking of a controlled substance—

(1) provide tiered enhancements for the involvement of a dangerous weapon or violence, including,
if appropriate—

- 16 (A) an enhancement for the use or17 brandishment of a dangerous weapon;
- 18 (B) an enhancement for the use, or threat-19 ened use, of violence; and
- 20 (C) any other enhancement the Commis-21 sion considers necessary;

(2) adequately take into account the culpability
of the defendant and the role of the defendant in the
offense, including consideration of whether enhancements should be added, either to the existing enhancements for aggravating role or otherwise, that

1	take into account aggravating factors associated
2	with the offense, including—
3	(A) whether the defendant committed the
4	offense as part of a pattern of criminal conduct
5	engaged in as a livelihood;
6	(B) whether the defendant is an organizer
7	or leader of drug trafficking activities involving
8	5 or more persons;
9	(C) whether the defendant maintained an
10	establishment for the manufacture or distribu-
11	tion of the controlled substance;
12	(D) whether the defendant distributed a
13	controlled substance to an individual under the
14	age of 21 years of age or to a pregnant woman;
15	(E) whether the defendant involved an in-
16	dividual under the age of 18 years or a preg-
17	nant woman in the offense;
18	(F) whether the defendant manufactured
19	or distributed the controlled substance in a lo-
20	cation described in section 409(a) or section
21	419(a) of the Controlled Substances Act $(21$
22	U.S.C. 849(a) or 860(a));
23	(G) whether the defendant bribed, or at-
24	tempted to bribe, a Federal, State, or local law

1	enforcement officer in connection with the of-
2	fense;
3	(H) whether the defendant was involved in
4	importation into the United States of a con-
5	trolled substance;
6	(I) whether bodily injury or death occurred
7	in connection with the offense;
8	(J) whether the defendant committed the
9	offense after previously being convicted of a fel-
10	ony controlled substances offense; and
11	(K) any other factor the Commission con-
12	siders necessary; and
13	(3) adequately take into account mitigating fac-
14	tors associated with the offense, including—
15	(A) whether the defendant had minimum
16	knowledge of the illegal enterprise;
17	(B) whether the defendant received little or
18	no compensation in connection with the offense;
19	(C) whether the defendant acted on im-
20	pulse, fear, friendship, or affection when the de-
21	fendant was otherwise unlikely to commit such
22	an offense; and
23	(D) whether any maximum base offense
24	level should be established for a defendant who
25	qualifies for a mitigating role adjustment.

1 SEC. 6. OFFENDER DRUG TREATMENT INCENTIVE GRANTS.

2 (a) GRANT PROGRAM AUTHORIZED.—The Attorney 3 General shall carry out a grant program under which the 4 Attorney General may make grants to States, units of 5 local government, territories, and Indian tribes in an 6 amount described in subsection (c) to improve the provi-7 sion of drug treatment to offenders in prisons, jails, and 8 juvenile facilities.

9 (b) REQUIREMENTS FOR APPLICATION.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—To be eligible to receive a 11 grant under subsection (a) for a fiscal year, an enti-12 ty described in that subsection shall, in addition to 13 any other requirements specified by the Attorney 14 General, submit to the Attorney General an applica-15 tion that demonstrates that, with respect to offend-16 ers in prisons, jails, and juvenile facilities who re-17 quire drug treatment and who are in the custody of 18 the jurisdiction involved, during the previous fiscal 19 year that entity provided drug treatment meeting 20 the standards established by the Single State Au-21 thority for Substance Abuse (as that term is defined 22 in section 201) for the relevant State to a number 23 of such offenders that is 2 times the number of such 24 offenders to whom that entity provided drug treat-25 ment during the fiscal year that is 2 years before 26 the fiscal year for which that entity seeks a grant.

(2) OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—An application
 under this section shall be submitted in such form
 and manner and at such time as specified by the At torney General.

5 (c) Allocation of Grant Amounts Based on DRUG TREATMENT PERCENT DEMONSTRATED.—The At-6 7 torney General shall allocate amounts under this section 8 for a fiscal year based on the percent of offenders de-9 scribed in subsection (b)(1) to whom an entity provided 10 drug treatment in the previous fiscal year, as dem-11 onstrated by that entity in its application under that sub-12 section.

13 (d) USES OF GRANTS.—A grant awarded to an entity14 under subsection (a) shall be used—

(1) for continuing and improving drug treatment programs provided at prisons, jails, and juvenile facilities of that entity; and

(2) to strengthen rehabilitation efforts for offenders by providing addiction recovery support services, such as job training and placement, education,
peer support, mentoring, and other similar services.
(e) REPORTS.—An entity that receives a grant under
subsection (a) during a fiscal year shall, not later than
the last day of the following fiscal year, submit to the At-

torney General a report that describes and assesses the
 uses of such grant.

3 (f) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There
4 are authorized to be appropriated \$10,000,000 to carry
5 out this section for each of fiscal years 2008 and 2009.
6 SEC. 7. GRANTS FOR DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMS TO RE7 DUCE DRUG USE SUBSTANCE ABUSERS.

8 (a) AWARDS REQUIRED.—The Attorney General may 9 make competitive grants to eligible partnerships, in ac-10 cordance with this section, for the purpose of establishing 11 demonstration programs to reduce the use of alcohol and 12 other drugs by supervised substance abusers during the 13 period in which each such substance abuser is in prison, jail, or a juvenile facility, and until the completion of pa-14 15 role or court supervision of such abuser.

16 (b) USE OF GRANT FUNDS.—A grant made under
17 subsection (a) to an eligible partnership for a demonstra18 tion program, shall be used—

(1) to support the efforts of the agencies, organizations, and researchers included in the eligible
partnership, with respect to the program for which
a grant is awarded under this section;

(2) to develop and implement a program for supervised substance abusers during the period described in subsection (a), which shall include—

1	(A) alcohol and drug abuse assessments
2	that—
3	(i) are provided by a State-approved
4	program;
5	(ii) provide adequate incentives for
6	completion of a comprehensive alcohol or
7	drug abuse treatment program, including
8	through the use of graduated sanctions;
9	and
10	(B) coordinated and continuous delivery of
11	drug treatment and case management services
12	during such period; and
13	(3) to provide addiction recovery support serv-
14	ices (such as job training and placement, peer sup-
15	port, mentoring, education, and other related serv-
16	ices) to strengthen rehabilitation efforts for sub-
17	stance abusers.
18	(c) APPLICATION.—To be eligible for a grant under
19	subsection (a) for a demonstration program, an eligible
20	partnership shall submit to the Attorney General an appli-
21	cation that—
22	(1) identifies the role, and certifies the involve-
23	ment, of each agency, organization, or researcher in-
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24	volved in such partnership, with respect to the pro-

1	(2) includes a plan for using judicial or other
2	criminal or juvenile justice authority to supervise the
3	substance abusers who would participate in a dem-
4	onstration program under this section, including
5	for—
6	(A) administering drug tests for such
7	abusers on a regular basis; and
8	(B) swiftly and certainly imposing an es-
9	tablished set of graduated sanctions for non-
10	compliance with conditions for reentry into the
11	community relating to drug abstinence (whether
12	imposed as a pre-trial, probation, or parole con-
13	dition, or otherwise);
14	(3) includes a plan to provide supervised sub-
15	stance abusers with coordinated and continuous
16	services that are based on evidence-based strategies
17	and that assist such abusers by providing such abus-
18	ers with—
19	(A) drug treatment while in prison, jail, or
20	a juvenile facility;
21	(B) continued treatment during the period
22	in which each such substance abuser is in pris-
23	on, jail, or a juvenile facility, and until the com-
24	pletion of parole or court supervision of such
25	abuser;

1	(C) addiction recovery support services;
2	(D) employment training and placement;
3	(E) family-based therapies;
4	(F) structured post-release housing and
5	transitional housing, including housing for re-
6	covering substance abusers; and
7	(G) other services coordinated by appro-
8	priate case management services;
9	(4) includes a plan for coordinating the data in-
10	frastructures among the entities included in the eli-
11	gible partnership and between such entities and the
12	providers of services under the demonstration pro-
13	gram involved (including providers of technical as-
14	sistance) to assist in monitoring and measuring the
15	effectiveness of demonstration programs under this
16	section; and
17	(5) includes a plan to monitor and measure the
18	number of substance abusers—
19	(A) located in each community involved;
20	and
21	(B) who improve the status of their em-
22	ployment, housing, health, and family life.
23	(d) Reports to Congress.—
24	(1) INTERIM REPORT.—Not later than Sep-
25	tember 30, 2008, the Attorney General shall submit

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1	to Congress a report that identifies the best prac-
2	tices relating to the comprehensive and coordinated
3	treatment of substance abusers, including the best
4	practices identified through the activities funded
5	under this section.
6	(2) FINAL REPORT.—Not later than September
7	30, 2009, the Attorney General shall submit to Con-
8	gress a report on the demonstration programs fund-
9	ed under this section, including on the matters spec-
10	ified in paragraph (1).
11	(e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:
12	(1) ELIGIBLE PARTNERSHIP.—The term "eligi-
13	ble partnership'' means a partnership that in-
14	cludes—
15	(A) the applicable Single State Authority
16	for Substance Abuse;
17	(B) the State, local, territorial, or tribal
18	criminal or juvenile justice authority involved;
19	(C) a researcher who has experience in evi-
20	dence-based studies that measure the effective-
21	ness of treating long-term substance abusers
22	during the period in which such abusers are
23	under the supervision of the criminal or juvenile
24	justice system involved;

1	(D) community-based organizations that
2	provide drug treatment, related recovery serv-
3	ices, job training and placement, educational
4	services, housing assistance, mentoring, or med-
5	ical services; and
6	(E) Federal agencies (such as the Drug
7	Enforcement Agency, the Bureau of Alcohol,
8	Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives, and the of-
9	fice of a United States attorney).
10	(2) SUBSTANCE ABUSER.—The term "sub-
11	stance abuser" means an individual who—
12	(A) is in a prison, jail, or juvenile facility;
13	(B) has abused illegal drugs or alcohol for
14	a number of years; and
15	(C) is scheduled to be released from pris-
16	on, jail, or a juvenile facility during the 24-
17	month period beginning on the date the rel-
18	evant application is submitted under subsection
19	(c).
20	(3) Single state authority for substance
21	ABUSE.—The term "Single State Authority for Sub-
22	stance Abuse" means an entity designated by the
23	Governor or chief executive officer of a State as the
24	single State administrative authority responsible for
25	the planning, development, implementation, moni-

1 toring, regulation, and evaluation of substance abuse 2 services in that State. 3 (f) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There 4 are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section 5 \$5,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2008 and 2009. SEC. 8. EMERGENCY AUTHORITY FOR UNITED STATES SEN-6 7 TENCING COMMISSION. 8 (a) IN GENERAL.—The United States Sentencing 9 Commission, in its discretion, may— 10 (1) promulgate amendments pursuant to the di-11 rectives in this Act in accordance with the procedure 12 set forth in section 21(a) of the Sentencing Act of 13 1987 (Public Law 100–182), as though the author-14 ity under that Act had not expired; and 15 (2) pursuant to the emergency authority pro-16 vided in paragraph (1), make such conforming 17 amendments to the Sentencing Guidelines as the 18 Commission determines necessary to achieve consist-19 ency with other guideline provisions and applicable 20 law. 21 (b) PROMULGATION.—The Commission shall promul-22 gate any amendments under subsection (a) promptly so 23 that the amendments take effect on the same date as the

24 amendments made by this Act.

1SEC. 9. INCREASED PENALTIES FOR MAJOR DRUG TRAF-2FICKERS.

3 (a) INCREASED PENALTIES FOR MANUFACTURE,
4 DISTRIBUTION, DISPENSATION, OR POSSESSION WITH IN5 TENT TO MANUFACTURE, DISTRIBUTE, OR DISPENSE.—
6 Section 401(b)(1) of the Controlled Substances Act (21)
7 U.S.C. 841(b)) is amended—

8 (1)in subparagraph (A), by striking "\$4,000,000", "\$10,000,000", "\$8,000,000", and 9 10 "\$20.000.000" and inserting "\$10.000.000". "\$50,000,000", "\$20,000,000", and "\$75,000,000", 11 12 respectively; and

13 (2)in subparagraph (B), by striking "\$2,000,000", "\$5,000,000", "\$4,000,000", and 14 "\$10,000,000" 15 and inserting "\$5,000,000". "\$25,000,000", "\$8,000,000", and "\$50,000,000", 16 17 respectively.

(b) INCREASED PENALTIES FOR IMPORTATION AND
EXPORTATION.—Section 1010(b) of the Controlled Substances Import and Export Act (21 U.S.C. 960(b)) is
amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking "\$4,000,000",
"\$10,000,000", "\$8,000,000", and "\$20,000,000"
and inserting "\$10,000,000", "\$50,000,000",
"\$20,000,000", and "\$75,000,000", respectively,
and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking "\$2,000,000", 1 2 "\$5,000,000", "\$4,000,000", and "\$10,000,000" *"\$5,000,000"*, "\$25,000,000". 3 inserting and 4 "\$8,000,000", and "\$50,000,000", respectively. 5 SEC. 10. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS AND RE-6 **QUIRED REPORT.** 7 (a) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR DE-8 PARTMENT OF JUSTICE.—There is authorized to be ap-9 propriated to the Department of Justice not more than 10 \$36,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2008 and 2009 for the prosecution of high-level drug offenses, of which— 11 12 (1) \$15,000,000 is for salaries and expenses of 13 the Drug Enforcement Administration; 14 (2) \$15,000,000 is for salaries and expenses for 15 the Offices of United States Attorneys; 16 (3) \$4,000,000 each year is for salaries and ex-17 penses for the Criminal Division; and 18 (4) \$2,000,000 is for salaries and expenses for 19 the Office of the Attorney General for the manage-20 ment of such prosecutions. 21 (b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR DE-22 PARTMENT OF TREASURY.—There is authorized to be ap-23 propriated to the Department of the Treasury for salaries 24 and expenses of the Financial Crime Enforcement Net-25 work (FINCEN) not more than \$10,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2008 and 2009 in support of the prosecution
 of high-level drug offenses.

3 (c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR DE-4 PARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.—There is author-5 ized to be appropriated for the Department of Homeland 6 Security not more than \$10,000,000 for each of fiscal 7 years 2008 and 2009 for salaries and expenses in support 8 of the prosecution of high-level drug offenses.

9 (d) ADDITIONAL FUNDS.—Amounts authorized to be 10 appropriated under this section shall be in addition to 11 amounts otherwise available for, or in support of, the pros-12 ecution of high-level drug offenses.

13 (e) REPORT OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the end of each of fiscal years 2008 14 15 and 2009, the Comptroller General shall submit to the Committees on the Judiciary and the Committees on Ap-16 17 propriations of the Senate and House of Representatives a report containing information on the actual uses made 18 19 of the funds appropriated pursuant to the authorization 20 of this section.

21 SEC. 11. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall apply to any offense committed on or after 180 days after the date of

- 1 enactment of this Act. There shall be no retroactive appli-
- 2 cation of any portion of this Act.