

MEMORANDUM

TO: Aryeh Neier
CC: Diana Morris
FROM: Leonard Noisette, for the Campaign for a New Drug Policy
DATE: September 8, 2011
RE: Campaign for a New Drug Policy, September 19, 2011, docket meeting

The Campaign for a New Drug Policy will propose the following three grants for U.S. Programs' Docket III, scheduled for September 19, 2011. These grants would advance our goals of Promoting Drug Policy Based on Public Health Principles and Promoting Alternatives to Punishment-based Drug Policies.

Promoting Drug Policy Based on Public Health Principles

The proposed grant to National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (NCADD-NJ) seeks to use the opportunity of health care reform to increase access to addiction treatment, thus advancing the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's interest in shifting U.S. drug policy from its emphasis on law enforcement to a model based on public health principles. The grant would continue support for, one of the eight Closing the Addiction Treatment Gap sites that has made the most headway in its treatment advocacy campaign, as well as advocacy work to support reform of the NJ school zone sentencing law. NCADD-NJ will continue its integrated advocacy by continuing to work toward full implementation of treatment provision under national health care reforms and promotion of health based alternatives to punishment as a response to fiscal shortfalls.

National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-New Jersey (NCADD-NJ), \$400,000 over two years to provide project support to increase access to community based addiction treatment through effective implementation of health care reform and to promote alternatives to incarceration. The New Jersey affiliate of the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (NCADD-NJ), established over 25 years ago, engages in advocacy, education and service coordination to increase access to high quality addiction prevention and treatment services and to reduce the stigma surrounding alcoholism and drug addiction.

Promoting Alternatives to Punitive Drug Policies

The proposed grant to **A Better Way Foundation** would advance OSF priorities by supporting the direct engagement of affected communities in Connecticut in reform work and by pursuing drug policy and criminal justice advocacy with a racial and economic justice lens. Support of the **Cato Institute's** drug policy reform conference would provide a high profile forum in Washington, D.C. to consider the impact of U.S. drug policy and an opportunity for a broader audience to discuss specific proposals for reform and alternatives to punishment-based drug policy.

A Better Way Foundation, \$200,000 general support renewal over two years (\$100,000 from Campaign for a New Drug Policy and \$100,000 from Criminal Justice Fund). This Connecticut-based grassroots organization is dedicated to shifting current drug policy from a paradigm that prioritizes incarceration to one that prioritizes public health, treatment, and public safety. The organization engages in research, education, advocacy and organizing to advance progressive drug policy reform and criminal justice agendas. It also develops and trains future activists for the drug policy, criminal justice reform and public safety communities by using organizing principles with a focus on resident and community empowerment.

Cato Institute, \$120,000 to plan and hold a drug policy conference in Washington, D.C. on November 15, 2011. The Cato Institute proposes to hold a one-day, high level event intended to critically examine the war on drugs from a right-of-center perspective, advancing the Campaign's goal of broadening support for reform across the spectrum of political opinion, including political conservatives. The conference will focus on reform of U.S. drug policy and include an examination of the impacts of U.S. policy in Mexico and elsewhere, as well as the consequential harms that are directly and indirectly experienced inside the U.S.

Campaign for a New Drug Policy Grant Recommendations

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Grant ID: 20033560

Legal Name of Organization: National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-New Jersey (NCADD-NJ)

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: to ensure a robust addiction treatment benefit as part of health care reform in New Jersey, and to promote a healthcare based approach to alternatives to incarceration for drug related offenses

Grant Description: to provide project support to the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence to advocate for increased access to cost-effective, proven treatment services, using the opportunities of health care reform implementation to promote health based alternatives to punishment as a response to fiscal shortfalls. This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy’s interest in shifting U.S. drug policy from a punitive law enforcement approach to a public health based model by educating the public and policymakers on the effectiveness of treatment instead of incarceration for drug users and by expanding access to community based addiction treatment.

Previous OSI Support: \$600,000 from Closing the Addiction Treatment Gap, 2008-2011

Organization Budget: \$9,177,213

Project Budget: \$400,000

Major Sources of Support: n/a

Amount Requested: \$400,000

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$400,000 (T1: 21127)

Term: 2 years, beginning September 1, 2011

Matching Requirements: n/a

Description of organization:

The New Jersey affiliate of the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (NCADD-NJ) was incorporated as an all-volunteer agency in 1982; it hired its first executive director in 1988, who still holds the position. The organization’s vision is “to have evidence based alcoholism and drug dependence treatment integrated into a continuum of care that is responsive to the needs of the affected individuals and to establish and enforce laws and policies that promote recovery, eliminate discrimination, and remove systemic barriers that impede ready access to treatment.” The organization uses education,

advocacy, research, and service coordination to achieve its goals. It is divided into three divisions; public affairs, care coordination and research, and quality assessment. The combination of divisions allows the organization not only to advocate for policies that support the creation of health based policies for those with addiction, but also to show the efficacy of these policies. NCADD-NJ currently employs a culturally and ethnically diverse workforce of 121 individuals.

NCADD-NJ was a grantee of USP's Closing the Addiction Treatment Gap initiative. During the course of three years, NCADD-NJ educated the public and lawmakers on the addiction treatment gap, the chronicity of the disease of addiction, and alternatives to incarceration. The group began the development of a grassroots movement to promote positive addiction policies, including regulations to enable those reentering the community from prison to access publicly funded treatment. Also, partly in response to the group's communication and education work, New Jersey modified its school zone law,¹ leading to fewer enhanced penalties, which especially impact urban people of color.

Description of project for which funding is sought:

NCADD-NJ seeks to shape the implementation of health care reform in the state so that it maximizes access to addiction treatment services and to encourage the criminal justice system and policymakers to perceive addictive illness as a public health concern and to adopt such an approach with offenders with a history of addiction.

Building on its previous treatment expansion work, NCADD-NJ will target health care reform and the criminal justice system. For years, New Jersey residents felt they could only access addiction treatment services through the criminal justice system. Thus, through concerted education and advocacy activities, NCADD-NJ was able to improve addiction treatment services within the criminal justice system. Upon receiving support from the Closing the Addiction Treatment initiative, NCADD-NJ was able to set its sights higher and was able to educate policymakers that addiction is a disease and that community based treatment is effective. It also recognized that health care reform would offer the opportunity to significantly expand community based treatment. NCADD-NJ is now seeking OSF support to expand its education and advocacy efforts to ensure that the implementation of health care reform allows true access to addiction treatment. NCADD-NJ will also try to use health care reform to ensure that those entering the criminal justice system also have access to appropriate and high quality addiction treatment

As a first step, NCADD-NJ will build its network to include more specially trained advocates from the community. Specifically, NCADD-NJ will educate those in recovery, their family and friends to become effective advocates. NCADD-NJ will train the advocates to explain the science of addiction and its treatment as well as effectively convey their personal barriers and successes. Unlike other disease groups, addiction advocates have not previously sat at health policy tables. Thus, these advocates need a crash course on health policy and how and why addiction treatment should be part of mainstream health care. Once trained, these community-based advocates will organize others within their region, using a "train the trainer" type model. NCADD-NJ seeks to expand the advocate class until there are representatives from all districts across the state. NCADD-NJ anticipates that the grassroots network will not only help

¹ School zone laws exist in most states and impose elevated penalties for drug offenses committed within an established distance of a school and other places where children are likely to be present. While ostensibly designed to prevent the sale of drugs in close proximity to children, school zone laws often cover entire cities, which eliminates any incentive to conduct drug transactions away from schools or playgrounds by making almost any urban drug charge subject to an enhanced penalty. In practice, these laws are used to coerce guilty pleas and are disproportionately imposed on urban poor and people of color.

inform reform implementation, but will also be around after implementation to monitor whether people truly have access to care.

Secondly, the group seeks to create, implement, and maintain a communications infrastructure that will drive new people to support NCADD-NJ's advocacy around health care reform. NCADD-NJ will reach out to mainstream New Jersey using Facebook, Twitter, and cause.org. The communications infrastructure will also inform the work of the grassroots advocates. As interest among communities and people grows, the advocates will be dispatched to provide more detailed education.

NCADD-NJ's advocates will build relationships that make it possible for those in recovery to participate effectively in the advocacy effort. They will seek seats on the health insurance exchange, Medicaid and behavioral health workgroups to ensure that New Jersey adopts policies that address addiction as a chronic disease and provide citizens easy access to a full range of treatment benefits.

Finally, in the criminal justice arena, NCADD-NJ will begin engaging with criminal justice policymakers and advocates around effective treatment as an alternative to incarceration. In the past, NCADD-NJ focused more on reentry to ensure that treatment offered by the criminal justice system was effective and appropriate. NCADD-NJ now believes that the time is ripe to address the "front end"—i.e., whether drug users should enter the criminal justice system in the first place—given the current possibility of universal or nearly-universal availability of addiction treatment under national health care reform. For this work, NCADD-NJ will begin educating the grassroots activists about effective alternatives to incarceration for drug offenses, as well as responses to non-drug offenses that are traceable to an underlying addiction, and then use these constituents to educate the general public and policymakers.

Rationale for recommendation:

This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's interest in shifting U.S. drug policy from a punitive law enforcement approach to a health based model by expanding access to community based addiction treatment, demonstrating the effectiveness of treatment instead of incarceration for drug users, and engaging affected communities.

NCADD-NJ's past Closing the Addiction Treatment successes demonstrate that advocacy for and by affected populations can lead to significant policy change. NCADD-NJ, with its grassroots network, has developed an integrated strategy to move New Jersey towards a health based drug policy. Its collaborative approach has gained the organization a seat at some health care policy tables. Memberships in these health care committees will allow NCADD-NJ to push for a comprehensive treatment benefit, especially within Medicaid and the Health Insurance Exchange. This work primarily requires the creation of rules and regulations at the state level.

The group is well positioned to engage others in its cause and has already developed two briefing series aimed at educating the public and policymakers on opportunities to increase access to addiction treatment through health care reform implementation. Nevertheless, Campaign staff worry that NCADD-NJ has an overambitious agenda. It does not have the advocates at this time to be effective on every health care reform issue. Thus, Campaign staff are urging NCADD-NJ to establish priorities for its health care work, starting with health insurance exchanges. In an effort to help NCADD-NJ succeed, Campaign staff have arranged for its leadership to work with Legal Action Center coaches as well as other OSF state grantees in New York and in Wisconsin.

In addition to health care reform work, NCADD-NJ will work to promote treatment in lieu of incarceration in drug possession cases and decreased use of extended sentences for individuals

committing certain other offenses where a substance use disorder is involved. Again, as with any diverse constituency, there is not full agreement about this approach. Many members of NCADD who are in recovery received treatment through the criminal justice system and feel gratitude for the system, as it was the only way they could access treatment. Other advocates are enthusiastic about promoting treatment in lieu of incarceration but do not believe they are able to change the criminal justice system. However, NCADD-NJ leadership is hopeful as the current governor and his wife have expressed an interest—for budgetary, but also personal reasons—in reducing the use of the criminal justice system in addressing drug use and addiction.

During the three year CATG grant, this organization proved itself to be an effective advocate for drug policy reform. For this reason and others described above, the staff of Campaign for a New Drug Policy recommend renewal project grant to National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-New Jersey, in the amount of \$400,000 over two years.

Grant ID: 20033561

Legal Name of Organization: A Better Way Foundation, Inc.

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: To provide general support

Grant Description: To provide \$200,000 general support over two years to A Better Way Foundation (ABWF), a Connecticut-based grassroots organization dedicated to shifting current drug policy from a paradigm that prioritizes incarceration to one that prioritizes public health, treatment, and public safety. ABWF leads a broad coalition of social service providers, university students, researchers, community development experts, and civil rights organizations working toward sentencing and drug policy reform. ABWF’s policy reform focus includes expanding judicial discretion in drug cases, marijuana law reform, eliminating crack/powder sentencing disparities, promoting harm reduction programming, protecting citizens from criminal prosecution for administering overdose treatment medicines, monitoring parity in insurance coverage for people with mental health and substance abuse issues, and increasing state funding for substance abuse treatment and alternatives to incarceration. This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy’s goals to engage and support leadership level involvement of communities of color and families directly impacted in drug policy reform, to increase public dialogue and community pressure regarding the racial impact of current drug policy and to highlight the social costs of treating drug use and abuse as a criminal justice issue, rather than a healthcare and public health issue. This grant also supports the goal of the Criminal Justice Fund to eliminate harsh punishment by challenging excessive mandatory minimum sentencing policies.

Previous OSI Support: \$360,700

- \$200,000 from Criminal Justice Fund, 2009
- \$40,000 from U.S. Justice Fund, 2008
- \$25,000 from U.S. Justice Fund, 2007
- \$37,500 from U.S. Justice Fund, 2006
- \$58,200 from The Lindesmith Center, 2000

Organization Budget: \$239, 250

Major Sources of Support:

Public Welfare Foundation	\$50,000
New Haven Community Foundation	\$ 4,000

Amount Requested: \$200,000

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$200,000
(\$100,000 from the Campaign for a New Drug Policy T1: 21128
\$100,000 over two years from Criminal Justice Fund: T1: 24015)

Term: two years, beginning September 1, 2011

Matching Requirements: n/a

Description of organization:

Connecticut advocates founded A Better Way Foundation (ABWF) in 1999 with an aim to resist laws and policies causing thousands of arrests, especially among people of color, for drug offenses and non-violent crimes. A Better Way Foundation's mission is to "shift current drug policy from a paradigm that prioritizes incarceration to one that prioritizes public health, addiction treatment and public safety." The organization leads a broad coalition of social service providers, university students, researchers, community development experts, and civil rights organizations working toward sentencing and drug policy reform. ABWF's policy reform focus includes expanding judicial discretion in drug cases, marijuana law reform, eliminating crack/powder sentencing disparities, promoting harm reduction programming, protecting citizens from criminal prosecution for administering overdose treatment medicines, monitoring parity in insurance coverage for people with mental health and substance abuse issues, and increasing state funding for substance abuse treatment and alternatives to incarceration.

ABWF engages in public education, research, grassroots organizing, coalition building, and advocacy to advance its policy goals. Its strategic model stresses community empowerment and cultivation of local residents to lead advocacy efforts. For example, it supports the Law and Justice Commission, a coalition of community activists, researchers, young people, parents, and educational professionals that produces and disseminates statistical research challenging the idea that punitive laws increase public safety. ABWF also directs the Connecticut Alliance, a coalition of community residents, organizers, community based organizations, and health care advocates, to identify and pursue state level drug and prison reform priorities.

As a sophisticated and highly successful advocacy group doing work in a defined geographic and political context, ABWF has been an important partner of a number of national organizations and peer advocacy groups around the country. Within the drug policy reform movement, Executive Director Lorenzo Jones and former Executive Director Robert Rooks (now Criminal Justice Director for the national NAACP) are very well known and respected, as is the organization and approach that they develop at ABWF.

In 2009, OSI awarded ABWF general support funding for two years.

Description of project for which funding is sought:

A Better Way Foundation (ABWF), Inc. requests renewed general support funding for two years.

Rationale for recommendation:

This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's goals in a number of ways. As a regionally prominent, minority led organization, this support for ABWF will advance the Campaign's efforts to engage and support leadership level involvement of communities of color and families directly

impacted in drug policy reform. This grant would also increase public dialogue and community pressure regarding the racial impact of current drug policy and highlight the social costs of treating drug use and abuse as a criminal justice issue, rather than a healthcare and public health issue. This grant also supports the goal of the Criminal Justice Fund to eliminate harsh punishment by challenging excessive mandatory minimum sentencing policies.

ABWF has a successful track record of building coalitions with a variety of groups—community advocates, policymakers, researcher and businesses—to change the Connecticut landscape on drug policy reform. Among its recent victories is its successful work in the area of marijuana decriminalization. The group will use the next two years to expand and strengthen its coalitions and to develop more advocacy leaders from affected communities. ABWF will then use the expanded advocacy base to target two policies: drug free school zones' mandatory minimum laws and the legalization of medical marijuana.

Due to densely populated urban areas, school zones in Connecticut, as in many states, encompass whole cities, including Hartford and Bridgeport. In effect, this subjects people of color and urban poor who live within these school zones to enhanced penalties for minor drug offenses, leading to their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system through longer sentences and coerced pleas. By limiting or abolishing the drug free school zone laws, the groups seeks to end this racially disparate outcome and, simultaneously, to encourage the state to view addiction as a health and public health concern, asking for the reallocation of funds from the criminal justice system into community based treatment and education.

As a follow-up to its successful work around state decriminalization of marijuana, ABWF has made a strategic decision to work with partners to advance medical marijuana policy in Connecticut. ABWF feels that bipartisan support for this issue has increased over the past five years and, with the governor supportive, that this work presents an opportunity for the group to build the size and cohesion of its reform coalition for other drug reform objectives. While Campaign staff recognize that that the passage of medical marijuana laws do not in themselves lead to a decrease in the overincarceration of people of color for drug offenses, ABWF identifies this as an important strategic step in its work. ABWF has identified medical marijuana as an entry point into broader drug policy discussions in Connecticut. The inclusion of community advocates will mean that advocacy around other fundamental community issues, including lack of health care and jobs, will be integrated into this debate and ABWF's messaging.

This grant would also advance the Campaign's interest in promoting geographic reach in its support for reform work. While the western and southwestern states have generally attracted the greatest news media attention in terms of state and regional challenges to the war on drugs, the New England states have developed a degree of momentum that is significant. Maine, Vermont, and Rhode Island have split with the federal government over medical marijuana. In 2008, Massachusetts voters decriminalized marijuana and are about to consider medical use. Maine has also decriminalized marijuana, as did Connecticut just last year. In the areas of health care based drug policy and harm reduction, there are also notable regional opportunities in New England. ABWF is among the best led and most highly experienced groups in that region.

A Better Way Foundation is among the nation's most effective groups working locally for drug policy reform. It has used that expertise to project its message—increasingly on a national and even international level. In the process, it has brought the interests of affected communities squarely into the drug policy debate. It serves as a model for other community organizations seeking to effectively change drug policy. For this reason and those listed above, OSF staff recommends a general support grant in the amount of \$200,000 over two years.

Grant ID: 20033754

Legal Name of Organization: The Cato Institute

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: to support a conference examining impact of U.S. drug policy domestically and internationally, and alternatives to the war on drugs

Grant Description: This project grant would support the Cato Institute’s proposal to hold a high level conference on November 15, 2011 in Washington, D.C. examining the impact of U.S. policies within the United States and internationally and alternatives to the “war on drugs.” The conference will advance the goal of the Campaign for a New Drug Policy to widen the public debate about drug policy in the United States by engaging conservative thinkers and activists, including and going beyond Cato’s libertarian base. One focus of the conference will examine the effect of current drug policies and enforcement on social stability and violence in Latin America, particularly in the region along the U.S.-Mexico border. The conference will conclude with a consideration of U.S. domestic policy reforms outside of a prohibition framework that would more effectively address drug markets and their violence and the use of drugs. This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy’s goal of informing the public and policy makers of the social, political and economic damage caused by current U.S. drug policies domestically and around the world.

Previous OSI Support: \$429,166

- \$230,000 National Security and Human Rights Campaign, 2008-2009
- \$94,380 U.S. Justice Fund Civil Liberties, 2006-2008
- \$80,000 Latin America Anti-Corruption, 2006
- \$14,786 U.S. Drug Policy Reform, 1999
- \$5,000 Lindesmith Center, 1999
- \$5,000 Chairman’s Programs, 1996

Organization Budget: \$22,576,350

Project Budget: \$234,765

Major Sources of Support: n/a

Amount Requested: \$226,000

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$120,000 (T1: 21128)

Term: Four months, beginning September 1, 2011

Matching Requirements: n/a

Description of Organization:

The Cato Institute was founded in 1977 as a nonpartisan, nonprofit public policy research institution headquartered in Washington, D.C. Generally viewed as a libertarian think tank, the Cato Institute is prolific in generating high quality conferences, reports, whitepapers and other public education materials promoting limited government, free trade and individual liberty. While Cato is associated with the right-of-center political, social and economic thought, it has long and consistently taken a position against drug prohibition and its enforcement through the criminal justice system.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

OSF funding would support a one-day conference on November 15, 2011 examining the impacts of American drug policy in the U.S., including civil rights violations and a host of unintended negative health and safety outcomes, as well as the violence and destabilization that U.S. policy fuels around the world. The conference would bring together a number of prominent advocates of reform, including former President of Brazil and current Global Commission on Drug Policy chairman Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Jorge Castañeda, former Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others. Additional expert panelists who will discuss alternatives to current drug policies include Professor Jefferson Fish, who has written extensively on alternatives to prohibition, and columnist Glenn Greenwald, who writes frequently on drug policy and authored Cato's widely circulated evaluation of drug decriminalization on Portugal. OSF grantees will also speak, including Drug Policy Alliance Executive Director Ethan Nadelmann, a leading authority on U.S. and international drug policy reform, and Neill Franklin, Executive Director of Law Enforcement Against Prohibition. The current draft conference agenda is attached.

OSF support for this conference stems from a series of discussions between OSF staff and Cato, as well as a separate meeting between Cato and Michael Vachon, special advisor to George Soros. Mr. Soros has expressed an interest in OSF partnering with Cato in engaging potential right-of-center supporters of drug policy reform. This partnership is related to ongoing work by OSF staff to identify "unlikely allies" in drug policy reform efforts, especially political conservatives. Cato's goal is to attract an audience of 300 people through news publications and direct outreach. Cato will also generate a number of written materials, including an update of the Greenwald report on drug decriminalization in Portugal and reports on the impact of U.S. policies in Latin America. It will hold a number of smaller invitation-only gatherings to advance its goals and seek substantial media attention for the event.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's goal of informing the public and policy makers of the social, political and economic damage caused by current U.S. drug policies domestically and around the world. The conference would likely attract a D.C. audience that is not frequently exposed to this subject matter or ordinarily willing to attend a conference held by OSF's core grantees. While the conference participants will certainly include Cato's libertarian base, the organization believes it will be able to attract more mainstream conservatives as well.

A common theme throughout the conference will be the social and political damage caused to other

nations by U.S. foreign and domestic drug policies and how these outcomes in turn pose an economic and physical threat to the American public. In particular, after an examination of the specific harms caused by the U.S. war on drugs, the conference will end with a discussion of steps that can be taken to short-circuit the violence, political corruption and economic decay caused by the drug war. Given the particular lens through which Cato views this problem, the conference will consider options related to decriminalization of drug use and a market oriented response to the illegal drug market—i.e., alternative policies that directly address financially motivated drug activity through economic policy, rather than ineffectual reliance on the criminal justice system or military-style intervention.

The Cato panel discussions are expected to feature prominently recommendations made in the June 2011 report of the Global Commission on Drug Policy regarding the corrupting effects of criminalizing drug use in consumer nations, such as the U.S., and suppression efforts in producer and transit nations, such as Mexico. In offering concrete solutions to current policy failures, the participation of Global Commission Chairman Cardoso and the panel of U.S. reform advocates provides another opportunity to extend the impact of the Global Commission's work beyond the news media attention that followed release of the Commission's June report.

For these reasons, staff recommends a project grant of \$120,000 over four months to support the Cato Institute's proposed conference on the impact of the war on drugs and policy alternatives.

Ending the Global War on Drugs

A Cato Institute Conference

November 15, 2011
Washington, DC
9:00 a.m. — 5:15 p.m.

8:30 - 9:00 a.m. REGISTRATION

9:00 - 9:05 a.m. WELCOMING REMARKS

Ed Crane
President, Cato Institute

9:05 - 9:45 a.m. KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Jorge Castañeda
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

9:45 - 11:00 a.m. PANEL 1: THE FIRE NEXT DOOR: DRUG VIOLENCE IN MEXICO
AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Moderator: Mary O'Grady
Member of the Editorial Board, *Wall Street Journal*

Ted Galen Carpenter
Vice President for Defense and Foreign Policy Studies, Cato Institute

Beto O'Rourke
City Councilman, El Paso, TX

Bruce Bagley
Professor of International Studies, University of Miami

11:00 - 11:15 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

11:15 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. PANEL 2: THE IMPACT ON RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF
LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

*Moderator: Rich Lowry**
Editor, *National Review*

Tim Lynch
Director, Center for Criminal Studies, Cato Institute

John McWhorter*
Contributing Editor, Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*

Neill Franklin*
Executive Director, Law Enforcement Against Prohibition

12:30 - 1:15 p.m. LUNCHEON

1:15 - 2:00 p.m. LUNCHEON ADDRESS

James A. Baker III*
Former Secretary of State, United States

2:00 - 3:15 p.m. PANEL 3: OTHER BATTLEGROUNDS: SOUTH AMERICA,
AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN

Moderator: Ian Vásquez
Director, Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity, Cato Institute

Luis Alberto Lacalle Pou
Speaker of the House of Deputies, Uruguay

Moises Naim*
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Romesh Bhattacharji
Former Narcotics Commissioner, India

3:15 - 3:30 p.m. COFFEE BREAK

3:30 - 4:30 p.m. PANEL 4: A NON-PROHIBITIONIST WAY FORWARD FOR U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL DRUG POLICY

Moderator: **David Boaz**
Executive Vice President, Cato Institute

Glenn Greenwald
Columnist and Blogger, *Salon*

Jefferson Fish
Professor Emeritus, St John's University

Ethan Nadelmann
Executive Director, Drug Policy Alliance

4:35 – 5:15 p.m. FINAL REMARKS

Moderator: **Fred Hiatt***
Washington Post

Fernando Henrique Cardoso
Former President, Brazil

5:15 – 6:00 p.m. RECEPTION

* Not yet confirmed

MEMORANDUM

TO: Aryeh Neier
CC: Diana Morris
FROM: Leonard Noisette, for the Campaign for a New Drug Policy
DATE: September 8, 2011
RE: Campaign for a New Drug Policy, September 19, 2011, docket meeting

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Promoting Alternatives to Punitive Drug Policies

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National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-New Jersey4

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Grant ID: 20033560

Legal Name of Organization: National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-New Jersey (NCADD-NJ)

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: to ensure a robust addiction treatment benefit as part of health care reform in New Jersey, and to promote a healthcare based approach to alternatives to incarceration for drug related offenses

Grant Description: to provide project support to the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence to advocate for increased access to cost-effective, proven treatment services, using the opportunities of health care reform implementation to promote health based alternatives to punishment as a response to fiscal shortfalls. This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy’s interest in shifting U.S. drug policy from a punitive law enforcement approach to a public health based model by educating the public and policymakers on the effectiveness of treatment instead of incarceration for drug users and by expanding access to community based addiction treatment.

Previous OSI Support: \$600,000 from Closing the Addiction Treatment Gap, 2008-2011

Organization Budget: \$9,177,213

Project Budget: \$400,000

Major Sources of Support: n/a

Amount Requested: \$400,000

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$400,000 (T1: 21127)

Term: 2 years, beginning September 1, 2011

Matching Requirements: n/a

Description of organization:

The New Jersey affiliate of the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (NCADD-NJ) was incorporated as an all-volunteer agency in 1982; it hired its first executive director in 1988, who still holds the position. The organization’s vision is “to have evidence based alcoholism and drug dependence treatment integrated into a continuum of care that is responsive to the needs of the affected individuals and to establish and enforce laws and policies that promote recovery, eliminate discrimination, and remove systemic barriers that impede ready access to treatment.” The organization uses education,

advocacy, research, and service coordination to achieve its goals. It is divided into three divisions; public affairs, care coordination and research, and quality assessment. The combination of divisions allows the organization not only to advocate for policies that support the creation of health based policies for those with addiction, but also to show the efficacy of these policies. NCADD-NJ currently employs a culturally and ethnically diverse workforce of 121 individuals.

NCADD-NJ was a grantee of USP's Closing the Addiction Treatment Gap initiative. During the course of three years, NCADD-NJ educated the public and lawmakers on the addiction treatment gap, the chronicity of the disease of addiction, and alternatives to incarceration. The group began the development of a grassroots movement to promote positive addiction policies, including regulations to enable those reentering the community from prison to access publicly funded treatment. Also, partly in response to the group's communication and education work, New Jersey modified its school zone law,¹ leading to fewer enhanced penalties, which especially impact urban people of color.

Description of project for which funding is sought:

NCADD-NJ seeks to shape the implementation of health care reform in the state so that it maximizes access to addiction treatment services and to encourage the criminal justice system and policymakers to perceive addictive illness as a public health concern and to adopt such an approach with offenders with a history of addiction.

Building on its previous treatment expansion work, NCADD-NJ will target health care reform and the criminal justice system. For years, New Jersey residents felt they could only access addiction treatment services through the criminal justice system. Thus, through concerted education and advocacy activities, NCADD-NJ was able to improve addiction treatment services within the criminal justice system. Upon receiving support from the Closing the Addiction Treatment initiative, NCADD-NJ was able to set its sights higher and was able to educate policymakers that addiction is a disease and that community based treatment is effective. It also recognized that health care reform would offer the opportunity to significantly expand community based treatment. NCADD-NJ is now seeking OSF support to expand its education and advocacy efforts to ensure that the implementation of health care reform allows true access to addiction treatment. NCADD-NJ will also try to use health care reform to ensure that those entering the criminal justice system also have access to appropriate and high quality addiction treatment

As a first step, NCADD-NJ will build its network to include more specially trained advocates from the community. Specifically, NCADD-NJ will educate those in recovery, their family and friends to become effective advocates. NCADD-NJ will train the advocates to explain the science of addiction and its treatment as well as effectively convey their personal barriers and successes. Unlike other disease groups, addiction advocates have not previously sat at health policy tables. Thus, these advocates need a crash course on health policy and how and why addiction treatment should be part of mainstream health care. Once trained, these community-based advocates will organize others within their region, using a "train the trainer" type model. NCADD-NJ seeks to expand the advocate class until there are representatives from all districts across the state. NCADD-NJ anticipates that the grassroots network will not only help

¹ School zone laws exist in most states and impose elevated penalties for drug offenses committed within an established distance of a school and other places where children are likely to be present. While ostensibly designed to prevent the sale of drugs in close proximity to children, school zone laws often cover entire cities, which eliminates any incentive to conduct drug transactions away from schools or playgrounds by making almost any urban drug charge subject to an enhanced penalty. In practice, these laws are used to coerce guilty pleas and are disproportionately imposed on urban poor and people of color.

inform reform implementation, but will also be around after implementation to monitor whether people truly have access to care.

Secondly, the group seeks to create, implement, and maintain a communications infrastructure that will drive new people to support NCADD-NJ's advocacy around health care reform. NCADD-NJ will reach out to mainstream New Jersey using Facebook, Twitter, and cause.org. The communications infrastructure will also inform the work of the grassroots advocates. As interest among communities and people grows, the advocates will be dispatched to provide more detailed education.

NCADD-NJ's advocates will build relationships that make it possible for those in recovery to participate effectively in the advocacy effort. They will seek seats on the health insurance exchange, Medicaid and behavioral health workgroups to ensure that New Jersey adopts policies that address addiction as a chronic disease and provide citizens easy access to a full range of treatment benefits.

Finally, in the criminal justice arena, NCADD-NJ will begin engaging with criminal justice policymakers and advocates around effective treatment as an alternative to incarceration. In the past, NCADD-NJ focused more on reentry to ensure that treatment offered by the criminal justice system was effective and appropriate. NCADD-NJ now believes that the time is ripe to address the "front end"—i.e., whether drug users should enter the criminal justice system in the first place—given the current possibility of universal or nearly-universal availability of addiction treatment under national health care reform. For this work, NCADD-NJ will begin educating the grassroots activists about effective alternatives to incarceration for drug offenses, as well as responses to non-drug offenses that are traceable to an underlying addiction, and then use these constituents to educate the general public and policymakers.

Rationale for recommendation:

This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's interest in shifting U.S. drug policy from a punitive law enforcement approach to a health based model by expanding access to community based addiction treatment, demonstrating the effectiveness of treatment instead of incarceration for drug users, and engaging affected communities.

NCADD-NJ's past Closing the Addiction Treatment successes demonstrate that advocacy for and by affected populations can lead to significant policy change. NCADD-NJ, with its grassroots network, has developed an integrated strategy to move New Jersey towards a health based drug policy. Its collaborative approach has gained the organization a seat at some health care policy tables. Memberships in these health care committees will allow NCADD-NJ to push for a comprehensive treatment benefit, especially within Medicaid and the Health Insurance Exchange. This work primarily requires the creation of rules and regulations at the state level.

The group is well positioned to engage others in its cause and has already developed two briefing series aimed at educating the public and policymakers on opportunities to increase access to addiction treatment through health care reform implementation. Nevertheless, Campaign staff worry that NCADD-NJ has an overambitious agenda. It does not have the advocates at this time to be effective on every health care reform issue. Thus, Campaign staff are urging NCADD-NJ to establish priorities for its health care work, starting with health insurance exchanges. In an effort to help NCADD-NJ succeed, Campaign staff have arranged for its leadership to work with Legal Action Center coaches as well as other OSF state grantees in New York and in Wisconsin.

In addition to health care reform work, NCADD-NJ will work to promote treatment in lieu of incarceration in drug possession cases and decreased use of extended sentences for individuals

committing certain other offenses where a substance use disorder is involved. Again, as with any diverse constituency, there is not full agreement about this approach. Many members of NCADD who are in recovery received treatment through the criminal justice system and feel gratitude for the system, as it was the only way they could access treatment. Other advocates are enthusiastic about promoting treatment in lieu of incarceration but do not believe they are able to change the criminal justice system. However, NCADD-NJ leadership is hopeful as the current governor and his wife have expressed an interest—for budgetary, but also personal reasons—in reducing the use of the criminal justice system in addressing drug use and addiction.

During the three year CATG grant, this organization proved itself to be an effective advocate for drug policy reform. For this reason and others described above, the staff of Campaign for a New Drug Policy recommend renewal project grant to National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-New Jersey, in the amount of \$400,000 over two years.

Grant ID: 20033561

Legal Name of Organization: A Better Way Foundation, Inc.

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: To provide general support

Grant Description: To provide \$200,000 general support over two years to A Better Way Foundation (ABWF), a Connecticut-based grassroots organization dedicated to shifting current drug policy from a paradigm that prioritizes incarceration to one that prioritizes public health, treatment, and public safety. ABWF leads a broad coalition of social service providers, university students, researchers, community development experts, and civil rights organizations working toward sentencing and drug policy reform. ABWF's policy reform focus includes expanding judicial discretion in drug cases, marijuana law reform, eliminating crack/powder sentencing disparities, promoting harm reduction programming, protecting citizens from criminal prosecution for administering overdose treatment medicines, monitoring parity in insurance coverage for people with mental health and substance abuse issues, and increasing state funding for substance abuse treatment and alternatives to incarceration. This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's goals to engage and support leadership level involvement of communities of color and families directly impacted in drug policy reform, to increase public dialogue and community pressure regarding the racial impact of current drug policy and to highlight the social costs of treating drug use and abuse as a criminal justice issue, rather than a healthcare and public health issue. This grant also supports the goal of the Criminal Justice Fund to eliminate harsh punishment by challenging excessive mandatory minimum sentencing policies.

Previous OSI Support: \$360,700

- \$200,000 from Criminal Justice Fund, 2009
- \$40,000 from U.S. Justice Fund, 2008
- \$25,000 from U.S. Justice Fund, 2007
- \$37,500 from U.S. Justice Fund, 2006
- \$58,200 from The Lindesmith Center, 2000

Organization Budget: \$239, 250

Major Sources of Support:

Public Welfare Foundation	\$50,000
New Haven Community Foundation	\$ 4,000

Amount Requested: \$200,000

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$200,000
(\$100,000 from the Campaign for a New Drug Policy T1: 21128
\$100,000 over two years from Criminal Justice Fund: T1: 24015)

Term: two years, beginning September 1, 2011

Matching Requirements: n/a

Description of organization:

Connecticut advocates founded A Better Way Foundation (ABWF) in 1999 with an aim to resist laws and policies causing thousands of arrests, especially among people of color, for drug offenses and non-violent crimes. A Better Way Foundation's mission is to "shift current drug policy from a paradigm that prioritizes incarceration to one that prioritizes public health, addiction treatment and public safety." The organization leads a broad coalition of social service providers, university students, researchers, community development experts, and civil rights organizations working toward sentencing and drug policy reform. ABWF's policy reform focus includes expanding judicial discretion in drug cases, marijuana law reform, eliminating crack/powder sentencing disparities, promoting harm reduction programming, protecting citizens from criminal prosecution for administering overdose treatment medicines, monitoring parity in insurance coverage for people with mental health and substance abuse issues, and increasing state funding for substance abuse treatment and alternatives to incarceration.

ABWF engages in public education, research, grassroots organizing, coalition building, and advocacy to advance its policy goals. Its strategic model stresses community empowerment and cultivation of local residents to lead advocacy efforts. For example, it supports the Law and Justice Commission, a coalition of community activists, researchers, young people, parents, and educational professionals that produces and disseminates statistical research challenging the idea that punitive laws increase public safety. ABWF also directs the Connecticut Alliance, a coalition of community residents, organizers, community based organizations, and health care advocates, to identify and pursue state level drug and prison reform priorities.

As a sophisticated and highly successful advocacy group doing work in a defined geographic and political context, ABWF has been an important partner of a number of national organizations and peer advocacy groups around the country. Within the drug policy reform movement, Executive Director Lorenzo Jones and former Executive Director Robert Rooks (now Criminal Justice Director for the national NAACP) are very well known and respected, as is the organization and approach that they develop at ABWF.

In 2009, OSI awarded ABWF general support funding for two years.

Description of project for which funding is sought:

A Better Way Foundation (ABWF), Inc. requests renewed general support funding for two years.

Rationale for recommendation:

This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's goals in a number of ways. As a regionally prominent, minority led organization, this support for ABWF will advance the Campaign's efforts to engage and support leadership level involvement of communities of color and families directly

impacted in drug policy reform. This grant would also increase public dialogue and community pressure regarding the racial impact of current drug policy and highlight the social costs of treating drug use and abuse as a criminal justice issue, rather than a healthcare and public health issue. This grant also supports the goal of the Criminal Justice Fund to eliminate harsh punishment by challenging excessive mandatory minimum sentencing policies.

ABWF has a successful track record of building coalitions with a variety of groups—community advocates, policymakers, researcher and businesses—to change the Connecticut landscape on drug policy reform. Among its recent victories is its successful work in the area of marijuana decriminalization. The group will use the next two years to expand and strengthen its coalitions and to develop more advocacy leaders from affected communities. ABWF will then use the expanded advocacy base to target two policies: drug free school zones' mandatory minimum laws and the legalization of medical marijuana.

Due to densely populated urban areas, school zones in Connecticut, as in many states, encompass whole cities, including Hartford and Bridgeport. In effect, this subjects people of color and urban poor who live within these school zones to enhanced penalties for minor drug offenses, leading to their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system through longer sentences and coerced pleas. By limiting or abolishing the drug free school zone laws, the groups seeks to end this racially disparate outcome and, simultaneously, to encourage the state to view addiction as a health and public health concern, asking for the reallocation of funds from the criminal justice system into community based treatment and education.

As a follow-up to its successful work around state decriminalization of marijuana, ABWF has made a strategic decision to work with partners to advance medical marijuana policy in Connecticut. ABWF feels that bipartisan support for this issue has increased over the past five years and, with the governor supportive, that this work presents an opportunity for the group to build the size and cohesion of its reform coalition for other drug reform objectives. While Campaign staff recognize that that the passage of medical marijuana laws do not in themselves lead to a decrease in the overincarceration of people of color for drug offenses, ABWF identifies this as an important strategic step in its work. ABWF has identified medical marijuana as an entry point into broader drug policy discussions in Connecticut. The inclusion of community advocates will mean that advocacy around other fundamental community issues, including lack of health care and jobs, will be integrated into this debate and ABWF's messaging.

This grant would also advance the Campaign's interest in promoting geographic reach in its support for reform work. While the western and southwestern states have generally attracted the greatest news media attention in terms of state and regional challenges to the war on drugs, the New England states have developed a degree of momentum that is significant. Maine, Vermont, and Rhode Island have split with the federal government over medical marijuana. In 2008, Massachusetts voters decriminalized marijuana and are about to consider medical use. Maine has also decriminalized marijuana, as did Connecticut just last year. In the areas of health care based drug policy and harm reduction, there are also notable regional opportunities in New England. ABWF is among the best led and most highly experienced groups in that region.

A Better Way Foundation is among the nation's most effective groups working locally for drug policy reform. It has used that expertise to project its message—increasingly on a national and even international level. In the process, it has brought the interests of affected communities squarely into the drug policy debate. It serves as a model for other community organizations seeking to effectively change drug policy. For this reason and those listed above, OSF staff recommends a general support grant in the amount of \$200,000 over two years.

Grant ID: 20033754

Legal Name of Organization: The Cato Institute

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: to support a conference examining impact of U.S. drug policy domestically and internationally, and alternatives to the war on drugs

Grant Description: This project grant would support the Cato Institute’s proposal to hold a high level conference on November 15, 2011 in Washington, D.C. examining the impact of U.S. policies within the United States and internationally and alternatives to the “war on drugs.” The conference will advance the goal of the Campaign for a New Drug Policy to widen the public debate about drug policy in the United States by engaging conservative thinkers and activists, including and going beyond Cato’s libertarian base. One focus of the conference will examine the effect of current drug policies and enforcement on social stability and violence in Latin America, particularly in the region along the U.S.-Mexico border. The conference will conclude with a consideration of U.S. domestic policy reforms outside of a prohibition framework that would more effectively address drug markets and their violence and the use of drugs. This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy’s goal of informing the public and policy makers of the social, political and economic damage caused by current U.S. drug policies domestically and around the world.

Previous OSI Support: \$429,166

- \$230,000 National Security and Human Rights Campaign, 2008-2009
- \$94,380 U.S. Justice Fund Civil Liberties, 2006-2008
- \$80,000 Latin America Anti-Corruption, 2006
- \$14,786 U.S. Drug Policy Reform, 1999
- \$5,000 Lindesmith Center, 1999
- \$5,000 Chairman’s Programs, 1996

Organization Budget: \$22,576,350

Project Budget: \$234,765

Major Sources of Support: n/a

Amount Requested: \$226,000

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$120,000 (T1: 21128)

Term: Four months, beginning September 1, 2011

Matching Requirements: n/a

Description of Organization:

The Cato Institute was founded in 1977 as a nonpartisan, nonprofit public policy research institution headquartered in Washington, D.C. Generally viewed as a libertarian think tank, the Cato Institute is prolific in generating high quality conferences, reports, whitepapers and other public education materials promoting limited government, free trade and individual liberty. While Cato is associated with the right-of-center political, social and economic thought, it has long and consistently taken a position against drug prohibition and its enforcement through the criminal justice system.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

OSF funding would support a one-day conference on November 15, 2011 examining the impacts of American drug policy in the U.S., including civil rights violations and a host of unintended negative health and safety outcomes, as well as the violence and destabilization that U.S. policy fuels around the world. The conference would bring together a number of prominent advocates of reform, including former President of Brazil and current Global Commission on Drug Policy chairman Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Jorge Castañeda, former Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others. Additional expert panelists who will discuss alternatives to current drug policies include Professor Jefferson Fish, who has written extensively on alternatives to prohibition, and columnist Glenn Greenwald, who writes frequently on drug policy and authored Cato's widely circulated evaluation of drug decriminalization on Portugal. OSF grantees will also speak, including Drug Policy Alliance Executive Director Ethan Nadelmann, a leading authority on U.S. and international drug policy reform, and Neill Franklin, Executive Director of Law Enforcement Against Prohibition. The current draft conference agenda is attached.

OSF support for this conference stems from a series of discussions between OSF staff and Cato, as well as a separate meeting between Cato and Michael Vachon, special advisor to George Soros. Mr. Soros has expressed an interest in OSF partnering with Cato in engaging potential right-of-center supporters of drug policy reform. This partnership is related to ongoing work by OSF staff to identify "unlikely allies" in drug policy reform efforts, especially political conservatives. Cato's goal is to attract an audience of 300 people through news publications and direct outreach. Cato will also generate a number of written materials, including an update of the Greenwald report on drug decriminalization in Portugal and reports on the impact of U.S. policies in Latin America. It will hold a number of smaller invitation-only gatherings to advance its goals and seek substantial media attention for the event.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant would advance the Campaign for a New Drug Policy's goal of informing the public and policy makers of the social, political and economic damage caused by current U.S. drug policies domestically and around the world. The conference would likely attract a D.C. audience that is not frequently exposed to this subject matter or ordinarily willing to attend a conference held by OSF's core grantees. While the conference participants will certainly include Cato's libertarian base, the organization believes it will be able to attract more mainstream conservatives as well.

A common theme throughout the conference will be the social and political damage caused to other

nations by U.S. foreign and domestic drug policies and how these outcomes in turn pose an economic and physical threat to the American public. In particular, after an examination of the specific harms caused by the U.S. war on drugs, the conference will end with a discussion of steps that can be taken to short-circuit the violence, political corruption and economic decay caused by the drug war. Given the particular lens through which Cato views this problem, the conference will consider options related to decriminalization of drug use and a market oriented response to the illegal drug market—i.e., alternative policies that directly address financially motivated drug activity through economic policy, rather than ineffectual reliance on the criminal justice system or military-style intervention.

The Cato panel discussions are expected to feature prominently recommendations made in the June 2011 report of the Global Commission on Drug Policy regarding the corrupting effects of criminalizing drug use in consumer nations, such as the U.S., and suppression efforts in producer and transit nations, such as Mexico. In offering concrete solutions to current policy failures, the participation of Global Commission Chairman Cardoso and the panel of U.S. reform advocates provides another opportunity to extend the impact of the Global Commission's work beyond the news media attention that followed release of the Commission's June report.

For these reasons, staff recommends a project grant of \$120,000 over four months to support the Cato Institute's proposed conference on the impact of the war on drugs and policy alternatives.

Ending the Global War on Drugs

A Cato Institute Conference

November 15, 2011
Washington, DC
9:00 a.m. — 5:15 p.m.

8:30 - 9:00 a.m. REGISTRATION

9:00 - 9:05 a.m. WELCOMING REMARKS

Ed Crane
President, Cato Institute

9:05 - 9:45 a.m. KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Jorge Castañeda
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

9:45 - 11:00 a.m. PANEL 1: THE FIRE NEXT DOOR: DRUG VIOLENCE IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Moderator: Mary O'Grady
Member of the Editorial Board, *Wall Street Journal*

Ted Galen Carpenter
Vice President for Defense and Foreign Policy Studies, Cato Institute

Beto O'Rourke
City Councilman, El Paso, TX

Bruce Bagley
Professor of International Studies, University of Miami

11:00 - 11:15 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

11:15 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. PANEL 2: THE IMPACT ON RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF
LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

Moderator: **Rich Lowry***
Editor, *National Review*

Tim Lynch
Director, Center for Criminal Studies, Cato Institute

John McWhorter*
Contributing Editor, Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*

Neill Franklin*
Executive Director, Law Enforcement Against Prohibition

12:30 - 1:15 p.m. LUNCHEON

1:15 - 2:00 p.m. LUNCHEON ADDRESS

James A. Baker III*
Former Secretary of State, United States

2:00 - 3:15 p.m. PANEL 3: OTHER BATTLEFIELDS: SOUTH AMERICA,
AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN

Moderator: **Ian Vásquez**
Director, Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity, Cato Institute

Luis Alberto Lacalle Pou
Speaker of the House of Deputies, Uruguay

Moises Naim*
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Romesh Bhattacharji
Former Narcotics Commissioner, India

3:15 - 3:30 p.m. COFFEE BREAK

3:30 - 4:30 p.m. PANEL 4: A NON-PROHIBITIONIST WAY FORWARD FOR U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL DRUG POLICY

Moderator: **David Boaz**
Executive Vice President, Cato Institute

Glenn Greenwald
Columnist and Blogger, *Salon*

Jefferson Fish
Professor Emeritus, St John's University

Ethan Nadelmann
Executive Director, Drug Policy Alliance

4:35 – 5:15 p.m. FINAL REMARKS

Moderator: **Fred Hiatt***
Washington Post

Fernando Henrique Cardoso
Former President, Brazil

5:15 – 6:00 p.m. RECEPTION

* Not yet confirmed