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CAUCUS ON INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

UNITED STATES SENATE

OVERSIGHT OF THE OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY AND ITS 2022 NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL STRATEGY

Wednesday, June 15, 2022

Washington, D.C.

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1	OVERSIGHT OF THE OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY AND
2	ITS 2022 NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL STRATEGY
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4	Wednesday, June 15, 2022
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б	U.S. Senate
7	Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control
8	Washington, D.C.
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10	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:59 p.m., in
11	Room 608, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Sheldon
12	Whitehouse, chairman of the committee, presiding.
13	Present: Senators Whitehouse [presiding], Hassan, and
14	Grassley
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OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR WHITEHOUSE

The Chairman. The hearing will come to order. Senator Grassley is here and nearby, but I have been cleared to begin my opening statement. So I will begin and then we will recognize Dr. Gupta. Oh, here he is. We lost over 170,000 Americans to drug overdose last year, including 453 Rhode Islanders.

8 A painful reminder of the massive challenge ahead in 9 addressing drug trafficking and substance use in this 10 country. We must do better. The Office of National Drug Control Policy, ONDCP, has a comprehensive plan with 11 12 ambitious goals to meet by 2025, including a 13 percent 13 reduction in drug overdose deaths, doubling treatment 14 admissions for the populations most at risk of overdose 15 death, a 25 percent increase in the number of peer led 16 recovery organizations, doubling the portion of Federal 17 inmates with an opioid use disorder who can access MAT, a 25 18 percent increase in active investigations targeting the 19 Sinaloa or Jalisco New Generation cartels and their 20 enablers.

These goals, developed with input from National Drug Control Program agencies and others, hold promise to turn the tide against the overdose epidemic. Several priorities deserve particular focus. Prevention efforts are cost effective and lifesaving. The longer we can delay the age of first use of illicit drugs, the more likely we are to prevent addiction. Bolstering these programs is a smart place to start. Treatment and some harm reduction efforts are also effective.

5 Medication assisted treatment and overdose reversal 6 medication save lives every day. But most Americans who 7 need treatment for substance use disorders don't receive it. 8 This has to change. We must build the treatment and 9 recovery workforces, establish best practices for recovery, 10 and ensure a dedicated funding stream for recovery programs. 11 And the strategy recognizes this.

12 Equally important are treatment courts and deflection 13 programs which connect nonviolent drug offenders with 14 treatment in lieu of incarceration and reentry programs. I 15 am pleased that the strategy prioritizes these programs, and 16 I hope that ONDCP will use the best practices of Rhode 17 Island programs such as the Leader Program and the Rhode 18 Island Department of Corrections MAT Program as national 19 models.

My bipartisan bills, CARA 3.0 and the TREATS Act, would boost the prevention, treatment, and recovery infrastructure and permanently allow for medication assisted treatment via telehealth. I look forward to seeing these bills enacted. We must also hold drug trafficking organizations accountable. Multi-jurisdictional task forces that target

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1 drug trafficking organizations have proven effective.

2 Boosting such law enforcement work would be wise. Most of the drugs Americans consume come from elsewhere. Mexican 3 4 cartels source precursor chemicals for fentanyl and other 5 illicit synthetic drugs from China and India. Colombia 6 remains the primary source of cocaine consumed in the United 7 That all means we need to strengthen international States. 8 partnerships with law enforcement abroad.

9 We can reduce the flow of precursor chemicals and 10 finished drugs crossing our borders and hit drug trafficking 11 organizations where it hurts them the most, which is their 12 wallets. As long as cartels and their enablers can turn a 13 profit, addiction and overdose deaths will continue to rise.

14 So I am pleased the strategy includes goals to increase 15 the number of financial investigations into cartels by using 16 suspicious activity reports and to increase financial 17 sanctions against members of some of the most dangerous 18 cartels.

I am disappointed in some of the ONDCP choices.
Cartels thrive where the rule of law is weak and where
corruption can flourish. We should help partner nations
combat corruption and strengthen important institutions like
courts in jurisdictions that traffickers exploit.
So it is disappointing to see how in ONDCP's 2023

25 budget request include a 16 percent cut to international

programs that could help to address these problems. Still, the strategy offers ambitious goals and welcome changes. We will need to carefully measure success, as I am sure GAO will discuss.

5 Right now, for instance, we don't have timely reporting 6 of fatal and nonfatal drug overdoses or a reliable baseline 7 for basic information like how much money we have denied and 8 seized from drug trafficking organizations, or the number of 9 related prosecutions. This kind of information is critical 10 to measuring the strategy and effectiveness.

I applaud ONDCP for recognizing the woeful inadequacy of our current systems, and I am counting on them to help us turn the corner. The stakes for the successful implementation of this strategy are high. ONDCP has set goals which, if achieved, will prevent tens of thousands of deaths over the next three years.

I look forward to hearing about how ONDCP will implement its strategy and how it will hold national drug control program agencies accountable for reaching the strategy's goals. I also look forward to hearing what GAO has to say about the strategy's compliance with its statutory requirements. And with that, I turn to my distinguished co-chair, Senator Grassley.

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR GRASSLEY

Senator Grassley. Thank you. Thank you very much.
Thank you, and particularly for examining through this
hearing the Office of National Drug Control Policies
Coordination of national drug control efforts, and
preliminary review of the drug control strategy by the
Government watchdog, GAO.

8 Congress creates agencies like this one. Congress 9 appropriates money for agencies like this one. Congress, 10 from time to time, passes laws for people to carry out. And 11 so we are doing today our Constitutional responsibility to 12 make sure that the Executive Branch of Government and this 13 agency specifically carries out our laws according to 14 Congressional intent, as required by the President and 15 faithfully execute the laws under the Constitution.

ONDCP was created to serve as our nation's leader in combating drugs. Since the inception in 1989, the threat posed by drugs have evolved. But the mission of the ONDCP and of this particular group of Senators, the Drug Caucus remains the same, to save lives. This hearing comes at a critical juncture for our nation.

We are in the middle of the most destructive and most challenging drug environment that this country has ever seen. By now, we have all seen the numbers. So I quote again, similar numbers to what the chairman quoted. The

Center for Disease Control and Prevention reported that
 nearly 108,000 Americans died last year from drug overdose.
 This is staggering and this ought to be unacceptable to any
 Senator or any citizen in this country.

I was no longer -- I am no stranger to the drug crisis. Our towns and communities have been hit hard by the impact of lethal drugs. This includes meth, fentanyl, and now the spread of the deadly counterfeit pills. Fentanyl overdoses have become the number one cause of death among U.S. adults, 18 to 45.

Overdose deaths from methamphetamine have tripled in recent years, according to the National Institute of Health. Common sense tells us that we need ONDCP to lead efforts and steer a national strategy that makes it harder to obtain and use fentanyl and its analogs as well as meth, synthetic opioids, and any drug.

17 We need to be focused on stopping the spread of these 18 drugs. But I think ONDCP's 2022 strategy could do better at 19 The strategy doesn't put enough emphasis on that. 20 scheduling fentanyl analogs permanently. Also, tackling counterfeit pills laced with fentanyl and meth is hardly 21 22 even mentioned in the strategy. I am concerned that the 23 strategy's emphasis on harm reduction could allow for an 24 even greater use of drugs.

25 I am also concerned that the strategy notes that ONDCP

will take a review of where mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses should be eliminated. This guiding document sets the tone for how our nation perceives drug policy and calls our Federal and State partners to action. I am worried that making drugs more accessible is what this Administration calls drug control. I would prefer if the strategy focused on the most lethal drugs facing us.

8 We need to take and make it harder to get and use drugs 9 and find areas where we can get real work done. I have a 10 few ideas on that subject. The permanent scheduling of all 11 fentanyl related substances is just a mere start, at my 12 strategy. The ONDCP has supported class wide scheduling of 13 fentanyl analogs, and I hope that is still the case.

14 Second, the Methamphetamine Response Act that I 15 introduced with Senator Feinstein is now law, and I look 16 forward to working with ONDCP on its implementation. Also, 17 Congress can continue supporting prevention efforts like 18 educating parents and children to stop access and use of 19 drugs.

But there is more work to be done, and I look forward to hearing from the Director today and discussing how we can work together to turn the tide. Thanks again to our witness for being here today, and I look forward to your testimony. Thank you.

25 The Chairman. Thank you. Let me thank Senator Hassan

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for joining us and recognize Dr. Gupta for a five minute
 statement followed by our questions.

3 Dr. Rahul Gupta has been a practicing primary care 4 physician for more than 25 years. He served as West 5 Virginia's Health Commissioner under two Governors through 6 the State's opioid crisis and led pioneering public health 7 initiatives in that capacity to help with the crucial 8 problems that West Virginia faced.

9 He has had several academic positions, including Chief 10 Medical and Health Officer and Senior Vice President at the 11 March of Dimes, and comes to us from a distinguished academic background. Dr. Gupta, welcome. Please make your 12 13 statement and we will proceed after that with our questions. 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

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STATEMENT OF RAHUL GUPTA, MD, MPH, MBA, FACP, DIRECTOR,

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ONDCP

3 Thank you. Good afternoon, Chairman Dr. Gupta. 4 Whitehouse, Chairman Grassley, and members of the committee. Thank you for inviting me today to testify about President 5 б Biden's inaugural drug control strategy. The strategy was 7 released in a time of unprecedented challenges. For far too 8 many years, the overdose crisis has been unraveling the very 9 social fabric of our nation and destroying American lives and livelihoods. 10

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 11 12 estimates that overdoses have claimed more than 1 million 13 lives over the past two decades. Now, in 2021 alone, as we 14 mentioned today, we have lost more than 107,000 Americans. 15 That is one life being lost every five minutes. These are 16 our friends, our neighbors, our family members, and 17 coworkers. Since 2015, overdose deaths in America have more 18 than doubled, and the COVID pandemic has amplified the 19 existing difficulties in accessing treatment for substance 20 use disorder.

As a practicing physician, for the past 25 years, I have treated many patients with addiction who have gone on to live successful lives in recovery. But I have also seen too many patients succumb to their disease and have attended far too many funerals. 1 Working in the emergency room, I experienced weeks and 2 months where I was reversing overdose every single shift. 3 Now behind these fatal overdoses, there are millions of 4 individuals experiencing non-fatal overdoses that are 5 overwhelming our first responders and the health care 6 system.

7 Underneath these overdoses are tens of millions of 8 Americans suffering from substance use disorder. There are 9 other effects as well. Research estimates that the economic 10 cost of this epidemic to be a staggering \$1 trillion a year, and up to 26 percent of the loss in U.S. labor force 11 12 participation can be attributed to the disease of addiction. 13 Addiction and the overdose epidemic is a nonpartisan issue, 14 which is evidenced by the fact that it touches everyone, 15 regardless of where you live or how you vote.

And this is why ending the opioid epidemic is part of President Biden's unity agenda and why it has strong support across the country and across political parties for finding comprehensive and meaningful solutions. As the Office of National Drug Control Policy developed this strategy, we focus on the fact that this epidemic is being driven largely by untreated addiction and drug trafficking profits.

The strategy, seven goals, focus on reducing substance use, overdose deaths, and the supply of illicit substances, and increasing prevention, harm reduction, treatment, and

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recovery efforts. And finally, improving the way criminal
 justice system addresses substance use disorder so people
 can get the help they need before it is too late. There
 also are four key priorities that cut across the strategy.

5 At a time when three out of four overdose deaths б involve opioids, it is critical that we are making sure that 7 everyone can access naloxone. We are also working to ensure 8 that everyone can get substance use treatment. We are 9 disrupting drug trafficking operations and we are moving 10 data collection, particularly for non-fatal overdoses, as they are a pretty good indicator that someone will 11 12 experience a future fatal overdose.

Now, taken together, these goals and priorities usher in a new era of drug policy that is comprehensive, holistic, and targeted at saving lives first. At this moment in history, our nation is at an inflection point. Our actions must rise to the occasion by being bold and innovative, but also compassionate and consequential.

19 The Biden-Harris Administration's inaugural national 20 drug control strategy is an unprecedented response, evidence 21 based, and blueprint -- the blueprint is designed to save 22 lives immediately, build infrastructure for treating 23 addiction our nation so desperately needs, and disrupt drug 24 trafficking and the profits that fuel it, all the while 25 ensuring the Federal Government is accountable and serves as

1 a good steward of taxpayer dollars.

2 Saving lives is our North Star, because I believe that 3 every life is precious and worth saving. If this strategy 4 is implemented as indicated and intended, we could save 5 164,000 lives over the next three years and help tens of 6 millions of people get into treatment and on the path to 7 recovery.

8 The President and I are committed to seeing this 9 through because American lives depend on it. Thank you for 10 your continued efforts to make our country safer. And as 11 President Biden said, let's come together to beat this. I 12 look forward to your questions. Thank you.

13 [The prepared statement of Dr. Gupta follows:] 14

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1 The Chairman. Thank you, doctor. One of the things 2 that you did in West Virginia was to create overdose review 3 teams. I think you called it an opioid autopsy. What 4 should the -- I should flag that Senator Cornyn and I have a 5 bill on this, the Overdose Review Team Act. How important 6 is it for the Federal Government to support overdose review 7 teams?

8 Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is very 9 important that we understand the science of the data behind 10 millions of people suffering non-fatal overdoses. Because what we found in West Virginia, four out of five people came 11 12 in contact with the health care system before they died. It 13 is us who failed them, not the other way around. So we have 14 got to figure out what is happening to people in communities 15 and neighborhoods and be able to solve those issues at that 16 level.

The Chairman. We have done a good job, I think, in Rhode Island, trying to make sure that anybody who comes into an emergency department with an overdose is assigned to a peer recovery specialist. It doesn't always work.

They don't necessarily always want to talk, but the opportunity is there, and I think it has made a big difference and we look forward to working together to get our bill passed into law.

25 Telehealth was something we learned a lot about through

the COVID epidemic, and we want to make sure that the capacities and flexibilities of telehealth that were established during that period continue. Do you support the continuation of telehealth flexibility in opioid treatment?

5 Dr. Gupta. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I think one of the 6 great things that has happened from the first year, right 7 from the first day onwards of this Administration, is 8 providing that flexibility to communities in being able to 9 provide telehealth as one of the way to solutions.

10 The strategy, make sure that that happens and continues 11 to happen because getting to remote areas, especially rural 12 areas, are very critical and telehealth is one way to get 13 there to help advance treatment.

The Chairman. We had enormous success in Rhode Island with our incarcerated population, reducing deaths by over 60 percent by beginning treatment, prerelease and seeing to it that there were supports post release. Are you comfortable that the Bureau of Prisons has stepped up, as it should, to deal with the population that is exiting incarceration and reentering society?

Dr. Gupta. Yes, Mr. Chairman, there is a lot of work happening that I know of right now with Bureau of Prisons, DEA, SAMHSA at HHS, and us working to lead that effort to ensure that we can walk the talk when we talk about universal treatment.

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So we are working aggressively to make sure that we have systems in place where no one within the Federal correctional system is denied treatment, because we know that has a direct impact on society, both in terms of reducing recidivism, reducing overdose, and improving the cost -- it is just the costs of the system, it costs us, so --

8 The Chairman. Are you satisfied with the Bureau of 9 Prisons' response?

Dr. Gupta. Yes. So far we have a great working relationship. I am looking forward to having a significant amount of success in this.

13 The Chairman. This is probably more our problem than 14 yours because at its heart it is a funding problem, and we 15 provide the funding. But everywhere I go around Rhode 16 Island, I hear the same concerns about workforce, and 17 particularly in the caring professions workforce, whether it 18 is health care or elder care or childcare.

And it is particularly acute, I think, in mental health and in substance treatment. And in part I think we take advantage of people who, for reasons of personal commitment, are willing to operate in jobs that they are compensated far less than they are worth, but their sense of inner motivation keeps them there.

25 But it really is unfair to them to take advantage of

that and not pay them salaries that are worthwhile. What do you think the key steps are that Congress should take to support the substance treatment workforce and to make sure that salaries are commensurate with the kind of service they provide?

Dr. Gupta. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Clearly,
the importance of workforce in addiction is important. We
have 23 million Americans that are in recovery today. So
peer to peer recovery, support groups are important.

10 There is a lot of work happening within the part of the 11 strategy, which is making sure we have apprenticeship, loan 12 repayment programs. People get our support to serve in 13 underserved areas.

Folks with licenses, but other workforce that we are going to need in terms of social workers and making sure we have navigators. All of those things are going to be very important and --

18 The Chairman. Are they part of the focus of your 19 strategy?

20 Dr. Gupta. Yes. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. So last question. There are two sides to the business of international drug trafficking. One is producing and distributing the unlawful drugs themselves. The second is collecting the money that you get paid at the sale and bringing it back and then investing it or putting 1 it to use in whatever ways.

2 My experience as a prosecutor has been that we put an enormous amount of effort into the first part of the 3 4 business, much less effort into the second part of the 5 business. And in my view, the second part of the business, б the financing of international narcotics trafficking, is 7 enabled by a structure, an international structure of dark 8 economy that can hide the loot of kleptocrats, the funds 9 developed by criminal trafficking networks, whether it is human trafficking or drug trafficking, terrorist financing. 10

And I hope that as you look at the financing side of these international networks, you are attentive to the larger question of the common infrastructure that all of these evil efforts use in order to obscure where they have got their money, to hide that they have the money to avoid taxes and accountability.

We need to have a very significant moment of international transparency, and I think that will redound very effectively into our enforcement against international traffickers.

Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. One of the top priorities, one of the top four priorities is what we are now calling commercial disruption. That involves looking exactly at these businesses as commerce and going after their profits. Going after denying them the profits helps

us make sure that we are removing their real motivation
 behind their model first. And secondly, we are disrupting
 their operating capital.

That also works to dismantle and disrupt their functioning every day. Part of that has been the Executive Orders that President Biden signed in late December. We have already had sanctioned about 26 individuals and 17 entities since all of which are fentanyl related. Many of those tranches include the Sinaloa and CJNG cartel members.

10 And the whole idea is exactly that, to go after both in 11 the production of it, but also the proceeds. So now we are 12 able to go after not only the traffickers but their 13 financiers, their enablers, their trust agents, their 14 lawyers, the accountants. All of that activity is going on. 15 Thank you.

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The Chairman. Senator Grassley?

17 Senator Grassley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Director, 18 you hold an important role in our common goal to reduce 19 illicit drug use. Your success is of utmost importance as 20 our nation is experiencing, and what you have heard from 21 both of us, record breaking deaths from overdose.

We know that fentanyl and its analogs are driving the surge in drug overdoses. I am invested in making sure that fentanyl analogs are permanently scheduled. And I think you are too as well since ONDCP sent Congress draft legislation

last year that places fentanyl drugs in Schedule I. It
 contains other provisions like encouraging research. I
 could probably work with you on that part of it.

4 Unfortunately, it also includes problematic policy
5 choices of removing mandatory minimums for fentanyl
6 traffickers, which doesn't have sufficient support in
7 Congress. As you know, the authority to control these drugs
8 expires at the end of the year.

9 So can you give us an idea of your approach to making 10 sure that permanent class wide scheduling solutions happen 11 by the end of the year?

Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We are really serious about making sure that the scheduling of fentanyl as a class is important -- fentanyl related substances. Having said that, as a class, I can tell you as a physician, is a unique and interesting way to schedule substances. With it, it brings a lot of complex factors.

And that is exactly the reason the Administration's proposals proposed of scheduling fentanyl as a class, but also balancing that with civil rights and this research part. That proposal is in Congress's hands.

We would love to continue to work with you and your office and your staff to figure out a way path forward. But it is imperative that we continue to find a permanent path forward. Senator Grassley. Why don't you give me a rough idea of what some of those things are that are a problem for just a simple thing that Congress has been doing four or five times on a piecemeal basis for two or more years -- making it a schedule.

6 Dr. Gupta. When we look at the entire class Senator, 7 what we don't know is what the future will hold. There may 8 be another compound where there will be others that may not 9 be subject to be active compounds. We want to be careful, 10 first of all, that those are included, but also they are 11 cautious included as a class.

Secondly, you know, the notion of, the idea of the sentence guidelines does not apply to serious bodily injury or death investigations. And what I have seen in West Virginia, you know, it allows more flexibility for judges to be able to judge. Now, once having said that, we would love to continue to work with their office to find a path forward.

Senator Grassley. Some -- going on, some critics of class wide scheduling think it could undermine research with potential benefits of fentanyl drugs, but inner agency bill that you shared with Congress has both scheduling and research provisions.

24 Can you explain how research into fentanyl drugs is
25 still possible while permanently controlling them?

Dr. Gupta. Senator, if you -- are you ask about the proposal? Part of that proposal or research separately? Senator Grassley. Well, they are together. So since it is in the legislation, it seems to me that we can permanently schedule them and also provide for the necessary research. It seems pretty simple to me.

7 Dr. Gupta. We believe that research could be provided. 8 I think research, good innovation and research would help in 9 the future to create the next naloxone, potentially, the 10 next treatment. So I do think that research can be done on 11 that. That is exactly why the proposal included having 12 research as a component of the permanent scheduling.

13 Senator Grassley. National drug control strategy is 14 mandated by Federal law. GAO did a review. It noted that 15 ONDCP was delayed in publishing the strategy this year and 16 that you have yet to release documents that are part of the 17 2022 strategy.

18 Specifically, the missing documents are a five year 19 projection of the National Drug Control Program and budget 20 priorities, along with an outline of specific resources 21 needed to implement the Southwest border strategy.

Why did you fail to meet the statutory deadline for releasing the strategies, and when will ONDCP release the documents to more effectively address the drug crisis at the Southwest border?

Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. When I came to the office as a physician that has worked on the ground with people, my first goal was saving lives, and I wanted to get the strategy right. It is very important for the American public that we work on saving lives and get this right. And that is what exactly what I did.

I went back and looked at the entire draft that was
available, made changes, went through the interagency
process, had 2,000 consultations with stakeholders, all 50
State Governors, as well as the interagency partners. So to
me, it is more important to get it right because lives are
at stake.

13 And indeed, just today, CDC has released numbers that 14 are showing for the first time we are seeing smaller numbers 15 increase, but also fewer -- few hundred fewer deaths than 16 the last time this report was released. So it is important. 17 Now on the part of the question of the other documents, 18 we are constantly working very closely with GAO and our 19 interagency partners. I am committed to working to release 20 those document as early as possible, and I will continue to 21 work.

You have made a commitment to work with your staff and Congress to get those out.

24 Senator Grassley. We must have a timetable if you want 25 to get it done or it will never get done.

Dr. Gupta. I will get that to you very responsibly,
 very quickly.

Senator Grassley. Okay. I have heard from families,
parents, Iowans as well about counterfeit pills -counterfeit pills laced with fentanyl or meth. Drug
networks are mass producing fake pills, falsely advertising
them, often, most often to young people. You know, the
deadly results.

9 As a parent, grandparent, this is troubling since young 10 people are susceptible to online marketing of these deadly 11 pills. I recently introduced a bipartisan bill that closes 12 loopholes and supports enhancement for spreading laced 13 counterfeit pills. Also, DEA is leading a campaign to raise 14 awareness on this issue.

Despite these seizures of laced pills skyrocketing and pills being available in every State in the country, it doesn't seem like ONDCP is tackling this issue head on. For example, when I searched the 2022 strategy, the phrase counterfeit pills came up four times.

20 Compare that to the phrase harm reduction, which was 21 mentioned 198 times. So, Mr. Director, how are you going to 22 refocus efforts to stop the spread of deadly illicit 23 counterfeit pills? And how -- can Congress do to support 24 your effort?

25 Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think the

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counterfeit pills is a real challenge in front of us. It is all populations that are looking at getting nonprescription pills and this has become very dangerous in terms of drug supply, especially a real life loss is tragic but especially when it is a child, it breaks our heart collectively.

6 I think the important thing here is that along with DEA 7 and thank you for looking to work with DEA and us on 8 separate pieces. We are looking to, along with the one pill 9 can kill campaign, working with social media companies to make sure they are holding themselves accountable for their 10 distribution, but are also working with various other law 11 12 enforcement agencies to make sure that we know what that e-13 commerce market is.

Postal Services is working with e-commerce as well to look at that supply chain. And those things are happening as we speak. But we can do much more in terms of making sure that parents, schoolteachers, neighbors are aware the danger of these counterfeit pills because they are a true danger in our communities.

20 The Chairman. Senator Hassan?

21 Senator Hassan. Well, thank you, Chairman Whitehouse 22 and Co-Chair Grassley. And thank you, Dr. Gupta, for being 23 here. And I just wanted to express my support for the work 24 that Senator Grassley has been doing. We have been working 25 together on getting fentanyl permanently scheduled, and it 1 is something that we all have to find a way forward on.

And doctor, it was really good to have you in New Hampshire recently to see both the problems that we have on the ground as the epidemic of substance misuse continues, as well as what we are doing in the Granite State to address the drug crisis, and I really look forward to welcoming you back again.

8 I want to start by just talking a little bit about the 9 issue of fentanyl precursors in particular. I have worked 10 with my colleagues to pressure China to take additional 11 steps to regulate fentanyl analogs and fentanyl precursors, 12 which are the chemical components that make up fentanyl.

While there has been a drop in fentanyl trafficking directly from China to the United States, we have recently seen a rise in fentanyl precursors coming from China, go to Mexico where fentanyl is now produced, and then it is smuggled into the United States that way.

How is ONDCP coordinating efforts among the various Federal law enforcement agencies to improve efforts to disrupt drug smuggling from Mexico and precursor chemical shipments from China and India to Mexico, where the drugs are manufactured?

Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Senator. And it was indeed a pleasure to be able to visit New Hampshire and see a lot of great work that is happening on the ground. Very

impressive. With respect to China, we have a long standing
 counter-narcotics relationship that is currently showing
 uneven progress.

The fact is that -- I echo the words of Secretary Blinken that said, you know, we often have to compete with China, but this is an area where we can cooperate. And we are working very closely.

I have regular conversations with Ambassador Burns, our lead diplomat in Beijing, about and this is very high on his list of priorities, which is we have very specific asks of China to contain these precursor shipments to make sure that they are following the international norms of shipping and labeling, and we are cooperating on these dual use chemicals coming to Mexico or United States.

15 It is important that we continue to hold them 16 accountable as a global leader. If that is what they want 17 to be, they have to take the lead on these issues. With 18 Mexico, we have invested over the years a lot of resources, 19 as well as a lot of other aspects of expertise with Mexico, 20 similar to it is a shared responsibility with the Mexican 21 Government.

It is important that the amount of resource as well as energy we have spent both in gun trafficking as example, Southbound, as well as cash flows and other aspects, that we continue to have dialog, how we can have the same level of

1 cooperation, enthusiasm with us. I was in Mexico my first 2 week in office.

We met with their military as well as the Addiction 3 4 Council, and we continue to believe that the Bicentennial 5 Security agreement that was signed between two countries on б public health, security, and community safety will be an 7 important path forward.

8 Senator Hassan. And just following up a little bit, 9 has there been outreach and work with India in its role with 10 precursors as well?

Dr. Gupta. Yes, India is a promising and improving 11 12 global counter relationship, counter-narcotics relationship. 13 But we are having the third visit, a third meeting of the counter-narcotics with India to our team. 14

15 ONDCP will be leading, will be traveling next month 16 there to have a high level agreement on some of the goals 17 that includes not just precursor shipments but also of other 18 opioids like tramadol, tapentadol, and those type of 19 substances as well that we are seeing shipments off here. 20 Senator Hassan. Okay. Thank you. I was heartened to see that the 2022 strategy highlights the importance of 21 22 medication assisted treatment in treating substance use 23 disorder. How does access to medication assisted treatment 24 factor into your treatment and recovery benchmarks? 25 Thank you, Senator. The treatment -- the Dr. Gupta.

1 fact is today, a fraction of the Americans who need 2 treatment are getting treatment. Part of this is stigma and 3 part of this is really the inability to get treatment and 4 access treatment.

I was looking at having universal treatment access by 2025, increasing treatment behind the walls, and making sure that those drugs are available to all people. It is very critical because that allows people, first of all, not to die. Second of all, to get into a treatment. And then get on to recovery so they will become productive part of this nation's economy, as we talked about.

12 There is a lot of loss, economic and labor force 13 participation loss that is attributed to addiction and 14 substance use.

Senator Hassan. Well, thank you. That is exactly why I introduced the Substance Abuse Prevention, Treatment and Recovery Act to reauthorize and improve the substance abuse block grant.

19 It is a bipartisan bill with Senators Murkowski and 20 Lujan, which would provide desperately needed resources for 21 communities grappling with the substance use disorder crisis 22 and to help ensure that all efforts to address that crisis 23 are based on what we know is effective and lasting.

And I think one of the things you just talked about, the stigma, there is still more work we can do to really

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help people understand that medication assisted treatment is
 the gold standard at this point and really is effective.
 Last quick question.

Several cities and regions are seeing an increase in
new synthetic opioids that are even more powerful than
fentanyl, which is -- from what I understand, of the power
of fentanyl, kind of hard to comprehend.

8 How is ONDCP working with scientific and law 9 enforcement organizations to develop and deploy field 10 testing kits that are able to detect these new, even more 11 dangerous synthetic drugs?

Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Senator. We know that with synthetic, there is a very important shift that has happened recently in the drug policy world, shift from plant based to synthetic. With those synthetics, pandora's box has been opened. We can expect to see much more potent substances.

So it is really important for us to continue to work with the scientific community to understand. And that is why part of the harm reduction agenda is also be able to have that drug checking ability to understand what is in people's drug, so we have an idea of what is prevailing and looking at those emerging threats and acting before it is too late. So we are looking forward to that.

24 Senator Hassan. And having a system that is agile 25 enough so that as the synthetics are changing, as the

1 compounds are changing, the testing mechanisms can change 2 quickly and be produced quickly, right?

3 Dr. Gupta. Yes, Senator.

4 Senator Hassan. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr.5 Chair.

6 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator. Thank you very 7 much, Dr. Gupta. There will be questions for the record 8 from those of us who are here. And also Senators have 9 schedules that prevented them from being here.

10 So I hope you will promptly answer those questions and 11 look forward to continuing this discussion. I would like to 12 have a separate briefing at some point on the question of 13 sanctions and how you see that working into this. But that is to be scheduled later, if that would be agreeable to you. 14 15 Dr. Gupta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am really 16 looking forward to having that briefing and we will get 17 those questions to you very timely. Thank you.

18 The Chairman. Terrific. Much appreciated. We will 19 now move on to the second panel. And our witness for the 20 second panel is Triana McNeal. She is a Director in the 21 Government Accountability Office, Homeland Security, and 22 Justice team.

23 She oversees issues related to Federal efforts to 24 counter domestic terrorism and violent extremism, domestic 25 intelligence and information sharing, and law enforcement

1 efforts to combat drug misuse.

2	Ms. McNeal joined GAO in July 1999. She has a master's
3	degree in public administration from George Washington
4	University. And I am delighted to have GAO, and Ms. McNeal
5	specifically, here today to respond to our questions. You
6	have five minutes to make your opening statement, and then
7	we will proceed with the questioning. Thank you.
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STATEMENT OF TRIANA MCNEIL, DIRECTOR, STRATEGIC ISSUES,

GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE

Ms. McNeal. Thank you for having me here today. 3 4 Chairman Whitehouse, Co-Chairman Grassley, and members of 5 the Caucus, I am pleased to be here today to discuss GAO's б preliminary findings on the 2022 National Drug Control 7 Strategy, progress made by ONDCP, and critical steps that it 8 needs to take to address deficiencies that we have 9 previously identified. When we determine this long standing 10 and persistent issue was high risk in 2020, 93,000 people died in that same year from drug misuse in the U.S. 11

The most recent data show that over 170,000 died in 2021. 107,000 people's families and communities lost their loved ones last year. ONDCP's role is critical to helping prioritize, coordinate, and measure key efforts to address the drug crisis. ONDCP is required to do a number of things based on the Support Act.

18 It is required to develop the strategy. It is required 19 to work with agencies to develop an annual drug budget. And 20 as you know, this year's budget was over \$39 billion. The 21 Support Act calls on ONDCP to, among other things, determine 22 comprehensive, long range, quantifiable goals. Identify 23 annual measurable targets for each goal. Provide an 24 estimate of the needed funding to achieve each goal. And 25 describe a performance evaluation plan to track the progress

1 for each goal.

2 Based on our preliminary analysis of the strategy documents released to date, more are forthcoming, we all 3 4 know that we found that the strategy addresses some, but not 5 all of the statutory requirements. For example, it contains б information on those comprehensive goals. It does identify 7 annual measurable targets, but it does not contain any 8 information on the necessary funding to achieve those goals 9 or any information on a performance evaluation plan to track 10 the progress.

Moving forward, we will continue reviewing the remaining documents that will complete the strategy once they are issued. We will look for that funding information. We will look for that plan to assess the progress, and more details on how these goals will be operationalized. And I want to underscore the evaluation piece.

We need to know what we are achieving, and we need to know where to refocus our efforts. All of these are critical pieces to effectively tackling this drug epidemic. Chairman Whitehouse, Co-Chairman Grassley, and members of the caucus, this concludes my prepared statement.

I would be happy to respond to any questions at this time.

24 [The prepared statement of Ms. McNeal follows:] 25

1 The Chairman. Thanks so much, Ms. McNeal. I 2 appreciate very much you being here. One of the things that 3 you all are very good at is data collection. And one of the 4 problems that has been identified in this area has been data 5 collection. And so I would like to ask you a little bit 6 about that, potentially in the context of the performance 7 evaluation plan you mentioned, but also more generally.

8 I proposed an amendment with Senator Hassan to the 9 Fiscal Year 2022 NDAA called the Narco Act, which would 10 direct the Department of Justice to collect data from 11 National Drug Control Program agencies based on concern that 12 is echoed in the strategy that our data systems lack the 13 timeliness, scope, and precision required for the most 14 impactful national response.

There is a recommendation that a drug control data dashboard should be established. Could you give us your overview of where we are on data collection and what the key steps are that GAO would recommend to try to make the improvements that are necessary?

Ms. McNeal. Sure. I can speak to a few suggestions and provide some updates on the status of those recommendations. Both of the recommendations on the data dashboard are still open. They are not addressed. We have been working with ONDCP since 2019 when we made those recommendations.

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1 They have been very forthcoming in terms of what they 2 plan to do, and so we are just engaging with them just to 3 make sure we have the latest information. There is still a 4 serious lack of information. There are limited information 5 on fatal and nonfatal ODs. There is limited information on 6 the known and estimated flows of drugs into the U.S.

7 There is limited information on the unmet treatment 8 needs. These are still the same issues that we have been 9 dealing with for the last few years. And I think that it is 10 important to kind of look at what the drug data inter-agency 11 working group is planning to do. They are the one that is 12 going to be leading this effort to tackle these data issues.

13 That is an effort that was outlined in some of the 14 documents that ONDCP has recently put out. But I do want to 15 just put a few things on the table, and we will continue to 16 share this type of information with ONDCP. There are models 17 for central repositories that we have identified that ONDCP 18 can look to.

This data dashboard is supposed to be publicly available, searchable. The data should be quality, it should be reliable for all different levels of Government and researchers, private folks to use. So they can look at the Department of Education's ED Facts as a model, they can look at OPM's enterprise human resources integration as a model, and they can look at Bureau of Labor Statistics data

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1 finder and data tools.

These are good models that are just practical examples that they can think about leveraging as they build out this data dashboard. There is some other information that I would like to share, and we will be providing this to them on data governance.

Just some key practices when you are trying to develop a central repository, developing data standards, and managing to that, making sure that you get input from your users, what do they need and how best would they like that information to be provided, how would it be most usable for them, and then invest and maintain an infrastructure for that information.

You can't just build it and leave it. You really have to manage that and invest in that upkeep.

16 The Chairman. Should there be a bigger role for the 17 Department of Justice in the data collection, given its 18 practical role in investigations and prosecutions and given 19 the strength of its sort of policy development component? 20 Ms. McNeal. I think it is fair to say that all the 21 drug control agencies should be partnering with ONDCP in 22 providing all that necessary information.

The Chairman. I am just wondering who should be the lead? I hear the term interagency working group and I shudder. Because while interagency working groups can be

1 effectual, they are also often places where initiative, 2 accountability, and punctuality go to die. In fact, we 3 should probably do a GAO report on interagency working 4 groups at some point, but that is a separate matter.

5 Ms. McNeal. We have got criteria on that as well. 6 The Chairman. Yes, I mean, I just, it -- I shudder 7 with fear when I hear that interagency working group has 8 been set up to do something, because I don't think I am 9 going to see anything again on that for years. But we will 10 continue working with you on how this should be set up.

As you know, Senator Hassan and I did a bill that raised the responsibilities of DOJ. I think that that is probably sensible. But why don't we continue that conversation at the staff level and try to get that sorted out. And with that, let me yield to my distinguished colleague, Senator Grassley.

Senator Grassley. Thank you and welcome, Director McNeal. Your agency maintains a list of high risk programs that are vulnerable to waste, fraud, and abuse. January 20 2021, GAO added, "national efforts to prevent, respond to, and recover from drug misuse" to this list.

GAO cited several issues, such as a need for greater leadership and coordination of the national drug control effort, strategic guidance that fulfills all statutory requirements, and more effective implementation and

1 monitoring. This seems to fall under ONDCP's purview. So
2 this question, three short questions but I will give you a
3 one at a time. Why is being on the high risk list
4 problematic?

5 Ms. McNeal. Being on the high risk list provides б visibility. So when you have an intractable issue such as 7 these epidemic, record number of overdose rates and drug 8 misuse rates, having that on the high risk list provides 9 visibility. We are invited to hearings like this. The Director is invited to hearings like this, and it just 10 continues to just put the spotlight on an issue that really 11 12 needs to be resolved.

And it also puts pressure on those involved to come together and really try to tackle the problem. Because every two years we put out a report and we report out on progress made or not made.

17 Senator Grassley. What efforts is ONDCP currently 18 taking to remove these items from the high risk list?

Ms. McNeal. So the drug misuse issue is on the high risk list. ONDCP is not on the high risk list. It is a whole of Government approach that is going to need to be taken to remove this issue from the high risk list. We focus on a number of things. One thing that we did need to reeducate ONDCP about is it is not just about closing our recommendations. That is an important part of this. 40

But if we don't see increased capacity, for example, understanding what is needed to meet the treatment needs, making sure that that treatment is met. There is other capacity. We had recommendations for DEA for improved data analytics. They had a lot of information about suspicious opioid orders, but they weren't mining that information.

So having that capacity to be able to look at all these different areas that can positively affect the issue is what we need to see. But I also will say, if these rates don't decrease, it is not coming off the list.

Senator Grassley. I think you just answered the third 11 12 question, and I am going to ask it anyway, and you tell me 13 you just answered it. I think you did. What will it take for GAO to remove drug misuse from the high risk list? 14 15 Ms. McNeal. We will need to see a marked decrease in 16 the rates of overdose deaths and drug misuse, number one. 17 We will need to see a fulsome action plan in this strategy. 18 And so when these documents come out later in the summer, 19 hopefully that is when we will see the last remaining two, 20 we will evaluate those.

If there is not the resources tied to each of those goals, if there is not a performance evaluation plan that clearly is assessing the activities that they are prioritizing, that is going to be a problem for us. Those are just some of the things. But I think sustained

1 leadership is also going to be key there.

2 Senator Grassley. This year's strategy is differ from 3 past strategies in a few ways. It covers a somewhat 4 controversial topic of harm reduction, focuses more on 5 racial equity, and ignores pressing issues like scheduling б fentanyl analogs or dealing with deadly illicit fake pills. 7 Given the widely cited statistics about overdose rates, what 8 about ONDCP's strategy is troubling, and how can they, the 9 agency, improve their drug control efforts moving forward? 10 Ms. McNeal. So we have not reviewed the strategy in this way before. When we have reviewed the National Drug 11 12 Control Strategy, it has been the complete strategy. So this is an early look at the documents that they have put 13 14 out to date. So in these last remaining two, there is a lot 15 of promising things that they said will be contained in 16 these two documents. So I hesitate to say that this 17 strategy is lacking X, Y, Z.

I can speak to these six documents that they have issued thus far that is lacking some critical information, and it goes back to the same themes, what money are you going to need? What are some specific activities tied to each goal? How are you going to assess that? And then how are you going to use that assessment to inform next -- the next strategy?

25 How are you going to redirect activities and funding

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toward things that are working in a way from things that aren't working? Those are the critical pieces that we are looking for, and we will look for that this summer in those documents if they come out.

5 Senator Grassley. This will be my last question, then 6 I will submit others for -- to you for writing. You 7 mentioned in your testimony that ONDCP hasn't provided 8 details on how to achieve its border strategy goals. This 9 is concerning since we know that the majority of drugs killing Americans originate abroad and come across the 10 Southwest border. Has ONDCP been engaging with GAO on 11 12 rectifying this error? And why is fixing this so important? 13 Ms. McNeal. No, we have not specifically engaged with 14 them on the border strategies. This is something that we 15 will be asking them information about. We are looking for 16 some of the funding information that we noticed was a

17 glaring detail that was not included in those strategies.
18 But we will be having ongoing discussions with them over the
19 summer.

The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Grassley. Thank you so much. Ms. McNeal. Thank you for your work. We always appreciate the support from GAO. For the record, I will say that the second scariest thing behind interagency working group, is whole of Government approach in terms of finding an answer anywhere in the near future. Maybe that is the

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1 second part of the GAO inquiry.

This is not a question about your work here. This is a question about my understanding about your report and what we might do going forward. In my questions to Dr. Gupta, I focused on, in the area of international narcotics trafficking. The imbalance between enforcement efforts against the distribution side and enforcement efforts against the finance side.

9 And particularly with respect to enforcement against 10 the finance side, with understanding that not only is there 11 the flow of funds back into the criminal enterprise, but 12 there is also the secondary use, storage, investment, 13 whatever of those funds.

14 And that that second part in particular tends to stand 15 on and be supported by the existence of an anonymized, 16 international dark money capability that not only supports 17 the international narcotics trafficking enterprise, but 18 kleptocrats, international criminals of all varieties, 19 generally horrible people, terrorists all around the world. 20 And it strikes me from reading your report that those were not questions that you looked at. I just wanted to 21

22 make sure that I understood that.

23 Ms. McNeal. Not yet.

24 The Chairman. Not yet?

25 Ms. McNeal. Not yet. I think that that is work that

we should be focusing on. I think it is important work. As you noted in my bio, I do -- a part of my portfolio is countering violent extremism, domestic terrorism, and we have ongoing work looking at those illicit financing of those entities. And I think we need to be doing something similar here.

7 The Chairman. Good. Because what I was planning to 8 suggest to you was that we figure out how to can sit are 9 doing something in that space.

10 Because I think the effort here with our national drug control strategy aligns quite well with the klepto-capture 11 12 initiative that has just been stood up, slash, enhanced to 13 deal with the problem of the Russian corrupt oligarchs, but 14 which creates a capacity that can expand well beyond that 15 particular target set and which also aligns extremely well 16 with the President's democracy initiative goal of trying to 17 suppress that corrupt international dark economy.

And if that is something that we can work together on to pursue, I don't know quite what the format is for the right request. We can go offline and do that, but I think that is a very important and useful thing to do.

I suspect there would be a lot of bipartisan interest in doing that, and I would love to have there comes a day when it was just as socially unacceptable among nations to be a place where you can hide corrupt and illicit money as

1 it is to be a place where you can employ child labor.

2 So it is obviously going to take some time to get there 3 and there are places that have as their revenue proposition 4 supporting that dark economy. And in fact, unfortunately, 5 they are actually American interests that make money off of 6 that.

7 So we have got a lot of work to do, and I am glad you 8 see those connections, and whatever way that we can help 9 with asking the right questions and supporting GAO taking a 10 look into that, I would very much like to do that and I am 11 encouraged that you had already seen those links. So, thank 12 you.

Ms. McNeal. Yes. My pleasure. I will coordinate with the staff.

The Chairman. Great. With that, we are done here. Again, if there are questions for the record that you get, please answer them promptly and fulsomely. And thank you very much for your service.

19 Ms. McNeal. Thank you.

20 The Chairman. With that, we are concluded.

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[Whereupon, at 3:00 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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Written Testimony of Dr. Rahul Gupta Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control Hearing on the National Drug Control Strategy

June 15, 2022

OPENING

Chairman Whitehouse, Chairman Grassley, Members of the Committee,

Thank you for inviting me to testify about President Biden's inaugural *National Drug Control Strategy*.

This *Strategy* was released in a time of unprecedented challenges. For far too many years, the overdose crisis has been unravelling the very social fabric of our Nation and destroying American lives and livelihoods. Since 2015, annual overdose deaths in America have more than doubled.¹ Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic has increased the strain on our health care system and amplified the existing difficulties in accessing treatment for substance use disorder, which has helped exacerbate an overdose epidemic that was already getting worse prior to the pandemic.

As a result, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimates that overdoses claimed 107,622 lives in 2021 alone. This represents a life lost every five minutes. These are our family members, co-workers, neighbors and friends. Over the past two decades, more than one million Americans have lost their lives to overdoses, devastating their families, our communities, and nation as a whole. Behind these fatal overdoses, there are millions of individuals experiencing nonfatal overdoses that are overwhelming our first responders and the healthcare system. Underneath the overdoses are tens of millions of Americans suffering from substance use disorder.

Worse, this crisis has been accelerating over the years at an unprecedented rate, and the impact on our communities goes even further. Research estimates the economic costs of the epidemic to be a staggering \$1 trillion a year², and up to 26% of the loss in U.S. labor force participation can be attributed to people suffering from addiction.³ Addiction and the overdose epidemic is a nonpartisan issue as evidenced by the fact that it touches everyone, regardless of where they live or how they vote. And it is why ending the opioid epidemic is part of President Biden's Unity Agenda, which he announced during his State of the Union address. Strong support across the country and across political parties for comprehensive and meaningful solutions underscores the nonpartisan nature of this issue.

As the Office of National Drug Control Policy developed this *Strategy*, we focused on the fact that this epidemic is being driven largely by untreated addiction and the profit incentive for individuals and groups to engage in drug trafficking

At this moment in history, our nation is at an inflection point where we must approach this crisis with a sense of urgency that prioritizes saving lives as our north star. Our actions must rise to the occasion in being bold, far-reaching, and innovative but also compassionate, consequential, and evidence-based. The Biden-Harris Administration's inaugural *National Drug Control Strategy* is an unprecedented, evidence-based blueprint designed to save lives immediately, build the infrastructure our nation so desperately needs for treating addiction, and disrupt drug trafficking and the profits that fuel it. The implementation of President Biden's *Strategy* will help us save as many lives as possible while enhancing public safety for individuals and communities.

Process of Development

Before going into specifics, I will describe the extensive and comprehensive process of developing this *Strategy*.

In the SUPPORT Act of 2018, Congress laid out key requirements for the President's *National Drug Control Strategy*, including putting forth a comprehensive, evidence-based plan to reduce both the supply of, and demand for, illicit drugs.

The *Strategy* does precisely this while outlining a bold and innovative approach to reduce overdoses.

As required by statute⁴, ONDCP led an extensive consultation and review process, seeking input from more than 2,000 leaders and stakeholders including the Congress; State, Tribal, and local governments; foreign partners; and interagency colleagues, as well as nongovernmental organizations and outside drug policy advocates representing public safety, public health, community groups, and more.

Throughout the *Strategy's* development, we worked closely with our federal interagency partners who operate under the federal drug control budget that Congress appropriates. These partners provided valuable input on policy direction and actions, and provided key feedback during the interagency review and clearance process. This *Strategy* represents a consensus among the Administration for a strong path forward.

Critically, with the delivery of the *Strategy* to Congress, ONDCP ensured concurrent delivery of its companion documents: three border strategies and the Performance Review System report.

The three border strategies describe our efforts to address the drug threat at our Southwest, Caribbean, and Northern borders. Through the Performance Review System, the *Strategy* outlines key goals we must collectively meet to save lives, and provides a framework for holding ourselves accountable and ensuring we are responsible stewards of the American people's tax dollars.

Notably, this is the first *Strategy* designed from the outset to include measures at both the strategic and program-level to hold government accountable under the requirements of the SUPPORT Act.

Big Picture Goals

The primary goal of the President's *National Drug Control Strategy* is to save lives and reduce drug trafficking by making it more costly for transnational criminal organizations.

There are seven key, quantifiable goals of this *Strategy*:

- 1. Illicit Substance Use is reduced in the U.S.
 - Specifically, we seek to reduce the number of drug overdose deaths by 13% and reduce the number of people with certain substance use disorders by 25% by 2025.
- 2. Prevention efforts are increased in the U.S.
 - Our objectives include reducing among young people past 30-day alcohol use and vaping by 10 percent and 15 percent, respectively, by 2025.

3. Harm reduction efforts are increased in the U.S.

 Syringe services programs provide vital services that reduce disease transmission in communities and help save lives, yet they are not accessible in every community that needs them. We seek to increase the number of these programs in counties with high overdose rates by 85% by 2025.

4. Treatment efforts are increased in the U.S.

- Our top objective is to double treatment admissions for the populations most at risk of overdose death by 2025. We also seek to achieve universal access to medications for opioid use disorder by 2025.
- 5. Recovery efforts are increased in the U.S.
 - There are approximately 21 million Americans in recovery from a substance use disorder, and 12.5 million are in the workforce.⁵ Among other objectives, we seek a 75% increase in the number of states operating a recovery-ready workplace initiative in order to make it easier for people to maintain recovery.

6. Public safety efforts in the U.S. include drug policy matters.

 Research has shown that, for incarcerated individuals with an opioid use disorder, treatment with medications for opioid use disorder (MOUD) corresponded to a reduction in the risk of overdose death by 85% in the month following their release.⁶ As we work to bend the curve on overdose deaths, an area of focus is the intersection between substance use disorder and the criminal justice system. We must create programs nationwide that allow for the diversion, when appropriate, of individuals who commit non-violent crimes into treatment and services that will help them find recovery. Doing so supports rehabilitation and reentry, which reduce recidivism and enhance public safety. We must also establish opportunities for non-violent offenders to participate in drug court programs, when appropriate, and that these court programs implement practices that advance equity and public safety. Further, for people who are incarcerated, we must provide them with treatment services, including MOUD, and assist them with re-entry services. This work will not only reduce overdose and death, but by supporting rehabilitation and reentry, will improve public safety outcomes for our communities.

7. The supply of illicit substances into the U.S. is reduced.

- The illicit drug environment we face today is considerably different than just a few years ago. It is adaptive, dynamic, and resilient, and has presented us with a complex national security, law enforcement, and public health crisis that has overextended our public health system and taxed law enforcement efforts for the better part of a decade. The Biden-Harris Administration's first *National Drug Control Strategy* approaches this dynamic challenge in a significantly different way than previous *Strategies*. The *Strategy* prioritizes a targeted response to drug traffickers and transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) that hits them where it hurts the most: their wallets.
- Among others, our objectives include drastically increasing law enforcement actions related to TCO asset freezes and seizures and commercially disrupting the global business of illicit drug production and trafficking.

Four priorities cut across the *Strategy's* goals, which will help us save lives both in the short term and the long term:

First, the most important action we can take right now is to have naloxone, the opioid overdose reversal medication, in the hands of everyone who needs it without fear or judgment – especially today when 3 out of every 4 overdose deaths involve opioids. Harm reduction interventions like naloxone, and syringe services programs enable us to work with people who use drugs to build trust and engagement and keep them alive—and enjoy broad bipartisan support. Harm reduction strategies work; I have witnessed it firsthand.

We will expand access to naloxone, a cost-effective tool that has the most potential to save lives today. The evidence backs up this approach: in addition to saving lives, every dollar we spend on naloxone provides \$2,769 in benefits according to one cost-benefit analysis.⁷ Several additional studies have indicated that community-based naloxone distribution is cost-effective.

Second, the President's *Strategy* lays out actions to tackle a long-standing issue: the majority of people with a substance use disorder are not getting the treatment they need. We know that fewer than one out of ten people in the United States who need treatment are able to get it.⁸ That is simply unacceptable.

As a practicing physician of 25 years, I have seen what happens when people do not have the supports they need for treating and managing their substance use disorders: loss of employment, loss of family, loss of community, and too often, death. I have attended far too many funerals for people with addiction. However, I have also seen what happens when those supports are in place: treatment, recovery, and living --- allowing people to make the most of their opportunities in life.

Treatment saves lives, and everyone who wants treatment should be able to access it. Through the President's *Strategy*, we will ensure universal access to medication for opioid use disorder by 2025.

Third, as mentioned, we seek to disrupt and dismantle TCOs by targeting their operations, illicit financial networks, and supply chains.

The TCOs that sustain and perpetuate the multi-billion-dollar illicit drug business operate seamlessly across borders and cooperate with remarkable efficiency to obtain raw materials, move and launder their proceeds, and to ship their illicit products to the United States and destinations around the world.

I have seen the challenges and opportunities we have regarding supply reduction. I have visited the Southwest border in El Paso, Texas; I have entered captured border tunnels outside San Diego; I have traveled to Mexico to meet with senior Mexican officials; and I maintain close contact with Ambassador Burns in the People's Republic of China as we work with the Chinese government to reduce the supply of precursor chemicals used to create synthetic drugs that are killing Americans by the minute.

We have already brought the international community together recently to control fentanyl precursor chemicals, and President Biden's budget proposal includes substantial increased investments for border security and supply reduction approaches.

This *National Drug Control Strategy* directs agencies to uncover financial networks and obstruct and disrupt the illicit financial activities that fund the TCOs who produce and traffic illicit drugs into the United States by strengthening every available tool, seeking new ones that will provide tangible results, and better synchronizing our efforts across the federal government to commercially disrupt this global illicit enterprise.

In support of this effort, this past December President Biden issued two Executive Orders that provide the Executive Branch enhanced architecture to better counter transnational criminal organizations in this dynamic environment, and to increase our ability to negatively impact foreign persons involved in the global illicit drug trade from a financial perspective. When issuing those executive orders, the President declared "international drug trafficking, including the illicit production, global sale, and widespread distribution of illegal drugs; the rise of extremely potent drugs such as fentanyl and other synthetic opioids; as well as the growing role of Internet-based drug sales, constitutes *an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.*"⁹ These carefully chosen words not only speak to the high priority the President places upon this issue, but also open doors to new authorities and capabilities for the United States to address this threat in a comprehensive and sustainable fashion.

Additionally, law enforcement task forces such as OCDETF and HIDTA work diligently with the nation's 94 U.S. Attorney's Offices to disrupt and dismantle transnational organized crime by prosecuting those individuals responsible for manufacturing and distributing these deadly substances in our communities.

Through this *Strategy*, we will continue to work, both unilaterally and with other likeminded nations, to make it more costly for drug trafficking organizations to continue their business in every way. This work is critical because if it is easier to get illicit drugs in America than it is to get treatment, we cannot bend the curve on overdoses.

Fourth, the *Strategy* ramps up our work on data and research at a time when the federal government faces large gaps in data collection and analysis related to drug policy.

We know that a past non-fatal overdose is one of the most accurate predictors of whether someone will experience a fatal overdose in the future.¹⁰ However, we do not have a consistent and timely measure of non-fatal overdoses in the United States, and this significantly limits our ability to identify emerging trends and act before it's too late. The sooner we can collect data, the sooner we can use it to drive and evaluate policy decisions. With this *Strategy*, the Administration is working to develop a near real-time national estimate for non-fatal overdose occurrences, along with a system to rapidly target substance use prevention and treatment resources to communities experiencing the greatest burdens.

In addition to these four areas, the President's *Strategy* also directs federal agencies to take actions to prevent youth substance use, support people in recovery, and advance racial equity in our drug policies related to both demand and supply. The *Strategy* expands the scope of this work to address many factors that affect substance use disorder including child poverty, employment, and economic opportunity, so people can reach their full potential.

A New Era for Drug Policy

Taken together, these goals, priorities, and objectives usher in a new era of drug policy that is comprehensive, holistic, and targeted at saving lives first.

This is the first time the federal government is embracing high-impact harm reduction as a tool to reduce overdoses and overdose deaths – an effort that has broad bipartisan congressional support.

We are proposing commercial disruption – an approach that includes illicit finance, supply chain targeting, and more – as a critical means to target transnational criminal organizations, their operating capital, and their profits.

This is the first time we have delivered extensive data and criminal justice chapters that will help us better understand our environment, as well as deliver life-saving resources to people who interact with the criminal justice system, including evidence-based treatment for people who are incarcerated, so that we can improve public health and public safety outcomes.

This is the first time we have emphasized Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and the Social Determinants of Health (SDOH) as key prevention efforts.

This is the first time we have called for making access to substance use disorder treatment universal.

Finally, we have a new emphasis on getting naloxone to everyone who needs it, removing outdated barriers to prescribing medications for opioid use disorder, and providing workforce opportunities for people in recovery.

This *Strategy* advances federal drug policy and represents exactly what we need to do in order to reduce overdose deaths and ensure people can access the help they need.

Implementation Plan

These are ambitious but achievable goals. Just as important is how we implement the *Strategy* and whether we get results.

Tracking implementation is critical because it is the process that ensures that our plans turn into action to reach the goals of the *Strategy*. Our work on implementing and tracking our Nation's progress on the *Strategy's* action items began immediately after its release.

Congress has charged ONDCP with implementing the *Strategy* by its authorization. In fact, *Strategy* implementation is mentioned twice – both in the requirements of the Office¹¹, and the requirements of my position.¹² At a meeting with National Drug Control Program Agencies last week, we discussed how we will implement the *Strategy*, the urgency of process, and identified key items that agencies can work on and implement in the next three months.

Our shared efforts towards implementing the *Strategy* will rely to a great extent on the cooperation and assistance from all members of the interagency. We look forward to working with them, as properly implementing its action items will assist us in meeting the overall goals and objectives of the *Strategy*. These objectives, and their 2- and 5-year targets, are detailed in the *Strategy's* companion Performance Review System report.

I look forward to updating you on the Administration's progress during implementation.

CONCLUSION

President Biden's inaugural *National Drug Control Strategy* is bold, unprecedented and is based on the best science, data, and evidence available to help us address the untreated addiction and drug trafficking profits that are driving overdose deaths.

Every life is precious and worth saving. If this *Strategy* is implemented as intended, we could save 164,000 lives over the next three years, and help tens of millions of people get into treatment and on the path to recovery. The President and I are committed to seeing this through because American lives depend on it.

Thank you for your continued efforts and interest in saving lives and making our country safer. The Administration is eager to work together to further these goals. As President Biden said, let's come together to beat this.

I look forward to your questions.

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https://www.nber.org/papers?page=1&perPage=50&sortBy=public_date

⁴ SUBSTANCE USE-DISORDER PREVENTION THAT PROMOTES OPIOID RECOVERY AND TREATMENT FOR PATIENTS AND COMMUNITIES ACT. Public Law 115-271. 115th Congress. Accessed June 2, 2022. <u>https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/6/text</u>

⁵ SAMHSA. 2021. National Survey on Drug Use and Health Detailed Tables 2020. Table 6.37A. Available at https://www.sambsa.gov/data/report/2020-nsdub-detailed-tables_accessed on May 31_2022_Percentages were calculated by ON

¹ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. Multiple Cause of Death 1999-2020 on CDC WONDER Online Database, released in 2021. Available at http://wonder.cdc.gov/mcd-icd10.html. Extracted by ONDCP on December 22, 2021.

² Beau Kilmer, Reducing Barriers and Getting Creative: 10 Federal Options to Increase Treatment Access for Opioid Use Disorder and Reduce Fatal Overdoses, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, June 22, 2020; Peter Reuter, Jonathan P. Caulkins, and Greg Midgette, "Heroin Use Cannot Be Measured Adequately with a General Population Survey," Addiction, Vol. 116, No. 10, October 2021; Pulled from the Final Report of the Commission on Combating Synthetic Opioid Trafficking, February 2022, Page 35.

³ Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta researcher Karen Kopecky, Jeremy Greenwood of the University of Pennsylvania and Nezih Guner of the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper.

https://www.samhsa.gov/data/report/2020-nsduh-detailed-tables, accessed on May 31, 2022. Percentages were calculated by ONDCP from published estimated numbers.

⁶ Marsden, J., Stillwell, G., Jones, H., Cooper, A., Eastwood, B., Farrell, M., Lowden, T., Maddalena, N., Metcalfe, C., Shaw, J., & Hickman, M. (2017). Does Exposure to Opioid Substitution Treatment in Prison Reduce the Risk of Death after Release? A National Prospective Observational Study in England. Addiction (Abingdon, England), 112(8), 1408-1418. 10.1111/add.13779 [doi]

⁷ Naumann et al. Drug Alcohol Depend 2019;204:107536

⁸ Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2021). *Key substance use and mental health indicators in the United States: Results from the 2020 National Survey on Drug Use and Health* Rockville, MD: Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality. ⁹ <u>https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/12/15/executive-order-on-imposing-sanctions-on-foreign-persons-</u>

involved-in-the-global-illicit-drug-trade/

¹⁰ Krawczyk N, Eisenberg M, Schneider KE, et al. Predictors of overdose death among high-risk emergency department patients with substancerelated encounters: A data linkage cohort study. Annal of Emergency Medicine 2020;75(1):1-12.

¹¹ 21 USC §1702(a)(2) "Office of National Drug Control Policy, which shall—coordinate and oversee the implementation of the national drug control policy, including the National Drug Control Strategy"

¹² 21 USC §1703(b)(3) "Responsibilities: The Director—shall coordinate and oversee the implementation by the National Drug Control Program agencies of the policies, goals, objectives, and priorities"



United States Government Accountability Office

Testimony

Before the Caucus on International Narcotics Control, U.S. Senate

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DRUG POLICY

Preliminary Observations on the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy

Statement of Triana McNeil, Director, Homeland Security and Justice

Highlights of GAO-22-106087, a testimony before the Caucus on International Narcotics Control, U.S. Senate

Why GAO Did This Study

A record 107.000 Americans died from drug overdoses in 2021. In 2020, GAO determined drug misuse was high risk and subsequently added it to the 2021 High-Risk Series update. We noted the importance of a national drug control strategy to reduce drug overdose deaths. Drug misuse-the use of illicit drugs and the misuse of prescription drugs-has been a persistent and long-standing public health challenge in the U.S. resulting in significant loss of life and a negative effect on society and the economy. These costs are borne by individuals who misuse drugs, as well as their families and employers, private businesses and nonprofit organizations, and federal, state, and local governments. GAO has a body of work on drug policy and ongoing work on ONDCP's efforts, including issuance of the National Drug Control Strategy.

This statement includes preliminary GAO observations on the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy and related findings from selected GAO reports on federal drug control-related efforts. It is based on ongoing GAO work, three reports that GAO issued in March 2019, December 2019, and March 2020, and selected updates on recommendations from these reports as of June 2022. For ongoing work and recommendation updates, GAO assessed the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy against selected statutory requirements, reviewed ONDCP documents, and interviewed ONDCP officials. GAO selected these statutory requirements because they relate to the goals and associated resources expected to be outlined in the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy.

View GAO-22-106087. For more information, contact Triana McNeil at (202) 512-8777 or McNeilT@gao.gov

DRUG POLICY

Preliminary Observations on the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy

What GAO Found

Federal drug control efforts span a range of activities including prevention, treatment, interdiction, international operations, and law enforcement. These efforts represent a considerable federal investment. The federal drug control budget for fiscal year 2022 was over \$39 billion and the federal government has enlisted more than a dozen agencies to address drug misuse and its effects.

Depiction of Various Narcotics



Source: GAO. | GAO-22-106087

The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) is responsible for coordinating and overseeing efforts by more than a dozen federal agencies to address illicit drug use. It released six of its eight documents that comprise the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy on April 21, 2022. ONDCP anticipates the remaining two documents to complete the Strategy will be released later this year. GAO's preliminary review of the available Strategy documents against selected statutory requirements shows that ONDCP included certain information as required by law. For example, it included annual quantifiable and measurable objectives and specific targets to accomplish long-term quantifiable goals. However, GAO was unable to identify whether the Strategy addressed statutorily required information on performance evaluation planning, estimates of resources needed to achieve goals, and a systematic plan for increasing data collection. This is, in part, because the Strategy refers to this information in documents that are not yet available. ONDCP may include this information in accompanying National Drug Control Strategy documents it plans to release later this year. Chairman Whitehouse, Co-Chairman Grassley, and Members of the Caucus:

I am pleased to be here today to discuss our ongoing work related to the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and its recently released 2022 National Drug Control Strategy. The Strategy is to set forth a comprehensive plan to reduce illicit drug use and the consequences of such illicit drug use in the United States by limiting the availability of and reducing the demand for illegal drugs and promoting prevention, early intervention, treatment, and recovery support for individuals with substance use disorders.¹

A record 107,000 people in the United States died from drug overdoses in 2021, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).² Opioids—particularly highly potent synthetic opioids like fentanyl—are currently the main contributor of these deaths.³ The Council of Economic Advisers estimated that, in 2018, the economic cost of the opioid crisis alone was more than \$700 billion when considering the value of lives lost due to opioid-related overdoses.⁴ Drug misuse—the use of illicit drugs and the misuse of prescription drugs—has been a persistent and long-standing public health challenge in the U.S. resulting in significant loss of life and a negative effect on society and the economy. These costs are borne by individuals who misuse drugs, as well as their families and employers, private businesses and nonprofit organizations, and federal, state, and local governments.

¹21 U.S.C. § 1705(b)(1).

²The CDC's National Center for Health Statistics provisional counts are adjusted to account for reporting delays. Provisional data are underreported, due to incomplete data. These data represent the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's predicted number of overdose deaths.

³There were more deaths in 2019 involving synthetic opioids than from any other type of opioid, according to the CDC. Synthetic opioids are highly potent drugs manufactured to mimic naturally occurring opioids such as morphine. See *GAO*, *Illicit Opioids: While Greater Attention Given to Combating Synthetic Opioids, Agencies Need to Better Assess* their Efforts, GAO-18-205 (Washington, D.C.: Mar. 29, 2018).

⁴The Council of Economic Advisers, *The Underestimated Cost of the Opioid Crisis*, (Washington, D.C.: November 2017).

In March 2019, we named drug misuse as an emerging issue requiring close attention.⁵ In March 2020, we determined that national efforts to prevent, respond to, and recover from drug misuse was high risk.⁶ Primarily due to increasing rates of opioid-related deaths and opioid use disorder, the Acting Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) declared the opioid crisis an ongoing public health emergency on October 26, 2017.⁷ As a result of the continued consequences of the opioid crisis affecting our nation, the public health emergency was last renewed on April 1, 2022. We highlight these issues in our latest High-Risk report, which we issued on March 2, 2021. In that report, we added national efforts to prevent, respond to, and recover from drug misuse to the High-Risk List.⁸

Federal drug control efforts span a range of activities including prevention, treatment, interdiction, international operations, and law enforcement. These efforts represent a considerable federal investment. The federal drug control budget for fiscal year 2022 was over \$39 billion and the federal government has enlisted more than a dozen agencies to address drug misuse and its effects. ONDCP is responsible for overseeing and coordinating the implementation of U.S. drug control

⁵GAO, High-Risk Series: Substantial Efforts Needed to Achieve Greater Progress on High-Risk Areas, GAO-19-157SP (Washington, D.C.: Mar. 6, 2019).

⁶GAO, Drug Misuse: Sustained National Efforts Are Necessary for Prevention, Response, and Recovery, GAO-20-474 (Washington, D.C.: Mar. 26, 2020). GAO waited to include drug misuse in the 2021 High-Risk Series update and make the high-risk designation effective at that time due to the severe public health and economic effects of the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic. In addition, many of the federal agencies responsible for addressing drug misuse would be focused on addressing the pandemic.

⁷A public health emergency triggers the availability of certain authorities under federal law that enable federal agencies to take certain actions in response. In September 2018, we reported that the federal government had used three available authorities since declaring the public health emergency to: (1) quickly survey more than 13,000 providers to assess prescribing trends for a medication used to treat opioid use disorder and any barriers to prescribing it, (2) waive the public notice period for approval of two state Medicaid demonstration projects related to substance use disorder treatment, and (3) expedite research funding on medication development for opioid use disorder and overdoses. See *GAO*, *Opioid Crisis: Status of Public Health Emergency Authorities*, GAO-18-685R (Washington, D.C.: Sep. 26, 2018).

⁸Every two years at the start of a new Congress, GAO calls attention to agencies and program areas that are high risk due to their vulnerabilities to fraud, waste, abuse, and mismanagement, or are most in need of transformation. See GAO, HIGH-RISK SERIES: Dedicated Leadership Needed to Address Limited Progress in Most High-Risk Areas. GAO-21-119SP. (Washington, D.C.: March 2, 2021).

policy, including the National Drug Control Strategy. ⁹ These responsibilities include the Director of ONDCP promulgating a National Drug Control Strategy, and assessing and certifying the adequacy of the National Drug Control Program agencies' budget submissions. ¹⁰ These agencies submit to ONDCP the portion of their budget requests dedicated to drug control, which they prepare as part of their overall budget submission for the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). ONDCP described the aims of the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy to include reducing the number of drug overdose deaths, putting quality public health services within reach of people with substance abuse disorders, and stopping drug trafficking organizations that seek profits by harming Americans.

In my testimony today, I will discuss our preliminary observations on whether the contents of the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy and companion documents address certain statutory requirements under 21 U.S.C. § 1705. The observations discussed are based on our review of the Strategy and accompanying documents released by ONDCP on April 21, 2022. We will also describe how our preliminary observations of the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy relate to findings and recommendations from our prior work.

To develop our preliminary observations, we obtained and analyzed the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy and available accompanying documents, assessed them against selected requirements of 21 U.S.C. § 1705, and interviewed ONDCP officials. We selected these statutory requirements because they relate to the goals and associated resources expected to be outlined in the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy. In our ongoing review we will assess the complete strategy against all the statutory requirements. To perform our prior work, we similarly reviewed and analyzed documents from ONDCP and other relevant federal agencies, reviewed statutory requirements, and interviewed relevant agency officials. More detailed information on the scope and methodologies used to conduct our prior work related to the National Drug Control Strategy can be found in each product cited in this

⁹21 U.S.C. § 1702(a)(2).

¹⁰21 U.S.C. § 1703(b)(2) and (c)(3).

statement.¹¹ This statement also includes selected updates related to recommendations we have made in those issued products. To conduct these updates, we reviewed documentation provided by ONDCP officials through October 2021 about steps they have taken to address recommendations since the publication of each respective product.

We conducted the work on which this statement is based in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain sufficient, appropriate evidence to provide a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives. We believe that the evidence obtained provides a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives.

Background

More than a dozen federal agencies—known as National Drug Control Program agencies—have responsibilities for drug prevention, treatment, and law enforcement activities.¹² For example, HHS has led efforts to expand access to drug treatment, and the Departments of Justice (DOJ) and Homeland Security (DHS) have taken lead roles in limiting the availability of illicit drugs through criminal investigations and prosecutions. The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 established ONDCP to enhance national drug control planning and coordination.¹³ In this role, the office is responsible for (1) leading the national drug control effort, (2) coordinating and overseeing the implementation of national drug control policy, (3)

¹¹GAO, Drug Control: The Office of National Drug Control Policy Should Develop Key Planning Elements to Meet Statutory Requirements, GAO-20-124 (Washington, D.C.: Dec. 18, 2019); Drug Misuse: Sustained National Efforts are Necessary for Prevention, Response, and Recovery GAO-20-474 (Washington, D.C.: Mar. 26, 2020); and Drug Policy: Preliminary Observations on the 2019 National Drug Control Strategy, GAO-19-370T. (Washington, D.C.: Mar. 7, 2019).

¹²Under 21 U.S.C. § 1701(11), "[t]he term 'National Drug Control Program Agency' means any agency (or bureau, office, independent agency, board, division, commission, subdivision, unit, or other component thereof) that is responsible for implementing any aspect of the National Drug Control Strategy, including any agency that receives Federal funds to implement any aspect of the National Drug Control Strategy, but does not include any agency that receives funds for drug control activity solely under the National Intelligence Program or the Joint Military Intelligence Program." In addition to ONDCP, these agencies include the departments of Agriculture, Defense, Education, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Justice, Labor, State, Transportation, Treasury, and Veterans Affairs, as well as the Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency for the District of Columbia, the Federal Judiciary, the United States Postal Inspection Service, and AMERICORPS.

¹³Pub. L. No. 100-690, 102 Stat. 4181.

assessing and certifying the adequacy of National Drug Control Programs and the budget for those programs, and (4) evaluating the effectiveness of national drug control policy efforts.¹⁴

In October 2018, the Substance Use-Disorder Prevention that Promotes Opioid Recovery and Treatment for Patients and Communities Act (SUPPORT Act) was enacted and reauthorized ONDCP and a number of its programs.¹⁵ The SUPPORT Act aims to address overprescribing and opioid misuse in the United States and includes provisions involving law enforcement, public health, and healthcare financing and coverage. The National Drug Control Strategy is to set forth a comprehensive plan to reduce illicit drug use and the consequences of such drug use in the United States by limiting the availability of and reducing the demand for illegal drugs.¹⁶

The Director of ONDCP is required to promulgate the National Drug Control Strategy and work with National Drug Control Program agencies to develop an annual National Drug Control Program Budget.¹⁷ Pursuant to 21 U.S.C. § 1705(a), the Director is required to release a statement of drug control policy priorities in the calendar year of a Presidential inauguration following the inauguration, no later than April 1st. The Director is also to promulgate the National Drug Control Strategy which the President is to submit to Congress not later than the first Monday in February following the year in which the term of the President commences, and every 2 years thereafter.¹⁸

We have reviewed multiple iterations of the National Drug Control Strategy to understand whether ONDCP met selected statutory requirements. ONDCP did not issue a National Drug Control Strategy for 2017 or 2018 despite the statutory requirement. ONDCP issued a 2019 Strategy and companion documents that addressed some but not all of

¹⁴21 U.S.C. § 1702(a)(1)-(4).

¹⁵Pub. L. No. 115-271, 132 Stat. 3894 (October 24, 2018).

¹⁶21 U.S.C. § 1705(b).

¹⁷21 U.S.C. § 1703(b)(2) and (c)(2).

¹⁸21 U.S.C. § 1705(a)(2).

the selected statutory requirements we reviewed.¹⁹ ONDCP issued the 2020 Strategy in February 2020. While we found that the 2020 Strategy made progress in addressing several statutory requirements, it fell short on several other requirements. For example, it contained annual quantifiable and measurable objectives and specific targets that the 2019 Strategy had not; however, it did not include a list of each National Drug Control Program agencies' activities and the role of each activity in achieving the Strategy's long-range goals, as required by law.²⁰ The 2020 Strategy also did not include the required 5-year projection for the National Drug Control Program and budget priorities²¹ or estimates of federal funding needed to achieve each of the Strategy's long-range quantifiable goals.²²

As a result of our findings, some of which are mentioned above, we made a number of recommendations related to the National Drug Control Strategy. In December 2019, we recommended that ONDCP develop and document key planning elements to help structure its ongoing efforts and to better position it to meet these requirements for future iterations of the National Drug Control Strategy. In June 2021, ONDCP officials provided several internal guidance documents with key planning elements to help ONDCP meet the SUPPORT Act requirements, thereby addressing our recommendation. In our December 2019 report, we also recommended that ONDCP routinely implement an approach, based on the planning elements to meet the requirements for the 2020 National Drug Control Strategy and future Strategy iterations. In order to address this recommendation, ONDCP will need to use this internal guidance to develop future iterations of the National Drug Control Strategy. Our ongoing review of the 2022 Strategy will enable us to determine if ONDCP has addressed this recommendation.

- ²¹ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(D).
- ²² 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(F)(iii).

¹⁹GAO, Drug Control: The Office of National Drug Control Policy Should Develop Key Planning Elements to Meet Statutory Requirements, GAO-20-124 (Washington, D.C.: Dec. 18, 2019).

²⁰ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(F)(i).

Preliminary Observations on Whether the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy Addresses Selected Statutory Requirements As mentioned, pursuant to 21 U.S.C. § 1705(a), the Director is required to release a statement of drug control policy priorities in the calendar year of a Presidential inauguration following the inauguration, but not later than April 1, and promulgate the National Drug Control Strategy which the President is to submit to Congress not later than the first Monday in February following the year in which the term of the President commences, and every 2 years thereafter. In January 2022, ONDCP notified Congress that it would not complete the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy by the statutory deadline (February 7, 2022) and it planned to submit the Strategy to the committees no later than June 30, 2022.²³ On April 21, 2022, ONDCP issued the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy and the following accompanying documents:

- 2022 National Drug Control Strategy,
- Performance Review System Report,
- National Southwest Border Counternarcotics Strategy,
- National Northern Border Counternarcotics Strategy,
- Caribbean Border Counternarcotics Strategy, and
- National Interdiction Command and Control Plan²⁴

ONDCP has not yet issued the following two key National Drug Control Strategy accompanying documents:

- Fiscal Year 2023 Budget Summary and,
- National Drug Control Assessment.

We were only able to review the six available documents and, therefore, were unable to conduct a complete assessment of the Strategy and its companion documents. As of June 10, 2022, ONDCP has not issued the Fiscal Year 2023 Budget Summary and National Drug Control Assessment. ONDCP officials stated that they plan to issue the Budget Summary and the National Drug Control Assessment by the end of July 2022. According to ONDCP, the Budget Summary is to ensure that each

²⁴ONDCP released the National Interdiction Command and Control Plan in August 2021.

²³ Pursuant to 21 U.S.C. § 1705(e), if the Director of ONDCP does not submit a National Drug Control Strategy to Congress in accordance with the statutory timing, not later than five days after the first Monday in February following the year in which the term of the President commences, the Director shall send a notification to the appropriate congressional committees explaining why the Strategy was not submitted; and specify the date by which the Strategy will be submitted.

National Drug Control Program agency's goals and budgets support and are fully consistent with the Strategy. The Budget Summary is to identify the major programs and activities of the National Drug Control Program agencies that support the goals and objectives of the Strategy. In addition, the Budget Summary is to include the related programs, activities, and available assets, and discuss the role of each program, activity, and asset in achieving the Strategy's goals. The Budget Summary is also to provide an estimate of federal funding and other resources needed. ONDCP describes the National Drug Control Assessment as a summary of the progress of each National Drug Control Program agency's efforts towards meeting the Strategy's goals. The Assessment also is to establish each agency's specific performance measures and include an evaluation of the progress toward meeting the annual targets of those performance measures.

In conducting our preliminary analysis on whether the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy and the accompanying documents addressed selected statutory requirements, we reviewed all of the available documents against selected requirements of 21 U.S.C. § 1705, and interviewed ONDCP officials. These statutory requirements provide illustrative examples of the types of information required by law to be included in the National Drug Control Strategy. Our preliminary analysis shows that the current National Drug Control Strategy addresses the following statutory requirements:

- Comprehensive, long-range, quantifiable goals. By law, the National Drug Control Strategy is required to include "[c]omprehensive, research-based, long-range, quantifiable goals for reducing illicit drug use, and the consequences of illicit drug use in the United States."²⁵ The 2022 National Drug Control Strategy outlines seven specific strategic goals and objectives for the Nation to reduce the demand for and availability of illicit drugs and their consequences. Each goal is supplemented by objectives that include targets to reach by 2025. These goals represent the comprehensive, research-based, long-range, quantifiable goals for reducing illicit drug use, and the consequences of illicit drug use in the United States, as required.
- Specific targets to accomplish long-term quantifiable goals. By law, the Strategy is required to include "[a]nnual quantifiable and measurable objectives and specific targets to accomplish long-term

²⁵ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(B).

quantifiable goals that the Director determines may be achieved during each year beginning on the date on which the National Drug Control Strategy is submitted."²⁶ In the Performance Review System Report (PRS), ONDCP provides additional details on the goals and objectives discussed in the National Drug Control Strategy. The Performance Review System Report outlines specific annual targets for each of the objectives outlined in the National Drug Control Strategy. We found that in the majority of the cases, ONDCP has established annual targets for each of the goals and objectives for fiscal years 2021 through 2025.

We also identified statutory requirements that ONDCP does not address in the available National Drug Control Strategy and accompanying documents that were issued in April 2022. Based on the Strategy documents we reviewed, ONDCP may meet the following statutory requirements in forthcoming publications:²⁷

- **Performance evaluation plan for each established goal.** By law, the Strategy is required to include "[f]or each year covered by the Strategy, a performance evaluation plan for each goal established [as part of the Strategy] for each National Drug Control Program agency." ²⁸ From our preliminary review of the Strategy and companion documents, we did not identify such a performance evaluation plan for National Drug Control Program agencies. However, the PRS states that, "[t]he PRS focuses on the overall progress toward achieving the goals and objectives of the Strategy: it is complemented by the [National Drug Control] Assessment, which is a summary of the progress of each National Drug Control Program agency's (NDCPA) efforts towards meeting the Strategy's goals. The Assessment establishes each NDCPA's specific performance measures and includes an evaluation of the progress of meeting the annual targets of those performance measures." As of June 10, 2022, ONDCP has not released the National Drug Control Assessment.
- Estimate of resources needed to achieve goals. By law, the Strategy is required to include "[a] description of how each goal

²⁸21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(G).

²⁶21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(C).

²⁷These include the Fiscal Year 2023 Budget Summary and the National Drug Control Assessment, among other documents.

established [as part of the Strategy] will be achieved."²⁹ As part of this description, the Strategy is required to have for each goal, "an estimate of Federal funding and other resources needed to achieve such goal."³⁰ We found that while the National Drug Control Strategy outlines goals, it does not provide an estimate of the federal funding or other resources needed to achieve these goals. Based on the PRS, the forthcoming Budget Summary may provide information on the nature of federal funding and other resources needed to achieve National Drug Control Strategy goals.

- **National Drug Control Program and budget priorities.** By law, the Strategy is required to include "[a] 5-year projection for the National Drug Control Program and budget priorities."³¹ From our preliminary review, we did not identify a 5-year projection pursuant to statutory requirement. According to the PRS, "the Budget Summary ensures that each agency's goals and budgets support and are fully consistent with the Strategy. As previously mentioned, ONDCP has not yet released the Budget Summary.
- A systematic plan for increasing data collection. By law, the Strategy is required to include "[a] systematic plan for increasing data collection to enable real time surveillance of drug control threats, developing analysis and monitoring capabilities, and identifying and addressing policy questions related to the National Drug Control Strategy and Program."³² As of June 10, 2022, ONDCP has not yet created a systematic plan for increasing data collection.³³ ONDCP included information in the National Drug Control Strategy on the development of a systematic data plan. ONDCP officials stated that it may take approximately 1 year to fully develop the plan, depending on the availability of staff and funding resources.
- Description of resources needed to implement border counternarcotics strategies. As part of the National Drug Control Strategy, the Director of ONDCP is required to include a Southwest Border Counternarcotics Strategy and a Northern Border

²⁹ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(F).

³⁰ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(F)(iii).

³¹ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(D).

³² 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(M).

³³21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(1)(M).

Counternarcotics Strategy.³⁴ These additional strategies were issued in April 2022. However, as part of the Southwest Border and Northern Border Counternarcotics Strategies, the strategies are required to "identify the specific resources required to enable the relevant National Drug Control Program agencies to implement th[ese] strategies."³⁵ From our preliminary review of the Southwest Border and Northern Border Counternarcotics Strategies, we did not identify the information required. Our review of available documentation did not identify any forthcoming documentation, which would meet this statutory requirement.

In summary, ONDCP's responsibility to develop the National Drug Control Strategy offers an important opportunity to help prioritize, coordinate, and measure key efforts to address the drug crisis. Our work has shown that ONDCP can improve its efforts to develop a National Drug Control Strategy that meets statutory requirements and effectively coordinates national efforts to address drug misuse. In 2017 and 2018, ONDCP did not issue a statutorily required National Drug Control Strategy, and we reported that the 2019 National Drug Control Strategy did not fully comply with the law.³⁶ In December 2019, we recommended that ONDCP develop and document key planning elements to help structure its ongoing efforts and to better position ONDCP to meet these requirements for future iterations of the National Drug Control Strategy.³⁷ In 2020, we reviewed the 2020 National Drug Control Strategy and reported that ONDCP had made progress in addressing several statutory requirements but fell short in meeting other requirements.³⁸ Our preliminary work on the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy has identified a number of statutory requirements that ONDCP has addressed, as well as several areas where we did not identify the statutorily required information. As part of our ongoing work, we will share any issues or concerns regarding the 2022 National Drug Control Strategy with ONDCP officials and examine how ONDCP intends to address the remaining statutory requirements. Once published by ONDCP, we will also examine the National Drug

3521 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(3)(B)(i)(III) and (C)(i)(III).

³⁶GAO, *Drug Control: The Office of National Drug Control Policy Should Develop Key Planning Elements to Meet Statutory Requirements,* GAO-20-124 (Washington, D.C.: Dec. 18, 2019).

³⁷GAO-20-124 (Washington, D.C.: Dec. 18, 2019).

³⁸GAO, Drug Misuse: Sustained National Efforts Are Necessary for Prevention, Response, and Recovery, GAO-20-474 (Washington, DC.: Mar 26, 2020).

³⁴ 21 U.S.C. § 1705(c)(3)(A)-(C).

	Control Assessment and Budget Summary to assess whether these documents include the statutorily required information that we did not identify in the Strategy documents ONDCP has issued to date.
	Chairman Whitehouse, Co-Chairman Grassley, and Members of the Caucus, this concludes our prepared statement. I would be happy to respond to any questions you may have at this time.
GAO Contact and Staff Acknowledgments	If you or your staff has any questions concerning this testimony, please contact Triana McNeil at (202) 512-8777 (McNeilT@gao.gov). Contact points for our Offices of Congressional Relations and Public Affairs may be found on the last page of this statement. In addition to the contacts named above, Frederick Lyles, Jr. (Assistant Director), Taylor Hadfield (Analyst in Charge), Billy Commons, Benjamin Crossley, Susan Hsu, Daniel Kuhn, Amanda Miller, Jan Montgomery, Shivani Singh, and Adam Vogt made key contributions to the testimony. Other staff who made key contributions to the reports cited in the testimony are identified in the source products.

Related GAO Products

DRUG CONTROL GRANTS: ONDCP Should Document Its Process for Identifying Duplication, Overlap, and Fragmentation. GAO-22-104666. Washington, D.C.: December 8, 2021.

HIGH-RISK SERIES: Dedicated Leadership Needed to Address Limited Progress in Most High-Risk Areas. GAO-21-119SP. Washington, D.C.: March 2, 2021.

Substance Use Disorder: Reliable Data Needed for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Block Grant Program. GAO-21-58. Washington, D.C.: December 14, 2020.

Drug Misuse: Agencies Have Not Fully Identified How Grants That Can Support Drug Prevention Education Programs Contribute to National Goals. GAO-21-96. Washington, D.C.: November 18, 2020.

Prescription Drug Monitoring Programs: Views on Usefulness and Challenges of Programs. GAO-21-22. Washington, D.C.: October 1, 2020.

Bureau of Prisons: Improved Planning Would Help BOP Evaluate and Manage Its Portfolio of Drug Education and Treatment Programs. GAO-20-423. Washington, D.C.: May 26, 2020.

Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act: Additional DOL Actions Needed to Help States and Employers Address Substance Use Disorder. GAO-20-337. Washington, D.C.: May 21, 2020.

Drug Misuse: Sustained National Efforts Are Necessary for Prevention, Response, and Recovery. GAO-20-474. Washington, D.C.: March 26, 2020.

Drug Control: Actions Needed to Ensure Usefulness of Data on Suspicious Opioid Orders. GAO-20-118. Washington, D.C.: January 29, 2020.

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