

February 3, 2025

Senate Majority Leader John Thune U.S. Senate Washington, DC 20510

Speaker Mike Johnson U.S. House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515 Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer U.S. Senate Washington, DC 20510

House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries U.S. House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515

CC: Senate Judiciary Committee Chair Chuck Grassley, Senate Judiciary Committee Ranking Member Dick Durbin, House Energy & Commerce Committee Chair Brett Guthrie, House Energy & Commerce Committee Ranking Member Frank Pallone, House Judiciary Committee Chair Jim Jordan, and House Judiciary Committee Ranking Member Jamie Raskin

RE: Vote NO on the HALT Fentanyl Act (H.R. 27 / S. 331)

Dear Majority Leader Thune, Speaker Johnson, Minority Leader Schumer, Minority Leader Jeffries, and Honorable Members of the U.S. Congress:

The undersigned 190 national, state, and local public health, criminal justice, and civil rights organizations write today to urge you to reject and vote NO on the Halt All Lethal Trafficking of Fentanyl (HALT) Act (H.R. 27 / S. 331). This bill permanently schedules fentanyl-

related substances (FRS) on schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act (CSA) based on a flawed class definition, imposes mandatory minimums, and fails to provide an offramp for removing inert or harmless substances from the drug schedule.

The classwide scheduling approach endorsed in the HALT Fentanyl Act classifies all FRS as schedule I drugs, reserved for substances with no currently accepted medical use and a high potential for abuse. This class definition, however, is a radical departure from drug scheduling practices as it relies exclusively on chemical structure without accounting for pharmacological effect based on the unproven hypothesis of chemical structure-function relationships. Contrary to this hypothesis, structurally related substances can often have complementary therapeutic values. In fact, the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) has already acknowledged that some FRS are inert and that at least one may be an opioid antagonist that behaves like naloxone, which is itself an opium derivative that counteracts the effects of opioid drugs. Classifying all FRS in schedule I places undue restrictions on research for therapeutic potential of FRS. This means that researchers and scientists are not able to study these substances at a time when the U.S. is experiencing unprecedented overdose deaths.

The HALT Fentanyl Act also enshrines mandatory minimums for distribution of FRS under the Controlled Substances Act, an inappropriate mandate that criminalizes possibly inert or harmless substances. While some proponents of the HALT Fentanyl Act claim that the bill is not intended to interact with the criminal justice system and that mandatory minimums are primarily a deterrent against foreign import of FRS, this is simply inaccurate. The HALT Fentanyl Act expands mandatory minimums for both foreign importation crimes and domestic drug distribution offenses, including nonviolent drug distribution involving small quantities of drugs. What's more, by automatically scheduling a huge swathe of substances in one fell swoop, the HALT Fentanyl Act would lead to very real criminal justice consequences, posing an unacceptable risk of unnecessary incarceration for substances that carry no potential for abuse. Such miscarriages of justice have already occurred. For instance, Todd Coleman was sentenced to a mandatory minimum of 10 years for sale of cocaine that a crime laboratory said was laced with three fentanyl analogues, only to discover, years later, that the detected adulterants were not illegal fentanyl analogues and most were not even controlled substances.³

Our country is repeating past missteps when it comes to policy responses to fentanyl and its analogues. In the 1980s, policymakers enacted severe mandatory minimums for small amounts of crack cocaine in response to media headlines and law enforcement warnings that perpetuated mythology and fear. These laws imposed harsher penalties for crack—a substance associated with Black people—than for cocaine—a substance associated with white people—even though

¹ Bamberger, Nathan D., et al.""Beyond Simple Structure—Function Relationships: The Interplay of Geometry, Electronic Structure, and Molecule/Electrode Coupling in Single-Molecule Junctions." *The Journal of Physical Chemistry C* 126.15 (2022): 6653-6661.

² NIDA. "The Overdose Crisis: Interagency Proposal to Combat Illicit Fentanyl-Related Substances." *National Institute on Drug Abuse*, 2 Dec. 2021.

³ Schwartzapfel, Beth. "Biden Could Have Taken the War on Drugs Down a Notch. He Didn't." *The Marshall Project*, 16 June 2021.

the two substances are chemically similar. In the ensuing decades, people of color have been disproportionately incarcerated and sentenced to mandatory minimum sentences for small amounts of crack. This trend of racial disparity also can be seen in prosecutions for offenses involving fentanyl and fentanyl analogues, as Sentencing Commission data from fiscal years 2021 to 2023 provides strong evidence that these prosecutions disproportionately target people of color. Among the 8,048 people convicted in trafficking cases where fentanyl or fentanyl analogues were the primary drug type, Black and Hispanic individuals comprised 78% of all convictions (41% and 37%, respectively). These percentages represent a massive disparity relative to demographic patterns in the general population. Moreover, the emergence of fentanyl-related substances in recent years has fueled similar waves of alarmist media and law enforcement headlines that are informed by mythology rather than science. Any further extension of the classwide scheduling policy threatens to repeat past missteps with crack cocaine that policymakers are still working to rectify.

The classwide scheduling policy expands the application of existing severe mandatory minimum sentencing laws enacted by Congress in the 1980s to a newly scheduled class of fentanyl-related compounds. For example, just a trace amount of a fentanyl analogue in a mixture with a combined weight of 10 grams—10 paper clips—can translate into a five-year mandatory minimum with no evidence needed that the seller even knew it contained fentanyl. In addition, current laws impose a statutory maximum sentence of 20 years for just a trace amount of a fentanyl analogue in a mixture with a combined weight of less than 10 grams.⁵ The truth of the matter is that lawmakers do not need to impose new mandatory minimums in order to prosecute fentanyl analogue cases because law enforcement officials already have the ability to prosecute these cases pursuant to the Controlled Substance Analogue Enforcement Act of 1986, which requires that prosecutors show the substances in question are harmful.⁶

Despite the threat of grave injustices in the criminal legal system, the current lack of research on FRS, and indications that some FRS are harmless or hold therapeutic potential, the HALT Fentanyl Act does not include an offramp to reschedule or remove FRS that research has proven to be pharmacologically inactive or do not meet schedule I criteria. Though it includes some research reforms for schedule I substances, the bill excludes the possibility of such research impacting the criminalization of FRS. Without a rescheduling process, the HALT Fentanyl Act may unjustly promote criminalization of harmless or inert substances.

The HALT Fentanyl Act and other bills proposing the permanent classwide scheduling of FRS are yet another iteration of the drug war's ineffective and punitive strategies. To prevent overdose, Congress must invest in public health solutions to mitigate the harms of illicit fentanyl. We urge

⁴ The data used for this analysis were extracted from the U.S. Sentencing Commission's "Individual Datafiles" spanning fiscal years 2021 to 2023. The Commission's "Individual Datafiles" are publicly available for download on its website. U.S. Sent'g Comm'n, Commission Datafiles, https://www.ussc.gov/research/datafiles/commission-datafiles.

⁵ See generally Brian T. Yeh, Cong. Research Serv., RL30722, Drug Offenses: Maximum Fines and Terms of Imprisonment for Violation of the Federal Controlled Substances Act and Related Laws (Jan. 20, 2015), https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL30722.pdf.

⁶ U.S.C. section 813(a); see also United States v. Requena, 980 F.3d 30, 35 (2d Cir. 2020).

Congress to support bills that increase access to health services and substance use disorder treatment, improve data collection, and provide funding for FRS research, offering alternative, effective strategies to simultaneously address the opioid epidemic while preventing backsliding on criminal justice reform.

Thank you for your time and attention to this matter. Please contact Maritza Perez Medina, Director of Federal Affairs for the Drug Policy Alliance, at mperez@drugpolicy.org for questions about this letter or to further discuss this matter.

Sincerely,

ACLU of Nevada (NV)

ACR Health (NY)

AIDS Alabama (AL)

AIDS Foundation Chicago (IL)

AIDS United

Alianza for Opportunity

Alliance for Positive Change (NY)

Alliance for Positive Health (NY)

American Civil Liberties Union

American Friends Service Committee

Appalachian Learning Initiative (WV)

Association of Black Social Workers (Virginia Union University) (VA)

Autistic Self Advocacy Network

Battle Born Progress (NV)

Beacon House Aftercare, Louisville (KY)

Beauty After the Bars (NC)

Bend the Arc: Jewish Action

Better Organizing to Win Legalization

BLM Louisville (KY)

Brave Technology Co-Op

Bronx Móvil (NY)

C-UR Recovery Services, LLC (MI)

Celebrate Recovery (KY)

Center for Criminal Justice Reform, University of Baltimore (MD)

Center for Disability Rights

Center for Housing & Health (IL)

Center for Popular Democracy

Citizen Action of Wisconsin (WI)

Clergy for a New Drug Policy

Coalition on Human Needs

Color of Change

Communities United for Status & Protection (CUSP)

Community Catalyst

Community Health Project Los Angeles (CA)

Cosmovisiones Ancestrales (CA)

CURE (Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants)

Dream.org

Drug Policy Alliance

Drug Policy Forum of Hawai'i (HI)

Due Process Institute

E5 Enterprise (NY/PA)

Elephant Circle (CO)

EngageWell IPA (NY)

Equal Justice USA

Evergreen Health (NY)

Exchanging Pathways (MS)

Fair and Just Prosecution

Faith in Harm Reduction

Family Services Network of New York (NY)

FAMM

Federal Public & Community Defenders

Feed Louisville (KY)

Filling The Gaps Outreach, Inc. (GA)

Florida Harm Reduction Collective (FL)

Freedom BLOC (OH)

Fruit of Labor Action Research & Technical Assistance, LLC (NC)

Full Circle Youth Empowerment, Inc. (CT)

FWD.us

G. Williams & Associates, Inc. (IL)

Giving Others Dreams G.O.D Inc (IL)

GLIDE (CA)

Hawai'i Health & Harm Reduction Center (HI)

HEAL Ohio (OH)

Hepatitis C Mentor and Support Group (HCMSG) (NY)

Hep Free Hawai'i (HI)

Hey Joe Media (AZ)

Hip Hop Caucus

HIPS (DC)

HomeRise (CA)

Hoosier Action (IN)

Housing Works (NY)

Human Rights Watch

Illinois Alliance for Reentry and Justice (IL)

Illinois Harm Reduction & Recovery Coalition (IL)

Immigrant Legal Resource Center

Interfaith Action for Human Rights (IAHR) (DC) (MD) (VA)

Indiana Recovery Alliance (IN)

IOAD NC Raleigh Memorial Event (NC)

Isaiah House Inc (KY)

Interfaith Action for Human Rights

Justice Strategies

JustLeadershipUSA

Juvenile Law Center

Lacey's Legacy (KY)

LatinoJustice PRLDEF

Law Enforcement Action Partnership

Law Office of the Cook County Public Defender (IL)

The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights

Legal Action Center

Life Coach Each One Teach One Reentry Fellowship (KY)

Lighthouse Consultants Colorado, LLC (CO)

Local Progress

Los Angeles Community Action Network (CA)

Michigan People's Campaign (MI)

Minorities for Medical Marijuana

Mississippi Prison Reform Coalition (MS)

Moms for All Paths to Recovery (CA)

Monetwork (MO)

My Brothers Keeper NEO (OH)

My Meta ReEntry Services, Inc. (NC)

NASTAD

National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers

National Coalition for the Homeless

National Council of Churches

National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence-Maryland Chapter (MD)

National Employment Law Project

National Harm Reduction Coalition

National Health Law Program

National Homelessness Law Center

National Immigrant Justice Center

National Immigration Project (NIPNLG)

National Legal Aid & Defender Association

National Organization for Women

National Pain Advocacy Center (CO)

NC Harm Reduction Coalition (NC)

Nelsonville Voices/Showing Up for Racial Justice (OH)

NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice

New Jersey Organizing Project (NJ)

New York State Harm Reduction Association (NY)

NEXT Distro

OhioCAN/Newark Homeless Outreach (OH)

On The Bright Side LLC (NC)

ONE Northside (IL)

Overdose Crisis Response Fund

PA Stands Up (PA)

Parabola Center for Law and Policy

Parole Preparation Project

Pennsylvania Harm Reduction Network (PA)

People Advocating Recovery (KY)

People's Action

Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada (NV)

Progressive Maryland (MD)

Psychotherapy Services DBA (KY)

QLatinx (FL)

R Street Institute

REACH-NEO (OH)

Reentry Advocacy Project (TX)

Reframe Health and Justice

Renew A New, Inc (CA)

Revolve Impact

Rights & Democracy (NH/VT)

River Valley Organizing (OH)

Sana Healing Collective (IL)

Smoky Mountain Harm Reduction (NC)

Sojourners

Source Corp LLC (OH)

South Carolina For Restorative Justice (SC)

South Louisville Community Ministries (KY)

Southern Tier AIDS Program (NY)

StoptheDrugWar.org

Students for Sensible Drug Policy

Sunita Jain Anti-Trafficking Policy Initiative, Loyola Law School

T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights

Tacoma Healing Awareness Community (WA)

TakeAction Minnesota (MN)

TCRC Community Healing Center (PA)

Texas Harm Reduction Alliance (TX)

The Action Lab, Center for Health Policy and Law, Northeastern University School of Law (MA)

The Advocates for Human Rights (MN)

The AIDS Institute (TAI)

The Daniel Initiative

The Festival Center

The Freedom BLOC (OH)

The Gathering for Justice

The Georgia Survivor Defense Project (GA)

The Gubbio Project (CA)

The Hepatitis C Mentor and Support Group (HCMSG) (NY)

The Matrix Consulting, LLC

The Porchlight Collective SAP (IL)

The Sentencing Project

The Steady Collective (NC)

Transform Network

Treatment Action Group (TAG) (NY)

Treatment on Demand Coalition-SF (CA)

Truth Pharm Inc. (NY)

United Vision for Idaho (ID)

Vera Institute of Justice

Vilomah Foundation (PA)

Vital Strategies

Vivent Health

VOCAL-KY (KY)

VOCAL-NY (NY)

VOCAL-WA (WA)

VT Citizens United for the Rehabilitation of Errant(s) (VT)

Washington Office on Latin America

Why Not Prosper (PA)

Wilkes Recovery Revolution, Inc. (NC)

Women on the Rise (GA)

Worth Rises

Young People in Recovery