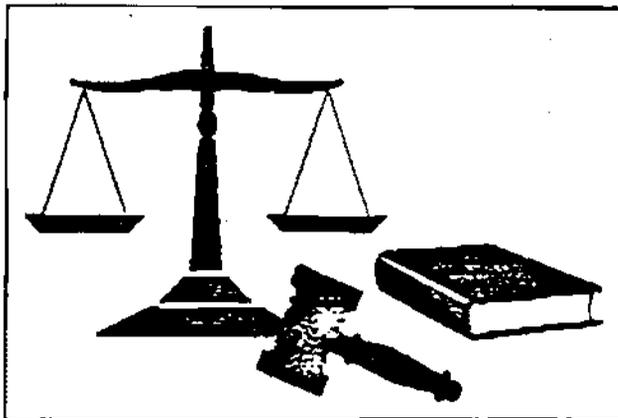


U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET



TO:

PATRICK GRIFFIN

WH LEG AFFAIRS

FAX NO:

456-6220

FROM:

BOB BRINK

PHONE:

514-2138

DATE:

1-20

NO. OF PAGES:

2

(EXCLUDING COVER)

COMMENTS:

PER YOUR CONVERSATION W/ SHEILA

ANTHONY. THIS IS INCOMPLETE - WILL
BE UPDATED FRI 1-21-94.

RB

Interagency Working Group -- Crime Bill		
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January 20, 1994

~~Confidential~~^{q75}
December 4, 1993

Dear Bruce,

Just two things before I go off for a mini junket to London tonight and forget to mention them.

I assume that we have won on the child support enforcement issue thus far since I did not see it mentioned in the first welfare reform paper that was out for comment. I will assume you'll let me know when I need to comment.

✓ | Second, on the White House task force on crime. As you have probably gathered we've had one hell of a time implementing the NPR recommendation on streamlining of law enforcement with regard to DEA and BATF. The VP has decided (wisely, I think) not to increase the scope of the conflict on this right now. But he agrees with me on the following suggestion. Could we add a "reinvention" subcommittee to your White House task force on crime?

We could staff this with one or two of the NPR people who developed the recommendations and with some DOJ and Treasury people.

The politics are, I believe, very important -- "This Administration is so committed to the war on crime that we do not intend to waste one dollar on bureaucracy in Washington that could be used to fight crime on the streets of America."

This gives us another forum in which to take a crack at a set of NPR issues which, I believe, are still very important, but which we have gotten out foxed on by the bureaucracy.

Elaine

Bruce

CONFIDENTIAL: Please review prior to the 3 p.m. meeting today.

TO: Distribution List
FROM: Carol H. Rasco
SUBJ: Violence
DATE: December 2, 1993

Attached are two memos given to me by Bruce Reed last evening. The first one by Bruce and Jose Cerda brings you up to date on the potential crime bill conference issues. As you can tell from this memo, we are not ready to have a discussion with the Attorney General today on the administration position for conferencing the crime bill; further research is needed as the information becomes available to us for review. Bruce and Jose are working with OMB and the Justice Department in this ongoing review.

The second memo is about the violence/media issues in relation to the President's trip to California this weekend which is the topic I understand we now want to cover with the Attorney General this afternoon. The attachment to this memo as noted by Bruce is from the report the interagency group will be submitting toward the end of the month.

As far as the relationship of today's meeting to the broader crime/violence/personal safety/family values/etc. issues and potential initiative(s): At the meeting recently called and held by Roy Neel in the Roosevelt Room, DPC staff presented a set of talking points/principles for this multi-faceted agenda as well as an outline for a series of events. As the DPC staff and I understood the conclusion of that meeting, a smaller group called by Roy would begin the process of scheduling those events which would finalize the decision as to a "summit" or variation on the summit idea. None of us have been called to further meetings on the matter so we are somewhat in limbo as to what is next expected. If we need to present a new scenario, then we need to know. This broader initiative is NOT an appropriate topic for the 3 p.m. meeting today, however. We need to get the matter resolved in-house to the White House first as to direction, etc. I would recommend we discuss it fully at the 8:45 a.m. meeting on Friday morning if possible.

In regard to the very brief agenda I have attached for this afternoon's 3 p.m. meeting I should add that I have had a call from Peter Edelman who was also backed by a "I prefer to remain anonymous Justice Official" with the message that both HHS (due to Shalala's and Elders' comments to date on TV violence) and Justice support the White House leading a group to oversee the negotiations with the networks/other media on the violence issues. Justice official does not want AG to know that sentiment was expressed.

Distribution list:

McLarty
Gergen
Stephanopoulos
Gearan
Reed
Cook

Media/violence issues
3 p.m. McLarty's office

Attending:
McLarty
Gergen
Stephanopoulos
Gearan
Rasco
Reed
Cook

Reno: Single contact for Crime Bill
Network-by-network
Stress positives
Reno be bad guy, BC be good guy
Talk in terms of Brady - we can change
Canadian code

Attorney General Reno David - networks
Heymann, Justice Dept. Carol - working group
Acheson, Justice Dept. GS/BR - crime Bill

Reich - work w 15-20 yr old blacks
Webb will coordinate Crime Bill

Purposes of meeting:

1. Review any negotiations to date between White House and any media as well as between Justice and media on violence issues.
2. Formalize a structure with a White House head through which all these discussions will pass.

AGENDA

30 minutes maximum for the meeting

Opening: McLarty

The purpose of the meeting is to pull together our collective knowledge on administration contacts and/or actual negotiations with various media on the issue of violence and violence reduction as well as fixing a coordinating structure for future negotiations. Call on Gergen for update from White House and Attorney General for update from Justice; Bruce Reed is following this issue and may have points to add.

Gergen, others from White House?
Attorney General

Coordinating body: McLarty

Depending on what is learned from the preceding conversation, a group with

(a) White House representation (Gergen? Reed? others?),

(b) Justice representation,

(c) as well as perhaps representation from HHS and/or Education (since those Departments have the other two co-chairs of the Interagency Violence Working Group currently finalizing their recommendations for presentation; the working group does have a media subgroup)

should be formulated to coordinate on the Administration's work/negotiations with the media on violence issues.

With the formation of this working group, the meeting is adjourned.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROL RASCO

**FROM: BRUCE REED
JOSE CERDA III**

SUBJECT: CRIME BILL CONFERENCE

While the details of the final crime bill that passed the Senate have not yet been fully analyzed by DPC, OMB or Justice, we would like to make preliminary recommendations on how we should approach the crime bill conference and the FY 95 budget process.

1. We should push for immediate action as soon as Congress returns. Not everyone will want immediate action on the crime bill. But for our purposes, delay means that our important new crime programs will not be authorized -- and not appropriated in the FY 95 budget process. The President should make clear that he wants the bill on his desk by March 1st.

2. We should insist on the Senate's comprehensive approach to crime legislation. Some members of the House (i.e., Don Edwards, Craig Washington, John Conyers) will continue to push for the House's approach of passing a series of crime prevention grant programs. This is unacceptable from the Administration's perspective. Since the campaign, the President has supported a comprehensive and balanced crime bill. We may not support every detail in the crime bill, but it does include a mix of programs and penalties that the President has previously endorsed -- more cops, boot camps and drug courts; reasonable gun controls; and, where appropriate, increased penalties, including the death penalty. Decoupling these items sends the signal that the President is backing away from his support for a tough crime bill -- and it will give the Senate, House Republicans and moderate House Democrats ammunition to embarrass the Administration on crime.

3. We should support the creation of the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. One way or another, Congress is sure to codify the President's federal employee reduction and spend the money. By supporting the fund, we can at least guarantee that this money is spent on our priority crime programs that have been otherwise underfunded.

Additionally, the authorization levels in the crime bill do not comport with the spending levels in the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. That is to say, the Fund is smallest in the first year and grows to more than \$8 billion by the fifth year. On the other hand, crime bill authorizations are greatest in the first year and shrink by the fifth year.

Thus, the Fund itself actually gives the Administration some flexibility in deciding what authorizations are funded as well as when they are funded.

4. Only the President's priorities should be fully funded: more cops, more boot camps, more drug courts, Safe Schools, and some money for the Police Corps and a criminal aliens initiative. We should pursue full funding for the President's stated priorities. They are:

Community Policing: The Senate bill authorizes a total of \$8.995 billion over the next five years to hire 100,000 new police officers and expand community policing. A separate House bill authorizes the \$3.45 billion originally proposed by the Administration. The President has stated repeatedly that he wants to keep his pledge of 100,000 cops. We should insist on the Senate provision, and fully fund it.

Boot Camps: The House passed a \$200 million boot camps bill, while the Senate increased funding for boot camps to \$3 billion and allowed the money to be used for state prisons for violent offenders. We should support the Senate version of this bill, which gives us more flexibility, and expect conferees to reach agreement in the \$2-3 billion range. This is another signature Clinton idea, and one of the most popular provisions in the crime bill. Having some money to give to the states for prisons in this account will help us fend off charges in the future for not increasing federal prison construction.

Drug Courts: The Senate bill authorizes a combined total of \$1.2 billion for "Drug Court" programs consisting of three components, over which the Attorney General has coordinating authority: grants for drug testing of state prisoners (\$300 million); grants for drug treatment in state prisons (\$300 million); and grants for "Certainty of Punishment" programs -- including boot camps -- that allow us to intervene earlier with alternative forms of punishment for young offenders (ages 18-22). The House passed these provisions separately at the same funding levels. Again, we should fund these provisions to the maximum extent possible, spreading the funding out if necessary. These funds will provide important increases that support the drug strategy to be released with the budget in February.

Safe Schools: We should work to make sure that the Administration's \$300 million Safe Schools proposal is the one adopted in conference. This would allow us to keep the money at the Department of Education, which we prefer, but still spend the money out of the Fund.

Police Corps: The Senate passed the Police Corps at an authorization of \$450 million. The House did not pass it. We would support including the Police Corps and funding it with at least \$25 million a year -- the same amount incorporated in last year's budget. The President has already signed off on preserving the Police Corps, but at lower funding levels than the hundreds of millions authorized in the Senate bill.

Criminal Aliens: Language allowing the AG to spend money on criminal alien initiatives was included in the crime bill, and we should use whatever money is left for this purpose. We would defer to you and Donsia on what resources are required here.

5. We should seek to reduce or delay spending on programs that are not high Presidential priorities, but we do not think it realistic to expect the conferees to go along. Here are our recommendations on how to handle these items.

Regional Prisons -- The Senate crime bill includes \$3 billion for 10 regional prisons, a proposal that passed as part of last Congress' crime bill. We have several problems with this program. First, most states aren't likely to send their prisoners to these Federally-run facilities. To be eligible, states would have to ensure that offenders were on average serving 85% of their sentence -- but the current average for states is 37%. Second, the Justice Department would be stuck with the future operating costs for these prisons. Justice is already having a problem finding the money to staff and operate the 26 federal prisons scheduled to come on line in the next 2 years.

There is little chance of striking this provision from the bill, especially if we intend to get any Republican support. House Democrats may try, but this is the most important provision in the bill to Republicans.

In the short term, we can put off funding regional prisons by pointing to the monies we will allocate to boot camps and state prisons for violent offenders. In the federal system, we can point to the 26 prisons due to come on line. And over the long term, we may not have to build all 10 regional prisons if the states balk as expected.

Violence Against Women Act -- The Senate crime bill includes approximately \$1.8 billion in authorizations for the Violence Against Women Act, which the President supports and vowed to sign during the campaign. The House has passed this legislation as a separate bill. We suggest perhaps reducing some of the funding or putting it off until the Fund grows a year or two down the line.

Other Authorizations -- Other large spending increases that we cannot commit to, at least not in the first year, include: \$500 million for facilities to detain violent youth; \$100 million for anti-gang programs; and \$250 million for rural law enforcement efforts; and the many other smaller amounts authorized. A list of all the authorizations is attached.

6. We should push hard to keep the assault weapons ban in the bill. Chairman Brooks may insist on dropping the assault weapons ban to get a crime bill, but the President should continue to speak out to keep it in. Sooner or later we'll get an assault weapons ban, and in the meantime we should hold Republicans feet to the fire.

7. Aside from the death penalty, where the President is already on record, avoid making the more controversial elements of the crime bill a point of public focus. Justice, OMB and DPC need to go through the details of the crime bill and recommend positions on some of the more controversial elements of the crime bill that have gotten considerable play in the press. But we shouldn't waste any political capital or shine any public light on these provisions -- no matter what our position is.

There are several reasons for this. First and foremost, whether they are enacted or dropped, most of these provisions will have little impact. Adding or not adding 12 new minimums to the federal books is not likely to have much impact. (Especially since the AG recently changed Justice's prosecution guidelines to give its attorneys the discretion they need to avoid unnecessary mandatory sentences.) Second, the House -- and Senator Biden -- are likely to push for the most egregious provisions in the crime bill to be dropped in conference anyway (e.g., the three-time loser amendment, federalizing most gun crimes, etc.). And third, the American public is tired of seeing liberals and conservatives die on their swords for provisions that won't make their communities any safer. The President has succeed in communicating a popular anti-crime message that rejects the false choice between punishment and prevention. There is no reason for us to engage the Administration in Washington's left-right crime debate. It is a dead end.

December 1, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROL RASCO

FROM: BRUCE REED

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO HOLLYWOOD; TV VIOLENCE

I have been working with Carolyn Curiel on the substance of the President's speech to the entertainment industry. She expects to have a draft ready tomorrow afternoon. It won't break much policy ground, but it will include a direct challenge to Hollywood to take responsibility and work with us to be part of the solution to crime and violence. It will not include the threat of censorship if they don't.

So far as I can determine, Justice is not preparing to move forward on any legislation about TV violence (although you never know). The Attorney General testified in favor of legislation to limit violence during certain programming hours. But the White House Counsel's office told me there are unresolved constitutional questions about these approaches, including a recent circuit court decision striking down an FCC rule against adult programming during daytime hours.

In any event, the industry has volunteered and is eager to work with the Administration to play a positive role in speaking out against violence. We'll get more and better things done more quickly by pushing them to take responsibility than by fighting this in the courts.

The industry is thinking big. According to Jay Kriegel of CBS, the four major networks have reached tentative agreement to air a dramatic anti-violence program in a prime time "roadblock" (all four networks at once) early next year. They have not yet been able to agree on the content of the program, or the date it will air (could be February, could be June). They are also planning a far-reaching national campaign to accompany the program, including a national teach-in the day after it airs (with 2 million companion workbooks distributed to schoolkids) and a coordinated effort by churches nationwide to make violence the subject of services the following Sunday. They also envision launching national efforts with major sports figures, the legal profession, doctors, etc. This doesn't even count what individual networks will do to piggyback on the roadblock program -- it will be a kind of violence sweeps week. If nothing else, Americans may decide to give up crime and violent behavior because they'll be so sick of hearing about it on TV.

Kriegel will fax us a memo on Thursday which details the networks' plans. I'll get you a copy. He recommends that we challenge the industry to work with us, and then bring industry leaders to the White House for an event as soon as they've agreed on something.

I've attached the draft recommendations on violence and the media from the interagency group, but there's nothing the President can use. The bully pulpit will have to do.

November 12, 1993

adopted limits on the amount of commercials aired in connection with children's programming on either broadcast stations or cable television systems, and has directed the FCC to review television station license renewal applications to determine whether the licensee has aired programs addressing the informational and educational needs of children.

While the FCC regulates some aspects of the cable industry, cable systems, unlike broadcast stations, are not licensed by the FCC. Instead, cable systems are franchised by state and local authorities, and these authorities and the FCC share regulatory authority. The courts are only beginning to address the extent of the government's authority to regulate cable programming. Some courts have indicated, however, that cable can be considered less "pervasive" than broadcast television, in that receiving cable requires the affirmative act of subscribing to cable, and because "lock boxes" provide a greater degree of parental control over what cable programming is available in the home.

Pending Regulatory Proposals

On March 25, 1993, the Foundation to Improve Television petitioned the Commission to develop rules to curb excessive amounts of dramatized TV violence in order to alleviate its harmful effects on children. The proposal included restrictions on such programming between the hours of 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. The FCC has not yet acted on the petition.



LEGISLATION

Past

Congress has been holding hearings and expressing concern about the effects of television violence since the early 1950s, but has been hesitant to seriously consider further action until recently. The 1990 Television Violence Act gave the networks an anti-trust exemption permitting them to formulate a joint policy on television violence.

Pending Legislative Proposals

In the most recent Congress, several bills addressing television violence have been introduced:

- S.1383, the "Children's Protection for Violent Programming Act" (Hollings and Inouye), would limit violent video programming to hours when children "are reasonably likely to comprise a substantial part of the audience." Premium and pay-per-view cable broadcasts would be exempt, as would news, documentaries, educational shows and sporting events. The FCC would define "violent video programming" and select the hours when it would be prohibited.

- S.943, the "Children's Television Violence Protection Act" (Durenberger), would require broadcasters to air warnings to accompany program showing violence or "unsafe gun practices." Warnings would not be required between 11:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., and the FCC could exempt news broadcasts, sporting events, educational programming and documentaries. The bill defines violence as "any action that has as an element the use or threatened use of physical force against the person of another, or against one's self, with intent to cause bodily harm to such person or one's self."
- S.973 and H.R. 2519, the "Television Violence Report Card Act" (Senate -- Dorgan and Conrad, House -- Durbin), directs the FCC to evaluate and rate TV programs "with respect to the amount of violence contained in these programs" and publish these ratings.
- S.1556 (Levin) would require stations to keep copies of commercials for 30 days and provide them to the public upon request. If a complaint were received, the commercial would be kept for a year. A log of complaints would have to be kept and made available to the public on request.
- H.R. 2837, the "Television and Radio Program Violence Reduction Act" (Bryant), would require the FCC to prescribe standards requiring broadcasters to "reduce the broadcasting of all video and audio programming which contains violence." The FCC could exempt news broadcasts, sporting events, educational programming and documentaries. "Violence" would be defined as per S. 943.
- H.R. 2888, the "Television Violence Reduction Through Parental Empowerment Act" (Markey, Dingell, Fields, Margolies-Mezvinsky, Oxley, Slattery, Hastert, Cooper, Gillmor, Synar, Shepherd, Glickman, Schenk, Towns), would require that domestic and imported television sets be equipped with devices -- nicknamed "V Chips" -- which would permit viewers to block (1) any selected channel, program, time slot or (2) "all programs with a common rating."
- H.R. 2756, the "Parents Television Empowerment Act of 1993" (Kennedy), would require the FCC to establish a toll-free number for collecting public comments, suggestions and complaints concerning programs violent programming. The FCC would publish a quarterly summary of these complaints. In its annual report to Congress, the FCC would have to evaluate whether the broadcasting industry had effectively responded to the complaints.
- H.R. 2609, "The Presidential Commission on TV Violence and Children Act" (Schumer and Roukema), would establish a Presidential Commission on TV Violence and Children chaired by the Surgeon General

and the Attorney General. The Commission's final report would be due one year after its formation.

Note: Attorney General Reno has testified that S.1383, S.943 and S.973 are all constitutionally sound.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The government together with the major media has played an important role in successfully combating many social problems. A few decades ago, the stars of movies, television, and music were frequently seen with a cigarette in one hand and a martini in the other. The media, spurred on by federal legislation, played an important role in public education campaigns to address tobacco and alcohol over-consumption problems. Cigarette advertisements were banned in 196X, and alcohol advertisements face several restrictions, but much of the shift in norms was voluntary on the part of the movie and television industries. Government's role was to sound the alarm to the health risks and make speeches requesting greater media responsibility.

Today, a similar effort offers enormous potential for government and the media to play a cooperative role in changing social norms and behaviors to lessen the harm of violence in America. In the past decade the media have worked effectively with government agencies to address drug abuse, drunk driving, teen pregnancy, and to spread the word about the danger presented by HIV/AIDS. These themes have been presented in public service announcements, woven into story-lines for drama and comedy programs, featured in movies, and presented in news features and news specials.

In recent months, representatives of media corporations tell us, partly in response to the attention Congress and this administration have placed on the subject, violence will be the next major topic for their social issue messages. One of this administration's the objectives should be to find ways to turn these promises into commitments.

However, a full scale anti-violence campaign by the major media will have little effect if it is overwhelmed by continued repetition of messages that present violence as a solution to life's problems, or a means to financial or sexual reward. This administration's pronouncements and policies must seek progress in reaching both goals; reducing the level of harm caused by violent images in the media, and working with the media to address the problem constructively.

Four Strategies

Several committees in the Senate and House have looked into these issues. Several bills have been drafted, and a great many more proposals have been discussed on

the hill, in the press, in academia, or in the executive branch. In the recommendations section we present all of these options and discuss the relative merits of each. To give some structure to this discussion we have delineated the following four strategies:

- 1) Limit the supply of violent images that reach young people including actions by government, the media, parents or others to change media content or children's access to it.
- 2) Limit the demand for violent images by young people by providing better alternatives including social, athletic, and cultural activities as well as efforts to support good non-violent programming.
- 3) Limit the harm of media violence by fortifying young people's ability to view television in context including media literacy curricula in the schools and encouragement for parents to take an active role in providing context in the home.
- 4) Encouraging and supporting the media's efforts to take positive action possibly including help in identifying target populations who are most at risk and the messages that will have the greatest impact.

A Bias for Private Responsibility

Within each of these strategies, the administration can choose the level of activism in defining the government's role. This can range from the most active, proposing legislation or regulation, to the least active, making speeches encouraging the media to take responsibility for the problem.

The Attorney General has stated a preference for a less active role for the government if the industry will take effective measures. The more than implied threat was that the government would take on an active role if the media failed to present their plan.

Four Strategies

- 1) Limit the supply of violent images that reach young people. This could include:
 - a) Government restrictions on the types of programming that could be broadcast at certain times. DOJ has stated "safe haven" guidelines may not violate the 1st Amendment. The industry disagrees.
 - b) Efforts to give greater information to viewers and parents to help them make better choices. These include ratings of the violence in the media by the industry, by panels of viewers, by experts, or by the government. This relies on parental action that cannot be assumed in all families.
 - c) Technological aids such as a V-chip that would give parents the ability to screen out either specific programs or all programs designated as violent by a government or an industry rater. The industry has great 1st Amendment concerns here as well.
- 2) Limit the demand for violent images by young people. This could include:
 - a) Better alternatives to the electronic "baby-sitter" including better childcare and afterschool programs.
 - b) Greater support for cultural diversity. Giving greater support to popular culture that expands beyond the corporate monopolies.
- 3) Limit the harm of media violence by fortifying young people's ability to view television in context. This could include:
 - a) Media literacy curriculum in the schools, preferably as part of a larger non-violence curriculum.
 - b) Media literacy assistance in the home, giving parents greater encouragement to get involved in their children's viewing, potentially involving the media in teaching critical viewing skills.
- 4) Encouraging and supporting the media's efforts to take positive action. This could include:
 - a) Greater recognition and support for efforts taken to date or in process.
 - b) Help in identifying target populations who are most at risk and the messages that will have the greatest impact. This could include PSAs, storyline treatments, and programs teaching alternative dispute resolution skills, firearm non-use, and good parenting skills.

THIS SECTION IS NOT YET WRITTEN

Interagency Working Group - Crime Bill

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000Z/002

DOM. POL

DOJ OLA

202 514 4482

01/24/94 20:03

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

24-Feb-1994 10:43am

TO: Bruce N. Reed
TO: Jose Cerda, III
TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor

FROM: Carol H. Rasco
Economic and Domestic Policy

CC: Laurie L. Labuda
CC: Rosalyn A. Miller

SUBJECT: Crime follow up

Christine and I talked this a.m. further about the crime meeting follow up, in particular on agency strategies/initiatives which were discussed at the luncheon. As I stated in my memo yesterday, if we are serious about this effort we will have to stay on top of it.

We have this a.m. due to scheduling conflicts with several secretaries had to postpone the next DPC until March 7. I propose that one half that meeting be devoted to reports on agency initiatives being carried out on the crime issue. As I understand it, the cabinet folks at the luncheon have been asked to do a memo to Mack McLarty by Tuesday of next week re: their reactions to the initiatives. Also, it seems to me you all have to work with the agencies actively between now and the DPC meeting to determine who will take the lead on the gang piece, other suggested or still to be designed interagency efforts. I need by the close of business Wednesday, March 2 a list of three to four cabinet officials on the DPC who have been contacted and agreed to be on the agenda of the March 7 meeting to discuss their department and/or interagency efforts. The HUD Safe Homes should not be one of these since it has already received wide coverage. I suggest one be the Justice Dept. led four city effort. I would also like if you feel it is feasible and he agrees, to have Pena talk about transportation safety along the lines of the piece written in the notebook.

Keep me posted; I'd like an update on where we are on this Tuesday by noon. Many thanks.

ROZ: note deadlines

Crime Strategy Outline

I. WH staff and others who can dedicate themselves to crime

Policy -- Bruce Reed, Jose Cerda, Sonja McGuill
 Comm -- Rahm Emanuel, Mike Waldman, Liz Bernstein
 Other WH -- Jody Greenstone
 WH Coun -- Ron Klain
 Public L -- Alexis Herman, Steve Hilton
 Inter -- Marcia Hale, Keith Mason
 Legis -- Howard Paster, Lorraine Millier, Tracy Thornton
 VP -- Goody Marshall
 DOJ -- Gail Hoffman, Bert Brandenburg
 COS -- Andre Oliver

→ Policy briefing, Q+A's, (Jose, BR, Liz B.)
 Fin Factors to know

PAUL/WALDO: Events, press ideas/plan
 JODY: Get bergin to call DHS-AGs etc.
 RON: Leg. Affairs strategy, AGs etc.
 KEITH/PAUL: Get other psych'd
 LEG. AFFAIRS: House Judic strategy;
 help coordinate votes w/ Sheri Anthony
 ALEXIS: CBC plan

Senate -- Cynthia Hogan, Biden Chief Counsel
 House -- Jon Yarowsky, Brooks Chief Counsel; Andy Fois, Schumer Chief Counsel

1. Mtg. w/ Biden + Brooks

→ BRADY MTG.
 → CRIME STRATEGY FOR BC
 → LEGIS. TARGET LIST
 - PRESS PLAN

II. Legislative Strategy

A. House

Starting with today's Brady hearing and through mid-October, the House Judiciary Committee will hold a series of subcommittee hearings on various aspects of the crime bill and move to mark-up the bill as soon as possible thereafter. Consideration on the House floor is likely, though not definite, before the end of October.

1. How to use the Pres's time
 2. AB. den.
 3. What's victory

To pass the crime bill out of committee, Brooks may have to go further to the left than we would like. This makes the math in the House difficult. Last year's conference report passed by just two votes (208-206, with one Republican vote). The Republicans -- joined by conservative and liberal Democrats -- led the opposition. It took quite a bit of last minute cajoling and arm-twisting to get this bill to pass. Assuming the Republicans stay together in opposition, the most likely place to attract votes is from conservative Democrats and moderate Republicans. The House is slightly more Republican (9 seats) and the Democratic Caucus is more liberal. Also, the Black Caucus, which has traditionally opposed death penalty legislation, is more numerous and vocal (38 seats in the House). In the end, we must be prepared to jog slightly right or slightly left to pass a crime bill in the House.

B. Senate

We need aggressive strategy to get votes get major others to lobby
 The margin of victory for this bill will be tight. House members could

In the Senate, the crime bill and Brady will go straight to the floor for consideration; they will not be considered in committee. The crime bill will not come up before the last week in October, and Brady will be voted on, as a stand-alone bill, immediately thereafter.

Before or after?

Very little has changed in the U.S. Senate regarding votes on the crime bill. The four

JOSE
 1. Prison when?
 2. House calendar

→ Cisneros

Democratic Senators who consistently voted against cloture are still around: Heflin, Shelby, Johnston and Breaux. One of three things, or some combination thereof, has to occur to get a bill like the conference report to a vote in the Senate: (1) at least three of the four Democrats have to switch votes; (2) two or three more Republicans will have to be persuaded to stop gridlock (Jeffords, Chafee, Kassenbaum, Durenberger voted for cloture last year) and join the Democrats; or (3) the bill needs to accommodate the more conservative tastes of Heflin and others (removing Brady may have accomplished this).

C. CBC

We need to be especially concerned about the CBC and how vocal its opposition to the crime bill will be. While it is probably not realistic to expect a majority of the CBC members to support the bill, we need to make sure that they do not make it one of their priorities to stop the bill. Keeping Brady attached to the Bill in the House keeps the pressure on, but we need to do more. Rep. Bobby Rush has expressed an interest in helping with the bill, and we should make this connection immediately. Other possibilities include reaching out to Norm Early, a Clinton supporter and head of the Black Prosecutors, to help us.

D. GOP

Getting the GOP vote will be difficult: they simply are not prepared to give up this valuable issue and the law enforcement constituency. The habeas compromise takes away much of the GOP's cover. And, in the Senate, considering Brady separate will also help. But one large obstacle remains in each chamber. In the Senate, Gramm will go way beyond what Hatch and Thurmond can live with in a crime bill, trying to push the bill the furthest right possible. He will probably try to go head-to-head with the AG on mandatory minimums and prison construction -- a battle which is too close to call. In the House, Brooks will not pass a bill with Republican votes. Thus, if the liberals resist, he is likely to go further left than we would like, putting pressure on the Administration to say good things about a liberal crime bill -- or bad things about the Democrats voting for the bill.

III. Press/Comm. Strategy

As previously discussed, the Administration's focus on the crime bill should be cops and guns. Cops gives us a politically popular, tough-on-crime angle that is difficult to oppose, and that will increase pressure for both conservatives and liberals to vote for the crime bill. With all the recent media attention, guns are as timely a crime issue as ever and help us put pressure on liberal members.

A. Cop Events

Potential events include: visiting community policing sites; breakfast with the Nation's police chiefs; addressing the Police Chiefs convention; awarding police hiring supplement grants to cities. *Post camp visit*

[Handwritten signature]

When?

→ CAMPAIGN APPEARANCES w/ FLORIO, TERRY

B. Gun Events

Potential events include: visiting gun-infested neighborhoods; responding to local shootings by public statements and local media (i.e., talk shows); appearing with assault weapons that have been seized; linking gun violence to health care, drugs, education, etc.

IV. Intergovernmental/Public Liaison

A. Mayors/Govs

Cities and states have much to gain from the initiatives included in the crime bill, particularly in hiring more police, tougher gun laws, and building more boot camps. We need to reach out to them in the form of briefings, support and local press. This should help fuel local support for the crime bill.

B. AGs and DAs

Whether or not the local DA supports the crime bill can have a tremendous impact on a particular Reps vote. The same holds true for State AGs and key Senate votes. Last year, the AGs and DAs worked to defeat the bill. This year the potential to get their votes exists, but it will take White House lobbying and AG Reno's salesmanship.

The national DAs groups has endorsed the Biden crime bill, but they are skeptical of Brooks' version and what it might look like by the time it gets out of committee. We need to solidify their support and target the DAs in the districts of reps we can't afford to lose. To do this, we can reach out to NDAA, the Little Rock DA (Mark Stodola), and perhaps Norm Early of the Black Prosecutors Association.

The state AGs have not endorsed the Biden crime bill. Also, we are likely to lose the support of important Democratic AGs in the states of key Senators. Senate staff indicate that we may have only 17 of the 31 Democratic AGs on board. We must also be aware that California AG Dan Lungren will lead the crime bill opposition. As a former Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee he has stayed involved in the crime bill issue and speaks with authority to the law enforcement community.

C. Police Groups

Although the Police Groups support is ours to lose, this possibility does exist. First, former AG Bill Barr and Justice official Paul McNulty are actively cultivating their support for Republican amendments. Second, the Police Officers Bill of Rights is likely to be attached to the bill and split police labor and management groups. Our supporters in police labor are threatening to not support the crime bill if it does not address their needs, and Chiefs and Mayors are sure to oppose the bill if it does include police labor legislation. Also, Biden has personally committed to support the police unions, while Brooks has vowed to fight any measure that goes beyond studying the issue.

D. Community Crime Groups

The crime bill should appeal to local crime prevention groups and other such coalitions. Their support could help push the crime bill at the local level and create another incentive for liberals in the House to support the bill.

V. Surrogates

We need to develop a network of surrogates to support the crime bill. This should include police chiefs, national police reps, gun control advocates, Hill members, the AG, Lee Brown, Mayors, Governors, etc.

VI. Miscellaneous

Some other things to consider: adding regular crime briefings to the President (AG, Lee Brown, FBI); responding publicly to local crime events; doing high-profile announcements when awarding our policing monies; focusing on empowerment zones.

B. Other Crime Options

There are several other options we can pursue immediately. They include:

COMMISSION ON CRIME AND VIOLENCE -- The Federal Government has not sponsored a commission to look at the issue of crime and violence since the Kerner Commission more than 25 years ago, and various police chiefs, including Lee Brown, and other criminal justice types have called for one. Although we would not generally recommend government by commission, there is a compelling case for a crime and violence commission to help lay the groundwork for bold new initiatives down the road. Moreover, on many basic questions we simply don't know the right answers. A new commission -- made up of those at the front lines as well as academics -- would elevate the issue and help show the public that we want to do more than simply talk tough on crime. The Biden-Brooks crime bills include a commission on crime and violence. Peter Edelman, Phil Heymann, and Lee Brown are heading up an internal Administration working group that will be holding hearings on youth violence.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON YOUTH CRIME -- Youth crime -- particularly violent and gun-related youth crime -- has increased dramatically over the past 25 years and must be addressed. The Attorney General and Lee Brown have a tremendous interest in this issue, and would both like to develop strategies. The Attorney General has scheduled field hearings to look into the problem, and Lee Brown has expressed an interest in focusing on the impact of crime and violence on African American males.

Last year's reauthorization of the Juvenile Justice Program authorized a White House Conference on Youth Crime. You could focus on this issue and establish such a conference.

FY 95 BUDGET/DRUG STRATEGY -- The FY 95 Budget will include a cross-cut analysis entitled "Safe and Drug-Free Communities." We need to utilize this section of the budget -- along with the upcoming Drug Strategy to be released -- to outline a comprehensive, credible crime and drug strategy.

CRIME BILL — Last year's crime bill conference report passed the House by just two votes (208-206, with one Republican vote) and failed in the Senate under a filibuster threat. This year, we have gone to extremes to improve last year's bill and, hopefully, strike an appropriate liberal-conservative balance. Still, if the wrong amendment passes, there is a distinct chance that we could lose liberal or conservative votes at any point along the way. We need a careful strategy to keep the balance in both houses and in conference.

In the House, we believe the key targets are moderates (including some Republicans) and new Members. We also need to reach out to the Black Caucus, which will oppose death penalty provisions but may support our focus on more cops and fewer guns. If we do not reach out to the Caucus, we risk their vocal opposition.

In the Senate, separating Brady will make passage of the crime bill easier. The Republicans will press for more prisons, tougher sentencing, and more conservative habeas. The recent crime spree has improved the overall prospects of broad support, but may also increase pressure to pass even more conservative habeas procedures.

IV. OTHER CRIME POLICY OPTIONS

The crime bill includes many innovative approaches that don't get as much attention: boot camps, drug courts, certainty of punishment for young offenders, and so on. But to underscore the seriousness of the Administration's commitment to reduce crime and violence, we may want to consider other initiatives in the short and long term.

A. Gun Options

We can try to pass a few other gun violence measures that have broad support, either as amendments to the crime bill or as part of a separate guns package. We will ask Justice and Treasury to prepare a comprehensive list of possible measures, ranging from executive action to legislation. Some of these might pass with relatively little controversy; others would be too much for the crime bill to carry.

Here is a sampling of other gun legislation that could be incorporated into a separate gun violence package: banning assault weapons; reforming the Federal firearms licensing system by increasing the basic fee and not allowing dealers to circumvent state and local gun controls (this is what Mayor Dinkins talked to you about; it requires legislation which we can support); closing the loophole that allows convicted felons to regain their right to buy firearms; prohibiting the transfer of firearms to minors; expanding the category of persons prohibited from purchasing guns (i.e., individuals under a restraining order); limiting the multiple purchase of guns; and banning all forms of "armor-piercing" bullets. Other, more controversial measures include Senator Moynihan's bullet tax and Senator Bradley's gun tax.

prosecutors/Sarah Brady endorsement event last October), but he is currently President of the Black Prosecutors Association.

POLICE GROUPS -- We need to make good use of major police organizations, which support the crime bill and measures to curb gun violence. At the same time, we have to neutralize a potential landmine, the Police Officers Bill of Rights, which would grant certain labor protections to rank-and-file cops. This issue, which is not included in the crime bill as introduced, would split the law enforcement community into labor and management, with police unions on one side and police chiefs (as well as Mayors) on the other. Senator Biden has made a personal commitment to the National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) and the International Brotherhood of Police (IBPO) -- both Clinton endorsers -- to include the Police Officers Bill of Rights in the crime bill.

There is no easy answer here, but some type of commitment -- or separate effort -- needs to be made to get our police supporters not to insist on the Police Officers Bill of Rights. We have worked during the past few months to establish a direct network of supportive police chiefs around the country -- San Diego, Boston, New York, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Chicago, St. Louis and many more cities -- and we run the risk of losing this support if the Police Officers Bill of Rights becomes an issue.

COMMUNITY-BASED GROUPS -- The crime bill and Brady should appeal to local crime prevention groups and other neighborhood coalitions. We are reaching out to them to help build support for the crime bill at the local level and across the political spectrum.

D. Maintain Legislative Balance

BRADY -- The Brady bill will almost certainly pass the House this fall, either as part of the crime bill or on its own if the crime bill gets bogged down. The real battle will come in the Senate, where Biden is still a few votes short of cloture. His office is sending us a list of swing votes and their concerns. You and the Vice President, who helped Brady pass the Senate once before, will need to work the phones and the bully pulpit.

ASSAULT WEAPONS -- This will be a real struggle in both houses, but it's a fight well worth having. The House rejected a ban by 70 votes in 1991, the day after the Luby's massacre in Killeen, Texas. But the politics of the issue have changed since then, and although the NRA says otherwise, the freshmen may be more sympathetic. Cloture will again be difficult in the Senate, which passed a relatively weak ban by one vote last time.

We should ask for a stand-alone vote on assault weapons, that keeps it separate from either the crime bill or the Brady bill. Sarah Brady has asked us not to lump the Brady bill and an assault ban together, because she feels it could doom Brady. We also need to urge Senators Metzenbaum and DeConcini, who introduced different versions of a ban, to develop a consensus proposal.

We are already working with Public Liaison, Intergovernmental, Political, and their counterparts at Justice to build support among key constituencies. We need to focus on the following groups:

CITIES AND MAYORS -- Cities and Mayors have much to gain from the initiatives included in the crime bill, particularly in hiring more police and reducing gun violence. Putting more police on the streets was a central issue in the Los Angeles Mayor's race, and has emerged as a key issue in Detroit, where one of the two candidates in the runoff is saying that our crime bill will mean 1,000 new cops for Detroit, and promising to deploy another 1,000 on top of that. This constituency also represents one of our best opportunities to garner Republican support for the crime bill, from Riordan in L.A. to Althaus in York, PA.

STATES AND GOVERNORS -- Although States and Governors do not stand to gain as much as Cities and Mayors, they are still an important source of support. Moreover, the issues of crime, violence and gun control are being highlighted in several gubernatorial races (NJ, VA) and have dominated the news in others (CO, FL, MA).

STATE ATTORNEYS GENERAL -- While the State AGs were the original driving force behind the Biden-Reno habeas corpus compromise, they have elected not to endorse Biden's crime bill. Also, Senate staff indicate that we may have only around 20 of the 31 Democratic AGs in support of the crime bill, with key Democratic AGs in key States wavering (Butterworth of FL, Morales of TX, and Bower of GA). High-level White House calls need to be made to these individuals as soon as possible. Biden's staff will send us a list of pivotal AGs and DAs.

Republican AGs will be difficult to sway. For years, California AG Dan Lungren has led the opposition to Democratic crime bills, with habeas being his primary focus. This year he helped block the State AGs from endorsing Biden's crime bill. Lungren -- a former Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee -- can be expected to join forces with former U.S. Attorney General Bill Barr and former Justice Department Official Paul McNulty, who have established a conservative, hard-line criminal justice think tank.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS -- Many Members of Congress will have a hard time supporting the crime bill if the local DA comes out vocally against it. Last year, the DAs worked with the State AGs to defeat the crime bill. In fact, the DAs' former national President, conservative Democrat Bob Macy, stood alongside Republicans to criticize the crime bill during last year's election. This year, Macy and others endorsed the Biden-Reno compromise and attended the Rose Garden crime event.

We need to fight to keep the DAs on board, especially if the House tries to weaken habeas. The Attorney General's outreach and assurances to DAs have been helpful and must continue. We must solicit the help of friendly DAs such as Mark Stodola in Little Rock and Norm Early in Denver. Not only is Early a Clinton supporter (he spoke at the

- * Use the upcoming release of the Administration's interim drug strategy to talk about drug violence and drug-related measures in the crime bill.

- * Be prepared to give the crime bill some kind of public plug when the floor debate begins.

- * Do a crime event with Mary Sue Terry in Virginia, where crime and guns are the #1 issue.

- * Invite Police Chiefs from around the country to one of your weekly CEO luncheons, and make community policing and other innovative crime measures the topic of discussion.

- * Bring mayors to the White House to announce the first communities to win community policing grants from the Justice Department under the \$150 million FY 93 Supplemental. The first round of applications ends later this month; Justice could begin selecting communities anytime after that. These won't be large grants -- \$1 to 4 million -- but they will make big news in medium-sized cities.

- * An impromptu Friday or Saturday night visit to a D.C. emergency room.

- * Attend the opening of the new D.C. drug court. You and the Attorney General have spoken about the need to use the "carrot" and "stick" of the criminal justice system to demand that drug offenders be treated and tested. The D.C. drug court, which will be opened later this month, is the first such venture funded with an HHS grant from your Administration.

- * Give a major crime speech at this year's International Association of Chiefs of Police Convention. The Convention is scheduled for the same week that the crime debate is likely to begin in the House and Senate. Lee Brown and the Attorney General are already planning to speak.

- * A phone call to Governor William Weld to ask his help in winning bipartisan support in Washington for the measures he proposed last week in Massachusetts: a waiting period, an assault ban, and a ban on handgun ownership by anyone under 21.

- * An Oval Office meeting with Sarah and Jim Brady.

In addition to all that you and the First Lady do to promote these issues, we will put together a coordinated effort by the Cabinet -- not only Attorney General Reno and Drug Director Brown, but also Secretary Cisneros and Secretary Riley.

C. Build Support Among Key Constituencies

need to put more police on the beat in their neighborhoods and consider a series of gun measures beyond Brady that will give police and residents a fighting chance to take their neighborhoods back. Otherwise, crime could be an even bigger issue three years from now than it is today.

III. WHAT WE NEED TO DO

A. Speak With One Voice on Crime

With so much of the Administration's attention directed elsewhere, it is critical that our crime effort be focused and consistent. The White House and Justice Department need to work hand-in-hand to promote the Administration's agenda and seize control of the crime and violence debate. Justice officials share our concern and are eager to work together. We don't know if the White House can handle another war room, but we recommend forming a team of White House and Justice staff that will meet regularly to coordinate the Administration's efforts. This group will bring respective departments from the White House and Justice together to ensure that crime is an Administration-wide priority and that we are speaking with one voice. With your approval, Carol Rasco will send a memorandum to all interested parties to send a designee and begin work right away.

B. Raise the Administration's Profile on Crime and Violence

In the past few weeks, you and the First Lady have both signaled to the press and the public that fighting crime and violence is a top priority for the Administration. We want to make sure your schedule includes opportunities for you to keep speaking out on these issues, and where possible, to continue to underscore the link between violence and health care. Anything you and the First Lady can say to specifically mention the crime bill and the Brady bill over the next two weeks will dramatically improve the prospects of passing what we want.

It would not be difficult to fold a few crime-related events into your existing schedule, without using much of your valuable time. Here are a few suggestions:

- Use your visit to a trauma center in New Jersey this Friday to highlight the costs of crime and health care. You can laud Florio for the strong assault weapons ban he passed and for his tough line on crime in general, and make a specific pitch for the crime bill and the Brady bill. (New Jersey was one of the first states to impose a routine waiting period and background check for handgun purchases.)

- Radio address on crime on Saturday, October 16, just before the crime bill is scheduled to come up.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
JOSE CERDA III

SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATION STRATEGY ON CRIME AND VIOLENCE

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

With violence at epidemic levels across the country, the Administration needs to step up its efforts to pass the crime bill, the Brady Bill, and other gun measures. This memorandum outlines an aggressive political and communications strategy for an Administration-wide assault on crime and violence this fall.

II. PRIORITIES: MORE COPS, FEWER GUNS

The crime bill and the Brady bill are on a fast track in the House and Senate. The Senate could begin floor consideration as early as next week, but more likely the week after. The House Judiciary Committee has already begun subcommittee hearings, and is scheduled to mark up the crime package the week of October 18.

The recent crime spree is fueling Congress's desire to act on crime. But to do so, we need to do two things quickly: 1) Raise the Administration's profile on the crime issue; and 2) Speak with one voice to Congress and the public about our priorities. If we want to dodge the morass of side issues that have bogged down the crime-and-guns debate in recent years, we have to be very clear about our bottom line.

Crime and violence are complicated, provocative issues, and there will never be universal agreement within the Administration or the White House on how best to reduce them. However, we believe that the Administration, Congress, and the American people can unite behind the two most urgent elements of the anti-crime agenda you spelled out in August: more cops and fewer guns.

We can't settle for one or the other -- if we're going to make Americans feel more secure, we need both. Passing the Brady bill will be an important symbolic victory, but it will soon be eclipsed if teenagers still roam the streets with assault rifles and innocent children are still dying in the crossfire. To reduce crime and Americans' fear of crime, we



U. S. Department of Justice

Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

October 15, 1993

TO: See Attached List

FROM: Sheila F. Anthony ^{SEA}
 Assistant Attorney General
 Office of Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: Crime Bill Coordination

The "core group" appointed to coordinate crime legislation and communication among the White House, Justice Department and other participating Departments, agencies, and policy groups includes:

- 1) Howard Paster -- 456-2230, Tracey Thornton -- 456-6493, Lorraine Miller -- 456-6620, White House Legislative Affairs;
- 2) George Stephanopoulos, Senior Policy Adviser to the President 456-7105, Rahm Emmanuel, Deputy Director, White House Communications -- 456-1125;
- 3) Goody Marshall, Office of the Vice President -- 224-8391;
- 4) Sheila Anthony, Office of Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice -- 514-2141 -- fax 514-4482;
- 5) Jeffrey Robinson, Deputy Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice -- 514-4047;
- 6) Julie Anbender, Deputy Director, Public Affairs, Department of Justice -- 616-2777.

We request that all Hill and other intergovernmental contacts on policy, strategy, message, or any other issue having to do with crime, prison, or gun legislation be coordinated first through the core group.

The core group will institute telephone conference calls, in lieu of meetings, on Monday and Wednesday mornings at 8:30 and on Thursday afternoon at 4:30, initially. When and if needed as the legislation moves into markup and on the floor, we will confer on a daily basis.

DISTRIBUTIONWhite House

Mack McLarty
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David Gergen
John Podesta
Howard Paster
George Stephanopoulos
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Rahm Emanuel
Ron Klain
Thurgood Marshall, Jr.
Bruce Reed
Jose Cerda
Suzan Johnson Cook
Jody Greenstone
Lorraine Miller
Tracey Thornton
Keith Mason
Steve Hilton
Liz Bernstein

Justice

Attorney General Reno
Phil Heymann
Webb Hubbell
Sheila Anthony
Carl Stern
Eleanor Acheson

Others

Leon Panetta, OMB
Peter Edelman, HHS
Lee Brown, ONDCP
Madeline Kunin, Education

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: Carol H. Rasco: 
SUBJECT: Meeting Notice - Crime Bill

The President has asked that I coordinate a series of regular meetings over the next few weeks of key Administration officials to focus our efforts on crime and gun violence issues.

With the crime and Brady bills pending in Congress, and a surge of nationwide interest in the epidemic of violence, the President wants the Administration to step up its response in these areas. It's critical that we speak with one voice and maximize our resources we can then marshal to focus on crime.

Please be sure that you or your representative attend the first crime coordinating meeting **TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12 at 4:00 PM** in the **ROOSEVELT ROOM**. If you should have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me (x2216) or Bruce Reed (x6515).

DISTRIBUTION

White House

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Phil Heymann
Webb Hubbell
Sheila Anthony
Carl Stern
Eleanor Acheson

Others

Leon Panetta, OMB
Peter Edelman, HHS
Lee Brown, ONDCP
Madeline Kunin, Education

TO: Carol
FR: Bruce/Jose
DATE: October 6, 1993
RE: Suggestions for Crime Team

We've spoken with some Justice people, and they seem to welcome the general idea of a crime team that meets regularly. (We didn't ask the one person at Justice who might think otherwise.)

Also, you might need to talk to Lee Brown about getting Jose to be available full-time over the next few weeks to focus on crime, now that he's finished the interim drug strategy.

Here's a suggested list for the Crime Team, which we have informally dubbed the Untouchables (although the name Keystone Cops has also occurred to us from time to time):

White House

Carol Rasco (and her sidearms Bruce and Jose)
Mack McLarty (Roy Neel/Bill Burton)
David Gergen (Jody Greenstone)
John Podesta
Howard Paster (Lorraine Miller/Tracy Thornton)
George Stephanopoulos
Marcia Hale (Keith Mason)
Alexis Herman (Steve Hilton)
Christine Varney
Maggie Williams
Mark Gearan (Liz Bernstein)
Rahm Emanuel
Ron Klain
Thurgood Marshall Jr.

Justice

The Attorney General
Phil Heymann
Webb Hubbell
Sheila Anthony
Carl Stern
Eleanor Acheson

Peter Edelman, HHS
Lee Brown, ONDCP

DRAFT

THE CLINTON CRIME PLAN

As Distributed at the October 12, 1993 Crime Meeting

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*Byrne grants for
prosecution double crimes*

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION CRIME PLAN MORE COPS, FEWER GUNS

THE RIGHT TO FEEL SAFE

- Along with economic and health security, Americans have a right to personal security -- to feel safe where they live, work, play, and go to school will be safe. But too many of our people are denied that right. Government's first duty is to keep its citizens safe.
- There is an epidemic of violence in this country that must be confronted. We cannot let reckless teenagers roam the streets with assault weapons better armed than our police officers. We cannot stand by as random gunfire claims victim after victim, including innocent children.
- We can start by doing the two things that we know can reduce and prevent crime: putting more police on the street and getting guns off the streets. It's time to pass the crime bill, the Brady Bill, and a tough ban on assault weapons. The American people have been waiting long enough for these common sense measures.

PUT MORE POLICE ON THE STREET

- During the 1980s, the number of violent crimes and murders skyrocketed -- as did the level of youth and gun violence. But the trend in policing has been to do more with less. In fact, thirty years ago, there were three police officers for every violent crime; today, there are more than three violent crimes for every police officer. It's time to reverse this trend and help our cities put more police on the street.
- In August, the President outlined his plan to put 100,000 more police and public safety personnel on the street. Title I of the crime bill authorizes \$3.4 billion over the next 6 years to put 50,000 more police on the street "in community-oriented policing." Several other programs will help keep the President's 100,000 cops campaign pledge -- the Police Corps, National Service, Safe Schools, Empowerment Zones, Troops-to-Cops, and HUD's Community Partnerships Against Crime. *Bureaus/Cops*
- Putting more "cops on the beat" makes sense. Cities like Los Angeles, Detroit, New York, San Diego and Boston would like to increase their police presence and expand community policing. The President's policing plan will help them do just that.

REDUCE GUN VIOLENCE

- America's streets are flooded with guns. We have an estimated 200 million guns on the street, and more federally licensed gun dealers than gas stations.
- On August 11th, the President took the first step by signing two gun-related directives: one to close the loophole allowing the importation of assault pistols into the country; and one to "beef up" the compliance procedure for distributing federal firearms licenses by requiring background checks, fingerprinting, etc.
- But we need to do more. The Brady Bill, which provides for a five-day waiting period to allow local law enforcement to conduct a background check of prospective handgun buyers, must be passed as soon as possible. We've already banned the importation of assault weapons that have no sporting purpose. We should do the same for those same guns that are domestically produced.

ENSURE SWIFT AND CERTAIN PUNISHMENT

- We need a criminal justice system where those who commit crimes are caught, those who are guilty are convicted, and those who are convicted are punished. That's not the case today.
- Too often, our lack of prison space or resources forces us to choose between prison or no punishment at all. This should not be the case. We must use boot camps and other innovative means of punishment to promote certainty of punishment when an offender first encounters the criminal justice system, not after it's too late.
- In Arkansas, Governor Clinton pioneered the use of community boot camps, which provide young people the discipline, education, and training they need for a better chance to avoid a life of crime. We need to do the same at the federal level.
- The criminal justice system must be used to demand that addicted offenders get treatment. We already pay considerable overhead costs for incarcerating drug-addicted offenders and should demand that they be treated. Parole or probation should also be used to test, and if necessary, treat drug addicts in the criminal justice system.
- For the most heinous crimes, the death penalty is appropriate. But we must reform the current process of endless death penalty appeals. The Administration supports a compromise reached by Senator Biden, Attorney General Reno, and America's prosecutors that limits inmates to filing a single, federal habeas corpus appeal within a six-month time limited -- while also assuring that indigent capital defendants are represented by qualified counsel who meet specific, rigorous experience and qualification standards.

CRIME BILL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MORE COPS ON THE STREET...

Q: How will the President keep to his campaign promise to put more police on the streets?

A: The President's plan offers cities and states a variety of options to meet their different public safety needs. Some cities want more uniformed officers on the beat, while others want more civilian personnel. Some cities want police to work in their violence-ridden schools, while some want police working to prevent crime in public housing. Some cities and states want new highly trained, college-educated cadets, while others want outgoing military personnel. The President's plan accomodates all of these needs.

The biggest part of the President's plan to put 100,000 more police on the streets is the Community Policing Initiative included as Title I of the Biden-Brooks crime bills. Under this initiative, which authorizes \$3.4 billion over the next 6 years, as many as 50,000 police officers could be hired for deployment in community-oriented policing.

The remaining 50,000 of the 100,000 pledge will be fulfilled through a series of other programs to deploy sworn and non-sworn officers. These include: the recently enacted National Service legislation; the Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities program, which passed as part of the President's budget; the emergency Safe Schools initiative proposed by the Department of Education; HUD's Community Partnership Against Crime (COMPAC), and the Police Hiring Supplement, which passed as part of FY93 supplemental appropriations bill, (the \$150 million downpayment on community policing).

Q: Won't hiring more police increase the burden on our courts, jails, prisons, etc.?

The President's 100,000 police plan is a departure from past policies. First, it emphasizes community policing. That means our police officers -- while not shying away from their sworn duty to apprehend offenders -- will be working with communities to prevent crime in the first place.

Community policing is more than simply putting police officers back "on the beat", or supporting police projects that restore community relations (i.e., bike patrols). Community policing is a philosophy -- not a program -- and it is meant to transform the way police services are delivered.

will be able to instantly determine, by phone, whether or not someone can buy a handgun.

Q: How do you know that a waiting period will work? Criminals don't purchase their weapons at retail gun stores -- do they?

A: While waiting periods and background checks won't stop every criminal from getting a gun, they most certainly will stop some. Both California and Illinois have established a waiting period system similar to Brady that is keeping handguns out of the hands of criminals. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, California's waiting period and background check stopped felons from buying guns on almost 2,500 occasions -- an average of about one every three hours. The Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Program prevents about 3,000 prohibited purchases every year.

Q: But if States can enact -- and have enacted -- a waiting period and background check, why do we need the Brady Bill?

A: While States like Illinois, California and New Jersey have reliable waiting periods and background checks, their efforts are undermined by the lack of reasonable gun controls in many other states. Criminals regularly purchase guns in States with weaker laws only to transport them to those States with tough gun laws. We need national legislation -- the Brady Bill -- to stop this interstate running of guns.

Q: The President and Attorney General have been calling for an assault weapons ban -- why is it not in the crime bill?

A: The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993 is a modified version of last year's crime bill conference agreement, which did not contain an assault weapons ban. But the Administration will support amendments to the crime bill to ban assault weapons and -- if that fails -- separate legislation to ban assault weapons.

Q: Which version of an assault weapons ban does the President support?

A: The President will support the toughest assault weapons ban Congress can pass. The major difference between the various assault weapons proposals is that some would cover "copies" of banned assault weapons, while others would require subsequent congressional action to ban "copies". Either approach is better than current law and would garner the President's support.

The conventional, emergency response policing model demands that police officers be slaves to their radios and discourages police from finding long-term or innovative solutions to local crime problems. Instead, officers respond to the same calls over and over -- almost always after it's too late to have any impact.

Community policing is meant to empower police officers by giving them some autonomy and assigning them to specific neighborhoods, where they can build partnerships with community residents and -- instead of simply responding to radio calls -- work to identify, analyze and solve crime problems.

Focusing on solving and preventing crime problems should not put an undue burden on the rest of the criminal justice system.

Q: Will 50,000 cops make any difference?

Putting 50,000 new police on the streets through this crime bill will increase the nation's police force by nearly 10%. It will have an especially dramatic impact in small and medium-sized cities. The average police department in America today consists of less than 20 officers. In these departments, a handful of new officers engaged in community outreach and long-term problem solving can have an enormous impact on community residents' quality of life.

...FEWER GUNS

Q: What is the Brady Bill?

A: The Brady Bill, which was named after former Reagan Press Secretary James Brady who was shot during the assassination attempt in 1981, establishes a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases. This waiting period will enable local law enforcement officers to conduct background checks of potential purchasers to ensure that convicted felons, the mentally deranged, and others disqualified under the Gun Control Act of 1968 do not purchase guns. If at the end of the waiting period, the local law enforcement agency has not found any reason to withhold a handgun from someone, then the sale will proceed as normal.

The Brady Bill also provides for this five-day waiting period to "sunset" when it can be replaced by a national "instant check" system. To help make such an instant background check possible, the Brady Bill authorizes \$100 million to help States upgrade their criminal justice records. When the check system has achieved an 80% currency of case dispositions in the last five years, the five-day waiting period will be phased out, and gun dealers

The White House
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 11, 1993

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION PLAN
TO EXPAND COMMUNITY POLICING AND REDUCE GUN VIOLENCE

It is time for America to make a serious commitment to community policing, to having people back on the beat, working the same neighborhoods, making relationships with people in ways that prevent crime . . . How will the federal government provide 100,000 more police officers? First of all, by getting the crime bill passed.

Bill Clinton
Detroit, Michigan
October 17, 1992

The first duty of government is to keep its citizens safe. The Clinton Administration is offering a number of initiatives to prevent crime and reduce gun violence:

- Expand community policing in cities and towns across America by putting up to 100,000 more officers on the streets.
- Keep handguns out of the hands of criminals by passing the Brady Bill, which will require a five-day waiting period before purchasing a handgun, and taking other measures on assault weapons that will begin to end the arms race in our streets.
- Provide community boot camps, which give young people discipline, training, and a better chance to avoid a life of crime, and provide criminal addicts with drug treatment.
- Pass a crime bill that increases penalties for gun offenses, reforms habeas corpus procedures to raise counsel standards and limit appeals, and imposes federal death penalties for killing a federal law enforcement officer and other heinous crimes.

PUTTING 100,000 MORE OFFICERS ON THE STREET

A first step we can take to reduce crime in America is to put more police on the streets, walking the beat and working with neighbors as partners against crime. The Clinton Administration's anti-crime initiative will expand community policing throughout the nation. This innovative way of thinking about policing has already helped reduce crime in several communities across the country. From New York to St. Louis to Los Angeles, police departments are using this approach to put more police on the streets.

The Clinton Administration has launched a government-wide effort to put 100,000 more officers and public safety personnel on the street:

Supplemental Appropriations: Congress passed and the President signed into law on July 2 an FY93 supplemental appropriations bill that included \$150 million in community policing grants to hire and rehire police officers. This competitive grants program will become available to states and localities in early September, and will put more than 2,100 new police on the streets over the next three years.

Policing and Public Safety: The cornerstone of the President's community policing plan to put police on the street is the Policing and Public Safety program that will be part of this year's crime bill. An expansion of the Cop-on-the-Beat legislation introduced by Rep. Charles Schumer (D-NY), the Justice Department program will challenge communities to implement community policing by providing grants, training, and technical assistance for police officers. The program is authorized at \$3.4 billion over the next five years, which will help communities put up to 50,000 new officers on the street. The Administration will make full funding for this program a priority.

Police Corps: This four-year, \$100 million program will give college scholarships and police training to as many as 4-5,000 students who are willing to make a four-year commitment to serve their communities as police officers. As Governor of Arkansas, President Clinton instituted the nation's first state Police Corps program.

Safe Schools Initiative: Schools should be a safe haven for children, free of weapons, drugs, and crime. Education Secretary Richard Riley has introduced emergency Safe Schools legislation, based on a proposal by Rep. Schumer and others, that will enable local education authorities to hire security personnel and pay for police officers who include schools as part of their community policing "beat". The Administration's budget request includes \$475 million for Safe Schools over the next five years, which would fund up to 4,000 sworn and non-sworn officers.

Community Partnerships Against Crime: Some of the nation's worst pockets of crime are concentrated in neighborhoods with public housing. To help make public housing safer, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Cisneros is transforming his department's Drug Elimination Grant Program into a more effective program called Community

Partnerships Against Crime (COMPAC). The Administration's budget request includes more than \$700 million over the next five years to put as many as 5,000 sworn and non-sworn officers to work in law enforcement, security, and community policing in public housing.

National Service: Up to one-quarter of the slots in the national service plan Congress is expected to put on the President's desk in September will be available for young people who choose to pay their country and their communities back through public safety and law enforcement. The program could put up to 25,000 young people to work as non-sworn personnel for local police departments, crime prevention groups and other public safety efforts. The President hopes to put the first National Service participants to work by the summer of 1994.

Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities: The economic plan which the President signed into law August 10 will create jobs in depressed urban and rural areas around the country by targeting growth incentives and investments into nine Empowerment Zones and 100 Enterprise Communities. The Administration's budget request includes up to \$500 million for up to 6-7,000 officers to do community policing in these areas, because businesses can't create jobs where the streets are not safe. While the Empowerment Zone proposal passed as part of budget reconciliation, the Appropriations Committees have not approved the Administration's budget request.

Troops-to-Cops: As we downscale the military in the aftermath of the Cold War, we need to put our best trained, most talented men and women to work keeping America safe here at home. To help police departments tap into the pool of talented military personnel, Secretary of Labor Robert Reich will make as much as \$10 million from the Defense Diversification Program available to retrain up to 1,500 veterans who are leaving the military for jobs with state and local police departments.

Paying for Public Safety: Funding for these policing programs is included in the Administration's budget baseline for FY 1994-98. If additional funds are required for these and other Administration initiatives, the Administration will continue to pursue additional budget cuts, including ones the Administration sought but has not yet achieved in Congress this year. It is expected that Congressional leadership and the National Performance Review will identify additional savings. Community policing programs assume some state/local match.

REDUCING GUN VIOLENCE

The Clinton Administration is committed to passing the Brady Bill, and reducing the wave of gun violence that is plaguing America.

Brady Bill: This legislation -- named for former Reagan press secretary James Brady, and championed by his wife Sarah -- will impose a five-day waiting period for

handgun purchases, and require background checks so that we can help keep handguns out of the hands of criminals. The Brady Bill passed both houses of Congress last session with bipartisan support.

Assault Weapons: Recent attacks on children at a swimming pool in Washington, D.C., and on a law firm in San Francisco have underscored the need for Congress to consider legislation addressing the sale and availability of semiautomatic assault weapons -- the guns of choice for drug- and gang-related crime.

Presidential Action: Today, the President will sign Presidential Memoranda to suspend the importation of assault pistols, which are not covered under the existing assault weapons import ban, and to toughen enforcement of compliance procedures in issuing federal firearms licenses to gun dealers.

COMMUNITY BOOT CAMPS FOR YOUNG OFFENDERS AND DRUG TREATMENT FOR CRIMINAL ADDICTS

In Arkansas, Governor Clinton pioneered the use of community boot camps, which provide young people the discipline, education, and training they need for a better chance to avoid a life of crime. The Administration will work with Congress to convert closed military bases and other appropriate facilities into a system of boot camps. Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy Lee Brown and Attorney General Janet Reno will work to ensure that we use the criminal justice system to provide criminal addicts with drug treatment.

FEDERAL DEATH PENALTY

The Administration will ask Congress to pass crime legislation that provides the death penalty for nearly 50 offenses -- including killing a federal law enforcement officer and killing state officers in the course of cooperative investigations with federal agencies.

HABEAS CORPUS REFORM

Senator Biden has introduced breakthrough habeas reform legislation, with strong support from district attorneys, state attorneys general, and the Administration. The legislation will, for the first time, limit inmates to filing a single, federal habeas corpus appeal within a six-month time limit. At the same time, the legislation will also assure that all indigent capital defendants will be represented by counsel who meet specific, rigorous experience and qualification standards.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 11, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ANTI-CRIME INITIATIVE ANNOUNCEMENT

The Rose Garden

9:43 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Vice President and Attorney General, distinguished members of the Congress and law enforcement community and concerned American citizens. I'm glad to have all of you here in the Rose Garden today for this important announcement. I want to say a special word of appreciation to Senator Biden and to Chairman Brooks who have worked for a long time to try to get a good crime bill through the United States Congress. I hope today is the beginning of that.

I'm proud to be here with representatives of the nation's police and prosecutors and states attorneys general with whom we have worked closely to fashion this bill. And it gives me particular pleasure to be here with some of the brave men and women who risk their lives every day to protect the people of this country and to preserve the law.

The first duty of any government is to try to keep its citizens safe, but clearly too many Americans are not safe today. We no longer have the freedom from fear for all our citizens that is essential to security and to prosperity. The past four years have seen 90,000 murders in this country. Last month in this city, our nation's capital, in one week 24 murders were committed. When our children must pass through metal detectors to go to school, or worry that they'll be the victim of random drive-by shootings when they're playing in the swimming pool in the summertime, when parents are imprisoned in their own apartments behind locked doors, when we can't walk the streets of our cities without fear, we have lost an essential element of our civilization.

Many of you have heard me tell many times over the last year and a half or so of the immigrant worker in the New York hotel who said if I became President he just wanted me to make his son free. And when I asked him what he meant, he meant that his son couldn't walk to school two blocks without his walking with him, he son couldn't play in the park across the street from their apartment house without his father being there. He said his son was not free.

It's time we put aside the divisions of party and philosophy and put our best efforts to work on a crime plan that will help all the American people and go beyond the cynicism of mere speeches to clear action.

Today I'm proud to be here with the chairs of the House and the Senate Judiciary Committees to announce this plan. The plan

is not -- it's tough, it is fair. It will put police on the street and criminals in jail. It expands the federal death penalty to let criminals know that if they are guilty, they will be punished. It lets law abiding citizens know that we are working to give them the safety they deserve. It is the beginning -- just the beginning, but a major beginning of a long-term strategy to make America a more law abiding, peaceful place, and to make Americans more secure, and to give our young people, wherever they live, a better chance to grow up, to learn, to function, to work, and to have a decent life.

This bill first addresses the most pressing need in the fight against crime. There simply are not enough police officers on the beat. The plan is designed to make the major downpayment on the pledge that I made in the campaign to put 100,000 police officers on the street. Thirty years ago there were three police officers for every violent crime. Today the ratio is reversed -- three crimes for every police officer.

Like so many of the best ideas, community policing was spawned in the laboratories of experimentation on the streets of our cities and towns. Then Commissioner Lee Brown of New York, now my drug director, sent some 3,000 additional police officers onto the streets of New York City, launching community policing in every precinct. Then, shortly thereafter for the first time in 36 years, crime rates went down in every major category. It's worked from Boston to St. Louis, to Los Angeles.

The crime bill that will be introduced next month will include \$3.4 billion to fund up to 50,000 new police officers to walk the beat. It will also create a police corps to give young people money for college, train them in community policing, and ask them to return to their communities to serve as police officers in return for their education. This will add to the numerous community policing initiatives we have already undertaken.

For example, earlier this year I signed a jobs bill that will make \$150 million available right away to hire or rehire police officers. And I'm happy to report that the Labor Department will allocate \$10 million to retrain newly discharged troops from the United States Armed Forces to become police officers. After defending our freedom abroad, they'll be given a chance to do so at home.

Second, we must end the insanity of being able to buy or sell a handgun more easily than obtaining a driver's license. The Brady bill, which requires a waiting period before the purchase of a handgun, is simply common sense. I have said so before Congress and before the American people. It is long past time to pass it. If the Congress will pass it, I will sign it. I believe now that Congress will pass it. There is no conceivable excuse to delay this action one more day. (Applause.)

The effort to keep handguns out of the hands of criminals cannot and should not wait for the passage of this legislation. Today I will sign two presidential directives that fight gun violence. I am ordering that the rules governing gun dealers be reviewed to make sure that only legitimate gun dealers are in the business of selling guns. And I am ordering the Treasury Department to take the necessary action to suspend the importation of foreign-made assault pistols, which have become the weapons of choice for many gangs and drug dealers. Too many weapons of war are making their way onto our streets and turning our streets into war zones.

Let me also say that this effort against crime will not be complete if we do not eliminate assault weapons from our street. No other nation would tolerate roving gangs stalking the streets better armed than the police officers of a country. Why do we do it? We shouldn't and we ought to stop it. (Applause.)

Finally, if we are to take back the streets of America from the gangs and the drug dealers, we must do what has not been done before. We must actually enact a crime bill. This legislation will be introduced by Chairman Biden and Brooks, and it will build upon a lot of good ideas from around the country, including one I worked hard on when I was governor, community boot camps for young offenders. Boot camps which give young people the discipline, the training, the treatment they need for a second chance to build a good life.

When it comes to hardened, violent criminals, society has the right to impose the most severe penalties but I believe we should give young people a chance to make it. As I said during the campaign and as I said during my tenure as a governor, I support capital punishment. This legislation will reform procedures by limiting death-row inmates to a single habeas corpus appeal within a six-month time limit but also guaranteeing them a higher standard of legal representation than many have had in the past. Both elements are important if this is to be genuine reform. And it will provide the death penalty for some federal offenses including killing a federal law enforcement officer. (Applause.)

As I said, this is just the beginning of our efforts to restore the rule of law on our streets. To do this we must work with thousands of law enforcement officials around the country who risk their lives every day. We must work with the mayors, with the governors, we must work with the people who deal with children before they become criminals. We must have a broadbased assault on the terrible things that are rending the fabric of life for millions of Americans.

We in Washington must work together, too. For too long crime has been used as a way to divide Americans with rhetoric. It is time, and I thank the Republican members of Congress who are here today, it is time to use crime as a way to unite Americans through action.

I call on the Democrats and the Republicans together to work with us and with the law enforcement community to craft the best possible crime legislation. Last week we began to break the gridlock with a new budget and an economic plan. Now we can do so again in ways that unite us as Americans. And I pledge to you my best and strongest efforts to pass this bill at the earliest possible time. There are good things in it. It will make our people safer. It will shore up our police officers, it will move America in the right direction.

May I now introduce the person who has done a great deal to do all those things just in the last few months, our distinguished Attorney General Janet Reno. (Applause.)

* * * * *

Q -- with the Pope tomorrow, what you anticipate from it?

THE PRESIDENT: -- I'm really very, very excited, I'm looking forward to the visit and I'm honored that he's come to the United States.

Q Mr. President, there are all sorts of attempts to water down the Brady bill. Are you one of those purists that Chairman Brooks talked about or would you consider amendments to water it down?

THE PRESIDENT: That bill shouldn't be amended. It's a modest bill, and I think it ought to be passed like it is. We would like to see the Senate go on and do it.

I feel very strongly about it. I think -- I also associate myself with the other remarks of the Attorney General. I think it's the beginning. It's not the end of the process by any means.

Q What would you like to see on handguns?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think extending the ban on imported handguns is important, which I will do today. Then Congress is debating this whole issue of assault weapons generally, broad definition -- and we'll see what we can come out with. But you know there's a bill in the House, there's a bill in the Senate and I'd like the crime bill to pass and then I'd like for that to be debated.

Q Would you do the Brady bill separate?

Q Yes, would you do the Brady bill separately or as part of the crime --

THE PRESIDENT: It's fine with me, whatever -- done. I would prefer to get it as quickly as possible but I think the important thing is that it be passed in a strong and clear and unambiguous form.

END

10:50 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

SUBJECT: GUN DEALER LICENSING

A major problem facing the nation today is the ease with which criminals, the mentally deranged, and even children can acquire firearms. The gruesome consequences of this ready availability of guns is found in the senseless violence occurring throughout the country with numbing regularity. While there is not one solution to the plague of gun-related violence, there is more than sufficient evidence indicating that a major part of the problem involves the present system of gun dealer licensing, which encourages a flourishing criminal market in guns.

The Gun Control Act of 1968 established a licensing system for persons engaged in businesses of manufacturing, importing and dealing in firearms. These licensees are allowed to ship firearms in interstate commerce among themselves, and are required to abide by State laws and local ordinances in their sale of firearms to non-licensees. They are also prohibited from selling firearms to felons, certain other classes of persons, and generally to out of state persons. This Act also established a comprehensive recordkeeping system and authorized the Secretary to conduct inspections to ensure compliance with the Act. The statutory qualifications for a licensee are that the applicant is at least 21 years of age, is not a felon or other person prohibited from possessing firearms, has not willfully violated the Gun Control Act, and has premises from which he intends to conduct business. The license fee for a basic dealer's license is only \$10 a year.

The minimal qualification standards of the statute, coupled with policies of neglect and opposition to legitimate regulatory efforts by past Administrations, leave us with a situation where in some ways we have made it easier to get a license to sell guns than it is to get and keep a driver's license. Today there are in excess of 287,000 Federal firearms licensees, and a great number of these persons probably should not be licensed. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) estimates that only about 30 percent of these are bona fide storefront gun dealers. ATF estimates that probably 40 percent of the licensees conduct no business at all, and are simply persons who use the license to obtain the benefits of trading interstate and buying guns at wholesale. The remaining 30 percent of licensees engage in a limited level of business, typically out of private residences. While the Federal statute creates no minimum level of business activity to qualify for a license, many of the licensees in this category operate in violation of State and local licensing, taxing, and other business-related laws. Since the overall purpose of the Gun Control Act was to assist State and local gun control efforts, at the very least we need to coordinate the Federal licensing process with the appropriate State and local agencies.

This Administration is committed to doing more to prevent this criminal market in illegal guns from continuing to flourish. Since all new firearms used in crime have at some point passed through the legitimate distribution system, Federal firearms licenses represent the first line of defense in our efforts to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

Accordingly, you have informed me that you will direct the Department of Treasury and ATF to take whatever steps are necessary, to the extent permitted by law, to ensure compliance with present licensing requirements, such as:

- (a) improving the thoroughness and effectiveness of background checks in screening dealer license applicants;
- (b) revising the application process to require the applicant to supply all information relevant to establishing qualification for a license, and to require more reliable forms of identification of the applicant, such as fingerprinting, to assist in identifying an applicant's criminal or other disqualifying history;
- (c) making the "premises" requirement of the statute more meaningful by increasing field checks and the use of other procedures to verify compliance;
- (d) increasing the scrutiny of licensees' multiple handgun sales reports and providing automated access to multiple sales report information by serial number for firearms trace purposes;
- (e) requiring dealers to obtain more reliable identification from purchasers;
- (f) reviewing sanctioning policies to determine the feasibility and desirability of adding the option of license suspension for certain violations;
- (g) expanding the use of cooperative agreements with State and local law enforcement agencies to address licensing and trafficking problems;
- (h) expanding ATF's capabilities to utilize effectively the firearms transaction records of out-of-business licensees for tracing purposes through the use of automation and other technology.

Acting pursuant to your statutory authority, you shall make such determinations and issue orders, regulations and rulings, as appropriate, to achieve the objectives stated in this memorandum.

I further direct that you initiate these actions as soon as possible and report your progress implementing these and other measures consistent with the foregoing to me within 90 days and annually thereafter.

All Executive agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, cooperate with and assist you in carrying out the objectives of this memorandum. You shall consult with the Attorney General, the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, and other Executive agencies as necessary to coordinate and implement the objective of this memorandum. To the maximum extent possible, the Attorney General, through the Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance, will expand support to State and local agencies working with ATF on joint projects relating to licensing and trafficking in firearms. Nothing in this memorandum shall be construed to require actions contrary to applicable provisions of the law. You are hereby authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the Federal Register.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

SUBJECT: IMPORTATION OF ASSAULT PISTOLS

A category of pistols commonly referred to as assault pistols has increasingly become the weapon of choice for drug dealers, street gang members, and other violent criminals. These pistols, generally characterized by their bulky military-style appearance and large magazine capacity, include domestically manufactured TEC-9's and MAC-10's as well as imported models like the Uzi pistol and the H&K SP-89. Their popularity appears to stem from their intimidating appearance and their considerable firepower.

These weapons have been used to harm and terrorize many Americans, particularly our children, in recent years. As a result, it is no longer possible to stand by and witness the deadly proliferation of these weapons without acting to protect our communities.

Although addressing the domestic production of these weapons requires a change in the statute, which I support, existing law already bans the importation of firearms unless they are determined to be particularly suitable for or readily adaptable for sporting purposes. I am informed that shortly after enactment of the Gun Control Act of 1968, the Treasury Department adopted a factoring system to determine whether handguns were importable pursuant to this standard. The system entails the examination of the firearm against a set of criteria, with points being awarded for various features. A minimum score is required before importation is approved. The criteria and weighted point system were designed to address the crime gun of the day, the cheap, easily concealable "Saturday Night Special." Under this 25-year old system, small caliber, easily concealable handguns score few points and are banned from importation. However, assault-type pistols -- the new crime gun of the day -- because of their large size, weight and caliber, easily score the necessary points to qualify for importation even though none of these pistols appears to have any legitimate sporting purpose. Accordingly, it is time to reassess how the present regulatory approach can be made more effective in achieving the legislative directive to preclude importation of firearms that are not particularly suitable for or readily adaptable for sporting purposes.

I hereby direct you to take the necessary steps to reexamine the current importation factoring system to determine whether the system should be modified to ensure that all non-sporting handguns are properly denied importation. You have advised me that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) will issue a notice of proposed rulemaking in the near future that will propose changes to the factoring system to address the assault pistol problem. You have further advised me that effective immediately action on pending applications to import these weapons will be suspended, and that final action on any application will be delayed until this review process is completed.

Nothing herein shall be construed to require actions contrary to applicable provisions of law. You are hereby authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the Federal Register.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The Washington Post

Clinton's Anti-Crime Package:

DATE: 8-12-93
PAGE: A 16

More Police, Curb on Pistol Imports

By Ruth Marcus and Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Clinton yesterday moved to ban the importation of foreign-made assault pistols and make it more difficult to obtain federal gun licenses as part of a broad anti-crime package that White House officials say will now move toward the top of the administration's agenda.

"The first duty of any government is to try to keep its citizens safe, but clearly too many Americans are not safe today," Clinton said in a Rose Garden ceremony with uniformed police officers standing behind him. "It is time we put aside the divisions of party and philosophy and put our best efforts to work on a crime plan that will help all the American people and go beyond cynicism of mere speeches to clear action."

The overall plan announced by Clinton yesterday and expected to be officially introduced when Congress returns from its summer recess next month contains a grab bag of proposals designed to have bipartisan appeal: It includes funds to put more police officers on the streets, a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases, nearly 50 new federal death penalty statutes and strict limits on appeals filed by death row inmates—a step that could accelerate the number of executions carried out by the states.

Many of the legislative proposals were contained in a crime bill that stalled in Congress last year.

While the prospects for the bill seemed uncertain, Clinton took two steps yesterday by executive order that gun control groups say could have quick impact. One would tighten licensing requirements for federal firearms dealers. The second would halt the importation of semiautomatic assault pistols, such as Israeli-made Uzis, and other high-powered weapons that have become popular among criminals.

Currently, virtually anybody can obtain a federal firearms license and thereby obtain unlimited quantities

of high-powered weapons simply by filling out an application and paying a \$10 annual fee. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms officials say that about 280,000 individuals now hold such licenses, only about 30 percent of whom actually conduct any commercial business.

"It's a major loophole by which individuals get around waiting-period requirements" and other state and local gun control laws, said Jack Killorin, ATF spokesman. "We've had drug dealers [obtain licenses], we've had people set up shops in hotel rooms and public housing projects . . . criminals of all stripes."

Clinton's order would permit the agency for the first time to fingerprint applicants, conduct more extensive background checks, and take other steps to ensure that unqualified applicants do not receive licenses, officials said yesterday. "We plan to move relatively quickly within the space of several months," said Killorin.

The ban on the importation of semiautomatic assault pistols expands a ban on foreign-made assault rifles that was imposed by President George Bush in 1989. It would halt about 3,500 weapons that flow into the United States a year. Some of them, such as the Israeli-made Uzi and the Heckler & Koch pistol, are patterned after military-style submachine guns and have become the "weapon of choice" in recent years for many street gangs, federal officials say.

Officials acknowledge, however, that the ban on pistols, like the ban on assault rifles, will have a relatively minor impact unless it is accompanied by legislation that would prohibit the manufacture of similar domestically made weapons that actually account for the bulk of the market. Clinton vowed to push for such a measure as part of his package, but the National Rifle Association yesterday immediately attacked the import ban and the proposed legislation.

"This bears out the real intent: to disarm American citizens incrementally for reasons having nothing to do with violent crime," said James Jay Baker, chief lobbyist for the NRA.

Although some Republicans attended the White House announcement yesterday, party leaders signaled their unwillingness to cede the politically attractive issue to the Democrats with a proposal of their own to build more prisons, impose

more mandatory prison sentences and omit any gun control.

Clinton described his \$3.4 billion program to help communities put as many as 50,000 new police officers on the street over the next five years as "the major down payment" on his campaign pledge to add funding for 100,000 new officers.

Congressional action on crime fizzled last year in a dispute over limiting appeals in death penalty cases, as Republicans charged that the legislation did not go far enough to end what they described as endless rounds of appeals. This year, the Clinton administration made little effort to recast the measure, granting authority to Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R.

Biden Jr. (D-Del.) to negotiate a compromise on the federal appeals issue with state prosecutors and attorneys general.

Under the new measure, death row inmates would generally be limited to one round of having their cases heard in the federal courts through habeas corpus petitions and would have to file such claims within six months of having their claims rejected in the state court system. Under last year's bill, the deadline was one year.

Under the proposal, there would be new standards designed to make certain that lawyers representing death row inmates in such proceedings have the necessary experience to handle capital cases and receive

adequate compensation. Administration and congressional aides said there would be new federal funding for such lawyers but could not provide cost estimates.

Speaking at the White House yesterday, Plymouth County (Mass.) District Attorney William O'Malley, representing the National District Attorneys Association, called the provisions "the very best" possible.

On another controversial issue—gun control—the administration decided not to choose sides between Biden, who wants gun legislation considered separately from an overall crime bill, and his counterpart in the House, Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), who wants crime and guns done together.

Clinton yesterday called for passage of the "Brady bill" imposing a five-day waiting period on handgun purchases as well as the ban on domestic and imported assault weapons. Clinton termed the Brady bill, named for former presidential press secretary Jim Brady, who was injured in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan, "simply common sense" and said "it is long past time to pass it."

But asked whether it should be part of the overall crime package or not, Clinton said simply that "the important thing is that it be passed in a strong and clear and unambiguous form."

The administration is not introducing a crime bill of its own but is

relying on Biden and Brooks. Administration officials spent much of last week trying to iron out differences between the House and Senate versions but were unable to work out whether guns should be part of the larger bill or not.

In deference to Attorney General Janet Reno's criticism of mandatory minimum sentences, Biden has dropped from his bill last year's plan to add about a dozen new mandatory minimum sentences, mostly for drug-related offenses. But Republicans in their plan vowed to push for more mandatory sentences and include \$3 billion in funding for new prison construction to house more offenders.

Clinton Calls for More Police, Fewer Execution Appeals

■ Law: Anti-crime plan also would target illegitimate gun dealers. Much of package was negotiated in advance, but GOP senators may object to arms purchase delay.

By DAVID LAUTER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Clinton proposed a package of anti-crime measures Wednesday aimed at increasing the number of police officers on the streets, cracking down on illegitimate gun dealers and significantly changing the way death penalty cases are handled in U.S. courts.

"The first duty of any government is to try to keep its citizens safe," Clinton said as he announced his plans in the White House Rose Garden, where he was flanked by the now-typical phalanx of uniformed police officers that presidents round up when they announce anti-crime initiatives.

The proposals, negotiated in advance with congressional leaders, state attorneys general and prosecutors, are aimed at breaking a logjam that prevented the passage of anti-crime legislation by Congress last year. But the package could still be blocked over the so-called Brady bill, which calls for a waiting period for gun purchases. That bill—named for former Ronald Reagan Press Secretary James S. Brady, who was injured in a presidential assassination attempt—has been approved by both houses of Congress in the past but faces a threatened filibuster from Senate Republicans, who have vowed to fight it this time.

A crime bill passed both houses of Congress last year only to die in the closing days of the session amid partisan rancor.

As a sign of bipartisanship, White House officials invited two Republican senators—William S. Cohen of Maine and Larry Pressler of South Dakota—to attend Clinton's announcement. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.), who has criticized many Clinton proposals, issued a relatively supportive statement about the crime initiative, asserting that Clinton had decided to "follow the Republican lead" in making his proposals.

In part to speed the process along, Clinton will not craft his own legislation but will support bills already introduced in Congress by House and Senate Democratic leaders.

The bills are largely similar to last year's legislation but contain three new elements.

• First, the new proposals would limit the federal appeals that a Death Row inmate can file.

That issue was a key provision that caused last year's bill to stall. At the time, state attorneys general objected that the legislation, as written, actually would lengthen the appeals process. Administration and congressional officials have reached a compromise that could significantly speed passage of the bill.

Under the compromise, defendants would be required to file federal habeas corpus petitions—the final step in the review process—within 60 days of their last appeal. Petitions could be filed later only if a defendant could show that he has new evidence that was unavailable before. The goal is to reduce the delays in executions caused by habeas corpus petitions.

Although many state officials

across the country are going along with the compromise, California Atty. Gen. Dan Lungren said he continues to oppose the proposed changes, arguing that they would not aid prosecutors sufficiently.

Defense lawyers, however, have argued that any restriction on appeals would lead to the execution of innocent people who were mistakenly convicted, a point conceded

ed in part by U.S. Deputy Atty. Gen. Philip B. Heymann.

Because of the guarantee that a person could still appeal if new evidence is found, "I think that the risk of wrongly executing someone will not be greatly increased," Heymann said. "I can't say it wouldn't be increased at all."

In return for restricting appeals, the government would require states to guarantee that Death Row defendants are represented by attorneys at every stage of the process. California has such a requirement but many states do not.

The lawyers would have to meet minimum competency standards and would have to be paid a "reasonable" fee.

Now, in many states with large numbers of capital cases, defendants often are represented by poorly trained and underpaid—or volunteer—lawyers. As a result, large numbers of cases are thrown out on appeal, often because of trial procedures later found to be flawed.

• In a second new element, \$3.4 billion would be spent in grants to states and localities over the next five years to increase the number of police on the streets. White House officials said that, if Congress approves the funds, the money would help pay for 50,000 new officers.

During his campaign, Clinton talked about placing 100,000 more officers on the streets. White House officials said that, in addition to the crime bill, several other initiatives would move the nation toward that goal. Clinton's national service bill, for example, would allow young people to work for police departments in jobs that would free more officers to patrol the streets.

• A final new element involves gun dealers. Now, almost anyone who pays a \$30 registration fee can

obtain a three-year gun dealer's license without undergoing even a cursory background check to determine if the applicant has a criminal record. In the majority of cases, the "dealers" do not even sell guns, government statistics show. Merely obtaining a license, however, allows a person to buy guns for himself without having to comply with many state gun laws.

Over the last decade, the number of licensed dealers has soared to about 287,000.

Clinton directed the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to change those regulations to crack down on illegitimate dealers. Much of that tightening, officials said, can be done without new legislation.

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Clinton also directed the bureau to change current regulations to bar the import of assault pistols. Officials conceded that nearly all assault pistols are made domestically so that an import ban would have little impact. But they argued that the new rules would close a "loophole" that could be exploited in the future.

Clinton has asked separately for legislation that would ban domestic production of assault weapons, but the proposal faces strong opposition from the National Rifle Assn.

Crime Plan's Key Components

Highlights of President Clinton's anti-crime plan:

- **More police:** A five-year, \$3.4-billion program to help communities put up to 50,000 more police officers on the streets.
- **Gun safeguards:** The pending Brady bill, which calls for a five-day wait on handgun purchases and for background checks on would-be buyers. The waiting period would phase out as each state upgrades its criminal records and computerization to provide instant checks.
- **Death penalty expansion:** Expansion of the federal death penalty to cover nearly 50 offenses, including killing a federal law enforcement officer. In many cases, it simply would restore the penalty to crimes that carried it before the Supreme Court overturned capital punishment in 1972.
- **Limit on appeals:** A limit on federal habeas corpus appeals, primarily by Death Row inmates, to reduce delays in carrying out sentences. Inmates would get only one federal habeas appeal, and that would, for the first time, have to be filed within six months after completion of other appeals. Poor defendants in death-penalty cases would get lawyers who met tough standards to ensure that they got fair chances during trial and appeals. There would be exceptions to the time limit for evidence of innocence.
- **College aid:** A four-year, \$100-million Police Corps initiative, giving college scholarships and police training to up to 5,000 students who are willing to make a four-year commitment to police work.
- **Bases as youth camps:** Conversion of closed military bases and other facilities to boot camps for young offenders.
- **Others:** Outside the crime bill plans, other proposals totaling \$1.8 billion would provide for 45,000 more sworn and non-sworn police and public safety workers. They include an Education Department-funded Safe Schools program, Housing and Urban Development Department-funded public housing safety program and the national service plan in which 25,000 young people would serve as non-sworn public safety workers to repay college grants.

Source: Associated Press.



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1993

AG
(202) 514-2007
TDD (202) 514-1888

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO HELP COMMUNITIES
HIRE OFFICERS TO POLICE NEIGHBORHOODS

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Attorney General Janet Reno today announced details of a new Clinton Administration program to help communities fight crime more effectively. Through the new Police Hiring Supplement Program, the Department will award grants to law enforcement agencies to hire officers as part of their overall strategy to address crime through community policing.

"This program will help law enforcement agencies take a new approach to fighting crime by building partnerships with community groups and residents," the Attorney General said. "Together they will develop a strategy for preventing crime, promoting problem-solving and enhancing public safety in their neighborhoods."

Under the discretionary grant program, law enforcement agencies from around the nation will vie for \$150 million available to help implement long-term policing strategies that address local needs.

(MORE)

The Police Hiring Supplement monies will be available for a three-year period to help communities most in need pay the salaries and benefits of sworn law enforcement officers who are being hired or rehired.

"These grants will help law enforcement agencies hire up to 2,100 more police officers," Reno said. "This is the first step toward fulfilling the President's commitment to put additional police on the street. We are working to pass a crime bill to help communities hire 50,000 new officers and further expand community policing."

The \$150 million for this program is part of the supplemental budget appropriation requested by the President. The Department will administer the plan under the Bureau of Justice Assistance's (BJA) Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Program.

Fifty percent of the funds (\$75 million) will be awarded to law enforcement agencies serving populations of 150,000 or more. The other 50 percent will be awarded to jurisdictions serving populations of under 150,000.

Application kits are being sent to law enforcement agencies across the country, to city and county officials, as well as to state criminal justice planning agencies.

The Department will consider each application based on a community's public safety and economic needs. Applicants must provide a strategy describing how additional sworn officers would

(MORE)

lead to increased community policing. They also must outline their plan for continuing their initiatives and retaining positions created after the three-year grant period ends. In addition, they must give assurances that grants will not be used to supplant local or state dollars.

Applications will be considered in three rounds, with deadlines of October 14, November 1 and December 1. The first awards will be announced in November and December.

The Department has established a Response Center specifically to provide law enforcement agencies with information and assistance in preparing grant applications. The phone number is 202-307-1480.

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Department of Justice

POLICE HIRING SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM

FACT SHEET

PROGRAM GOALS

- To increase the number of sworn law enforcement officers serving areas where they are needed most.
- To improve the long-term ability of law enforcement agencies to engage in community policing by deploying additional sworn law enforcement officers.
- To improve public safety through innovative crime prevention, including community policing.
- To hire additional law enforcement officers to increase sworn officer deployment and expand community policing designed to prevent crime, promote problem solving, and enhance public safety.
- To rehire law enforcement officers who have been laid off (as a result of state and local budget reductions) to increase sworn officer deployment and expand community policing.

FUNDING

- The \$150 million available for this program is part of the supplemental budget appropriation requested by President Clinton. \$75 million is available for jurisdictions at or above 150,000 population; \$75 million for those below 150,000.
- Grant funds are available only for the salaries and fringe benefits of hired or rehired sworn law enforcement officers over a three-year period. Funding for overtime costs is prohibited.
- The program will provide funding to hire up to 2,100 officers.

AWARD AMOUNTS

- \$1 million maximum for jurisdictions below 150,000 population.
- \$2 million maximum for jurisdictions between 150,000 and 749,999.
- \$3 million maximum for jurisdictions between 750,000 and 2 million.
- \$4 million maximum for jurisdictions above 2 million population.

FEDERAL SHARE

- Federal share per officer may not exceed the greater of: (1) 75 percent of the total salary and benefits over the life of the grant, up to a maximum of \$75,000; or (2) 50 percent of the total salary and benefits

over the life of the grant. Federal share per officer may be increased upon submission of evidence of extraordinary economic hardship.

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

- Law enforcement agencies, or a consortia of law enforcement agencies, that serve local communities can apply. State law enforcement agencies may apply if they have law enforcement jurisdiction and provide local law enforcement services to communities within their state.

SELECTION CRITERIA

- **Public Safety Need.** Applicants must demonstrate their jurisdiction's need for additional sworn law enforcement officers, as well as the reasons local funding is not available to meet these needs. Public safety factors include Uniform Crime Report data, calls for service, personnel information, expenditures for police services, and the overall crime picture. Economic factors include the unemployment rate, natural disasters, and base and plant closings.
- **Community Policing Strategy.** Applicants must develop a three-year strategy that specifies how additional sworn law enforcement officers would lead to increased community policing focused on crime and related problems in the jurisdiction. Community involvement and effective interagency coordination should be emphasized.
- **Implementation Plan.** Applicants must include an implementation plan that specifies how program funds will be used to deploy additional sworn police for community policing activities.
- **Continuation and Retention Plan.** Applicants must describe how they intend to continue the project and retain the positions created with project funds following the conclusion of the grant period.
- **Additional Resource Commitments.** Applicants must describe sources and amounts of outside funds or resources that will be provided by other agencies or organizations in support of the project. A plan for drawing upon outside resources, or an explanation of why no other resources are available, must also be included.
- **Budget Proposal.** Applicants must include a budget and a budget narrative that identifies salary and fringe benefit costs.
- **Equitable Distribution.** Consideration may be given to equitable distribution of grants based on geographic or other factors.

APPLICATION/AWARD DATES

- Applications will be considered in three rounds, with deadlines of October 14, November 1, and December 1. Award announcements are expected in November and December.

CONTACT

- The Department has established a Response Center to provide law enforcement agencies with assistance in preparing grant applications for this program. The telephone number is 202-307-1480.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

For Immediate Release
September 23, 1993

For More Information
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BIDEN INTRODUCES COMPREHENSIVE CRIME BILL IN SENATE

Washington, D.C. -- Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr., (D-DE), Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, today introduced the Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1993.

Noting that the bill enjoys the strong bipartisan support of leading police organizations and prosecutors, as well as the President and the Attorney General of the United States, Biden urged his colleagues to break the crime deadlock and "pass a bill the American people so desperately need and so greatly deserve."

Biden also said, "There are four things we know about crime: They form the cornerstones of the bill I introduce today.

"First, more police on our streets means less crime. Plain and simple, a police officer standing on the street corner reduces the opportunities for violence. The Federal government must help get more police on our streets, and the bill I introduce today will meet the President's '100,000 cops' pledge, when added to the 50,000 new police officers provided for in other legislation.

"Second, punishment for all criminals must be swift and certain, and effective ... This crime bill expands proven programs that deter offenders from the criminal path --

- o "providing and mandating drug treatment -- a proven method for cutting recidivism rates;
- o "offering alternatives to expensive new prison construction like boot camp prisons for first-time and non-violent offenders;
- o "focusing on young offenders -- who commit an increasing percentage of our serious and violent crimes -- to put them in prison or to put them in treatment.

"Third, when I arrived in the Senate in 1973, the most violent offenders in America were 18 years three months old; now, the most violent offenders in America are 15 years and four months. The reason the criminal is getting younger is that we have not, in the past, addressed the juvenile justice system. By contrast, this bill focuses on youth. It gives schools the opportunity to hire teachers for after-school anti-drug and anti-crime counseling, and provides for police patrol officers, and for safety measures, such as video surveillance devices. It also contains strong measures against gang violence and against using children to distribute drugs."

"Fourth, we have got to do much more to keep guns out of the hands of convicted criminals That is why a critical component of the Democrats' plan is to pass the Brady bill and an assault weapons ban.

Biden said, "Sarah Brady has asked that the Senate consider the bill separately, on its own, rather than as part of a larger anti-crime bill. I will comply with this request and will continue to work with Sarah Brady and the sponsors of the bill to gain passage of this legislation.

"In addition, I will work to support the efforts of Senators DeConcini and Metzenbaum to pass a comprehensive assault weapons ban that will prohibit the sale of specifically identified military-style assault guns."

Key elements of the Biden bill include:

- o A five-year community policing "cop on the beat" initiative to put 50,000 police officers on the street, which, together with provisions in other legislation, meet the President's pledge of 100,000 new police officers;
- o Assistance where it is needed, at the state and local levels, to provide drug treatment programs for prisons to assure that prisoners, when released, are drug free, and to create boot camps for young, nonviolent offenders;
- o The death penalty for nearly 50 federal offenses, including murder of a law enforcement officer, drive-by shootings, and terrorist killings;
- o New criminal offenses and enhanced penalties for violent crimes, such as car-jacking, gun crimes, and drug trafficking; and
- o \$100 million to local schools to provide police patrol officers, for teachers for after school anti-drug and anti-crime counseling, to provide safety measures, such as video surveillance devices, and education and

training for the prevention of crime, violence, and
drug and alcohol abuse.

Copies of Senator Biden's floor statement and a summary of
the bill are included.

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SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.
STATEMENT ON INTRODUCTION OF THE
"VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993"
SEPTEMBER 23, 1993

I RISE TODAY TO INTRODUCE THE "VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993" -- A COMPREHENSIVE, TOUGH, AND EFFECTIVE CRIME FIGHTING MEASURE THAT DESERVES THE SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE SENATE AND THE CONGRESS. IT IS A BILL THAT HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, LAW ENFORCEMENT AND PROSECUTORS.

I HOPE THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS BILL WILL MARK THE END OF THE EASY RHETORIC ABOUT WHO SOUNDS "TOUGHER" ON CRIME -- AND BEGIN THE HARD PROCESS OF ENACTING SOLUTIONS THAT EFFECTIVELY FIGHT OUR NATION'S CRITICAL CRIME PROBLEM.

FOR TOO LONG, A MAJORITY OF THIS BODY HAS PREFERRED POLITICS TO PRAGMATICS. LAST CONGRESS, WE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO PASS NEEDED CRIME LEGISLATION THAT CONTAINED PROGRAM AFTER PROGRAM SUPPORTED BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ALIKE.

INSTEAD, WE REMAINED MIRED IN DISAGREEMENT OVER A FEW PROVISIONS THAT SPARKED POLITICAL HEAT OUT OF ALL PROPORTION TO THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE TO EFFECTIVELY FIGHTING CRIME.

IN DOING SO, WE LOST THE CHANCE TO ENACT INTO LAW A BILL THAT INCLUDED SUBSTANTIAL AID TO STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT, THE DEATH PENALTY, HABEAS CORPUS REFORM, THE BRADY BILL, AND OTHER ANTI-CRIME MEASURES -- A BILL THAT ENJOYED THE SUPPORT OF NEARLY EVERY MAJOR LAW ENFORCEMENT GROUP IN THE NATION.

TODAY I INTRODUCE A BILL THAT HAS THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE I MENTIONED ABOVE. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS SUPPORT, I HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE PATH TO ENACTING A CRIME BILL WILL BE EASY. THE HABITS OF THE PAST HALF-DOZEN YEARS WILL BE HARD TO BREAK.

I HOPE THAT EACH AND EVERY ONE OF MY COLLEAGUES WILL RESPOND BY PUTTING THE POLITICAL GAMESMANSHIP BEHIND US -- AND JOIN THE PRESIDENT, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND ME TO PASS A BILL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SO DESPERATELY NEED AND SO GREATLY DESERVE.

AT BOTTOM, PASSING THIS BILL IS ABOUT KEEPING FAITH WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

-- IT IS ABOUT GIVING PRIORITY TO STEPS WE KNOW CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN FIGHTING CRIME -- AND MAKING COMPROMISES ON THOSE ISSUES THAT REMAIN CONTROVERSIAL; AND

-- IT IS ABOUT PUTTING BEHIND US ARGUMENTS OVER THE RELATIVE MERITS OF THE "CONSERVATIVE" APPROACH TO CRIME VERSUS THE "LIBERAL" ANSWER, AND FOCUSING ON WHAT REALLY WORKS TO DETER CRIME AND IMPROVE THE SAFETY OF OUR COMMUNITIES --

EVEN IF THAT MEANS DRAWING FROM BOTH THE LIBERAL AND THE CONSERVATIVE ANSWERS.

THERE ARE THREE THINGS WE KNOW ABOUT CRIME: THEY FORM THE CORNERSTONES OF THE BILL I INTRODUCE TODAY.

FIRST, MORE POLICE ON OUR STREETS MEANS LESS CRIME.

PLAIN AND SIMPLE, A POLICE OFFICER STANDING ON THE STREET CORNER REDUCES THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR VIOLENCE.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST HELP GET MORE POLICE ON OUR STREETS, AND THE BILL I INTRODUCE TODAY WILL PUT 50,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS ON THE BEAT -- THE LARGEST SINGLE PIECE OF THE PRESIDENT'S "100,000 COPS" PLEDGE.

SECOND, PUNISHMENT FOR ALL CRIMINALS MUST BE SWIFT AND CERTAIN, AND EFFECTIVE.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO LOCK CRIMINALS UP AND THROW AWAY THE KEY -- WE WILL BANKRUPT OURSELVES TRYING AT THE RATE WE'VE BEEN GOING.

THIS CRIME BILL EXPANDS PROVEN PROGRAMS THAT DETER OFFENDERS FROM THE CRIMINAL PATH --

- * PROVIDING AND MANDATING DRUG TREATMENT -- A PROVEN METHOD FOR CUTTING RECIDIVISM RATES;
- * OFFERING ALTERNATIVES LIKE BOOT CAMP PRISONS AND "DRUG COURTS" AS IN DADE COUNTY FOR FIRST-TIME AND NON-VIOLENT OFFENDERS;
- * FOCUSING ON INTERVENING QUICKLY AND INTENSIVELY WITH YOUNG OFFENDERS -- WHO COMMIT AN INCREASING PERCENTAGE OF OUR SERIOUS AND VIOLENT CRIMES -- TO TURN THEM TOWARDS PRODUCTIVE, LAWFUL LIVES.

THIRD, WE HAVE GOT TO DO MUCH MORE TO KEEP GUNS OUT OF THE HANDS OF CONVICTED CRIMINALS.

TODAY, THIS NATION ALLOWS CONVICTED CRIMINALS TO WALK INTO GUN STORES WITH A FEW DOLLARS IN THEIR POCKETS AND WALK OUT TEN MINUTES LATER WITH A DEADLY WEAPON IN THEIR HANDS.

THAT IS WHY A CRITICAL COMPONENT OF THE DEMOCRAT'S PLAN IS TO PASS THE BRADY BILL AND AN ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN.

AT THE REQUEST OF SARAH BRADY AND SENATOR METZENBAUM, THE BILL I INTRODUCE TODAY DOES NOT CONTAIN THE BRADY BILL.

SENATOR METZENBAUM INTRODUCED THE BRADY BILL, S. 414, ON FEBRUARY 24, 1993. SARAH BRADY HAS ASKED THAT THE SENATE CONSIDER THE BILL FREE-STANDING, RATHER THAN AS PART OF A LARGER ANTI-CRIME BILL.

I WILL COMPLY WITH THIS REQUEST AND WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH SARAH BRADY AND THE SPONSORS OF THE BILL TO GAIN PASSAGE OF

MERITS SUPPORT.

IN PARTICULAR, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE NATION'S PROSECUTORS AS CONVINCING PROOF OF THE MERITS OF THIS REFORM PROVISION, I HOPE THAT MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES WILL NOW JOIN WITH ME TO SUPPORT THIS CRIME BILL.

IT IS OUR CHANCE TO MAKE A REAL IMPACT IN THE NATION'S ABILITY TO FIGHT THE VIOLENCE AND THE CRIME THAT VICTIMIZES MILLIONS OF INNOCENT AMERICANS EVERY YEAR.

LET US END THE GRIDLOCK AND DEAL WITH THE CRIME ISSUE. LET'S NOT WASTE OUR TIME FIGHTING EACH OTHER, WHEN WE SHOULD BE SPENDING IT -- ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC -- PASSING A BILL THAT WILL TRULY HELP US WIN THE WAR AGAINST CRIME AND DRUGS.

BIDEN CRIME BILL – MAJOR PROVISIONS

COMMUNITY POLICING

Authorizes five-year, \$3.4 billion community policing "cop on the beat" program to put 50,000 police officers on the street – a key component of the President's "100,000 police" initiative. Authorizes \$200 million for college scholarships to students who commit to 4 years service as police officers. Provides additional educational scholarships for in-service officers.

STATE & LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

Authorizes \$1.8 billion for state and local law enforcement for FY 1995 – to support police, rural anti-crime efforts, juvenile justice, corrections, and drug treatment in the criminal justice system.

PRISONS AND BOOT CAMPS

Authorizes \$300 million for military-style boot camps for nonviolent offenders and regional drug-treatment prisons for violent drug criminals. Mandates that state and local law enforcement agencies be notified of the release of drug and violent criminals to federal supervision. Enhances penalties for drug trafficking in federal prisons.

"DRUG COURT" PROGRAMS FOR OFFENDERS

Authorizes three-year, \$1.2 billion program for "Drug Courts" – that require drug testing, drug treatment and alternative punishments for young drug offenders.

DEATH PENALTY

Provides the largest-ever expansion of the federal death penalty to cover 47 offenses, including murder of a law enforcement officer, drive-by-shootings, and carjackers who murder.

HABEAS CORPUS REFORM

Limits inmates to a single federal habeas corpus appeal, subject to a first-ever 6 month time limit. Provides indigent capital defendants with qualified counsel.

TERRORISM

Provides the death penalty for terrorists and increases penalties for terrorist bombings. Provides the Attorney General with special authority to develop terrorist informants. Creates new penalties for providing material support to terrorists, and provides implementing legislation for aviation and maritime terrorism treaties.

SAFE SCHOOLS

Authorizes \$100 million for grants to schools to fund anti-crime and safety measures and to develop education and training programs for the prevention of crime, violence and drug and alcohol abuse.

GANGS

Strengthens federal penalties for employing children to distribute drugs. Imposes additional penalties for crimes committed by gang members or on behalf of criminal street gangs. Authorizes \$100 million for youth gang enforcement and prevention grants. Authorizes programs to prosecute violent juveniles as adults.

INCREASED PENALTIES

Provides over 60 penalty increases and new offenses, covering violent crimes, drug trafficking and gun crimes. Enhances penalties for, among other crimes, the use of semiautomatics, gun possession by convicted criminals and drug dealing in "drug-free" zones.

VICTIMS OF CRIME

Permits victims to speak at the sentencing of their assailants. Mandates that criminals pay restitution to their victims. Prohibits diversion of victims' funds to other federal programs.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND CHILD ABUSE

Develops a national criminal background check system for child care providers – the "Oprah bill" – and imposes the death penalty for rapists and the fatal sexual exploitation of a child. Requires convicted child sex offenders to register their addresses with state law enforcement agencies.

BIDEN CRIME BILL -- MAJOR PROVISIONS

COMMUNITY POLICING

- * Authorizes five-year, \$3.4 billion community policing "cop on the beat" program to put 50,000 police officers on the street -- a key component of the President's "100,000 police" initiative.
- * Authorizes \$200 million for college scholarships to students who commit to 4 years service as police officers.
- * Provides additional educational scholarships for in-service officers.

STATE & LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

- * Authorizes total of \$1.8 billion for state and local law enforcement for fiscal year 1995 -- to support police, rural anti-crime efforts, juvenile justice, corrections, and drug treatment in the criminal justice system.

PRISONS AND BOOT CAMPS

- * Authorizes \$300 million for military-style boot camps for nonviolent offenders and regional drug-treatment prisons for violent drug criminals.
- * Mandates that state and local law enforcement agencies be notified of the release of drug and violent criminals to federal supervision.
- * Enhances penalties for drug trafficking in federal prisons.
- * Mandates drug testing of federal offenders on post-conviction release.
- * Establishes schedule for treatment of federal drug-abusing prisoners.

"DRUG COURT" PROGRAMS FOR OFFENDERS

- * Authorizes three-year, \$1.2 billion program for "Drug Courts" -- that require drug testing, drug treatment and alternative punishments for young drug offenders.

DEATH PENALTY

- * Provides the largest-ever expansion of the federal death penalty to cover 47 offenses, including murder of a law enforcement officer, drive-by-shootings, and carjackers who murder.

HABEAS CORPUS REFORM

- * Limits inmates to a single federal habeas corpus appeal, subject to a first-ever 6 month time limit.
- * Provides indigent capital defendants with qualified counsel.

TERRORISM

- * Provides the death penalty for terrorists and increases penalties for terrorist bombings.
- * Provides the Attorney General with special authority to develop terrorist informants.
- * Creates new penalties for providing material support to terrorists, and provides implementing legislation for aviation and maritime terrorism treaties.

SAFE SCHOOLS

- * Authorizes \$100 million for grants to schools to fund anti-crime and safety measures and to develop education and training programs for the prevention of crime, violence and drug and alcohol abuse.

GANGS

- * Strengthens federal penalties for employing children to distribute drugs.
- * Imposes additional penalties for crimes committed by gang members or on behalf of criminal street gangs.
- * Authorizes \$100 million for youth gang enforcement and prevention grants.
- * Authorizes programs to prosecute violent juveniles as adults.

INCREASED PENALTIES

- * Provides over 60 penalty increases and new offenses, covering violent crimes, drug trafficking and gun crimes. Enhances penalties for, among other crimes, the use of semiautomatics, gun possession by convicted criminals, and drug dealing in "drug-free" zones.

VICTIMS OF CRIME

- * Permits victims to speak at the sentencing of their assailants.
- * Mandates that criminals pay restitution to their victims.
- * Prohibits diversion of victims' funds to other federal programs.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND CHILD ABUSE

- * Develops a national criminal background check system for child care providers -- the "Oprah" bill.**
- * Provides the death penalty for rapists who murder and for the fatal sexual exploitation of a child.**
- * Requires convicted child sex offenders to register their addresses with state law enforcement agencies.**

RURAL CRIME AND DRUGS

- * Provides \$50 million for rural anti-crime efforts.**
- * Establishes federal-state-local Rural Law Enforcement Task Forces in every federal judicial district with significant rural lands.**
- * Enhances penalties for drug dealing near truck stops and safety rest areas.**

Statement of Congressman Jack Brooks
on the Introduction of the Crime Bill
Thursday, September 23, 1993

MR. SPEAKER, TODAY I AM INTRODUCING THE VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993.

RIGHT BEFORE THE AUGUST RECESS, I STOOD IN THE ROSE GARDEN WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON TO ANNOUNCE THE OUTLINES OF COMPREHENSIVE LEGISLATION TO FIGHT THE SCOURGE OF CRIME. THAT BILL IS NOW A REALITY OF MORE THAN 400 PAGES OF TOUGH, RESULT-ORIENTED LEGISLATION. WITHOUT A DOUBT, IT IS THE STRONGEST AND MOST COMPREHENSIVE CRIME BILL IN DECADES.

IT DOES NOT TAKE A HARVARD SOCIOLOGIST TO UNDERSTAND THE DEVASTATING EFFECTS OF CRIME IN OUR SOCIETY, IN OUR STREETS, IN OUR LIVES. AS COMMUNITIES HAVE LOST THEIR COHESION, AS FAMILY VALUES HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY THE SUBCULTURE OF GANGS, VIOLENCE HAS SPREAD UNCONTROLLABLY. WHERE ONCE THERE WERE CERTAIN DEFINABLE GROUPS OF ORGANIZED CRIME IN LARGE CITIES, WE NOW LIVE IN A STATE OF CONSTANT AND DIFFUSED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY, PERPETUATED BY INDIVIDUALS OR SMALL GROUPS, IN EVERY COMMUNITY, URBAN OR RURAL.

THE LEGISLATION INTRODUCED TODAY WILL FINALLY BREAK THIS DEADLY CYCLE -- FOR IT IS DEADLY NOT TO HAVE MORE COPS ON THE BEAT; IT IS DEADLY NOT TO DETER HEINOUS CRIMES WITH APPROPRIATELY SEVERE PUNISHMENTS; AND IT IS DEADLY TO RELEASE PRISONERS BACK ON TO THE STREETS WHO ARE STILL DRUG DEPENDENT.

DURING THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, I HAVE TRIED TO PASS INTO LAW A COMPREHENSIVE CRIME FIGHTING BILL. UNFORTUNATELY, MY EFFORTS -- AND SENATOR BIDEN'S EFFORTS IN THE OTHER BODY -- HAVE BEEN THWARTED BY A HANDFUL OF POLITICIANS MORE INTERESTED IN POSTURING THAN TAKING ACTION. THIS YEAR, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE TO ME THAT ANYONE WOULD BE WILLING TO OPT FOR "GRIDLOCK" RATHER THAN "LOCK-UP" IN FIGHTING CRIME. OUR STREETS ARE FLOWING WITH BLOOD, AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS TIRED OF POLITICIANS VYING WITH EACH OTHER ABOUT JUST WHO IS TOUGHER ON CRIME.

REALISTICALLY, 97 PERCENT OF ALL VIOLENT CRIME OCCURS AT THE STATE LEVEL. THE NEW FEDERAL CRIMES SPECIFIED IN THIS LEGISLATION THUS REPRESENT A SMALL PERCENT OF TOTAL VIOLENT ACTIVITY IN AMERICA. HOWEVER, THE BILL I INTRODUCE TODAY WILL NOT ONLY HELP FIGHT CRIME AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, BUT WILL, MOST IMPORTANTLY, HELP OUR STATES AND CITIES FIGHT CRIME THROUGH A VARIETY OF PROGRAMS.

THE LEGISLATION WILL GIVE LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT THE TOOLS NECESSARY TO STOP CRIME, INCLUDING THOUSANDS OF NEW COPS ON THE BEAT. THE BILL WILL STEER YOUTHFUL FIRST-TIME OFFENDERS AWAY FROM A LIFE OF CRIME, AND MANDATE DRUG TREATMENT OF PRISONERS BEFORE THEY ARE RELEASED BACK ON THE STREETS. DEATH PENALTY APPEALS WILL BE STREAMLINED, ALLOWING JUSTICE TO PREVAIL IN A FAIR YET FIRM MANNER. THE BILL WILL ENSURE THAT TERRORISTS WILL FIND NO SAFE HAVEN HERE.

MR. SPEAKER, AS I BELIEVE IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO OUR COLLEAGUES IN REVIEWING THIS OMNIBUS PROPOSAL, I WOULD LIKE TO INSERT IN THE RECORD AT THIS POINT A LISTING OF THE TITLES AND SUBTITLES OF THE BILL AND A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE BILL'S PROVISIONS, WHICH INCLUDES A LISTING OF THE NUMEROUS DEATH PENALTIES TO BE FOUND IN THE BILL.

I ALSO WANT TO POINT OUT THAT CERTAIN PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE CONFERENCE REPORT ON THE CRIME BILL FROM THE LAST CONGRESS -- WHICH SERVED AS A BASIS FOR THIS EFFORT -- ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PACKAGE INTRODUCED TODAY.

IN DEVELOPING THIS CRIME PACKAGE, I HAVE BEEN IN CONSULTATION WITH OTHER COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF LAST CONGRESS' CRIME PACKAGE ARE NOT INCLUDED IN TODAY'S PROPOSAL BECAUSE THEY FALL WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF OTHER COMMITTEES' RULE X JURISDICTION. FOR CONVENIENCE OF MY COLLEAGUES AND OTHERS, THOSE PROVISIONS AND COMMITTEES WITH JURISDICTION FOLLOW: TERRITORIAL SEA MATTERS (MERCHANT MARINE COMMITTEE); MIDNIGHT BASKETBALL (BANKING COMMITTEE); RURAL DRUG PREVENTION (ENERGY AND COMMERCE COMMITTEE); FAILURE TO OBEY ORDER TO LAND (MERCHANT MARINE COMMITTEE; PUBLIC WORKS); ENHANCED PENALTIES FOR CERTAIN OFFENSES (ARMED SERVICES, INTELLIGENCE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES); CLOSE LOOPHOLE ON CERTAIN IMPORTS (WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE); NOTIFICATION OF LARGE SUMS OF CASH AND CONTRABAND IN AIRPORT SCREENINGS (PUBLIC WORKS); DRUG ABUSE RESISTANCE EDUCATION PROGRAMS (EDUCATION & LABOR); AND, UNDERCOVER OPERATIONS -- CHURNING (WAYS AND MEANS).

ALSO, CERTAIN PROVISIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN ENACTED INTO LAW. THEY INCLUDE: CIVIL REMEDY FOR TERRORISM (PL 102-572); CERTAIN CRIME VICTIMS' FUNDING PROVISIONS (PL 102-572); CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING PROVISIONS (42 USC 3793(5) AND PL 102-140, SEC. 108); MANDATORY LITERACY PROGRAM (PL 102-73); SPORTS PROTECTION (PL 102-559); TRAUMA CENTERS (PL 102-321); USE OF CERTAIN EDUCATIONAL RECORDS (PL 102-325); CONFORMING AUTHORITY FOR MAGISTRATES (PL 102-572); MARITIME LAW ENFORCEMENT (PL 102-583); ECONOMIC TERRORISM TASK (P.L. 102-558); SAVINGS AND LOAN TASK FORCE (P.L. 101-647).

MR. SPEAKER, IN CONCLUSION, WHEN CITIZENS LIVE IN FEAR OF PHYSICAL HARM, OF DRUGS CORRUPTING THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS, OF A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT DOES NOT RESPECT VICTIMS OR DISPENSE ITS JUSTICE WITH CERTAINTY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DESERVE DECISIVE ACTION, NOW. I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO PUT ASIDE SLOGANS AND JOIN WITH ME IN MOVING SWIFTLY FORWARD WITH THIS URGENTLY NEEDED LEGISLATION.

#

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One Hundred Third Congress
 Congress of the United States
 U.S. House of Representatives
 Committee on the Judiciary

Washington, D.C. 20515

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
 September 23, 1993

NEWS RELEASE

BROOKS INTRODUCES TOUGH ANTI-CRIME PACKAGE

The toughest anti-crime legislation in decades was introduced today by Congressman Jack Brooks (D-Texas), Chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary. Among the major initiatives in H.R. 3131, the "Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993," are provisions to authorize the death penalty for a host of new Federal crimes, put thousands of new cops on the neighborhood beat, and eliminate frivolous appeals by death-row inmates. Joining Brooks as co-sponsors of the bill were Rep. Charles Schumer (D-New York) and Rep. William Hughes (D-New Jersey), both Subcommittee Chairman on the Judiciary Committee.

"Just before the August Congressional recess, I stood in the Rose Garden with President Clinton to announce the outlines of a comprehensive response to the scourge of crime," said Brooks. "That proposal is now a reality of more than 400 pages of tough, result-oriented legislation. Without a doubt, it is the strongest and most innovative crime bill in decades."

"All too often, the public – and Members of Congress as well – think of a 'good crime bill' as simply a series of tough penalties for those convicted of wreaking havoc in our streets, schools, and neighborhoods," continued Brooks. "While this emphasis on punishment at the 'back end' of the criminal justice system is absolutely needed, a truly comprehensive approach must also focus on preventing crime from happening in the first place. This bill strikes the proper balance by combining dozens of new Federal death penalty crimes and a streamlined habeas corpus process with provisions designed to rid our schools of drugs and gangs, prevent child abusers from working with our children, steer youthful first-time offenders away from a life of crime, and mandate drug treatment of prisoners before they are released back on our streets. This balanced package of strict sanctions and creative preventative measures will help break the deadly cycle of violence now gripping our Nation."

During the 102d Congress, a House-Senate conference committee reached agreement on a crime bill similar to that introduced by Brooks today. The conference report was approved by the House in late 1991, but then fell victim to a nearly year-long Republican filibuster in the Senate.

Brooks concluded: "Over the past several years, many of us in Congress have worked hard to pass the legislation necessary to staunch the flow of blood in America's streets. Unfortunately, our efforts have been thwarted by a handful of politicians more interested in posturing than in taking action. This year, however, I am hopeful these obstructionists are ready to opt for 'lock-up' rather than 'gridlock' when it comes to fighting crime. The cost of doing nothing is simply too high."

A summary of key provisions in H.R. 3131 is attached.

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993
Introduced September 23, 1993

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993 introduced by Chairman Brooks is a needed response to the many facets of criminal activity in our society. The bill balances a strong Federal commitment to crime control with a recognition of the basic fact that State and local governments have historically played, and must continue to play, a fundamental role in the functioning of our criminal justice system. The following are among the key provisions of the bill:

* Federal Death Penalty -- The bill expands, to over 50, the number of Federal crimes punishable by death. Included under this title are death penalties such as: murder of a Federal law enforcement agent; death resulting from hijacking, terrorists, drive-by shootings; death resulting from hostage taking; killing the President; murder in the course of a rape crime; murder for hire; death resulting from child abuse; and many more.

* Handgun Control (Brady Bill) -- The bill would require an interim system to be put in place in the States requiring a 5-day waiting period before a potential buyer could purchase a handgun. During the 5-day period, a local law enforcement official would attempt to determine whether the applicant was ineligible to buy a handgun because of Federal or State law. The interim system eventually will be replaced by an "instant check" national computer system once the Attorney General certifies one.

* Community Policing: Cops on the Beat -- The bill makes Federal assistance and leadership available to State and local law enforcement authorities in their efforts to put more cops back on the beat, thereby increasing police presence on the streets.

* Safe Schools -- The bill provides grants to those local school districts most severely affected by the rising tide of crime and violence, in an effort to make schools safe environments for learning and to eliminate drug- and gang-related activity in schools.

* Child Abuse -- The bill provides a national system of background checks for people who work with children. It also imposes the death penalty for child abuse murders. The bill makes international parental kidnapping a Federal felony, and provides grants for training of State and local officials in dealing with this increasing problem.

* Habeas Corpus -- The bill streamlines, reforms, and limits current habeas corpus procedures in death penalty cases. Among the changes are the establishment of a strict statutory time period within which death row petitioners must file Federal petitions, and the virtual prohibition of all second and successive habeas corpus applications in capital cases.

* Coerced Confessions -- The bill reinstates the law in effect prior to a Supreme Court decision in 1991, which held that the admission of a coerced confession in a criminal trial can be merely harmless error. By returning the law to the black letter rule that has been followed for decades, the bill ensures that the government does not resort to State-supported coercion as a legitimate tool to develop evidence against defendants.

**FEDERAL DEATH PENALTIES
IN THE BROOKS CRIME PROPOSAL**

The Federal death penalty is provided for the following offenses:

Aircraft piracy where death results
Bank robbery where death results
Carjacking where death results
Child sexual exploitation where death results
Conspiracy to violate civil rights where death results
Damage of Federal property by explosives where death results
Damage of Federal property by fire where death results
Damage of property affecting commerce by fire where death results
Damage of property affecting commerce by explosives where death results
Destruction of aircraft where death results
Destruction of aircraft facilities where death results
Destruction of motor vehicle facilities where death results
Destruction of motor vehicles where death results
Drive-by shootings where death results
General espionage
Genocide
Hostage-taking where death results
Interference with federally-protected activities where death results
Interstate explosives offense where death results
Kidnapping where death results
Mailing dangerous articles where death results
Murder in aid of racketeering
Murder of Cabinet officers
Murder of certain foreign officials
Murder of court officers
Murder of diplomats
Murder by escaped Federal prisoner
Murder of Federal law enforcement officials
Murder of Federal judges
Murder with firearm in course of Federal drug crime
Murder with firearm in course of Federal violent crime
Murder with firearm during Federal drug trafficking crime
Murder during firearms attack in or on Federal facility
Murder of high-level government officials
Murder for hire
Murder of juror
Murder by life-term Federal prisoner
Murder of local official assisting Federal law enforcement officer
Murder of members of families of Federal officials with intent to impede or retaliate
Murder of Members of Congress
Murder of President
Murder in special maritime and territorial jurisdiction
Murder of staffs of high-level government officials
Murder of State official assisting Federal law enforcement officer
Murder of Supreme Court Justices
Murder of U.S. national in foreign country
Murder of Vice-President
Obstruction of free exercise of religious rights where death results
Rape where death results
Retaliatory murder of informant
Retaliatory murder of witness
Retaliatory murder of victim
Sexual abuse crimes where death results
Terrorist murder of U.S. national abroad
Torture resulting in death
Treason
Use of weapon of mass destruction where death results
Violence at international airports where death results
Violence against maritime navigation where death results
Violence against maritime platforms where death results
Wartime espionage
Willful deprivation of Federal rights where death results
Witness-tampering murders
Wrecking trains where death results

**SUBTITLES IN THE
VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993**

- Title I -- Public Safety and Policing
- Title II -- Death Penalty
- Title III -- Habeas Corpus Reform
- Title IV -- Coerced Confessions
- Title V -- Firearms
 - Subtitle A -- Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act
 - Subtitle B -- Gun Crime Penalties
- Title VI -- Youth Violence
 - Subtitle A -- General
 - Subtitle B -- Criminal Street Gangs
 - Subtitle C -- Certainty of Punishment for Young Offenders
 - Subtitle D -- Juvenile Drug Trafficking and Gang Prevention Grants
- Title VII -- Terrorism
 - Subtitle A -- Maritime Navigation and Fixed Platforms
 - Subtitle B -- General Provisions
- Title VIII -- Sexual Violence and Child Abuse
 - Subtitle A -- Sexual Abuse
 - Subtitle B -- Child Protection
 - Subtitle C -- Crimes Against Children Registration
- Title IX -- Crime Victims
- Title X -- State and Local Law Enforcement
 - Subtitle A -- Safer Streets and Neighborhoods
 - Subtitle B -- DNA Identification
 - Subtitle C -- Department of Justice Community Substance Abuse Prevention
 - Subtitle D -- Drug Testing of Arrested Individuals
 - Subtitle E -- Racial and Ethnic Bias Study Grants
- Title XI -- Provisions Relating to Police Officers
 - Subtitle A -- Law Enforcement Family Support
 - Subtitle B -- Police Pattern or Practice
 - Subtitle C -- Police Corps and Law Enforcement Officers Scholarship Programs
 - Subtitle D -- Study Rights of Police Officers
- Title XII -- Grant Program for State Prisons

(continued other side)

Title XIII -- Federal Prisons

- Subtitle A -- General
- Subtitle B -- Drug Testing
- Subtitle C -- Enhanced Penalties for Drugs in Federal Prisons
- Subtitle D -- Drug Treatment in Federal Prisons
- Subtitle E -- Studies

Title XIV -- Rural Crime

- Subtitle A -- Fighting Drug Trafficking in Rural Areas
- Subtitle B -- Drug Free Truck Stops and Safety Rest Areas

Title XV -- Drug Control

- Subtitle A -- Drug Emergency Areas
- Subtitle B -- Precursor Chemicals
- Subtitle C -- General Provisions

Title XVI -- Drunk Driving Provisions

Title XVII -- Commissions

- Subtitle A -- Commission on Crime and Violence
- Subtitle B -- National Commission to Study the Causes of the Demand for Drugs in the United States
- Subtitle C -- National Commission to Support Law Enforcement

Title XVIII -- Motor Vehicle Theft Prevention

Title XIX -- Protections for the Elderly

Title XX -- Consumer Protection

Title XXI -- Sentencing Provisions

Title XXII -- Computer Crime

Title XXIII -- International Parental Kidnapping

Title XXIV -- Safe Schools

Title XXV -- Financial Institutions Fraud Prosecutions

Title XXVI -- White Collar Crime Amendments

Title XXVII -- Gambling

Title XXVIII -- Bail Posting Reporting

Title XXIX -- General Increased Penalty Provisions

Title XXX -- Miscellaneous

Title XXXI -- Technical Corrections

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993
Introduced September 23, 1993

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993 introduced by Chairman Brooks is a needed response to the many facets of criminal activity in our society. The bill balances a strong Federal commitment to crime control with a recognition of the basic fact that State and local governments have historically played, and must continue to play, a fundamental role in the functioning of our criminal justice system. The following are among the key provisions of the bill:

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- * Safe Schools -- The bill provides grants to those local school districts most severely affected by the rising tide of crime and violence, in an effort to make schools safe environments for learning and to eliminate drug- and gang-related activity in schools.
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- * Habeas Corpus -- The bill streamlines, reforms, and limits current habeas corpus procedures in death penalty cases. Among the changes are the establishment of a strict statutory time period within which death row petitioners must file Federal petitions, and the virtual prohibition of all second and successive habeas corpus applications in capital cases.
- * Coerced Confessions -- The bill reinstates the law in effect prior to a Supreme Court decision in 1991, which held that the admission of a coerced confession in a criminal trial can be merely harmless error. By returning the law to the black letter rule that has been followed for decades, the bill ensures that the government does not resort to State-supported coercion as a legitimate tool to develop evidence against defendants.

**GRANT PROGRAMS IN THE
VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993**

Alphabetical Listing by Program

<u>PROGRAM</u>	<u>AUTHORIZATION</u>	<u>FISCAL YRS</u>	<u>SECTION NO.</u>
● Brady-Improved Crime Records	\$100 million	94 & each FY	503
	650 million	95 - 99 each	
● Certainty of Punishment for Young Offenders	200 million	94 - 96 each	605
● Child Protection-Improved Info	20 million	94 - 96	806
● Community Substance Abuse Prevention	15 million	94	1008
	20 million	95	
	25 million	96	
● Cops on the Beat	200 million	94	102
● Drug Enforcement Administration	100 million	94	
● DNA Proficiency Testing	4.5 million	94 - 98 each	1007
● DNA Analysis Improvement	10 million	94 - 98 each	1003
● Drug Emergency Areas	100 million	94 - 96 each	1501
● Drug Testing Arrestees	100 million	94 - 96	1010
● Habeas Corpus	Sum necessary	Each	307
● Interstate & Int'l Parental Child Abduction Programs	250 thousand	To carry out program	2302
● Juvenile Drug Trafficking and Gang Prevention	100 million	94 & 95 each	606
● Law Enforcement Family Support	5 million	94 - 98 each	1102
● Law Enforcement Scholarship	25 million	94 - 97 each	1122
● Missing Alzheimer's Program	1 million	94 - 96 each	1901
● Motor Vehicle Theft Protection Program	Sum necessary	To carry out program	1801
● Police Corps Program	5 million	94 - 98 each	1112
● Racial and Ethnic Bias Study	2 million	94 - 98 each	1011
● Rural Law Enforcement	50 million	94	1401
	Sum necessary	95 & 96	
● Rural Drug Enforcement Training	1 million	94 - 96 each	1404
● Safe Schools	100 million	94 - 96 each	2402
● Substance Abuse-State Prisoners	100 million	94 - 96 each	1201
● Substance Abuse-Federal Prisoners	Sum necessary	Each	1306

**GRANT PROGRAMS IN THE
VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993**

Listing is by Section that the Program is found in the Bill

<u>PROGRAM</u>	<u>AUTHORIZATION</u>	<u>FISCAL YRS</u>	<u>SECTION NO.</u>
● Cops on the Beat	\$200 million	94	102
	650 million	95 - 99 each	
● Habeas Corpus	Sum necessary	Each	307
● Brady-Improved Crime Records	100 million	94 & each	503
● Certainty of Punishment for Young Offenders	200 million	94 - 96 each	605
● Juvenile Drug Trafficking and Gang Prevention	100 million	94 & 95 each	606
● Child Protection-Improved Info	20 million	94 - 96	806
● DNA Analysis Improvement	10 million	94 - 98 each	1003
● DNA Proficiency Testing	4.5 million	94 - 98 each	1007
● Community Substance Abuse Prevention	15 million	94	1008
	20 million	95	
	25 million	96	
● Drug Testing Arrestees	100 million	94 - 96	1010
● Racial and Ethnic Bias Study	2 million	94 - 98 each	1011
● Law Enforcement Family Support	5 million	94 - 98 each	1102
● Police Corps Program	5 million	94 - 98 each	1112
● Law Enforcement Scholarship	25 million	94 - 97 each	1122
● Substance Abuse-State Prisoners	100 million	94 - 96 each	1201
● Substance Abuse-Fed. Prisoners	Sum necessary	Each	1306
● Rural Law Enforcement	50 million	94	1401
	Sum necessary	95 & 96	
● Rural Drug Enforcement Training	1 million	94 - 96 each	1404
● Drug Emergency Areas	100 million	94 - 96 each	1501
● Motor Vehicle Theft Protection Program	Sum necessary	To carry out program	1801
● Missing Alzheimer's Program	1 million	94 - 96 each	1901
● Interstate & Int'l Parental Child Abduction Programs	250 thousand	To carry out program	2302
● Safe Schools	100 million	94 - 96 each	2402
● DEA	100 million	94	

Date: 09/24/93 Time: 18:03

Clinton Calls Gun and Crime Controls Necessary for Health Reform

ST. PETERSBURG BEACH, Fla. (AP) President Clinton portrayed handgun controls and anti-crime measures as necessary in revamping the nation's health system on Friday because hospitals are overburdened with "people cut up and shot."

"Homicide is the second leading cause of death among Americans aged 15 to 25, and more of our teen-age boys die from gunshots now than any other cause," Clinton said at a waterfront rehabilitation center for teen-agers.

He also expressed sadness over the recent killing of foreign tourists who were visiting Florida. "It grieved so many of us," he said.

But he said crime against individuals is not just a problem involving Florida and tourists but has reached epidemic proportions in the country.

Clinton was trying to tie his health care plan to some of his other major proposals as he and other administration officials conducted a national sales blitz for the plan to provide universal health coverage by the end of 1996.

Clinton has acknowledged that it might be necessary to phase in some benefits more slowly if he cannot get the savings he anticipates.

On his return to Washington, he said he would favor an annual review to determine if some benefits should be added more gradually or "to present them as options that can be paid for separately at the decision of the consumer until the savings enable us to phase them in completely."

Clinton struggled with a minor health problem of his own as he squinted through swollen eyes, a condition aides blamed on allergies, bright light at the beach setting and perhaps lack of sleep.

The night before, Clinton had discussed his health care program at a broadcast town-hall meeting in nearby Tampa. He continued to field questions about the plan from the audience well past the ABC network cameras shut off about 12:30 p.m. EDT.

"Last night, we had that wonderful town hall meeting," Clinton told his Friday morning audience. "People asked dozens and dozens of questions. I don't know how long we stayed there till way too late. A lot of people in America, if they watched that whole show last night, are sleepy at work today, I'll tell you that. But what you saw there is people yearning for security."

Clinton compared health security to crime security.

"The principles I announced in health care reform are very much related to the principles of this anti-crime effort our administration is undertaking," he said at the Pinellas Marine Institute, an academic and vocational program for troubled teens.

Youths sent to the institute learn careers in boat building and repair.

"One of the reasons American health care is so expensive is that our hospitals and our emergency rooms are full of people who are cut up and shot," Clinton said.

Clinton promoted his anti-crime legislation that includes gun controls and \$3.4 billion to put 50,000 more police officers on the streets.

It contains the gun-control bill named for James Brady, the former White House press secretary who was wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Reagan. It requires a five-day waiting period and a background check on handgun purchasers.

When he proposed the crime plans in August, Clinton also signed executive orders that suspended imports of foreign-made assault-style handguns.

"You have to change the fact that America is the only country in the civilized world where a teen-ager can walk the streets at random and be better armed than most police forces," Clinton said to applause.

He also said there were bills in Congress not part of his package that would ban assault weapons "entirely from being in the possession of our young people, and I hope and pray one of them can reach my desk this year" to be signed into law.

He said framers of the constitutional "right to bear arms" amendment did not contemplate guns in the hands of teen-agers, "and we better stop it if we want to recover our country."

To capitalize on reaction to Clinton's health care speech, the Democratic National Committee is spending more than \$100,000 next week on television ads promoting the plan. The 30-second spots show a picture of the health security card and a voice says the card "guarantees that no American will ever lose their health care again."

The ad goes on to say "the special interests want to block reform. We need your help," and offers a toll-free number for those who want to donate money or volunteer to help promote Clinton's plan.

The ad will air nationally on Cable News Network for a week beginning Monday. The DNC also purchased newspaper ads for the plan this weekend in Kansas City, Denver and Tulsa, Okla.

On the rash of foreign tourists recently attacked in Florida, Clinton said that, shocking as the headlines might be, "it is far from a problem of Florida alone, and certainly not a problem for our foreign visitors alone.

"When Michael Jordan's father was killed recently, a nation grieved, but no one knew the names of the other 22 people who died in that county this year. This is a national problem."

APNP-09-24-93 1804EDT

Date: 10/09/93 Time: 08:49

Clinton Links Health Reform to Anti-Crime Legislation

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J. (AP) President Clinton is delivering a one-two punch as he travels the country to promote his domestic agenda, urging swift action on both health-care reform and anti-crime legislation.

The two are inextricably linked, Clinton argues, because the nation's "culture of violence" is taking a tremendous toll on the health of its citizens.

"Let us have the courage to admit that some of these problems we will never fix until we change our ways as a nation, and let's start with violence, begin with guns," Clinton declared in a speech Friday at the Robert Wood Johnson Medical School Hospital.

He called for congressional passage of anti-crime legislation that includes a requirement for a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases, innovative programs to rehabilitate juvenile offenders and money to put more police officers on the streets. He also urged passage of national legislation to ban assault weapons.

"It would be a great Christmas present for the American people to stand up for safety," he said.

Clinton spoke after touring the hospital's trauma center, where he visited with three recent victims of the urban violence.

Talking with Clinton from his wheelchair, 22-year-old Robert Jones of Plainfield, N.J., told the president he was shot in the groin in a June 1992 robbery.

He has no insurance, is permanently disabled and has run up hospital bills of more than \$120,000.

Jones told Clinton about how "you have to go and grovel for it" to get Medicaid coverage.

Shaking his head, Clinton said: "That's terrible. That's terrible."

"If we pass this bill we're working on, you won't have to worry," the president said.

While Clinton was in New Jersey pushing his health-care plan, Hillary Rodham Clinton was pushing the same package in Rhode Island. The two car-pooled to Andrews Air Force Base, where they kissed goodbye and boarded separate planes.

The health plan drafted under Mrs. Clinton's direction would require all employers to pay at least 80 percent of their workers' average health-care premiums, with employees paying the rest. All Americans would be guaranteed coverage by the end of 1997.

Clinton's trip to New Jersey mixed policy and politics. The president was accompanied by Democratic New Jersey Gov. James Florio, who is battling Republican Christine Todd Whitman for re-election.

Clinton went out of his way to extoll Florio's crime-fighting efforts, and at a rally as he departed, the president called out, "Jim Florio did it and give me a chance and we'll do it. I hope you re-elect the governor."

Clinton said the American people must help shoulder the responsibility for reducing the violence that afflicts them.

"We have simply got to be willing to change our behavior or admit that we are going to tolerate living in a country where homicide is the second leading cause of death among Americans between the ages of 15 and 25 and the leading cause of death among teen-age boys today," he said.

Clinton also welcomed what he said was a move by some television networks to try to limit violence and "the degradation of people" in prime-time programming.

signs saying ``U.S. Out of Somalia'' and ``No Vietnam in Africa'' as Clinton's motorcade arrived at the hospital.

The trip, although designated as non political, was also an attempt to boost the re-election candidacy of Democratic Gov. Jim Florio.

Florio, who is in a lively battle with Republican Christine Todd Whitman, accompanied Clinton on the tour and echoed the president's call for stronger gun-control laws.

``We will never bring health care costs under control as long as emergency rooms are filled with shooting victims,'' Florio said.

He praised Clinton for ``not being afraid to stand up to the gun lobby.''

Clinton reiterated a theme he has been stressing for the past two weeks in selling his health-care initiative around the country: linking the package to other major administration initiatives like gun control under the umbrella of ``a higher level of security.''

``The need for health care ... and the need for personal security these things are closely related,'' he said.

APNP-10-08-93 1801EDT

Date: 10/09/93 Time: 11:40

PRECEDE New Brunswick, N.J

WASHINGTON (AP) An epidemic of violent crime is "siphoning away our humanity," President Clinton said today, and called on Congress to quickly pass a crime bill to put 50,000 more police officers on the streets.

In his weekly radio address, the president spoke of his visit last week to a New Jersey trauma center at which victims of gunshot wounds are treated.

"I saw what guns do to people; it was heartbreaking and it was an outrage," he said. "Guns shatter lives and destroy families."

Violence has touched tens of thousands of families, he said. "It is siphoning away our humanity."

Clinton noted that he asked Congress to pass a tough crime bill two months ago, predicted the House and Senate would act on it this year.

"I can tell you this, the moment I get it, I'll sign it," he said.

Clinton repeatedly sounded the anti-violence theme in his travels last week, urging swift action on both health care reform and anti-crime legislation.

The two are inextricably linked, Clinton argues, because the nation's "culture of violence" is taking a tremendous toll on the health of its citizens.

"Let us have the courage to admit that some of these problems we will never fix until we change our ways as a nation, and let's start with violence, begin with guns," Clinton said in a speech Friday at the Robert Wood Johnson Medical School Hospital in New Brunswick, N.J.

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president was accompanied by Democratic New Jersey Gov. James Florio, who is battling Republican Christine Todd Whitman for re-election.

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APNP-10-09-93 1140EDT

Clinton Stresses Need for Domestic Security in Speech to Party Faithful

By Thomas B. Edsall and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Clinton told the party faithful yesterday that his agenda of health, unemployment and anti-crime legislation would provide a base of domestic-security to prepare Americans for the rigors of global competition.

"Unless we can be secure in our work and families, unless we can be secure on our streets, unless we can be secure in our health care, I'm not sure the American people will ever be able to recover the personal optimism and courage to open up to the rest of the world," Clinton told members of the Democratic National Committee.

Arguing that U.S. workers face the inevitability of changing jobs, moving, and sustained retraining,

Clinton argued that fears of criminal violence, lost health insurance and of inability to be a good parent prevent people today from feeling "secure enough and strong enough to be able to face and make the changes we must make."

Stanley Greenberg, a political adviser to Clinton, said that in recent weeks "this theme [of security] has been running through his thinking and it has struck a chord internally."

Greenberg said yesterday morning's speech "goes very much to the heart of being a 'different kind of Democrat.' Republicans look at changes and welcome them, but leave people on their own in the marketplace to handle them. 'Old Democrats' will deal with security but fear change, and maybe even act to try to avoid it. I think he [Clinton] sees himself as a different kind of Democrat who welcomes

change, but wants to give people the security to deal with it."

Clinton made no direct mention of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which faces extensive hostility within the DNC as well as among congressional Democrats, but it is clearly the kind of "change"

he is seeking to encourage the nation to make. The goal of domestic security, he said, is to permit the country "to reach out and break down the barriers of trade, because we know a rich country can only create jobs through increasing the volume of trade."

Later in the day, opposition to NAFTA surfaced briefly during a meeting of the DNC's executive committee. Frank Garrison, a DNC member and the chairman of the

Michigan AFL-CIO, told White House Deputy Chief of Staff Roy Neel that Congress should "do the administration a favor and kill it."

In addition to health care and anti-crime, gun control legislation, Clinton said the entire structure of unemployment insurance needs to be reorganized, because cyclical patterns of temporary job losses are being replaced by structural changes forcing individuals to face permanent job loss. "Instead of an unemployment system, we now need a re-employment system, because people need different jobs, because they are not going to get their old job back by and large," he said.

Following his speech, Clinton traveled to New Jersey, where he kept up the drumbeat for anti-crime

and health legislation. Gun-related violence costs the country about \$4 billion a year in medical care, he said, and 80 percent of the victims have no health insurance.

With New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio (D), Clinton toured a trauma center at the Robert Wood Johnson University Hospital in New Brunswick, where they talked with patients who were victims of violent crime.

Clinton said reducing gun-related violence in the United States is essential to controlling medical costs. He urged Congress to follow New Jersey's lead and pass legislation banning assault weapons nationwide.

"The Congress should pass one of those bills and send it to me this year," Clinton said. "We either need to say this is a level of chaos and hu-

man degradation ... that we are willing to tolerate, or we need to get up, stand up and be counted and do something."

Clinton talked with one victim who described having to "grovel" for Medicaid coverage. "That's terrible," Clinton said. "If we pass this bill we're working on, you won't have to worry."

The New Jersey visit was billed as nonpolitical. But Florio reaped the benefit of Clinton's praise and strong words of support from Essex County Sheriff Armando Fontoura, who praised the governor for standing up to the gun lobby to push his assault-weapon ban through the legislature and then hold off its repeal.

Balz reported from New Jersey.

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Date: 10/09/93 Time: 11:40

WASHINGTON (AP) President Clinton's Saturday radio address:

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Good morning. For many Americans, today is the beginning of a long weekend, a time to bring out the wool sweaters and coats our security against the change of seasons. In this remarkable period of our history, our nation is facing changes longer lasting than fall and winter. But these changes require a certain security too.

Throughout the campaign for this office, and since I became your president, I've been asking that we have the courage to change, to compete in the world economy, and to bring prosperity back home. But we can't embrace change fully unless our own people feel a high level of personal and family security a security about our place in the world. I'm happy to report that we're making real progress on that too.

Our first job was to address economic security with a budget that seriously cuts the federal deficit. That has led to record lows in long-term interest rates. And that has led to good news in increasing bank lending and housing starts and in business investments.

Since I became president, our economy has created more than a million private-sector jobs more jobs in eight months than all those created in the previous four years. But it's just the beginning. Many of our people are still struggling, and we won't quit fighting for them. As long as the economy isn't working for working people, we'll be working to fix it.

We took on the issue of medical security because true security for our family and for the economy is clearly incomplete without it. Our administration's plan for health care reform will reduce waste and cost and, most importantly, will give our citizens health care that's always there, that can't be taken away.

And the blanket of security for Americans has another side to it; personal security. Our people have the right to feel safe where they live, work, play and go to school. But too many of our people are denied that right. I've talked with parents who are afraid to send their children to schools where other kids carry guns. I've talked with children who were so afraid of becoming caught up with gangs, they didn't even want to leave their homes. I've talked with police officers who felt anger and frustration at trying, sometimes against overwhelming odds, to stem an epidemic of violence, especially from children, better armed than police, who shoot other children. And, most importantly, I've talked with the victims.

Yesterday I visited a trauma center in New Jersey and saw what people with guns can do to other people. I met a woman who couldn't speak any more because her husband shot her in the throat. I met a man who took a bullet in his chest during a robbery attempt. I met a child whose mother was killed by an assault rifle. It was heartbreaking and it was an outrage.

These kind of attacks happen too often, they shatter lives, they destroy families. And more and more they kill children. Violent crime crowds our emergency rooms and drains our medical resources. And it is siphoning away our humanity. Gunshot wounds are now the major cause of death among teenage boys.

My visits with these victims yesterday made me more determined than ever to win passage of our crime bill. This bill will help to restore a system where those who commit crimes are caught, those who are found guilty are convicted, those who are convicted are punished sometimes by imposition of the death penalty for especially serious crimes. I support that. Two months ago I asked

Congress to pass a tough crime bill. This month your lawmakers will consider it. And they should pass it this year.

But what really makes this crime bill effective and different is this; more police, fewer guns. Our bill would help to prevent crime by putting 50,000 more police officers on the street in America and by expanding community policing. Here in Washington recently, a beautiful four-year-old girl was caught in the line of fire and she died from a bullet wound. Her name was Launice Smith. All she was doing was watching other children at play. How did that become the wrong place at the wrong time?

The fact is, with so many handguns and assault weapons flooding our streets, a lot of places can be the wrong place at the wrong time. That's why we have to pass the Brady Bill. It requires a five day wait before a gun can be purchased time-enough for a real background check to stop guns from getting into the hands of convicted criminals. And we can't go on being the only country on earth that let's teenagers roam the streets with assault weapons, better armed than even the police.

Our crime bill also gives a young person who took a wrong turn a chance to reclaim his life by learning discipline in a boot camp. Every major law enforcement group in our country supports these measures more police, boot camps and alternative punishment for young people, the Brady Bill, and a ban on assault weapons. The men and women on the front lines know, our country needs this kind of action. On school grounds, on streets, in parking lots, and homes in our biggest cities and smallest towns, the silliest of arguments arguments that might have ended in a fist fight in bygone days now they're too easily ended with the sound of a gun. And often the sound of a gun leads to death.

A gunshot wound is three times more likely to lead to death today, in part because there are so many assault weapons. And the average victim of gunshot wound now has over two bullets in him or her. It's getting hard to find a family that hasn't been touched by this epidemic of violence. Often it means another empty chair in a classroom, an empty place at a dinner table, an empty space in the hearts of those who lost a loved one.

Tell your representatives on Capitol Hill you want the crime bill and you want it now because it's important, it's long overdue. I guarantee you this; the minute I get it, I'll sign it. For we can never enjoy full economic security in our professional lives without real personal security in our homes, on our streets and in our neighborhoods.

I pledge to you today that we'll keep working to restore both. Thanks for listening.

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