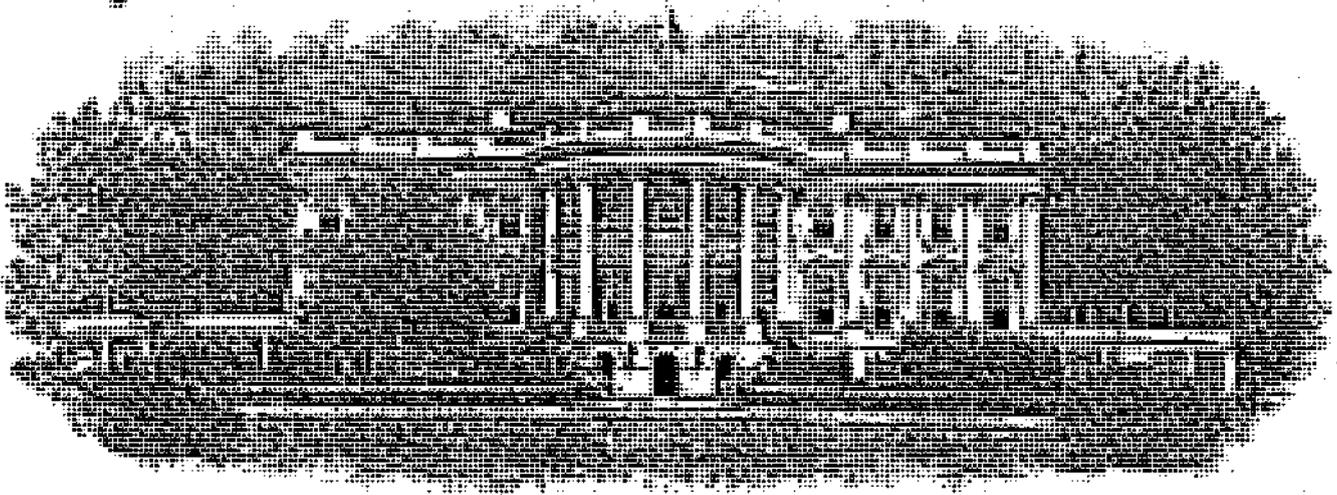


The White House



DOMESTIC POLICY

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

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Maybe we should be urging
major cities to adopt a combined
Brattan-NY / Boston strategy

DB

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Boston's falling murder rate

By Globe Staff, 01/03/97

The great surge of murder that has overwhelmed American cities since the mid-1960s is ebbing. Law enforcement authorities seemed powerless to stop the killing at its worst in the '70s and '80s, but in Boston they have developed an effective strategy that targets the young men most prone to violence and the neighborhoods where murder is most prevalent.

Not all American cities have experienced a decline in murders this year. Las Vegas set a record with 168, up from 134 in 1995. The number in Washington, D.C., rose 9 percent, to 395. However, homicides in Los Angeles were down by 17 percent, to 688 through mid-December. In Chicago, they declined 5 percent, to 787, and in New York, 983, down 15 percent from last year. In Boston, 58 murders were reported, a drop of 35 percent.

Some of the decreases across the nation can be attributed to a decrease in the number of young men ages 19 through 24. Beyond that, some police officers are baffled.

Authorities in Boston attribute their more dramatic decrease to a two-year campaign by law enforcement agencies and community groups to reduce the rate of violent crime among young people in Roxbury and Dorchester, where most murders are committed in the city. This initiative involved the Boston police, of course, but also the Boston office of the US Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which focused on reducing the number of handguns available for murder, and the state's probation and parole departments to discourage young offenders back on the street from resorting to violence. Youth workers developed lines of communication with the members of street gangs, and the US attorney's office brandished the threat of federal prosecution for repeat offenders. At long last, all the agencies and groups concerned with reducing violence in the city have acted with a common goal and an assured strategy.

The plan is working. Firearms homicides among young people declined 65 percent from 1995 to 1996. And nobody under the age of 16 was killed. Last July, President Clinton singled out the Boston program to reduce the number of pistols on the street as a national model and promised to extend it to 17 other cities.

One program by itself will not guarantee that other communities will repeat Boston's success. Coordination and constant pressure to reduce violence are necessary.

Perhaps the most important moment in the antiviolence campaign came in May, when 15 young gang members from the Bowdoin street area of Dorchester were invited to Dorchester District Court to meet the unified leadership of law enforcement agencies in Boston.

They were told of Eddie Cardoza, a career criminal from Roxbury, who had just received 20 years in a federal



penitentiary for carrying a single bullet in his pocket. Word soon spread of the crackdown, and the gang violence stopped.

Police officers, prosecutors and youth workers may, of course, slacken their effort, or they may be replaced by others not so committed to a coordinated strategy. Young lawbreakers may develop new sources for weapons or lose their fear of becoming another Cardoza. It is premature to declare a victory against crime.

Still, all the people in Boston responsible for the reduction in murders have proved that something can be done about homicide without flooding the streets with police officers, abridging civil liberties or holding meaningless media events. The Boston model, in all its complexity, deserves to be emulated across the country.

This story ran on page a26 of the Boston Globe on 01/03/97.

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To Liz Bernstein

LAW & JUSTICE / The Young Desperados

AMERICAN KILLERS Are Getting Younger

"A 14-year-old armed with a gun is far more menacing than a 44-year-old with the same weapon. [The teen] is more willing to pull the trigger—without fully considering the consequences."

by James Alan Fox and Glenn Pierce

BURIED AMIDST the steady stream of stories about teenage girls murdered by their obsessed boyfriends and random shootings on the streets and in the schools, the FBI actually had some good

news for a change—the number of homicides in the U.S. for 1992 had fallen six percent over the previous year. Has the tide of violent crime in America finally been stemmed? Unfortunately for the nation, this trend will not last.

First, we caution against putting too much faith into single-year, so-called homicide trends. From year to year, murder rates can fluctuate much like the stock market. What goes up generally comes down, and what goes down generally comes up. The homicide count for 1992, although lower than that for 1991, still was above the murder toll for each of the previous 10 years.

Second, and far more important, the nation appears on the verge of a crime wave that likely will last well into the next century. Such pessimism is more than a case

The authors are, respectively, dean of the College of Criminal Justice and director of the Center for Social Research, Northeastern University, Boston, Mass.

Two youthful Los Angeles gang members pose defiantly with a shotgun.



LA Police Library Photo Collection

of "Chicken Little." Rather, there are some clear-cut social and demographic trends that make it very probable that today's shocking stories of drive-by shootings and fatal teenage romances will not go away. Even more disturbing is that the upsurge in killings has occurred during a period when violent crime should have been decreasing.

One of the authors (Fox) foretold nearly two decades ago, based on a predictive model developed in 1975 for his book, *Forecasting Crime Data*, that the rate of violent crime, including homicide, would decline from its 1980 peak until the early 1990s, when it would surge again. The premise then was simple. The explosion in lawlessness in the 1960s and 1970s, when violent crime escalated by double digits nearly every year, was in large part the result of demographics. During this time period, the post-World War II baby boomers—76,000,000 strong—had reached their late adolescence and early 20s, an age when aggressive tendencies are the strongest. As they matured into adulthood during the 1980s, however, they would have outgrown their violent ways, or at least have turned to low-risk crimes of profit. More to the point, the expected decline in the size of the population most prone to violence (teens and young adults) would have translated into a reduced level of crime.

As it happened, crime reports from the early 1980s did reflect a falling rate of violence in most parts of the country. From 1980 to 1985, for instance, the U.S. homicide rate dropped 23%. Not surprisingly, lawmakers and police chiefs were quick to claim credit for reductions in crime levels. While various programs and policies surely had some impact, the underlying cause largely was demographic.

Then, in 1986, quite unexpectedly, things began to change for the worse. The rate of violence began to rebound, despite continued shrinkage in the population of adolescents and young adults.

The forecasting model had assumed "all else being equal," but, clearly, all else was *not* equal. Although fewer in number, the new generation—the young and the rootless—was committing violent crimes at an alarming and unprecedented rate.

The statistics are scary. Whereas the rate of homicides by adults 25 and older has continued to decline steadily, the rate among 18-24-year-olds increased 62% from 1986 to 1991. Even more distressing is that murder now frequently reaches down to a much younger age group—children as young as 14-17. Murder among juveniles in that age bracket increased 124%.

Although violence has grown among both whites and blacks, the situation is particularly acute in minority neighborhoods. Black males aged 15-24, while only one percent of the U.S. population, constitute 14% of the victims of homicide and 19% of the perpetrators.

Adolescents, particularly those in major



cities, are beset with idleness and, for some, hopelessness. A growing number of teens and pre-teens see few attractive alternatives to violence, drug use, and gang membership. For them, the American Dream is a nightmare. There may be little to hope for and live for, but plenty to die for and even kill for.

The causes of this reach well beyond demographics. There have been tremendous changes in the social context of crime over the past decade, which explain why this generation of youth is more violent than any other before it. As compared with their parents when they were young, this generation has more dangerous drugs in their bodies and more deadly weapons in their hands. According to the Department of Justice, an estimated 100,000 school children carry guns to school each day. The important role of gun availability in the increase in youth homicide can not be overstated. Since 1984, gun homicides by teenagers have tripled, while those involving other weapons have declined.

A 14-year-old armed with a gun is far more menacing than a 44-year-old with the same weapon. While the teen may be untrained in using a firearm, he is more willing to pull the trigger—without fully considering the consequences. Also, the gun psychologically distances the offender from his victim. It is all too easy—just pull the trigger. If the same teenager had to kill his victim (almost always someone he knows) with his hands, he might be deterred. Finally, the increased firepower of today's weapons have outpaced the skills of emergency room doctors to repair damage done by gunfire.

Meanwhile, Americans can not seem to unite in opposition to guns. They are told that it is impossible ever to expect a gun-free America, so why try? They are not so skeptical, however, of the "Drug-Free America" slogan. Of course, the politics of gun control and drug control are very dif-

ferent. It has become politically expedient for the nation's leaders to place heavy emphasis on the drug issue—often at the expense of other equally important concerns—and to suggest drugs as the basic cause behind many of the problems faced by urban America. However, drug use is a symptom, not a cause. If the U.S. somehow were to eliminate drug use, it would not necessarily reduce crime.

Above all, the most significant change in the youth population has been in attitude. This new generation of youngsters is more inclined to resort to violence over trivial issues—a pair of Nikes, a leather jacket, or even a challenging glance—or for no apparent reason. In California, for instance, two teenage girls murdered their best friend because they were jealous of her hair.

Part of this new attitude reflects a general trend toward a reduction in moral responsibility, affecting kids and adults alike. During the 1960s and 1970s, the U.S. fought two wars—the one in Vietnam and the war against guilt. For years, Americans were told not to feel guilty—do your own thing, love the one you're with. It used to be "I'm OK, You're OK." Now it's "I'm OK, You're Dead."

Another facet of this change in attitude about violence surrounds trends in the television and movie industries. Such shows as "Hard Copy," "Inside Edition," and "A Current Affair" have replaced game shows and even the early news in many markets. Programs like "Top Cops" and "Unsolved Mysteries" dominate prime time. Television docudramas glorify criminals, transforming insignificant and obscure nobodies into national celebrities. From the standpoint of crime victims everywhere, this adds insult to injury.

Consider, for example, the publicity given the "leading men" of a band of California teenagers who called themselves the "Spur Posse" and garnered points for buying sex with teenage girls as young as

LAW & JUSTICE

13 years of age. How proud they were describing—actually bragging—about their exploits on Jane Whitney's "Nighttalk." Adults were appalled, but these boys likely were heroes in the eyes of many 13- and 14-year-olds whose greatest desire was to grow up just like them.

Besides the glamorization of crime on television, YCBs have revolutionized the film industry—in certain respects for the worse. Concerned parents of the 1960s charged that motion pictures taught children a dangerous lesson—namely, that the consequences of violence are temporary and trivial. Injury and death typically were prosecuted in a sanitized manner.

In terms of body counts, movies of today are no more violent than their counterparts 25 years ago, but their portrayal of murder no longer leaves anything to the imagination. The consequences of violence routinely are depicted as graphically as possible, without regard for how they may affect impressionable young viewers. Thanks to video cassettes, children can replay their favorite gory scenes over and over.

Parents now have a much more difficult problem—how to keep their offspring from becoming totally desensitized to human misery, mayhem, and murder. Because of the steady diet of gory films to which they are exposed, children of the 1990s slowly, but surely, are growing more tolerant of the effects of violence. They no longer are repulsed by stories of extreme brutality, even when they are real. As one teenaged bystander remarked following the 1992 murder of an MIT student, "Hey, what's the big deal . . . people die every day."

While negative socializing forces—such as drugs, guns, gangs, television, and movies—have grown more powerful, the positive forces of family, school, church, and community have grown weaker. The decline in these forms of support reflects a pervasive disinvestment in American youth over the last 30 years, documented in Glenn Pierce's *Disinvestment in America's Children and Youth*.

Social and economic changes in society, in two related respects, have diminished the contribution of women to child-rearing and socialization. As women have entered the labor force in greater numbers, they have had less time for their families, have been less able to participate in the broad range of voluntary organizations that in the past strengthened local communities, and have been less able to supervise youngsters (both their own and their neighbors') within their day-to-day activities. Equally important, as professional opportunities have opened up for females in the workforce, highly qualified women, who at one time, for lack of other options, would have gone into teaching or child care, are more likely to seek careers in law, medicine, and science.

Increasingly, kids are being raised in homes disrupted by divorce or economic

stress; too many emerge undersocialized and undersupervised. This is not to imply any level of blame on parents, and mothers in particular. Most parents are well-meaning and would like to have a greater role in their children's lives, if only they could. However, many families lack the support to control and guide their offspring.

Compensating for the void

American society has not addressed the issue of how to compensate for the void left by changes in the status of women and their entry into the labor market. Society no longer can rely almost totally on the unpaid and/or underpaid time of women to socialize and supervise the nation's youth. The government has not stepped forward in the form of child care programs and better schools; the private sector has dragged its feet in parental leave and child care programs; and many men have not taken on a greater share of parenting and household responsibilities.

As a consequence of changes in the family and lack of alternative support programs for youth, children spend too little time engaged in structured activity with positive role models and too much time "hanging out" or watching savage killings on TV. The effects of the over-all disinvestment in youth are being felt in several alarming respects—increased rates of high-risk behavior among youth, from violence to drug use; reduced levels of psychological well-being, from suicide to psychiatric commitments; and lowering of academic preparedness and achievement.

At this point in time, the U.S. is due for a demographic double-whammy. Not only are violent teens maturing into even more violent young adults, but they are being succeeded by a new and larger group of teenagers. The same massive baby boom generation that, as teenagers, produced a crime wave in the 1970s has grown up and had children of their own. This "baby boomerang" cohort of youngsters now is reaching adolescence.

By the year 2005, the number of teenagers aged 15-19 will increase by 23%, which undoubtedly will bring additional increases in crime and other social ills associated with overpopulation of youth. The population growth will be even more pronounced among minorities. For example, the amount of 15-19-year-olds will rise 28% among blacks and 47% among Hispanics. Given that a large number of these children often grow up in conditions of poverty, many more teenagers will be at risk in the years ahead.

The challenge for the future, therefore, is how best to deal with youth violence—and there is little reason for optimism. America seems to be obsessed with easy solutions that won't work, such as the wholesale transfer of juveniles to the jurisdiction of the adult court or even

imposing the death penalty, at the expense of difficult solutions that will work, such as providing pre-teens with strong, positive role models and quality schools.

State legislatures around the country have responded to concerns about the rising number of juvenile killings, often overreacting to certain highly publicized cases of brutal and senseless murder involving teens. In recent years, most states have made it easier—even automatic—to try juvenile killers as adults. Ignoring the immaturity of a 15- or 16-year-old, lawmakers have accepted the idea that murder is an adult crime and thus deserves an adult punishment.

Clearly, there are certain youths who are beyond the reach of the juvenile system—repeat violent offenders who are not amenable to the rehabilitative orientation of the juvenile system. On a case-by-case basis, these kids selectively should be handled outside the juvenile domain. Yet, in the effort to appear tough on crime, legislatures are making it too easy to waive youthful offenders into an adult system that is ill-prepared to handle them.

The national trend toward trying juveniles as adults in order to incarcerate them longer may address the need for justice and retribution, but it can not be counted on for dissuading kids from the temptations and thrill of street crime and gang membership. No matter how punitive society becomes and what kind or how strong of a message is sent out to the street, teens who are attracted to crime always will turn a deaf ear to deterrence. Besides, by the time a juvenile offender has "graduated" to murder, it is likely too late to reach him.

Instead, attention must be focused on the primary grades, when youngsters still are impressionable and interested in what teachers and other authority figures have to say. As Denver District Attorney Norman S. Early, Jr., maintains, "I would rather build the child than rebuild the adult."

The nation must reinvest in youth and strive to make legitimate activity more attractive than criminal behavior. This will take time, hard work, and an awful lot of money. It is well known that positive reinforcement for pro-social behavior always will outperform punishment for anti-social behavior. Besides, it is far cheaper to hire elementary grade teachers and pay them commensurate with the importance of the job than it is to build more prisons and hire more correctional officers later.

Tragically for America, it is unlikely that proposals focused on youngsters and pre-teens will attract much political momentum. Most politicians need to show results within four years in order to get re-elected. For them, there remains a far more immediate political payoff in advocating the "new three R's"—retribution, retaliation, and revenge—attempting to convince voters that they are tough on crime.

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Publications

Nine books, including *Mass Murder: America's Growing Menace* (Plenum, Berkley paperback), *How to Work with the Media* (Sage), *The Gainesville Student Murders* (Avon, forthcoming), and *Overkill: Mass Murder and Serial Killing Exposed* (Plenum, forthcoming); Thirty articles in professional journals and popular magazines including, *Boston Magazine*, *Sunday Boston Herald Magazine* (cover story), *USA Today Magazine*, and *Celebrity Plus*. Thirty columns in newspapers nationwide, including *Christian Science Monitor*, *USA Today*, *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Newsday*, *Boston Herald*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Orlando Sentinel*, and *Palm Beach Post*.

Television

Guest on network programs, *48 Hours*, *CBS This Morning*, *Face the Nation*, *West 57th Street*, *Nightwatch*, *The CBS Evening News*, *The CBS Morning News* (CBS); *Good Morning America*, *20/20*, and *World News Tonight* (ABC); *The Today Show*, *The Faith Daniels Show*, *Unsolved Mysteries*, and *The NBC Evening News* (NBC); *Larry King Live* (CNN); *A Current Affair* (FOX); *The Nineties* (PBS); on nationally syndicated programs, *Oprah Winfrey*, *Geraldo*, *Donahue*, *Sally Jesse Raphael*, *Maury Povich*, *Rolonda*, *Bertice Berry*, *Hour Magazine*, *Inside Edition*, *Hard Copy*, *USA Today on TV*, *Sonya*, *Shirley*, and *Dini Petty*; on dozens of local programs across the country, including *AM Los Angeles*, *AM San Francisco*, *AM Philadelphia*, *Northwest Afternoon*, *Kelly and Company* (Detroit), *Jane Wallace Live* (Philadelphia) and *People are Talking--Boston*.

Radio

Hundreds of radio interviews coast-to-coast and overseas, including several network shows. Hosted weekly talk show on WBUR-FM (Boston).

Print Media

Quoted in thousands of newspaper articles and magazines worldwide, including "Quote of the Day" in *The New York Times*, and "Quote of the Week" in *Newsweek*, *The Boston Globe*, and *The Seattle Times*, and one-on-one Q&A's in *USA Today*, *The Boston Globe* and the *Tampa Tribune*. Profiled (cover story) in *The Boston Phoenix*.

Expert Testimony

Testimony given in several trials and hearings, including three appearances before Congress on the death penalty and on the future of crime. Expert consultant for the Gainesville Serial Murder Task Force.

Speaking

Dozens of major presentations nationwide at colleges and to community and professional audiences. Represented by American Program Bureau and Wolfman Productions.

cc: Paul W. RAHM

JUN 25 1995

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

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Daley Backs Clinton's Bid Vs. Public Housing Crime

BY BASIL TALBOT
SUN-TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON—Mayor Daley endorsed President Clinton's "one strike and you are out" of public housing crime policy Wednesday, but urged some cautions in how it is applied.

Although some Illinois members of Congress were edgy about the president's approach, mayors attending the U.S. Conference of Mayors rushed to support Clinton. A couple of them went further than Daley.

Clinton challenged local housing authorities and tenant groups in

his State of the Union address Tuesday to make "the rule for residents who commit crimes and peddle drugs ... one strike and you are out."

"Peddling drugs is a major problem," Daley said in supporting the "principle" of the president's initiative. "We have to have a policy because people want it. Gang-bangers and drug dealers have taken over."

But Daley was more cautious than Boston Mayor Thomas Menino, who has proposed Massachusetts state legislation to permit evictions from public housing upon arrest or execution of a search warrant where illegal drugs or

weapons are found. Daley questioned whether evictions should take place without a conviction and whether entire families should be kicked out for the offense of a minor member.

Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Chicago) wasn't enthusiastic, but he said, "I could live with it." Rep. Cardis Collins (D-Chicago) was skeptical but said she awaits a specific proposal. Even more skeptical were Sen. Paul Simon (D-Makanda) and Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D-Chicago).

"I'm not enthusiastic about it," Yates said. "Someone could plant a drug, or there could be other

reasons for having a drug." Simon denounced drug peddling but said, "I don't want to see very arbitrary decisions made by local police who may try to shake some people down."

Evictions for drug and weapons violations appear to have been more frequent in Boston than in Chicago. The Boston Public Housing Authority said 50 of the authority's 12,000 families were evicted last year for illegal drugs or illegal weapons.

Conceding that the Chicago Housing Authority has been behind the curve, Executive Director Joseph Shuldiner estimated that only 15 or 20 of the CHA's 32,000

households were evicted last year in connection with illegal drugs or weapons.

To remedy that, the CHA has proposed a new lease that Shuldiner speculated would improve drug evictions. He also has approached Illinois state lawmakers to introduce legislation to target firearms in CHA units.

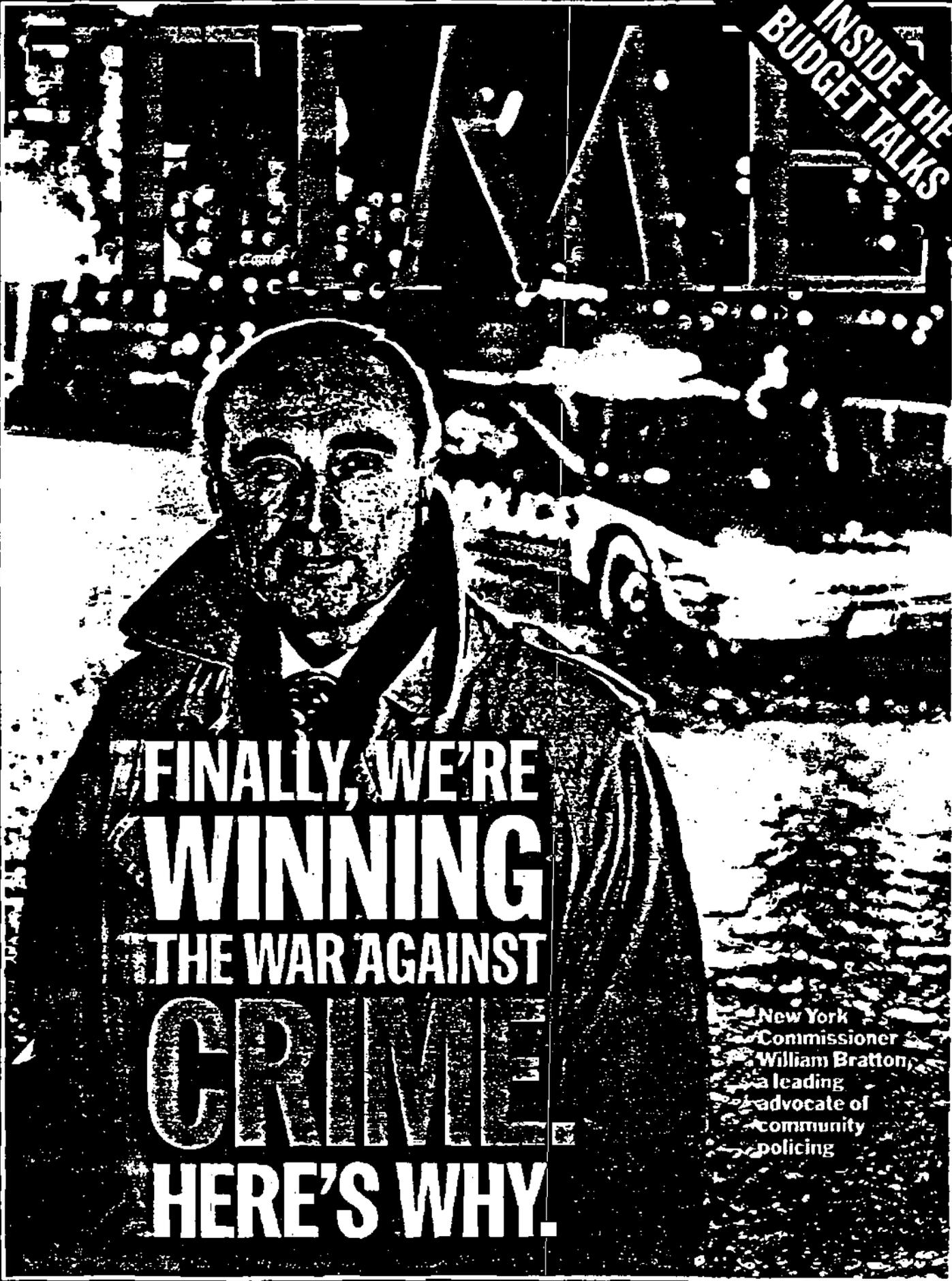
Legislation to toughen admission rules has passed the U.S. Senate and is expected to come up for a House vote in March. Also, the Housing and Urban Development Department wants \$2.5 billion to finance a federal-local gang infiltration program and \$1 billion for witness protection.

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Paul - what's this legis.?

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**INSIDE THE
BUDGET TALKS**



**FINALLY, WE'RE
WINNING
THE WAR AGAINST
CRIME
HERE'S WHY.**

New York
Commissioner
William Bratton,
a leading
advocate of
community
policing

C R I M E

LAND



Crime rates are down across the U.S.—some dramatically. Is this a blip or a trend? With so many factors in play, it may be a bit of both

RICHARD LACAYO

WANT TO SEE A CIVIC MONUMENT THAT NO CITY would ever want? Go to New Orleans and proceed to the intersection of Congress and Law streets, just a few blocks from the tourists' Latin Quarter. Walk anywhere in that neighborhood of trashed storefronts and blunt-shouldered housing projects. It won't take long to find walls that are spattered with grimy little craters. Those are bullet holes. Every one of them is an unofficial memorial to the mayhem that was daily life around there until not so long ago.

Starting in the late 1980s, drug dealers had claimed the place as their own, part sales ground, part killing ground, where they seized market share the hard way, with drive-by shootings and turf wars. At the nearby St. Philip Social Service Center, preschoolers learned to dive for the floor in "shooting drills," then stay there until their teachers sounded the all clear. By 1994 there were three or more killings each month on the streets outside. Standing now where the unthinkable used to be the unremarkable, police lieutenant Edwin Compass III looks around with a shudder. "I'd bet that was the most dangerous block in the U.S."

The good thing about monuments is they commemorate the past. Last year the city inaugurated a Community Oriented Policing Squad (COPS), now headed by Compass, a name so foursquare no novelist would dare invent it. With secondhand furniture and federal money, police set up round-the-clock substations in vacant

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COMMUNITY POLICING

Daylight basketball is just one aspect of the cops' increased presence in the Desire project in New Orleans. With a new police substation, gang bangers have fled

community policing

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CRIME

apartments at three of the city's most dead-ly projects. The 45 cops assigned to them work foot patrol, get to know the law-abiding residents and sweep out the street dealers. They also help pick up trash, combat graffiti and round up kids who play hooky.

That mix of shoe leather and social work has made a difference. By the end of last year killings around the three projects had dropped 74%. A dozen dead bodies per annum is still no small problem. But if you don't happen to be one of them, it is cause enough for celebration. Lately, the neighborhood even sees its share of these spontaneous street parades that are defining outbreaks of civic life in New Orleans. What are people celebrating? Maybe just the return of their freedom to move around.

New Orleans is not alone. After years of depressing and implacable upswing, serious crime is retreating all around the U.S. In the nine cities with a population of more than 1 million, the decrease in violent crimes was 8% in 1994. Nationally, murders fell 12% in the first six months of 1995, and serious crimes of all kinds dropped 1% to 2%. The suburbs, long a growth area for felonies, posted declines between 4% and 8% last year in violent crime.

What makes these numbers important, not just encouraging, is that they extend what is plainly a sustained retreat from the crack-fueled crime wave of the late 1980s. According to the FBI, violent crimes started to decline in 1993. As always with crime, the downward curve is not to be found everywhere. Minneapolis, Minnesota, for instance, is still puzzling over why in 1995 homicides climbed more than 56% over the preceding year. Even with the downward trend, crime rates remain bloodcurdlingly high, especially when compared to the relatively peaceable kingdom of, say, 1965. (Murder victims per 100,000 then: 5.1. In 1994: 9.) And there are widespread predictions that another tidal wave will break as soon as the milk-toothed children of the '90s crowd into their saw-toothed teens. Whoever called economics the dismal science must not have heard about criminology.

For all that, even the experts in bad behavior are intrigued. Something is happening here. The question is, Why? The lineup of contributing factors includes most of the usual suspects: a decline in the proportion of young males in the general population, the leveling off of crack cocaine use, a moderate unemployment rate and tougher sentencing that gets more felons off the street and keeps them off longer.

Certainly demographics is part of it. Very simply, there are fewer people in the



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STRICTER SENTENCING

The U.S. prison population has more than doubled over the past 15 years, which means that many repeat offenders have been taken off the streets. But finding a place to put them all is getting harder. At the California Institution for Men, in Chino, prison officials have had to turn the sports facility into a bunk room.

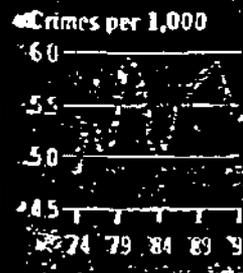


most crime-prone category, which is made from the ages of 15 to 29. The crime spree that began in the 1960s was largely the work of baby boomers as they moved into those years. The same boomers are tipping into their 50s, an age when you're just right for fly fishing but not much good with a semiautomatic. The bad news, however, is that today's smaller cohort of teenagers is more prone to crime than its elders were at the same age. Among 14- to 17-year-olds, for instance, murder rates skyrocketed over the past decade.

The trade in crack cocaine also appears to have changed. Perhaps it has lost its cachet. "As with any drug epidemic, the attractiveness of the drug begins to wear off, partly because users see so many of their friends dead," says James Q. Wilson, the UCLA professor who is one of the nation's most prominent thinkers on crime. That's important, because crack was the great in-

petus to crime in the late 1980s as big new dealers muscled in. Another theory is that the trade has simply stabilized as a "mature market," as they say in the business schools, with surviving distributors less likely to clash over territory.

As for prison populations, those have more than doubled in the past 15 years. Most criminologists believe that a relatively small population of repeat felons is responsible for a disproportionate share of crime. Lock away the most energetic thieves and killers, and you make a significant dent in their business. "Most prisoners are violent or repeat offenders," says Will Bennett, the former Secretary of Education and drug czar. "Prisons do not cure crime." Last week Bennett's Council on Crime in America, a commission he co-heads with Griffin Bell, who was Attorney General under Jimmy Carter, issued a report warning that violent crime is still higher than pre-



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ECONOMY

Though crime and unemployment don't rise and fall perfectly in tandem, policymakers recognize that people without jobs are a crime wave waiting to happen. Parbe Meyer, 20, works at the NightRider Overnight Copy Service in Chicago. He got there through Jobs for Youth, a largely privately funded program that guides young people from impoverished neighborhoods to their first job in the workplace.

Police do their jobs, especially in major cities. A change from squad cars to foot patrolling, a shift to "proactive" policing that seeks to dissolve problems such as open-air drug markets rather than just rack up arrests, the more frequent establishment of cross-agency task forces to target specific problems such as car theft or drug crime—all are now commonplace. "This decline in crime rates is more than a demographic phenomenon," says Jeremy Travis, director of the National Institute of Justice, the research arm of the Justice Department. "Public policy can make a difference. Police can make a difference."

Exhibit A for supporters of the new policing is New York City, where major crime—murder, rape, robbery, auto theft, grand larceny, assault and burglary—is in something like statistical free fall, dropping 17.5% last year. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and his police commissioner, William Bratton, both insist that the reason is their devotion to new ways of doing police business. John Dilulio Jr., a professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University, says that since the mid-'60s top brass who embrace a similar shift in philosophy have risen to key positions in cities all around the country. "So now you're seeing better policing. Not miracles or panaceas, but better policing."

To the extent that is true, police have had to pull themselves in two disparate directions—tougher and softer, as the core

program in New Orleans illustrates. Tougher means more aggressive intervention. "If we see somebody we don't know, we ask them what they're doing there," says Compass. "If the story doesn't check out, we arrest them for trespassing. Now we don't see as many drug dealers around here." But at the same time, it has meant more neighborhood-friendly tactics, the foot patrolling and problem solving that form the loosely defined strategy called community policing. "We do neighborhood cleanups, counseling on child abuse, you name it," says Officer Djuana Adams. "We help the children with their homework, and they show up for treats when they get good grades."

New Orleans is also learning what other cities have discovered when they moved more officers away from the patrol-car policing that limited them to 911 emergency-response calls. The lesson: face-to-face contact between cops and the people they work among, with no windshield in between, helps to restore trust. For a city like New Orleans, which has recently seen some spectacular instances of police corruption, that is an invaluable side benefit. "I felt better almost as soon as the police moved in," says Brenda Holmes, who lives at Desire, the New Orleans housing project with the most poignant name. "They've given us our lives back."

The potential synergy between cops and residents works not only in big cities:

Incarceration rate per 100,000

668	lowest
Texas 1,335	Mont 1,335
Louisiana 573	West Virginia 538
Oklahoma 536	Maine 512
South Carolina 510	Minnesota 481
Arizona 473	North Dakota 470

records indicate because so much of it goes unreported. They urged even more aggressive jailings.

But time and again, the experts are also returning to an explanation they would have played down in the past: more effective policing strategies. It is respectable once again to believe that cops can have a real impact on crime rates, an opinion that has been seriously out of fashion among professional students of crime. For decades they held that crime was too deeply connected to underlying social causes, meaning everything from the state of the economy to the breakdown of the family. Such things are still assumed to play their part in producing crime. What has changed is the view that police are useful only to chase down bad guys after they strike.

All over the U.S., the decade of the '90s has seen a rapid reinvention of how the po-

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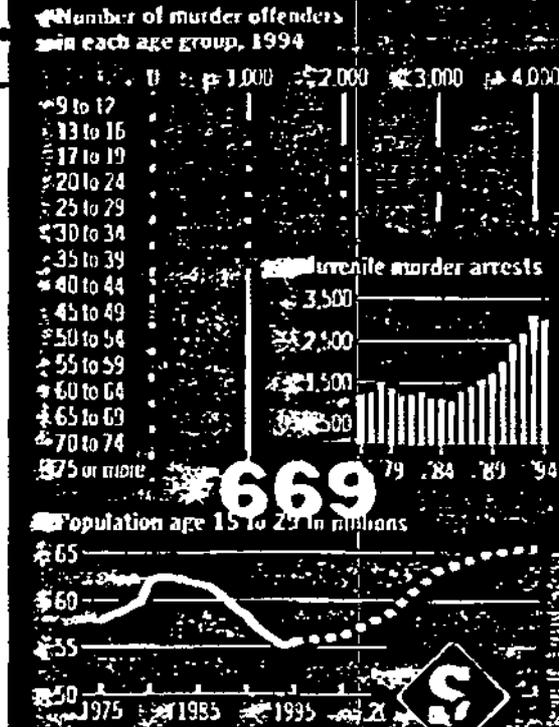
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CRIME

Taylor, Texas, about 28 miles northeast of Austin, has just 13,300 people. But no place is too small for the drug trade. Five years ago, crack moved in among the cotton gins and railroad tracks, bringing with it assault, rape, car theft and murder. Crime got so bad that Mae Willie Turner, 70, and her sister, Gladys Hubbard, 73, could no longer sit at night on their front porch. "The place was infested," says Turner.

So they got off the porch and joined Turn Around Taylor, a community-action group designed to help locals take back their town. It was conceived by Herman Wrice, a Philadelphia management consultant who organizes citizen-led anti-crime groups as part of a federal program. And the man who brought in Wrice and his ideas was Fred Stansbury, the police chief who arrived in Taylor in 1993, on an April day when a local teenager was killed in a gang fight. "We wanted a program where the community felt it had a proprietary interest," he says.

That's what they got. Most weeks Turner and Hubbard put on jackets with slogans such as UP WITH HOPE, DOWN WITH HOPE and joined other demonstrators on streets where the heaviest dealing happened. Stansbury got the town council to designate "downtown" Taylor as a historic district, which meant a ban on the public consumption of alcohol. The group even persuaded the Texas National Guard to bulldoze 48 worn-out buildings near the railroad tracks that had become weekend squats for drug dealers and their out-



DEMOGRAPHICS Teenagers are the most crime-prone group. At the Mount View Youth Service Center in Denver, juveniles in custody for various offenses line up for lunch

tomers, who used to come in by car and train. Taylor these days is more like it used to be. "I can sit on my porch anytime now," says Mae Willie Turner.

The single greatest imponderable in the crime debate is the role of gun control. Or decontrol: last week Texas became the

28th state to allow people to carry concealed weapons. The rationale is to discourage crime—supporters say felons will think twice about assaulting people who may be armed. Florida became the first state to pass such a law in 1987. Since then, more than 150,000 people there have ap-

Now for the Bad News: A Teenage Time Bomb

THERE ARE JUST FOUR, FIVE AND SIX YEARS OLD RIGHT NOW, BUT already they are making criminologists nervous. They are growing up, too frequently, in abusive or broken homes, with little adult supervision and few positive role models. Left to themselves, they spend much of their time hanging out on the streets or soaking up violent TV shows. By the year 2005 they will be teenagers—a group that tends to be, in the view of Northeastern University criminologist James Alan Fox, "temporary sociopaths—impulsive and immature." If they also have easy access to guns and drugs, they can be extremely dangerous.

For all the heartening news offered by recent crime statistics, there is an ominous flip side. While the crime rate is dropping for adults, it is soaring for teens. Between 1990 and 1994, the rate at which adults age 25 and older committed homicides declined 22%; yet the rate jumped 18% for youths between 14 and 17, the age group that in the early '90s supplanted 18- to 24-year-olds as the most crime-prone. And that is precisely the age

group that will be booming in the next decade. There are currently 39 million children under 10 in the U.S., more than at any time since the 1950s. "This is the calm before the crime storm," says Fox. "So long as we fool ourselves in thinking that we're winning the war against crime, we may be blindsided by this bloodbath of teenage violence that is lurking in the future."

Demographics don't have to be destiny, but other social trends do little to contradict the dire predictions. Nearly all the factors that contribute to youth crime—single-parent households, child abuse, deteriorating inner-city schools—are getting worse. At the same time, government is becoming less, not more, interested in spending money to help break the cycle of poverty and crime. All of which has led John J. DiIulio Jr., a professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton, to warn about a new generation of "superpredators," youngsters who are coming of age in actual and "moral poverty," without "the benefit of parents, teachers, coaches and clergy to teach them right or wrong and show them unconditional love."

Predicting a generation's future crime patterns is, of course, risky, especially when outside factors (Will crack use be up or down? Will gun laws be tightened?) remain unpredictable. Michael Tonry, a professor of law and public policy at the University of Minnesota, argues that the demographic doomsters



declines in homicide—New York, Kansas City and Houston—police have very aggressive strategies for separating felons from their firearms and stemming the flow of cheap, illegal handguns. Chicago is currently celebrating a decline in homicides from 930 in 1994 to 823 last year. Police think part of the reason might be that Illinois' new, stricter penalties for felonies involving a firearm have persuaded many gang members and drug dealers to leave the guns at home. "We'll arrest a whole crew and still find no guns," says Paul Jenkins, the Chicago police department's director of news affairs. But while the anecdotal evidence is suggestive, it is nothing like firm. "If we knew the reason for success, we'd do a lot more of it," says Jenkins. "We'd bottle it."

For now, keep the bottles uncorked. Talk to most experts in law enforcement, and they soon complain about the paucity of solid research to identify what works against crime. Norval Morris, a professor of law and criminology at the University of Chicago, compares the state of knowledge in his field to that in medicine earlier in the century, when doctors were commonly in the dark as to whether their treatments worked, or why. "Testing the consequences [for crime] of different drug policies, different housing practices, different police practices—it's very, very rarely done," he says.

In the 1988 presidential election, when rising crime was an issue, Willie Horton became the wanted-poster child who

plied for permits to pack a gun. But two recent studies suggest loopholes in the law have also allowed felons, ordinarily forbidden to carry a gun, to do so legally. On the other hand, gun homicides in Florida have declined 89% since the law was introduced. Michael McHargue of the Florida

department of law enforcement shrugs, saying, "If you look at the overall statistical picture, we don't believe the law made any impression."

The effectiveness of gun laws that are stricter is no easier to compute. In the three cities with the most dramatic recent

are unduly alarmist. "There will be a slightly larger number of people relative to the overall population who are at high risk for doing bad things, so that's going to have some effect," he concedes. "But it's not going to be an apocalyptic effect." Norval Morris, professor of law and criminology at the University of Chicago, finds Dilulio's notion of superpredators too simplistic. "The human animal in young males is quite a violent animal all over the world. The people who put forth the theory of moral poverty lack a sense of history and comparative criminology."

Yet other students of the inner city are more pessimistic. "All the basic elements that spawn teenage crime are still in place, and in many cases the indicators are worse," says Jonathan Kozol, author of *Amazing Grace*, an examination of poverty in the South Bronx. "There's a dramatic increase of children in foster care, and that's a very high-risk group of

kids. We're not creating new jobs, and we're not improving education to suit poor people for the jobs that exist."

Can anything defuse the demographic time bomb? Fox urges "reinvesting in children": improving schools, creating after-school programs and providing other alternatives to gangs and drugs. Dilulio, a law-and-order conservative, advocates tougher prosecution and wants to strengthen religious institutions to instill better values. Yet he opposes the Gingrich-led effort to make deep cuts in social programs. "A failure to maintain existing welfare and health commitment for kids," he says, "is to guarantee that the next wave of juvenile predators will be even worse than we're dealing with today." Dilulio urges fellow conservatives to think of Medicaid not as a health-care program but as "an anti-crime policy."

—By Richard Zeckin
Reported by Sam Alts/Boston and Sam Kamin/New York



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Princeton's John Dilulio warns of "superpredators"

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helped elect George Bush. In 1992 Bill Clinton neutralized the Republican advantage by positioning himself as a tough-on-crime Democrat who favored the death penalty and would put 100,000 new police officers on the streets. In an interview with TIME, Clinton said last week that the country has embarked on a historic change: "What's happening now across America essentially closes the door on an era that began with the murder of Kitty Genovese 30 years ago." In that milestone episode of public indifference, Genovese, a young New Yorker, was murdered while dozens of people ignored her screams for help. "I think now we have ended both the isolation of the police from the community and the idea that the community doesn't have a responsibility to work with the police or with its neighbors."

Clinton's tough talk on crime helped him win back some of the Reagan Democrats who had fled the party. But with crime rates falling, the issue may lose some of the importance it had for voters two years ago. Though Americans still tell pollsters that crime is at the top of their concerns, that may change as lagging perceptions catch up to new realities. Meanwhile, the President sees the political advantage as his. Though crime has hardly been mentioned in the Republican primaries, the Clinton-Core Re-Election Committee spent a surprising \$24 million last summer on TV spots that ran in 24 states, touting the President's record on crime.

As the year goes on, expect Clinton to attack congressional Republicans for their attempt to rescind the 100,000-new-cops provision in his 1994 crime bill. In the White House version, municipalities get the money only if they use it to hire new officers and use them in community-policing programs. Republicans want to send that money instead in bloc grants to states to use as they see fit. Last month the President vetoed the appropriations bill that would have distributed his police money that way. "I don't tell all these folks how to deploy the police," said Clinton, "or what they should do all day. All I say is there has to be a community-policing strategy because that's by definition grass-roots reform, and we know that it works."

Or at least that it is part of what works. There may be a conjunction of half a dozen lucky developments that are holding crime in check right now. The trick will be to find the way to keep it all working. But for once, it is possible to suppose the trick is one we can manage.

—Reported by *Jill Berman*/New Orleans, *James Carey* and *Elaine Shannon*/Washington, *Mary Mullen/Taylor* and *Rae Kaminari/New York*, with other bureaus



Police Commissioner William Bratton set out to prove that cops really can cut crime. The experts scoffed—but felony rates have dropped so far, so fast, that no other explanation makes sense. #638

By ERIC POOLEY

CRIME IS FALLING FROM THE NEW YORK sky, but New York City police captain Thomas Lawrence looks as if he's been out in the sun too long. It's just past 7 on the third morning of the new year, and Lawrence, who runs the 10th Precinct in midtown Manhattan, is standing on a podium in the command control center at police headquarters—the "war room." His face is bright red and a little clammy. His body is wired up tight. He is surrounded by shelves of statistics, screens filled with computerized maps and charts and N.Y.P.D. boxes, who, amazingly, seem to know as much about crime in his precinct as he does. "It's been 30 days since we've seen you, Tom," says Chief of Department Louis Annona, a dark tone creeping into his voice. "And we're seeing an increase in robberies."

"What's the pattern here, Cap?" asks Deputy Commissioner Jack Maple, the department's thickest, dandyish crime guru. Using a laser pen, Maple scribbles on an overhead map, tracing robbery patterns the way John Madden diagrams football plays. Maple circles an archipelago of red dots: muggings along Ninth Avenue. "What are you doing to take these guys out?"

Lawrence launches into a first-rate description of his anticrime efforts, but the CEO of this organization—a slim, well-tended man who wears his reading glasses slung low on an impressive nose—barely looks up from his papers. Police Commissioner William Bratton designed these Comstat (short for computer statistics) meetings as a way to make his 78 far-flung precinct commanders—and 28,000 cops—accountable for the crime rate. Nobody had ever done it before, and it's working: total felonies in New York City are down 27% in just two years, to levels not seen since the early 1970s.

Crime had been falling gently since 1989, thanks to community policing strategies, a thinning in the ranks of the crackhead army and thousands of new prison beds and new cops. But as Comstat took hold in May 1994, the drop became a giddy double-digit affair, plunging farther and faster than it has done anywhere else in the country, faster than any cultural or demographic trend could explain. For two years, crime has declined in all 78 precincts. Murder is down 33%, auto theft 35%. Robberies are off by a third, burglaries by a quarter. No wonder Comstat has become the Lourdes of policing, drawing pilgrim cops from around the world—Baltimore,

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NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION: The commissioner, visiting Manhattan station house, wants an additional 10% drop in crime

London, Frankfurt, Zimbabwe, Taiwan— for a taste of New York's magic.

If those waters seem bitter to some— cops who can't take Constat's pressure, black and Latino leaders who say some of Bratton's cops carry his aggressive style too far—"that's too damn bad," says Bratton. Success isn't pretty, even for his troops. Effective precinct commanders such as Lawrence (crime was down 15% in his precinct in 1995) merely get grilled to a medium rare at Constat. Those who show up unprepared, without coherent strategies to reduce crime, are fired crisp, then stripped of their commands. Half of all precinct bosses have been replaced under Bratton. Those who survive get unprecedented autonomy but have to demonstrate extraordinary results. Some feel pressured to shove their stabs; as the New York Daily News reported last fall, a commander in the Bronx told his troops that assault arrests could be made only

when victims suffered broken bones, not fat lips or black eyes. Crimes in the category plummeted in his precinct.

"You have delivered big time," says Bratton, standing to address his Constat managers. He reminds them that when he was hired away from the Boston Police Department in January 1994 by Mayor-elect Rudolph Giuliani, who had made crime and quality of life his major campaign theme, Bratton had asked for an immediate 10% decrease in crime (the request was met with derision and disbelief). "In the end, we got 25%," he notes. "In 1995 I raised the bar to a 15% reduction, and you gave me (17). Last year you accounted for 60% of the national crime decline—all from one city. You proved that police can change public behavior. For that you should be proud," Bratton praises, then snaps, "Now get your feet off the desk. It's 1996." In the new year, he says, he wants an additional 10% re-

duction—more than even Giuliani expects. If he gets it, New York's crime rate will be half what it was five years ago. That, he says later, "should show the criminologists who refuse to give police credit."

Some experts doubt that Bratton is responsible for any of New York's crime drop. "It's like trying to take credit for an eclipse," says former New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly. Others are watching Bratton with mouths agape. "I've never seen anything like it," says University of Maryland criminologist Lawrence Sherman, who has studied 30 police departments in the past 25 years. "Police chiefs routinely say, 'Don't expect us to bring down crime, because we don't control its causes. But Bratton says just the opposite. It's the most focused crime-reduction effort I've seen. It will take time before we can say how much effect it has had, but this clearly is new. When I sat in at Constat, I thought, 'Bratton is using crime data for management by objective—a basic idea that's never been tried before.'"

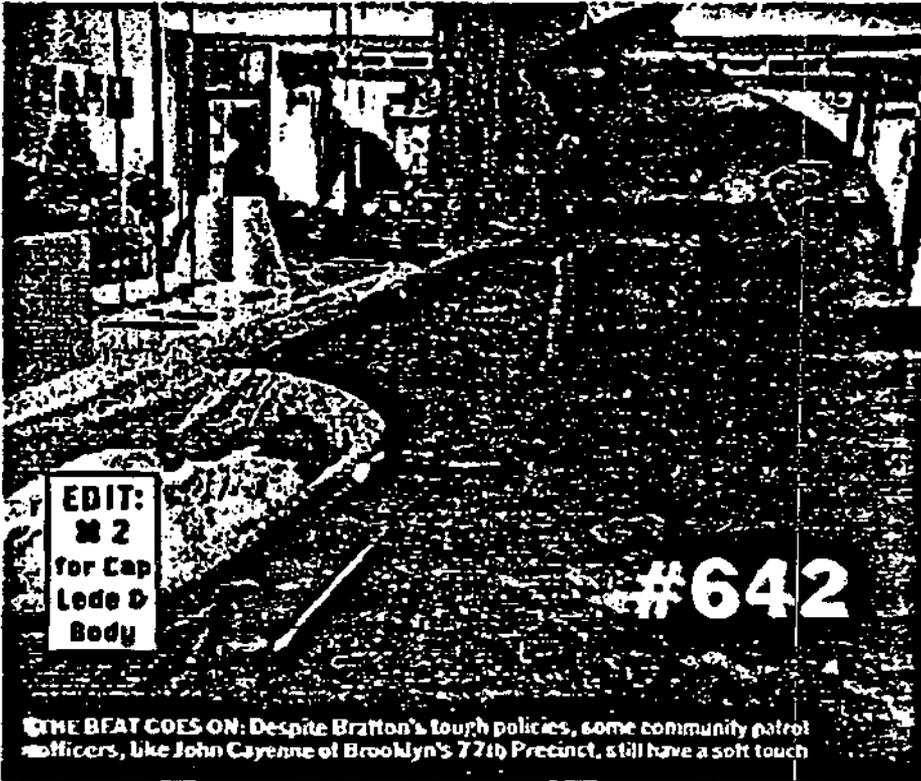
There's more to the Giuliani-Bratton strategy, of course, than terrorizing captains at early-morning meetings. Though their predecessors, Mayor David Dinkins and Kelly, deserve real credit for putting more cops on the beat, Giuliani instructed



TIME, JANUARY 15, 1996

12/29/90 dip in crime LNK 2/11 85

CRIME



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THE BEAT GOES ON: Despite Bratton's tough policies, some community patrol officers, like John Cayenne of Brooklyn's 77th Precinct, still have a soft touch

Bratton to do something Dinkins would never have allowed: use those cops to crack down on minor offenders, public drunk, potheads, those who urinate on the street, aggressive panhandlers, graffiti scribblers and "squeegee pests," who converged on cars at stoplights to clean windshields for spare change.

This quality of life campaign tested a principle that Giuliani and Bratton had believed for years: the "Broken Windows" theory, first put forth in 1982 by criminologists James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling. Wilson and Kelling argued that minor violations create a disorderly environment that encourages more serious crime. "I chose Bill Bratton," says Giuliani, "because he agreed with the Broken Windows theory." Sure enough, as arrests for small offenses rocketed, New York's streets became notably more civil. Then Maple, who has been Bratton's aide-de-camp and crime strategist since Bratton was slashing subway crime as New York's Transit Police chief in the early 1990s, proposed an intriguing corollary to the theory.

He wanted to go after shootings, and he knew that gun possession and drug dealing were intertwined. "It's relatively hard for a uniformed patrolman to catch someone carrying drugs," Maple says. "But as we'd seen, it's easy to catch someone for an open can of beer on the street." Thus what the cops call "beer and piss patrol" became a tactic for apprehending more serious criminals. "Your open beer lets me

check your ID," says Maple. "Now I can radio the precinct for outstanding warrants or parole violations. Maybe I bump against that bulge in your belt; with probable cause, I can frisk you." Civil libertarians have been screaming, but shootings, gun murders and other signs of firearms use are down—proof, Bratton says, that thugs are leaving the guns at home.

This is a significant departure from the

Murders	1995	1994	Percent change
#666	48	32	+28%
San Antonio	194	140	+28%
New York City	1,571	1,182	+25%
San Diego	119	94	+21%
Houston	379	304	+20%
St. Louis	248	203	+18%
Miami	129	111	+14%
New Orleans	421	364	+14%
Chicago	930	823	+12%
Washington	399	360	+10%
Atlanta	153	145	+5%
Dallas	291	276	+5%
Beitot	525	514	+2%
Los Angeles	836	878	-3%
Phoenix	244	244	+0%
Baltimore	321	325	-1%
Denver	85	90	-6%
Boston	85	98	-15%
Minneapolis	62	97	-36%

service-oriented "community policing" introduced during the Dinkins administration, when beat cops were encouraged to be problem solvers for a neighborhood. (Now the patrolmen funnel these issues to their precinct commanders.) The Bratton version of community policing is to devise strategies that target specific criminal behavior. Special squads are dispatched to hit high-crime hot spots, while others track down illegal guns. Precinct detectives now interrogate suspects not just about the crimes they may have committed but also about other gun and drug dealers they know. Eventually, Bratton believes, all the policies begin to dovetail, and crime drops through the floor. "Most criminals commit multiple crimes," he says. "We're processing crime data faster than ever before, so we can identify patterns early and stop them after three crimes instead of 30. If you do that city-wide, you'll knock the crime rate down."

But what some rank-and-file cops refer to as "Bratton taking the cuffs off us" has increased force, abuse and discourtesy complaints to the Civilian Complaint Review Board 30%. Many of the complaints have never been investigated by the CCRA and are impossible to evaluate. Still, some New Yorkers fear the N.Y.P.D.'s new swagger. "A lot of people aren't comfortable with this style," says Kelly. "It goes to the question of what kind of policing we want in America. You can probably shut down just about all crime, if you're willing to burn down the village to save it. Eventually, I think, there will be a backlash, and crime will go back up. But Bill will be gone by then."

asked about persistent rumors that he'll soon jump ship, Bratton says even if he stays only another year, "that's enough time to consolidate our gains, so that long after I'm gone, my successors won't retreat." As for Kelly's burning-village imagery, Giuliani and Bratton dismiss such talk as sour grapes, pointing to the benefits of reduced crime being enjoyed by those hardest hit by it: Latinos and African Americans in the poorest parts of New York City. "The crime reduction has been across the board, in every neighborhood," says Bratton. That means four fewer people killed on the wealthy Upper East Side, but 51 fewer killed in war-torn East New York. The people who live there have noticed the change. "It used to be that I was throwing myself on the floor with my son all the time," says Elisandra Beltran, 37, "because of the bullets flying through my window. But now I haven't seen a bullet hole in a year." She doesn't much care who gets the credit, just as long as the bullets don't fly anymore.

-With reporting by Elaine

Blase/New York

F.D. man first to face new federal Charge

Violence Against Women Act

By TODD DORMAN
Messenger staff writer

Federal prosecutors are bringing a provision of the 1994 Crime Bill to bear against a Fort Dodge man twice convicted of domestic abuse.

At a news conference Tuesday in Fort Dodge, United States Attorney Stephen Rapp said Shawn Hungate, Fort Dodge, has been charged with possession of a firearm while subject to a domestic abuse restraining order.

The charge was filed in U.S. District Court in Cedar Rapids Tuesday morning.

It's the first time an Iowan has been charged under a year-old federal law prohibiting anyone under a no-contact order for domestic violence from possessing or buying a firearm.

"This is the first case of its kind filed in the state of Iowa and one of the first cases filed in the nation,"

Rapp said. "This is a statute that needs to be enforced. If it is, it can save lives."

Former Iowa Attorney General Bonnie Campbell was also on hand Tuesday. Campbell now heads the Violence Against Women division of the U.S. Department of Justice.

"This action today is an important way for us to keep underscoring the message that domestic violence is deadly dangerous and that there are laws on the books now and that we mean it when we say we are going to enforce those laws," Campbell said.

For Hungate, who is currently serving jail time for domestic abuse in Webster County, it's the second federal charge leveled against him in two months.

On Feb. 14, Hungate, 25, allegedly purchased a .22 caliber rifle from the Fort Dodge Wal-Mart store while subject to a no-contact order. The order was granted after Hungate choked his former wife, Jill Hungate, on Feb. 4.

On a federal form Hungate signed before purchasing the gun, he al-

'This is the first case of its kind filed in the state of Iowa and one of the first cases filed in the nation.'

Stephen Rapp
U.S. Attorney

legedly claimed he was not subject to a no-contact order.

In buying the gun, Hungate violated Violence Against Women Act provision of the Crime Bill. Hungate then went to the parking lot of his wife's place of work, Ellen's Convalescent Center, and shot himself in the shoulder.

After the shooting, Hungate confronted his wife inside the center.

Hungate is also charged with mailing threatening matter. According to the complaint, Hungate allegedly mailed threatening letters while in custody to Jill Hungate and "another."

Shawn Hungate pleaded guilty to domestic assault and would have

been released Oct. 30. He will now be held by a judicial order without bond while he awaits trial on federal charges. Rapp said he will make an initial appearance in Sioux City Thursday.

The new charge carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine. The threatening mail count carries a maximum five-year sentence and a \$250,000 fine.

A string of incidents and charges against Hungate began in October 1993.

On October 13, 1993, Hungate was charged with hitting his then-pregnant wife "three to four times in the head." At that time, Jill Hungate requested a restraining order. Shawn Hungate pleaded guilty to the charge Nov. 22, 1993 and was placed on probation for two years.

On Feb. 4, 1995, Hungate was again charged with domestic assault for allegedly choking his wife. A no-contact order was issued against Hungate on Feb. 5. He pleaded

guilty to the charge in late August.

On Feb. 14, Hungate purchased the rifle, broke the no-contact order and was taken into custody. After a stay at the Cherokee Mental Health Institute, he was taken back into custody March 10.

Prosecutors allege while Hungate was in custody, he sent threatening letters to "Jill Hungate and another."

A portion of one letter read "I hate you so much I could hurt you if I had the chance. I don't want to, but if I'm around you I will. When I get out I will be back for you."

Campbell said 49 Iowa women have been killed by their intimate partners since 1990. She said 26 were shot to death and many had obtained restraining orders against their partners.

"Congress recognized these are very volatile moments in relationships," Campbell said.

Campbell is the second Clinton administration official to tout the president's crime bill in Iowa in the last two days. Vice President Al Gore spoke on the legislation in Des Moines Monday.

Fort Dodge man charged under 1994 crime bill

U.S. Attorney Stephen Rapp calls them as dangerous as convicted felons.

FORT DODGE, Iowa (AP) — A Fort Dodge man was charged Tuesday with a federal crime under the Violence Against Women Act that became law last year.

Shawn Huogate, 25, is charged with possessing a firearm while he was under a domestic violence restraining order. U.S. Attorney Stephen Rapp filed the charge in federal district court in Cedar Rapids.

"These people need to be disarmed. Congress has determined that they're as dangerous as convicted felons," Rapp said.

According to Rapp's complaint, while Huogate was under the no-contact order, he bought a gun on Feb. 14 at a Wal-Mart store in Fort Dodge. Before the purchase, he had to sign a firearms record saying he wasn't under a restraining order. Huogate shot himself in the shoulder with the gun and then confronted his wife at her job.

Huogate is being held in the Webster County Jail on a domestic violence conviction. He was scheduled for release Oct. 30. But with the new charge, he'll be taken to Sioux City, where he'll appear in federal court Thursday.

Rapp was joined at a news conference by Bonnie Campbell, the former Iowa attorney general who is now director of the federal violence against women office.

Campbell said records show 26 Iowa women have been shot to death by their intimate partners since 1990. In many of those cases, the attacker was under a court order prohibiting contact with the victim,

she said.

"This is a new provision in a new law. And we really want to get the word out that if you're under a no-contact order, a restraining order of any kind, you cannot purchase a gun," she said. "When people are under a no-contact order, when a batterer reaches the point where they've been to court, you are dealing generally with someone who's very prone to violence."

"The last thing you want to do is put a gun in the hands of someone who's already outraged and upset

and determined to control the other person."

Campbell said she hopes the Huogate case spreads the word about the new law.

"I think it's important for victims to know, and I would venture to say that maybe not all law enforcement officials know about the law," she said. "It's a very important way to communicate that domestic violence is a crime which will be treated seriously by this justice system."

The federal charge against Huogate has a maximum sentence of 10 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine. He's also charged with sending threatening letters to his wife while he was in jail, a violation with a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine.

"We're talking about a very serious penalty here, which ought to disarm and might to discourage people who aren't going to pay any attention at all to the law," Campbell said.

GUN CHARGE A FIRST FOR IOWA

Crime bill is cited in abuse case

By THOMAS R. O'DONNELL

Of THE REGISTER'S AMES BUREAU

Fort Dodge, Ia. — A Fort Dodge man is the first in Iowa charged under a provision of the 1994 federal crime bill that blocks people under a restraining order for domestic violence from possessing guns.

Shawn Hungate, 25, is to appear in federal court in Sioux City on Thursday, U.S. Attorney Stephen Rapp said Tuesday. Hungate already is serving a term in the Webster County Jail for second-offense domestic violence, but was to be released Oct. 30, Rapp said.

Hungate also faces a federal charge of mailing threatening letters to an unidentified Fort Dodge resident. He faces up to 10 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine on the firearm charge and \$250,000 and five years on the mail charge.

Under the crime bill, people who are under a court order to stay away from their partners because of domestic abuse must give any guns they have to police or a third party. They also are prohibited from buying guns.

The charge against Hungate "is an important way for us to keep underscoring the message that domestic violence is ... deadly dangerous," said Bonnie Campbell, the former Iowa attorney general who heads the Violence Against Women Office of the U.S. Department of Justice.

In a statement, FBI agent Scott French said Shawn Hungate pleaded guilty of domestic assault in November 1993 after he was accused of hitting his then-pregnant wife, Jill, on the head in October 1993.

Shawn Hungate is accused of choking Jill Hungate on Feb. 4, 1995, French said. Court documents also state Shawn Hungate picked up an unidentified person and threatened to throw that person to the floor.

French said a no-contact order was issued the next day, but that on Valentine's Day Shawn Hungate went to the Fort Dodge Wal-Mart store and bought a .22-caliber rifle. On a federal weapons purchase form he filled out before buying the gun, Hungate answered "No" to a question asking if he was subject to a no-contact order, French said.

The charge states Hungate shot himself in the shoulder with the rifle, then went to Jill Hungate's workplace and began yelling for her.

Jill Hungate declined to comment Tuesday.

"To some extent, people aren't aware of this particular law," Rapp said.

Local law officers and prosecutors should tell those under no-contact orders that they are barred from having guns and should seize guns when they enforce the order, he said.

Rapp said Campbell's office is working on a nationwide registry of no-contact orders so police more easily can enforce the law.

The Washington Post

Trail of Violence Keeps Leading To Md. Gun Shop

220 Weapons Seized in Crimes Were Bought in Temple Hills

By Philip P. Pan
Washington Post Staff Writer

On March 31, 1994, four young men went on a shooting rampage at Washington's O Street Market. Nine people were hit; a 15-year-old was killed.

A few days after Thanksgiving, police charged a Capitol Heights woman with shooting and killing her boyfriend after a daylong dispute.

Friday, a sniper fired on a group of soldiers during pre-dawn exercises at Fort Bragg, N.C. One soldier was killed, 18 others were wounded.

The three shootings had one thing in common: Authorities say they have traced weapons involved in a tiny gun shop next to an upholstery store on a quiet street in Temple Hills. Freestate Arms and Munitions, owned for nearly eight years by Jay F. Brooking, was known for its low prices and sold hundreds of weapons each year.

They included the Glock pistol found near the Army sergeant from Clinton accused in the Fort Bragg sniping; the Bersa .380 semiautomatic pistol used in the Capitol Heights domestic dispute; and the Helwan semiautomatic handgun that fired the bullet that killed 15-year-old Duwan A'Van in the O Street Market.

All told, federal law enforcement officials said, more than 220 guns from Brooking's store have been seized by police in connection with criminal activity. Most never left the Washington area, but some were found in New York, St. Louis, San Diego and Puerto Rico.

It wasn't just happenstance, investigators said. They say they believe that Brooking began breaking firearms laws years ago, selling guns illegally.

Authorities said the case is an example of how a large number of guns from a single dealer—licensed by the government—can quickly and quietly fall into the wrong hands. The damage can be done long before the police even notice, there's a problem.

Many dealers have weapons used in crimes traced back to them; usually the dealers have done nothing illegal. What is different about Brooking is the sheer volume of crime-related guns that originated from his rela-

tively small store, and the speed with which his guns made their way to criminals.

Brooking, 39, of Silver Spring, isn't charged in connection with the crimes committed using Freestate guns. Police still are investigating whether he sold those guns legally. But after a six-month undercover investigation by Maryland State Police and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, he was charged in September with 10 misdemeanor counts of violating state gun laws, including selling illegal weapons and selling guns without conducting background checks on the buyers.

The authorities shut down his store, yet the guns from it keep coming back to haunt them: Six more guns traced to Brooking's store have been seized at crime scenes, including the one at Fort Bragg.

"They'll probably keep coming in forever," said Sgt. Jack Simpson, of the Maryland State Police firearm unit.

D.C. homicide detective Brian Callen, who handled two homicides linked to a gun sold by Freestate, said, "I'm glad they shut it down, but it doesn't do much good if it doesn't stay closed."

It didn't stay closed in 1987, when the store's previous owner, James G. Griffin, was indicted on multiple counts of gun law violations, including selling guns with obliterated serial numbers. Griffin was convicted, according to court records, and he sold the store to Brooking.

A call to the phone number listed on Brooking's firearm license was answered by a woman who said he no longer was there, but she promised several times to deliver requests for an interview. Brooking never responded, and the phone has been disconnected.

According to one investigator, Brooking kept meticulous records of his gun sales during the first few years he ran the shop.

In 1992, Brooking called federal officials with a tip that led to the seizure of a large cache of arms in a District teenager's home. "Guns are for honest people, not for criminals," he told reporters at the time. "If criminals misuse guns, I think they should be punished for it."

But authorities said they have found gaps in Freestate's sales records for purchases they believe occurred as far back as 1989. They said they also have found background-check forms at the store that

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were never forwarded to state police.

More than half of the 220 guns traced to Freestate were seized by police during arrests on weapon-possession charges. About 50 others are linked to homicide, narcotics or assault investigations, and most of the rest were taken from kidnapping, robbery and burglary suspects.

Pieced together in interviews with ATF agents in Hyattsville and Washington, local police officers and prosecutors, the list of crimes linked to Brooking's guns presents a chronicle of violence in urban America.

There's the semiautomatic pistol that the woman in Capitol Heights allegedly used to kill her boyfriend. Prosecutors said Herman Lyles, 22, was shot in the chest, groin and right hand. Defense attorneys have argued

that he was physically abusive and that the woman fired in self-defense.

There's an Intratec 9mm handgun that police found in a duplex apartment bloodied during a fight over drugs and money between two men. As the pair struggled over a gun on the bathroom floor, police said, a 16-year-old neighbor ran into the room, grabbed another gun and shot James Louis Pierce Jr., 21, several times in the head.

Another Freestate gun—a .45-caliber AutoOrdinance handgun—was taken from a 21-year-old arrested in the slaying of two teenagers during a particularly violent gun battle on the streets of far Southeast Washington in April. One of the victims was Reco Leon Cunningham, the 15-year-old grandson of Rosa Lee Cunningham, whose life was the subject of a series published in The Washington Post last year.

Law enforcement officials said the shootout that killed Cunningham was part of a feud between two groups of teenagers that has resulted in a string of shooting deaths, including three this summer. Investigators said they believe Brooking's store

cont'd.

New teachers union adds moral dimension to goals

By K.L. Billingsley
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SAN DIEGO — A year after its inception, an upstart association of educators is waging a David-vs.-Goliath battle and making enough headway to draw attention from the nation's old-line teachers unions.

The Association of American Educators (AAE), based in Orange County, Calif., says its primary purpose is "to encourage and support teachers who embrace similar views on education in America, namely that education should aim to improve a young person's character as well as his or her intellect."

"Most Americans believe that a civil society needs a clearly defined moral code based on historic values and that we must inculcate those values into each generation," AAE Executive Director Gary Beckner says.

The AAE, Mr. Beckner says, "will do everything we can to keep legislators and educational leaders focused on the need for rein-

vigorating character education in our national curriculum."

The AAE is part of the Coalition of Independent Education Associations and opposes teacher strikes and compulsory union membership. The group also pushes for increased parental involvement and local control of schools but pledges not to finance political candidates or "religious agendas."

A graduate of Florida State University, Mr. Beckner has taught in community colleges in California for nearly 20 years. He formed the nonprofit association last year with his own money.

The AAE has acquired more than 3,000 members without any advertising, mass mailings or government grants. Members include William Kilpatrick, professor of education at Boston College and author of "Why Johnny Can't Tell Right From Wrong."

"Three thousand members is very unusual for a start-up nonprofit without an exotic cause," says Spencer Brand of the Endowment for Community Leadership, which seeks to rebuild traditional

In the AAE's first survey of members, a third said the NEA does not represent the views of most of the teachers in their schools.

values and personal responsibility in the nation's inner cities.

The AAE's goal is to acquire 200,000 members by 2000, one-tenth the current membership of the National Education Association (NEA), the nation's largest teachers union.

In the AAE's first survey of members, a third said the NEA does not represent the views of most of the teachers in their schools.

While dissatisfaction with the NEA and other unions has driven some teachers to the AAE, Mr. Beckner says his group does not "believe that opposition to some of the NEA's positions is enough of a reason to establish a competitive association."

"We must be attractive because of what we stand for, not against."

Sixty-eight percent of AAE members said a lack of character education and moral instruction, along with the 1960s fad of "values clarification," is to blame for today's dismal conditions. Fifty-nine percent said bureaucrats have too much control without teacher comment and blamed federal and state agencies for the problem.

Mr. Beckner says some teachers who disagree with particular items on the AAE agenda sign on anyway because the group offers liability insurance with its membership dues of \$79 per year. That has not delighted the NEA, which calls the fledgling organization an "attempt to divide educators."

"The AAE appears to be a stalking horse for right-wing groups," the NEA publication Early Warning said in November.

Senate, House panels to grill Justice officials on crime probes

By Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Crime becomes the battleground du jour between the Clinton administration and the GOP majority in Congress as House and Senate panels counter the president's new tough-on-crime commercials with hearings on a botched federal pornography investigation and a drop in federal drug arrests.

In the Senate today, Republicans will open their first oversight hearing questioning how a Justice Department official let an organized-crime family in pornography know the FBI had a confidential informant in its midst, a Judiciary Committee source said.

Investigators for the panel believe four persons knew the informant existed, and that one of them, a member of the Justice Depart-

ment's Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section, leaked that to a lawyer for the crime family.

After another member of that section filed an ethics complaint against the suspected leaker, the latter was asked to investigate the source of the leak, was later promoted and still works at the Justice Department, according to the committee source, who requested anonymity.

The investigation, expected to be prosecuted under federal racketeering laws, collapsed and the crime family was fined rather than arrested, the source said.

The events spanned the end of the Bush administration and the beginning of President Clinton's tenure, the source said.

Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Iowa Republican and chairman of the subcommittee on courts and administrative practice, plans to ask

The hearings come the same day Mr. Clinton launches an unprecedented advertising campaign portraying him as tough on crime and defending the assault-weapons ban.

Attorney General Janet Reno to assure that documents on the case are available to federal investigators probing the incident.

Also today, Chairman Orrin G. Hatch of Utah is expected to question Miss Reno about a drop in federal drug arrests since President Clinton took office.

In the House, Rep. Bill Zeff, New Hampshire Republican, continues hearings on drug interdiction. Officials of the Drug Enforce-

ment Administration and U.S. Coast Guard are to testify before his subcommittee on employment, housing and aviation.

The hearings come the same day Mr. Clinton launches an unprecedented advertising campaign portraying him as tough on crime and defending the assault-weapons ban, authored last year by the White House and passed by the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress. Republicans have targeted the ban for repeal.

"Anybody not part of their group is 'right-wing,'" says Jeanne Allen of the Center for Education Reform, a nonprofit educational advocacy group in Washington. "You don't have to be conservative to not like unions these days."

Some AAE members, such as Thomas Fleming, a former national Teacher of the Year, oppose moves to take children out of public schools. The AAE describes itself as a "professional trade association devoted to regaining respect and esteem for our nation's public school teachers."

"There is a huge probability for success, but it's slow going because it is done on an individual basis," says Mrs. Allen, adding that the movement for educational alternatives is growing, with 15 regional organizations, including the 70,000-member Texas Association of Professional Educators.

"These groups provide the benefits of a union without the disadvantages — the policy and politics," Mrs. Allen says. "This is in demand and will grow slowly and effectively over time."

The three-commercial, \$2.4 million campaign begins airing today in a dozen states that represent more than a third of the nation's 538 electoral votes. The 30-second spots are expected to run through July and were paid for by the Clinton-Gore Primary Committee.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry yesterday denied the kickoff was timed to counter the oversight hearings.

"They're unrelated," he said during a briefing. The advertising campaign, he said, had been discussed by administration officials since the beginning of the year. At that time, Republican leaders vowed to repeal the assault-weapons ban and convert funding for 100,000 more police officers to block grants, which localities could use for crimefighting as they see fit.

RAM
Did you see this
BR

Alexander, Buchanan start spending for ads

Most GOP candidates thirst for recognition

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Lamar Alexander and Pat Buchanan have done the unthinkable: They're spending money on media advertising eight months before the first Republican presidential primary. Phil Gramm and Pete Wilson could follow suit.

That used to be considered a waste this early. But in the run for the 1996 GOP nomination, three things have changed:

- Republicans have a weak field. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas is barely running even in the polls with Mr. Clinton and yet is far ahead of his two closest party rivals — Mr. Gramm, of Texas, and Mr. Buchanan, the conservative commentator.

- Mr. Alexander, the former Tennessee governor, and Mr. Wilson, the governor of California, have even less name recognition, along with the rest of the GOP field.

- Most candidates have no time to get themselves known and raise money once the primary season begins because this time it will be so compressed. The primaries begin in February and all but end in March. That makes it almost an equivalent of the one-day national primary some reformers have long clamored for.

- The compression threatens to get worse: Alaska may move its presidential delegate-selection caucuses up to Jan. 29 and Louisiana may move its caucuses to Feb. 6 — both ahead of Iowa's Feb. 12 caucuses. And the three caucuses would precede the Feb. 20 New Hampshire primary.

"If they keep moving the primaries up, we're all going to be running spots next week," said Gramm campaign media consultant Alex Castellanos.

Mr. Alexander already is spending \$300,000 on TV ads in Iowa and New Hampshire to get his name recognition, now at 1 percent, up to 50 percent or better by Labor Day, according to Mike Murphy, media czar for the former Tennessee governor's GOP presidential nomination campaign.

Mr. Buchanan, who challenged President Bush in the 1992 GOP primary, has been running radio ads in selected regional conservative markets.

Even President Clinton's re-election committee is off to an unprecedented early advertising start. It is spending at least \$1.8 million on TV ads in selected markets now through mid-July to define the president and Vice President Al Gore as the toughest ever on crime, long before the Republicans and the press start defining him in the fall.

The problem with the GOP field is that Mr. Dole, who ran for president twice before and gets free daily TV exposure as majority leader, continues to dominate the telephone polling of GOP voters so thoroughly that the other candidates are beginning to worry about their fund raising.

Voters don't pay much attention to candidates in the summer, so most professional campaign advisers say privately that the Alexander campaign is aimed just as much at potential donors — to impress them that

ALEXANDER'S AD

Lamar Alexander, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, yesterday unveiled his first campaign ad. The following is the text of the ad, which will run in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Announcer: The experts said he'd never win. . . . then he walked 1,000 miles across his state, bringing people together, and became the governor who cleaned up corruption in Tennessee.

Lamar Alexander.

A record from Washington.

A conservative governor who balanced eight budgets. Kept taxes the fifth lowest of any state. Reformed education. Brought in the auto industry, with Saturn, and later, helped found a new business that now has 1,200 employees.

Lamar Alexander. Governor.

Businessman. Education secretary. A Republican, running for president from the real world.

Mr. Alexander: "I'm coming to New Hampshire [Iowa] this summer to get to know you. Because the answer to our problem isn't in Washington, D.C. The answer is in our churches, families, neighborhoods and schools. It's about growth and jobs, freedom from big government, and a lot more personal responsibility.

I'm Lamar Alexander. Let's get to know each other and then let's get about the business of helping America aim for the top."

The Washington Times

his campaign is doing something.

It appears to be working for the Tennesseean, gaining him initial publicity about the ads even before they began running.

"Lamar asked me to keep this boomlet under control. He doesn't want to peak too soon," Alexander campaign spokesman Dan McLagan quipped.

Mr. Castellanos said there are no plans — so far, at least — to buy advertising before autumn for Mr. Gramm. Still, Mr. Gramm's name recognition lags well behind Mr. Dole's and Mr. Buchanan's in Iowa and New Hampshire.

But he also noted it is no longer considered stupid for a candidate to spend money on advertising this early. "The rules of the game have changed," he said. "The market has fragmented, there are more vehicles to reach voters than ever before and there is what amounts to a national primary."

As for buying advertising for the Wilson campaign, spokesman Dan Schnur said: "We don't have any plans right now, but we've always kept an open mind about those kinds of things. When the governor ran for re-election last year, we put on ads for the general-election campaign three months before the primary because at that point voters had already started to pay attention.

"We don't think voters are paying attention now, but if that changes, so might our strategy," Mr. Schnur said.

Community Policing Advocate Is 'Top Cop'

By Peter Finn
Chronicle East Bay Bureau

Hayward Police Chief Joseph Brann, who built a nationwide reputation as an innovator while heading a relatively small department, was appointed yesterday to head President Clinton's police hiring program mandated in the crime bill.

The decision to name Brann, the nation's "top cop" places a strong advocate of community policing in charge of the president's program to put 100,000 new officers on the streets and represents a major push by the administration to focus national attention on that form of crime prevention.

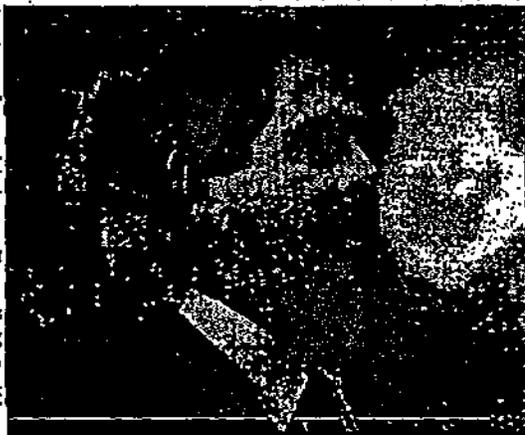
Community policing, which emphasizes personal contact between police officers and the community, is a primary focus of the crime bill Clinton signed three months ago — and is a target in Republican-led attempts to cut social programs.

The president appointed Brann yesterday during a Justice Department ceremony in Washington, D.C., during which he also gave the go-ahead for hiring up to 4,888 police officers immediately nationwide.

"This is a very happy day for the people of the United States," Clinton said.

The move came as a surprise to many who expected Clinton to name someone better known in Washington. But to those who know Brann, it was an astute choice.

"He's not a chief of a major city, but he's an excellent choice because he has demonstrated a strong commitment to community-oriented policing," said Jerome Skolnick, a law professor and sociologist at the University of California at Berkeley and a nationally-known advocate of community policing. "He's an unusually capable, smart person."



Hayward Police Chief Joseph Brann was sworn in as head of a U.S. police program.

Brann was hired to be the chief of Hayward in 1990 after serving with the Santa Ana Police Department, where he had helped develop a highly acclaimed community policing program. He immediately set out to develop a similar program in Hayward.

Brann, an earnest, clean-cut cop who once vowed to change the prevailing "kick ass and take names" policy of many departments, assigned officers to work with schools, homeowners, tenants and church groups to resolve community problems. City officials say Brann's system, called "Community Policing and Problem Solving" or COPPS, has reduced crime and increased community trust in the Police Department.

"It isn't perfect, but it has made a difference in our neighborhoods," said Hayward City Councilman Joseph Hilson. "Kids are much more at ease with the police, and people in many areas feel they are better served and protected."

Hayward Mayor Roberta Cooper said Brann is "a visionary" who was hampered only by a lack of resources to hire more officers. She said he will now get an opportunity to solve that problem as well — on a national scale.

"Community policing is solidly entrenched in most California cities as the philosophy of policing, and Joe Brann has been one of the leading and most articulate practitioners in this effort," said Oakland Police Chief Joseph Samuels, Jr. "One of the problems, nationally has been implementation, and I'm confident the program will come to full life as a result of his appointment."

Brann will be in charge of an \$8.8 billion program to help local governments hire up to 100,000 new police officers during the next six years. The 4,888 new officers that President Clinton approved yesterday will go to 691 departments, with the Bay Area getting 148 officers. Departments that will benefit include those in Antioch, Berkeley, Fairfield, Fremont, Hayward, Livermore, Milpitas, Mountain View, Napa, Novato, Oakland, Palo Alto, Pleasanton, Redwood City, Richmond, San Francisco, San Jose, San Mateo, San Rafael, South San Francisco, Sunnyvale, Union City, Vacaville as well as the sheriff's departments in Alameda, Marin, San Mateo and Sonoma counties.

The administration has thus far given the go ahead to 9,547 new police jobs at a cost of \$681 million.

Brann, who will be the national spokesman for the program, will instruct police agencies on ways to implement community programs and be responsible for a staff of 300.

Besides administering one of the largest grant programs in the nation, he will also have to contend with a Republican-led Congress that says the crime bill is larded with pork and contains social programs under the guise of crime prevention.

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White House Sees Anti-Crime Legislation As Boost for Democrats

WASHINGTON (AP) The White House, which claims it has momentum in the midterm elections campaign, hopes to use President Clinton's crime bill as a weapon against Republicans.

The strategy, part of a broader attempt to reverse Clinton's political slump, is simple: Cloak Democrats with the tough-on-crime banner while labeling Republicans as do-nothing obstructionists willing to torpedo good legislation for political reasons.

"What have they done? What is their choice?" Clinton railed at a Bridgeport, Conn., fund-raiser Saturday. Most of them voted against the Brady bill requiring background checks and a five-day wait before purchasing handguns. Most of them voted against the crime bill having once voted for the crime bill because it was election season.

Republicans stood fast against the crime bill, insisting that the White House trim millions of dollars of social programs they considered as fat. The GOP noted that the bill paid for only a fraction of the 100,000 new police Clinton promised, and questioned how much of a dent it would put in the nation's crime problem.

Clinton planned to carry his case to Albuquerque, N.M., where he was to deliver a speech today to the International Association of Chiefs of Police. He planned to argue that the crime bill was the fruit of a new kind of Democratic Party, one that addresses related themes such as personal responsibility and community values.

Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said recent polls show that Clinton's efforts to redefine his presidency and his party are paying off. "The momentum is shifting to us the Democrats," she said Sunday.

A Time Magazine-CNN poll released Saturday indicated that 44 percent of Americans approve of the way Clinton is handling his job, while 47 percent disapprove. However, that represented a slight improvement from Sept. 21-22, when the same pollsters found Clinton's disapproval rating was 53 percent.

The New Mexico trip was to capitalize on Clinton's announcement last week that the first \$200 million in crime bill money would help hire 2,770 street police.

"Today, we have rejected decades of excuses that crime is a local problem that Washington can do nothing about," Clinton said at a South Lawn ceremony. "Washington can do a lot to help you fight crime."

APNP-10-17-94 0848EDT

We're the NRA, proud to have fought a crime of a bill

By Tanya K. Metaksa

We came close.

Both the crime bill and its chief salesman were pushed and shoved nearly over the brink.

And now, as a politically wounded Bill Clinton and his crime of a bill are wheeled into the Rose Garden, bandages and all, Americans want to know: Whodunit?

Yes, 3.4 million members of the National Rifle Association pushed and pushed hard. But so did many Democrat and Republican members of Congress. Conservative think-tanks and the New York Times editorial page. The Cato Institute and USA Today. Americans for Tax Reform and the Wall Street Journal. Also pushing hard were the professionals who make up the entire spectrum of public servants who fight crime — from rank-and-file police officers to dis-

Tanya K. Metaksa is the executive director of the National Rifle Association Institute for Legislative Action.

trict attorneys and correctional officers. Many hands pushed hard.

Politicians who want to give NRA full credit for the attack say the reason is guns. Not so. The biggest shove came from the American people, and the reason is simple: Americans love the open road, but we hate being taken for a ride.

Americans knew the bill was fraud, and we haven't changed our minds. Before the bill stumbled in the House Aug. 11, a poll by Frank Luntz demonstrated that the more Americans learned about the bill, the more they disliked it. Just yesterday, The Washington Times reported that area police still feel the same way. Referring to one local chief, The Times wrote, "The more he learns about the provisions of the crime bill, the less hopeful he becomes." In short, Americans are still learning and still disliking. The bill's political makeover was just that: cosmetics.

Even on gun control, Americans know the score. Deep down, Americans sense what's been proven by criminologists, seen by street officers and demonstrated by the bitter statistics of Washington: Gun

bans don't work. Constitutionally wrong, criminologically unsound, this particular ban is also downright stupid. A firearm is no longer a device that expels a projectile by rapidly burning propellant. The crime of a bill now re-defines firearm to include a magazine — an inert piece of sheet metal, a couple of rivets and a spring. This is not about 19 guns or the nearly 200 guns the bill actually bans, which are rarely used in crime. Americans know precisely what this Orwellian newspeak is all about: It is about their guns and their rights and their freedom.

It's also about their money and their safety. Americans know that for every dollar spent on a prison bed, nearly two dollars in victimization costs are averted. But the crime bill money-changers have other ideas. In this bill, American crime victims still spend nearly a dollar on experimental social projects for every dollar spent on prisons. Yes, federal crime fighters are still committed to reforming tomorrow's John Wayne Gacy by fitting him for a tutu.

But it's far worse than dance lessons. When the politicians set-

tled on the bill's makeover, they not only pulled Bill Clinton back from the precipice but left crime victims teetering on the edge.

In "Alternative Sentencing: Selling It To The Public," a former governor of Delaware wrote in 1991 that he put "an end to the old-fashioned and inaccurate concept that criminal justice means prisons and only prisons." To fight against prison-building, he urged other politicians to use sound bites tailored not to crime victims but to "a typical consumer, someone struggling to balance a checkbook and make ends meet. Think about how ... your child's teacher would react if you told them how much money is being taken out of their pockets ... to take care of criminals."

The author is Michael Castle. That same champion of the anti-prison movement is now the U.S. representative who fought to save the president and his crime of a bill. It's no surprise that the makeover crime bill incorporates the worst the anti-prison movement has to offer — "alternatives to incarceration" — alternatives that look good, sound good and kill good.

Judge for yourself: The bill's so-called "prison provisions" for young offenders specifically prohibit building new correctional facilities for criminals up to age 22.

Americans knew the bill was fraud. Before it stumbled in the House Aug. 11, a poll by Frank Luntz demonstrated that the more Americans learned about the bill, the more they disliked it.

Instead, the bill sentences criminals in their most "productive" years to "innovative projects" — in other words, anything other than the concrete and steel of incapaci-

tation. Indeed, the "compromise" doesn't require one cent of the nearly \$8 billion to be spent on any new prison beds. All eight billion dollars can be used to "improve" prison conditions, expand square footage per inmate or generate more "alternatives to incarceration."

What are these "alternatives to incarceration"? Whatever name politicians put on them, they amount to the same thing: More criminals back on our streets. How well do they "work"? Ask a victim: Tried and convicted criminals on some form of release murder 14 people, rape 48 women and rob 578 Americans every day. This year, 60,000 criminals will be convicted of a violent crime, and see "alternatives to incarceration," not prison.

NRA was proud to play a key role in opposing this dangerous fraud. Unfortunately, as the president is fond of saying, it was a win for the special interests — this time, popularity and re-election, the special interests of politicians. Next time, we expect the special interests of Americans will prevail: justice and the Constitution. You can trust that NRA will play a key role that day, too.

File Bill Crime Victims

They have good reason to believe this is possible. To cite just one example, many of the present regime's enforcers, the gunmen of a movement known as FRAPH, have links with the Tontons Macoute, the eerily brutal paramilitary organized by the Duvalier regime, which was finally overthrown in 1986. Many are believed to feel now that, if they can survive a rocky and perhaps violent transition, they can eventually regain power.

With this in mind, Western and Haitian analysts believe, junta gunmen are trying to kill as many of Aristide's grassroots activists as possible, with the aim of weakening the most powerful and committed segment of the president's political base. Organizers in Cite Soleil, Port-au-Prince's biggest slum and a bastion of support for Aristide, fear that they might be the target of a last minute spasm of the junta's rage.

Crime bill passage a victory, and vindication, for Sen. Biden

**By Thomas Oliphant
Boston Globe**

WASHINGTON The memory of that day seven years ago is seared into my brain.

Maybe now that the generator of it has finished one of the most astonishing feats of legislative leadership I have ever seen, it can become just another memory.

There stood Joe Biden that early autumn '87 day in a jammed Senate hearing room, his presidential campaign in ruins for reasons that were mostly not his fault. Unlike Gary Hart, the other casualty of a press feeding frenzy that weird year, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee had displayed not a molecule of bitterness, rancor or self-pity in calling a halt to the hemorrhaging of his support by withdrawing from the race. His frustration and hurt were palpable, however, and gave the nationally televised event far more tension than pathos.

As the press conference was ending, his eyes for some reason locked on mine; believe me, when those electric, beady things focus on you, you can literally feel it. As he prepared to walk away from the podium his last words came slowly: "I'll be back, Oliphant, I'll be back."

I never doubted it, such was my minority-view sense of this guy's ability and character, so absurdly attacked via the parking violation-type goofs of his campaign and youth that produced the frenzy. Last week, when the Senate majority leader, George Mitchell who is from Maine, where hyperbole is illegal called Biden both the Senate's most underrated member and its most effective legislator there was not a single wise-guy giggle.

What no one could know seven years ago was that Biden wasn't through hitting the wall. Shortly after his withdrawal, a splitting headache and dizziness turned out to be a blood clot that nearly killed him and probably would have if he had still been running for president and confused his symptoms with fatigue and stress. Delicate surgery and a long recuperation followed, and upon resuming his duties Biden resolved to tackle an issue (crime) that had eluded all save demagogues for 20 years.

It is typical of today's frivolous press that far more attention has been paid to the purely political shouting match of the last two weeks than to the legislation itself and the nature of the problems that induced Biden to act six years ago.

To oversimplify, the resources of law enforcement had been overwhelmed in the late 1980s by two trends: the surge in violent crime itself and the budgetary strain caused by get-tough sentencing rules imposed by politicians (some with reason, many without) that produced

the largest per capita prison population in the world.

To lead a response, Biden courted and then married the law enforcement community down to the precinct stations and municipal courts. He also cajoled and browbeat his own party to loosen its doctrinaire moorings and respond to those who actually fight crime. And from the beginning (President Clinton, please note) Biden involved numerous Republicans in his law-writing, which is why seven of them were aboard in the end. One of the keys to leadership, his behavior reminds us, is the ability to graciously steal other people's ideas.

From the start, the core of the federal response has been jails and cops (\$23.3 billion of the \$30.2 billion total over six years). Almost as crucial were two new policy thrusts worth a few billion more: separate drug courts for first-time, non-violent, small-fry drug peddlers, along with a massive drug treatment effort in the prisons; and an assault on the long-ignored other source of escalating crime the kind that occurs off the streets, in the home, against women and children.

The rest of the program involves prevention. To grasp how much hot air was expended about "pork," it suffices to know that for the first four years, this bill involves less money than the first-cousin the Senate passed with more than 90 yes votes last December.

The politics was grubby for six years, but real leaders get their nails dirty, as Biden did. The final hurdle, and the first one, was guns cleared because Bill Clinton took on a struggle against assault weapons that George Bush ducked.

Biden's triumph will end neither crime nor demagoguery, but in six years, no serious person will be able to say that lack of jail space or cops or even "tough" laws is the problem; at that point we'll have to look in the mirror.

The truth is, this remarkable man came back a long time ago. Last week, a lot more people noticed.

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(Thomas Oliphant is a Washington columnist for the Boston Globe. Readers may write to him at the Boston Globe Washington bureau, 1130 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 520, Washington, DC 20036.)

*File
Crime Bill -
newsclips*

Date: 09/22/94 Time: 16:30

Judge Issues Permanent Injunction Against Juvenile Curfew

MIAMI (AP) Dade County's juvenile curfew ordinance was ruled unconstitutional 10 days before a new state law allowing such curfews takes effect.

Circuit Judge Norman Gerstein issued a permanent injunction Wednesday, saying the ordinance violates juveniles' privacy rights under the Florida Constitution.

"There was no evidence offered which indicated that a countywide curfew would have any effect on the small group of repeat offenders" responsible for the bulk of the county's juvenile crime, Gerstein ruled.

Metro-Dade commissioners adopted the ordinance in January and the American Civil Liberties Union challenged it. Gerstein issued a temporary injunction barring enforcement and the order was upheld by a state appeals court.

The Florida Legislature subsequently passed a bill making it legal for cities and counties to have juvenile curfews. Governor Lawton Chiles signed it May 18; the law takes effect Oct. 1.

"That statute alone provided the legal authority for us to have this ordinance," said Roy Wood, a county assistant attorney.

A similar law in Tampa survived a challenge. On May 31, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a curfew in Dallas.

Metro-Dade Commissioner James Burke, who sponsored the Dade ordinance, said he hoped the county will appeal.

"What is my belief is it will be decided by the Florida Supreme Court ultimately," Burke said.

ACLU attorney Robert Parks, who argued against the ordinance in court, praised Gerstein's ruling.

"It was just a crummy piece of legislation ... bottom line," Parks said.

The curfew called for young people under 17 to be off the streets between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m. on week nights and from midnight to 6 a.m. on weekends. Youths going to or from work and attending school, church or other organized events were exempt, along with those accompanied by parents or guardians.

The ordinance said a juvenile would be detained on a first offense and his parents would be called. Three-time offenders would be turned over to a juvenile judge and subject to probation and community service, with possible \$500 fines for their parents.

APNP-09-22-94 1630EDT

Experts Doubt Effectiveness of the Newly Enacted Crime Bill

By DAVID JOHNSTON
with STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — The \$30 billion crime bill signed into law today by President Clinton responds to the country's rising fear of crime, but law-enforcement experts contend that it is a symbolic swipe that does not go far enough toward stopping the kind of street violence that is increasingly haunting America.

The measure, which will help cities and towns hire 100,000 police officers over six years, spreads the new officers so thin that critics doubt they will make a difference. It bans the manufacture, sale and possession of 19 military assault weapons, but leaves in circulation many thousands of the same firearms. It imposes the death penalty for about 60 offenses, some of which had already been capital offenses and most of which rarely occur. It provides the biggest infusion of cash grants to cities for social programs since the Carter Administration, but does not guarantee that Congress will actually approve the outlays.

Nevertheless, its proponents say the law represents an optimistic beginning, a fundamental change in the role that the Federal Government plays in crime-fighting that could begin to restore public confidence in the ability of Government to take the offensive against crime.

"Today the bickering stops," Mr. Clinton said at a White House signing ceremony attended by police chiefs, big-city mayors, members of Congress and relatives of crime victims. "The era of excuses is over; the law-abiding citizens of our country have made their voices heard. Never again should Washington put politics and party above law and order."

The law includes a sprawling array of programs, many of them untested, that taken together have little overall coherence. It reflects the ideological divisions that had stymied Congressional efforts to enact a crime bill for years as well as the pet projects of legislators whose votes were needed to pass it at last.

"It's a Christmas tree designed by Salvador Dali," James Q. Wilson, a professor of public policy at the University of California at Los Angeles, said of the law.

Whether the measure signed today provides the tools to reduce crime or is merely a flimsy bauble to dangle before voters is something still being debated. For example, while the Administration touts the notion that the law will provide 100,000 new police officers, it will be difficult to determine whether mayors will hold back municipal money they would have used to hire police officers if the Federal money were not available.

"It is by no means clear how many police officers you will get, net, as a result of this bill," said Franklin Zimring, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley Law School, "and it is by no means measurable."

As is often the case, it is also not clear whether the Federal Government will provide all the money for the crime-fighting efforts envisioned in the measure. Unlike many Federal laws, the crime bill specifies precisely where the money will come from: a \$30 billion reduction in other Federal spending, presumably to be achieved by not replacing 270,000 Federal workers who will retire over the next six years.

But like all Federal laws, the crime bill must get money from Congress every year for each specific program.

The law redefines the decades-old relationship between the Government and the states on law enforcement. During the Presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, Federal law enforcement expanded rapidly with bigger budgets for agents, prosecutors and prisons. But little went for local law enforcement.

Now, the Justice Department will be placed in the unfamiliar role of funneling billions of Federal dollars back to states, counties and cities while at the same time giving the central Government a larger voice than it has ever had in setting policies for local police and prison systems.

"I don't believe that we are going to wave a

magic wand and change conditions overnight," said Associate Attorney General John R. Schmidt, who will supervise putting much of the law into effect. "But I think there is serious reason to believe that this can make a difference. If people start believing we are making a difference, that in and of itself will make a difference in community attitudes toward crime."

The New Officers

Will Billions Mean Mean a Net Gain?

The centerpiece of the law is a program, called COPS (Community Oriented Policing Services), to help cities, counties and towns hire police officers. With \$1.3 billion authorized this fiscal year, and \$8.8 billion over the next six years, Administration officials predict the program will result in the hiring of 100,000 officers.

To qualify for the money, the Justice Department will ask law-enforcement agencies to set up community policing programs to enhance their connections their social service networks. Many police departments support the approach as a positive method of crime control. Half the money must be spent in localities with populations of less than 150,000 people.

Attorney General Janet Reno said in a speech last week that by early October, the Justice Department would send \$200 million to communities around the country to hire 2,000 police officers, the first of 20,000 in the first 16 months of the program. By the 1996 Presidential election, Ms. Reno has promised to award grants to hire 40,000 cops.

Some mayors of moderately large cities, like Mayor Frank Jordan of San Francisco, who is a former police chief there, said today that he was anxious to apply for the money, seeing it as a badly needed infusion of money to hire the 200 officers needed to fulfill a local mandate, approved by the city's voters, to bring his police department up to its full strength of about 2,000 officers.

But some law-enforcement analysts said the Administration has in effect misled local officials by vastly overstating the number of police officers who can be hired under the program, with some predictions suggesting that no more than 20,000 full-time officers will be permanently hired under the law.

The money, they said, is intended only as a short-term Federal subsidy that will never pay any more three-fourths of a police officer's salary and then only for a few years.

Jonathan Rubinstein, a former police officer who has written extensively about police hiring and training, said that while the nation's cities certainly needed more police, the idea that the bill would remedy this problem had been oversold.

Mr. Rubinstein said the grants in the bill provided for an increasingly smaller share each year for local governments, forcing them to increase their own budgets. At the end of six years, the local governments will have to assume the entire burden. Local officials know, he said, that entails a 50-year commitment for each officer, 20 years of service and 30 years of pensions.

"Local governments may be leery of getting involved in this," he said.

The Prisons

States Leery Of New Rules

While critics contend that much of the new crime legislation is window dressing whose effect on public policy will be minimal, no such claim is being made about the measure's provision to spend \$8.7 billion over the next six years helping states build more prisons.

From 1973 to 1992, the number of people in

state and Federal prisons and city and county jails soared to 1.3 million from about 350,000, an increase that translates into placing about 900 more people behind bars each week for 20 years. During the same period, violent crime rates did not change.

Still, the law Mr. Clinton signed today will continue, maybe even accelerate this trend, though experts cannot say how many prisons cells will be added as a result of the measure.

The law divides the money into two pots. About half will be spent under the Violent Offender Incarceration program, which comes with few strings attached. That portion of the law allows states to spend money on prisons for violent criminals and, despite its name, on alternative programs like boot camps for nonviolent offenders.

Each state is guaranteed one-quarter of 1 percent of this money each year with the rest being distributed on the basis of competitive grants or by way of a formula that measures its violent-crime rate.

The other half of the \$8.7 billion for prison construction is to go to states that enact "truth in sentencing" laws that guarantee that individuals convicted of violent crimes serve at least 85 percent of their sentences. On average, according to the Justice Department and others who have studied state sentencing, people convicted for violent crimes serve 55 percent of their sentences.

From the beginning, state governments lobbied hard against this sentencing provision. Passage of truth in sentencing could lead to a huge increase in the number of people in state prisons, and a huge cost in prison construction programs. And while there is no guarantee that the Federal Government will continue paying for prison construction beyond these next six years, the state sentencing laws will not doubt remain on the books, continuing the increase the prison population.

As a result of pressure from governors, Congress said that if states decided not to use the money earmarked for states that enact truth-in-sentencing laws, their shares would automatically be shifted to the Violent Offenders Incarceration program and be available to state with no strings attached.

The Death Penalty

Rise in Executions Not at All Certain

In many ways the expansion of the death penalty to a number of Federal crimes is one of the more eye-catching provisions of the bill and one that would allow lawmakers to thump their chest and proclaim their toughness. But whether the change in law will result in a raft of executions by the Federal Government, which has not put anyone to death since 1963, is an open question.

Until now, the death penalty could have been imposed for only two Federal offenses: airplane hijacking that results in a loss of life and murders committed by drug kingpins. Under the new bill Federal prosecutors can seek the death penalty for about 60 offenses, some that are already Federal crimes, some that are not.

Among the new categories of Federal capital crimes are murders by an escaped Federal prisoner and slayings that result from smuggling illegal aliens.

Like states that have reimposed capital punishment in recent years, the new Federal law sets up procedures that Federal judges and juries must follow in determining whether to impose a death sentence. These include considering aggravating and mitigating circumstances.

In 1976, the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty can be imposed only if a new set of procedures were adopted. The new adopts these procedures for several crimes, like the assassination of a President, restoring the ability of Federal prosecutors to seek the death penalty.

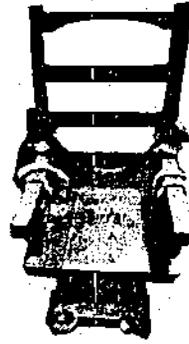
While the the bill greatly expands the num-

FOR THE RECORD

The Federal Death Penalty

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act signed yesterday by President Clinton expands the number of Federal crimes that are punishable by death. In addition, the law reinstates the death penalty that is already on the books for some Federal crimes but that previously could not withstand constitutional scrutiny. The new law brings the earlier statutes into compliance with guidelines set forth by the Supreme Court.

The last Federal execution was March 15, 1963, when a 28-year-old convicted kidnapper, Victor H. Feguer, was hanged at Iowa State Penitentiary. Here are Federal crimes for which the death penalty is now available as a sentencing alternative:



- Aircraft hijacking (either domestic or international) where death results
- Alien smuggling where death results
- Assassination of the President or Vice President or a Member of Congress, Cabinet member or Supreme Court Justice
- Carjacking where death results
- Destroying Federal property (with explosives) where death results
- Destruction of aircraft, motor vehicles or their facilities where death results
- Drive-by shooting where death results
- Drug trafficking in very large amounts (even where no death results)
- First-degree murder on Federal land or property
- Genocide
- Gun murders during Federal crimes of violence and drug trafficking crimes
- Hostage taking where death results
- Kidnapping where death results
- Killing of a person in the Federal witness protection program
- Killing or attempted killing by a drug kingpin of a public officer or juror to obstruct justice
- Mailing injurious articles (e.g. explosives) where death results
- Murder at a U.S. international airport
- Murder by a Federal prisoner and murder by an escaped Federal prisoner serving a life sentence
- Murder for hire
- Murder in aid of racketeering activity
- Murder involving firearms in Federal facilities
- Murder of a Federal witness, victim or informant
- Murder of a state correctional officer by a prisoner
- Murder of a United States citizen abroad by another United States citizen
- Murder of court officers and jurors
- Murder of Federal law enforcement officials
- Murder of foreign officials or internationally-protected people on U.S. soil
- Murder of state or local officials assisting Federal law enforcement officials
- Murder within the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States
- Robbery of a federally insured bank where death results
- Sexual abuse where death results
- Sexual exploitation of children where death results
- Torture where death results
- Train sabotage where death results
- Transporting explosives with intent to kill where death results
- Treason and espionage
- Use of weapons of mass destruction (e.g. biological weapons or poison gas) where death results
- Violating a person's federally protected rights based on race, religion or national origin where death results

The Assault Weapons

Lonely Regulation In Open Market

The new law will ban the manufacture, sale and possession of 19 semiautomatic weapons, rifles that enable shooters to fire numerous rounds without reloading. The ban, which also bars magazines holding a large number of bullets in firing position, is aimed particularly at weapons intended to look like assault-style military weapons and are sometimes used in violent crimes.

The ban could halt the manufacture of a broader range of weapons because it describes certain characteristics of the most lethal assault-style weapons, like a pistol grips or folding stocks, that will also make weapons not explicitly covered to be subject to the restrictions.

The ban replaces a Bush Administration measure that stopped imports of assault-style semiautomatics. But it stops short of halting the production of all semiautomatic weapons and does nothing to eliminate the assault weapons already in circulation.

Josh Sugarmann, executive director of the Violence Policy Center, a gun control group, said the ban was like "an island of regulation in a vast sea of laissez-faire production" of firearms that could limit the law's effect. "The question remains how effective it will be and how creative the industry will be in trying to work around the definitions."

The Social Programs

An Emphasis On Prevention

The bill provides \$7 billion for a broad collection of crime prevention programs, some of which were attacked as little more than pork during the final debates over the bill, but which their sponsors say will help divert people from crime and provide alternatives to prosecution and incarceration.

Paul McNulty, a former head of policy development at the Justice Department who helped advise Republican lawmakers, said the money was too scattered to be effective. "It's a confused way of looking at crime prevention," he said. "It appropriates money in every direction at once and was put together in a very political climate, not with sound thinking about how we should carefully spend our money as a deficit nation."

Programs to be financed include drug courts to steer nonviolent drug users in rehabilitation programs and the Ounce of Prevention Council to make grants to reduce gang membership and drug abuse, and programs to combat delinquency.

The package includes programs to prevent violence against women and domestic violence that supporters contend represent a significant civil rights advance.

ber of Federal crimes that can result in a death sentence, many of them — like murder resulting from an attack using firearms on a Federal facility, murder of a Federal poultry inspector, genocide, espionage, a murder as a result of a letter bomb — seldom occur.

On the other hand, the bill also allows Federal juries to impose the death penalty for killings associated with carjackings, murders that result from drive-by shootings and slayings using a firearm during a violent crime or drug-trafficking offense. All are crimes normally handled by state courts, and should the Federal Government seek to enter this area in a big way, the number of Federal capital cases could sharply grow.

But few experts expect that to happen, if for no other reason than a lack of money. Death penalty cases are expensive. The law requires a two-part trial. The jury first gets evidence and deliberates on a defendant's guilt, and then it revisits the case to determine sentencing.

More national news appears on page B8.

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Local Reaction to the Crime Bill: Delight, With Some Doubts

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

To say that officials in New York City and New York State are delighted with the crime bill is an understatement, and it is not hard to see why.

About \$1 billion is expected to come their way over the six-year life of the bill, with up to three-quarters of that going to the city. Meeting the criteria for the money will require little effort, since many of the programs in the package were patterned after efforts already under way in the city and the state.

"It's not just one piece of this that is great for New York City; the whole bill is fantastic for New York City," said Katherine N. Lapp, the criminal-justice coordinator for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

High Hopes

Whether the crime bill will make the country safer is not a certainty, but both its sponsors and benefactors have high hopes.

"No one will know for a couple of years whether these programs will work," said Representative Charles E. Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat who was a main backer of the legislation. "But I think the odds are that a large number of them will, because the bill was put together with things from different corners of America that did work."

Mr. Giuliani, a former United States Attorney, said that "no one thing in this bill turns around the problem of crime."

"But it helps us in every single area in which we have been doing things," he said, "and we have been getting good results."

Major crime is down 10 percent in New York from last year, according to the police department, Mr. Giuliani said, with murders down 13 percent.

Some Restrained Jubilation

Officials in New Jersey and Connecticut are also pleased to have the additional money, although their jubilation is restrained. New Jersey may get about \$480 million from the new legislation, according to an estimate by the House Democratic Study Group, and Connecticut may end

up with about \$230 million. But officials in both states are concerned that many cities will not be able to come up with the 25 percent share of matching funds required for many parts of the legislation.

New York City officials said they would be able to come up with the matching funds. New York State officials said the state would consider helping other cities that could not meet the matching requirements.

New Jersey and Connecticut officials said they were also concerned about the plan to put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, which is a major provision of the crime package. The officials ques-

'The whole bill is fantastic for New York City.'

tioned whether they would have to shoulder the full costs of employing the additional officers at the end of six years. If the legislation is not extended.

"It's a little like getting hooked on a drug," said Lawrence J. Halloran, a lawyer in Connecticut's office in Washington who follows criminal-justice issues. "It's hard to get off."

But there is some flexibility in the plan to increase the patrol forces, thanks to Mr. Giuliani's negotiations with the Administration.

Largely through the efforts of Mr. Giuliani, and Mr. Schumer, the Clinton Administration agreed that some of the money could be used to hire civilians, who earn less than uniformed officers, and for buying equipment like computers, on the theory that such spending would move officers from behind their desks and onto the streets. Mr. Schumer estimated that a little more than half of the money going to New York, or up to \$450 million, would be in this category.

In all three states, officials voiced some skepticism about the fundamental financing of the \$30.2 billion crime bill with a trust fund. This fund is supposed to be created from savings achieved through reducing the payroll of the Federal Government by at least 265,000 employees.

"I think it's extremely optimistic to believe that the bill will be fully funded at \$30 billion over the next six years," said Richard H. Girgenti, who is Gov. Mario M. Cuomo's chief aide on criminal justice. "I don't think we've had it demonstrated to us that the Federal Government has the ability to cut the work force to the necessary level."

Without reaching the goal of personnel reduction, the entire package would have to be scaled back. But Mr. Schumer said the estimate of the reduction of Federal employees was a conservative one, based on retirements, and was likely to be met.

At least in the short run, all three states would get a lot less of the \$8.7 billion earmarked for prison construction than they had hoped. Because of a provision created by Republicans to force states to make prison inmates serve their full sentences, half of the money is limited to states in which prisoners serve 65 percent of their designated terms. Neither New York, New Jersey nor Connecticut meet that standard.

But Mr. Schumer said the bill includes a provision that would free the money if, after two years, states had not qualified to receive it. It is likely that the money would be freed, he said, because only a handful of the smallest states now keep prisoners in jail long enough to qualify.

Housing Illegal Aliens

While the states expect to spend most of the money for expanding programs that are already under way, New York and New Jersey, for the first time, will get millions of Federal dollars to cover their costs of housing illegal aliens. New York, which along with New Jersey is one of seven states with large populations of illegal aliens, expects to get \$40 million for this, Mr. Girgenti said. New Jersey offi-

clals said they were not sure what their share would be.

As they expand anti-crime programs, all three states plan to open new boot camps to try to rehabilitate young men arrested for non-violent crimes like drug dealing. State officials also said they were planning to expand programs that used schools as community centers before and after classes, because they were convinced these programs would help prevent crime and get young people moving toward productive lives.

For instance, New Jersey plans to double the \$7.1 million it is spending on rehabilitative programs, and New York plans to add half a dozen schools to the 37 now being used as centers for sports, job training and counseling.

Edward Totelman, of New Jersey's Department of Human Services, cited Pine-lands Regional, in Tuckerton, just outside Atlantic City, as proof that schools serving as youth centers could have an effect on crime. He said that when the program started seven years ago, more than 320 students were suspended annually, but last year, only 78 were suspended. Citing another example, he said there were only one or two teen-age pregnancies last year, compared with 20 in the school's first year.

Shelter for Battered Women

In New York City, Mr. Giuliani expects to open more temporary shelters for battered women and to offer drug treatment to more prisoners at Rikers Island. The money would also buy more counselors for juvenile delinquents and pay to set up city and state courts to handle only drug offenses. These courts would send drug-addicted offenders to rehabilitation programs rather than jail.

"In every aspect of this bill, New York is going to be helped," Mr. Giuliani said. Historically, New York has sent mountains of tax dollars to Washington and received relatively little back. But, Mr. Giuliani said, "this is one time in which the Federal Government has done something tailor made to help New York City."

Crime Bill Is Signed With Flourish

With Few Republicans at Ceremony, Clinton Urges More Cooperation

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a grandiose ceremony awash with election-year politics, President Clinton yesterday signed the bitterly contested \$30 billion crime bill that bans several assault weapons, allows the death penalty for dozens of federal crimes and authorizes new spending for police officers and prisons across the nation.

With politicians roaming the White House grounds seeking out local television cameras, the president, vice president, many Cabinet members, local police officials and elected officials gathered on a huge stage festooned with red, white and blue bunting and more than three dozen American flags. There was a serenade of patriotic music and anti-crime rhetoric.

"Let us roll up our sleeves to roll back this awful tide of violence and reduce crime in this country," Clinton said. "We have the tools now. Let us get about the business of using them."

Clinton appealed for more cooperation between Democrats and Republi-

cans—a handful of Republicans in both houses delivered votes for the president that saved the legislation—but he attacked those who almost doomed the legislation. "Today, the bickering stops, the era of excuses is over, the law-abiding citizens of the country have made their voices heard," he said. "Never again should Washington put politics and party above law and order. From this day forward, let us put partisanship behind us."

But even as the signing ceremony went on, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) had another idea. Referring to the legislation as the "so-called crime bill," Dole said Republicans would introduce a new version of anti-crime legislation. He used last month's GOP themes in attacking the new legislation, calling it weak on crime, full of social spending and filled with phony crime-fighting elements.

The handful of Republicans who supported Clinton in Congress on the legislation were at the event, but the GOP leaders, who all voted against the legislation, were not. For the most part, it was a Democratic day, with the White House stressing that the legislation proves Clinton's "New

Democrat" credentials by entering what used to be the Republican-dominated issue of crime.

The White House gives itself more credit than the polls seem to. Clinton appears to have slipped in approval since passage of the crime bill, which the administration once hoped would offer him a big boost, and Republicans have regained ground they lost in perception of being best able to handle the crime issue. Crime remains the chief concern listed by voters.

Clinton used the ceremony—one of three this week on legislation approved that he had campaigned for—to argue that the federal government and crime legislation cannot reduce crime unless Americans get involved themselves. "Our country will not truly be safe again until all Americans take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their communities," he said.

On Monday, the president swore in the first contingent of volunteers under his national service program; today, he will tout the "reinventing government" effort in hopes of disproving the public perception he is not fulfilling campaign promises.

Ex-Treasurer Gets 4-Month Prison Term

Justice Department Had Sought Tougher Sentence for Villalpando

By Toni Locy
Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal judge yesterday sentenced former U.S. treasurer Catalina V. Villalpando to four months in prison, rejecting a Justice Department recommendation that she be more severely punished for "lying" to get and keep her government position.

U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan also sentenced Villalpando, 54, to serve an additional four months under house arrest and to do 200 hours of community service for under-reporting her taxable income by \$160,000, misleading government officials in the confirmation process and obstructing a federal investigation in order to secure the treasurer's job.

In issuing his sentence, Hogan agreed to depart from sentencing guidelines that call for a six- to 12-month term, an acknowledgment of her assistance in an ongoing independent counsel's investigation. "It is hoped this sentence . . . reminds all of those who serve in high public office that you are not beyond the law," the judge said.

The oldest of six children born to Texas sharecroppers, Villalpando was selected as U.S. treasurer by President George Bush in 1989. The role is largely ceremonial, but the treasurer also oversees the mint. Her name appears on a large amount of U.S. currency still in circulation.

Villalpando told Hogan she is "embarrassed" by the "harm" she



CATALINA V. VILLALPANDO
"embarrassed" by harm

caused her friends and family, particularly her parents, who taught their children to be "law-abiding citizens."

As the oldest, Villalpando said she was raised to be the role model. "I am no longer the role model," she said. "I have a lot of friends here and I am very embarrassed to be in front of them after working so hard all my life to achieve a high position."

Villalpando's sentence was substantially lighter than what was sought by Justice Department prosecutors who complained that she had not cooperated fully and had not helped them "advance the ball" in

their investigation of her former employer, Communications International Inc., a Georgia-based telecommunications firm that sold systems to federal, state and local governments.

Jonathan Rusch, senior litigation counsel in the Justice Department's fraud section, said Villalpando deserved at least a year in prison for the "flagrant lying she did to get a significant federal position and keep that position."

But prosecutors working for Arlin M. Adams, the independent counsel who is still investigating corruption in the Reagan administration's Department of Housing and Urban Development, said she cooperated fully with members of his staff in their investigation of CII's dealings with HUD. They even filed a request with the judge seeking leniency.

Robert P. Warren, a prosecutor in Adams's office, said Villalpando did not always wait for prosecutors to call her with questions; she often called them first, offering information she thought might be helpful.

"It's not clear whether you have Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde" here, Villalpando's lawyer, Brad Reynolds told the judge. Reynolds said Villalpando had "limited knowledge" of CII's inner workings because she did not work out of its Atlanta office. "She was willing to cooperate, but she didn't know whether she could advance the ball" in the Justice Department's investigation, he said.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1994

document while at the same time acting as a broker to help mediate conflicts.

"I think we go away from this meeting with the U.S. viewed very, very differently by many other countries, not only because we changed dramatically our policy on population, but because of the way in which we've done it, the understanding that we've shown, the partnerships that we've created. ... This is something that is very new, at least in recent memory, for the United States," Wirth said.

"We have often been accused of being arrogant, of treating people with the back of the hand and so on, and I think that image has changed very sharply here," he said. "It's exceedingly important that the U.S. lead. ... We lost a decade through the wanton ignorance of the previous administration, it was a terrible time, and we almost lost a whole generation. The population problems became exacerbated even more and are now spiraling in a very dangerous way upward, and the world feels a sense of urgency."

Clinton Signs Crime Bill --

Will It Boost Democrats? (Washn)

By David Lauter=(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON For at least a generation, ever since Richard M. Nixon made "law and order" a centerpiece of his 1968 presidential campaign, crime has been among the strongest weapons in the Republican party's arsenal of political issues. With President Clinton's signing of the crime bill Tuesday, Democrats hope they have finally constructed a workable shield.

Indeed, in a fall campaign season that promises little but pain for Democrats, passage of the crime bill has become one of the party's few bright spots one that congressional candidates are vigorously exploiting in races across the United States.

Needless to say, Republicans are not yet ready to abandon the field. As Democrats trumpet the bill's popular features a "three strikes and you're out" law, federal aid to put more police on the streets, a ban on military-style assault weapons, new federal death penalties, and funds for crime prevention programs Republicans already have continued to sound the complaint they issued during the congressional debate on the bill this summer: too much spending.

The conflicting claims in that debate, however, should not obscure two substantial developments. First, Clinton can rightly say that in winning passage of a crime bill, he succeeded in breaking a six-year jam in which gun control opponents on the one side and death penalty opponents on the other had been able to block passage of any bill.

Clinton emphasized that point in signing the bill. Surrounded by police officers, clergy and members of Congress on a flag-decked stage, Clinton hailed the bill as an example of prevailing over Washington gridlock. "For six years, Washington debated a crime bill without action while more and more children died and more and more children became criminals and foreclosed a productive life for themselves," Clinton said.

"Today, at last, the waiting ends," he added. "Today the bickering stops, the era of excuses is over, the law-abiding citizens of our country have made their voices heard."

So far, that claim has not helped Clinton much. Pollsters who have conducted surveys recently say voters give Clinton credit for having stood up for the bill's

assault weapon ban and for fighting the National Rifle Association. But the president's overall popularity has continued to slide in recent weeks, and the polls show little indication the crime bill has altered that trend.

White House aides blame that fact on the intensity of Clinton's opponents. "When you get \$25 million of opposition shoved down your throat, it has an impact," said one White House official. Aides hope that with more events like Tuesday's aimed at reminding voters of the parts of the bill they like, they can begin to overcome that impact.

Beyond Clinton, however, the bill's second impact is noticeable. While individual Republicans continue to find they can make substantial gains by labeling their Democratic opponents as "soft on crime," the GOP as a whole appears to have lost its once-exclusive hold on the issue. Democrats cannot claim to have captured the issue for their own, but at least they no longer are running from behind.

One prime example is Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif. At Tuesday's ceremony, Feinstein stood directly behind Clinton, visible from almost any camera angle, and smiled broadly as Vice President Al Gore praised her for her sponsorship of the bill's assault weapons ban. In the last week, Feinstein has held a series of news conferences to discuss the bill and has picked up the endorsements of several police organizations, including some that had opposed her in the past, because of her work on the bill.

"Crime was an issue we owned for ever and ever," said Bruce Blakeman, who heads campaign research in the polling firm run by Richard Wirthlin, who was Ronald Reagan's pollster. Republicans lost their lock on the issue after the 1992 election, and so far they have been unable to get it back, Blakeman said.

(Optional add end)

Ironically, after years of pushing for "tough on crime" measures, some prominent Republicans have now begun arguing a different line that nothing Washington can do will make much of a difference.

"When youth gangs are the dominant form of social organization in many of our cities, new laws are irrelevant. When 11-year-olds murder and are murdered in turn, enhanced penalties are irrelevant," former Vice President Dan Quayle said in a recent speech in San Francisco.

Democrats are counting on the hope that voters have not yet grown that skeptical. "Members can go home and say to their constituents, 'I voted for three strikes, I voted to put more cops on the street.' It's a way of saying, 'I'm not an out-of-touch liberal,'" said Democratic pollster Celinda Lake. "It gives us increased legitimacy in what used to be a Republican area."

Liberals Court GOP With 11th-Hour Save on Health Bill (Washn)

By Edwin Chen=(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON With encouragement from President Clinton, congressional Democratic leaders are initiating 11th-hour discussions with their GOP counterparts to see if a modest first step toward health care reform can still be salvaged before Congress goes home next month, House Speaker Thomas S. Foley said Tuesday.

"... We are going to explore that in both the House and in the Senate, and the president welcomed that exploration," Foley told reporters after a meeting at the White House.

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Health bill likely to wait until 1995

Feeling grows that time has run out

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The drive to accomplish health care reform this year has all but sputtered to a halt as Congress returns to work this week for the final monthlong stretch before leaving to campaign for the November elections.

Various lawmakers hold out hope that Congress will pass a package of incremental reforms, but the growing consensus is that time has run out this year.

No one offered a new proposal to break the logjam yesterday, although Democratic leaders met at the White House with President Clinton and discussed the possibility of working with Republicans to find a solution.

"Obviously, it couldn't be as expanded and as comprehensive a bill as was first considered by the Congress, but it is possible, I think, still, that incremental legislation could be passed," said House Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington.

Some Republicans said the only way to pass a health bill this year is for leaders of both parties to agree on a package and the House and Senate to pass the same piece of legislation.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia mentioned such a possibility yesterday. Mr. Dole said he had not heard from Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine about the idea.

But other Republicans yesterday said they are prepared to block any health reform bill that comes before Congress.

"The American people believe that it's time for us to stop listening to the president, stop listening to each other, and come home and listen to them," said Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican.

Mr. Mitchell yesterday met with a group of liberal Democratic senators, led by Tom Harkin of Iowa, who want to build an incremental plan around guaranteeing health care for children and providing limited long-term care to the el-

derly.

"The American people want us to do something," Mr. Harkin said. "We have to come up with something that is so clear-cut that you can explain it at a town meeting in 10 minutes. . . . I can explain mine in three minutes."

Mr. Mitchell will meet today with a bipartisan group of senators known as the "mainstream coalition," which has advocated a plan that would lead to 92 percent of the public having health insurance by 2004.

Sen. John B. Breaux, Louisiana Democrat and a coalition leader, said he believes that if an agreement is not in place by the end of the week, health reform will be dead for the year.

"I'm less optimistic. My fear is creating a package with no constituency. We've been hammered by the left and hammered by the right," he said. "Real health reform — the question is whether the Congress has the will to do it."

Nearly all of the action on health reform is taking place in the Senate. House members, even those who have been involved with health care for most of the year, are watching to see if the Senate can come up with anything.

"There are always substantive meetings going on [in the House], but none that are really promising at this time," said Rep. John D. Dingell, Michigan Democrat.

Rep. Henry A. Waxman, California Democrat and one of the House's health care experts, said Congress will have to start again next year. "It's unlikely we're going to do anything this year, and maybe it's just as well. . . . I think different people mean different things by incremental."

One of the centrist House Republicans who worked with like-minded Democrats to develop an alternative bill also said he does not think health reform will pass this year.

"Health care is alive. It may be that the winning strategy is not to get your bill passed, but to be controlling the debate by the time we adjourn," said Rep. Fred Grandy, Iowa Republican.

Clinton happily signs the crime bill

Dole cries 'pork,' says fight isn't over

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In the shadows of Washington's latest celebrated crime scene, President Clinton yesterday signed the long-debated \$30 billion anti-crime bill, telling a supportive audience that the law will increase freedom and save children.

"Let us roll up our sleeves to roll back this awful tide of violence and reduce crime in this country," he said. "We have the tools now. Let us get about the business of using them."

Speaking at a campaign-style rally, he said: "My fellow Americans, this is about freedom. Without responsibility, without order, without lawfulness, there is no freedom."

Just 100 yards away from Mr. Clinton was the site of Monday's small-plane crash, now hidden by three potted trees. But the president made no reference to the flight by Frank Eugene Corder, who slammed a Cessna into the White House.

Instead, Mr. Clinton turned his attention to how the crime bill, under congressional consideration for six years, would make streets safer.

"For the last six years, children have become the most likely victims of violent crime and its most likely perpetrators. And for six years, Washington debated a crime bill without action while more and more children died and more and more children became criminals and foreclosed a productive life for themselves," Mr. Clinton said as he stood on an elaborate, carpeted stage set up on the South Lawn.

"But today at last the waiting ends, the bickering stops, the era of excuses is over. The law-abiding citizens of our country have made their voices heard. Never again should Washington put politics and party above law and order," he said to the 2,000 in attendance.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, however, renewed strong Republican opposition to the legislation.

"One lost opportunity doesn't mean we shouldn't keep on trying. We haven't given up yet," the Kan-

sas Republican said.

Mr. Dole called the measure an "awful crime bill" that contains billions in wasteful pork-barrel spending as he announced legislation to slash \$5 billion in social programs and enact some new tough criminal penalties.

"Most Americans understand we didn't just buy a little pork, we bought the whole hog when this bill passed," he told a news conference.

Mr. Clinton used the ceremony to laud Democrats for winning passage of the bill. He even singled out several lawmakers facing tough re-elections for special credit, including Sen. Dianne Feinstein, California Democrat.

And he praised the few Republicans who voted with the White House on the issue that the Democrats plan to use in the fall elections.

Predictably, Republican oppo-

nents to the crime bill attacked the few GOP supporters of the legislation.

Meanwhile, William Kristol, chairman of the Project for the Republican Future, encouraged Republicans to continue campaigning against the crime bill.

"With all else crumbling around them, the White House and congressional Democrats will seize ever more desperately on the crime bill as their main achievement before the November elections. But this effort shouldn't work — and won't — if Republicans build on the extraordinary success of our fight against the crime bill," said Mr. Kristol.

The president, meanwhile, named Vice President Al Gore head of the President's Prevention Council, which will work with local governments to fight crime.

Supporters of the legislation said it will provide funding for an-

other 100,000 police officers, fund more prison space, set up a federal death penalty and force three-time offenders to stay in jail for life.

The White House staged the signing more elaborately than most in recent memory, this time combining the gaiety of a campaign rally with the pomp of a state visit. While most signings are simple affairs in the Rose Garden, yesterday's hourlong ceremony was set on the South Lawn and framed on the left by the Washington Monument. A huge stage was decorated with 90 American flags.

Big-city mayors and police from around the country were in the audience, both on the stage and in front of it. The Marine Band played patriotic and jazz tunes as Air Force, Coast Guard, Marine Corps and Navy officers in dress uniforms seated guests.

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**Clinton Signs Crime Bill Into Law (Washn)
By William Douglas and Martin Kasindorf=
(c) 1994, Newsday=**

WASHINGTON In an elaborate White House ceremony that had the trappings and flavor of a political campaign, President Clinton Tuesday signed the \$30.2 billion crime bill into law.

"Let's roll up our sleeves to roll back this awful tide of violence and reduce crime in this country," Clinton said. "We have the tools now. Let us get about the business of using them."

About 2,000 people, including members of Congress from both parties and law enforcement officials, gathered on the South Lawn for the ceremony.

The lawn still bearing skid marks from Monday's fatal light-plane crash resembled an old-style campaign whistle stop Tuesday. Clinton spoke from a large stage decked in red, white and blue bunting and topped with little American flags waving in a gentle breeze. A military band performed in the ceremony.

Vice President Al Gore reminded the audience that the signing fulfilled candidate Bill Clinton's promise to make America's streets safer.

"Americans said, 'We want guns off the street.' Well, President Clinton has heard you," Gore said. "Americans said, 'We want more police on the street.' President Clinton heard you."

The law bans 19 specific semiautomatic assault weapons and similar models. It also limits the magazine capacity of weapons to 10 rounds.

The anti-crime measure also calls for spending \$10.8 billion to help state and local law enforcement hire 100,000 new officers over six years; \$9.85 billion on prison construction and federal reimbursement to states for incarcerating criminals who are undocumented immigrants; and \$6.9 billion for crime prevention measures that include after-school programs.

The bill expands the federal death penalty to 60 crimes and contains the "three strikes, you're out" provision that authorizes life prison sentences for three-time violent felons.

The crime bill reached Clinton's desk after a bumpy ride in Congress, which had tried to craft a crime-fighting measure for the past six years.

But something always halted the process, and this session of Congress was almost no exception. Members of the Congressional Black Caucus railed against the added death penalties. Republicans along with some Southern and suburban Democrats didn't like the assault weapons ban. And some members of both parties complained that the bill's prevention portion was "pork," despite a 10 percent cut from what was initially proposed.

(Optional add end)

Clinton said the bill's passage signals the end of congressional gridlock and partisan politics.

"Today the bickering stops, the era of excuses is over, the law-abiding citizens of our country have made their voices heard," Clinton said. "Never again should Washington put politics and party above law and order."

Noticeably absent from Tuesday's ceremony were Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, R-Ga. White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said, "We don't generally invite people who don't support legislation to ceremonies where those pieces of legislation are signed."

Distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service

Officials: Pilot Who Crashed Into White House Was Drunk (Washn)

By Glenn Kessler(c) 1994, Newsday=

WASHINGTON The pilot who crashed a small plane on the South Lawn of the White House early Monday morning was legally drunk and had trace amounts of cocaine in his system, officials said Tuesday.

Frank Corder, 38, the Maryland man who stole a Cessna single-engine plane and stunned Washington with his breach of White House security, died in the crash. Secret Service officials said a preliminary report by the medical examiner found that Corder had a blood-alcohol level of 0.045 percent, just above the legal limit for flying of 0.04 percent, and had trace amounts of cocaine in his blood.

Officials had previously said Corder had a history of alcohol and substance abuse. Earlier Tuesday, the Secret Service had reported that Corder's blood-alcohol level was a stunning 0.32 percent, but Gayle Moore, a spokeswoman, said blood clotting had produced an erroneous result. Further testing is expected.

Meanwhile, officials also said Tuesday the plane was detected on National Airport's air traffic control radar before it entered the restricted airspace surrounding the White House but may not have been noticed. No warnings were passed on to the Secret Service, and the plane crashed at 1:49 a.m.

"It did appear on the radar screen," one senior administration official said. "We did not get a call from the FAA," the Federal Aviation Administration, which runs the air traffic system.

Leon Panetta, White House chief of staff, told reporters the question of when air traffic control learned of the plane was an important issue in the investigation. "There's no question that if they (air traffic controllers) picked it up, somebody certainly should have been notified," he said.

One person briefed Tuesday on the federal probe into the incident said investigators have replayed radar tapes and have seen the plane on the tape, but it appears the scope was not being observed at the time Corder was flying toward the White House. "My impression is that no one noticed it at the time," this source said.

Another government source said normal staffing in the early-morning hours calls for one controller in the National Airport tower, which directs planes in the area, and one controller in the local control center, which directs planes in the metropolitan area.

Jim Cousins, an FAA safety inspector at the local Washington office, told Newsday that in the early-morning hours, National Airport is virtually shut down and controllers "don't sit glued to their scopes. They're sitting back, taking it easy, waiting for the morning rush."

Cousins said the restricted airspace around the White House which also includes the Capitol and the vice president's residence at Naval Observatory is violated about 15 to 20 times a year. Most of the cases involve large passenger jets that fail to turn quickly when departing from National, but occasionally a plane must enter the airspace because of an emergency.

(Optional add end)

"Very seldom do we see an airplane meandering about within the P56," as the restricted area is known, Cousins said. "That's extremely remote. This last occurrence was the only one I've heard of in my nine years at the FAA."

A secure phone line connects the National Airport

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Clinton signs crime bill, urges Americans to make it work

By Kathy Lewis Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON President Clinton signed the \$30.2 billion crime bill into law Tuesday and delivered a civics lesson on how Americans must now help make it work.

"Even this great law, the toughest and smartest crime bill in our history, cannot do the job alone, Clinton said. "It must be implemented by you and it must be supplemented by you."

Clinton signed the bill, six contentious years in the making, during a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House.

With American flags and the Washington Monument as a backdrop, he delivered the message that the fight against crime has only just begun.

"We have the tools. Now let us go about the business of using them," Clinton told a large audience that included mayors and law enforcement officers who'd worked for the bill's passage.

The law bans 19 assault-style weapons, prohibits juveniles from owning handguns, provides money for more prisons, police and prevention, imposes stiffer sentences and expands the death penalty.

But Clinton said Americans cannot truly be safe again until they take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their communities.

Clinton said he and Vice President Al Gore would hold anti-crime forums around the country, culminating with one next year at the White House.

Throughout the brutal political battle over the bill, Clinton emphasized its virtues. But on Tuesday he focused on the need for Americans to do their part.

"Even when we put a new police officer on your block, the officer can't make you safe unless you come out of your home and help the officer do his or her job," he said.

"Even when we keep our schools open late and give our children an alternative to drugs and gangs, your children won't learn the difference between right and wrong unless you teach them and they're in those schools when they're open."

The crime bill passed only after Clinton turned to moderate Republicans when he could not coax enough Democrats to reverse a House procedural vote against it and to thwart a Republican delay in the Senate. The bill that finally passed was leaner than the original versions, an option Clinton preferred to eliminating the ban on assault weapons.

Both Clinton and Gore recognized Republicans as well as Democrats who supported the bill. "Today the bickering stops," the president declared. "Never again should Washington put politics and party above law and order."

Both Democrats and Republicans are using the crime-fighting law as an issue in the fall elections, and Clinton did not let political bygones be bygones. He cited several highly publicized violent crimes in the last two years, including the kidnap and murder of 12-year-old Polly Klaas in California.

"And still some people in this town tried to keep this day from happening," he said.

Republicans who opposed the bill continued to criticize it.

William Kristol, former adviser to Vice President Dan Quayle, urged Republicans to argue aggressively that Clinton won the vote on the bill, but they won the national debate by "exposing much of the social spending as pork."

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Mexico workers abused, panel told

By Robert Dodge

Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON Union leaders and workers from Mexico told a federal panel Monday that U.S. companies are using unfair labor practices to stop organizing efforts in Mexico.

The workers charged that they had been intimidated, threatened and finally fired for trying to organize an independent union at facilities owned by General Electric Corp. in Juarez, Mexico, and Honeywell Inc. in Chihuahua.

Union officials said the companies have spied on employees who were involved in organizing activities, prevented the distribution of union literature and interfered with open elections.

"U.S.-based companies are able to violate workers rights with impunity," said Amy Newell, general secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. "This situation must be remedied."

Both companies said they have complied with Mexican labor laws and denied they fired workers for trying to organize unions.

The electrical workers and teamsters' officials appeared before the National Administrative Office at the Labor Department in Washington. Having failed to stop the North American Free Trade Agreement, U.S. unions are trying to organize Mexican workers.

It was the first hearing of the Labor Department office, which was established by a labor agreement with Mexico in connection with NAFTA.

The office has no power to seek changes, but its secretary, Irasema Garza, is expected to send a report by mid-October to Labor Secretary Robert Reich.

A Labor Department spokesman said representatives from General Electric and Honeywell declined an invitation to appear at the hearing. But they did submit written responses to charges by the unions and workers.

Minneapolis-based Honeywell said it has complied with Mexican labor laws and said 21 workers at its Chihuahua plant were laid off because the factory was to curtail production, not because the workers were organizing a union.

And General Electric, based in Fairfield, Conn., denied allegations in the unions' complaint and said the labor office should not hold hearings to hear union complaints unless they were about the failure of Mexican officials to enforce that country's labor laws.

"GE believes that the union is attempting to use the hearing for a purpose that is not permitted by the NAFTA side agreement," a GE statement said.

Fernando Castro, 27, said he was dismissed last year from his job at GE's Juarez plant, where he was a technician handling dangerous chemical wastes, because he was a union supporter.

"That is exactly what we were," said Castro, who said he was first offered severance pay to voluntarily leave. "I was not interested and only wanted my job."

Ofelia Medrano, 23, said she lost her job last year at Honeywell's electronics facility. She said the company's unwillingness to install air filters and purifiers to remove noxious paint and glue fumes prompted her to work with union organizers. She was called to a supervisor's office and asked to identify other union organizers.

"I was locked in there for four hours while they intimidated me," Medrano said. She eventually accepted severance pay to leave the company because she needed the money to pay for her family's medical expenses.

Honeywell said Medrano was dismissed for repeatedly leaving her work station and bothering other employees.

BC-CLINTON-CRIME-SPEECH

Crime-Newsclips

CLINTON SLAMS HOUSE MEMBERS ON CRIME BILL VOTE

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug 12 (Reuter) - President Clinton Friday lashed out at members of the House of Representatives who voted to kill a popular crime bill, accusing them of running from their responsibility to help assure law and order and vowing: "That vote will not stand."

"Last night we had a vote on democracy's most fundamental responsibility -- and law and order lost -- 225 to 210," Clinton said in a toughly worded speech prepared for delivery at a convention of the National Association of Police Officers.

Clinton blamed the defeat of a \$30 billion bill that would have financed the hiring of 100,000 more police over five years and banned 19 assault weapons on a "procedural trick orchestrated by the National Rifle Association and intensely promoted by the Republican congressional leadership."

"It's the same old Washington game -- stick it to ordinary Americans," he said. "Those members think that the special interests can keep them in Congress forever -- but before this fight is over, they're going to learn that the only way to make their seats safe is to make America's neighbourhoods safer."

Clinton told his police audience that he was "not going to let Washington hang you out to dry" and vowed "that vote will not stand."

"On this issue, the American people aren't going to take 'no' for an answer," he said.

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Democrats Scramble To Rescue Crime Bill

EDS: LEADS with 4 grafs to UPDATE with Clinton speech in Minneapolis. Picks up 5th graf pvs, "In the..."

By CAROLYN SKORNECK= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) President Clinton today vowed to "fight and fight and fight" to resurrect his \$33.2 billion crime bill, and senior lawmakers discussed changing a controversial assault-weapons ban to help squeeze the measure through the House.

"We are going to get you a crime bill," the president told a police group in Minnesota. "Washington cannot walk away from you."

The president abruptly canceled a day of scheduled events in the capital to fly to Minneapolis to address the National Association of Police Organizations as part of the White House's campaign to salvage the measure that was shelved Thursday by a coalition of Republicans, anti-gun control Democrats and blacks upset over an expanded death penalty.

"Let us turn it around and put the people of this country first," he told the police officers.

In the House, Speaker Thomas Foley said lawmakers would return to the Capitol to vote anew on a crime bill, the number one issue in polls this summer. "We are going to put this bill over the top," he said.

At a breakfast meeting with reporters, Majority Leader Richard Gephardt was asked if the crime bill could be passed with the assault-weapons ban that sparked a furious campaign by the National Rifle Association.

"I think so, but probably not the same one," he replied.

Some Democrats also spoke of trimming some of the provisions that Republicans ridiculed as "pork" before sending the measure back to the floor. But they said they didn't expect to open bipartisan talks with Republicans on the measure.

One of the items of "pork" criticized by Republicans was an authorization of \$10 million to establish a criminal justice research and education center at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas, represented by House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks. Key Democrats involved in crafting the crime bill said they were unaware it was in there.

It came to light in a July 29 news release from the university touting it, and House GOP leaders cited it in an Aug. 5 memo as one of seven reasons for Republican members to oppose the rule. "Who knows what lurks deep in the fine print?" the memo asked.

Clinton's trip had a bipartisan aura, as mayors of both parties made the journey aboard Air Force One.

He criticized the lawmakers who had voted to keep the crime bill from reaching the floor. Those opposed "decided that their political security was more important than the personal security of the American people."

"This crime bill cannot die," Clinton said outside the White House, "Congress has an obligation to the American people that goes way beyond politics and way beyond party."

Poll after poll, he said, showed crime the top worry of the American people and "if we can't meet this concern there is something badly wrong in Washington."

Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York and Democratic Mayors Edward Rendell of Philadelphia and William Campbell of Atlanta were with Clinton at the White House.

Giuliani and Rendell were accompanying him to Minneapolis to appear before a convention of the 200,000-member National Association of Police Organizations, which strongly supported the bill.

"We are going to fight and fight and fight until we win this battle for the American people," Clinton said.

Democrats emerged from a closed-door caucus that originally had been called to discuss health care but turned instead to crime.

Sources, speaking on condition of anonymity, said one lawmaker had warned

his colleagues that they risked losing majority control if they couldn't pass the crime measure, one of the centerpieces of the Democrats' election-year agenda. His remarks were met with applause.

But lawmakers expressed different views on how to proceed, some saying the assault-weapons ban should be stripped from the bill and voted on separately, and others saying the leadership should repackage the measure in a way that can allow enough Democrats to change their votes and reverse the outcome.

The 225-210 vote on Thursday blocked the bill from coming to the floor. A switch of eight votes would reverse the outcome and permit a vote on final passage.

For Republicans, the vote Thursday represented a rare chance to set back the Democrats on a highly charged issue. House GOP Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia said the Republicans are prepared to go back to conference today.

Gingrich said it was wrong for the administration to characterize Thursday night's vote as a procedural "trick" orchestrated by the gun lobby.

"The rules vote was an honorable, legitimate vote," Gingrich said.

"It's a vote on whether or not to bring up a bill. It's not a trick; it's part of the process of the Congress."

Looking to give Democrats a powerful election-year victory, Clinton had lobbied ferociously on behalf of the bill, which would have fulfilled his campaign pledge to put 100,000 more police officers on the street.

The six-year legislation also would have banned many assault-style firearms, provided billions for prisons and crime prevention, made more than 50 additional crimes subject to the death penalty and allowed life sentences for some third-time felons.

In blocking the legislation, 167 Republicans and 58 Democrats voted against the rules governing debate and voting procedures. Voting in favor were 198 Democrats, 11 Republicans and one independent.

Democratic gun-control opponents objected to the firearms ban, and about 10 black lawmakers rejected the bill because it expanded the death penalty and did not include a provision making it easier to prove racial discrimination in capital cases.

Clinton indicated a willingness to compromise but said any bill must include the 100,000 police, the assault-style firearms ban, a ban on juvenile ownership of handguns and life sentences for those who commit a third violent or drug felony.

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Crime - Newsclips

THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

KEY COMPROMISES

A Democratic proposal for a six-year crime bill compromise includes the following key provisions, which would cost \$30.2 billion.

650 firearms by name. Gun clips limited to 10 bullets.

Same as Senate version and separate House bill.

POLICE

■ Grants for localities to hire 100,000 officers for community policing. College scholarships for a "police corps." More Border Patrol guards and other federal police agents.

Main compromise: Accepts Senate's higher funding for "cops on the beat."
Final tally: \$13.0 billion

PRISONS

■ State grants to build prisons to house violent criminals and establish "boot camps" for young offenders. Bans college student grants for inmates. Reimburses states for incarceration of illegal criminal immigrants.

Main compromises: Splits difference between House and Senate funding.
Final tally: \$8.3 billion

PREVENTION

■ Grants for recreation, employment, anti-gang and comprehensive programs to steer youth away from crime. Drug treatment for federal and state inmates. Programs to fight violence against women.

Main compromise: Increases funding to House level.
Final tally: \$7.6 billion

DRUG COURTS

■ Special courts to provide treatment and close monitoring of first-time or nonviolent drug offenders.

Main compromise: Accepts higher House funding.
Final tally: \$1.3 billion

CRIME TRUST FUND

■ Savings from a cut of 252,000 federal jobs put in new trust fund for bill's programs.

Main compromise: Extends Senate's trust fund to six years.
Estimated final tally: \$30.2 billion

ASSAULT WEAPONS

■ Bans 19 semiautomatic weapons. Exemptions for

DEATH PENALTY

■ Increases from two to about 60 the number of federal crimes punishable by death, such as fatal carjackings and drive-by shootings. Establishes procedures to resume federal executions.

Main compromises: Omits from House bill provision that would allow prisoners to use racial statistics to challenge death sentences and omits Senate's death penalty for murder with a gun.

REPEAT OFFENDERS

■ Life in prison for three-time felons with last conviction for violent or drug-related federal crime. Possible release for inmates over 70 after 30 years if deemed no longer dangerous.

Main compromises: Deletes property crimes in Senate bill and accepts geriatric exemption in House's.

JUVENILE CRIME

■ Federal prosecutions of 13- and 14-year-olds as adults allowed for some violent crimes. Ban on sale of handguns to juveniles.

Main compromise: Drops Senate requirement to treat these juveniles as adults.

PRISON OVERCROWDING

■ Early release from federal prisons permitted for first-time, nonviolent drug offenders serving mandatory minimum sentences.

Main compromise: Accepts broader House language.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

■ Gender-based violence made a civil rights violation. Grants to encourage domestic violence arrests without consent of abuse victim. Federal penalties for interstate stalking or spouse abuse.

Main compromise: Adopts Senate provision on civil rights violation.

Source: House-Senate conference committee on crime bill

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meeting time unavailable.
Committees:
Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry—2:30 p.m. Agricultural research, conservation, forestry & general legislation subc.
Pesticides. 332 Russell Office Bldg.
Appropriations—3:30 p.m. Mark up Defense Dept. approps. bill. S-128 Capitol.
Armed Services—5 p.m. Closed.
Coalition defense & reinforcing forces subc. Meeting with French Defense Minister Francois Leotard to discuss Bosnia, Haiti, Korea & Rwanda. 232a ROB.
Energy & Natural Resources—9:30 a.m. Public lands, national parks & forests subc. To promote entrepreneurial management of the National Park Service. 366 Dirksen Office Bldg.
Finance—10 a.m. Consider GATT implementing legislation. 215 DOB.
Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Waste, fraud & abuse within government agencies & Chief Financial Officers Act. 342 DOB.
Judiciary—2 p.m. Dept. of Justice. Attorney General Reno. 226 DOB.
Judiciary—Time TBA. Mark up pending legislation following first floor vote. Room TBA.
Labor & Human Resources—10:30 a.m. Davis Bacon reform. 430 DOB.
Labor & Human Resources—Time TBA. Vote on nomination of Gilbert Casellas, Paul Miller & others to be members of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Room TBA.
Labor & Human Resources—2:30 p.m. Sickle cell disease research. 430 DOB.
Rules & Administration—9:30 a.m. To assign two permanent Senate offices to each state. 301 ROB.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.
Committees:
Agriculture—3 p.m. Mark up GATT implementing legislation. 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Appropriations—10 a.m. Treasury-Postal Service-general government subc. Delivery of mail in Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area. 2360 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—9:30 a.m. Whitewater land development. 2128 RHOB.
Energy & Commerce—10 a.m. Commerce, consumer protection & competitiveness subc. Stipend pay to student athletes. 2322 RHOB.
Energy & Commerce—2 p.m. Health & the environment subc. Mark up U.S.-Mexico Border Health Act, Medical Device User Fee Act of 1994 & Orphan Drug Act amendments of 1994. 2322 RHOB.
Energy & Commerce—9:30 a.m. Telecommunications & finance subc. Global information infrastructure, focusing on creation of a competitive satellite industry & on proposals to privatize INTELSAT & INMARSAT. 2123 RHOB.
Foreign Affairs—9:30 a.m. Middle East peace & other vital interests. Sec. of State Christopher. 2172 RHOB.
Foreign Affairs—2 p.m. International security, international organizations & human rights subc. U.S. policy in aftermath of bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. 2172 RHOB.
Government Operations—10 a.m. Human resources & intergovernmental relations subc. Invasive Streptococcus A virus. 2154 RHOB.
House Administration—1 p.m. Mark up congressional compliance provisions. 210 Cannon House Office Bldg.
Judiciary—10 a.m. Mark up Health Security Act. 2141 RHOB.
Merchant Marine & Fisheries—10 a.m. Merchant marine subc. Mark up Jones Act waivers. 1334 LHOB.

Natural Resources—9 a.m. National parks, forests & public lands subc. To establish Cane River Creole National Historical Park & National Heritage Area in Louisiana; to establish Hudson River Valley American Heritage Act; to provide for preservation, restoration & interpretation of historical, cultural & architectural values of Town of Brantwell, W.Va.; & to establish Appalachian Coal Heritage Area. 1324 LHOB.
Post Office & Civil Service—9 a.m. Mark up Health Security Act. 311 CHOB.
Public Works & Transportation—10 a.m. Mark up pending legislation. 2167 RHOB.
Rules—10:30 a.m. Small Business reauth. & relating to the Presidio. H-313 Cap.
Science, Space & Technology—9:30 a.m. Technology, environment & aviation subc. Whether Federal Aviation Administration adequately is assessing wake turbulence. 2318 RHOB.
Small Business—2 p.m. Rural enterprises, exports & the environment subc. Rural health care reform & small businesses. 2359 RHOB.
Ways & Means—10 a.m. Human resources subc. Relating to establishment of paternity & child support enforcement. B-318 RHOB.
Ways & Means—1 p.m. Trade subc. Conditions for renewing Most-Favored-Nation status to China. 1100 LHOB.
Ways & Means—5 p.m. Mark up conditions for renewing Most-Favored-Nation status to China. 1100 LHOB.

31

ACCORD REACHED ON SWEEPING BILL TO BATTLE CRIME

\$33.3 BILLION COST

Measure Adds 100,000 Police Officers and Stiffens Penalties

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 28 — House and Senate negotiators today approved a sweeping \$30.2 billion anti-crime bill providing for 100,000 new police officers, a ban on some assault weapons and the death penalty for scores of crimes.

President Clinton hailed the bill as "the toughest, largest, smartest Federal attack on crime in the history of our country." But critics, including some law-enforcement officials, called it a social-welfare boondoggle and, in the words of Representative Henry J. Hyde, Republican of Illinois, "the whole Emerald City of Oz."

The bill, which is about seven inches thick, would spend roughly equal amounts of money on prevention, punishment and new prisons. It provides money for drug courts and to fight violence against women. It pays for sports leagues and provides anti-gang grants to give young people positive alternatives to crime.

It also helps states pay for the cost of incarcerating illegal aliens, and it would expand application of the death penalty to about 60 Federal crimes, including carjacking. What it would not do is allow death-row inmates to challenge their sentences as racially motivated.

After a marathon session that started on Wednesday morning and broke up at 2:15 A.M. today in a dispute over money for prisons, Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic chairman of the Judiciary Committee, called his colleagues at 5:30 A.M. to meet before the full conference was to resume at 8 this morning.

When the negotiators reconvened, they zipped through the remaining hurdles and forwarded the bill to the two chambers. The House is expected to act on it next week, and the Senate shortly thereafter.

Despite some misgivings over the bill, most Democrats and some Republicans appear eager to pass anti-crime legislation in this election year, and the President is anxious to sign it. The bill represents one of the few major promises he made as a candidate in 1992 that he has been able to turn into law.

The money for the bill, an extraordinary amount at a time when Federal spending is stagnant, is supposed to come from a trust fund specifically to fight crime. "These are real dollars," Senator Biden said today at the news conference with Mr. Clinton. "This isn't funny money."

The Administration says the trust fund will not increase the deficit because nearly the same amount of

money — about \$30 billion — will be saved by the anticipated retirement of 265,000 Federal workers over the next six years. But the Congressional Budget Office has said the Administration vastly overestimates its savings from the work-force reductions, and some Republicans remain dubious of the financing.

The trust fund sets aside a total of \$30.2 billion for crime programs through the year 2000.

The bill also authorizes programs that would cost an additional \$3.1 billion the money would not come from the trust fund. The programs would have to be financed, if at all, at the expense of other appropriations.

An example would be a police corps proposed in the bill, a program that would provide partial college scholarships for students who agreed to serve as law-enforcement officers after graduation. The bill says it would cost \$400 million for an unspecified number of students, but since the plan would not be financed from the trust fund, its implementation would depend on President Clinton or a member of Congress seeking money for it from the general budget.

Mr. Clinton and the bill's supporters in Congress said the legislation was the first time prevention and punishment had been melded into one package. "While this bill extends the harsh penalty approach, which hasn't worked but is politically popular, this is more than offset by a powerful set of prevention programs, including education, drug treatment and job training," said Representative John Conyers, Democrat of Michigan and the only African-American on the negotiating committee.

Prevention and Punishment

The bill also represents the first major attempt by the Federal Government to deal with crime, which traditionally has been left to state and local governments.

Representative Charles E. Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat who steered the legislation through the House, said, "We are at a stage in America in the 1990's where we were on economic issues in 1910; state and local governments are unable to deal with the problem, and the Federal government has to jump in."

'The toughest, largest, smartest Federal attack on crime.'

The bill divides the money equally over six years for prevention programs, punishment and new prisons.

The bill gives \$10.7 billion to state and local law enforcement, including money to put 100,000 new cops on the beat. The police are to be allocated on the basis of need, which, Mr. Schumer said, meant, "New York will do very well." The city could hire between 3,000 and 5,000 new officers, he said.

"This bill will allow local police officers to begin operating from a position of strength," Charles Moose, the chief of police in Portland, Ore., said at the rally.

Publicly, senior officials at Federal law-enforcement agencies have supported the crime bill. But privately, officials at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement

Administration and the Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco complain that they are being forced to hold their budgets in line while billions of dollars are going to the many programs in the crime bill.

Seen as Political Gesture

don't cut: Many law enforcement officials say they doubt those programs will put much of a dent in violent crime and view them as a political gesture by President Clinton to make it seem he is tough on crime. They are also fearful that the huge bill will mean many added responsibilities for Federal law-enforcement agencies without additional financing to carry them out.

Senator Bob Dole, the Republican leader, said the session in the early hours had produced a mess of a bill, one that "could have been concocted by a university sociology department" because of its \$9 billion for prevention programs such as mid-night basketball. But he stopped short of saying he would oppose the bill. move okay The measure that received a disproportionate amount of attention wound up not being in the final bill at all. This is the so-called Racial Justice Act, which would have allowed death-row inmates to challenge their sentences as motivated by racial bias. It was supported by members of the Congressional Black Caucus and various liberals but was adamantly opposed by the Senate, including by several Democrats. The measure was approved by House negotiators on Wednesday night, but in the final meeting, negotiators excised it for fear that including it would bring down the whole bill.

"Our efforts were not in vain," said a disappointed Representative Don Edwards, the California Democrat who pushed for the provision. "It did bring to the attention of the American people and President Clinton the fact that this remnant of slavery, this ugly remnant where the judicial system considers a black life not as important as a white life, does exist."

Money for prisons proved the sticking point early this morning as negotiators met at a closed session for what they said would be 20 minutes and turned into three hours.

Everyone agreed that states should have more money to build prisons, but they disagreed over how stringent the requirements should be for the states to get the money. The Senate negotiators said the states should agree to stiff sentencing policies, while House wanted less stringent sentencing.

They had already agreed on two other provisions that had blocked the conference from occurring for more than a month. Representative Jack Brooks of Texas, the Democratic chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and a strong opponent of gun control, had threatened to hold up the entire bill if it included a ban on assault weapons, which had been approved by both houses. for 2d edition, should give more specifics about this ban Mr. Brooks raised the issue in conference, calling the ban a "vendetta" against legitimate gun owners, but he lost.

The bill also makes it a Federal crime to sell handguns to minors or for minors to possess a handgun under most circumstances.

As a consolation to Mr. Brooks, many members of the House negotiating team, and subsequently the Senators, agreed to a measure that would exempt pawnbrokers from the Brady law. The law requires people buying guns to undergo background checks; Mr. Brooks's exemption says pawnbrokers don't have to conduct such checks.

an cut for space Another gun-related measure is also included in the final bill. This is the "hunter rights" amendment, also drafted by Mr. Brooks, which prohibits even peaceful anti-hunting protests on Federal lands.

"It was a political chit that they fed to Brooks to compensate for the assault weapons," said Wayne Pacelle of the Humane Society of the United States.

Highlights

- Puts 100,000 more police on the nation's streets over six years.
- Bans the manufacture, sale and possession of 19 assault weapons.
- Provides \$9.8 billion for construction and operation of prisons.
- Expands Federal death penalty to cover about 60 offenses.
- Requires mandatory life sentences for people convicted of three serious felonies.
- Authorizes \$8.8 billion for crime prevention and rehabilitation programs.
- Provides for college scholarships for students agreeing to serve as law enforcement officers.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1994

'93 Crime Bill Still Faces '92 Problems

Crime Bill
Newscl

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — Ensnared in Presidential election politics, a major crime bill died last year as Republicans and Democrats refused to compromise on difficult issues like capital punishment, death row appeals and gun control.

This year was supposed to be different. With Democrats controlling both the White House and Congress, many hoped the impasse would break. "It's time we put aside the divisions of party and philosophy," President Clinton pleaded last month in a ceremony announcing his commitment to push for the same crime bill that failed in 1992.

But proponents of the measure in the Senate and the House alike are expressing deep reservations about its prospects, saying the complex issues that sank the bill last year remain a source of friction, even though Republicans and Democrats agree on many essential provisions.

Questions of Strategy

Proposals like restricting the sale of handguns or expanding the number of offenses punishable by death tend to overwhelm the widespread support for the rest of the bill. Its other provisions would, for instance, put tens of thousands more police officers on the streets, offer college scholarships to students willing to be police officers, toughen penalties on terrorism and gang violence, and provide metal detectors to schools.

While some lawmakers advocate stripping the disputed provisions from the bill to improve its chances, others are not certain that can happen.

"It will take a fairly tricky strategy to pass this," said Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Delaware Democrat who heads the Senate Judiciary Committee. He called the chances of passage no better than even.

Prospects in the House, where the number of members with ideologically hardened positions is greater than in the Senate, may be even dimmer as sponsors prepare to introduce the measure in the next few days.

"Gun control gets the liberals on board but repels many conservatives," said Representative Charles E. Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat who heads the House Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice. "And the death penalty and habeas corpus have the converse affect."

Personal Priorities

Most Democratic leaders, for instance, would like the bill to ban sales of assault weapons, a proposal that Republicans and some conservative Democrats say would conflict with the Second Amendment's guarantee of the right to bear arms. Republicans insist on a provision to limit death row inmates to a single habeas corpus appeal that would have to be filed within six months of conviction, a proposal that most Democrats fear could lead to the execution of innocent people.

Such deep philosophical divisions defy easy compromise, but the mine-

field also consists of jealous Congressional power brokers competing for influence and warring special interest groups like the National Rifle Association that can mobilize potent constituencies.

Senator Phil Gramm, the Texas Republican who is a leading conservative on the crime issue, insists that the bill include more mandatory minimum sentences for offenses like selling drugs to minors, no matter how small the amount. Attorney General Janet Reno and many liberal lawmakers oppose that tack, arguing that mandatory sentences are unfair and counterproductive.

Several Southern Democrats in the Senate, particularly J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana and Richard C. Shelby of Alabama, will also fight gun-control provisions that their liberal counterparts insist on.

In the House, Representative Don

Will gun control kill some popular anti-crime proposals?

Edwards, the California Democrat who heads the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights and who is his chamber's conscience on civil liberties issues, can be expected to sway dozens of liberals against the legislation if he believes that it impinges on the rights of defendants or significantly increases the number of executions. And Representative Jack Brooks of Texas, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, ardently opposes the strict gun control that liberals insist upon before they will agree to expand the Federal offenses punishable by death.

The divisions among Democrats will require the President to knock some heads, several Democratic lawmakers say. So far, the Justice Department has helped members of the Congressional staff draft the crime measure, but Mr. Clinton has left it up to Mr. Biden and Mr. Brooks to lead the effort.

What to Do Next?

The two chairmen are divided over tactics. Mr. Brooks insists that a provision requiring a seven-day waiting period on handgun purchases be in the legislation, while Mr. Biden argues that the provision should be considered separately so it does not jeopardize the entire package.

Mr. Brooks, a strategist who keeps his cards close to the vest, is thought by Judiciary Committee colleagues to want the waiting-period provision in the package because he fears it would pass if taken up separately.

While the White House has been expected to work hard for the crime package, one of its major advocates, Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, the ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, grumbled: "I haven't seen

an ounce of Administration effort. I don't think they have picked up the phone yet."

The chances for passing a crime package would be vastly improved, many lawmakers say, simply by stripping out the contentious issues.

Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, a ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, is a proponent of that strategy. "I think the pressure from the American people is going to have a magic influence on usually contentious senators and congressmen," said Mr. Hyde, who is committed to forging a compromise bill that can pass.

Points of Agreement

Republican senators are introducing their own crime bill, and there is much in common between it and the Democrats' version. Democrats, for example, would provide local communities with \$3.5 billion over five years to hire 50,000 new police officers, while Republicans would provide \$2 billion to hire 30,000 new officers.

Both plans call for more money to build prisons, although the Republicans are somewhat more generous. Both parties also want to apply the death penalty to terrorists and to increase the penalty for bombings. And both would toughen penalties on gangs that use minors to distribute drugs.

Mr. Hatch has suggested to Mr. Biden that they streamline the bill, and Mr. Biden has expressed interest in that.

But Democratic strategists say they doubt they can come to an agreement with Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader, to restrict extraneous amendments. They believe that since Mr. Dole appears to be running for President in 1996, he cannot afford to be seen blocking Mr. Gramm's efforts to toughen the bill even if such a strategy improved its chances for passage.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1993

COPY FOR JOSE,
A "BUSY BEAVER"

- BR

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, APRIL 20, 1993

CAN CLINTON GET AN 'A' ON CRIME?

CRIME Time: tension about riots in Los Angeles; a drive-by killer in Washington, D.C.; a prison revolt in Ohio; a loco in Waco; terror bombing in New York City. And on an average day, 70 homicides. It's America's biggest problem.

Are the rates for crimes of violence going up? Some of the data are ambiguous, but mostly the answer is yes. Three items are not ambiguous: The violent crime rate is obscenely high, the fear rate is way up, and so are tensions between blacks and whites.

We have a new president with a fistful of remedies for crime: "community policing," 100,000 more police, a "Police Corps," "bootcamps" for first-time non-violent offenders, more drug rehabilitation, a gun-control law, a "safe schools" proposal, \$2.5 billion more for federal crime programs in the next budget cycle, the "Community Partnership Against Crime" — and the list can go on.

In some large measure it should be crime, and the social issues like it (welfare for another example), by which we should judge Clinton. Those are the items that allowed him to portray himself as a "different Democrat." And which made him a winner.

So how shall we evaluate Clinton on this issue? Four ways come to mind:

■ Will he be able to enact what he says he wants to enact? It's expensive: 100,000 more cops, whose total costs run about \$100,000 per year each, equals \$10 billion, every year.

■ If the programs pass, will they work? The ideas sound nice. UCLA's Professor James Q. Wilson — America's leading thinker on crime, and no Clinton booster — believes the 100,000 more cops and the community-policing ideas are solid. If he thinks so, so

UPFRONT & CENTER

BEN WATTENBERG



do I But by 1996, the evidence should be apparent on the street. Maybe the emphasis should have been on still-more prisons and still-longer sentences.

■ Does Clinton get the rhetoric right? Presidential words can count as much as programs. Voters want to know: "Does he see the world the way we do?"

There are two ways of describing the nature of the crime situation. The first (standard liberal) is that crime mostly comes from "root causes" (like

In 1996, Clinton's opponent will ask the voters: "Are you safer than you were four years ago?"

poverty). Therefore the principal solutions run to job training, moving jobs into the inner city, more money for education and more subsidized housing.

The second view is that the appalling criminality we now see has come mostly from a moral breakdown, in part brought about by governmental soft-headedness. That's what is eroding the cities of America.

It's why businesses wouldn't dream of moving into those areas; why blacks and whites

leave those neighborhoods; why there are guns in the classrooms; why many housing projects are combat zones. It is what is driving the race issue in America (a black crime rate more than 5 times the white average).

Public policy should be a blend of the two points of view. I believe the second view is more accurate. And it is certainly the more popular one in America: This is so among the "Reagan Democrats" who gave Clinton his victory, and whose votes he needs in 1996, but also true among many who live in or near the combat zones.

Americans want to hear that their president has his priorities straight between the two points of view. Rhetoric yields reality: Will Clinton spend the \$10 billion on more cops or on more food stamps? So far Clinton has come down firmly on both sides.

■ And there is an emotional test. The crime numbers are hard to work with. It's not like measuring the rate of growth in the GDP. We don't need a statistical argument. The country is scared. There is a gauge available.

In a 1980 presidential debate, Ronald Reagan asked Americans to make a judgment based on economic experience: "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" The voters knew their condition, even if the statisticians could argue about it.

In 1996, Clinton's opponent will ask the American people: "Are you safer than you were four years ago?" The answer will be the sum of what Clinton and his band of busy beavers can do, and say, in the next few years. It's the right test.

Ben Wattenberg is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Bruce Reed
from Palm

Chicago Tribune

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18 Section 1

Saturday, July 9, 1994

Rep. Hyde, time to stand up again

In April, Republican Rep. Henry Hyde of Illinois cast one of the most difficult and courageous votes of his long career. He stood up to the National Rifle Association and voted in the House Judiciary Committee to ban the manufacture and sale of 19 kinds of semiautomatic weapons.

That counted for far more than one member casting one vote. Hyde's decision to support the ban drew national attention and gave the bill political momentum. Hyde's support emboldened other conservatives to vote their consciences. For the first time, a semi-automatic weapons ban passed the House. It is not an understatement to say that, without Hyde's support, the bill would have died.

After his vote in committee, Hyde received angry calls, even a few death threats. But he didn't flinch; he supported the ban again on the House floor.

Now Congressman, you need to show your courage one more time.

House and Senate conferees are deliberating on a broad anti-crime package, and one of the sticking points is the ban on semi-automatic weapons. Even though both the House and Senate have voted in favor of the ban, the National Rifle Association is lobbying intensely to dilute it in the crime bill.

Hyde is a member of the conference committee, and he will have tremendous influence over whether the

bill reported to the House and Senate includes a legitimate weapons ban, or one that is meaningless.

Congressman, remember your own words.

"People have a right to own weapons, but not weapons of mass destruction and mayhem whose only purpose is to kill a lot of people in a hurry," you said after your vote in the Judiciary Committee. "These guns have no purpose but to kill people."

You've taken the heat for that vote; it's imperative that you have something to show for it. Your power to persuade is needed not only to buck up your fellow Republicans, but Democrats as well. After all, key members of the House Democratic leadership were angered when the ban passed over their objections. They're leading efforts in their own caucus to sink it in the conference report.

The \$50 billion crime bill has grown into an everything-but-the-kitchen-sink measure, some of which is good, some of which is bad. If Congress throws all that money at crime and slinks away from this gun control measure, it will have done a real disservice.

Hyde is one congressman who can be taken at his word, and his word is that he will, indeed, fight against any effort to weaken the gun ban. And what about his pro-gun critics and lobbyists? "The hell with them," Hyde said. Too bad more congressmen don't say what they think.

New Careers for Criminals ✓

By Arlen Specter

WASHINGTON
hen Congress reconvenes on Jan. 25, it has a chance to do something meaningful about violent crime.

The crime bill the Senate passed before the holiday recess is a start; it would provide \$22.3 billion over five years for a broad range of anticrime activities, including building new prisons and hiring more police officers.

Something else needs to be part of any serious approach to crime, but hardly anyone is willing to advocate it because it is unpopular to appear concerned about convicts. I don't believe in coddling criminals — as my record as a district attorney and then Senator shows — but we need to focus on rehabilitating first- and second-time offenders before they become career criminals.

About 70 percent of violent crimes are committed by habitual offenders,

Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

many of them drug addicts. Yet while 27 states have laws authorizing life sentences for such criminals, they are rarely used.

When I was District Attorney of Philadelphia in the late 1960's and early 70's, my office made major efforts to use Pennsylvania's habitual-offender law without success. Even tough judges were reluctant to impose harsh sentences because of an unspoken feeling that the defendant had not really had enough of a chance to justify isolating him for life — and, besides, the prisons were so overcrowded there was no place to put him.

Not much has changed, except that the prisons are more overcrowded and decrepit. There is little counseling for inmates who are dependent on drugs and even less literacy education. And there is no meaningful vocational training to enable an ex-con to get a job, so he returns to a life of crime.

Washington State recently enacted a "three strikes and you're out" law that mandates life sentences for those convicted of three serious crimes. But even in states that follow Washington's lead, judges are likely to resist such Draconian mandates unless there are better rehabilitation programs for first and second offenders. If rehabilitation were available,

judges would be far more willing to give life sentences to three-time offenders who failed to take advantage of it.

Rehabilitation doesn't merely serve the interests of the justice system, it means fewer potential victims. Is it any surprise that an illiterate without a trade or skill leaves jail

There are other ways to encourage states to use habitual-offender laws. For more than a decade, legislation pending in Congress would provide Federal prison space for career criminals convicted in state courts. This recognizes that such criminals, customarily drug offenders who move interstate, are really a Federal problem.

Further reform of the criminal justice system requires diversion of lesser cases involving nonviolent first offenders out of the criminal courts altogether so they can focus on serious crimes. It requires elimination of plea bargaining so that meaningful sentences are imposed. And we need to reform the Federal courts' review of state death penalty cases to reduce the interminable delays.

Admittedly, such reforms do not deal with the root causes of crime — in particular, poverty, the rise in illegitimate births and the disintegration of the family. The future of crime control is bleak unless we move on many fronts. But Congress can make an immediate impact on violent crime by focusing on realistic rehabilitation and then on life sentences for criminals who cannot be rehabilitated.

Life sentences, sure. But try rehabilitation first.

only to rob or rape again? Add drug dependency to the picture, and the parolee goes through the revolving door, out of prison and back in.

The anticrime legislation passed by the Senate would help in the rehabilitation effort. Over \$1 billion would be made available for drug treatment and other rehabilitative programs; the Senate also adopted my amendment to create a Federal office to coordinate and improve job placement programs for ex-inmates.

Wastelands Transformed ✓

By Richard M. Daley

SINCE 1960, America has lost 10 million manufacturing jobs, leaving a wasteland of abandoned, contaminated industrial sites too expensive and numerous for local governments or private businesses to restore. Our communities are scarred with dangerous, useless properties and abandoned factories, and jobs have been driven away — to the suburbs, rural areas or abroad.

Last summer, I testified before Congress on proposed legislation to clean up abandoned industrial sites. The legislation, which was sponsored by Representative Mel Reynolds of Chicago and is awaiting action in the House Ways and Means Committee, combines a package of Federal tax credits, private financing and local government incentives to get businesses to take a fresh look at the problem.

Richard M. Daley is the Mayor of Chicago.

The bill calls for a Federal commitment of \$75 million a year in tax credits for a five-year pilot program. Companies that restore industrial sites would receive credits worth one-fourth their cleanup costs; and local governments would offer grants, loans, tax abatements or donations of property, and could issue tax-exempt bonds to cover land acquisition and cleanup.

In Chicago, one of the cities that would be covered under the pilot program, there are hundreds of abandoned industrial sites with environmental problems: asbestos-laden rubble, contaminated underground storage tanks, illegal dumps and hazardous waste. A 50-acre site on the South Side with access to road, rail and shipping terminals sits idle because no one will invest the millions of dollars needed to clean it up.

And Chicago recently lost a 40-employee metal-stamping firm that had been on the West Side since 1954 because the owners, who wanted to expand the business, could not find a big enough site free of pollution problems. After an extensive search in the city, the company moved to the suburbs.

There is great demand for old fac-

ories that are clean and functional. In the last six months, two major Chicago manufacturers have committed to relocating to a new industrial park on the site of the former Chicago stockyards. And a number of potential buyers have expressed interest in a 15-acre site on the Northwest Side on which the city is spending more than \$1 million, demolishing

How abandoned factory sites can roar to life.

abandoned buildings and starting an environmental cleanup.

Yet Chicago does not have the resources to clean up more than a handful of these sites. Under the Federal proposal, the city could be eligible for \$6 million in tax credits, which could lead to \$24 million in private financing. That sum would help level the playing field in the jobs competition

between Chicago and outlying areas.

The bill's real virtue is that it uses Federal tax dollars to enlist the private sector for job creation and environmental cleanup. By trading \$375 million in tax credits for \$1.5 billion in private investment over the next five years, government becomes the catalyst for economic development. By creating a partnership among the private sector and local and Federal governments, this bill would distribute the burden of cleanup costs.

Putting environmentalists and industrialists on the same side, it builds on our common interest in keeping good, solid manufacturing jobs in our cities and towns and in broadening their tax base, which is critical to the viability of urban America. It can also slow the runaway development that has led to uncontrollable suburban sprawl.

If the program succeeds, it could be renewed or expanded after five years. If it doesn't, we can try something else. But we must do something to restore these abandoned sites to productive use. We must do more to keep good jobs and to make our cities and towns attractive to new investment. This bill is a good first step.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{3/18}

Brown Reed

Date: 02/23/94 Time: 08:52

Slain Rookie Was Mother Who Held Onto Her Dream

LOS ANGELES (AP) Armed with a mother's wisdom and driven by a dream, Christy Hamilton seized the chance to become a cop at age 45. She paid with her life.

Hamilton, one of the oldest recruits ever to graduate from the academy, was gunned down Tuesday by a 17-year-old who then shot his father and himself, police say.

Barely a month into her new career, Hamilton became the city's second woman officer killed in the line of duty. The first, Officer Tina Kerbrat, was also a rookie when she was gunned down in 1991 at age 34.

Just Friday, Hamilton received the Tina Kerbrat Award from her academy classmates, who voted her most inspirational officer.

"I've waited 23 years for this," the smiling Hamilton said after receiving her diploma from Chief Willie Williams.

She spent those years nurturing her dream and her family. The daughter of a police detective, Hamilton married early and raised a daughter, Kelley, 24, and a son, William, 20. She divorced, married a firefighter, and raised two stepchildren.

"I always wanted to be a police officer, but I got married when I was 19, started a family, and my life kind of changed," she said last week.

Until last year, the police department didn't accept applicants over 35, but finally, Hamilton got her chance.

"Last October my father called me and said, 'They lifted the age ceiling, why don't you take the test?'" Hamilton said. "I did, and I just followed it through and here I am."

Hamilton started working the streets the day of the Jan. 17 earthquake, which delayed her graduation ceremony until Friday.

"She was a breath of fresh air," Lt. Dan Hoffman, Hamilton's watch commander, said Tuesday. "She brought an enthusiasm and a caring for her position as a Los Angeles police officer that we actively strive to get on this department."

Hamilton's rookie status played no part in Tuesday's shooting, said Officer Rigo Romero, a department spokesman.

Hamilton was responding to a domestic disturbance call in suburban Northridge when she was shot in the chest, above her bulletproof vest, before she got out of her patrol car, Romero said.

He characterized it as an ambush-style shooting, "an incident where anybody, regardless of tenure, would have been vulnerable."

Michael Reyes, president of Hamilton's academy class, said she was the "mother" of the class, a quick wit who could shake anyone out of a bad mood.

"If you were having a bad day, she could have been having a worse day but she'd make you laugh," he said.

Through 28 weeks of training, Hamilton never let her age become an obstacle, Reyes said. Again and again, she practiced scrambling over a six-foot wall, required of all graduates.

And despite the danger of a cop's life, Hamilton never showed fear. "She knew what the job entailed and she wanted to do it," Reyes said.

Hamilton's life inspired her classmates; her death stunned the city.

"I just thought she was pretty terrific to start all over at 45 and become an officer," said Kim Winesburg, who brought flowers to the police station. "I am very sad that we lost her."

At Hamilton's hospital bed when she died were her father,

retired Detective Ken Brondell, and Chief Williams.

Chief, you've lost a good one," Brondell told Williams.

APNP-02-23-94 0851EST

NOTE FOR JOEL KLEIN, BRUCE REED, JODY GREENSTONE

From: Matt Miller

Re: FYI on Prosecutor Sentiment Toward DOJ

Date: January 17, 1994

A few prosecutor friends in Southern District of NY keep telling me how disturbed they are by pro-defense bar policies they feel DOJ is inappropriately pushing. Latest harangue I got include attached WSJ piece they say is on the mark.

Thought you might want this on your radar screen if it's not, since it could undermine the President's anti-crime stance at some point if unattended.

Attorney General of Social Work

By ANJICA MURPHY

At a time when America is focused on crime, and is ready for a serious look at firm but prudent punishment, the U.S. attorney general has become disconnected from her own troops—the 4,500-some assistant U.S. attorneys who prosecute federal crimes on behalf of the Justice Department. Janet Reno may have definite plans to alter the department's approach to crime, but she appears to be living in an ivory tower.

In a recent effort to comprehend this division, I interviewed some 50 assistant U.S. attorneys. Their overwhelming concern was that Ms. Reno doesn't understand the daily difficulties facing federal prosecutors. Summed up one veteran drug prosecutor: "Am I now employed by the Justice Department or the Department of Social Work?"

For Ms. Reno, those are fighting words. Soon after a prickly recent interview with me, during which she belated over suggestions that many of her career prosecutors were alienated and disenchanted, she addressed a conference of 500 federal drug prosecutors in New Orleans. "A reporter told me," she began her address, "that one of my prosecutors thinks I am more interested in being a social worker than attorney general." She went on to talk about the so-called root causes of crime. She ended by asking for questions, but then sidestepped the most important one, thrown at her by a veteran drug prosecutor—Jay Apperson from Virginia's Eastern District—on her apparent determination to end mandatory minimum sentencing.

When Ms. Reno speaks publicly, she makes a point of addressing the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union and local bar associations. The National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers can get access to her or her associates on short notice. But she gives short shrift to her own career prosecutors. "Who speaks for us?" one Los Angeles veteran asked.

This question has become especially acute lately, since Ms. Reno has called for a radical review of federal crime fighting tactics. The review is now being conducted by various "advisory groups" within the Justice Department, led by Ms. Reno's deputies. The changes that may emerge are profoundly troubling to field prosecutors, who fear that their powers will be eroded.

Ms. Reno's underlying philosophy appears to be that crime should be treated as a health and social issue. Among the policies being "studied" are: circling back on

mandatory minimum sentences in drug-related cases; returning to the plea bargaining prohibited by the 1980 "Thornburgh memo" and giving judges and defense attorneys more input in sentence reductions; dropping the automatic charges for using a gun in a federal crime; revising the rules on direct contact between prosecutors and potential witnesses in investigations; publicizing internal investigations of prosecutors; and emphasizing rehabilitation and drug treatment instead of punishment.

Most of these proposed changes read like a wish list from the defense bar. Veteran prosecutors have good reason to be worried.

Take mandatory minimums. Every drug prosecutor I interviewed praised their utility. Former Drug Enforcement Agency Director and Federal Prosecutor Robert Bauser says "mandatory minimums have been the strongest tool in getting low and middle-level dealers to cooperate with the government early enough in the case to help the government." And yet Ms. Reno told me in our interview: "Mandatory minimums shouldn't be used as leverage."

"What are they, if not leverage?" a narcotics section chief in Washington asked me when I repeated Ms. Reno's statement. "Listen, when a guy knows he's going to get only two to three years for distribution, he can handle it. He knows he'll get paid for his silence and come out of prison richer than the prosecutor who put him away." But, he adds: "When a guy is facing mandatory 10 to 15 years... he gives up the names of his bosses."

As to plea bargaining: "Yeah, I'd like more discretion in some cases," says a veteran in Virginia. "But those cases are few and far between." He adds: "She [Reno] worries about the system chewing up so-called first-time offenders. Remember, by the time he was tried, Pablo Escobar was a first-time offender."

Then there's the recent move to ignore the automatic additional five years for use of a gun in a federal crime. Several prosecutors say they've been "encouraged" by the new administration to ignore the firearms charge. Former Attorney General William Barr says: "We insisted on throwing the book at career violent offenders, and now that policy is being undermined." Ms. Reno's office admits that one of her advisory groups is studying the application of the gun charge as part of the "situation" with mandatory minimums. "Hey," says Mr. Barr, "don't whine about new gun concealment laws if you won't enforce the ones already on the books."

Another problem for prosecutors is Ms. Reno's proposal to merge the inspector general's office (which reports to Congress) and the Office of Professional Responsibility (which conducts internal investigations of prosecutors). "This will politicize the internal affairs unit," says former U.S. Attorney Henry Hudson of Virginia. What is more, "her proposal to open up OPR complaints during high-profile cases is an invitation to defense lawyers for target practices on prosecutors." One prosecutor who was exonerated by OPR last year remarked: "If they'd publicly opened the investigation of me while I was still prosecuting the larger case, I'd have been hung out to dry."

Also disturbing are the changes being studied regarding whether a prosecutor (or his agent) can contact the target of a criminal investigation. Such contacts help the feds pursue complex corporate or or-

ganized crime cases by allowing them to induce members of a criminal conspiracy to assist the government. Some state bar associations say direct contact between feds (including undercover agents) and potential witnesses and targets who are represented by counsel is an "ethical" violation.

Although Ms. Reno reiterated the right of feds to contact potential witnesses in July, Deputy Attorney General Philip Heymann and an advisory group of U.S. attorneys are reviewing the guidelines. Sources inside Justice complain that Mr. Heymann's initial draft suggested changes that were "defense bar fantasies" and "would have made it impossible for us to conduct undercover investigations or talk to witnesses who volunteered to help." Ms. Reno says she's been given one report on the subject, but won't discuss where she's going with it.

What's happening here? One possible reason for the disconnect between Ms. Reno and her troops may be the lack of federal prosecutorial experience in the top officials of the Justice Department. Ms. Reno was a local prosecutor and then an elected politician. Assistant Attorney General Webster Hubbell's private firm experience doesn't lend itself to sympathy with front-line prosecutors. And Mr. Heymann, though once an official of the criminal division, has had little experience as a federal prosecutor, and has spent the last decade as an academic.

Another reason might be the confusion as to Ms. Reno's constituency. Her power base is the White House, and its surrogates, Mr. Hubbell and Mr. Heymann. She's been playing to an elite audience: Bill and Hillary Clinton and assorted clientele from civil-rights organizations, the American Bar Association and groups like the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, who gave heavy sums to the Clinton campaign. When Ms. Reno came on board, her career lawyers hoped that they'd gotten a prosecutor's prosecutor. But now they think she's too soft on crime.

"It's all very touchy-feely," says a prosecutor from San Antonio. After her congressional testimony on TV violence, one of her own spokesmen moaned: "Next, she'll be testifying about school lunches."

Indeed, in a recent letter she sent to prosecutors with their pay slips, she outlined a kind of Zen management style, encouraging the importance of family togetherness and citing the National Performance Review's emphasis on "top-down support for bottom-up decision-making."

But a Washington-area prosecutor says: "We're not in social services. We're here to fight crime." Perhaps, he adds, Ms. Reno should take another job—as health and human services. Or Janet Reno, surgeon general.

The attorney general seemed affronted that her prosecutors are questioning her policies. "Tell these prosecutors to stick with their job, which is prosecuting. And let me look at the larger issues," she told me. Even at this moment, though, she moves quickly to her favorite social policy themes. "I have to deal with many areas... such as juvenile delinquency prevention."

The troops in the trenches, she indicates, should just keep shooting. She'll tell them which direction to point and how much firepower they should use—after her study groups meet.

Ms. Murphy writes for the Washingtonian magazine.



Janet Reno

Notable & Quotable

Marvin Cluskey discussing the failure of anti-poverty programs in his 1982 book "The Tragedy of American Compassion" (Regency Publishing):

The major flaw of the modern welfare state is not that it is extravagant with money, but that it is stingy with the help that only a person can give: love, time, care, and hope. Most of our 20th Century schemes, based on someone else taking action, are proven failures. It's time to learn from the warm hearts and hard heads of earlier charitable efforts.

Date: 02/03/94 Time: 08:52

RAHM
Jodi > FYI

Deputy Attorney General Steps Aside For Imminent Successor

Bruce

WASHINGTON (AP) Deputy Attorney General Philip Heymann, confident his successor is about to be chosen, is leaving office sooner than expected to argue against "feel-good answers" to a growing crime problem.

With crime now seen as Americans' top concern, "the currents of politics are simply too strong to be ignored by members of the Congress or any administration," Heymann said. He told reporters Wednesday his early departure will free him to speak about crime without political restraint.

Pentagon General Counsel Jamie S. Gorelick, 43, is the likely nominee to replace Heymann, according to an administration official who said a decision could come this week or next. The official demanded anonymity.

A native of New York and Harvard law graduate, Ms. Gorelick became close to Attorney General Janet Reno while helping her prepare for confirmation hearings last year.

The choice of Ms. Gorelick would leave the department with no one among its top four officials with experience in federal law enforcement, which the deputy supervises. Reno was a state prosecutor. Webster Hubbell, the No. 3 official, briefly was chief justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court. Solicitor General Drew Days previously headed Justice's civil rights division, whose work is overwhelmingly in civil law.

Her admirers pointed out, however, that Gorelick worked during 1975-1993 at Miller, Cassidy, Larroca & Lewin, one of the city's leading firms in criminal law. They also stressed that a close relationship with Reno was the key requirement for the primarily management post.

Heymann said he would leave office Feb. 11. When he resigned last week citing differences with Reno over management and style, Heymann had left open the possibility of staying longer for transition work before returning to his Harvard law professorship.

But citing the impending appointment of a successor, Heymann said Wednesday, "I don't want to sit in this big fancy office and draw a government salary and not feel I'm earning it.

"I will be in the happy position of being ... able to speak out ... about what is real and what is phony in the debate about the nation's No. 1 concern: crime and violence. We're living in a time of popular, feel-good answers that often have little promise of solving very pressing problems," he added.

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He said his topics would include mandatory minimum sentences, the death penalty and designation of more crimes as federal violations.

A Senate-passed crime bill would expand use of all three. Republicans have been overwhelmingly behind them; Democratic support, while smaller, has been growing. Reno, who has worried that mandatory minimums waste scarce prison space on nonviolent first offenders, had Heymann study such sentences.

Heymann disclosed that his unreleased study found that many lesser offenders those with no drug or violent crime convictions or no links to a drug gang do not get mandatory minimums.

"Prosecutors and judges are finding a way of not imposing 10-year sentences on those who don't need them," he said. "There aren't as many (lesser offenders) as you might think (getting long minimum sentences), but there are a certain number who are."

He predicted both sides would find ways to use the report for their arguments.

Heymann shed more light on the management differences with Reno that prompted his resignation. He said an attorney general should focus on a few issues, whether three or 18, and concentrate on how to make changes in those areas stick. "We had many, many issues to focus on" in the deputy's office under Reno, he said.

It was learned the search for Heymann's replacement concentrated on fewer than a handful of people, already well known to Reno and the White House.

Assistant Treasury Secretary Ron Noble, a former Justice official, dropped off the list early. Charles Ruff, a former acting deputy now in private practice, was discussed. But there was little enthusiasm for recycling old names; Ruff had been in line for the job earlier but was ruled out then for nonpayment of Social Security taxes on a semiretired household worker.

APNP-02-03-94 0852EST

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 17 STORIES

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January 30, 1994, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE C7

LENGTH: 779 words

HEADLINE: Peanut's Prison Tale

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: George F. Will

DATELINE: JESSUP, Md.

BODY:

Peanut is a man of few words but his gaze can peel paint, and he frowns eloquently about something Congress may do regarding Pell grants.

Peanut's given name is Eugene Taylor. He has spent about half of his 42 years situated as he now is, behind bars and barbed wire, sentenced to life plus 25 years for murder and armed robbery. He dropped out of school in the 9th grade. The school, he indicates, had no strong objection. Sentimentalists who think there is no such thing as a bad boy never met Peanut in his misspent youth.

In his well-spent years in prison he has passed the eight-hour examination for a high school equivalency certification, and using Pell grants he has taken enough courses for a community college degree. But a provision of the crime bill the Senate has passed would make prisoners ineligible for such grants, which subsidize post-secondary education for low- and moderate-income students.

The day Sheriff Clinton addressed Congress, which is chock full of would-be Wyatt Earps hot to be deputized for this latest fight-to-the-finish against crime, Peanut and some other prisoners who have benefited from Pell grants sat around a table expressing emphatic disagreement with the Senate. Douglas Wiley (first-degree accessory, rape and burglary and armed robbery), Willie Marshall-el (drug possession), Olin Fisher-Bey (rape), Michael Postlewaite (rape), William Blackston (drug distribution), and Tim Sweeney (murder and armed robbery) are where they belong, serving long sentences. But most of them will be paroled someday, some of them soon, as they think of soon: before the year 2000.

Before intellectual fashion changed, prisons were called penitentiaries. They were places for doing penance and not much else. Today Peanut and his associates are in what Maryland calls a "correctional institution." But "correcting" criminals is hardly a science and not frequently a success. Nationally the recidivism rate three years after release is about two-thirds.

In withdrawing Pell grants from prisoners the Senate may have been grandstanding and chest-thumping, but it also was responding to scarcity. Demand for grants exceeds supply, so why should convicts be served when young people on the outside, whose parents pay taxes to pay for prisons, are not served? An answer may flow from this fact: 97 percent of all persons now incarcerated will someday leave prison.

The Washington Post, January 30, 1994

Do Pell grants for prisoners "work"? Is educational attainment in prison a predictor of post-prison success? That is hard to say.

The prisoners joining Peanut around the table are a self-selected set of achievers, not a representative sample of the prison population. There are data showing that education in prison correlates with reduced recidivism. But that data may show only that the character traits that cause a prisoner to take advantage of prison opportunities would in any case dispose those persons to re-enter society successfully.

Furthermore, the culture of a prison is complex. In a spirited essay, prisoner Postlewaite suggests, as the other long-term prisoners at the table do this day, that short-termers are giving convicts a bad name. Many short-termers regard prison as a rite of passage, a mere hiatus in a career of crime. They have no incentive -- the incentive of long sentences -- to buckle down to self-improvement.

"Look at the behavior of the majority of inmates," writes Postlewaite. "You would think that they were at the community recreation center. All of their friends, relatives and homeboys are right there with them, and they are just as cheerful as they were in the streets." Having spent their short sentences watching television, playing basketball and making collect phone calls, they leave prison having "no fear or bad feelings about coming back."

The logic of Postlewaite's argument is that the most promising candidates for Pell grants are serving long sentences. But they are often in for the worst crimes. That is not politically congenial logic.

Prisoners who enroll in education programs get time cut from their sentences. Some acquire a disquieting fluency with the patois of pop sociology -- "enhancing self-esteem" and "understanding societal norms" -- that parole boards may find soothing. One feels at best ambivalent when someone convicted of a heinous crime says that education "has made me feel good about myself."

But Peanut does not talk like that. And Congress should consider the fact that Peanut may be at large in a few years, at which time Baltimore's streets, which he left long ago, may be a bit safer than they would be if he had not acquired some social skills with the help of his Pell grant.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: January 30, 1994

LEVEL 1 - 11 OF 17 STORIES

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January 29, 1994, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A19

LENGTH: 698 words

HEADLINE: Better 100,000 More Teachers Than 100,000 More Police

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Colman McCarthy

BODY:

America's wardens and parole officers know what few in the Senate and House are willing to acknowledge in the crime bill debate: The more education inmates receive while in prison, the less likely it is they will commit crimes on release.

Recidivism rates, which range between 60 and 70 percent in most states, are cut by as much as 80 percent among men and women who completed high school or college courses while in prison. Education equals crime prevention. Diplomas are crime stoppers.

As Congress finishes work on what is expected to be a \$ 22 billion crime bill, no increased funding for education programs is in the legislation. It's the other way. The Senate backed an amendment -- sponsored by Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas), who is currently under felony indictment for political abuses -- to deny prisoners college courses under Pell grants.

For state programs, the same holds. In Florida, Gov. Lawton Chiles proposed a 20 percent increase in his prison budget while decreasing money for prison education: from \$ 14.2 million to \$ 13.5 million next year. The Florida Correctional Education School Authority had asked for \$ 35 million, a meager amount in itself that would have amounted to less than 2 cents of every prison dollar.

America's prisons are centers of illiteracy. The Correctional Educational Association, a Laurel, Md., organization with 2,800 members, estimates that of the 1.2 million people currently caged, more than 70 percent are functionally illiterate. Only 20 percent are in education programs. Some 98 percent of those now locked away will be freed eventually, most within five years. If they can't read or add, they have a dog's chance of getting even an unskilled job.

On the last go-round of a federal crime bill -- in the summer of 1991 -- a crime-prevention amendment was offered to establish required literacy programs in state prisons. Funded for \$ 25 million over two years, it lost 55-39. Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) led the opposition, arguing that the amendment would force "states to spend their limited dollars on teaching rapists and murderers rather than children."

Those who are closer than Strom Thurmond to the realities of illiteracy and criminals look bemusedly at the anti-crime posturing of politicians, now on

The Washington Post, January 29, 1994

refuse display. One of them is Jody Spertzel, an assistant editor of Corrections Today, the monthly magazine of the American Correctional Association. She had never visited a maximum security prison until last summer. To interview some inmates for a story about an education program in a state prison, she traveled to an 1,100-prisoner facility in Craigsville, Va., about 150 miles southwest of Washington.

Of that journey and the time spent speaking with some prisoners, Spertzel, 27, a Penn State graduate and a person graced with an open mind, recalled last week: "It's a day I think of often. I believe it has influenced my life and outlook. The reception I received, both by the staff and by the inmates, has remained in my mind. Often I wonder if we on the outside can't be doing more to ensure that prisoners have better options and opportunities awaiting them when they are released. I also wonder what I can do individually to ensure that others do not join them. This is one of the reasons I am choosing to change careers right now, to become a teacher."

Spertzel has begun looking into job possibilities as a prison teacher. Let's wish her luck -- tons of it. Because luck is about all that's available.

Others who are committed to the rational and effective include Gail Schwartz, who is 50 percent of the Office of Correctional Education in the Department of Education. Only three years old and funded for \$ 11 million, Schwartz's office has awarded small-sum demonstration grants to 41 programs -- out of 329 applications. "Enormous interest is present," she says.

Schwartz represents an enlightened kind of anti-crime advocacy: getting genuinely tough on criminals by exposing them to the rigor and discipline of the classroom. If calls from the Justice Department were as loud for 100,000 prison teachers as they are for 100,000 more police, a decrease in crime would be in sight.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: January 28, 1994

ECS - EYI see p 46 - Agul



Political Justice I

GAMBLING ON RENO

Instead of ending Janet Reno's career, the Waco disaster made her the superstar of the Clinton Cabinet. Just how honest—and how competent—is she?

RICH LOWRY

"If the attorney general can think about pre-natal care before she thinks about more prisons, that's got to tell you something."

—Attorney General Janet Reno

DURING her confirmation hearings, Janet Reno was asked how she would react if the White House tried to meddle in a possible indictment of Representative Dan Rostenkowski. Miss Reno replied with endearing bluntness: "I'd say, 'Mr. President, that's not the way to do it. Let the Department of Justice pursue it in the regular course of business. Let's not mix things up. And if you don't want me to be your attorney general, I'll go home.'"

Attagirl. Janet Reno has become the star of the Clinton Cabinet with a well-publicized integrity (she buys her own lunches at the Justice Department cafeteria) and a buck-stops-here attitude made famous after Waco. Not only does she say she's willing to pack her bags for home—her mother built that Florida home by hand, and it is surrounded with pet peacocks. No wonder the press has swooned.

But if Clinton's most celebrated Cabinet member has personal integrity and a no-nonsense sort of flair, what else does she have? There is reason to believe that "the first woman to run the Justice Department" doesn't; the White House and Clinton crony Webster Hubbell share that distinction. Miss Reno's views on fighting crime, moreover, hark back to the "root

causes" rhetoric of the 1960s. And she presides over a department undergoing the sort of politicization Democrats used to attribute to Reagan-Bush Republicans.

Indeed, when confronted with what seems to have been White House pressure to buy time for Rostenkowski, Miss Reno didn't head for home, she fired every U.S. attorney, including the one investigating the powerful House Ways and Means chairman.

Normally, when control of the Administration changes from one party to the other, the old U.S. attorneys are replaced gradually. Thus, when Tom Corbett, chairman of the U.S. attorney advisory committee, asked Miss Reno about the transition timetable on Thursday, March 18, and got no answers, he assumed there would be the traditional, slow handover. He reeled when, on Monday morning, Associate Attorney General Hubbell told him the attorneys would have to resign immediately. Literally. "[They] should be able to clear out of their offices over the weekend," one White House politico told Corbett. (Miss Reno was nowhere in sight.) Corbett had to fight just to get the attorneys an extra week to clear out.

The next day Miss Reno called for resignations. Jay Stephens, the U.S. attorney for Washington, D.C., resigned that afternoon, commenting that he had been within thirty days of a "critical decision" about Rostenkowski. (Once Stephens left, the transition lost its urgency; some Republican U.S. attorneys are still on board.) The Illinois congressman may yet be indicted

for his alleged abuse of the House Bank, but Stephens's hasty dismissal surely slowed the investigation, leaving Rosty, who loses his chairmanship if indicted, in place to steer Clinton bills through the House.

Politics, Politics

THAT WITHIN days of her confirmation Miss Reno would make such a politically convenient decision shouldn't come as a surprise. A Democrat, Janet Reno won election as state attorney five times in conservative Dade County. Her accessibility was legendary—her home phone number was listed—but the flip side of her "responsiveness" was a sensitivity to political pressures.

"She is very reactive. The issue of the moment becomes everybody's top priority," a former assistant told *Legal Times*. "When everybody was getting upset over smash-and-grab robberies, she formed a smash-and-grab task force . . . Then that just faded away. I think the chances are she's honestly concerned, but sometimes it looks a little like politics."

Certainly Reno's law-enforcement record—at least judging by the numbers—wasn't the key to her success. An analysis by *Legal Times* shows her office lagging behind the rest of the state, and behind neighboring Broward County, in prosecuting criminals.

In 1991 her office brought 2 per cent of all felony defendants to trial. In the rest of the state, 3.6 per cent faced trial, and in Broward about 5 per cent did. This might suggest that Miss

Mr. Lowry is NR's associate editor.

Reno's office secured more guilty pleas. Not so: in Broward 88 per cent of those charged with felonies pleaded guilty; in Florida, 82 per cent; in Dade, 73 per cent. Perhaps, because it tried fewer cases, Miss Reno's office was more successful in the cases it did try? No, again: in the rest of Florida about 62 per cent of trials ended in guilty pleas or convictions; in Dade, about 60 per cent.

Miss Reno did excel in social work. She had grand juries investigate homelessness, public housing, and minority set-asides. The list goes on. According to *Legal Times*, a nine-month grand-jury investigation into Dade's high-school dropout rate resulted in a four-year effort by one of Miss Reno's prosecutors to organize Little League and pre-school programs in Miami's toughest neighborhoods. Meanwhile, during her tenure Dade's crime rate jumped by about 50 per cent, roughly twice the rate of increase state-wide.

No Friend of Bill

WHATEVER her background, Miss Reno came to Justice at a disadvantage: she lacks the White House connections of her subordinate Webster Hubbell. A friend and golfing partner of the President's, Hubbell worked with the First Lady at the powerhouse Rose law firm in Little Rock. If he were a woman (and weren't obviously a Clinton henchman) he would be Attorney General.

Instead, he uses his clout behind the scenes. While Clinton flipped through Zoë Baird and Kimba Wood, Hubbell grabbed an office on the exclusive fifth floor of the Justice Department, where the attorney general's office is located and where no associate attorney general had roosted before. Many observers say he maintains close, perhaps daily, contact with the White House. Indeed, the day of Waco, Webster Hubbell, not Janet Reno, reported to the President. And he does what Friends of Bill do best: politics.

In February, thanks to a change of venue, a predominantly white jury was set to hear the second corruption trial of Representative Harold Ford (D., Tenn.). But the Congressional Black Caucus objected to the jury, and Hubbell brokered a meeting between the Caucus and Acting Attorney General Stuart Gerson (a Bush holdover).

A day later, in a stunning reversal,

the department said it would join a motion by Ford's attorneys to dismiss the jury and return the venue to his district, sure to produce a jury unwilling to convict (as it had in his first, which ended in a hung jury). A federal judge denied Justice's motion, but Ford won acquittal anyway. For former Memphis U.S. Attorney Edward Bryant, who resigned to protest Justice's reversal, "The Justice Department gave in to the political pressure and violated a very basic principle of justice: . . . that justice is blind."

So far, Miss Reno has fit right in with this politicization. After endorsing the independent-counsel law, she has developed an allergy to special prosecutors. She won't name one to investigate Travelgate (during which the White House by-passed her and took its orders straight to the FBI), the Ron Brown bribery allegations, or the charges of tampering in Republican personnel files at the State Department. Miss Reno says she can't name an independent counsel because the statute has lapsed. But she still has the power to appoint a prosecutor to investigate a case independently; Bush Attorney General William Barr did so without the law three times.

Similarly, only politics can explain Miss Reno's waffling on whether to launch a federal probe into the anti-Semitic riot and murder of Yankel Rosenbaum in Crown Heights two years ago. On September 8 word leaked that she would announce the next day her decision not to investigate, sparing both New York Mayor David Dinkins (in the midst of a re-election fight) and former New York Police Chief Lee Brown (now Clinton's drug czar) potential embarrassment. But when New York pols raised a stink, Miss Reno hacked off, saying she needed more time for reflection. In both moves—deciding against an investigation, then postponing a decision—she swayed with the prevailing political winds.

In taking another easy political out, Miss Reno undermined the institutional integrity of her own department. Since the spring of 1992 House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell had been pushing to interview career Justice attorneys about why certain EPA-recommended environmental prosecutions were dropped.

The Bush Justice Department re-

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fused. If attorneys knew that dropping a case would get them dragged before a congressman, it reasoned, they would feel pressure to prosecute in every case, whatever the legal merits. Never mind: this Spring, when a besieged Clinton Administration could least afford to offend a House baron, Janet Reno granted Dingell's request.

Even a Carter Administration attorney general, Benjamin Civiletti, has knocked the decision. "The Attorney General cannot effectively and fairly enforce the laws when career prosecutors are receiving pressure from Congress," Civiletti said in prepared remarks at the Heritage Foundation.

Reinventing Waco

BUT SURRENDERING to congressional bullies like Dingell hasn't tarnished Miss Reno's reputation—after Waco, it seems nothing can. Miss Reno turned law enforcement's biggest disaster in recent memory into a public-relations coup, notwithstanding the Justice Department's report about the siege, which portrays her as indecisive in the run-up to the April 19 tear-gas assault and misleading in its aftermath.

On April 16, Webster Hubbell, who supported the tear-gas plan, told FBI officials Miss Reno had rejected it. When FBI Director William Sessions asked to speak with her, Hubbell left, and returned with her ten minutes later. Unaccountably, she then "made no reference to her disapproval of the plan," according to the report. She did request a written justification of the FBI proposal, which the FBI gave her the next day. "The Attorney General did not read the prepared statement carefully," the report continues, "nor did she read the supporting documentation . . . She read only a chronology, [and] gave the rest of the materials a cursory review. . . ." She approved the plan for April 19.

When that day ended with some 85 cult members dead, Miss Reno said child abuse within the compound prompted her decision. But the FBI had no evidence of on-going abuse. Miss Reno also contended that the FBI had unanimously rejected the possibility of mass suicide, when a March 8 memo from FBI behavioral experts warned about exactly that and advised that FBI tactical pressure "should be the absolute last option."

KTY

The positive press after Waco has provided excellent cover for this attorney general's weakness.

Traditionally, the Justice Department has a crucial role in selecting Supreme Court nominees. But in picking Ruth Bader Ginsburg the White House set up its own vetting operation, dispensing entirely with Miss Reno. Many of her top lieutenants were picked for her by the White House, making it impossible for her to assemble her own team. And she had nothing to do with the formulation of the two Democratic crime bills now on Capitol Hill—bills too hard-nosed for Miss Reno.

What policy initiatives has Miss Reno launched? An interviewer on Court TV's *Washington Watch* recently asked: "How is the Justice Department a different place, how are its policies different with you as attorney general as opposed to Mr. Barr?"

"We're in the process of reviewing a number of areas," Miss Reno replied.

"But something specific today, right now. It is now October, the President has been in office for ten months, what's different?"

"One of the things that I had determined to do was to not look back. I've not compared myself to Mr. Barr. I've taken each instance, each area that I've had to look at. One of the first things that we've obviously been involved in is staffing the department.

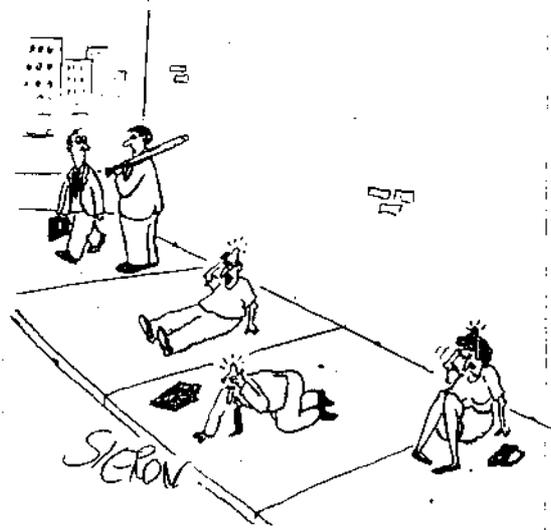
Miss Reno's crime-fighting activities, so far, have been mostly limited to her frequent speeches, in which she outlines the woolliest views on crime this side of Ramsey Clark. She always says society must lock up violent offenders, then traces the root causes of crime back to the womb. In Dade "we started focusing on dropout-prevention programs," she told Bill Moyers,

since we saw a correlation between those that dropped out of school and those that became delinquent. But drop-out programs at 11, 12 and 13 are too late. By that time, the kid has lost his self-esteem, he has fallen two grades behind, people call him dumb and he starts acting out in other ways, to attract attention to himself. So we started focusing on 4- and 5-year olds. That's too late. Be-

cause at that point the crack epidemic hit Miami . . .

For Janet Reno crime prevention begins with prenatal care; it helps bring healthy babies into the world, who will then be passed down a pipeline of government programs from Head Start to conflict-resolution classes at school.

She is right in saying that childhood is crucial and children are better off with intact, non-abusive families. The mistake is in thinking government can mend families or raise their children. What government can do—but isn't doing—is take the recidivists who ac-



"And you, sir—did you vote for change?"

count for two-thirds of violent crime off the streets.

Less than half of convicted felons are sentenced to prison. Those that go to prison receive a median sentence of about four years, but serve just 13 months on average. The median time served for violent crime is just 25 months, and for murder five and a half years. Lack of prison space and lax sentencing are the reasons why.

Miss Reno's Justice Department isn't offering relief. As proposed, its fiscal-1994 budget would cut funding for new prison construction by 20 per cent. The theory is that the prison-space squeeze can be alleviated by abandoning the minimum mandatory sentences that have allegedly clogged prisons with low-level drug offenders.

But, whatever their merits, jettisoning the minimums will not solve overcrowding. About 60 per cent of federal prisoners are in on drug charges, but

the vast majority of these are for trafficking, not possession of the odd bag of marijuana. And no one at the federal level is getting paroled; the revolving door is at the state level, where most prisoners are housed.

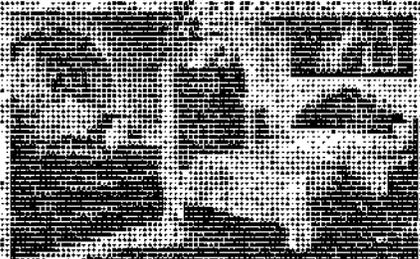
At that level, according to a Department of Justice study, just 8 per cent of inmates are in on drug-possession charges; in contrast, about half are jailed for violent offenses. States could release everyone charged with possession tomorrow, and it would hardly make a dent in the prison population. In fact, states do let just about everyone out tomorrow, thanks to lax parole laws; in Texas, inmates serve an average of 62 days for each year of their sentence.

Janet Reno's get-soft-on-crime exhortations have irritated the White House; it prefers not to give the impression that it plans to take back the streets with Head Start. In a recent radio address on crime, Mr. Clinton omitted any reference to pre-natal care; instead, he talked of ensuring that "those who are convicted are punished, sometimes by imposition of the death penalty" (which Miss Reno opposes). By one theory, the President will look for an early opportunity to ease out his attorney general, whose rhetoric is out of step and whose popularity eclipses his own.

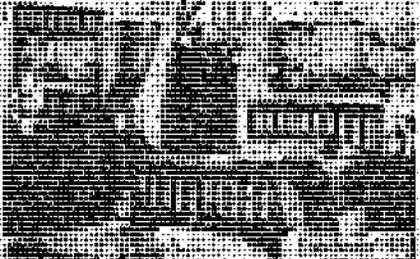
Even the Attorney General's popularity could be evanescent. Take the last act of law enforcement's chief drama in the last three years: the verdict that gives a slap on the wrist to the two men who gave Reginald Denny a brick to the head. For Angelenos the verdict has prompted outrage, an anger whose root causes obviously escape Miss Reno.

Her Justice Department is appealing the thirty-month prison sentences in the Rodney King case for the police officers who, as Judge John G. Davies put it, went five or seven blows too far. But in the Denny case—with Damian Williams (the brick-thrower) likely to serve time comparable to the officers and Henry Watson (who held Denny down with a foot to the neck) likely to walk—federal charges are nowhere in sight. The implication is clear: The light sentences for Messrs. Williams and Watson are OK.

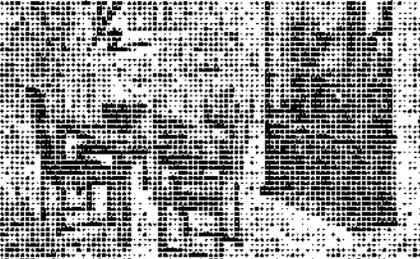
They, after all, aren't cops. □



1999



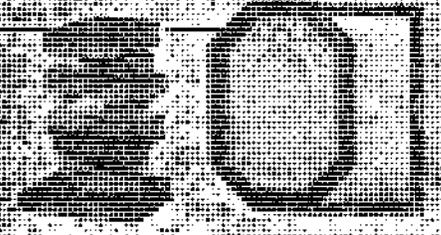
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1999

PHOTO IN CREDIT

STAY WITH STAYERS



FUTONS & BEDS

STAYERS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

How Our Towns Fight Crime

By AMITAI ETZIONI

While Washington sweats out the crime bill, communities from coast to coast are experimenting successfully with various anti-violence measures. Unfortunately, the American Civil Liberties Union is successfully slowing them down.

Examples of effective grass-roots efforts to combat crime abound. In New Jersey, the cities of Newark and Orange have introduced curfews prohibiting minors from being on the streets between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. Exceptions are made for those passing through town, or on the way to or from a political or religious event. The law fosters parental responsibility by fining parents rather than arresting the children found roaming the streets after hours. Curfews keep minors out of harm's way and deprive drug dealers of their runners and lookouts during peak "business" hours.

Many neighborhoods have recently erected a variety of roadblocks. Oakland, Calif., set up 17 on roads leading to nearby Lake Merritt when residents complained of incessant cruising, public drunkenness and rude behavior. In a public housing project in Chicago, drive-by shootings and about half of the drug traffic were stopped when a fence was erected around the project. In Inkster, Mich., an open-air drug market was closed overnight when a local sheriff set up a roadblock and demanded to see a driver's license and proof of car ownership (documents drivers are required to carry by law).

More shaming also works. A neighborhood in Long Island was flooded with cruising men—who-look-for-prostitutes—solicited passersby, even women working in their gardens. A community association wrote down their license plate numbers and sent letters to their homes. It proved a surprisingly effective deterrent.

Antidrug Patrols

Numerous communities across the country have formed crime watches—groups of citizens who agree to guard one another's property. When residents see suspicious movements in a neighbor's yard, they notify the authorities. A large number of neighborhoods have set up antidrug patrols. In Washington, D.C., multi-racial Orange Hat patrols chase drug dealers out of their communities, by noting their license plate numbers and filming them with hand-held video recorders. In Washington's North Michigan Park, such a patrol helped snare corrupt cops who were protecting drug dealers. Another group in Washington recaptured the Meridian Hill Park from drug traffickers.

While these efforts basically reflect the work of volunteers or the initiative of local sheriffs, states also have been taking new steps. For instance, Washington state has passed a law requiring the continued detention of sex offenders, until medical authorities rule that they are "safe to be at large." And from New York City to Los Angeles, Community Policing programs are getting cops out of their cars, to walk the beats, to know closely the area they are patrolling, and to develop closer relations with the locals.

lent crime. There is no single measure or even group of measures that can ensure public safety 100%. But these measures do save lives, and if used more widely they could reduce both violence and the sense of being constantly menaced. Restoring basic civility, more and more social scientists agree, requires a return to basics: a reconstruction of the family; values education in schools; stronger neighborhood bonds; and possibly some kind of spiritual or religious revival.

Enter the civil libertarians.

A major reason anticrime measures such as these are not applied in more communities is that the ACLU and its army of lawyers hobbles them in courts and sours the public's reception to them. To prevail in the courts of law and of public opinion, one must understand the arguments the ACLU advances.

Typically, the ACLU's opening volley is that the suggested anticrime steps are not

The Colorado ACLU attacked as discriminatory a Denver police roster of gang members because over half those listed are black, while blacks constituted only 5% of the population.

cost-effective. Building jails is too expensive; drug rehabilitation is said to be cheaper. Keeping sex offenders in jail until they are safe to be released is a "waste of money." The ACLU does not buttress its points with specific statistics based on valid samples, data comparing a program to a control group, or other such social science evidence. It relies on anecdotes, newspaper clippings and select quotations from favored experts. Indeed, the fact that this line of argument is merely a smoke screen becomes evident once one presents data that the grass-roots anticrime approaches at issue are effective. The ACLU then immediately retreats to its main line of attack: It does not matter if the suggested measures are efficient—they are unconstitutional.

A common claim is that these new anticrime techniques are racist. When the police set up roadblocks in the Lake Merritt area, the San Francisco chapter of the ACLU argued that roadblocks are discriminatory, because more young people are stopped than old ones and more blacks than whites. The police countered that officers asked for IDs from everyone, and only barred nonresidents. The police did "admit" that once they became acquainted with some of the residents, officers simply waved them through.

The same argument is raised against crime databanks, which police across the country are finding a rich resource. The Colorado ACLU attacked Denver's police roster of gang members because more than half of those listed are black, while blacks constituted only 5% of the popula-

tion, and Hispanics constituted about a third of the list, while they are only 12% of the city's population. The fact that most gang members in Denver are not white did not impress the ACLU, nor did the fact that a person who has no "contact" with the police is dropped from the roster after a specified period.

The ACLU views all roadblocks, screening gates (which are familiar to airline passengers but also increasingly serve schools, courthouses and legislatures), drug testing, examination of lockers in public schools, sobriety checkpoints and the like as violations of the Fourth Amendment's search and seizure protection. What the ACLU specifically objects to in all these situations is that people are being "searched" without there being a specific suspicion that they committed a crime; these are said to constitute searches of the innocent.

Note that the ACLU misstates the Fourth Amendment. It reads: "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated." What is reasonable is open to debate, but the courts have ruled again and again that at issue is a balance between individual rights to privacy and the public's interest in elementary safety.

Surely, no one wishes to intrude wantonly on people's privacy. But when planes full of Americans were being hijacked in the 1970s, the nation embraced screening gates and stopped the terrorists cold. The ACLU's warning that these gates would "condition Americans to a police state" has not proved any more true than its many other predictions about the dire results of improvements in public safety.

Subjecting Liberties to Order

The ACLU's gravest mistake is its assumption that the best way to protect liberties is by blocking moves that seek to enhance the role of public authorities. But the greatest threat to a free society is that if liberties cannot be subject to some order, there will be none. When people's most elementary needs—for protection of their lives and those of their loved ones—are not met, they are susceptible to appeals by demagogues. In desperation, they listen to suggestions, such as those of Chicago's former police superintendent Leroy Martin, to shoot drug dealers on sight without trial, and those of fellow citizens who wrote in desperation seeking "to suspend the Constitution until the war against drugs is won."

There is a faint hope that people will come to understand that protecting public order is not antithetical to civil liberties but, on the contrary, a major precondition of a free society. People must learn to oppose the rigid and narrow interpretation of the Constitution advanced by the ACLU. Communities should be able to advance anticrime measures without the incessant threat of lawsuits.

Mr. Etzioni is the author of "The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities, and the Communitarian Agenda" (Crown, 1993).

THE WASHINGTON POST, January 1, 1994

STYLE SECTION -- "THE LIST"

by Cathy Horyn

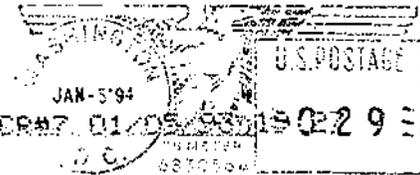
IN OUT

POLITICS AS USUAL	POLITICS OF MEANING
JIMI HENDRIX	JIM MORRISON
WESTERNS	YUPPIE PARANOID THRILLERS
COMMUNITARIANISM	LIBERALISM
NEO-FASCISM	COMMUNISM
INSECTS	DINOSAURS
COUNTRY MUSIC VIDEOS	LINE DANCING
SPEED RACER	BEAVIS AND BUTT-HEAD
PUMAS	PLATFORMS
ROBERT REICH	BARNEY
MISTER ROGERS' NEIGHBORHOOD	NEVERLAND
BIODIVERSITY	DIVERSITY WORKSHOPS
GLORIA AND HERBIE	JOEY AND AMY
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Washington, D.C. 20052



Mr. Bruce Reed
Deputy Assistant to the President
Domestic Policy Council
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Crime-Clips

12/14/93

To: List

From: David Kusnet

Re: Coverage of Saturday, 12/11/93 radio address

The Saturday, 12/11/93, radio address seems to have been well received, not only the substantive points but the rhetoric.

I would suggest that a number of the lines quoted in these news stories are worth repeating, particularly "fight violence with values."

List:

David Dreyer

Rahm Emanuel

Mark Gearan

David Gergen

Bruce Reed

George Stephanopoulos

Richard Strauss

Boston Globe
12/12/93

Guns, drugs and violence fill a vacuum where the values of civilized life used to be.

PRESIDENT CLINTON
In his weekly radio address

Clinton speaks on violence

By Nancy Benac
ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON - The nation must fight "violence with values," President Clinton said yesterday in praise of radio stations that refuse to play songs advocating violent crime or showing contempt for women.

Clinton, in his weekly radio address, said guns, drugs and violence "fill a vacuum where the values of civilized life used to be," and called for greater emphasis on work, family and community.

Tough talk about crime has been constant during a week when a New York gunman killed five commuters on the Long Island Rail Road and the body of 12-year-old kidnap victim Polly Klass was discovered in California.

■ Federal courts scant comfort to gun control foes. Page 9.

The president renewed his call for tough anticrime legislation but steered clear of the subject of licensing guns - something he wants the Justice Department to study.

Clinton said he wants a crime bill that will put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, ban assault weapons, and provide more money for boot-camp-style programs for first-time offenders.

A broad crime bill passed by the Senate authorizes 100,000 extra police; a narrower bill passed by the House approves 50,000.

Clinton said putting more police on the street "will do more to reduce crime than anything else we can do."

But in the Republican response to Clinton's radio address, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato of New York said more attention should be paid to locking up violent criminals and less to proposals to license guns.

He said Republicans support putting more police on the streets but also want a crime bill that requires a 10-year sentence for committing a crime with a gun.

A poll released yesterday showed a majority of Americans believe existing laws make it too easy for people to get guns but also detected uncertainty about whether stricter gun control laws would curtail violence.

The CNN-Time survey by Yankelevich Partners Inc. found that 67 percent of Americans believe it is too easy for people to buy guns. Forty-nine percent said stricter gun controls would reduce violence; an identical percentage said they would not. The survey of 560 adults, conducted Dec. 2, had a 4.5 percentage point margin of error.

Clinton is trying to entice the entertainment industry in his campaign to combat violence and promote stronger values. As a Hollywood fund-raiser a week ago, he asked celebrities and entertainment executives to help "give children nonviolent ways to resolve their own frustrations."

Let's fight violence with values: Prez

By **NANCY BENAC**

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Clinton kept up a drumbeat of tough talk against crime Saturday, praising a handful of radio stations for refusing to broadcast music that promotes violence or degrades women.

Clinton, in his weekly radio address from the Oval Office, said the nation must "fight violence with values" to counter what he said was an epidemic of violence.

He cited the shooting up of a Long Island commuter train in New York and the abduction and death of 12-year-old Polly Klass in California as examples of violence that "has left Americans insecure on the streets, in our schools, even in our homes."

Clinton called on Congress to pass a tough crime bill that would put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, ban assault weapons, and provide more money for boot camp-style pro-

grams to teach discipline to first-time offenders.

"Putting more police on the streets will do more to reduce crime than anything else we can do," Clinton said.

A broad crime bill passed by the Senate authorizes 100,000 extra police officers; a narrower bill passed by the House approves only 50,000. Both chambers voted to prohibit the sale or transfer of handguns to juveniles, but a conference will be needed next year to reconcile the bills' differences.

In the Republican response, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato of New York said more attention should be paid to locking up violent criminals.

"Everyone knows the answer to the problem except the politicians in Washington and the state capitals," D'Amato said. "Americans know that the best way to protect themselves is to put violent criminals in jail and keep them there. It's that simple."

Clinton Renews Bid for Anti-Crime Bill

■ **Legislation:** Hiring more police would be best way to halt epidemic of violence, President tells radio audience.

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Clinton continued his campaign against crime Saturday, stressing that hiring more police officers would be the most effective step to reduce the "epidemic of violence" and urging Americans to lobby for a tough crime bill.

"Now that Congress is home for the holidays, tell your senators and representatives to pass a strong crime bill so your family can be safer," Clinton said in his weekly radio address. "I'd like to suggest a New Year's resolution for every senator and every representative: Let's pass the crime bill as soon as you return."

His remarks came one day after Senate Republican leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) criticized the President for pressing for stringent gun control measures at a time when, Dole said, he should be devoting energies to pushing for tough anti-crime elements of the pending crime legislation.

As if responding to Dole, Clinton did not mention additional gun controls in his address, and he did

talk about some elements of the crime measure.

The Senate has approved legislation that would put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, prohibit assault weapons and provide funding for boot camps for first-time offenders. But the version passed in the House approves only 50,000 new officers. The President wants Congress to choose the Senate bill when leaders of the two chambers meet to reconcile the differences early next year.

"Putting more police on the streets will do more to reduce crime than anything else we can do," Clinton said.

The crime bill would also put restrictions on semi-automatic weapons, which could have prevented the gunman on the Long Island Rail Road from having the two 15-bullet clips that enabled him to kill five people and injure 18 others "with such deadly speed," the President said.

In a Republican response to the President's address, Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York said putting more criminals in jail is the most effective move the government can make to decrease crime.

"Everyone knows the answer to the problem except the politicians in Washington and the state capitals," D'Amato said. "Americans know that the best way to protect themselves is to put violent criminals in jail and keep them there. It's that simple."

The remarks by the President and the senator reflect the renewed fervor over crime and violence that has taken hold in Washington since it emerged as the central issue in several elections this fall.

Clinton said the Long Island Rail Road shootings and the discovery of the body of 12-year-old Polly Klass of Petaluma were examples of crime that should move Americans to stand up to violence any way they can.

"Let's face it, drugs and guns and violence fill a vacuum where the values of civilized life used to be," he said.

The President praised Los Angeles radio stations KACE and KJLH and a New York company with five radio stations around the country for their recent decisions not to air songs that advocate violence or show contempt for women.

"Whether we are ministers or movie makers, business people or broadcasters, teachers or parents, we can all set our sons and daughters on a better path in life, so they can learn and love and lead decent and productive lives," Clinton said.

"In this holiday season, as we rejoice in the love of our families and hold our children a little closer, we should also strengthen the bonds of community. We can make our neighborhoods and our nations places of shared responsibility, not random violence."

Date: 10/28/93 Time: 18:07

Crime-clips

Panel Approves Crime Bills

WASHINGTON (AP) After complaining they had been excluded from the process of crafting crime legislation, Republicans voted overwhelmingly for a package of bills approved Thursday by the House Judiciary Committee.

All but one Republican, Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. of Wisconsin, joined Democrats as the panel voted 34-1 to approve five measures, including a plan to help cities put 50,000 more police on the streets in the next five years.

Committee approval of the package of anti-crime bills came after Republicans complained during hours of debate that Democrats had scuttled a more comprehensive bill that contained such divisive measures as an expanded federal death penalty.

The strategy was devised to get what Democrats consider the essential elements of a crime package through Congress before the fall recess.

These provisions include the Brady Bill, which would impose a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases to give police time to conduct background checks to prevent felons from buying the weapons.

The Brady Bill is scheduled to be considered Friday by the House Judiciary crime subcommittee.

"The number one thing this method will imply is that once and for all, Brady will be on the president's desk before we leave Nov. 22," said Rep. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., chairman of the committee's crime panel.

He urged Republicans to "avoid the gridlock" that tied up past crime bills.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks, D-Texas, said subcommittees would debate the more divisive measures.

"But I am not willing to see important, innovative crime prevention programs like cops on the beat be deferred at a time when the American public is clamoring for us to provide more protection against violent acts," said Brooks, who leaned back and puffed on a cigar as Republicans fumed.

By 34-1 votes, the committee approved bills:

Authorizing \$3.45 billion over six years for to help cities put more police on beat patrols.

Requiring drug treatment for federal prisoners.

Authorizing \$300 million in state grants in three bills covering drug treatment for state prisoners, safety in schools and anti-drug and anti-gang efforts for juveniles.

Sensenbrenner, who cast the only dissenting vote, called the Democrats' legislative maneuvering "a result of excessive partisanship."

The measures did not appropriate money. However, Clinton said he wants the savings from a new round of budget cuts to be spent on the crime package. Officials estimate they would total \$5.6 billion the first year.

By voice vote, the committee approved a bill authorizing \$200 million in state grants for alternative sentences such as boot camps and house arrest for youthful offenders.

The Democratic strategy of bringing narrowly focused measures instead of a catchall crime bill was designed to avoid the logjam of a record 300 planned amendments, a committee staffer said.

House rules prohibit attaching irrelevant amendments to a bill. Some Republicans tried anyway.

Rep. George Gekas, R-Pa., calling the Democratic tactic

"legicide," tried to require jurisdictions accepting community policing money to allow the death penalty for cop killers.

Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Fla., went further, offering the entire Republican version of the more sweeping crime bill as an amendment.

Brooks ruled both irrelevant.

APNP-10-28-93 1807EDT

Date: 10/18/93 Time: 17:27

Crime-clips

Panetta sees most proposed new spending cuts reducing budget gap

Knight-Ridder

Washington--Oct 18--About two-thirds of the Clinton administration's forthcoming request for another 12 to 15 billion dlrs in spending cuts over the next 5 years is intended to reduce budget deficits, White House budget director Leon Panetta said today.

The other one-third would be reprogrammed spending to restore part of Clinton's infrastructure and other "investment" programs that were eliminated from the 5-year deficit-reduction act signed last summer, Panetta said.

Panetta told a House Ways and Means subcommittee that 2 to 3-billion dlrs of the expected spending cuts would be used to fund part of the crime bill Congress is expected to consider later this year, especially Clinton's plan to aid increases in local police forces.

Panetta said again today that he expected to propose the spending-cut package no later than Oct 26.

While part of the package would cut further from the 1994 spending bills now under consideration in Congress, most will be the initial installment of Vice President Al Gore's program to save 108 billion dlrs over 5 years by "re-inventing government."

Panetta said that about 42 billion dlrs of the 108 billion already are incorporated in current law or in bills under consideration, leaving 66 billion to be achieved in new legislation or cuts to be made under current presidential authority. End

(By Steve Marcy, Knight-Ridder Financial News)

Crime Clips 46

Los Angeles Times

Rising Crime in Los Angeles: A Program of Counterattack

OCT 10 1995

If there are any Angelenos who require fresh reminders of the gravity of our regional crime problem, the latest FBI crime report, sadly, will provide them. It suggests that reported crime here is generally higher than elsewhere, and that last year Angelenos were almost one-third more likely than the average American to be a victim of crime.

No doubt the crime epidemic has roots in the current economic slump, which is particularly severe here. Even Orange County, often thought to be a suburban haven, had a crime rate that approximated the worrisome national average. The impact of the large population of illegal immigrants on crime is a factor, obviously, but it is hard to assess. It's true that 13% of state prison inmates are illegal immigrants; it's also true that many more are their crime victims.

Fortunately, some of our top local public officials are committed to change. Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan is working hard to add police officers to the LAPD. Chief Willie L. Williams is trying to implement police reform and community policing. On the state level, Gov. Pete Wilson is working with law enforcement officials such as L.A. County Sheriff Sherman Block to maximize resources in very tight economic times.

Private citizens also can help fight crime. Here are some ways:

1. CONSIDER THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF BUYING A GUN: You are far more likely to accidentally kill or maim a family member with that new gun than stop an intruder. Indeed, a study published last week in the *New England Journal of Medicine* found that homicides are almost three times more likely to occur in homes where guns are kept than in those where they are not. You will not be an exception to the rule.

2. VOTE FOR PROPOSITION 172: By not allowing the state sales tax to drop by one-half cent next Jan. 1, you can continue to fund vital public programs, especially law enforcement and police programs. If this sensible measure is defeated, then

you can expect further cuts to law enforcement programs that depend on tax money from Sacramento.

3. SUPPORT GUN CONTROL: Write Sen. Dianne Feinstein, Sen. Barbara Boxer or your House representative to say that you support politicians who take on the National Rifle Assn. and fight for strict gun control. For its part, The Times will soon propose a program of tough national measures. Local gun control



is ineffective if it is only local.

4. WRITE THE PRESIDENT THAT CALIFORNIA NEEDS MORE HELP: President Clinton has a lot of challenges, with Congress, with Russia, with Somalia, with the North American Free Trade Agreement, with health care reform. But that must not deflect his Administration from focusing on Southern California, the nation's most economically troubled region. We urge Clinton to make the region a pilot for the social programs he advocates, including the police corps (see below), welfare reform and his novel national service program to put more youth workers on the streets.

5. SUPPORT THE BEST ELEMENTS OF CLINTON'S ANTI-CRIME LEGISLATION: This massive legislative package, which still has to work its way through Congress, contains some good and necessary features, including the Brady bill, which requires a five-day wait before a gun can be given to a purchaser. A separate and equally welcome bill contains \$100 million for new police officers under the police corps program. Mayor Riordan, though he apparently has abandoned his goal of increasing the LAPD by the exact number of 3,000 officers, has lost none of his fervor for building

up police manpower and no doubt hopes that some of that manpower can come from this bill.

6. TELL YOUR LOCAL PUBLIC OFFICIALS THAT YOU WOULD SUPPORT A CAREFULLY DRAWN SPECIAL TAX TO CREATE MORE POLICE: Proposition M, a city measure on last year's ballot, got 63% of the votes. It would have funded 1,000 more police officers through an average property tax increase of less than \$100 a year. But a two-thirds vote is required to increase property taxes (the Proposition 13 legacy). That's a high hurdle, indeed—but not an insurmountable one. If you want more policing, tell your elected representatives that you're not only willing to vote for a *specifically targeted* police revenue measure in your locality but that you're willing to go out and beat the drum in the campaign.

7. VOLUNTEER TO HELP LOCAL POLICE: Ultimately only citizen involvement can reduce crime. We all need to speak out about crime, and get involved. Civilian patrols can discourage criminals and give the police many more eyes and ears.

8. PERSIST WITH EFFORTS TO TAME THE GANG CULTURE: The seemingly overwhelming gang problem need not overwhelm us. All of this region's efforts to improve and reform its schools, improve and reform its police and improve the inner-city economy directly and indirectly affect the gang problem. Better schools, a better local economy, more effective policing—all these help. We also need to support specific programs, such as Los Angeles' ambitious Hope in Youth anti-gang program, to steer young people onto life's right path. Southern California's gang problem threatens to undermine our neighborhoods, our schools, our economy.

Los Angeles must meet the challenge—rising crime—with new programs, revised strategies and a deeply engaged population. With anything less than a major effort, we will fail the test of this crisis.

Pennsylvania Avenue

By Morton M. Kondracke

Clinton Crime Plan Falls Far Short on Cops

Bill Clinton campaigned for president promising to put 100,000 more police on the nation's streets by 1996, but the crime package he sent to Congress calls for only half that number.

What's more, Clinton's package authorizes \$3.4 billion for more cops over a six-year period, or \$650 million per year beginning next year. That's enough to pay the salaries of only 13,000 police at the average national cost in salary and benefits of \$50,000 per year, and even less in big cities where costs are higher — and crime is at its worst.

The Senate's version of the crime bill also authorizes college scholarships for 20,000 police corps recruits per year, who would agree to serve a four-year stint as street cops after graduation. But it's not clear that the money will ever be appropriated and no provision has been made to pay such personnel during their police service.

It may not even happen. Although Clinton supports a police corps, top House Judiciary Committee members oppose it.

After a spate of especially outrageous violent incidents, the Administration is pushing for passage of its crime legislation by Thanksgiving, but the emphasis in presidential pronouncements has been on gun control as a solution — which is inexpensive, but also ineffective — rather than on securing the nation's streets, which costs money.

When Clinton delivered his health care



Photo by Laura Patterson

Attorney General Reno favors "root cause" crime remedies over punitive ones.

In a speech to a Joint Session of Congress, his pollsters reported that he got his most intense positive reaction when he observed that "this is the only country in the world where teenagers can roam the streets at random with semiautomatic weapons and be better armed than the police."

Since then, Clinton has emphasized the Brady bill — requiring a five-day waiting period prior to the purchase of a handgun — and a ban on military-style assault rifles as his primary approaches to crime.

While both are meritorious, neither is likely to halt street violence anytime soon. Criminals don't usually buy guns from authorized dealers, and Uzis are not the weapon of choice in most murders.

According to Adam Walinsky, a former

aide to Robert F. Kennedy and now the nation's chief private advocate of the ROTC-style police corps, an average police officer now has to cope with ten times more crime than their counterparts did 30 years ago.

Along with cops, there's clearly a need for more prison space to keep violent offenders out of circulation. A Bureau of Justice Statistics study showed that in 1988, the average violent offender was sentenced to almost eight years in jail, but served less than three years.

Republican alternatives to Clinton's crime package emphasize prison construction rather than gun control. House Republicans also want to spend \$2 billion over three years to hire 20,000 more cops. Senate Republicans offer \$2 billion over five years, enough to hire only 8,000 more cops.

Advocates of federal aid for local police and the police corps are wary of the fact that both House and Senate versions of Clinton's crime package give wide discretionary authority to Attorney General Janet Reno in making grants.

Reno is gaining a reputation for favoring gun control and "root cause" anti-crime remedies — including support for families in poverty — over punitive ones.

A different approach recently was pushed through the Colorado legislature by Gov. Roy Romer (D), including outlawing the possession of handguns by young persons under age 18, creation of a separate prison system for "hardened" youth offenders, and mandatory sentencing for crimes committed while armed.

During the presidential campaign, Clinton appeared to be an advocate of a combi-

nation of "hard" and "root cause" remedies, part of his effort to project the image of a new Democrat.

After the election, however, budget constraints tempted the Administration to abandon the campaign goal of 100,000 police — until a meeting of Clinton and his top political advisers in April with Al From Jr.

Criminals don't usually buy guns from authorized dealers, and Uzis are not the weapon of choice in most murders.

president of the Democratic Leadership Council, who won Clinton's promise to find money for more police.

When the program came out this summer, however, the number of cops called for was 50,000 rather than 100,000, and the funding was inadequate even for that. If the federal government chooses to foot half the bill for hiring local police, requiring cities to pay the other half, \$650 million will still pay for only 26,000 urban cops.

When From made his pitch to Clinton in April, Clinton advisers say, he told the President that, potentially, one way the average American could tell there had been a Clinton presidency in 1996 would be by looking out the window, seeing 100,000 more police, and feeling a bit safer.

At the rate he is going, however, Clinton won't fulfill that potential, and Americans won't be safer.

Date: 09/24/93 Time: 16:16

Crime-clips

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 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.

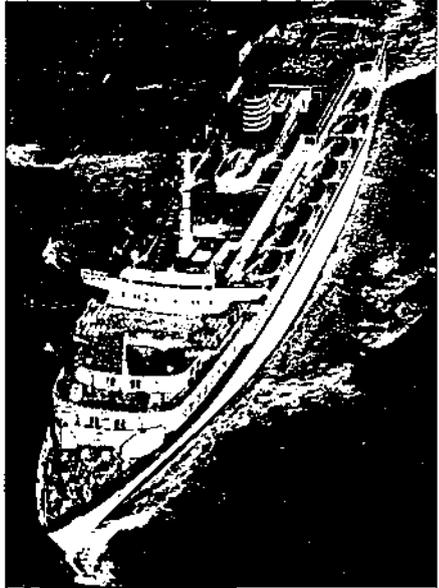
The ad will air nationally on Cable News Network for a week beginning Monday. The DNC also purchased newspaper ads for the plan this weekend in Kansas City, Denver and Tulsa, Okla.

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 1617EDT

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COMMENT



TO FIT THE CRIME

IT has become a ritual of the Presidency—a kind of policy equivalent of lighting the national Christmas tree or supervising the Easter egg hunt—for each occupant of the Oval Office to submit a “crime bill” to Congress. The basic liturgy does not change: there is invariably a call for tougher penalties, longer jail terms, and more cops on the street. But the ritual evolves in small ways, and no crime bill ever precisely duplicates the one before it.

President Clinton's crime bill, announced in a mid-August photo opportunity featuring the requisite rows of uniformed police officers, reflects both aspects of the ritual. It is nearly identical to President Bush's 1992 crime bill in certain of its most cynical provisions. Most lamentably, Mr. Clinton has carried over his predecessor's plan to broaden the federal death-penalty statute—a proposal that has been much ridiculed for establishing an improbably high number of new capital crimes (forty-seven, by actual count), including the assassination of a federal chicken inspector. The ridicule misses the point. The forty-seven new capital crimes are

nearly all varieties of a single crime—murder—and if it were good and wise and useful to put murderers to death there would be no reason to exempt the murderers of federal chicken inspectors. But it is not. Capital punishment is morally dubious and practically fruitless. It is an evil thing, not so much because it is cruel to the prisoner as because it de-means the authority that inflicts it.

The federal government has not carried out an execution since 1963, and it is unlikely to do so any time soon even if the President's bill becomes law. (There is no federal method of or facility for execution, and the Clinton bill neither specifies the one nor establishes the other.) The death penalty seems to bring out Mr. Clinton's basest political instincts, as when, during last year's campaign, he rushed home to Arkansas to preside over the execution of a brain-damaged inmate; and the most charitable interpretation of his espousal of it now is that his real intention is not to get the federal tumbrels rolling but merely to pander to the execution-hungry section of the electorate.

Still, the President's crime program has its virtues. It provides funds for new

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local police officers—a handful at first, but fifty thousand over the next five years. Moreover, the bill demonstrates that the White House recognizes that the police should not be an occupying force but, rather, become an integrated (in all senses of the word) part of the community. To this end, the bill endorses the Police Corps, a kind of R.O.T.C. for cops, which offers college scholarships to students who agree to spend four years as police officers. Adam Walinsky, who was one of Robert Kennedy's closest aides, has spent years crusading for this idea, and it deserves to be tried at the federal level. Another worthwhile program the Clinton bill would establish, called Troops-to-Cops, would retrain military personnel as street cops. In announcing the crime bill, the President also promised to fight for the Brady Bill, which would impose a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns and assault weapons, and he issued executive orders to stop the importation of semi-automatic assault pistols and to close a legal loophole that has let just about anybody who bothers to apply become a federally licensed "gun dealer" and gain wholesale access to firearms. So the President's crime program will help a bit here and

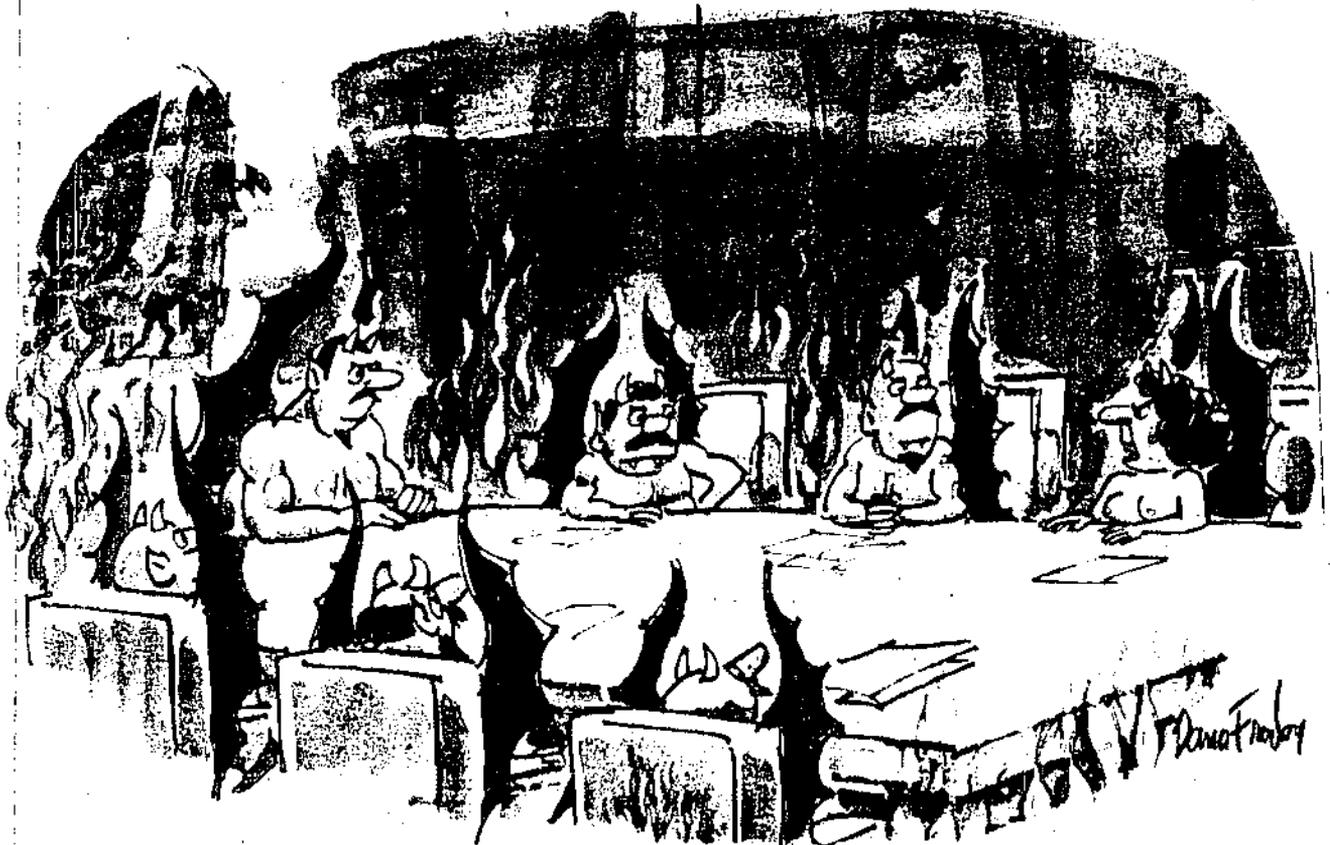
there, on the margins. What it won't do is make a serious dent in the crime problem.

For a long time—at least twenty years—it has been politically hazardous to suggest that crime is an economic and social problem as well as a matter of individual moral responsibility. In part the public's antipathy to this idea is a reaction to the view, which in truth hardly anyone actually held, that because crime is associated with social breakdown and economic deprivation the fault is "society's" and it's beastly to blame the poor criminal. In part, too, it is a reflection of a general loss of faith in public solutions to public problems—especially the problem of poverty. But crime *is* associated with, if not "caused by," a range of economic and social pathologies. The unemployed, the uneducated, and the alienated are more apt to commit violent crimes than are the employed, the credentialed, and the contented. The deprived are more likely to be victims, too. In 1991, people whose annual family income was under seventy-five hundred dollars were three times as likely—and those whose income was between twenty-five and thirty thousand dollars were half again as likely—to be victims of violent crimes as people whose

income was over fifty thousand dollars.

The liberal's lament is no less valid for being unfashionable: crime is a social problem, and the only way to address it in a realistic way is to attack the social ills that breed it. A crime plan limited to enforcement and punishment is like a health plan that covers only surgery. On the large scale, prevention—of crime as of illness—is both more humane and more effective.

In the nineteen-fifties, at the height of the Cold War, the Eisenhower Administration sold the interstate-highway system to the American people as a way of bolstering national security. And so it did, if in a rather attenuated sense. By a similar logic, a health-care plan would indeed be a crime plan; so, even more, would an education plan, and so would a strategy for economic revival. It stands to reason that a society that guaranteed its citizens secure access to health care, a good high-school education, and a fair chance at a decent job would be a less violent, less dangerous society in which to live. That's the kind of society the President talks about when there's no police photo op, and if he can lead the country in that direction it will be the most effective crime bill of all. ♦



"It's a disgrace! Ten years ago, I was the only woman on the staff, and today I'm still the only woman on the staff."

August 12, 1993

File:
Crime - Press
Clips

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
DAVID GERGEN
MARK GEARAN

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL R.E.
Subject: Coverage of Crime Bill

Our announcement of the Crime Bill was covered by the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York Times* on the inside pages, while the nomination of a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff received front page coverage.

In contrast, however, the *Boston Globe*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Atlanta Constitution* all ran the crime story on the front page, above the fold, with pictures (some even in color.)

This is a good indication of how this issue resonates on the local level.

cc: Joan Baggett
Roy Neel
Bruce Reed

To: Bruce Reed
From: Jock Gill
Re: St. Louis Post Dispatch
Date: August 13, 1993

The author of the editorial was: Bob Joiner
314-340-8383

Bob will be in the office on 8/14 from 9 - 2:30 CDT and will take your call.

The Editorial Page Editor is: Edward Higgins
314-340-8387

Edward will be in the office, TODAY, until 6:30 CDT or on Monday. He recommends that you talk with Joiner.

EDITORIALS

8/17/93

St Louis Post Dispatch

Doubletalk In Jefferson City

Partisan politics are likely to get in the way of a clean vote by Missourians on limiting contributions to political campaigns — unless the state courts act to bring clarity and balance to the matter. At issue is the ballot language describing a proposal to limit the amount of money that may be contributed to candidates for public office.

Missourians for Fair Elections, a group headed by former Secretary of State Roy Blunt, has filed suit against Mr. Blunt's Democratic successor, Judith Moriarty. Mr. Blunt's group is contesting the wording Ms. Moriarty has proposed to describe the ballot proposal that Missourians for Fair Elections is trying to put before the voters.

Under state law, the language summarizing a ballot proposal may not be more than 35 words. Mr. Blunt's group wrote a description that somewhat awkwardly summarizes the limits that would be imposed for various races — \$1,000, \$500 and \$250 — depending on the race and the size of a candidate's constituency. But Ms. Moriarty has re-

placed their wording with language that obscures the purpose of the Blunt proposal. It refers to irrelevant issues, such as the constitutionally protected right of candidates to give to their own campaigns.

Why would Ms. Moriarty write cloudy language? Are the Democrats opposed to the campaign reform proposal but afraid to attack it openly? Do they fear that Mr. Blunt's chances of being elected governor in 1998 would be enhanced should the proposal pass?

Meanwhile, the Democratic-controlled General Assembly is expected to meet in special session this fall to consider flood relief. It also may well take up campaign finance reform — to deny Mr. Blunt and his group a victory in 1994.

The hope is that the judges will see clearly the public interest, and order that fair and responsible language appear on the ballot on campaign finance reform. The time has come for Missourians to have the chance to clean up elections.



Warmed-Over Responses To Crime

President Bill Clinton touched on a lot of popular themes in announcing a \$3.4 billion plan to fight crime. What Americans would get for this enormous sum, however, are mostly ineffective, warmed-over ideas as well as an assault on civil liberties.

In many ways, the plan reads like the one pushed by the Bush administration. It seeks to appease everyone and serves the best interests of very few. Take Mr. Clinton's proposal to ban the importation of assault-like handguns. The ban wouldn't affect the tens of thousands of similar guns made and sold in this country. At best, the plan would give U.S. manufacturers a monopoly on such weapons. If these are the guns of choice for gangs and drug dealers, as Mr. Clinton claims, then he certainly isn't proposing much to curtail the supply.

And it is easy to overestimate the merits of the Brady gun-control bill, which Mr. Clinton has included. The bill would impose a five-day waiting period on handgun purchases so background checks could be done on prospective buyers. Making sure that every state has a waiting period, as Missouri and Illinois do, is a good idea and will help keep guns out of the hands of those who shouldn't have them. After all, guns should not be available as impulse purchases. However, the Brady bill is no panacea.

Street criminals are more likely to steal their weapons, obtain them through underground connections or from shady dealers who wouldn't worry about waiting-periods. The best hope is that such unscrupulous dealers are put out of business, one of the more promising aims in Mr. Clinton's plan.

By trying to prove he can be tough on crime, Mr. Clinton has shown an unconscionable disregard for civil liberties. Particularly disturbing is his proposal to curtail the ability of people awaiting execution to make full use of all legal avenues. A person who is about to pay the ultimate price for a crime deserves every opportunity to prove his or her innocence.

Moreover, Mr. Clinton wants to take this nation further down the road of revenge rather than justice. He would do that by expanding the number of federal crimes that call for the death penalty. Those added to the list include the murder of a federal law enforcement officer, already covered under state laws. No good purpose is served by further expanding the number of offenses punishable by death.

The drawbacks of the Clinton plan far outweigh the good points. His boot camp idea makes sense. And his proposal to add more police would be popular. In general, however, his anti-crime measures are ineffective and mean-spirited.

Is Budget Good For

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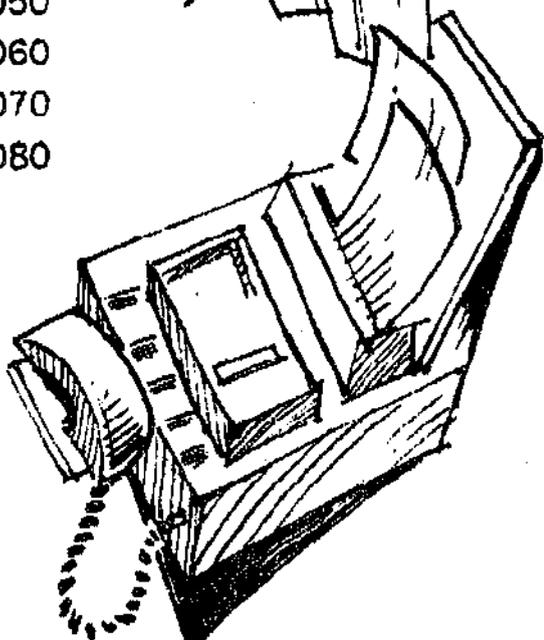
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Crim - chips

Nafta Clears Hurdle in Appellate Court, But Faces Tough Battle in Congress

By BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
 WASHINGTON — The North American Free Trade Agreement survived a near-death experience when a federal appeals court panel ruled that the accord was exempt from formal environmental review. But the pact still faces a bloody battle for survival in Congress, and the White House is preparing to escalate its attack.

President Clinton and members of his administration seized on the court victory to declare that momentum in the Nafta fight was finally moving in their direction. "Based on calls and conversations that I have been having with members of Congress," the president said, "I'm beginning to feel a little better about this agreement."

But Nafta opponents vowed to use the court decision to portray the pact's supporters as secretive and elitist. The ruling "makes us ask ourselves, 'What do they have to hide?'" said Jane Perkins, president of the environmental group Friends of the Earth.

No Environmental Statement

On Friday, the appeals court panel ruled 3-0 that the administration didn't need to prepare an environmental impact statement for the trade pact — a process that could have taken months, if not years, and cast Nafta as an environmental liability. All the while, Nafta opponents would have continued their crusade and tried to convince the administration it was better off dropping the pact and concentrating on health care and other issues.

The ruling overturned a decision in June by District Judge Charles Richey ordering such a review, which had stunned the administration and energized Nafta opponents. On Friday, the appeals court panel ruled that Nafta was a presidential "action," and wasn't subject to suits by private groups. Therefore, the groups couldn't compel the administration to prepare an environmental impact statement.

"Nafta's fate now rests in the hands of the political branches," Appellate Court Chief Judge Abner Mikva wrote in the majority opinion. "The judiciary has no role to play."

Patti Goldman, a lawyer for Public Citizen, the consumer group that brought the case, said Nafta opponents would ask the Supreme Court to review the appellate decision. But even if the high court were to hear the case, it wouldn't issue an opinion until next spring, well after Congress's expected vote on Nafta in mid-December. For Nafta, she acknowledged, the case "would be moot." Instead, she said, she was seeking a ruling that "would shape trade agreements in the future."

Administration officials were jubilant. U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, who shared a podium with five other senior officials at the White House, said "the Richey decision raised in the minds of many the feeling that Nafta could have an adverse effect on the environment; noth-

ing could be further from the truth." He said the World Bank would announce tomorrow that it planned to provide \$3 billion in financing to clean up the polluted U.S.-Mexico border. The administration also was preparing to release its own, less formal review of Nafta's environmental effects, he said.

But the administration's own decisions have already delayed a Nafta vote and raised doubt about its commitment to the trade pact, which would liberalize trade and investment with Mexico and Canada over 15 years. At the time of Judge Richey's decision, a vote on Nafta was expected in mid-October. But White House officials delayed their Nafta lobbying by about two months, in large part because they were afraid Nafta's unpopularity could cost them votes in this summer's congressional battle over deficit reduction.

Moreover, negotiations over Nafta side deals on environmental and labor enforcement dragged on longer than expected, during which the president was largely silent about Nafta. The effect was to create doubts about the administration's resolve to fight for the trade accord. "Time was lost; the opponents developed momentum," said Sen. Bill Bradley, the New Jersey Democrat who is helping to shepherd Nafta through the Senate.

Efforts to Boost Support

Mr. Clinton's Nafta office is quietly beefing itself up. Former White House political director Rahm Emanuel has been installed as a de facto chief of staff for an operation that will have 20 employees by the end of the week.

Facing opposition from Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri and Democratic Whip David Bonior of Michigan, who control the party machinery in the House, the White House has quickly put together a "shadow whip" organization to round up votes, with cabinet members leading the way. Each cabinet secretary has been assigned a list of congressmen whom he or she is responsible for lobbying. By this morning, each secretary also will have a Nafta notebook containing details on how the agreement will affect businesses in the districts of the congressmen they are lobbying.

On Oct. 5, the White House will invite business and political leaders from New England for briefings on how Nafta can help their area. Other "opinion leader" days will be held for other regions.

The White House also plans to hold a "products day" in which businessmen showcase the products that are now exported to Mexico and would be greatly increased under Nafta. And USA Nafta, a group sponsored by business leaders, is sending letters to every member of Congress, listing the companies in their districts that support Nafta and how many people they employ.

Meanwhile, Mr. Kantor has been negotiating with lawmakers from durum wheat

Please Turn to Page A4, Column 4

Nafta Clears a Hurdle In Court, But Faces A Battle in Congress

Continued From Page A1

and sugar-producing states to figure out ways to protect those crops from competition from Canada and Mexico, and blunt opposition to Nafta.

"You've got wheat problems in the North, sugar and citrus problems in the South," said Sen. Bradley. "You solve those and you get a lot of votes that are in the 'U' [for undecided] column."

But the Nafta opponents — an odd alliance of supporters of Ross Perot and such traditional Democratic constituencies as organized labor and environmental activists — have been organizing for months around the country. One of their main pitches is that Nafta was negotiated in secret for the benefit of multinational businesses, which could then flee to Mexico to avoid strict U.S. environmental laws. They'll be sure to try to exploit the administration's resistance to compiling an environmental impact statement as another example of perfidy.

"Secrecy is something that the public understands, probably better than it understands Nafta," said Joan Claybrook, president of Public Citizen.

—Michael K. Frisby contributed to this article.

Clinton to Use One Theme To Promote His Programs

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — President Clinton has decided to promote his disparate legislative initiatives with a single, overarching theme: the need for economic security.

He is even considering adding a fourth initiative to his already crowded list of priorities this fall: his anticrime bill, which his aides now say he wants the House and Senate to pass this year.

Senior White House advisers say the president's piecemeal salesmanship of his many new programs this fall has been a problem. They say the launch of each new proposal — health care, reorganizing government and the North American Free Trade Agreement — has been a stand-alone success. But they acknowledge that, as a group, the initiatives have blurred in the public mind, and in some cases, are competing for exposure.

To remedy this, aides want to package the proposals under the rubric of economic security and job growth. The White House is now searching for an appropriate venue for the president to deliver a speech that makes the point.

Aides especially want to bolster the cause of the troubled free-trade plan by connecting it to the health-care plan.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Crime 2/10/95

Lally Weymouth

Kemp, Kemp: Is He Their Man?

Two weeks ago, a small group of friends and advisers of Jack Kemp gathered at a Washington hotel. At the meeting, Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) told Kemp: "It's yours to win or lose." Lott, of course, was referring to the 1996 GOP presidential nomination.

Lott then asked Kemp point blank whether he was planning to actively seek the 1996 Republican nod. Kemp replied in the affirmative, according to one of those present, and then went on to explain the logic that would animate his candidacy: He believes that President Clinton is leading America in the wrong direction as part of a concerted effort to undo the Reagan revolution.

In an interview in his office last week, Kemp (who shortly after that hotel meeting set up a Washington-based political action committee as a first step toward formalizing his candidacy) elaborated on the theme: "I think Clinton's administration has the most anti-capitalist mentality of any in this century," he said.

"Clinton ran 'right' but turned 'left' when it came to governing, Kemp said. "The Clinton administration is raising taxes, calling up the yen and talking down the dollar." Meanwhile, he said, the administration is "adding mandates to business for health care." All in all, Kemp

argues, the net result will be to slow down the economy.

In Kemp's view, one unhappy result of Clinton's failing economic policies is a discernible popular turn against NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement). "People think our economy is threatened by NAFTA, but it isn't," he said. "That's what happens when economies contract: People become anti-trade and anti-immigrant. The Jews were blamed for the depression in Europe, remember?"

Kemp believes administration policy on health care will further depress the job market. Employers are hiring temporary workers, he believes, as a direct consequence of the new federal mandates, which are driving up the cost of labor.

"President Clinton's not doing anything to lower the cost of capital and lower the cost of labor," Kemp says. "He should index and cut capital gains, not impose a higher payroll tax to pay for his health care plan—which I think they are going to."

"The enemy of the American working man or woman is neither Mexico nor Japan nor immigrants. The enemy is those stupid regulations and taxes that Congress keeps passing."

Kemp, looking relaxed and energetic, had plenty more to say, on subjects ranging from Boris Yeltsin's battle for

political primacy in Russia to Pat Buchanan and Ross Perot.

On Russia, he praised Clinton for expressing public support for Yeltsin, but said the key to the Russian president's ultimate success consists in providing him with sound economic advice and granting his country access to Western markets. And thus, Kemp charges, the Clintonites have failed to do.

He accused the administration of pressing misguided economic policies on Russia and on the newly freed countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Washington, Kemp notes, has urged these states to devalue their currencies and increase taxes. Kemp argues they should be encouraged to stabilize their currencies, while cutting taxes and regulations.

The ex-HUD secretary and future candidate worries that democracy is acquiring a bad name in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. As Kemp sees it, high unemployment, rising crime, higher prices and rampant financial speculation are all associated with the advent of democracy: "What a tragedy . . . that people are beginning to associate democracy with poverty and unemployment," he said.

The resurgence of the Communists and the left in the Polish elections a week ago was largely caused by the IMF's fixation on austerity, Kemp maintains. The former congressman says the IMF compelled Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to impose huge tax increases instead of concentrating on growth.

Kemp sees parallel developments—and dangers—throughout the Soviet bloc. He argues that the formerly Communist countries would do well to look to Mexico and Argentina for economic success stories. Kemp especially admires Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Argentine President Carlos Menem for having gambled on free market principles by stabilizing their currencies and slashing taxes. "Capital is now flowing back into Mexico and Argentina," Kemp notes.

Discussing NAFTA and its foes, Kemp observed that he was being attacked personally by Pat Buchanan for his advocacy of the trade agreement, even though it was originally an idea advanced by Ronald Reagan. As for Ross Perot, Kemp said that he and his colleagues—by suggesting that NAFTA will undermine the entire U.S. economy—are showing reckless irresponsibility.

Kemp says he's not afraid of Perot or of the possible advent of a third party. He maintains that Perot will present a problem only if the GOP fails to define its own ideological identity, especially on fiscal issues.

Asked for his own vision of the Republican Party, he doesn't hesitate before replying that it should be a party that is "inclusive, not exclusive, internationalist not protectionist or isolationist, progressive not reactionary or regressive—one that works for change and progress and the future."

Kemp doesn't agree that the Republican Party is hopelessly divided between economic and cultural conservatives: "The culture and the economy are one," he said. "We have to renew our culture, but you can't have a strong family unless you have a strong economy."

He plans to campaign for Republican congressmen and senators in 1994. As for 1996, for those people who'd like an alternative voice to Clinton's, Kemp assures them that "they'll have one."

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1995

The New Crime Bill

IN THE closing days of the last congressional session a comprehensive crime bill, which had been passed by both houses and reported from a conference committee, faltered and died, primarily because of a dispute over changes in habeas corpus law. Last week, an updated version of the bill was introduced in both houses. The current proposal still contains some of the horrors of earlier bills, primarily an expansion of the federal death penalty to 47 new offenses and restrictions on habeas corpus rights. But there are also some omissions that merit attention. Two improve the bill and a third represents a change of strategy that may accelerate the passage of the single most important item on the criminal justice agenda: gun control.

One of the clunkers in last year's bill that has been withdrawn was a provision authorizing a federal death penalty for major drug dealers, even when their crimes did not result in a killing. We oppose the death penalty under all circumstances but believe it is particularly egregious when imposed for a crime that is not murder. The Supreme Court in 1977 struck down a Georgia statute that provided a death penalty for rape. Though the justices did not then go so far as to say that the penalty was unconstitutional for any crime other than murder, subsequent opinions reinforce a broader interpretation of that ruling. It would be reasonable, therefore, to assume that a challenge to the drug crimes provision would be successful. The bill is better without it.

Also missing from the new version of the bill is

a set of provisions that would have imposed new mandatory minimum sentences. These rigid penalties are a simplistic reaction to crime, and they are strongly opposed by the nation's judges. It's fine to have sentence guidelines that allow some flexibility and give judges an opportunity to weigh factors like an offender's prior record. But mandatory minimums are a sledge hammer in the arsenal of criminal justice. They are uniformly harsh, often unfair, and they automate the sentencing process, which ought to involve human intelligence and personal judgment. We applaud Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), who believes all mandatory minimum sentences should be repealed. In the absence of that reform, it is at least a small victory that the new bill does not add new ones.

In addition to removing these objectionable sections, the sponsors of the current crime bill have also left out gun control. In this case, it is the proponents of the Brady bill, which calls for a five-day waiting period before the purchase of a handgun, who asked to be left out. So did those supporting controls on the purchase of assault weapons. They believe their bills have a better chance of passage if they are considered independently. We hope this strategic decision is the right one, for all the death penalties, extra police, new study commissions and tinkering with habeas corpus that are in the bill are of marginal importance in the war on crime, compared with curbing the availability of weapons. Passage of gun control legislation is imperative.

San Gabriel Valley

HIGHLIGHTS



Community Mobilizing to Confront Violence

Community members are mobilizing to confront violence in the San Gabriel Valley. The group is holding public hearings...

The group is holding public hearings...

The Latest in School Wear

The latest in school wear is being showcased at the...

School wear is a key component of a student's identity...



The latest in school wear is being showcased at the...

PHOTOCOPIE
W/O HANDWRITING

Calling for all residential development in or near the Angeles National Forest to comply with state forestry guidelines. Supervisor Michael Antonovich has pledged that the county will help the community rebuild the Eaton Canyon Nature Center in 18 months. J2

BEST BET

The drill team, twiflers and marching band members at West Covina High School are hosting a marching band competition to raise money so they won't have to do their routines and play their tunes in tatters. J2

ROAD NOTES

- Caltrans plans the following closures on area streets and highways:
 - In Pomona, one lane of the westbound San Bernardino Freeway (10) from Indian Hill Boulevard to Towne Avenue will be closed from 6 a.m. to 1 p.m. today for graffiti removal.
 - In City of Industry, one lane of the westbound Pomona Freeway (60) from Hacienda Boulevard to Turnbull Canyon Road and the Hacienda Boulevard on-ramp will be closed from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. today for landscaping.
 - In South El Monte, one lane of the westbound Pomona Freeway (60) between Rosemead Boulevard and San Gabriel Boulevard will be closed from 6 a.m. to 1 p.m. today for crack sealing.
 - In Diamond Bar, one lane of the northbound Orange Freeway (57) connector to the westbound Pomona Freeway (60) will be closed from 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Monday and Tuesday for graffiti removal.
 - In City of Industry, one lane of the eastbound Pomona Freeway (60) from Crossroads to Hacienda Boulevard will be closed from 9 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Monday and Tuesday for crack sealing.

ON THE RECORD

"I'm not comfortable with openly armed officers around our campuses, but the reality is we have to protect our employees and students."

The Rev. George Van Aistine, president of the Pasadena Board of Education. J1

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"We know we're going to be protected if anything goes wrong," said Angelina Williams, an 11th grader at Muir. Arthur Wilder, a ninth grader, agrees. "It's a good idea in case something happens," he said.

This month, the Pasadena officers joined those in Pomona and Baldwin Park as the San Gabriel Valley's only openly armed school police squads. The Pasadena school board approved the policy Oct. 6 as part of a reorganization of its seven-officer force after parents called for increased campus safety.

Before sidearms were approved, the officers carried concealed guns strapped to their legs that they complained were not easily accessible. Also as part of the change, officers switched from six-shot revolvers to semiautomatic Berettas.

"I'm not comfortable with openly armed officers around our campuses, but the reality is we have to protect our employees and students," the Rev. George Van Aistine, president of the Board of Education, said of the new edicts.

School officials say the need to protect students and teachers was driven home by the Halloween evening shooting of three teenagers off campus.

Stephen Coats Jr., Reginald Crawford Jr., both 14, and Edgar (Eddie) Evans, 13, were gunned down in an ambush as



they walked home from a party. Coats and Crawford attended Muir and Evans was a student at Washington Middle School.

"Our school campuses are the safest place in the community. Our goal is to make sure crime stays out on the streets and not in the classroom," said Jarado. Blue, the district's new police chief, a 13-year veteran of the Pasadena Police Department.

Although no shootings have occurred on campus, in February two boys in a pickup were struck by bullets fired from a passing car in front of Muir. Neither the victims nor the suspects were Muir students.

In the past year, district police have confiscated 10 guns, many of them semiautomatics, from students or others on or near the district's high schools and

There were 12 assaults with a deadly weapon, seven incidents where weapons were brandished, 16 cases of battery, 30 burglaries and dozens of disturbances.

Officers say the vast majority of the crimes took place on the streets surrounding campuses. Many of the most serious incidents involved former students expelled from school or students from other schools who hang around another campus.

Blue, 40, said he proposed that the district's officers, most of whom were city police at one time, wear guns with their uniforms and badges because people are more inclined to respect a visibly armed officer.

"If they don't see a gun, they don't see a police officer," Blue said.

And officers need to be able to protect themselves, he said.

Blue speaks from experience. As he and another officer attempted to search a few ex-Muir students trying to enter the high school in June, one pointed a semiautomatic pistol at them. The youths fled while Blue and the officer dived for cover. "It probably wouldn't have happened if I had been wearing a sidearm," he said.

School board member Anne W. Pursel said she had mixed feelings about openly arming the officers until she considered

come together almost instantaneously with such broad support. But what happened on Halloween is something that touched people in this city as few things have.

In a town all too familiar with gang violence, Please see MOVEMENT, J4

Slayings Put Educator on Crusade for Gun Control

Activism: Pasadena City College President Jack Scott, who lost his son to a bullet and grieved with the city when three boys were gunned down on Halloween, says preoccupation with weapons is killing society.

PASADENA

By RENE TAWA, TIMES STAFF WRITER

Firat, Adam. It was a Saturday morning, Jack Scott, president of Pasadena City College, was getting dressed for the school's homecoming festivities when he got the news that he says will haunt him forever.

On Oct. 23, a Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department deputy arrived at the educator's Altadena home and said that his son, Adam, a promising 27-year-old attorney, had been shot to death, allegedly by a friend, during a dinner party in the Wilshire district earlier that morning.

The story doesn't end there, and an angry Jack Scott told the Pasadena City Council last week. "An even more horrible event was to follow in Pasadena, shortly after my son's death."

Stephen, Reginald and Edgar.

On Halloween night in Pasadena, assault ants jumped out of bushes and sprayed a group of young people walking home from a party with semiautomatic weapon fire. Stephen Coats Jr., Reginald Crawford Jr., both 14, and Edgar (Eddie) Evans, 13, were slain, and three other youths were wounded. No arrests have been made.

"What are we to do?" Scott asked the City Council. "Will it no longer be safe to walk the streets?"

In an agonizing quest to turn the death of his son and the three teenagers into a hard lesson for others, Scott is emerging a sea

Neighbors Take Action Against Recycling Firms

Environment: Walnut, Hacienda Heights and Diamond Bar residents say the nearby sorting sites would be too smelly and busy for their communities.

SAN GABRIEL VALLEY

By ANDREW LePAGE, SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

It's not that the folks in Walnut, Diamond Bar and Hacienda Heights oppose recycling. They just don't want it to go "big time" so close to their own back yards.

So some residents are hiring lawyers and filing petitions to fight proposals for two large recycling facilities where trash would be dumped temporarily to sort out recyclables, planned in the City of Industry and at the Puente Hills Landfill.

Such plants are viewed by many trash experts as an important part of the long-range solution to Los Angeles County's problem of dwindling landfill space. Under the plan, trash that cannot be recycled would be shipped by train to landfills proposed for remote desert locations, and recyclables would be trucked off to markets.

But in Diamond Bar and Walnut, where houses are about half a mile from the 40-acre parcel where City of Industry officials want to build their mega-recycling facility, residents are acting as if a dump were going in next door.

Please see RECYCLE, J3



The proposed recycling centers are seen as solutions to the problem of dwindling landfill space. STRAYE DYKES / Los Angeles Times

CRUSADE: Educator's Fight for Gun Control

Continued from J1
leader in a growing local movement for stricter gun control. He is a reluctant leader, still devastated by what his wife, Loretta Scott, calls "the greatest sorrow of his life."

Scott, 60, is chairman of a Pasadena subcommittee on gun control, Coalition for a Non-violent City, which formed after the Halloween slayings. After those shootings, Loretta Scott, a 59-year-old Cerros College English instructor, wrote letters to the mothers of the victims, saying that their grief was also hers.

Tuesday night's council meeting was not the first time that Jack Scott has turned his grief and rage into pleas for gun control. Shortly after his son's death, he gave several media interviews on the subject.

Scott, who was born and raised in Sweetwater, Tex., does not covet the bereaved parent-turned-activist role. He would rather "not relate the agonizing details of his son's death over and over. His voice—usually honeyed and vibrant—the way it was when he was a preacher—is shaky when he has to talk about it. In fact, he is so pained that he cut back his work schedule because his mind invariably wanders to thoughts of his son.

But he will not fold his arms and quit.

That's the way, Adam would be, Scott said. "I can't bring him back. But I can be active in the cause he believed in."

Adam Scott's co-workers say he was always trying to rope his new law firm into pro bono cases, including a program in which volunteer attorneys would draft living wills for people with AIDS.

The Silver Lake residents had joined the downtown Los Angeles law firm of Crosby, Healey, Roach & May in September, after graduating from USC Law School. At Costa Mesa High School, he had won seven varsity sports letters.



CASEY LUSCH / For The Times

Jack Scott has turned his organizational skills to gun control.

and was student body president in 1984. Nearly 1,000 people attended his funeral at All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena on Oct. 28.

Adam Scott hated guns. He had even talked to his parents about gun control, saying he favored stricter legislation.

But, for an unknown reason, at a party in Park La Brea, Adam Scott had followed the host, 26-year-old film production assistant, Ethan David Dubrow, into his bedroom to look at his gun collection, according to the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office.

"I don't even think I could fire a gun in self-defense," Los Angeles police detectives quoted Adam Scott as saying to another party goer.

Dubrow, who wanted to show off his new 12-gauge semiautomatic shotgun, first pointed it at another guest, saying it wasn't loaded, said Deputy Dist. Atty. Theodore A. Loewen. Then, he allegedly pointed the shotgun at Adam Scott and pulled the trigger. The young lawyer hit once in the head, died within a few minutes.

Dubrow, the stepson of last Action Hero director John

McTiernan, is facing one count of involuntary manslaughter, which carries a maximum sentence of nine years in state prison. Defense attorney Leslie Abramson could not be reached for comment. Abramson is currently representing Erik Menendez, who is on trial with his brother for first-degree murder in the slayings of their parents in the family's Beverly Hills home.

Jack Scott isn't saying that Dubrow, or anyone, should not be able to have a gun collection. But he is saying that his son's slaying is an example of the deadly consequences of society's preoccupation with guns.

"That very display and preoccupation and folly with the use of guns led to my son's death," he said. In his speech to the City Council last week, Scott proposed a ban on exploding bullets, the kind designed to penetrate soft human tissue. He also urged support for the federal Brady Bill, which would require a five-day waiting period and a background check for handgun buyers.

Scott's emerging leadership role

on the issue does not surprise his colleagues. Shortly after he took over the presidency at Pasadena City College in 1987, Scott launched a \$100-million master plan to meet the campus's needs into the next century.

He has the kind of mind that can grasp the overall essentials of a problem and get through to what's really needed, said Grover Coyne, the college's dean of institutional advancement. "I've seen him listen to lengthy debates and discussions, and when it's over, he has a way of, in a few sentences, going to the sense of a problem."

Scott, the son of a tractor salesman and homemaker, was briefly a minister in the Church of Christ before deciding on education as a career. He earned a master's degree in divinity from Yale University in 1962, and master's degree and doctorate in history from Claremont Graduate School in 1967 and 1970.

Adam Scott was the youngest of five children. He called his father the week of his death to say that his firm's partners had drafted a legal brief he wrote and that he would see his family in church on Sunday.

Three weeks earlier, Adam Scott had accompanied his father, mother, a brother and a sister to a family reunion in Sweetwater, about 250 miles west of Dallas. Jack Scott took his family by his old house, high school and church, which was celebrating its 100th anniversary.

"It was kind of like Route, you know," Scott recalled. Now, the family's life is uprooted, and Scott is trying wearily to carry on in his son's name. The cause at hand stirs him into a finger-pointing rage.

"Maybe, just maybe, this is a time when the good citizens of Pasadena can rise up and say, 'We're going to put a stop to this. We can't go on like this. It's killing our cities.'"

MOVEMENT: Residents Seek to End Gang Violence

Continued from J1
violence—12 gang-related killings, out of 25 homicides this year alone—the Halloween night slayings stood out, Cole said.

"The reaction is almost universally, 'It could have been my child. It could have been my street. This can't happen anymore,'" he said.

None of the boys killed Oct. 31 were gang members. All were doing well in school and in outside activities. They had just left an

How to Help

• Donations to help defray funeral costs for the three Halloween night slaying victims will be accepted through December at Family Savings Bank, 1335 N. Lake Ave., Pasadena 91104; (818) 794-1151.

• Donations for Betty Avers, the mother of two children wounded in the shootings, are being accepted at the Pasadena Poothill Branch of the Los Angeles Urban League, 193 E. Orange Grove Blvd., Pasadena 91103; (818) 449-8753.

• The Coalition for a Non-violent City will sponsor a Youth

certain amount of frustration," the lieutenant said. "But we are ultimately going to get to the bottom of it."

That frustration boiled up a week ago, when more than 100 Pasadena residents showed up at a meeting of the Orange-Villa Neighborhood Assn., a group whose boundaries include the street on which the shooting occurred.

At the emotional meeting, rate-

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PRESERVATION PHOTO COPY

They were walking in central Pasadena with seven other boys on foot along North Wilson Avenue at 10:30 p.m. when two gunmen jumped out of bushes in front of a house and sprayed the group with semi-automatic gunfire.

Three boys were killed. Three were injured.

The assailants, believed to be gang members, fled in cars parked a block away, witnesses said.

Despite \$40,000 in reward money immediately mustered by the City Council, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and an Inglewood anti-crime foundation, no one has called with detailed, specific information that could lead directly to suspects, police say.

No names, no license plate numbers, no gang boasting have been reported to police, Pasadena Police Lt. Denis Petersen said.

"I'm not sure why no one is talking," he said. "Perhaps it's fear of possible retaliation if someone comes forward."

The coalition's next general meeting will be at 4 p.m. Dec. 9 tentatively at American Friends Service Committee, 980 N. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena.

The night of the slayings, police found nearby on the ground two bandannas, articles of clothing commonly worn by gang members. But so far, that evidence has not been linked to the killings, Petersen said.

Police have explored various crime scenarios.

One is that the boys were slain by warring gang members in retaliation for the shooting earlier that same night of Fernando Hodges 22, a gang member, who died a day later of his injuries.

A second scenario is that the boys were shot in a gang initiation a requirement to prove the mettle of fledgling members.

A third is that some of the taller, thinner shooting victims may have been mistaken for older youths and

possible gang members. But none of those scenarios have produced a positive motive, Petersen said.

With clues in the investigation getting stale last week, six additional investigators began assisting the two detectives assigned to the case. Most of the extra staffing will continue through December, Petersen said.

As the time drags on, there's a

plaintiff's explanation of why police could not solve the murders.

Michelle Meyer, who organized the gathering, said she understands the anger. Many in her neighborhood are afraid and still grieving three weeks after the shooting.

"You can feel it in the air, the scaredness," Meyer said. "You don't see people on the streets like before it happened. It's got kind of like an eerie feeling."

Three of her four children, close friends of the slain boys, are experiencing delayed reactions now, she said.

Please see MOVEMENT '76

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MOVEMENT: A Community Mobilizes

Continued from 14

But the activities are not restricted to Los Angeles and efforts to Pasadena's borders. In Los Angeles, an anti-violence march took place last week at the Los Angeles Convention Center. The rally organizers, headed by Pasadena's Henry Stuckey, one of the city's most vocal gun control advocates, said the violence in the city is a result of a breakdown in the family structure. Stuckey said the violence is a result of a breakdown in the family structure. Stuckey said the violence is a result of a breakdown in the family structure.

Stuckey, who is the president of the Pasadena Gun Control Council, said the violence is a result of a breakdown in the family structure. Stuckey said the violence is a result of a breakdown in the family structure. Stuckey said the violence is a result of a breakdown in the family structure.

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GUNS

Continued from 15

their plight. "I hate the thought of one more gun on campus, but I couldn't send district officers into dangerous situations without a gun," she said.

Not all school districts agree with Pasadena's approach. Pasadena's approach is to send police officers to schools. Pasadena's approach is to send police officers to schools.

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Los Angeles Times

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The following is a partial list of Health Maintenance Organizations that have authorized for care at the City of Hope:

- CaliforniaCare (Blue Cross)
- CHP Health Care
- Inter Valley Health Plan
- MaxCare Health Plan
- QualCare of California
- TriCare of California
- ValCare Health Plan

If you belong to an HMO, your primary physician determines at which hospital facility you may receive treatment.

The following is a partial list of Preferred Provider Organizations that have contracted with the City of Hope for cancer care:

- Allina Preferred Provider, Inc.
- Anderson Health Systems, Inc.
- American Health Network

- Benefit Panel Services, Inc.
- Blue Cross of California
- Blue Shield of California
- Comp Care
- Community Care Network
- Interplan Corporation
- Los Angeles Foundation for Medical Care, Inc.
- MediNetwork (Admiral Corp)
- Blue Shield of California (Admiral Corp)
- NWNL Premier Provider Network
- PHO Alliance
- Preferred Health Network

- Private HealthCare Systems
- Provident Life & Accident
- Prudent Buyer Plan (Blue Cross)
- PrudNet
- PrudNet
- Travelers Managed Care System

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