

NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMS' RIGHTS WEEK
HONORING THOSE WHO SERVE CRIME VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS
April 28, 1995

- ◆ **Presidential Proclamation of National Crime Victims' Week.** In recognition of the more than 36 million people in America who become victims of crime every year, President Clinton signed a proclamation designating April 23-29 as National Crime Victims' Rights Week. In the wake of the Oklahoma City tragedy, the President's words were particularly poignant.

"As we mark National Crime Victims' Rights Week this year, Americans join in remembering the fallen, in celebrating criminal justice reforms, and in envisioning a future free from violence ... With continued partnerships between every level of government, criminal justice and victim advocacy organizations, and crime survivors and their families, America can begin to replace the nightmare of crime with a bright new day of hope."

-- President Bill Clinton

- ◆ **Ten Individuals Presented Awards for Outstanding Service to Crime Victims.** In a White House ceremony today, President Clinton and Attorney General Reno presented the Crime Victim Service Awards to 8 Americans selected by the Office of Victims of Crime. These awards, the highest honor for victim advocacy in the country, are annually presented to a small number of individuals -- many of whom are crime victims themselves; but all of whom have dedicated their lives to activism and community service. Additionally, two other individuals were awarded special Courage Awards in recognition of their ability to rise above their victimization and become advocates on behalf of all victims.
- ◆ **The Tragedy of the Oklahoma City Bombing Illustrates the Need for the Administration's Victims' Services.** In keeping with the every-day mission of victims' services, on several fronts, assistance was provided to the survivors and victims of Oklahoma City.
 - * Within hours after the Oklahoma City bombing, a nine-member Immediate Response to Emerging Problems team funded by the Office of Victims of Crime (OVC) was on the ground -- supporting and assisting families that have suffered losses.
 - * OVC, the Department of Education and the National Organization for Victim Assistance developed a training plan for teachers and counselors dealing with children's trauma and sent 13 victim advocates to work with elementary school students and teachers this week.
 - * Public Safety Officers' Benefit (PSOB) program sent staff to Oklahoma City to ensure that survivors of law enforcement and public safety personnel were aware of their benefits and assisted in completing application forms.
- ◆ **The Department of Justice Honors its Civil Servants Who Assist Victims of Crime.** On Wednesday, the Attorney General recognized 10 Federal Employees who have made outstanding efforts to improve procedures for and increase deposits into the Crime Victims Fund (CVF), which is the source for Federally-supported crime victim services throughout the country.

**CONGRESS GOES BACK ON CRIME FIGHTING;
ADMINISTRATION MOVES AHEAD -- IMPLEMENTING SEX OFFENDERS REGISTRATION
April 7, 1995**

- ◆ **The House enters into spring recess with a bad score on crime fighting.** The House slashed \$5 billion dollars from the violent crime control trust fund, renegeing on the promise made to law enforcement and all Americans last year when a bi-partisan majority of Congress passed a tough, smart, balanced crime bill.
- ◆ **The Crime Act is paid for by cutting the size of government.** The Crime Act is paid for by cutting 270,000 jobs in the federal government and putting the savings into a Crime Control Trust Fund.
- ◆ **Taxpayers want tough Crime Fighting programs.** This \$5 billion cut in the Crime Control Trust Fund could mean fully one-sixth fewer dollars to pay for police on our streets, prisons to incarcerate violent offenders and prevention programs to offer safe havens and opportunities to young people. These are proven crime fighting programs that the American taxpayer wants.
- ◆ **While Congress goes back on its promise to fight crime, the Administration moves forward.** Today, the Attorney General signed new federal guidelines that should lead to laws in all 50 states requiring sexual offenders and child molesters to register with the authorities.
- ◆ **Implementing the Crime Act's Jacob Wetterling Act.** The Administration proceeds to implement the Crime Act in a non-bureaucratic, non-partisan fashion. The Jacob Wetterling Act encourages states to require convicted child molesters and sexually violent offenders to notify law enforcement of their whereabouts for 10 years, or longer if they are adjudicated as "sexually dangerous predators." States that do not comply could forfeit up to 10 percent of their annual Byrne Grant anti-crime grants.

"This is about peace of mind. When a sex offender moves, the law should move with them. Parents, children, and women everywhere need to know that local police are notified when child molesters and sex offenders are released from prison."

-- Bonnie Campbell
Director, DOJ Violence Against Women Office

- ◆ **The Administration forges ahead in the fight against crime.** To date, grants have been awarded to hire nearly 17,000 police officers; monies have been made available to reimburse states for the cost of incarcerating illegal immigrants; the Violence Against Women Office has been opened. At every front, the Administration moves forward to fight crime by implementing the Violent Crime Control Act. The average American, who yearns for safer streets and communities, deserves no less.

MIDNIGHT VOTE TO CUT TAXES "BUSTS" CRIME TRUST FUND; SWIPES \$5 BILLION FROM CRIME FIGHTING

April 6, 1995

- ◆ **House casts a midnight vote to slash \$5 billion from the Violent Crime Control Trust Fund.** Just before midnight, with little fanfare and seemingly no debate amidst the towering issue of tax cuts, the House of Representatives voted to slash one-sixth of the Violent Crime Control Trust Fund -- monies promised by Congress on a bi-partisan basis, to law enforcement and to all Americans who yearn for safer streets and communities.
- ◆ **A bad trade-off for the American People -- minimal tax relief for more crime.** Fighting crime is a top issue of concern to the vast majority of Americans. They want their tax dollars to be used effectively to fight crime. The 1994 Crime Act does just that.
- ◆ **Lawmakers reduce money for any and all crime proposals.** Slashing money from the Crime Control Trust Fund takes one-sixth of the monies away from any legislative proposal -- the 1994 Crime Act, or any subsequent amendment to the Act. Bottom line -- it represents a slashing of the federal government's commitment to fighting crime in this country.
- ◆ **Breaking a promise to law enforcement and all Americans.** The Crime Control Trust Fund takes money saved by cutting the size of the federal government by 270,000 jobs and puts it toward a comprehensive crime fighting strategy that combines police, punishment, prisons, and prevention. With its passage, a bi-partisan majority of Congress promised action -- but now they are renegeing on that promise.

"If we cut back now, I think it's going to send a clear message to the people on the streets and the sheriffs of America that we are really not serious at all about crime in Washington, D. C. "

-- Bud Meeks

Executive Director, National Sheriffs Association

- ◆ **Slashing the Trust Fund could mean one-sixth fewer dollars for important crime fighting programs.** If enacted, it could mean one-sixth fewer dollars for police, prisons and critical crime fighting programs. Programs such as those aimed at stopping violence against women would be in jeopardy.

"That trust fund -- paid for by cutting the size of government -- represents a solemn promise that the federal government made with the American people last year. That's our bank for funding the Violence Against Women Act, and we can't stand by as it is robbed."

-- Janet Reno

**DESPITE CONTINUED PRAISE FOR COMMUNITY POLICING,
THE HOUSE CONSIDERS USING \$5 BILLION FROM THE CRIME TRUST
FUND TO CUT TAXES**

April 5, 1995

- ◆ **The House of Representatives continues to consider slashing the violent crime trust fund by \$5 billion.** The full House will soon vote on a Budget Committee proposal to slash fully one-sixth of the Crime Control Trust Fund. This proposal is hidden deep in the House's tax-cut bill--a bill that has nothing else to do with crime.
- ◆ **Bi-Partisan Support for the Trust Fund.** The Crime Control Trust Fund--which pays for crime fighting and prevention with savings from reducing the size of government--was created with the support of Democrats and Republicans alike. It was also backed by every major law enforcement organization in the country. Despite this widespread support, the House is considering taking \$5 billion from the Fund to pay for tax cuts.
- ◆ **Breaking the Promise of the Crime Act -- Enactment could mean a one-sixth reduction in crime fighting.** If Congress enacts the proposal to cut the Trust Fund by \$5 billion, it could mean one sixth-fewer dollars to hire police; it could mean one-sixth fewer dollars to build needed prison space; it could mean one-sixth fewer dollars to provide programs to get kids off the streets and into meaningful activities that offer safe-havens and opportunity.
- ◆ **Reducing crime fighting is the wrong way to pay for tax cuts.** Why cut crime fighting in order to cut taxes? Americans overwhelming support efforts to reduce crime, and it's their tax dollars that pay for those efforts. Giving a few dollars back to each taxpayer in exchange for making our streets more dangerous is not a trade most Americans want.
- ◆ **Community Policing is making a difference in Boston and across the county.** As documented in an ABC News report yesterday, community policing programs paid for under the Clinton Crime Act have already had a dramatic impact on crime. In Boston, where 87 new community police officers were sworn in yesterday, homicides have decreased by half and aggravated assaults by 29% since the initiation of community policing two years ago. Reducing the Crime Control Trust Fund will prevent full implementation of community policing and will reduce the safety of all Americans as a result.

TAX CUT PROPOSAL MAKES A U-TURN ON FIGHTING CRIME: HOUSE CONSIDERS CUTTING VIOLENT CRIME TRUST FUND

April 4, 1995

- ◆ **This week the House of Representatives will consider slashing the violent crime trust fund by \$5 billion.** The full House will vote on a Budget Committee proposal to slash fully one-sixth of the Crime Control Trust Fund.

- ◆ **The 1994 Crime Act: Promised by Congress and Paid For by Reducing the Size of Government.** The 1994 Violent Crime Control Act is a comprehensive strategy combining police, punishment, prisons, and prevention. To finance this fight against crime in America, a Trust Fund was created that takes the money saved by cutting the size of the federal government by 270,000 jobs and puts it into proven and effective crime fighting programs.

- ◆ **Breaking a Promise to the American People.** Slashing the 1994 Violent Crime Control Trust Fund by \$5 billion goes back on the promise made by Congress to police and the American people in last year's Crime Bill.

Proposals to scale back our fight against violent crime shouldn't even be on the table. These cuts could mean fewer cells to house violent criminals and fewer police on America's streets to fight them. If we make promises, we ought to keep them.

-- Attorney General Janet Reno

- ◆ **Breaking the Promise of the Crime Act -- Enactment could mean a one-sixth reduction in crime fighting.** If Congress enacts the proposal to cut the Trust Fund by \$5 billion, it could mean one sixth-fewer dollars to hire police; it could mean one-sixth fewer dollars to build needed prison space; it could mean one-sixth fewer dollars to provide programs to get kids off the streets and into meaningful activities that offer safe-havens and opportunity.

DRUG COURT FUNDING RESTORED BY SENATE

March 31, 1995

- Last night, a bipartisan coalition of Senators voted to restore funding for the Clinton Administration's Drug Court program. By taking this step, Republicans and Democrats in the Senate corrected the actions of the House of Representatives when it voted to eliminate Drug Court funding.
- With this vote, Senators of both parties join with thousands of police officers and prosecutors who support drug courts. These programs -- which have proven successful in numerous jurisdictions -- help non-violent offenders get the drug treatment, job training, and other assistance they need to end their dependency on drugs.
- Under the Drug Court program authorized by the Violent Crime Control Act, the Department of Justice will award grants to State and local drug courts which provide specialized services, punishment, drug treatment, and continuing judicial supervision for non-violent offenders.
- The Drug Court program is tough on crime. Every person in the program is subject to mandatory periodic testing for the use of controlled and other addictive substances during any period of supervised release or probation. If a person in the program fails a drug test, or fails to comply with other program requirements, he or she is subject to escalating sanctions including prosecution, confinement and/or incarceration.
- Now, thanks to Republicans and Democrats in the Senate, \$10 million will be available to help states and local governments and court systems establish drug courts in 1995.

SECURING AMERICA'S BORDERS:
The Clinton Administration's Immigration Initiative
March 29, 1995

- Two years ago, the Clinton Administration committed itself to making immigration a priority. We knew we had to stem the flow of illegal immigration; cast out the criminal aliens who victimized America's citizens; and strengthen our nation's proud tradition of legal immigration.
- Today, INS Commissioner Doris Meissner testified before Congress on the Administration's accomplishments to date, and on the four major elements of President Clinton's 1996 Immigration Initiative: (1) Border Enforcement and Management; (2) Worksite Enforcement and Verification; (3) Detention and Removal of Criminal and Deportable Aliens; and, (4) Customer Service and Assistance to States.
- **Border Enforcement and Management.** The Clinton Administration has already shown that our borders can be controlled. As demonstrated by "Operation Gatekeeper" and "Operation Hold the Line", we can dramatically reduce the number of illegal aliens entering the country. In order to build on these successes, the President's FY 1996 budget requests \$396 million to expand border enforcement and management initiatives. With these funds, we will hire 700 new Border Patrol agents, over 650 new INS inspectors, and 375 new Customs inspectors for deployment along our borders. In addition, we will provide strategic intelligence and investigative information at the border and enhance technological and equipment capabilities to help stem illegal immigration.
- **Worksite Enforcement and Verification.** Border enforcement must be backed up by effective workplace enforcement because employment is the primary incentive for illegal immigration. For this reason, the Administration is seeking \$93 million in FY 1996 to strengthen worksite enforcement and verification. These new resources will help hire more than 550 new INS and Department of Labor personnel to increase enforcement of laws prohibiting employment of illegal aliens.
- **Detention and Removal of Criminal and Deportable Aliens.** The Administration intends to ensure that aliens who have been ordered excluded or deported actually depart from the United States. We plan to more than double the number of criminal and non-criminal alien removals in FY 1996. As part of this effort, the INS will also increase its detention space by almost 50 percent for aliens who have been ordered to depart the United States.
- **Customer Service and Assistance to States.** Deterring illegal immigration is the best way to contain the costs of such immigration to the states. Beyond this clear federal responsibility, the Administration seeks \$550 million to assist the states with the costs of illegal immigration that are a result of failed enforcement policies of the past. Among other efforts, the Administration is requesting \$300 million to assist states with the costs of incarcerating criminal aliens, an increase of \$170 million over last year. This is the maximum amount authorized by law in FY 1996.

**THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION GOES HIGH-TECH:
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL DEMONSTRATES NEW INS TECHNOLOGY**

March 23, 1995

- **Giving law enforcement the tools it needs.** Today on Capitol Hill, Attorney General Reno and INS Commissioner Doris Meisner demonstrated to Members of Congress and their staffs the latest technology being used by the INS to fight illegal immigration. The development and implementation of these new technologies demonstrates the Attorney General's commitment to give America's law enforcement professionals -- whether they're on the border or on the beat -- the tools they need to do their jobs right.
- **New Technology for the INS.** The following are among the new systems that will help tighten our borders, increase the chances that illegal aliens who are apprehended and deported do not return, and help identify criminal aliens who are subject the tough sanctions imposed by the President's Crime Bill:
 - **CADRE.** The CADRE system uses sensors to detect illegal border crossings and alerts Border Patrol agents to activity on the border. It also allows agents investigating incidents to communicate with their dispatchers, increasing their safety and decreasing their response time. CADRE is currently operating in San Diego, El Paso, and Swanton, VT.
 - **ENFORCE.** ENFORCE is a computerized tracking system that has reduced the processing time for criminal cases from eight hours to two; for administrative cases from three hour to 30 minutes; and for voluntary returns from 5 minutes to 35 seconds. ENFORCE is in place in San Diego and McAllen, TX and will expand to other sectors later this year.
 - **IDENT.** IDENT is a biometric identification system that uses fingerprints and other information to positively identify persons apprehended by the Border Patrol. IDENT is being used to track recidivism among illegal crossers in San Diego and is equipped to help identify criminal aliens eligible for the prosecution under the new tough penalties mandated by the President's Crime Bill. IDENT also allows the INS to monitor changing border crossing patterns and to measure the results of its enforcement efforts.

**VICTIMS OF CRIME FALL VICTIM ONCE AGAIN
TO PROPOSED CUTS IN WELFARE REFORM BILL
March 22, 1995**

- ◆ **Proposal Made to Eliminate Victims Assistance Funds.** The House Welfare Reform Bill, currently under consideration in the House, includes a provision to repeal the Crime Victims Assistance Program of the 1984 Victims of Crime Act. This would eliminate millions of dollars of funds available to provide services to victims of crime.

- ◆ **Slashing Grass Roots Support to Victims of Crime.** Each state receives a base amount of \$200,000 in Victim Assistance Funds that are then distributed to nearly 3,000 local victim assistance organizations, such as rape crisis centers, domestic violence shelters, child advocacy centers, law enforcement agencies and more. These funds are critical to the assistance of those who have found themselves victims of crime.

- ◆ **Slashing the Ultimate Safety Net for Crime Victims.** Victim Assistance Funds provide support for programs that serve all crime victims, regardless of whether the offender has been caught and convicted or whether the victim reported the crime to the police. Cutting away this assistance would be devastating to crime victims and their families as they wind their way through the criminal justice system and try to reorganize their lives in the wake of a crime victimization.

- ◆ **Slashing Funds that Would Hurt the Vulnerable and Would NOT Help the Taxpayer.** This proposal has no effect on the deficit. These funds are derived from fines, penalty assessments, and bond forfeitures from convicted Federal criminals. This proposal would be no more than a wanton assault on victims and has no conceivable benefit to the American taxpayer.

**\$26 MILLION IN VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (VAWA) GRANTS AWARDED
AND PRESIDENT & ATTORNEY GENERAL ANNOUNCE VAWA DIRECTOR
March 21, 1995**

- **Violence Against Women Grants Announced.** President Clinton and Attorney General Reno announced today grants to all 50 states totaling \$26 million that will help communities fund women's shelters and crisis centers, hire prosecutors, and pay for rape crisis therapists, victim's advocates, and domestic violence hot-lines.

"The crime bill I signed last fall offered victims of crime a new beginning. Today, for the first time in history, the federal government becomes a full partner in the fight to curb violence against women. We can't turn back."

-- President Clinton

- **Former Iowa Attorney General Named Director of the Violence Against Women Office.** Former Iowa Attorney General Bonnie Campbell was officially named by Attorney General Reno today as Director of the Justice Department's Violence Against Women Office. Campbell will oversee efforts to combine tough new federal criminal laws with assistance to states and localities to fight violence against women.

- * **Campbell uniquely qualified for the job.** As Iowa's first woman Attorney General from 1990-94, she authored one of the nation's first anti-stalking laws; led a statewide domestic violence prevention campaign; and was instrumental in getting the state legislature to strengthen Iowa's domestic abuse statute and increase funding for victim compensation programs and shelters.

- **VAWA Grants Mean Action to STOP Violence Against Women.** President Clinton announced that \$26 million in Crime Bill STOP Grants (Services, Training, Officers, and Prosecution) would be made available. Each state can receive up to \$426,000 to add law enforcement, prosecutors and victims services that address violence against women. Depending on how the grants are used, the \$26 million could provide:

- more than 100 crisis centers serving 40,000 victims a year,
- 400 new prosecutors to specialize in domestic violence or sexual assault units,
- 400 rape crisis therapists and victim advocates
- nearly 600 volunteer coordinators to help run domestic violence hot-lines, or
- States can also use STOP funds for important discretionary items like lighting for unsafe streets, parks and paths.

- ◆ **VAWA Moves Ahead while Congress Considers slashing the Violent Crime Control Trust Fund -- Going Back on Its promise to Law Enforcement and Victims of Domestic Violence.** While the Administration forges ahead to implement the 1994 Crime Act and to provide, in a non-partisan, non-bureaucratic fashion, relief to women and families trapped in a cycle of domestic violence -- the House Budget Committee proposed slashing \$5 billion dollars from the Crime Control Trust Fund. If enacted, this would mean a one-sixth reduction in critically needed programs.

"This year alone, crime bill grants could provide crisis assistance for 40,000 victims of rape, domestic violence and sexual abuse -- unless Congress slams the door. The crime control trust fund is our bank for funding the Violence Against Women Act, and we can't stand by as it is robbed."

-- Attorney General Janet Reno

- ◆ **The Assault on Victims Continue.** As part of the House Welfare Reform Bill, some law makers have now proposed to repeal the Crime Victims Assistance Program of the 1984 Victims of Crime Act. This would eliminate the funds available to provide services to victims of crime -- funds that go to nearly 3,000 local victim assistance organizations, such as rape crisis centers, domestic violence shelters, child advocacy centers, law enforcement agencies and more. This proposal has no effect on the deficit. These funds come from fines collected by the Government. It represents a further breach of trust with the American people.

BREAKING THE PROMISE OF THE CRIME TRUST FUND

March 20, 1995

- ◆ **Breaking a Promise to the American People.** Last Thursday, the House Budget Committee proposed to slash the 1994 Violent Crime Control Trust Fund by \$5 billion. Such a cut would represent fully one-sixth of the total Congress promised to police and the American people in last year's Crime Bill.
- ◆ **One-sixth less money for police officers.** If the proposed \$5 billion reduction in the Violent Crime Trust Fund were enacted it would mean fewer police on the streets of America engaged in community policing. To date, communities across the country have been awarded grants to hire nearly 17,000 new police officers. The proposed cut in the Trust Fund would mean that future grants would be reduced by the same number of cops we have already put on the streets in the five months since the Crime Bill became law.
- ◆ **One-sixth less money for prisons.** The 1994 Crime Act provided for billions of dollars to construct prisons, because any serious proposal to reduce crime must have adequate punishment. If the proposed reduction in the Crime Trust Fund were enacted, it would mean one-sixth less money for prisons to house the most serious offenders. To make up for this shortfall, states would have to consider unpalatable alternatives such as:
 - * Creating shorter jail terms for most crimes.
 - * Turning loose many offenders to go back to the streets before they have served their time.
- ◆ **One-sixth less money for programs to fight crime.** The 1994 Crime Act recognized that effective crime fighting means police, punishment and prevention. If the Violent Crime Trust Fund reduction were enacted, it would mean one-sixth less in Drug Courts and in offering safe-havens and opportunity to young people.

"My message to all of you, Democrats or Republicans, is this: call the programs anything you want, but give us police and prevention programs that you promised us last year. If you had my job, you'd know that we're running out of time. Keep your promises -- honor your contracts."

-- Lou Cannon, D.C. Police Officer
President,
Fraternal Order of Police Lodge #1
- ◆ **One-sixth less money to reduce violence against women.** If the reduction in the Violent Crime Trust Fund were enacted, it would mean a reduction in critical programs that offer assistance and education to women and families trapped in a cycle of domestic violence.

HOUSE PROPOSES TO "BUST" THE VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL TRUST FUND AND BREAK THE TRUST OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND AMERICA

March 17, 1995

- **Breaking a Promise to the American People.** Yesterday, as part of a call to cut discretionary spending by \$100 billion, the House Budget Committee proposed to slash the 1994 Violent Crime Control Trust Fund by \$5 billion. Such a cut would represent fully one-sixth of the total Congress promised to police and the American people in last year's Crime Bill.

Proposals to scale back our fight against violent crime shouldn't even be on the table. These cuts could mean fewer cells to house violent criminals and fewer police on America's streets to fight them. If we make promises, we ought to keep them.

-- Attorney General Janet Reno

- **The 1994 Crime Act: Promised by Congress and Paid For by Reducing the Size of Government.** The 1994 Violent Crime Control Act is a comprehensive strategy combining police, punishment, prisons, and prevention. To finance this fight against crime in America, a Trust Fund was created that would take the money saved by cutting the size of the federal government and put it into proven and effective crime fighting programs.

"The trust fund should not be touched."

-- Hubie Williams
President, The Police Foundation

- ◆ **Turning a Cold Shoulder to Law Enforcement ... Retreating From the Fight Against Crime.** Law Enforcement relied on the promise made to them by Congress when last year it passed with bi-partisan support a tough, balanced, smart Crime Bill. Now the House proposes to break that promise.

"Police are outraged."

-- Chris Sullivan
International Brotherhood of Police

"If we cut back now, I think it's going to send a clear message to the people on the streets and the sheriffs of America that we are really not serious at all about crime in Washington, D.C."

-- Bud Meeks
President, the National Sheriffs Association

**A.G. VISITS "SAFE SCHOOLS" PROGRAM AT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
WHILE CONGRESS NEARS VOTE TO RESCIND FUNDING
MARCH 16, 1995**

Today, Attorney General Reno joined Secretaries Shalala and Reilly in visiting the Highland Elementary School in Wheaton, MD, to affirm her support for the Safe Schools Initiative. She met with young students who are participating in innovative educational and mediation programs that teach kids to address conflict without resorting to violence and to turn away from drugs and substance abuse. This type of program is threatened by the proposed rescissions that are scheduled for a vote today in the House of Representatives.

- ◆ **The Safe Schools Initiative helps kids.** The Safe Schools Initiative provides grant funds to high crime school districts aimed at preventing crime and helping our children cope with the realities of crime. By dealing with school crime, violence, substance abuse and discipline problems, we can enhance school safety and promote improved access to learning.
- ◆ **Stopping Dropouts Now Stops Crime Later.** If we do not offer the help to allow kids to address conflict without resorting to violence or escaping through drugs, we will send a terrible message to them. 82% of all the people in America's prisons are high school dropouts. We need to make our schools a place of creativity and learning so that kids want to come to school and lead productive, healthy lives.
- ◆ **Safe Schools in Tandem with Critical 1994 Crime Act Programs Fight Crime.** Building on good programs such as the "Safe Schools Initiative," the 1994 Crime Act, passed with bipartisan support, provided for proven and effective crime fighting programs such as Drug Courts and Community Schools. Breaking the cycle of crime and violence that is brought on by drug addiction and providing safe havens for children so they don't end up in peril on street corners, alley ways and with gangs — that is effective crime fighting.
- ◆ **Funds Should Not be Rescinded for Safe Schools, Community Schools and Drug Courts.** Today, the House will vote on a rescission bill that cuts millions from these essential crime fighting programs. These programs were enacted with bipartisan support. Judges, prosecutors, police, and educators have said these programs work and they are expecting funds this year.

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HONORS D.C. DRUG COURT
WHILE THE HOUSE DEBATES RESCINDING DRUG COURT FUNDING
MARCH 15, 1995**

Today, Attorney General Reno addresses recent graduates of the Washington, D.C. drug court program, reiterating her long-standing support of drug court programs designed to break the link between substance abuse and criminal activity. At the same time, the House of Representatives is considering a rescission bill that would eliminate \$28 million in federal drug court funding contained in last year's crime bill. Without this funding, cities across the country will be unable to operate effective drug courts.

- **Drug Courts Make Common Sense.** Over half of those who enter the criminal justice have substance abuse problems. Drug courts employ the coercive power of the courts to ensure that non-violent offenders receive the intensive supervision and drug treatment necessary to kick their drug habits. Getting off drugs is essential to preventing these offenders from returning to prison as soon as they are released.
- **Drug Courts Are Tough.** Drug courts are not a soft-on-crime alternative to incarceration. They are comprehensive programs that require offenders to adhere to strict rules and requirements. Offenders must undergo mandatory, periodic drug testing, mandatory substance abuse treatment, and are subject to graduated sanctions for failing to show satisfactory progress in their treatment regimens. Plus, only non-violent offenders are eligible to participate.
- **Drug Courts Work.** A National Institute of Justice-sponsored study demonstrated that participants in the Dade County, Florida drug court program were substantially less likely to be re-arrested than those defendants who did not participate. Preliminary studies of the Washington, D.C., Portland, Oregon, and Chicago drug court programs have also shown lower rates of recidivism.
- **Drug Courts Can Be Tailored to Local Needs.** No single drug court model can effectively break the cycle of substance abuse and crime in every community. Accordingly, the drug court provisions in the crime bill allow local jurisdictions to tailor programs to local needs, yet ensure that certain essential features are included.
- **Drug Courts Are Popular.** Prosecutors, judges, public defenders, law enforcement officials, and treatment specialists from across the country support the concept and implementation of drug courts. It's an idea whose time has come.

HOUSE APPROPRIATORS TARGETED CRIME FIGHTING PROGRAMS THAT HIT KIDS AND DRUG ENFORCEMENT

March 14, 1995

- ◆ **House takes up rescission bill.** This week the House will consider a rescission bill that cuts millions from essential crime fighting and crime prevention efforts.
- ◆ **Millions eliminated for Drug Courts.** The rescission bill terminates \$28 million in funding for Drug Courts. **This will only allow offenders with drug problems to keep spinning through the criminal justice system's revolving door.** Drug Courts are proven effective anti-crime and anti-drug tools.
- ◆ **Turning kids away from safe havens and onto the streets.** The bill would rescind \$27 million dollars in funding for the Community Schools Initiative -- which seeks to keep schools open for young people to provide them with a safe and constructive alternative to street corners, alley ways and gang turf.
- ◆ **Don't Go Back.** These programs were enacted by Congress as part of the Violent Crime Control Act of 1994. The Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services have been working together to implement these programs. Grant applications are ready. Thousands of courts, prosecutors and schools all across the country are expecting these crime-fighting funds this year.

STANDING FIRM:
ADMINISTRATION PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS
March 10, 1995

- **Ready to fight for prevention programs.** In a meeting today with representatives from groups concerned about crime prevention, Attorney General Janet Reno affirmed Administration support for prevention-related programs in the 1994 Crime Control Act.

"We are committed to preserving these programs, and we are determined to move forward with implementation of the 1994 Crime Act."

Among those who attended the meeting were representatives from crime prevention groups, victims' rights organizations, youth service providers, education and parent-teacher associations, and state and local governmental organizations.

- **Administration action has already saved two prevention programs from extinction.** In recent weeks both the President's Prevention Council and the National Domestic Violence Hotline were rescinded by a House subcommittee. Thanks to swift and coordinated action, both programs were reinstated in full committee.

- **The fight to revive other prevention-related programs continues.** Other House Appropriations rescissions must still be blocked. The funding cut for the Domestic Violence Hotline was part of a larger House rescission bill. House appropriators also voted to eliminate:

- \$27 million dollars in funding for the Community Schools Initiative, which provides safe haven for young people in crime-ridden neighborhoods; and
- \$28 million in funding for Drug Courts, which use the coercive power of the courts to force offenders into substance abuse treatment.

The Attorney General, the Secretary of Education, and the Secretary of HHS have protested these cuts in a joint letter to the Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

The Administration will continue to voice strong objections to proposed rescissions and the outright repeal of various prevention-related programs authorized by the 1994 Crime

Act. The Attorney General told the group:

"We are already on record with the Congress as strongly opposing the proposed repeal of the Drug Courts initiative and the wholesale elimination of proven prevention programs -- such as afterschool programs -- which are supported by police, prosecutors, educators, and parents because they work."

AMERICANS SUPPORT THE 1994 CLINTON CRIME ACT

February 28, 1995

- ◆ **Efforts to undo the 1994 Crime Act are out of step with the American people.** A CBS/New York Times poll found that a majority of Americans are opposed to the current efforts by the Congress to repeal or alter many of the most important aspects of the 1994 Crime Act.

A substantial majority [of Americans] favor the ban on assault weapons that the Republicans have vowed to overturn, and most objected to a bill that has passed the House and would give towns and cities more discretion in spending money that was targeted by President Clinton specifically for more officers.

-- *The New York Times*, February 28, 1995

- ◆ **A majority of Americans want 100,000 cops on the street.** Rather than a block grant -- that could not guarantee that even one new police officer will be hired -- 53% of Americans prefer money to be dedicated to putting 100,000 cops on the streets of America.

"That was wrong [to pass the House Law Enforcement Block Grant]. Now the money won't hit the street like it should."

-- Gary Gasque, a registered Republican who responded to the poll.

- ◆ **The vast majority of Americans favor the Clinton position on search warrants -- balancing the need for a search warrant with preventing the guilty from going free.** The Administration supports a "good faith exception" for police officers who obtain a warrant to carry out a search. Evidence obtained in good faith and with a warrant should not be suppressed -- the guilty should not go free. 69% of the American people agree with this position and say that a search without a warrant is a BAD IDEA.

- ◆ **Law makers should listen to the American people -- do not retreat on the fight against crime.** As the Senate prepares to take up legislation that seeks to undo much of the 1994 Crime Act, they should weigh their positions carefully. To repeal the 100,000 Cops Program and other critical issues under the 1994 Crime Act would renege on the promise to the law enforcement community and to ordinary Americans to fight crime in a balanced, tough, and smart fashion. We must instead move forward in the fight against crime.

Full House Appropriations Committee
THINK BEFORE YOU CUT ...
FROM CHILDREN AND CRIME FIGHTING
March 2, 1995

Today, the full House Appropriations Committee will choose between the interests of law abiding citizens and some of the most vulnerable of our society -- and giving relief to the wealthy. The full House Appropriations Committee meets today to take a final vote on rescissions from funds already promised under 1995 budgets. Thus far, rescissions in House Appropriations Subcommittees have targeted the most vulnerable of our society and much of those monies will likely be used to fund a capital gains tax cut proposal that will aid the wealthy.

HOUSE APPROPRIATORS HAVE TARGETED VALUABLE CRIME FIGHTING PROGRAMS THAT HIT KIDS, BATTERED WOMEN AND DRUG ENFORCEMENT:

- ◆ **Hanging-up on the Domestic Violence Hotline.** A bi-partisan majority of Congress voted last year to create the Hotline -- a simple but necessary tool to reduce violence against women in this country. Last week the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor and Health and Human Services (HHS) voted to rescind \$1 million in funding for the National Domestic Violence Hotline. The Subcommittee's actions sends the message that, once again, women victims must suffer in silence.
- ◆ **Turning kids away from safe havens and onto the streets.** The funding cut for the Hotline came as part of a larger rescission bill, which among other rescissions, terminated \$27 million dollars in funding for the Community Schools Initiative -- which seeks to keep schools open for young people to provide them with a safe and constructive alternative to street corners, alley ways and gang turf.
- ◆ **Millions eliminated for Drug Courts.** The House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary voted to terminate \$28 million in funding for Drug Courts. This will only allow offenders with drug problems to keep spinning through the criminal justice system's revolving door. Last year Congress made the commitment to this program, which seeks to coerce abstinence. Without Drug Courts, substance abuse offenders will continue to prey repeatedly upon communities as they traipse through a criminal justice system that fails to affect the addictions that drive their damaging behavior.
- ◆ **Punishing vulnerable children by telling them to "fend for themselves."** Last year, a bi-partisan majority of Congress voted to create the Ounce of Prevention Grants and extended a helping hand to children growing-up in difficult environments. The House Appropriators' actions in eliminating \$1.5 million in funds for this valuable program tells these children to "fend for themselves."

House Appropriations Subcommittee Hangs-up on Battered Women! February 24, 1995

- ◆ **House Appropriators slash the Domestic Violence Hotline by one MILLION dollars.** Late Wednesday, when few were watching, the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor and Health and Human Services (HHS) voted to rescind \$1 million in funding for the National Domestic Violence Hotline.
- ◆ **The Domestic Violence Hotline -- a Lifeline for Battered Women.** The Domestic Violence Hotline is one of the initiatives created by the Violence Against Women Act in the 1994 Crime Act to help combat crime against women. The National Domestic Violence Hotline provides a lifeline for victims of domestic violence and sex abuse. The Hotline will operate toll-free, 24-hours a day and will provide multi-lingual crisis counseling, problem-solving techniques, and referrals for battered women, their families, and advocates. The hotline will serve the entire U.S. and its territories.
- ◆ **Action by Appropriators tells women you must "suffer in silence."** A bi-partisan majority of Congress voted last year to create the Hotline -- a simple but necessary tool to reduce violence against women in this country. Why are they going back in the fight against Domestic Violence? The Subcommittee's actions sends the message that, once again, women victims must suffer in silence.
- ◆ **Appropriators also vote to take away safe havens for children.** The funding cut for the Hotline came as part of a larger rescission bill, which among other rescissions, terminated \$27 million dollars in funding for the Community Schools Initiative -- which seeks to keep schools open for young people to provide them with a safe and constructive alternative to street corners, alley ways and gang turf. The House Appropriations Full Committee is scheduled to take action on the bill next week.

Nearly half of all adults say they personally know at least one victim of spousal abuse Younger Americans are much more likely to know when a friend or relative has been beaten in the home.

-- The Washington Times, February 24, 1995

- ◆ **Appropriators are turning their backs on the most vulnerable of society.** At a time when spousal abuse is on the rise, according to the Washington Times, the House Appropriators are taking away from the most vulnerable in our society to presumably finance capital gains cuts for the wealthy.

NATIONAL POLL FINDS LAW ENFORCEMENT OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTS COMMUNITY POLICING

February 23, 1995

- ◆ **Police chiefs and county sheriffs support community policing.** A new poll has found that a majority of the nation's police chiefs and county sheriffs believe community policing -- one of the cornerstones of the 1994 Crime Act -- is the best way to fight crime.

SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY POLICING

- ◆ **Poll asserts Community policing is cost-effective.** *The national poll found that 56 percent of the chiefs and sheriffs surveyed called community policing the most cost-effective strategy for fighting crime.* The President's 100,000 COPS Program is a national community policing strategy -- building partnerships between the police and the citizens they serve to find permanent solutions to crime problems.
- ◆ **Poll identifies Neighborhood Watch as effective community policing.** An example of a community policing partnership that effectively reduces crime is Neighborhood Watch. *Fifty-five percent of the chiefs and sheriffs surveyed found these programs to be extremely cost effective at preventing crime.*
- ◆ **Demand is high for the 100,000 COPS Program.** Law enforcement agencies all across the country want to expand community policing. The COPS Office has received applications for community policing grants from over 10,000 law enforcement agencies nationwide -- more than half of the police and sheriffs departments in America.
 - o More than 7,100 -- 49 percent -- of the cities, towns and villages with populations below 50,000 applied for COPS FAST grants under the Crime Bill, knowing that no local match waivers would be granted under that program. They requested close to 18,000 additional officers -- to fund all of them would have cost \$1.1 billion.
 - o Close to 900 larger cities and counties with populations above 50,000 applied for COPS AHEAD grants -- more than 50 percent of the eligible jurisdictions. Again, they did so with the knowledge that they would not receive a local match waiver.
 - o The Department of Justice received 2,764 applications for grants under the Police Hiring Supplement Program in FY 1994.

- ◆ **The fact that chiefs and sheriffs believe in community policing should not surprise anyone.** The 100,000 COPS program was developed by the Clinton Administration and a bipartisan majority of the Congress with the guidance and support of every major national law enforcement organization.

MORE EQUIPMENT

- ◆ **The 100,000 Cops Program provides training and equipment.** The survey also found that 56 percent of the chiefs and sheriffs surveyed said that expanded training and more equipment were very cost-effective in fighting crime.
 - **Responding to the Demand:** the COPS MORE (Making Officer Redeployment Effective) program will provide grants to local police departments to purchase equipment and technology, hire civilians, or pay overtime to help them move more officers into community policing.
 - Technical assistance and training is available from the COPS Office for local police departments to help them expand community policing.
 - Innovative community policing grants will be available for equipment, overtime, training, and other uses which will advance community policing – independent of redeployment or hiring requirements.

THE CRITICS ARE WRONG

Some folks say that Washington shouldn't "force" police to do community policing. These critics fail to realize that police told the President and the Congress that they wanted to expand community policing. Community Policing is about community control -- about providing communities with the tools to meet their specific law enforcement needs and concerns. That's why the 100,000 COPS program was put in the Crime Bill. This Administration is committed to keeping it there.

Poll: Cops not in line with GOP crime agenda

By Sam Vincent Meddis and Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

A new poll of police chiefs and county sheriffs across the nation shows a difference of opinion on some key parts of the crime-fighting approach of the GOP Congress.

Among the findings:

► 58% consider community policing a "very" cost-effective way to cut crime.

► 31% cite reducing drug abuse as a primary focus in reducing violent crime.

► 58% support the death penalty philosophically but say it's not effective in law enforcement.

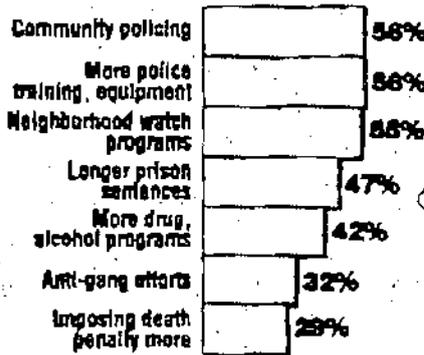
"In their heart of hearts, most (police) know that you can't incarcerate or execute your way out of crime," says James Fyfe, a Temple University criminologist and ex-New York police lieutenant.

The survey of 386 top officers, released today by the Death Penalty Information Center, follows passage in the House last week of a Republican bill increasing prison spending.

The new bill also eliminates community policing requirements in federal anti-crime grants. Community policing

Chiefs' crime-fighting priorities

As Congress debates how to distribute crime-fighting dollars, here's what police chiefs say are the most cost-effective means of curbing crime.



Source: Nationwide survey of 386 police chiefs by Peter D. Hart Associates for Death Penalty Information Center

By Marcie Stainer, USA TODAY

takes cops out of cruisers and puts them on neighborhood beats.

The GOP bill would wipe out President Clinton's plan to spend \$15.7 billion on police and crime prevention programs — including \$8.8 billion to hire 100,000 more community police officers nationwide.

Instead, it would give communities \$10 billion in police and crime prevention grants to use as they see fit.

The GOP bill also increases the amount to be spent by states on prison construction — from \$7.8 billion in last year's law to \$10.5 billion.

Rep. Steven Schiff, R-N.M., a former county prosecutor, dismisses critics who say the GOP bill will eliminate police hiring.

"The essence of the Republican bill is that each community is different and community policing may be No. 1 in one community but equipment may be No. 1 in another community."

Schiff says

Community policing supporters say the poll may help their fight in the Senate, which is expected to consider the GOP bill in the next few weeks.

"We may have lost the battle on the House side, but it's going to be a new day in the Senate," says Robert Scully of the National Association of Police Organizations.

But Rep. Fred Helmsman, R-N.C., Raleigh's police chief for 15 years before he retired to run for Congress, says longer prison sentences will do more to fight crime than more police on the streets.

"Cops are doing their jobs, prosecutors are doing their jobs, judges are doing their jobs, but the prison system is failing the American people — the revolving-door prison system that releases criminal predators again and again."

66

**THE PRESIDENT'S 100,000 COPS PROGRAM
THE NUMBERS CRUNCH: FACT V. FICTION**

February 21, 1995

Fiction: 100,000 Cops Doesn't Add Up

- Since passage of the 1994 Crime Act, Republican members of Congress charged that the COPS initiative would fund only 20,000 new cops over the next six years.

Fact: The Numbers Prove It: This is Not "New" Math

- The COPS Program earmarks almost \$9 billion for hiring or rehiring of community police officers. That money will help put 100,000 additional cops on the street -- an almost 20 percent increase in the nation's 504,000 local law enforcement officers.

- The 100,000 cops pledge is based on a simple formula:

- The 1994 Crime Bill authorizes \$8.8 billion for hiring or rehiring community policing officers and programs.

**** Total funds = \$8.8 billion**

- With 3% set aside for technical assistance and training, \$8.54 billion will remain.

**** Remaining funds = \$8.54 billion**

- Of the remaining \$8.54 billion, "no more than" 15% is available for non-hiring purposes like equipment and overtime. If 14% is allotted for these other purposes (\$1.195 billion), 86% is available to hire more cops.

**** 86% of the remaining funds will be used for hiring and rehiring of cops
= \$7.345 billion**

- The COPS Program will provide 3 year grants of up to \$75,000 to pay up to 75% of the cost of salary and benefits for each new or rehired officer.

**** \$7.345 billion in remaining funds divided by \$75,000 per officer =
97,920 cops**

**** Number of cops projected to be funded through the COPS Program = 97,920**

■ 2,080 cops were funded under the earlier Police Hiring Supplement program. Adding these to the 97,920 officers funded under the COPS Program brings the total number of cops to be funded to 100,000.

**** 97,920 plus 2080 cops hired under the Police Hiring Supplement = 100,000**

- With grants for nearly 17,000 new officers already awarded, the COPS awards are on target. As promised, the COPS program is proceeding efficiently and non-bureaucratically. As promised, instead of "red tape" the American people are getting more cops. And this is happening with a minimum of administrative overhead. Whereas the COPS office has administrative costs of just .08% of 1995 grant funds, the Republican block grant proposals permit 2.5% of funds to be spent on administration.

Fiction: Republican critics have long claimed that the COPS Program would produce the equivalent of only one new police officer for every police department in the country.

Fact: Under the COPS Program, cities like Chicago have hired 321 new officers. Anchorage, Alaska has added 15 new officers to its force and Fresno, California received funding for 11 new officers.

**THE HOUSE TURNS BACK:
YESTERDAY'S CRIME VOTE WAS A VOTE AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT
FEBRUARY 15, 1995**

- **Politics as usual.** Yesterday's vote to take away 100,000 cops from America's streets was an exercise in politics as usual. The House broke ranks with law enforcement and voted 235-196 -- largely along party lines -- to repeal one of President Clinton's most important legislative accomplishments. The House turned its back on the President's commitment to put 100,000 cops on the streets of America. Make no mistake; yesterday's vote was a vote against law enforcement.

- **The COPS Program has proven effective . . .**

With yesterday's vote, the House has attempted to scrap a program with proven results: The 100,000 COPS program is popular with law enforcement, it is efficient, and it works. In just four months, grants have been awarded to hire 17,000 new police officers, and thousands of local jurisdictions have applied.

- **The House alternative has proven nothing.**

What's the House alternative? An unproven, untested, and unaccountable program that does little to insure effective results, all in the name of "flexibility".

- **Fewer Police, Less Prevention, and No Guarantees.**

Not only does the House alternative give communities \$2.5 billion less for both prevention and police, it does not guarantee that a single officer will be hired or that a single program will be used to prevent crime. The Crime Law provides flexibility to cities and towns, but also guarantees results.

- **President Clinton has renewed his promise to veto any legislation that retreats from his goal to put 100,000 new police on the streets.** The House bill backtracks from the President's commitment to introduce 100,000 community-oriented police officers on to the streets of America to fight crime. It cannot stand.

- **Cautious Optimism For Senate Support of COPS Program.** While House Republicans chose to march in virtual lock-step with the Republican leadership, voting to repeal the COPS Program, Senate Republicans may not be as quick to do the same. The Administration will be happy to work with the Senate, including Judiciary Committee Chairman Orin Hatch and Majority Whip Trent Lott to make sure that the President's goal of 100,000 new cops becomes reality.

**ON BRINK OF HOUSE VOTE
LAW ENFORCEMENT STANDS BY 100,000 COPS PROGRAM --
URGE CONGRESS TO PICK POLICE OVER PORK**

February 14, 1995

- **Yesterday, Law Enforcement went to Capitol Hill to tell law makers that today's vote will determine whether Congress stands with the police officers of America. The House is voting today whether to enact H.R. 728, a block grant funding system which will be utilized for "law enforcement or public safety" purposes, a euphemism for pork spending. Its passage would abolish the President's COPS Program, which will get 100,000 community-oriented police officers on the streets of America. Law Enforcement has made clear that they stand by the President's 100,000 COPS Program:**

"We're getting tired of politics being played with cops. We need the cops on the street. You need the cops on the street."

-- Sergeant Don Cahill, Prince William County Police Department,
Fraternal Order of Police

"NAPO feels strongly that unless the monies are given directly to the law enforcement agencies to hire more police officers, the funds will be diverted ... Law Enforcement's only agenda is to fight crime and protect the peace of American society and we need all the help we can get -- putting more cops on the street will help."

-- Robert T. Scully
Executive Director, National Association of Police Organizations

- **The President is committed to combating crime on our nation's streets and has promised that he "will veto any effort to repeal or undermine the 100,000 police commitment, period." In standing by the COPS Program, the President stands with law enforcement organizations from across the country, such as the National Association of Police Organizations, the Fraternal Order of Police, the National Sheriffs Association, and the Police Executive Research Foundation. These groups understand that of all competing alternatives, the COPS Program is the most effective vehicle for getting police on the beat to fight crime in our cities and rural communities. Law Enforcement and the American people want more police.**
- **Law Enforcement stands behind the COPS Program because it is efficient and centralized. In distributing grants for nearly 17,000 police officers in just four months, the COPS Program is under budget and ahead of schedule -- and short on red tape. Whereas the COPS Office has administrative costs of just 0.8% of the grant**

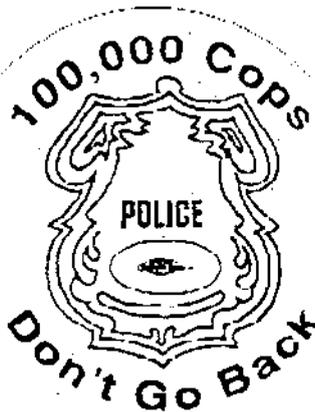
funds in FY 1995, H.R. 728's block grant permits 2.5% of the funds to be spent on federal administration.

- **Law Enforcement stands behind the COPS Program because it is flexible.** Under the President's program, community policing strategies are designed by the community to meet their specific needs. Moreover, due to COPS MORE and other initiatives under the program, police departments can apply for monies for equipment and redeployment purposes.

Conversely, H.R. 728 Turns Back The Clock On Fighting Crime.

For example:

- **H.R. 728 does not guarantee that even one new police officer will be hired.** The 1994 Crime Law guarantees 100,000 new police on the streets of America engaging in community policing. Already, grants for nearly 17,000 new officers have been awarded, in cities and towns across the country.
- **H.R. 728 doles out pork with no accountability. It is super-pork of the highest order.** Under the guise of "public safety" there is no telling how many other municipal projects will be funded. Under the COPS Program, money goes to putting more police officers on the street, meeting the equipment, overtime and other specific needs of police departments, and making our communities safer. Shockingly, the H.R. 728 provides for little if any accountability of the use of \$10 billion.
- **Congress Should Stay With Law Enforcement and the 100,000 COPS Program.** H.R. 728 is a pork barrel program that costs the American public more at every turn. No thanks. Stay with the COPS Program, a program that ensures that 100,000 police officers will be patrolling our nation's streets.



PRESIDENT CLINTON WILL VETO ANY BILL THAT ABOLISHES THE 100,000 COPS PROGRAM

February 13, 1995

In his radio address on Saturday, the President said:

"I made a commitment, a promise to put 100,000 more police on our streets, because there is simply no better crime fighting tool to be found. And I intend to keep that promise. Anyone on Capitol Hill who wants to play partisan politics with police officers for America should listen carefully: I will veto any effort to repeal or undermine the 100,000 police commitment, period."

H.R. 728 TURNS THE CLOCK BACK ON CRIME FIGHTING

- ◆ **No Guarantees that even one new police officer will be hired:** The 1994 Crime Law guarantees 100,000 new police on the streets of America engaging in community policing. Already, grants for nearly 17,000 new officers have been awarded, in cities and towns across the country. Indeed, as a sure sign of its need, virtually half of all police departments in the country have already applied for COPS grants! Law Enforcement and the American people want more police.

- **The only thing H.R. 728 guarantees is fewer new police on the streets of America ... there will be fewer police to build partnerships with communities; fewer police to work with residents to reduce and control crime; fewer police to keep our streets safe for law-abiding citizens.**

- ◆ **Taking a Walk on Accountability to the American Taxpayer:** Under H.R. 728, money would be distributed with no strings attached. It is super-pork of the highest order. While the bill has been amended to prohibit the use of funds for the purchase of tanks or airplanes, how many thousands of ridiculous uses have not been explicitly prohibited -- how much money will be spent on thousands of wasteful purposes rather than on more police officers? Who knows -- the bill provides for no accountability of the use of \$10 billion!

- ◆ **Police versus Pork.** The 1994 Crime Act is paid for by reducing the size of the Federal Government. The President said on Tuesday: "I didn't fight to cut 100,000 bureaucrats so we could trade them in for an old-fashioned pork barrel program."

- ◆ **Hoops, Hurdles and Fits for Local Governments.** Rather than forging a partnership between Federal, State and local governments to effectively and efficiently fight crime -- as has been done under the 1994 Crime Act -- H.R. 728 builds roadblocks to crime fighting.

- The creation of local advisory boards required under H.R. 728, designed to review applications, would add another layer of bureaucracy and would delay Federal dollars from getting to the front lines quickly.
 - Mayors would have to defer to Governors on crime fighting strategies, even though mayors, police chiefs and community leaders already know best what works for their community.
 - Rather than receiving grants directly to meet their particular needs, small towns and rural communities would have to seek their portion of federal dollars from a pool distributed by the Governor of their State.
- ◆ **Replacing Crime Fighters with Administrators.** The COPS Program under the 1994 Crime Act is efficient and centralized. In distributing grants for nearly 17,000 police officers in just four months, the COPS office is under budget and ahead of schedule. Yet the proposed block grant would move slowly, delay crime fighting efforts and would shave off more of the taxpayers money to pay for its administrative costs.
- Whereas the COPS Office has administrative costs of just .08% of the grant funds in FY 1995, the block grant permits 2.5% of the funds to be spent on federal administration. A virtually no-strings-attached, pork barrel program that costs the American public more at every turn. No thanks.

02-13-95 09:40 AM

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FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

"A Professional Association for Federal Law Enforcement Officers"

Representing Members of the:

- Dept. of Agriculture - OIG - Special Agents
- US Forest Service - Special Agents
- Dept. of Commerce - Office of Export Control - SA
- Office of Inspector General - Special Agents
- National Wildlife & Fisheries Enforcement - SA
- Dept. of Defense
- US Army - CID - Special Agents
- Landscape Investigation Service - Special Agents
- Domestic Operations Investigative Service - SA
- Marine Investigation Service - Special Agents
- US Air Force - OIG - Special Agents
- Dept. of Education - Investigation - SA
- Dept. of Energy - OIG - Special Agents
- Dept. of Health & Human Services - SA
- Dept. of Housing & Urban Development - Inves. - SA
- Dept. of Justice - OIG - Special Agents
- US Fish & Wildlife Service - Law Enforcement - SA
- Business of Indian Affairs - SA & Police
- US Park Police - Park Police Officers
- Bureau of Land Management - Special Agents & Rangers
- Dept. of Justice - US Marshals - SA
- Drug Enforcement Administration - SA
- Federal Bureau of Investigation - SA
- IRS - Special Agents & Police Officers
- US Marine Service - Marine & Dep. Adjutant
- Police & Prob. Service - Police & Prob. Officers
- Dept. of Labor - OIG - Special Agents
- Office of Labor Racketeering - SA
- Dept. of State - Diplomatic Sec. Ser. - Special Agents
- Investigation - Special Agents
- Dept. of Justice - Investigation - Special Agents
- US Coast Guard - Law Enforcement & SA
- Federal Aviation Admin. (FAA) - Investigation
- Dept. of Treasury
- DOA T - Special Agents
- US Customs Service - Office of Enforcement - Special Agents
- Customs Inspectors
- Internal Affairs - Special Agents
- Internal Revenue Service
- Criminal Investigative Division - SA
- Inspection Services - SA & Officer
- US Secret Service - SA & Officer
- Department of Justice - Special Agents
- Office of Inspector General - Special Agents
- General Services Administration
- Office of Investigations - Special Agents
- National Archives - Criminal Investigation
- Nuclear Regulatory Commission - Special Agents
- US Capitol Police - Police Officers
- US Postal Service - Inspection & Postal Police
- US Printing Office - Special Agents
- Victims Administration - Investigation - SA

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JOLES BRUNSTEIN

February 10, 1995

The Honorable Janet Reno
 Attorney General
 U.S. Department of Justice
 Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Ms. Reno,

On behalf of the 10,000 members of the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association (FLEOA), the largest representative of Federal law enforcement officers and special agents in the nation, I want to express our deep concern and opposition to H.R. 726, entitled the "Local Government Law Enforcement Block Grants Act of 1995."

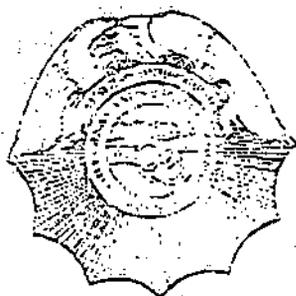
The broad language contained in H.R. 726 does not assure that the funds obtained through the block grants will be used to hire more cops. In the past, many well intended grant programs have failed because such broad language allowed funds to be diverted.

The COPS program is working, it is putting more police officers in our communities. The speed in which the grants under the COPS program are being awarded should continue and not be interfered with. If Congress is truly serious about fighting crime, hiring more cops is the most direct way of accomplishing that goal.

FLEOA wants to see the COPS program to continue and is opposed to any legislation that would change it.

Yours truly,

 Victor Oboyski
 National President



INTERNATIONAL UNION OF POLICE ASSOCIATIONS AFL-CIO

THE ONLY UNION FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

ROBERT B. KLIESMET
International President

SAM A. CABRAL
International Secretary-Treasurer

ARTHUR J. REDDY
International Vice-President



February 10, 1995

The Honorable William E. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Executive Board of the International Union of Police Associations, AFL-CIO meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada, during January 20-22, 1995, discussed the continuation of discretionary grants for law enforcement. The Executive Board unanimously supported the 100,000 COPS initiative which has already put more than 17,000 new police on the streets to make big city communities safer. In addition, 7,100 new community policing officers are now working in smaller jurisdictions throughout this nation. The 100,000 COPS program is a strategy that has just begun to work and must be continued until there are 100,000 more police on our streets. The Executive Board also lauded the fact that this 100,000 COPS initiative not only makes our communities safer through community policing efforts; it also makes the job of street police safer because of the interactions of police and their communities.

The COPS program must not be diminished or abolished. On behalf of our national membership, we thank the President and the Department of Justice for their continued support and we pledge ours to their effort.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. Kliesmet", is written over the word "Sincerely,".

Robert B. Kliesmet
International President

cc: Sam Cabral
Arthur J. Reddy

RBK/ny/President Clinton

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL: MOVING THE COUNTRY FORWARD

- **The 1994 Crime Act was an historic step forward in breaking gridlock and fighting crime.** After more than 6 years of gridlock, a bipartisan majority in Congress passed the largest, smartest, and toughest crime bill in the Nation's history - the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.
- **The Act is a comprehensive strategy combining police, punishment, prisons and prevention.** It creates a partnership between Federal, State and local enforcement - and is PAID FOR by reducing the size of the Federal government.
- **Swift and sound implementation of the Crime Act has been a high priority for the Administration.** By implementing the new law in a simple, non-bureaucratic and non-political manner, support for the Crime Act has become even more broad-based and bi-partisan.
 - **Grants for 17,000 new Cops.** In its first five months of existence, our COPS program has "reinvented the grant process" by working swiftly and effectively to help more than 7,000 communities put almost 17,000 more police on the streets -- in urban, rural, and suburban areas in all 50 states.
 - **States are realizing the benefits.** Fully half of the nation's state police departments have received policing hiring grants, and \$41 million has been awarded to the 7 states hardest hit with the cost of locking up criminal aliens. Also, the states are now in the process of applying for funds to improve their criminal history records -- so that they can implement the Brady Act and keep guns out of the hands of dangerous individuals.
- **Congress must not move backward in the fight to control crime.** With so much progress at stake, it would be wrong to renege on the promise of the 1994 Crime Act to law enforcement professionals, state and local officials, and ordinary Americans who all yearn for safer and more humane communities. We must not turn the clock back on crime -- and revert to the days of political rhetoric rather than concrete action.
- **While there are several good proposals, many aspects of the Republican 1995 Crime Package will takes us back.** Several of the Republican crime bills currently being considered on the Hill will undo years of hard work and bipartisan effort to control crime. They will scrap the President's 100,000 COPS initiative and replace it with a pork laden plan that won't guarantee even one new cop on the beat. And they'll abolish targeted prevention programs and make the prison funds for states so restrictive that, in order to qualify for grants, states would have to spend as much as \$20 to get \$1 in Federal prison funds. No thanks.

- **We must build on last year's success, move forward and meet the challenges ahead. There is still so much to be done before America's communities are safe. Now is the time to put new crime fighting ideas on the table -- ideas that build on last year's crime bill. We can work together in areas such as speeding up death penalty appeals or ensuring victims' rights. But we must go forward.**

THE REPUBLICAN PRISON BILL: IT ISN'T TOUGH ON CRIME ... IT'S TOUGH ON STATES

February 9, 1994

- **H.R. 667 plays a cruel hoax on the States:** It sounds tough, but it establishes standards which currently no state can meet to receive grants to construct new prisons. Changes in State law alone won't enable States to qualify for funds in time to meet their immediate needs.
- **H.R. 667 is an aggravated case of attempting to fix something that is not broken – and making it worse in the process.** The Republican prison bill is greatly inferior to the prison grants program created last year by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 because it would result in fewer violent criminals being put behind bars.
- **States would have to wait decades before they see the first federal dollar.** The proposed bill would tie aid to the time actually served by violent criminals. But we can't know how much time they have served until the prisoner is released or dies. This means that some states would have to wait up to 25 years before determining if they qualify for federal aid.
- **H.R. 667 amounts to an "unfunded mandate" on states.** H.R. 667 would only allow grant funds to be used for increased incarceration of a specified category of "serious violent offenders" – but conditions eligibility for grant funds on increasing incarceration for more broadly defined categories of violent offenders. This approach amounts to an "unfunded mandate" on states, because states would have to incur costs by increasing incarceration of violent offenders generally, to be eligible for funding -- but could only use grant funds to defray the costs of incarceration for a sub-class of these offenders.
- **H.R. 667 only sounds tough.** It would pull the rug out from under the states and leave them with three crucial choices, each worse than the next:
 - cut sentences for violent criminals so they can more easily reach the 85% truth in sentencing hurdle;
 - let some prisoners out of jail early, just to make room for others that will attract federal money; or
 - spend \$20 state dollars for just \$1 federal dollar in aid.
- **H.R. 667 would take prison construction money from states that need it most and give it to states that don't.** The 1994 Crime Act disburses funds for increased violent offender incarceration primarily in proportion to the level of violent crime in each state.

In contrast, H.R. 667 disburses prison construction funds to states primarily in proportion to their populations -- regardless of differences in crime rates. This change would produce gross misallocations of resources in relation to actual need.

- Unlike the '94 Crime Act, which provides funding for the incarceration of all violent offenders -- H.R. 667 does not. H.R. 667 provides less protection to the public from violent criminals. The offense for which a criminal is convicted often does not fully reflect what he actually did because of plea bargaining, and an offender with a serious history of criminal violence may pose a grave threat to the public, even if his current conviction is not for a "serious violent offense" in the sense defined in H.R. 667. The current funding program appropriately recognizes this point by encouraging and supporting increased incarceration for all violent offenders; the substitute program proposed in H.R. 667 does not.

ISSUE BRIEFING: RURAL CRIME

Rural Crime Provisions in the Crime Bill Conference Report Monday, August 8, 1994

One of the principal objectives of the President's anti-crime strategy reflected in the Crime Bill Conference Report is an effort to combat rural crime. Through equitable distribution formulas and targeted programs for rural areas, the strategy ensures that small towns and rural areas are not left out when it comes to crime-fighting resources.

Half of the 100,000 New Officers Go to Small Cities and Rural Counties

- More than 50,000 of the 100,000 new community police officers will be hired in cities and counties with populations of less than 150,000 residents.
- While urban areas may increase their police forces by 20%, some rural areas may request and be awarded as many as 50% more police officers.
- Each state will be eligible for a minimum of 500 new police officers (or equivalent-sized grants).

Special Funds to Combat Drug Trafficking in Rural Areas

- The problem of drug trafficking is no longer limited to large metropolitan areas and the Crime Bill Conference Report provides a comprehensive response to this crisis by:
 - * Authorizing \$250 million for rural law enforcement agencies;
 - * Creating rural crime and drug enforcement task forces; and
 - * Providing specialized drug enforcement training for rural law enforcement officers.

Other Crime Bill Provisions Also Address Rural Crime

- The Crime Bill adds \$1 billion in additional funding to the Byrne Grant Program, which is so critical to rural states and their law enforcement efforts.
- Domestic violence in rural areas is specifically targeted in the Bill's Violence Against Women provision, with separate funds set aside to combat domestic violence and child abuse in rural areas.
- Most major prevention programs -- such as the Local Partnership Act and the Model Intensive Grant program -- include express language ensuring "fair funding" for rural areas.
- The Crime Bill's Juvenile Drug Trafficking and Gang Prevention Grants contain specially targeted funds for grants to combat drug and gang-related activity in rural areas.

Crime Bill's Policy on Rural Crime Funding

- The Crime Bill includes directives stipulating that:
 - * The Attorney General should ensure that Crime Bill funding programs are distributed so that rural areas continue to receive comparable support for their broad-based crime fighting initiatives;
 - * Rural communities should not receive less funding than they received in fiscal year 1994 for anti-crime initiatives; and
 - * To the maximum extent possible, funding for the Byrne Formula Grant Program should be maintained at its fiscal year 1994 level.

ISSUE BRIEFING: PUNISHMENT
Punishment Provisions in the Crime Bill Conference Report
Tuesday, August 2, 1994

Today's issue briefing describes provisions in the Crime Bill under the second key element of the President's anti-crime strategy, punishment (Monday's briefing examined police provisions, and tomorrow's will cover prevention programs). All the good work done by the law enforcement community is lost if we don't punish those who devastate our neighborhoods. With strict sentences for violent criminals and prisons to put them in, all Americans will be safer.

Criminal Sentencing

- Americans are fed up with the fact that even when violent criminals are caught, they are all too often returned to the streets to victimize again. The Crime Bill includes tougher and smarter sentencing procedures to make sure that those who deserve to be in prison, don't get out before they should -- and that sentences are appropriate for the crime committed.
- A small number of violent, repeat offenders, commit a great deal of the crime in this country. We must end the revolving door and lock up those offenders for good. The Crime Bill's "Three Strikes and You're Out" measure sends a strong message that those who repeatedly commit serious violent crimes against others will be punished severely.
- * The provision will impose life imprisonment on a person who commits a serious violent felony under Federal law, after having been previously convicted of two or more serious violent felonies (under either Federal or state law). The measure is aimed at those offenders who fail to get the message and change their conduct even after repeated convictions for violent offenses. Individuals with such criminal histories should be put away for good.
- * The plan is both tough and smart: It targets those truly dangerous offenders in our society without sweeping so broadly as to include persons convicted of crimes that, although serious enough to warrant significant sentences, should not result in mandatory life imprisonment; the measure limits its coverage to "serious violent felonies," such as murder, rape, sexual abuse, kidnapping, and using a gun in drug crimes.
- The Crime Bill includes minimum sentences for violent and gun offenders, as they provide the certainty of punishment which society rightfully expects for those who commit serious crimes.

- * We will use this important tool in a targeted, judicious manner to make sure that these sentences apply only to those who deserve such stiff sentences.
- * It is also important that there be a "safety valve" which permits very limited sentencing flexibility in the case of non-violent, low-level, first time offenders. Such individuals must be punished, but the taxpayers should not be asked to house them for the long, mandatory minimum sentences reserved for the most serious threats to society.
- Through "truth in sentencing" provisions, the Federal Government will encourage states to make criminals serve the time to which they are sentenced. And clearly, states which get tough with violent predators and make them serve their real sentences are going to need to build more prisons. We will support states that meet the most rigorous standards for jailing violent offenders for their full sentences (such as insuring that second offenders serve 85% of the time sentenced) by favoring them when it comes time to give out Federal grant money for incarcerating violent offenders.
- Those who ruthlessly kill others must be treated as severely as they have treated their victims.
 - * The Crime Bill will expand the death penalty to more than 60 crimes not currently covered by the Federal death penalty, like the killing of a state or local law enforcement official assisting in a Federal investigation.
 - * The bill will also adopt procedures enabling Federal prosecutors to seek the death penalty for a wide range of crimes that have lacked death penalty eligibility because of missing procedural requirements -- and will insure that this penalty is used fairly, justly, and in appropriate cases only.

Prisons

- We must work to lock up the largest number of violent offenders and criminal aliens, as quickly as possible, at the lowest possible cost.
- The Crime Bill will fulfill the Administration's commitment to helping states that are struggling to keep violent criminals and criminal aliens from being released prematurely because of overcrowding. While the Federal Government builds enough prisons and detention facilities to insure that Federal inmates are not released early for lack of space, many states are forced to release criminals routinely due to space limitations.

- States must also contend with drastically shrinking resources. There are currently over 15,000 state prison beds which cannot be filled because states lack the necessary operating capital. The safety of our citizens depends upon states being able to keep violent criminals behind bars to do their time.
- The Crime Bill will help lock up violent offenders quickly and efficiently, and make our streets safer, by providing \$9 billion in assistance to state correctional and detention systems. Such funding, when made available to the states on a discretionary basis, will allow states to build and operate appropriate facilities for housing serious drug and violent offenders -- including boot camps, prisons, jails, and community detention facilities. One such measure will allocate \$1.8 billion to reimburse states that incarcerate criminal aliens.

Punishment for Young Offenders

- All too often, young offenders learn that the consequence for committing a crime is to be put on probation. That's it. In other circumstances, young non-violent offenders are thrown in with our most hardened criminals where they learn the "right way" to commit crimes.
- By providing alternative sanctions to probation or hard-core, long-term incarceration, we can teach young offenders that there is a certainty of punishment at the initial stages of a criminal career. That lesson learned might nip a new criminal career in the bud. Some alternative sanctions include: shock incarceration, electronic monitoring, weekend incarceration, home incarceration, restitution programs, vocational programs, community service, intensive supervised probation and other innovative and non-traditional options which ensure swift and certain punishment. Drug Courts are one such alternative, using the power of the criminal justice system to force offenders to kick their drug habits.
- "Boot Camps" provide penal authorities with a viable sentencing solution for young offenders. Frequently called "shock incarceration" programs, boot camps place young offenders in a program similar to a military basic training program that instills discipline, routine, and respect for authority. They also provide exposure to relevant educational and vocational training, drug treatment, and general counseling services to help youths develop more positive and law-abiding values and become better prepared to secure legitimate future employment.
- The Crime Bill will also lower the age at which violent offenders can be tried as adults in Federal court, so that young people who don't act like children won't necessarily be treated like children.

March 24, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM, BRUCE

FROM: RON

SUBJECT: CRIME POINTS FOR TONIGHT'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Here are the points I would like to see the President make tonight in his Press Conference:

- The Republicans are letting politics stand in the way of progress on the Crime Bill. Last November, the Senate passed a version of the Crime Bill I support -- and all through this month, the House Committees have been working hard to move it through that body.
- Yesterday, the Republicans voted in lockstep to try to prevent it from even being debated in the House. They've pledged to slow its consideration, to try tie it up in procedures -- and now the House is going to go out for its Easter recess without acting on this bill.
- This is a smart, tough, substantial Crime Bill. It includes:
 - The first 50,000 police on the way to putting 100,000 more police on our streets;
 - Tough punishments for violent criminals, like "three strikes" and the death penalty for cop killers;
 - An attack on youth violence, with boot camps, drug courts -- and something for these kids to say "yes" to: like Boys/Girls Clubs, and keeping schools open later, Midnight Basketball, and job training and placement;
 - A plan to prevent and reduce crime before it happens;
 - And \$3 billion to open new prisons to lock up the most dangerous offenders out on the street.
- I can't imagine why -- other than politics -- that the Republicans wanted to block this bill. They wanted to offer amendments -- we said, "go ahead, offer a dozen, offer two dozen," -- and they said, "nope, not enough."
- The time for delaying and posturing on crime is over. I have met with Speaker Foley, and Majority Leader Gephardt, and asked them to make the Crime Bill the first order of business when the Congress returns. And I have asked them to keep the House working on this bill -- through weekends, late at night, whatever -- until it is done.

- And I have asked the Attorney General, Janet Reno, who, with the rest of my Cabinet, has been working hard this past month to get the bill passed -- to travel the country during the Congressional recess, and explain to the American people just why this bill is so important.
- I want this bill passed by the House by April __, the end of National Victims of Crime Week. And I want a Conference Report on this bill, passed by both the House and the Senate, and ready for my signature, by May 15th, the National Law Enforcement Memorial Day -- the day on which we remember the heroic men and women who have fallen in the line of duty.
- The American people will accept no less -- I will accept no less.

**BRIEF SUMMARY OF KEY ADMINISTRATION-SUPPORTED
PROVISIONS IN THE HOUSE CRIME BILL**

- **More Police and Community Policing:** The House bill funds 50,000 new police officers -- evenly-divided between large and small cities -- deployed in community policing programs.
- **"Smart and Tough" Approach to Youth Crime and Violence:** This bill focuses on youthful violence in numerous ways:
 - With proven and extensive crime prevention programs (as discussed below);
 - With boot camps for youthful offenders, as a second-chance for kids who get off-track;
 - With drug courts to get young drug users turned around before it is too late;
 - With a ban on juvenile gun possession;
 - And, for hardened young criminals, the authority to try 13-year olds as adults.
- **Measures to Stiffly Punish Violent Crime:** The bill includes several important steps, including:
 - The President's "three strikes and you're out" proposal for repeat violent offenders;
 - The death penalty for the most heinous of murders, including killing a federal law enforcement officer;
 - A \$3 billion plan for grants to state and local governments to expand prisons to hold 30,000 more violent offenders and criminal aliens.
- **A Substantial Crime Prevention Agenda:** The bill includes almost \$6 billion in crime prevention programs, including:
 - The President's "YES" program (Youth Employment Skills), to get job training and opportunities to kids in hard-hit, high-crime areas;
 - Ounce of prevention programs to keep schools open after hours, and to expand after-school activities like Boys and Girls clubs, that keep kids off the streets;
 - Innovative alternatives, like Midnight Sports and Police Partnerships with youths.
- **Attack on Violence Against Women:** The bill includes this plan to increase penalties and prevention efforts aimed at domestic violence and sexual assaults.
- **Much, Much More:** Among the many other administration-backed provisions are laws to promote victims rights; to prevent child abuse; to provide a mandatory minimum "safety-valve" for non-violent offenders; and to increase penalties for hate crimes.

A Policy Analysis for Decision Makers

December 30, 1993

CRIME -
Talking Pts.

TRUTH IN SENTENCING: WHY STATES SHOULD MAKE VIOLENT CRIMINALS DO THEIR TIME

INTRODUCTION

More and more state legislators are coming to realize that America's criminal justice system is failing, and that too many Americans literally are dying from a severe case of bad public policy.

ITEM: Consider a heinous crime that has shocked the nation. Twelve-year-old Polly Klaas of Petaluma, California, was abducted from her home during a sleepover with two friends on October 1, 1993, and subsequently murdered. During the abduction, both of Polly's friends were gagged and bound by the assailant, while little Polly was forcibly taken into the night. Richard Allen Davis, the alleged assailant, already had been sentenced to sixteen years in prison for kidnapping, but was released on June 27, 1993, after serving only eight years of that sentence.¹

ITEM: James Jordan, the 56-year-old father of basketball star Michael Jordan, was fatally shot in the chest on Interstate 95 in North Carolina on July 23, 1993. Charged in the murder of James Jordan were Larry Martin Demery and Daniel Andre Green. Demery had been charged in three previous cases involving theft, robbery, and forgery. Green had been paroled after serving two years of a six-year sentence for an assault in which he had hit a man in the head with an axe, leaving his victim in a coma.²

1 Representative Jim Chapman (D-TX), Press Release, December 6, 1993.

2 Michael Tackett and Bob Sakamoto, "Suspects in Jordan Slaying Have Previous Records, The Two Teenagers Charged in the Killing of Michael Jordan's Father Were Arraigned on Monday," *The Chicago Tribune*, August 17, 1993, p. D1.

ITEM: Sister MaryAnn Glinka, aged 50 and a member of the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore Motherhouse in Baltimore, Maryland, was strangled to death at the convent. Baltimore police concluded that Sister MaryAnn was murdered during a robbery at the convent. On March 21, 1993, Melvin L. Jones was arrested and subsequently charged with robbery and the murder of Sister MaryAnn. The alleged assailant had been sentenced in North Carolina in 1979 to eighteen to twenty years in prison for voluntary manslaughter, but had escaped on November 27, 1986. In 1989, Jones was arrested again in Baltimore for three burglaries, but let out on parole in 1990. In 1991, the North Carolina judiciary sentenced Jones to a year in jail on the escape charge, and contacted Maryland officials in December 1991 to arrange for Jones to be paroled in Maryland.³

Not surprisingly, Americans are increasingly alarmed at news stories of violent crimes committed by individuals who had received long sentences for other crimes and yet were released after serving only a small fraction of their time. This alarm is legitimate, because a high proportion of such early-release prisoners commit serious crimes after being released. If crime is to be reduced in America, this trend needs to be reversed. Experience shows clearly that the first step in fighting crime is to keep violent criminals off the street. Keeping violent criminals incarcerated for at least 85 percent of their sentences would be the quickest, surest route to safer streets, schools, and homes.⁴

Government statistics on release practices in 36 states and the District of Columbia in 1988 show that although violent offenders received an average sentence of seven years and eleven months imprisonment, they actually served an average of only two years and eleven months in prison—or only 37 percent of their imposed sentences.⁵ The statistics also show that, typically, 51 percent of violent criminals were discharged from prison in two years or less, and 76 percent were back on the streets in four years or less.

Consider the median sentence and time served in prison for those released for the first time in 1988.⁶

COMPARING SENTENCES AND TIME SERVED		
Offense	Median Sentence	Median Time Served
Murder	15 years	5.5 years
Rape	8 years	3 years
Robbery	6 years	2.25 years
Assault	4 years	1.25 years

3 Jason Grant, "Parolee Charged in Slaying of Baltimore Nun," *The Washington Times*, March 22, 1993, p. B1.

4 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, *National Corrections Reporting Program, 1988*, table 2-7 (1992).

5 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, *National Corrections Reporting Program, 1988*, table 2-4.

6 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, *National Corrections Reporting Program, 1988*, table 2-7.

When these prisoners are released early, a high percentage commit more violent crimes. A three-year follow up of 108,850 state prisoners released in 1983 from institutions in eleven states found that within three years 60 percent of violent offenders were rearrested for a felony or serious misdemeanor, 42 percent were reconvicted, and 37 percent were reincarcerated. Of the violent offenders, 35 percent were rearrested for a new violent crime. Among nonviolent prisoners released, 19 percent were rearrested within three years for a new violent crime.

As a result of these lenient early-release practices and the high percentage of crimes committed by criminals released early, Americans are suffering a fearful epidemic of violent crime. Studies indicate that over 25 percent of all males admitted to prison were being reincarcerated after a new trial for a new offense before the prison term for the first offense had expired. Since 1960, the compounding effect of these crimes by prisoners or early-release prisoners has driven the violent crime rate up by over 500 percent. Now eight out of ten Americans are likely to be victims of violent crime at least once in their lives,⁷ at a total cost of \$140 billion.⁸

Not surprisingly, the fear of violent crime is intensifying. Polls indicate a growing loss of public confidence in their personal safety and the safety of their streets and neighborhoods. Some 90 percent of Americans think the crime problem is growing, and 43 percent say there is more crime in their neighborhood than there was a year ago.⁹ The reason: despite rising arrest rates and prison overcrowding, 3.2 million convicted felons are out on parole or probation rather than in prison. Studies show that within three years, 62 percent of all prisoners released from prison are rearrested,¹⁰ and 43 percent of felons on probation are rearrested for a felony.¹¹

The public understandably wants individuals who have committed serious crimes to be off the streets, serving full prison terms. A recent survey for *Parade* magazine finds that 92 percent of Americans want repeat serious offenders to serve all of their sentence without being paroled.¹² This finding is consistent with an earlier Gallup poll showing that 82 percent of Americans favor making it more difficult for those convicted of violent crimes like murder and rape to be paroled.¹³

The federal government and the states have begun in recent years to address the problem. Toward the end of the Bush Administration, for example, then-Attorney General William Barr issued a report making 24 specific recommendations to the states to help reduce violent crime.¹⁴ The second recommendation was to institute truth-in-sentencing

7 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, *Lifetime Likelihood of Victimization*, technical report, March 1987.

8 See U.S. Department of Justice, "The Case for More Incarceration," 1992, p.16.

9 See CNN/Gallup Poll, cited in *USA Today*, October 28, 1993, p. 1A.

10 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Special Report, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983*, April 1989.

11 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Special Report, *Recidivism of Felons on Probation*, February 1992.

12 See Mark Clements, "Findings from *Parade's* national survey on law and order," *Parade*, April 18, 1993, pp. 4-7.

13 See George Gallup, Jr., *The Gallup Report*, Report No. 285 (Princeton, N.J.: The Gallup Poll, June 1989) pp. 29, 30.

14 See U.S. Department of Justice, *Combating Violent Crime: 24 Recommendations to Strengthen Criminal Justice*, July

laws that restrict the ability of parole boards and prison officials to release a prisoner before a specified percentage of his sentence has been served. As of 1987, the federal system requires prisoners to serve 85 percent of their sentences before they can be released. In 1993, Arizona has passed a similar restriction on early release.

In November 1993, Governors-elect George Allen of Virginia and Christine Whitman of New Jersey promised full support for enactment of truth-in-sentencing laws in their respective states. The time is right for the introduction of truth-in-sentencing legislation in the states where violent criminals are being released before serving the bulk of their sentences.

At the same time, state legislators should get substantial help from Congress. Representative Jim Chapman, the Texas Democrat, and Representative Don Young, the Alaska Republican, have sponsored "The Truth in Sentencing Act of 1993," which would encourage states to adopt truth in sentencing legislation and would help fund truth-in-sentencing programs. Instead of tax increases to finance the enforcement of truth-in-sentencing initiatives, including prison construction, funding would come from reduction of the size of the federal bureaucracy and cuts in federal spending.

HIGH RECIDIVISM: THE FAILURE OF PAROLE

Releasing violent criminals from prison before they have completed their sentences is justified by proponents for one of three reasons: first, prisons are overcrowded and it is too costly to build more prisons; second, "good time" credits, which have the effect of reducing sentences, are and should be given to well-behaved prisoners; and third, prisoners sometimes can be rehabilitated, and so should be paroled.

The problem is that the evidence seriously questions the second and third rationales, and shows the first to be very short-sighted.

Recidivism among violent criminals is high. Consider a three-year follow-up of 108,850 state prisoners released in 1983 from institutions in eleven states, conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics.¹⁵ The study, the conclusions of which are consistent with those of other such studies, found that within three years some 60 percent of violent offenders were rearrested for a felony or serious misdemeanor; 42 percent of all violent offenders released were reincarcerated. Of all the violent offenders released, 36 percent were rearrested for a violent crime. Among nonviolent prisoners released, 19 percent were rearrested within three years for a violent crime.

The prisoners in the study accounted for over 1.6 million arrest charges for the time before they had entered prison and for the three years afterwards. These included nearly 215,000 arrests for violent crimes before going to prison and 50,000 violent crimes

1992. For an excellent discussion of these recommendations, see Mary Kate Carey, "How States Can Fight Violent Crime: Two Dozen Steps to a Safer America." Heritage Foundation *State Backgrounder*, No. 944/S, June 7, 1993.

15 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983*. See also, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Special Report, *Examining Recidivism*, February 1985.

within three years after release. Altogether they were arrested for:

- X 14,467 homicides
- X 7,073 kidnappings
- X 23,174 rapes or sexual assaults
- X 101,226 robberies
- X 107,130 assaults

THE PROBLEMS OF DETERMINING PAROLE

The U.S. Parole Board uses a sophisticated Salient Factor Score (SFS) to guide it in deciding who will be paroled. Unfortunately for law-abiding Americans, the Parole Board turns out to be over-optimistic. Of those classified by the Parole Board staff as "good risks" for parole, the Parole Board assumes that 18 percent will be rearrested and again sentenced to prison for over one year within five years of release. In addition, the Parole Board expects that 29 percent of "fair risks" who are paroled will be resented to over a year in prison within five years of release.¹⁶

Considering the government's—and the American people's—anxiety about risk, this parole policy is remarkable. Where else would such a high failure rate be tolerated, when it results in the death, rape, or injury of ordinary Americans? The Federal Aviation Administration certainly does not allow airplanes to fly with critical parts that fail 29 percent of the time. And the Food and Drug Administration does not allow drugs on the market that have dangerous side effects 18 percent of the time.

Twenty years ago, James Q. Wilson, then a professor of government at Harvard University, asked a basic question about rehabilitation:

If rehabilitation is the object, and if there is little or no evidence that available correctional systems will produce much rehabilitation, why should any offender be sent to any institution? But to turn them free on the grounds that society does not know how to make them better is to fail to protect society from those crimes they may commit again and to violate society's moral concern for criminality and thus to undermine society's conception of what constitutes proper conduct. [Because the correctional system had not reduced recidivism], we would view the correctional system as having a very different function—namely, to isolate and to punish. It is a measure of our confusion that such a statement will strike many enlightened readers today as cruel, even barbaric. It is not. It is merely a recognition that society at a minimum must be able to protect itself from dangerous offenders and to impose some costs (other than the stigma and inconvenience of an arrest and court appearance) on criminal acts; it is also a frank admission that society really does not know how to do much else.¹⁷

16 See Peter B. Hoffman and James L. Beck, "Recidivism Among Released Federal Prisoners: Salient Factor Score and Five Year Follow-Up," *Criminal Justice and Behavior* Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 1985), pp. 501-507.

17 See J.Q. Wilson, "If Every Criminal Knew He Would Be Punished If Caught," *The New York Times Magazine*, January 28, 1973, pp. 52-56.

Until there are dramatic improvements in the techniques of rehabilitation and identifying those who can safely be paroled, state legislators would be wise to follow Professor Wilson's admonition: society must protect itself from dangerous offenders and impose real costs on criminal acts. Or, as Douglas Jeffrey, executive vice president of the Claremont Institute says, "We need to put justice back into the criminal justice system by putting convicted criminals behind bars and keeping them there for appropriate periods of time."¹⁸ If state legislators were to adopt that simple mission, today's unacceptable risks to law-abiding Americans would be reduced.

INCARCERATION SAVES MONEY

While full sentences may mean more spending on prison, lawmakers and taxpayers need to understand that early-release programs cost dollars rather than save them. A 1982 Rand Corporation study of prison inmates found that the average inmate had committed 187 crimes the year before being incarcerated.¹⁹

When criminals are released early, many commit a similar volume of crimes when back on the streets.

The cost of crime committed by these early-release criminals is both direct and indirect. Taxpayers must finance the criminal justice system. Homeholders and businesses must buy private protection such as lighting, locks, dogs, fences, and alarm systems. They must buy insurance. The victims lose property and wages, and often incur heavy hospitalization costs.

In addition to the direct costs, there is the hidden cost of crime. Businesses, for instance, pass on to customers some of their costs for security and stolen merchandise. Households also must "pay" for crime by altering their behavior and life style.²⁰ It has been estimated that crime increases in the early 1980s caused "150,000 more New Yorkers to take taxis instead of public transportation; some 140,000 more New York City households sacrificed trips rather than leave their apartments unprotected. 50,000

Crimes Committed by Felons Not Incarcerated	
One Criminal	Crimes Per Year
Burglar	76-118 burglaries
Robber	41-61 robberies
Thief	135-202 thefts
Auto Thief	76-100 auto thefts
Forger	62-98 frauds
Conman	127-283 frauds
Drug Dealer	880-1,299 drug deals

18 Editor's note in Joseph M. and Anne Nutter Bissette, *Ten Myths About Crime and Justice* (Claremont, CA: The Claremont Institute, March 1992).

19 See generally Peter Greenwood et al., *Selective Incapacitation*, Report R-2815-NIJ, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 1982.

20 Edward Zedlewski, *Costs and Benefits of Sanction: A Synthesis of Recent Research*. Unpublished paper, National Institute of Justice, June 1992.

put bars on their windows and 40,000 bought weapons. Even more difficult to assess are the costs of 'urban blight' such as abandoned buildings, unsafe schools, and inner city unemployment. Quite possibly the costs we can't count exceed the ones we can."²¹

It is easy for policy makers to underestimate the tremendous cost of crime, particularly the cost of injuries and deaths of victims. Mark Cohen, a researcher at the U.S. Sentencing Commission, broke new ground in this area in 1988 by using jury verdicts in personal injury cases to estimate the value of injuries to victims. As the table below indicates, the cost to society of each rape is \$51,058, each robbery \$12,594, each assault \$12,028. These as costs are invisible to all but the victims who are the randomly burdened by society's failure to keep repeat offenders in prison.²²

Three years ago, David Cavanagh and Mark Kleiman of the BOTEC Analysis Corporation, a Cambridge, Massachusetts consulting firm, performed an

Per-Crime Cost of Crime to Victims (1985 Dollars)				
CRIME	DIRECT LOSSES	PAIN AND SUFFERING	RISK OF DEATH	TOTAL COST
Rape	\$4,617	\$43,561	\$2,880	\$51,058
Robbery	\$1,114	\$7,459	\$4,021	\$12,594
Assault	\$442	\$4,921	\$6,685	\$12,028
Larceny	\$179		\$2	\$181

even more ambitious and complex cost-benefit analysis of incarceration. The analysis includes as many indirect, societal costs and benefits as possible. Cavanagh and Kleiman estimate the most plausible range of the cost of incarceration of one inmate per year at \$34,000 to \$38,000. But the total benefits occurring from incarcerating that one inmate for a year, eliminating the cost of the individual's probable crimes, could run between \$172,000 and \$2,364,000.²³ In a recent paper Cavanagh and Kleiman computed a range of ratios from 3 to 1 to as high as 17 to 1 of benefits over costs.²⁴ Edward W. Zedlewski, of the National Institute of Justice, estimated a benefit/cost ratio for incarcerating prisoners of 17 to 1.

The 1982 Rand Corporation study finds that the average robber commits between 41 and 61 robberies a year. Mark Cohen estimates that the actual cost to society of each robbery is \$12,569.²⁵ Assuming the cost to society of keeping a robber in prison is Cavanagh and Kleiman's high estimate of \$37,614 a year, from a strictly financial point

21 William W. Greer, "What Is The Cost of Rising Crime?" *New York Affairs*, January 1984, p. 6-16.

22 See Mark Cohen, "Pain, Suffering, and Jury Awards: A Study of the Cost of Crime to Victims," *Law and Society Review* Vol. 22, No. 537 (1988).

23 See generally David P. Cavanagh and Mark A. R. Kleiman, *A Cost Benefit Analysis of Prison Cell Construction and Alternative Sanctions*, May 1990 (prepared under contract with the National Institute of Justice).

24 *Ibid.*

25 Cohen, *op. cit.*

of view it makes sense to incarcerate a robber if that individual commits three or more robberies each year.

Investing in Safety

The imprisonment rate is higher in the United States than it is in other Western democracies mainly because Americans commit crime at a higher rate. The homicide rate in the United States is five times as high as in Europe; the rape rate is more than six times as high; and the robbery rate is four times as high.²⁶

Given the higher crime rates in the United States, and the benefits to society of incarcerating criminals, state and federal officials have underinvested in public safety. According to one estimate, more than 120,000 additional prison beds were needed across the nation at the close of 1990.²⁷ Some might argue that some inmates do not belong in prison, and should be replaced with hardened criminals. But 95 percent of Americans in prison are repeat or violent offenders.²⁸ Despite this enormous need for additional prison space, spending on corrections remains a very small percentage of state and local budgets. In fiscal year 1990, only 2.5 percent of the \$975.9 billion in total expenditures by state and local governments went for corrections (about \$24.7 billion). Investment in new prison construction is only a small fraction of that figure.²⁹

The experience of these states shows the folly of trying to save money by reducing prison budgets, and the benefits of increased prison construction.

MICHIGAN: In the late 1970s, Michigan's state legislators and voters refused to build new prisons. The state soon was forced to deal with severe overcrowding. Governor William G. Milliken granted emergency releases to 20,000 inmates over four years, some more than two years early. The violent crime rate for Michigan, as reported by the FBI, soared 25 percent from 1978 to 1986 amid mounting public outrage.

Starting in 1986, a crash prison-building program doubled the inmate population in five years. Michigan's crime rate dropped. By 1990, robbery and burglary rates each fell more than 20 percent. In Detroit, burglaries went down 32 percent, robberies 37 percent.

CALIFORNIA: Since 1982, Californians have approved \$3.7 billion in bonds to build prisons. From 1980 to January 1991, the inmate population quadrupled from 22,6000 to 87,300. By 1990, murder rates fell almost 24 percent from their 1980-1982 peaks, rape fell nearly 28 percent, burglary rates were down 38 percent. This translates as an annual reduction of nearly a thousand murders, 16,000 robberies, and a quarter of a million burglaries.³⁰

26 "International Crime Rates," May 1988, NCJ-110776.

27 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, *Prisoners in 1990*, table 9 (1991).

28 See Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, *Prisons and Prisoners in the United States* (1992), p. 16.

29 See Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, *Government Finances: 1989-90* (1991), p. 2.

30 See Eugene H. Methvyn, "An Anti-Crime Solution: Lock Up More Criminals," *The Washington Post*, October 27, 1991, p. C1. Methvyn is a Senior Editor of *Reader's Digest* and served on the President's Commission on Organized Crime from 1983 to 1986.

ILLINOIS: In 1980, the state released 21,000 prisoners three months before completion of their sentences, in an effort to reduce the cost of detention. But while the state saved \$60 million, those prisoners committed 23 murders, 32 rapes, 262 acts of arson, 681 robberies, 2,472 burglaries, 2,571 assaults, and 8,000 other crimes in the three months following their release.³¹

WHY TRUTH IN SENTENCING HELPS

Truth in sentencing will increase the length of time convicted violent criminals are incarcerated. Currently violent criminals are serving 37 percent of the sentence that has been imposed. If required to serve at least 85 percent of their sentences, violent criminals would serve 2.3 times longer than they do now.

If the 55 percent of the estimated 800,000 current state and federal prisoners who are violent offenders were subject to serving 85 percent of their sentence, and assuming that those violent offenders would have committed ten violent crimes a year while on the street, then the number of crimes prevented each year by truth in sentencing would be 4,400,000.³² That would be over two-thirds of the 6,000,000 violent crimes reported in the National Criminal Victims Survey for 1990.³³

Targeting Hardened Criminals

Truth-in-sentencing laws would require state prison officials to retain more prisoners, at a higher cost to the state. But research shows that these prisoners are generally society's most dangerous predators.³⁴ In a landmark study, University of Pennsylvania criminologist Marvin Wolfgang compiled arrest records up to their 30th birthday for every male born and raised in Philadelphia in 1945 and 1958. He found that just 7 percent of each age group committed two-thirds of all violent crime, including three-fourths of the rapes and robberies and virtually all of the murders. Moreover, this 7 percent not only had five or more arrests by age 18 but went on committing felonies. Wolfgang and his colleagues estimate these criminals got away with about a dozen crimes.³⁵ Their studies suggest that about 75,000 new, young, persistent criminal predators are added to the population every year. They hit their peak rate of offenses at about age 16.³⁶

In response to these findings, Alfred Regnery, who was Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention at the Justice Department from 1982 to 1986, funded projects in cities in which police, prosecutors, schools, and welfare and probation workers pooled information to focus on the "serious habitual offender." The program had a significant effect in many cities. Thanks to this Justice Department pro-

31 See James Austin, "Using Early Release to Relieve Prison Crowding: A Dilemma in Public Policy," *Crime & Delinquency*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 1986), pp. 480-481.

32 The median number of crimes reported in Rand Study was 15. See Greenwood et al., *op. cit.*

33 See U.S. Department of Justice, *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1990*, p. 4.

34 Methvyn, *op. cit.*

35 See P. E. Tracy, M. E. Wolfgang, and R. M. Figlio, *Delinquency Careers in Two Birth Cohorts* (New York: Plenum Press, 1990), pp. 279-280.

36 *Ibid.*

gram, for example, Oxnard, California, was able to place the city's thirty most active serious habitual offenders behind bars, and violent crimes dropped 38 percent in 1987, more than double the drop in any other California city. By 1989, when all thirty of the active serious habitual offenders were behind bars, murders declined 60 percent compared with 1980, robberies 41 percent and burglaries 29 percent.³⁷

Thus in conjunction with a criminal justice system that convicts and incarcerates the hardened criminals, a truth-in-sentencing policy will reduce crime by keeping these serious and habitual offenders in prison longer.

How Truth in Sentencing Deters Criminals

Incarceration incapacitates violent criminals, and directly benefits law-abiding Americans, by protecting families and also by yielding greater financial savings from reduced crime than the cost of incarceration itself. But stepped-up imprisonment also deters crime. Criminologist Isaac Ehrlich of the University of Chicago, estimated that a one percent increase in arrest rates produces a one point decrease in crime rates, and a one percent increase in sentence length produces a one percent decrease in crime rates, for a combined deterrent and incapacitation effect of 1.1 percent.³⁸ Observed trends seem to support Ehrlich's broad conclusion and hence the claim of deterrence. When the rate of imprisonment per 100 crimes began dropping in the early 1960s, for instance, the rate of crime per 100 population began to climb steeply.

A recent report by the Dallas-based National Center for Policy Analysis, written by Texas A&M economist Morgan Reynolds, makes a strong case for the deterrence value of longer sentences. According to Reynolds:

Crime has increased as the expected costs of committing crimes has fallen. Today, for a burglary, for example, the chance of arrest is 7 percent. If you are unlucky enough to be one of the 7 percent arrested, relax; only 87 percent of arrestees are prosecuted. Of those, only 79 percent are convicted. Then only 25 percent of those convicted actually go to prison. Multiplying out all these probabilities gives your would-be burglar a 1.2 percent chance of going to jail.³⁹

So, too many criminals do not go to jail for the crimes they commit. Reynolds points out that "once in prison, a burglar will stay there for about 13 months, but since more than 98 percent of burglaries never result in a prison sentence, the average expected sentence for each act of burglary is only 4.8 days. Similar calculations yield an expected punishment in 1990 of 1.8 years for murder, 60.5 days for rape, and 6.7 days for arson. Thus, for every crime, the expected punishment has declined over the decades. The decline continues between 1988 and 1990. When punishments rise, crime falls."⁴⁰ In short, Reynolds's argument is that raising expected punishment deters crime. Expected

37 Methvyn, *op. cit.*

38 See Isaac Ehrlich, "Participation in Illegitimate Activities: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation," *Journal of Political Economy*, May/June 1973, pp. 521-564.

39 See Morgan O. Reynolds, "Why Does Crime Pay?" National Center for Policy Analysis *Backgrounders* No. 110 (1990), p. 5.

40 *Ibid.*

punishment is a function of the risk of being caught and convicted multiplied by the median time served. Therefore, everything being equal, increasing the length of sentence increases expected punishment, and hence a criminal is more likely to be deterred when the sentence is longer.

Reynolds also finds that since 1960, the expected punishment for committing a serious crime in Texas has dropped by more than two-thirds, while the number of serious crimes per 100,000 population in Texas has increased more than sixfold.⁴¹

While these data do not separate out the deterrent effect of longer sentences from the incapacitation effect, it is clear that longer sentences can generally be expected to reduce crime rates.

OBJECTIONS TO TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING LAWS

State truth-in-sentencing laws have great potential to combat violent crime. While academics and legislators in Washington and the states often focus on long-term solutions to the crime problem, such as social or economic conditions or the "root causes" of crime, the special merit of the truth-in-sentencing approach is simply that it keeps violent criminals off the streets while citizens, legislators, and professionals debate the merits of differing approaches in relative safety. In spite of its appeal to common sense, opponents of truth-in-sentencing legislation often make invalid objections. Some argue that truth in sentencing simply costs too much. But such an objection overlooks the opportunity cost of not keeping dangerous offenders in prison. For example, the cost of incarcerating a criminal is approximately \$23,000 per year, but the cost of that criminal on the street is \$452,000 per year. Some financial estimates are much higher. And, of course, for the families and victims of violent crime, such as James Jordan and Polly Klaas, the human cost is beyond calculation. Others argue that the already large numbers of persons in American jails is an international scandal. While there are indeed more criminals in America who serve more time than criminals in other countries, the fact remains that the violent crime rate in America is proportionately higher than in virtually all other countries. And if there is any scandal, it is the perpetuation of a failing criminal justice system that allows convicted rapists, kidnappers, and armed robbers back on the streets, ignoring the concerns of an American public that desperately needs security from predatory, violent criminals.

Beyond the questions of cost and the higher percentage of individuals being incarcerated, another objection to the enactment of truth-in-sentencing laws is that they ignore the "root causes" of crime. These root causes are often discussed in terms of persistent poverty, poor education, and deteriorating families. Liberal academics, of course, are not alone in addressing these maladies; and conservative social criticism, including recent analyses by scholars from The Heritage Foundation, have enriched the growing national debate on America's failing criminal justice system.⁴² But an academic focus on "root

⁴¹ See Morgan O. Reynolds, *Crime in Texas*, National Center for Policy Analysis Report No. 102 (1991), p. 4.

⁴² For an excellent summary of the relationship between crime and the deterioration of family life, particularly in urban areas, see Robert Rector, "A Comprehensive Urban Policy: How to Fix Welfare and Revitalize America's Inner Cities,"

causes," whatever its long-term impact on public policy, should not ignore the fact that violent crime itself immediately aggravates these social problems.

Beyond these general reservations, there are several other objections to truth in sentencing laws:

Objection #1: Truth in sentencing interferes with other policies.

Truth in sentencing does not. For instance, it does not affect *habeas corpus*, mandatory minimum sentences, the exclusionary rule, the death penalty, or gun control. Moreover, truth in sentencing is no threat to existing programs designed to divert criminals from jail or prison, such as community-based corrections, intensive probation, house arrest, restitution, or boot camps for first-time offenders. A judge or jury sentencing a convicted criminal to any of these alternatives would not be in conflict with truth in sentencing. But if a judge or jury imposes a prison sentence on a criminal with such a law on the books, another government official cannot later amend the sentence and send that person to an alternative program not involving incarceration. If a judge or jury feels comfortable permitting alternatives to prison for a criminal after listening to the evidence, learning the criminal's background, and hearing from the victim, then truth-in-sentencing requirements would be satisfied.

Objection #2: Truth in sentencing discriminates against minorities.

Some critics argue that the criminal justice system discriminates against black Americans, and so truth-in-sentencing rules will unfairly hit those inmates. On their face, the raw statistics are indeed disturbing. Blacks comprise only 12 percent of the population, but constitute 48.9 percent of state prisoners and 31.4 percent of federal prisoners. The impact of truth-in-sentencing law would depend on whether blacks or whites are disproportionately convicted of the crimes covered by the laws, and whether parole currently favors blacks or whites. However, these laws would be evenhanded. All convicted offenders, regardless of race, would have to serve 85 percent of their sentences before being eligible for parole. A more significant question is whether the higher percentages of blacks in prison are the result of racial bias or of higher rates of crime. A number of studies have been conducted to answer that question and appear to demonstrate that it is higher rates of crime among blacks, and not bias, that accounts for their disproportionate representation in America's prisons.

Example: Alfred Blumstein, Professor of Urban and Public Affairs at Carnegie-Mellon University, in a 1982 study, concluded that about 80 percent of the observed racial disparity in prison population was the result of differential involvement in crime. He acknowledged, however, that the decision to arrest could be affected by bias.⁴³

Heritage Foundation *Memo to President-Elect Clinton* No. 12, January 18, 1993; see also Carl F. Horowitz, "An Empowerment Strategy For Eliminating Neighborhood Crime," Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders* No. 814, March 5, 1991.

⁴³ Alfred Blumstein, "On the Racial Disproportionality of United States' Prison Populations," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 73 (1982), p. 1259; U.S. Department of Justice, "The Case for More Incarceration," 1992, p. B4.

Example: Patrick A. Langan, a statistician at the Bureau of Justice Statistics, attempted to test whether bias in arrests might be a factor in the rates of imprisonment. He analyzed the racial composition of lawbreakers from victims' reports to derive an estimate of what the prison composition should be, and then compared that with the actual percentage of black prison admissions. As the adjacent table shows, the estimated percentage was only a few points below the actual percentage.⁴⁴

Estimate of Prison Admissions From Victims' Reports, Compared with the Actual Admissions		
YEAR	Estimated Black %	Actual Black %
1973	48.1	48.9
1979	43.8	48.1
1982	44.9	48.9

Furthermore, a 1990 Rand Corporation study concludes that it is possible to predict with 80 percent accuracy whether an offender will be sentenced to probation or prison.⁴⁵ Adding the offender's race to the equation does not improve the accuracy of the prediction. Race also is unrelated to the length of prison term imposed.

CONCLUSION

The time has come for states to enact truth-in-sentencing laws. There are few viable alternatives that protect citizens from the immediate threat of violent crime. Parole, for example, is a failed experiment. The American people deserve better.

The task before America's state legislators and governors is to pass truth-in-sentencing legislation that would require violent criminals to serve the bulk of their sentences—85 percent is a good benchmark—and to provide the resources it will take to implement such laws. The federal government can encourage this commonsense approach. One such initiative is the Truth in Sentencing Act of 1993, H.R. 3584, introduced by Representatives Jim Chapman and Don Young. This bill would encourage each state to adopt truth-in-sentencing laws and would fund assistance to the states, amounting to \$10.5 billion over five years, to help them implement such laws, including the building and operating of prisons. Trimming the federal bureaucracy, not tax increases, is the financing mechanism for these efforts.

⁴⁴ Patrick A. Langan, "Racism on Trial: New Evidence to Explain the Racial Composition of Prisons in the United States," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 76 (1985) p. 666.

⁴⁵ *Race and Imprisonment Decisions in California* (1990).

The cost of doing nothing is unacceptably high. Crime is a leading concern for Americans. Political leaders and state legislators who can focus the public's attention on a common sense reform like truth in sentencing will be setting the terms of the national debate.

Prepared for The Heritage Foundation by
James Wootton
President, Safe Streets Alliance
Washington, D.C.



BusinessWeek

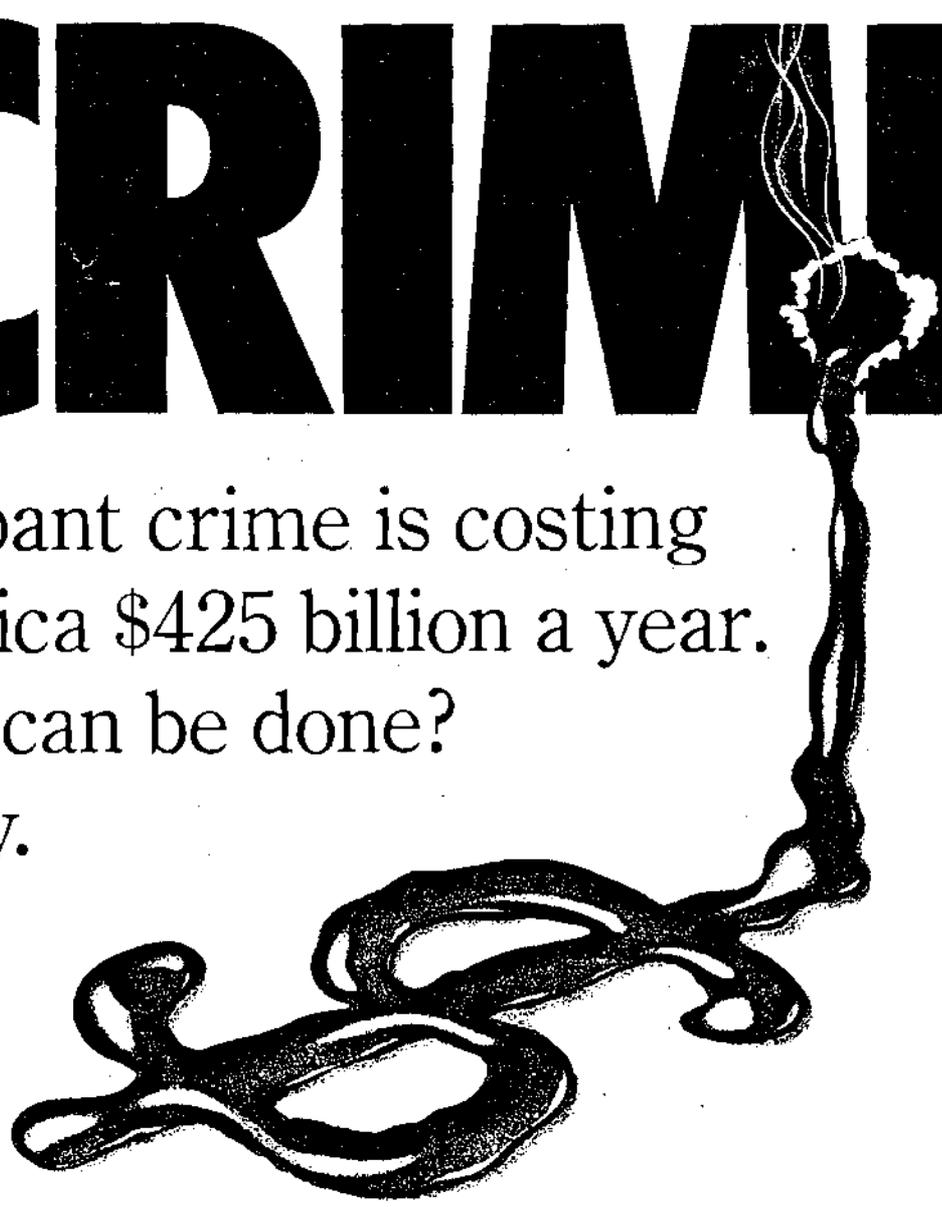
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THE ECONOMICS OF CRIME

Rampant crime is costing
America \$425 billion a year.
What can be done?
Plenty.

PAGE 72



WHATEVER HAPPENED TO TAX AND SPEND?

Last year, the American people voted to end gridlock. And guess what happened? It worked. Congress just ended one of its most productive legislative sessions in decades.

The achievements include a five-year budget plan that makes the first serious effort at deficit reduction, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), aid to Russia and a new national service program. Congress also passed several bills that had been stalemated for years between Republican Presidents and Democratic Congresses—the Brady bill that mandates a waiting period for handgun purchases, “motor-voter” registration, family and medical leave and revision of the Hatch Act so that federal employees can engage in political activities.

So why aren’t the voters delirious with joy? Congress continues to draw record low approval ratings while President Clinton complains that he’s getting no credit for his legislative accomplishments. There’s just no pleasing some people—and that apparently includes the entire American electorate.

The problem is that everything Congress did this year falls into one of two categories. The first includes measures that were unpopular with the voters. Neither the free-trade agreement nor the

budget bill had widespread public support. NAFTA threatened Americans with job losses. The budget bill threatened them with tax increases. Aid to Russia was not popular, nor was the compromise on gays in the military services, nor was the closing of more than 100 military installations.

The second category includes popular measures that rated low in public priority. These included easier voter registration laws, revision of the Hatch Act, the Brady bill, the national service program, a bill lifting the ban on fetal tissue research and family leave legislation. All very nice, voters said, but not really high on our agenda.

Congress made progress on some things the voters care about, such as the crime bill and campaign finance reform. But the House and Senate versions of these bills must be reconciled. Health care reform is very high on the public’s agenda. But Congress has barely started to deal with it.

The voters want to see visible progress on the two issues that topped the agenda in 1992 and still do: jobs and deficit reduction. The government and business groups report all kinds of evidence that the economy is improving. Except the one kind of evidence that counts: job growth.

Similarly, the new budget is supposed to reduce the deficit by almost \$500 billion over the next five years. But the voters are skeptical. And they may remain skeptical because, even if the plan works, it will cut the deficit by only a third each year. It may be hard to convince people that the situation is under control if they still see \$200 billion added to the national debt every year.

The good news is that in 1993, Congress finally began to take deficit reduction seriously. Americans got a serious tax hike, serious defense cuts and a serious backlash against pork barrel

The bad news is that all those deficit reducing measures, along with NAFTA, are likely to have a negative effect on job growth. Congress has still not figured out a way to repeal one of the basic laws of economics: If you take money out of the economy through tax increases and spending cuts, you slow the economy down, at least in the short run.

Clinton’s effort to balance deficit reduction with new investment spending failed. The voters couldn’t understand the logic of it. If you’re serious about the deficit, they asked, why would you support more deficit spending? When the Senate blocked Clinton’s economic stimulus package last spring, it happened in part because the measure didn’t have much public support. The result: no stimulus, no job growth.

But Congress got religion about the deficit. The best evidence comes not from a law that passed Congress but from one that didn’t. In the waning days of the session, a bipartisan coalition of House Members, led by Timothy J. Penny, D-Minn., and John R. Kasich, R-Ohio, proposed \$90 billion in new spending cuts.

Their plan would have eliminated two Cabinet agencies and slashed spending on medicare, public broadcasting, public housing and high-speed railways. It would have replaced Clinton’s alternative \$37 billion budget cut that would allow some of the savings to be shifted to new spending—for health care, for example. The Penny-Kasich plan earmarked all the cuts for deficit reduction. In the end, it was rejected, 213-219.

Not surprisingly, almost all House Republicans voted for Penny-Kasich. But so did 57 Democrats, including a third of freshman Democrats. They’re worried about keeping their seats next year. Only 18 per cent of Democrats from safe seats (won with at least 60 per cent of the vote last year) voted for Penny-Kasich. A fourth of Democrats from moderately safe seats (won by 55-59 per cent) supported it. The bill did best—32 per cent—among Democrats who represent marginal House seats. They are the most worried about getting reelected.

In Democratic districts where Clinton did worst last year, Penny-Kasich did best. The Democrats who represent those districts are worried because Clinton can’t offer them much protection. They felt the safest thing to do was to vote for big cuts.

Finally, Penny-Kasich did best in Democratic districts where Ross Perot ran best last year. Democrats in those districts are worried about winning Perot votes in 1994.

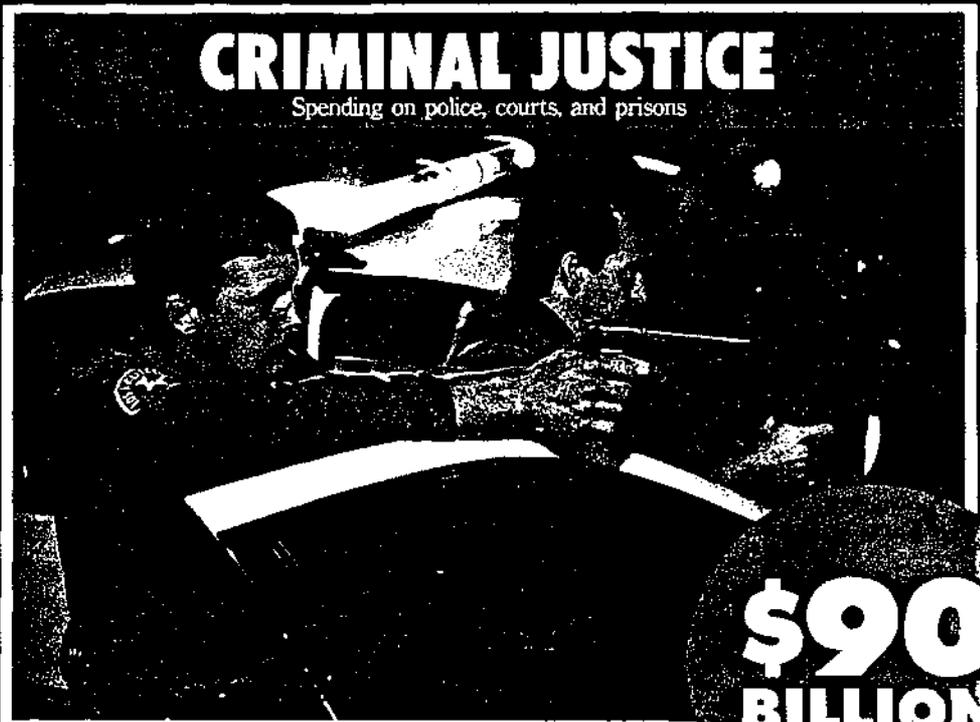
Get the picture? The reason Penny-Kasich almost passed was that a lot of Democrats are worried about 1994. It used to be that if you were worried, you voted for more spending. The old rule was, tax, tax, spend, spend, elect, elect.

Now, worried Democrats vote to cut spending. They want to show voters that they’re serious about deficit reduction, even more serious than the President. The new rule is cut, cut, save, save. Elect, elect? Only if the voters share the view that deficit reduction, like virtue, is its own reward. Even if it doesn’t do you

The new rule is cut and save. But will that win elections? Only if voters view deficit reduction, like virtue, as its own reward.

WHAT CRIME IS COSTING US EVERY YEAR

BUSINESS WEEK totes up the financial damage to society—not to mention the misery crime leaves in its wake



CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Spending on police, courts, and prisons

\$90 BILLION

THE ECONOMICS OF CRIME

THE TOLL IS FRIGHTENING. CAN ANYTHING BE DONE?

Americans are scared. The fear of crime permeates their lives. They worry about being mugged or raped in a parking lot or while walking home from work. They're afraid of being robbed at a highway rest stop or having their children kidnapped at a suburban mall. They put bars on their windows, alarms in their cars, and cans of tear gas in their pockets. And they should be frightened. All told, some 14 million serious crimes were reported to the police last year, a number that surely understates the actual magnitude of America's No. 1 problem.

But the daily reality of muggings and murders that make the headlines and

TV news shows is hurting the public in a far different, yet no less destructive, way. Crime in America is exacting an enormous economic toll on the nation—far bigger than anyone realizes.

New estimates by BUSINESS WEEK show that crime costs Americans a stunning \$425 billion each year. That figure comes from a detailed analysis of all of the direct and indirect costs of both property and violent crimes, from emergency-room care for a mugging victim to the price of a new alarm system for a home to the income lost to the family of a murdered cab driver.

Human misery aside, from a purely dollars-and-sense perspective, the U.S.

isn't devoting enough resources to the fight against crime—and is frittering away many of the resources it is using. The U.S. spends some \$90 billion a year on the entire criminal-justice system. That includes \$35 billion for police protection, less than the country is spending on toiletries each year. Indeed, anticrime policy over the years has been a series of quick, cheap fixes: New prisons are being built, but the number of police has barely kept pace with the growing population. Meanwhile, economic and social programs that could quickly bring down crime have been largely ignored.

Even the spate of crime-fighting legislation going through Congress falls far

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALTON BELL/REUTERS/CONTRAST

PRIVATE PROTECTION

Spending on alarms, private guards, and security systems



**\$65
BILLION**

short of what is needed. The Brady Bill, just signed into law, simply requires a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns. And the highly acclaimed anticrime bill recently passed by the Senate would add a meager \$4.5 billion a year to total criminal-justice spending.

TV VIOLENCE. Why is the nation under-spending on crime-fighting? The public may well believe that there's little more money can do short of putting the Army on every street corner. Some have blamed crime and violence on the decline of "family values" or the loss of inner-city manufacturing jobs, neither of which can be solved by government action. Most recently, excessive violence on TV has been fingered as a key culprit by Attorney General Janet Reno and Surgeon-General M. Joycelyn Elders.

Economists, on the other hand, view crime as a choice that can be affected by changes in punishments and rewards. Recent research by economists shows that higher levels of anticrime spending, if well-directed, can make a big dent in crime. Crime can be reduced by increasing what economists call the "expected punishment"—the average prison time

served for a crime, adjusted for the chances of being caught and convicted. Today, the expected punishment for committing a serious crime is only about 11 days—half what it was in the 1950s. At the same time, job prospects for young adults and teenagers have soured, lowering the economic rewards for staying straight. "Criminals are sensitive to incentives," says Morgan O. Reynolds, a Texas A&M University economist who studies the economics of crime. Adds Ann Witte, a Wellesley economist: "The carrot can work, and the stick can work."

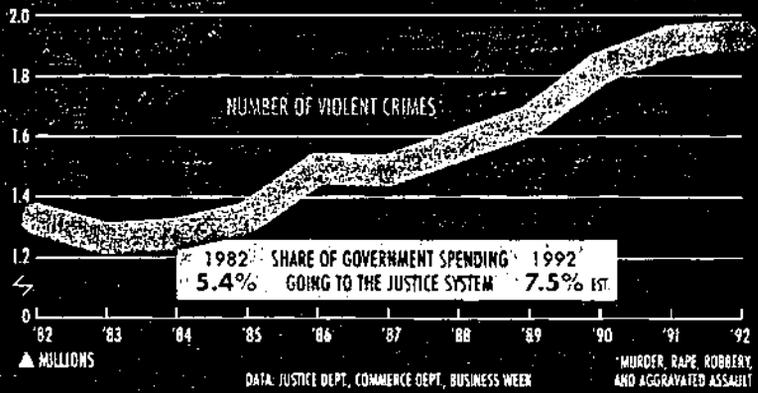
What's needed is a cost-effective way of raising the punishment that potential criminals can expect, argue these economists. That means the U. S. needs

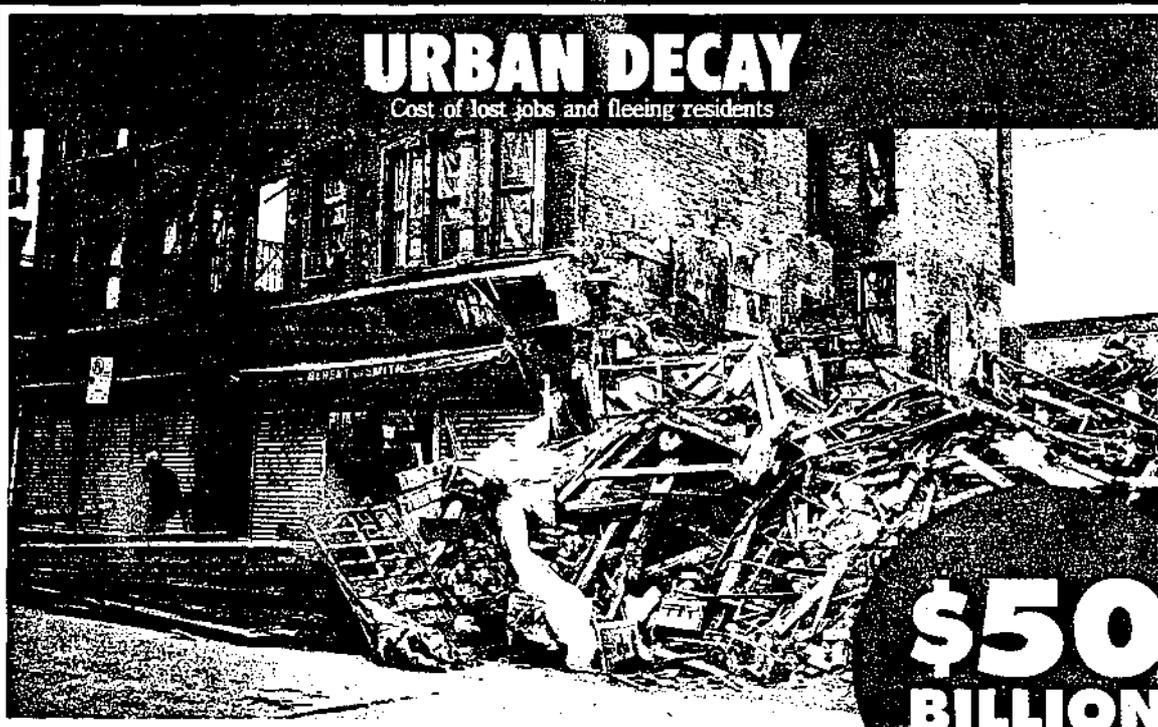
to devote many more resources to every aspect of law enforcement, not just prisons. That means more police on the streets, tougher sentences for young criminals, and closer monitoring of criminals on probation.

At the same time, it's crucial that the U. S. boost spending for job training and other programs in order to give teenagers and young adults better alternatives to crime. Typically, these programs are cheaper than the \$20,000- to \$30,000-a-year cost of imprisonment. "We will never be able to afford enough prisons if that's our only approach to the criminal-justice problem," says Stephen Goldsmith, the Republican mayor of Indianapolis and a district attorney for 12 years. "You have to give people some hope for jobs and housing."

Such sentiments are far more common today than they were just a few years ago. In the 1980s, politicians were quick to call for longer, harsher sentences for all types of crimes. And one of the most damaging labels for a local politician in those years was "soft on crime." Yet for all the harsh rhetoric, few additional resources were devoted to

RISING CRIMES





URBAN DECAY

Cost of lost jobs and fleeing residents

**\$50
BILLION**

fighting crime on the streets. Spending on prisons and the judicial system soared in the 1980s, but the number of police per 10,000 people barely rose. Indeed, in the second half of the decade, the total number of state and local police increased by only 16%, while the number of violent crimes jumped by 37%.

Now, fiscally strapped local officials find themselves begging for federal help and admitting defeat. District of Columbia Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly unsuccessfully sought to deploy National Guard troops on the capital's streets, saying: "We're dealing with a war, yet people don't seem to want to win this war." After 300 stores were robbed and 52 people killed during hold-ups this year, Kelly's police chief recently suggested that a good way to cut crime was to close stores earlier.

The analogy to war is a good one. By BUSINESS WEEK's calculation, the real cost of violent and property crime—when properly toted up—far exceeds the \$300 billion defense budget. Spending by businesses and consumers on private security alone—including alarms, guards, and locks—comes to some \$65 billion, according to William Cunningham, president of Hallcrest Systems Inc., a McLean (Va.) security-industry consult-

ing firm. "People are more fearful, and they're taking a greater stake in their own protection." This has turned into a bonanza for companies such as Winner International Corp. in Sharon, Pa., which engineers and markets The Club, a steering-wheel lock to discourage auto theft. From 1990 to 1992, Club sales grew from \$22 million to \$107.3 million.

But Winner's bonanza is just another burden for business and consumers. "I call this the 'security tax' that business now has to pay because government hasn't been able to make us feel safe at home, work, or play," says Frank J. Portillo Jr., chief executive of Brown's Chicken & Pasta Inc., a 100-store fast-food chain based in Oak Brook, Ill. He had to install security cameras and hire guards for some of his stores in rougher neighborhoods after seven employees were massacred on Jan. 8 at a Brown's Chicken outlet in Palatine, Ill.

The security tax hits urban areas particularly hard. According to BUSINESS WEEK's analysis of FBI crime statistics, most large cities have violent crime rates from two to seven times higher than their suburbs. As a result, many businesses and residents of crime-prone areas move to safer surroundings. That

can quickly become a self-perpetuating cycle, since as jobs move out, the area becomes even more hopeless for the people who remain. BUSINESS WEEK estimates that annual damage to large urban economies from high crime rates is about \$50 billion.

MIAMI VISE. Because of Miami's dependence on tourism, it is probably the urban area facing the clearest threat from crime. The city "has two problems," says Joseph P. Lacher, president of Miami-based Southern Bell-Florida and chairman of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. "We have a serious crime problem to deal with and an even worse perception of crime." Dade County, where Miami is located, has one of the highest crime rates in the country. "People are scared to come to Florida," says Roberto Willimann, owner of Specialized Travel Systems, a Miami travel agency that caters to Germans. His business fell to about half of last year's after the Sept. 8 murder of a German tourist.

But crime's most devastating impact is measured in more than lost jobs and added security costs. The victim of a mugging or a rape carries the physical and emotional scars for years. Moreover, the damage to friends, family, and society from every murder is enormous.

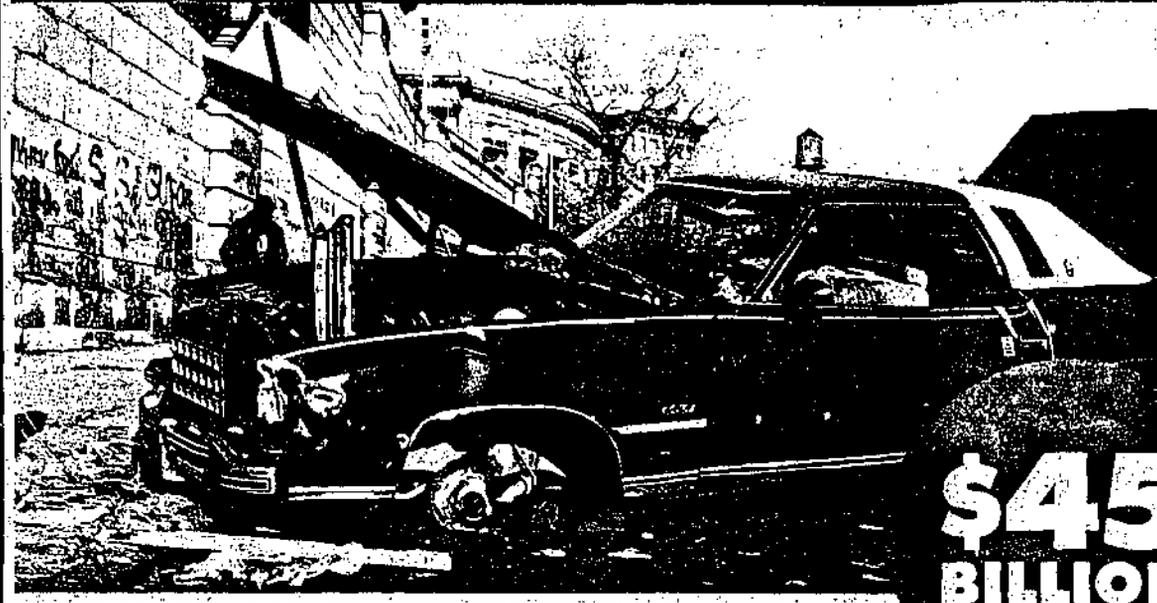
Economists are able to measure the economic value of such intangible damages of violent crime using techniques originally developed for the cost-benefit anal-

**THE
BEST
DETERRENT
IS THE
SIMPLE
PRESENCE
OF POLICE**

PHOTO BY SCOTT G. MCNEIL FOR BUSINESS WEEK

PROPERTY LOSS

Value of stolen goods



**\$45
BILLION**

ysis of safety regulations. According to newly published estimates by Ted R. Miller, a health-and-safety economist at National Public Services Research Institute in Landover, Md., and two colleagues, the value of a human life cut short by murder is about \$2.4 million. They estimate the economic damage of a rape to average about \$60,000, while the typical robbery or assault costs more than \$20,000. With more than 20,000 murders committed each year plus 2 million other crimes of violence, the so-called intangible damages come to a mind-numbing \$170 billion, says Miller and his co-authors.

If America really wants to bring down violent crime, there's simply no way of dealing cheaply with a problem of this magnitude. "If you are going to have an effect, you have to spend a lot of

money," says Wellesley economist Witte.

But in a time of belt-tightening, it's essential to make every dollar as effective as possible. The ultimate goal is to reduce the incentives for criminal behavior. "We need the positives from participating in the legitimate economy to go up and the negatives from participating in the criminal economy to go up," says Goldsmith. "We've got the mix exactly backward."

DIMINISHING RETURNS. Spending on corrections has quadrupled over the past decade, rising far faster than spending on police or the courts. In part, that has been because of court-ordered upgrades of existing prisons, but actual incarcerations in state and federal prisons have tripled since 1980. And some economists, like Texas A&M's Reynolds, believe that this prison boom has helped

boost expected punishment a bit, keeping the crime problem from getting even worse than it already is.

But now the law of diminishing returns is setting in. Building and staffing prisons is extremely expensive, especially as sentences get longer and older inmates require increased medical care. Imprisoning a 25-year-old for life costs a total of \$600,000 to \$1,000,000. So putting someone in prison for life puts a huge financial burden on the next generation—just as a big budget deficit does.

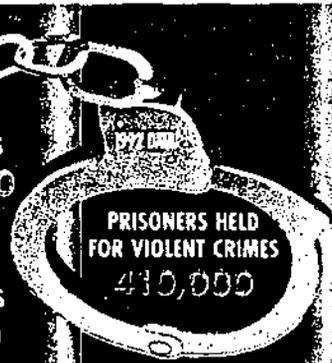
For that reason, much of the additional spending on law enforcement should go toward beefing up police forces rather than building new prisons. Indeed, evidence from economic studies shows that putting more police on the front lines has more of a deterrent effect

ARREST AND PRISON: WHAT COPING WITH CRIMINALS COSTS

NUMBER OF VIOLENT CRIMES
1,932,000

ARRESTS FOR VIOLENT CRIMES
742,000

DATA: JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, BUSINESS WEEK



PRISONERS HELD FOR VIOLENT CRIMES
410,000

ALL ARRESTS
14,975,000

AVERAGE COST PER ARREST*
\$4,000

*POLICE AND COURT SYSTEM

ALL PRISONERS
900,000

AVERAGE ANNUAL COST PER PRISONER
\$27,000



ILLUSTRATION: JERRY WITT (8-10-1993)

MEDICAL CARE

Cost of treating crime victims



**\$5
BILLION**

than longer prison sentences. Explains Judge Richard Fitzgerald of Jefferson District Family Court in Louisville: "Most cops I know think that what really deters is the certainty of apprehension, not the sanction that would be imposed."

Even so, any concerted attempt to raise expected punishment will necessarily mean spending more on prisons. Every year, more than 60,000 violent criminals receive probation, largely because of overcrowding, according to Michael Block, a University of Arizona economist who was a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission. That means one of the cheapest solutions to the crime problem, he says, is to "punish those people who are already captured."

FEW WORRIES. But the largest holes are in the juvenile-justice system. Violent-crime rates among young people have been rising far faster than among adults. "We are seeing juveniles committing more of the violent crimes at a younger age and with more destructive force and impact," says Judge Fitzgerald.

Part of the problem is that expected punishment for juveniles is very low. Young people often get little punishment for the first three or four felonies. "Juveniles have been getting the message that they can get away with anything," says Marvin Wolfgang, a criminologist at the University of Pennsylvania. Adds Mark A. Kleiman, an expert in the economics of crime at Harvard University:

"It trains people to be criminals."

In addition, teenagers have little worry that crimes committed as juveniles will hurt them as adults. In most states, juvenile criminal records are permanently sealed. So a cost-effective way of identifying multiple offenders would be to unseal juvenile criminal records at the first adult felony conviction.

America's solution for dealing with illegal drug use has cost it dearly, too. In the 1980s, draconian sentencing laws were used to combat the drug problem, putting tens of thousands of people—and not necessarily the most violent ones—in prison. Currently, 60% of inmates in federal prisons and 20% of inmates in state prisons are there on drug

charges. That helped drive up spending on prisons without doing much to deter violent crime.

One alternative strategy to keep down drug use and related crime without filling up scarce prison cells is to monitor more closely the nearly 3 million convicts on probation. Kleiman argues that regular drug-testing of criminals on probation could dramatically reduce drug use, at a cost of perhaps \$5 billion annually. That can be combined with increased funding for drug-rehab programs like the one at DC General Hospital in Washington, which treats 900 people each year at a cost of about \$1,800 per person. "Most people who are heavy users can and will quit if they are under heavy pressure," says Kleiman, "and

A COST-EFFECTIVE PLAN FOR REDUCING CRIME

Removing the incentives for criminal behavior can make Americans safer. Here's how:

DATA: BUSINESS WEEK

1 IMPROVE ENFORCEMENT

Boost spending on police and courts by one-third, or \$1.5 billion, to make apprehension and conviction much more certain. Increase spending on prisons and jails by 20%, or \$5 billion.

2 FOCUS PUNISHMENT

Release juvenile records at the first adult felony conviction so that longtime offenders can be quickly identified. Increase use of boot camps for youthful offenders.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARY FENSTER/PHOTOPOSTS

SHATTERED LIVES

Economic value of lost and broken lives



**\$170
BILLION**

=

**\$425
BILLION**

DATA: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, HALLIBURTON SYSTEMS INC., NATIONAL PUBLIC SERVICES RESEARCH INSTITUTE, BW

you'll reduce the criminal activities of the people you're testing."

But by itself, increased enforcement will not be enough to stem the tide of violence. "Short term, we need more cops and more aggressiveness in enforcement and prosecution," says Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson, chairman of the U. S. Conference of Mayors. "But when a police officer gets involved, that's too late. The focus has to be not just on catching criminals but on preventing criminals."

Moreover, giving young people alternatives to crime can multiply the effectiveness of the existing criminal-justice system. For every person not committing crimes, police can concentrate more resources on hard-core criminals. For

example, if job training and education programs lowered the crime rate by 25%, that could mean an increase of as much as one-third in the expected punishment for lawbreakers.

Unlike many social programs, intensive training and education have already provided good evidence that they can reduce the crime rate. "Crime is a young man's game," says Witte. "Keep them busy and doing things that are not illegal, and they don't get in trouble."

For example, studies of the federal Job Corps, which is a residential program for basic education and hands-on vocational training, show a big drop in arrests for program participants. "There are few programs for young men that

we can document as working well," says David Long, a senior research associate at Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., a nonprofit research organization in New York. "The Job Corps stands out as strikingly effective."

A NEW WORLD. The key to the success of the Job Corps and similar private programs is providing kids with a whole new environment. That makes such programs expensive to run: A year in the Job Corps costs about \$22,000. Adding enough slots in these programs to make a difference could cost billions. About 650,000 juveniles were arrested in 1992 for violent and property crimes. To provide programs for half of them would cost about \$7 billion annually.

These programs are cheaper than the prisons they could replace, though. Average per-inmate cost for all juvenile facilities nationwide runs at about \$30,000 annually. That's far more than the yearly cost of a slot in the Job Corps. In some cases, the difference can be even bigger. Take City Lights School in Washington, with 100 inner-city adolescents, many of them violent juvenile offenders. According to Stephen E. Klingelhofer, development director at City Lights, the \$53-a-day cost is a bargain compared with the \$147 daily tab at Lorton Reformatory Youth Center in Lorton, Va. Treatment at City Lights can be as simple as setting a good example. "A lot of these kids have never seen anyone getting up in the morning and

3 CONTROL DRUG-RELATED CRIME

Test convicted criminals on probation for drug use on a regular basis, which could cut down on repeat offenders. Boost spending on drug rehabilitation.

4 EXPAND JOB TRAINING

Give teenagers an alternative to crime by doubling the size of the Job Corps, which has a proven crime-reducing record. Expand funding for privately run remedial education and socialization programs.

5 SUPPORT NEIGHBORHOOD SAFETY

Encourage a shift to community policing, which puts more cops on the street instead of behind desks. Use police to prevent problems, not just respond to emergencies.

6 LESSEN LEVELS OF VIOLENCE

Expand violence-prevention and conflict-reduction programs in the schools. Toughen federal gun control, and buy back illegally owned handguns in cities.

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICK FREDMAN/BLACK STAR

Cover Story

going to a job," says Klingelhofer. "A lot of them come here not knowing any other way to settle disputes than by violence."

More and more police departments are focusing on prevention as well. This new philosophy goes under the name of "community policing," which means reorganizing police departments to put more officers in the field and focusing on help-

ing neighborhoods prevent crime rather than just reacting to emergencies. That approach may include having more police out walking beats, working with social service and community agencies, and generally getting to know the residents. "We want to improve the quality of life in the neighborhoods," says Jerry Galvin, police chief of Vallejo, Calif., which has used community policing for

six years and seen violent crime drop by 33%.

If combined with organizational reforms, a shift to community policing need not mean a huge expenditure of new resources, advocates say. "Community policing has nothing to do with new officers or more money," says Galvin. "But you have to remake the department to make community policing

AN ANGUISHED CRY OF 'ENOUGH' IN AMERICA'S KILLING FIELDS

Crime is an American tragedy, especially for blacks. African Americans are disproportionately both perpetrators and victims of criminal violence. Blacks make up almost half the country's prison admissions, and nearly one in four black men between the ages of 20 and 29 is in prison, on parole, or on probation. And homicide is the leading cause of death among black youths. Says Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund: "We lose more black men to guns in our cities in one year than we lost to all the lynchings after the Civil War."

Fear stalks inner-city streets. And in recent months, political leaders, ministers, and academics have all begun a crusade against crime, crying out to young black men to stop the violence. The Reverend Jesse Jackson rails against the lethal combination of guns and drugs in inner-city high schools. President Bill Clinton invokes the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in a plea to stop killing "each other with reckless abandonment." Increasingly, both liberals and conservatives are crossing racial and ideological divides to find common ground on policies that nurture families, support communities, create jobs, and provide more police protection in America's ghettos.

What's so discouraging is that black crime has become pervasive in many inner cities even as black politicians have gained power throughout the land, as the ranks of the black middle class have expanded, and as black high school graduation rates have risen.

CRIME PAYS. The reasons for the increase in violent crime are multifaceted, but the starting point is economic: The rewards for honest work for the less-educated have fallen, while the payoff for crime has risen. Urban jobs declined sharply beginning in the early 1970s, as foreign competition heated up. Inner cities began a downward spiral as work disappeared.

At the same time, explosive growth

in the drug trade and other illegal pursuits offered jobs and good money. A 1989 survey of youth crime in Boston shows that average hourly pay from crime ranged from \$9.75 to \$19 an hour (and no taxes), vs. the \$5.60 an hour that youths earned after taxes from legitimate work, according to Richard B. Freeman, an economist at Harvard University. "Essentially, what is happening is that wage and employment opportunities have declined dramatically, and opportunities in the criminal sector have grown," says Harry J. Holzer, an economist at Michigan State University.

The sharp decline of the two-parent family is also part of the crime problem. These days, 56% of black families are headed by women, and the figure increases significantly in inner-city neighborhoods. A large part of the decline in marriage rates is traceable to male joblessness and extraordinary poverty levels. The welfare system encourages female-headed households by providing financial support to unmarried mothers. The upshot: Juveniles from single-parent families have a greater chance of being involved in crime—especially murder and robbery.

Young criminals are devastating many inner-city communities, and throwing them into jail for short periods only seems to make things worse in the long run. When they return to their communities, they bring back the violent ethics of the cell block. Drugs, violent crime, and prisons are a part of everyday life. "If you haven't been arrested, you haven't gone through a rite of passage," says Marvin Dunn, a psychology professor at Florida International University.

FEW ROLE MODELS. The ecology of crime isolates inner-city communities in other ways. Few entrepreneurs open businesses in high-crime districts, where they can easily become murder or robbery victims. Middle-class blacks have fled for safer streets, too. In racially segregated, poverty-stricken neighborhoods, young people are less exposed to the work ethic, and informal networks of church and community groups are being drained of their most prominent middle-class members.

To make even a dent in the violence will require policies ranging from family support networks to more police. Most important, there must be jobs to compete with the lure of crime. Without jobs, high levels of violence in America's cities will continue, along with disproportionate black incarceration—and unimaginable suffering.

By Christopher Farrell in New York, with bureau reports

BLACKS AND CRIME

Blacks make up 12% of the nation's population but have high arrest rates...

SHARE OF ALL ARRESTS, 1992

MURDER AND NONNEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER	55.1%
ROBBERY	60.9%
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	38.8%
BURGLARY	30.4%

...make up an increasing share of prison admissions...



...with nearly one in four under correctional supervision...



...and are more likely to be crime victims



DATA: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, THE SENTENCING PROJECT, JUSTICE DEPT., NATIONAL CENTER ON INSTITUTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES

Cover Story

work." In Vallejo, 80% of police officers are in the field vs. the national average of about 60%.

New Haven, Conn., has had the same experience. In early 1993, New Haven shifted to community policing rather than just having officers answer 911 calls. That required more police on the street. The solution: substitute civilian staff for cops who used to pump gas into police cruisers and hand out billy clubs and clip boards. It's cost-effective as well. An officer costs about twice as much as a clerical worker and is much more expensive to train.

VICIOUS CYCLE. Part of what's scary about the latest wave of crime is not just the numbers but the brutality involved, especially the rampant use of firearms. From 1986 to 1991, robberies increased by 27%, but the use of a firearm during a robbery increased by 49%. And in a vicious cycle, crime is escalating the number of guns in private hands, as frightened Americans search for protection. At Colt Manufacturing Co. in

Hartford, Conn., commercial handgun sales are running about 25% higher in 1993 than they were in 1992. "A whole gamut of industries are supplying the services that are being created by the crime statistics," says Colt Chairman R. C. Whitaker.

Can this spiral of violence be broken? Certainly a federal law making handguns illegal would sharply decrease the number of guns being sold and make their street price much higher, though, like Prohibition in the 1920s or the war against drugs in the 1980s, it might be very expensive to enforce. But with 60 million handguns already in private hands, even an effective ban on guns might not be enough. One intriguing possibility is to return to an approach that has been tried

successfully in the past—buying back handguns. In 1974, the City of Baltimore decided to offer \$50 per gun. In three months, 13,792 guns were turned in. A similar program today could help get illegally owned guns off the street, espe-

cially if combined with national gun control.

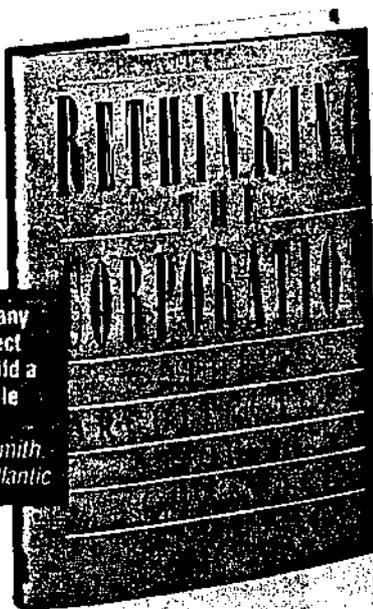
Some groups are trying to stamp out juvenile crime before it starts by teaching kids that violence simply is not the only way to settle disputes. That approach can be cost-effective, experts say, if it is started early. For example, Howard University's Violence Prevention Project is trying to teach 40 troubled 4th, 5th, and 6th graders to cope with boredom, frustration, and anger without reaching for a weapon. "Is it working? It's too early to tell," admits Hope Hill, director of the program. "It appears to be, but it will take several years to know."

In the end, no one solution will work, and no cheap and easy cure is possible. But the tremendous cost of crime to Americans demands that we not give up. The country's great wealth can surely be harnessed in an effective way to provide the remedies that will allow people to walk the streets without fear again.

By Michael J. Mandel in New York and Paul Magnusson in Washington, with James E. Ellis in Chicago, Gal DeGeorge in Miami, Keith L. Alexander in Pittsburgh, and bureau reports

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JOB CORPS
WORKS
—AND IT
COSTS A LOT
LESS THAN
PRISON**

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Crime -
Talking
Pts.

TALKING POINTS ON "THE PLAN" AND CRIME-RELATED INITIATIVES

AFFIRMATIVE:

- The Plan will re-establish the Federal-State partnership necessary to punish and prevent crime. It includes new monies to invest in increased police protection and community policing, to create a National Police Corps, to help states upgrade their criminal records and implement the Brady Bill, to promote Safe Schools programs, and to fund an urban crime initiative in our public housing. Together, these initiatives add up to a four-year total of \$3.487 billion.
- The Plan also invests in our people and communities to help break the cycle of crime. It provides for early intervention by fully funding Head Start and WIC, and creates jobs in crime-afflicted neighborhoods by establishing comprehensive enterprize zones.
- Punishing and preventing crime rewards those individuals who work hard and play by the rules -- and demands accountability from those who don't.
- **100,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS** -- The plan helps states and localities to begin putting 100,000 new police officers on the street through a variety of options -- expanding community policing programs, providing matching grants for new officers' salaries, establishing a National Police Corps and more.
- **SAFE SCHOOLS** -- A \$375 million, four-year investment in SAFE Schools programs will make our schools safer by adding metal detectors and video surveillance equipment. Funds can also be used to hire professional security personnel, or to adopt anti-drug and anti-violence curricula.
- **PARTNERSHIPS AGAINST CRIME** -- The plan includes \$312 million in funding for HUD to form flexible "partnerships" with local housing authorities. Funds could be used to increase law enforcement or security personnel, to implement community policing, to expand community crime prevention efforts, etc.
- **COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANT STIMULUS FUNDS** -- The Plan includes \$2.5 billion in CDBG stimulus funds that can be used for certain anti-crime initiatives -- including hiring law enforcement or security personnel, installing security devices and relocating the residency of police officers to high-crime areas.
- **BRADY BILL** -- The plan provides states with the funds necessary to upgrade their criminal statistics, allowing criminal background checks to be conducted quickly and accurately.
- **DEMANDING DRUG TREATMENT** -- Illegal drugs represent an estimated \$300 billion drain on the economy. More and better drug treatment is good health policy, good drug policy, good crime policy, and good urban policy; it helps get addicts off the street and reduces their propensity to commit crimes. Thus, the plan provides \$1.5 billion for increased drug treatment.

TALKING POINTS ON POTENTIAL DRUG-RELATED QUESTIONS

DEFENSIVE

Q: President Clinton's Drug Budget (\$13.017 billion) is no different than what was enacted under the previous administration (\$12.171). Its overall increase is barely more than inflation, and it basically retains the 70/30 supply/demand ratio.

A: NO -- if drug treatment is incorporated as a basic service in a national health care plan, we will have dramatically increased -- and helped to de-stigmatize -- drug treatment availability. In addition, the investment package includes \$1.5 billion over the next four years to help meet the "treatment shortfall". The soon-to-be-appointed Drug Czar will be reviewing our national drug strategy and recommending appropriate changes in our drug policies and funding levels.

Q: President Clinton has gutted the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and demoted the "War on Drugs" as a priority.

A: NO -- the President's organization will help revitalize the office. First, he has reformed the office from being a political dumping ground to a more focused policy and planning office. While ONDCP was meant to give coherence to drug policy, it has not succeeded in its mission. Second, the new Drug Czar will be elevated to the Cabinet level; the previous Administration demoted the Drug Czar from his cabinet status -- and physically removed the office from the White House complex.

Q: President Clinton has given our allies in the "War on Drugs" a signal that drug policy will not be an international priority for this Administration.

A: Press reports to the contrary, President Clinton has not proposed slashing international drug spending. Neither has he embraced any arbitrary supply/demand ratios in deciding proper funding levels. The President's final drug strategy and budget will be based on the new Drug Czar's recommendations.

The one funding decision that the President has made is to increase funding for drug treatment. But doing more at home to reduce our nation's voracious appetite for illegal drugs does not mean we will not continue to work with other countries -- such as Colombia -- that have the political will to fight illegal drugs at home.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE TREATMENT -- TALKING POINTS

- Perhaps the best way to increase drug treatment is to include it as one of the basic services to be offered by a national health plan. The Task Force is now examining the interplay between substance abuse treatment and health care reform.
- President Clinton pledged to increase drug treatment, and his economic package includes a \$1.5 billion investment over the next four years to do so.
- President Clinton expressed his support for court-mandated drug testing programs to augment drug treatment for released offenders, and his nominee for the position of Attorney General is a recognized innovator in this area. Janet Reno helped launch the Miami Drug Court, a program where drug offenders are offered a strictly regimented drug treatment program as an alternative to prison. Some 60% of the programs successful participants remain "arrest free".
- While drug use among the general population, and among certain adolescent students, is down, hard-core drug use is on the rise. These hard-core users are responsible for much of the drug-related crime. We must demand that they get treatment.
- Next to prison, drug treatment is the most effective way to reduce an addict's criminality -- and treatment is infinitely less expensive. More and better drug treatment is good health policy, good drug policy, good crime policy, and good urban policy. Former OMB Director Richard Darman estimated drugs, in the aggregate, put as a \$300 billion drain on the economy.
- The President is committed to increased drug treatment availability, but his overall funding levels will be based on programs that work. For too long our drug policy has been politicized and polarized by the argument over arbitrary funding ratios (supply/demand ratio). The treatment and law enforcement communities have come to realize that they both have a role to play in fighting illegal drugs.
- **President Clinton's Budget (\$13.017 billion) is no different than former President Bush's (\$12.171). Its overall increase is barely more than inflation (7%), and it effectively retains the 70/30 supply/demand ratio (63.9/36.1).**
- NO -- if drug treatment is incorporated as a basic service in a national health care plan, we will have done more to increase treatment availability than ever before. Also, the new ONDCP director will be reviewing our national drug strategy and recommending appropriate changes in policy and funding levels.
- **The President has gutted ONDCP and demoted the "War on Drugs" as a priority.**
- NO -- the President's organization will help revitalize the office. First, he has reformed the office from being a political dumping ground to a more focused policy and planning office. While ONDCP was meant to give coherence to drug policy, it has not succeeded in its mission. Second, the new ONDCP director will be elevated to the Cabinet level; the previous Administration demoted the ONDCP director from his cabinet status.

PROPELLER HEAD

Crime - Talking Pts.

What we want in a crime bill
 -- tough, smart, balanced
 -- stuff that works

PRESIDENT'S TOP TEN LIST

1. 100,000 cops
2. Boot camps and prisons
3. 3 strikes & out
4. Death penalty
5. Assault weapons ban
6. Drug courts/treatment
7. Safe Schools
8. Violence Against Women Act
9. Prevention programs -- recreation, employment, oppport programs
10. Violent Crime Trust Fund to pay for it

NOT JUST THE CRIME BILL -- COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY

- 2000 applies*
1. Drug Strategy: *Hard core users* *Crime Bill - essential*
 2. Cabinet -- Bentsen, Cisneros, Riley
 3. Values (Memphis) *- CD Banks* *ETC, Head Start* *we*
 4. Talk about till the election *fill the vacuum*

6. HEALTH CARE

ANTI-INCUMBENCY ISSUE OF 1994

6 for 6: LA, NYC, VA.

NJ -- came close

100,000 cops/bureaucracy = change people are looking for

WR

No one who makes
" " can work

1. Responsibility
Cops don't, parents do → Child Support
2. ~~Make work pay~~
2. Work
 - Make work pay
 - Skills + Time Limits

Kris's speech
 WPost
 Tough, Smart
 Prevention
 punishment
 Crime is
 sophisticated

Beyond Heartache and Fear Lies Crime's Bottom Line

Consequences Place Huge Financial Burden on Nation

By Pierre Thomas
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

The meter began running the moment the call came in to police headquarters on June 7: 18-year-old James Hunter, star point guard at Calvin Coolidge High School, was lying on the pavement in a pool of blood with multiple gunshot wounds.

Patrol officers raced to 1314 Trinidad Ave. NE, followed by detectives, forensics officers and a supervisor. Their estimated cost for the night: \$4,626.

Emergency vehicles rushed Hunter to D.C. General Hospital, adding another \$1,310, where he was pronounced dead on arrival. His autopsy cost \$1,046.

By the time the medical examiner completed his work, 12 hours after the shooting, Hunter's killer had cost the city at least \$6,982, or \$582 per hour, according to estimates provided by the District of Columbia's budget office.

And the toll continues to rise as police search for his killer. If they apprehend a suspect, there will be jail costs, trial costs and, if there is a conviction, it will cost about \$22,000 a year to house his murderer at a District prison.

The cost of the murder of a young man a year away from high school graduation and college cannot be measured in dollars alone. Nor is there a financial gauge of the grief endured by his family and friends.

Nonetheless, Hunter's death, one of 199 so far this year in the District of Columbia, il-

CRIME, From A1

lustrates the gigantic financial burden that crime is placing on America in the 1990s.

Each year the country is spending or losing in excess of \$163 billion because of the consequences of crime, according to the Justice Department, the insurance industry and academic researchers. This is nearly two-thirds of what America spends on national defense and more than five times as much as the federal government spends on education.

Crime costs include better than \$31.8 billion at the state and federal level for police, \$24.9 billion for corrections, \$36.9 billion in retail losses, \$20 billion in insurance fraud, and \$17.6 billion for individual property losses and medical expenses. Still \$15 billion more is spent on private security, \$9.3 billion on court costs and \$7.2 billion on prosecution and public defense.

"I am almost certain that people don't understand the breadth of what is happening," said Robert Mallett, District of Columbia administrator. "It's too staggering, and we have not made the magnitude plain ... the unbelievable social impact. We made 52,000 arrests last year. That takes a lot of resources."

The more funds you put into police and security, "the less funds you have for kids, parks and recreation and job training," said Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson, who recently stepped down as president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. High-crime areas end up being areas of

"disinvestment," he said. "These become the areas that need jobs. The cab drivers don't want to go there, the business people don't want to locate there, the tax base erodes. And these are the very areas that require the most services."

Since 1991, crime has forced the nation's capital to spend more on public safety than any other area in its budget, city financial officers said. Health and human services is the next top budget item. Education is third.

Like in the District, public safety is Louisville's number one budget item "and that is not unique. This problem cuts across jurisdictions, from cities to the suburbs. It's an unfortunate symbol of where society is today," Abramson said.

Moreover, crime is costing Americans more through higher prices, as companies and individuals seek to make up losses from theft and other unlawful acts.

Consider:

- Violence boosted the nation's health care costs by \$13.5 billion in 1992, White House officials said. About 85 percent of hospital costs for firearms and stabbing victims is not covered by insurance and is eventually passed on to paying consumers.

For example, the medical expenses for the preliminary treatment, surgery and recovery for the typical trauma victim at D.C. General is \$15,675, the District budget office states. Gunshot victims are often more costly. A June 15 shooting victim—in this instance with insurance—has already racked up bills of \$103,033.25, according to hospital officials.

- Insurance fraud and motor vehicle theft cost \$28 billion, according to the National Insurance Crime Bureau. "With at least 10 cents of every premium dollar going to cover fraud and crime, it's the policy holder who is the true victim," the bureau said.

- Shoplifting, internal pilferage and other losses cost retailers about \$36.9 billion each year, retail analysts said. Two percent to 4 percent of the price on an item is a built-in cost for such losses. "It's a hidden cost you don't think about when you walk out the store with your merchandise," said John Ronzetti, vice president of the National Retail Federation. The costs of guards, security cameras and the electronic devices that stores employ to thwart thieves also are passed on to customers.

- As of 1990, there were 1.65 million people employed in the nation's criminal justice system and 900,000 working as security guards, according to Justice Department statistics and those from Hallcrest Systems Inc., a Northern Virginia-based security industry analyst firm.

Crime costs money indirectly as well. In the District, for example, a recent Census Bureau report revealed that the city population fell by more than 29,000 people in the last three years. Crime, according to

some civic leaders, was one of the principal reasons for the loss, which contributed to the erosion of the city tax base.

Similar scenarios are unfolding throughout the country, and concern about crime forces Americans to change their lifestyles and demand that something be done to make their lives safer, despite some statistics showing general decreases in certain categories of crime.

As a result of the fear, security and corrections have emerged as leading growth industries.

Americans are buying metal bars for their homes, anti-theft devices for their cars and alarm systems. Prisons are being constructed at a faster pace than universities.

"The perception of threat is at an all-time high," said John Galante, executive director of the Security Industry Association. "Even though property crime is down, some categories of violent crime are up and there is a change in the nature of violence. It seems more random, as if it can happen to any of us."

There are 15 million active accounts for monitoring systems or alarm systems for residences and businesses, producing \$2.15 billion in revenue for companies providing such services, according to a recent security market overview by Galante's association.

"We are willing to spend a lot of tax dollars and private money to feel safer," said William Cunningham, of Hallcrest Systems. "It's amazing what we've expended."

In 1990, the country spent about \$25 billion to house inmates in state and federal prisons. The number of inmates has tripled since 1980 to 948,881, at a cost of about \$15,000 per prisoner, the Justice Department estimates. Corrections spending is almost certain to rise as more states rush to adopt "three strikes" bills that mandate life imprisonment without parole for any person convicted of three violent felonies. The hope is that the prison spending eventually will reduce overall crime because repeat offenders would be removed from society.

"The fastest growing segment of state budgets in (fiscal) 1994 is corrections," according to a study by the National Conference of State Legislatures. "For the third year in a row, corrections received more new state dollars than higher education."

In Texas, the state prison population grew from 28,543 in 1980 to 69,054 at year's end. During the same time, the number of inmates in Florida grew from 19,881 to 50,448; the number of prisoners in Maryland rose from 7,779 to 19,958; and in Virginia the inmate population increased from 8,270 to 17,019.

California had the biggest growth, from 23,511 in 1980 to 101,995 by 1991. In fiscal 1994, even though California cut its overall budget, it increased its corrections budget by 15 percent, the conference of state legislatures said. "California illustrates the fact that the growth in prison populations has been expensive for states, and it shows no sign of easing."

A California General Assembly Ways and Means Committee review found that in recent years corrections spending has grown "twice as fast as total state spending ... at the expense of other programs, primarily higher education."

Crime - Talking Pts.

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Crime -
Talking Pts.

1/27/94

TO: CRIME WORKING GROUP (Emanuel, Reed, Cerda, et al)
FROM: LIZ BERNSTEIN
RE: General Talking Points -- DRAFT -- For internal use only

"Violent crime and the fear it provokes are crippling our society, limiting personal freedom and fraying the ties that bind us. The crime bill before Congress gives you a chance to do something about it -- a chance to be tough and smart."

-- President Clinton,
State of the Union Address, January 25, 1994

THE CRIME BILL NOW BEFORE CONGRESS

THE TIME TO PASS A CRIME BILL IS LONG OVERDUE:

Personal security has become the most pressing concern in the everyday lives of million of Americans. From 1960 to 1990, the number of violent crimes committed in the U.S. increased 300%. Nearly one-third of our citizens either have been a victim or had a family member be a victim of crime in the last three years. And 90% of our citizens believe our country's crime problem is growing.

People have a right to feel safe, and the first duty of government is to keep them safe.

THE PRESIDENT'S CRIME PROPOSALS ARE STRONG, SMART AND TOUGH:

A significant portion of the crime proposals now on the table are stronger and tougher than what has appeared in previous crime bills:

100,000 Cops provides a larger, more visible police presence on our nation's streets;

Adequate Funding for Prisons and Boot Camps increases the assurance that criminal activity will result in due punishment;

Toughened ban on assault weapons shuts down loopholes in previous law; and

Drug Court Programs makes sure drug offenders receive appropriate treatment.

This crime bill makes sure that those who commit crimes are caught, those who are caught get punished and those who are punished serve their time.

100,000 COPS

NEARLY \$9 BILLION AUTHORIZED TO PUT 100,000 COPS ON THE BEAT:

The Senate crime bill authorizes a total of \$8.995 billion over the next five years to hire 100,000 new police officers and expand community policing.

Of that total:

\$7.5 billion is authorized strictly for the hiring of new police officers for deployment in community policing; and

\$1.4 billion is available to fund other community policing related activities, including innovative prevention programs.

[House bill authorizes funding for 50,000 police]

COMMUNITY POLICING EMPHASIZES PREVENTION OF CRIMES AS WELL AS ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW:

Community policing is an alternative approach to policing beyond the traditional practice of just responding to emergency calls. It works. Police departments around the country are finding out that they can't fight crime alone; they must forge a partnership with their community in advance to solve crime problems that would otherwise lead to crime.

COMMUNITY POLICING HAS BEEN EMBRACED NATIONWIDE:

Community policing is being used effectively in many agencies around the country. From New York to St. Louis to Los Angeles, police departments are using this approach. It has already helped reduce crime in several communities.

In Brooklyn, NY's Sunset Park, patrol officer Russ Amato cleaned up a crack-house on the corner of 45th Street and Third Avenue because local residents and merchants trusted him enough to finger the main pusher. "Community policing made that possible," insists Amato, "a patrol car wouldn't have had the time to spend on it." And Vinny Babino, owner of Sunset Check Cashing, says that "Russ is always around...the old ladies were afraid to come down here and now they're not."

In Kansas City, MO, Police Chief Stephen Bishop says homicides in housing projects were cut 50% by taking police out of cars and putting them on foot patrols.

In New Haven CT, a year after their new police chief Nicholas Pastore implemented community policing in his department, reported crime for the first six months of 1992 fell by 10.3% from the first half of 1991.

THE CRIME BILL WILL ENABLE MORE POLICE DEPARTMENTS TO IMPLEMENT COMMUNITY POLICING:

The crime bill will help provide police departments with the additional resources they need to fully implement community policing department-wide. These resources will enable patrol officers to have the additional time necessary to **pro-actively address and prevent** neighborhood crime and disorder problems.

PRISONS/BOOT CAMPS/TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING

TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING IS DIRECTLY TIED TO OVERCROWDED PRISONS:

Currently, more than one million persons are serving prison terms throughout the United States, the highest number in our nation's history. Thirty-two states are under court order to address their prison overcrowding. Prisoners are released by judicial orders to alleviate crowding often regardless of whether they pose a continuing threat to others.

Fixed sentences have caused the federal prison population to more than double since 1986, from 44,000 to the current 89,000. 42 states are currently under court order to relieve prison overcrowding.

MORE PRISON MONEY MEANS MORE CRIMINALS WILL SERVE THEIR TIME:

The Senate crime bill authorizes \$3 billion for grants to states to build and operate boot camps for non-violent, first-time offenders OR for the construction and operation of prisons for violent offenders; and another \$3 billion for 10 federally-run regional prisons (2,500 inmates each) for violent state offenders and criminal aliens. [note: The regional prison slots come with a catch: to qualify, states would have to certify that violent felons (those punishable by a maximum prison term of five or more years) are serving at least 85% of their sentences, and that state sentences for violent crimes are at least as rigorous as their federal counterparts. It will be difficult to keep regional prisons out of the bill. They are a "must have" provision for Republicans, and attract enough support from Representative Schumer and other Democrats to have been included in the final 1992 crime bill conference report.]

BOOT CAMPS PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO PRISON AND SAVE MONEY:

Boot camps for first-time, non-violent offenders, provide young people the discipline, education, and training they need for a better chance to avoid a life of crime. Non-violent offenders deserve punishment, but it doesn't have to be in high-cost (average prisoner --\$20,000 per year) incarceration to get results.

BOOT CAMPS ARE PROVING THEIR EFFECTIVENESS NATIONWIDE:

Today, boot camps are operating in 30 states, 10 local jurisdictions and the Justice Department's Bureau of Prisons. Periods of incarceration vary from 90 to 180 days, with the average offender serving 107 days. The total number of boot camp beds exceeds 7,000 and can potentially serve more than 23,000 offenders within a one-year period.

In Jessup, MD, of the 722 people who have completed the boot camp program, the recidivism rate is about 33%, 14% less than the rate for all inmates paroled in that state.

In Wrightsville, AR, the recidivism rate for their boot camp is 14% compared to the 40% rate statewide.

MANDATORY MINIMUMS

MANDATORY MINIMUMS ARE NOT NECESSARY ON FEDERAL LEVEL:

Mandatory minimums are more serious a problem at the state level than they are at the federal level. In July, 1993, GAO issued a report (based on a review of 900 cases in eight judicial districts) showing that in 70 percent of drug cases carrying mandatory minimums, defendants were sentenced to stiffer sentences pursuant to the sentencing guidelines than they would have been under the mandatory minimum. The GAO's review also revealed that in only about 5 percent of federal drug cases was a mandatory minimum sentence imposed that was longer than the punishment proscribed by the sentencing guidelines.

CRIME BILL ADDRESSES PROBLEMS WITH MANDATORY MINIMUMS:

The Senate crime bill includes a "safety valve" that will allow non-violent, first-time offenders, who are being sentenced under three of the most popular federal drug-related mandatories, to be sentenced under the sentencing guidelines rather than receiving mandatory minimum sentences. This narrow provision represents a bipartisan compromise between Senators Simon, Kennedy, Hatch and Thurmond, as well as the Attorney General and the Sentencing Commission.

D'AMATO AMENDMENT GOES TOO FAR IN FEDERALIZING GUN CRIMES:

The most far reaching new mandatory minimum in the crime bill is part of the D'Amato amendment, which would federalize most gun crimes by making a federal crime of all murders committed with a firearm, and of the use, possession, or carrying of a firearm during the commission of a state violent crime or drug offense. This is excessively broad and should not be in the bill.

"THREE STRIKES AND YOU'RE OUT" FOR VIOLENT OFFENDERS

3 STRIKES PUTS VIOLENT, REPEAT OFFENDERS AWAY FOR LIFE:

We need a criminal justice system that makes sure those who commit crimes serve their sentences. We need a system that says to repeat offenders: When you commit a third violent crime, you will be put away, and put away for good. The Senate provision would apply to individuals with three federal and/or state drug or violent crime felony convictions, which are punishable by a maximum prison term of 10 years or more, so long as the third conviction is a federal offense::

Last October, twelve-year-old Polly Klaas of Petaluma, CA was abducted from her home during a sleepover and subsequently murdered. Richard Allen Davis, the alleged assailant, already had two prior violent felony convictions -- one for assault and the other for kidnapping. Davis was paroled on that conviction last June after having served eight years of the 16 year sentence.

THREE STRIKES IS WIDELY SUPPORTED BY BOTH PARTIES:

Governors across the spectrum from Mario Cuomo to George Allen have made three-strikes-and-out the central crime plank of their State of the State addresses. Voters in Washington approved it overwhelmingly in November, and legislatures in California, Virginia, New York, and elsewhere are expected to enact versions of it this spring.

DEATH PENALTY

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IS WARRANTED IN THE MOST HEINOUS CRIMES:

Society supports and has the right to use the death penalty for those convicted of the most serious violent crimes. Among those included in the crime bill are murder of a police officer and murder in conjunction with a sexual assault.

[drive-by shootings
drug kingpins (non-homicidal)]

ASSAULT WEAPONS AND OTHER GUN ISSUES

The Center for Disease Control says that gun deaths will soon surpass auto-related fatalities.

ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN IS A CRUCIAL COMPONENT OF THE BILL:

The Senate crime bill includes tough good assault weapons provisions, which ban the manufacture, transfer, and possession of deadly, military-style assault weapons. It specifies a list of banned weapon types, replicas, and duplicates. It also prohibits the manufacture, transfer, or possession of large capacity ammunition feeding devices.

On, December 7, 1993, a gunman on a Long-Island commuter train used a Ruger P-89, 9mm pistol with a 15-round magazine to kill six people and wound several others.

On January 25, 1993, Pakistani national Mir Aimal Kansi allegedly killed 2 CIA employees with a semi-automatic AK-47 assault rifle, purchased from a Virginia gun store.

On February 28, 1993, Four ATF agents were killed and 16 were wounded in the shootout at a Waco, TX ranch compound. At least 123 Colt assault weapons were found among the other assault weapons, including 44 AK-47s, 2 Barrett .50 calibers, 2 Street Sweepers, MAC-10s and MAC-11s, 20 100-round drum magazines, and 260 large-capacity clips. The weapons were bought legally from dealer and at gun shows.

PREVIOUS BAN ON FOREIGN ASSAULT WEAPONS BANS MADE A CHANGE BUT WE MUST HAVE FURTHER RESTRICTIONS:

In most jurisdictions there are virtually no restrictions on the purchase of assault weapons. The Bush Administration permanently banned the **importation** of 43 models of semi-automatic assault rifles in 1989. That ban had an effect:

Between 1989 and 1990 the number of imported assault weapons traced to crime fell by 45%; but

The number of domestic assault weapons traced to crime remained about the same.

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms estimates that 75% of assault weapons in the U.S. are American made.

ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN IS AN IMPORTANT FIGHT TO WIN:

An assault weapons ban will still be an uphill struggle in the House, but it's a fight well worth having. The crime bill conference debate shouldn't be about whether we're for prevention vs. punishment, or whether or not we support tough measures for repeat offenders. It should be about whether or not the Republicans will accept common-sense gun measures that are long overdue and have broad public support, and whether or not Republicans will block a \$22 billion crime bill to placate the NRA.

"I want to ask the sportsmen and others who lawfully own guns to join us in this campaign to reduce gun violence. I say to you, I know you didn't create this problem, but we need your help to solve it. There is no sporting purpose on Earth that should stop the United States Congress from banishing assault weapons that out-gun police and cut down children." [President Clinton, State of the Union Address, January 25, 1994]

There are about one million semi-automatic assault weapons currently in circulation. Police speculate that these weapons have become the "weapons of choice" for drug traffickers, street gangs, and paramilitary extremist groups. Assault weapons are about 17 times more likely to be traced to crime than conventional firearms.

CRIME BILL STRENGTHENS FEDERAL FIREARMS LICENSING:

The bill incorporates several critical changes to strengthen the federal firearms licensing system, including requiring gun dealers to comply with all state and local laws and to report lost or stolen inventory to ATF.

BILL INCREASES THE NUMBER OF FEDERAL CRIMES:

The Senate bill creates new federal crimes in the area of criminal street gangs, parental accountability for juvenile crimes, and domestic violence. In these cases, federal law enforcement efforts should supplement -- not supplant -- local law enforcement efforts.

DRUG COURTS/DRUG TREATMENT

60% of inmates in federal prisons and 20% of inmates in state prisons are there on drug charges. Nearly one in every three new state prisoners is a drug offender, up from one in 25 in 1960.

DRUG COURTS ARE TOUGH BUT PERSONAL:

Drug courts seek to take the processes of criminal courts beyond their current limits of arraignment, conviction, and sentencing to an appropriate next step. It has the appeal of being tough on crime while also personalizing --and showing compassion for-- the treatment of drug-related crime to prevent recidivism.

The drug court system is based on viewing drug addiction in criminal defendants as not only a medical problem but as a complicated medical/psychological/social set of problems associated with criminal behavior. It includes:

Immediate intervention, with testing done at the time of the arrest;

An enhanced role for the judge, with oversight over the participation in the treatment plan;

Frequent drug testing, with a computer linkup to the courtrooms of not only the results but all treatment progress and participation records;

Emphasis on the quality and continuity of the treatment process.

THE CRIME BILL GIVES DRUG COURTS SIGNIFICANT FUNDING:

The bill authorizes a combined total of \$1.2 billion for drug court programs consisting of three components, over which the AG has coordinating authority:

Grants for drug testing of state prisoners (\$300 million);

grants for drug treatment in state prisons (\$300 million); and

grants for "certainty of punishment" programs -- including boot camps that allow earlier intervention with alternative punishment for young offenders aged 18-22.

In Florida, Dade County's drug courts in the past four years have seen the recidivism rate by offenders fall from 33% to three percent. It has proven to be a practical and money-saving approach that could save taxpayers billions over time.

PROBLEMS WITH DRUG-ADDICTED PRISONERS ARE ADDRESSED:

Those criminals who are addicts must get treatment. Evidence shows that drug treatment for prisoners cuts recidivism in half and is very cost-effective. The crime bill establishes a schedule for treatment of federal drug-addicted prisoners, requires drug testing of federal offenders on post-conviction release, and enhances penalties for drug use and trafficking within federal prisons.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

SPECIAL PROVISIONS PROTECTING WOMEN INCLUDED FOR THE FIRST TIME:

A study to be released on January 30 by the Justice Department shows that two-thirds of violent attacks against women were committed by someone the victim knew. The unique nature of those crimes require the law to be especially sensitive to the differences that fact creates, and for the first time, these special provisions will be included in the crime bill. The amendment:

Increases the sentences for rape, requires rapists to pay mandatory restitution to their victims, and extends the rape shield law to civil cases.

[The Act also provides grants for increased policing, prosecutorial resources, and prevention in areas with high rates of sexual assaults];

Requires all states to recognize the validity of a spouse stay-away order issued in another state, creates a federal crime for crossing state lines to violate such an order, and targets funds to support the prosecution of spouse abusers;

Recognizes a woman's right to be free from violent attacks based on gender, and creates a civil rights cause of action for violations of that right;

Promotes rape prevention on college campuses; and

Creates training programs for state and local judges to create awareness of, and knowledge of, violence against women.

POLLY KLAAS'S ABDUCTOR WOULD RECEIVE INCREASED PENALTIES:

The Act increases the penalties for repeat offenders and for sex offenders against victims under 16.

YOUTH-RELATED PROVISIONS

Firearm violence kills an American child every three hours.

CRIME BILL HAS STRONG SAFE SCHOOL PROVISIONS:

The current Senate bill allocates \$300 million over three years for local schools and communities. Up to one-third of that can be used for security-related measures (e.g., metal detectors, school police, video surveillance). The rest of the funding goes towards:

Drug and alcohol education, and training programs;

Counseling programs for children who are victims of school-related violence;

Programs to provide alternative, constructive programs for youth at risk for gang recruitment.

The bill also authorizes \$20 million to state educational agencies to make available teacher, parent and student awareness programs, and to disseminate information on successful school violence programs.

On January 26, 1994, gunfire erupted among a group of teenagers at Dunbar High School, in Washington, D.C. Although no one was injured or killed, the incident renewed concerns among students, teachers and Board of Education members about security for members of this community.

One teenager was arrested, and charged with assault with a deadly weapon. But school officials regard security as a longstanding, critical problem. On the day of the shooting, this school, with more than 700 students, had only one walk-through metal detector in use.

COMMUNITY POLICING HELPS TARGET YOUTH AT RISK:

Some of the policing money is directed at early intervention such as teams of police, social workers, educators, and doctors working together to intervene early in the lives of juvenile victims and offenders. Other funding boosts programs such as Police Athletic League, Big Brothers/Big Sisters, and Girls and Boys Clubs.

From 1985 to 1992, the number of 15-year-old males charged with murder has increased by 217%.

BILL TARGETS YOUTH INVOLVED WITH GANGS AND DRUG ABUSE:

DOJ reports that 4,881 gangs were operating in this country in 1991, with 249,324 members who committed 1,051 homicides.

The crime bill authorizes \$100 million in state grants for such drug and gang prevention programs as:

Education, prevention and treatment programs for at-risk juveniles;

Academic, athletic, and artistic after-school activities;

Sports mentoring programs;

Alternative programs in public housing projects; and

Training for judicial and correctional agencies to identify, counsel, and treat drug-dependent or gang-involved juvenile offenders.

\$40 million is authorized for fifty Gang Resistance Education and Training Projects and \$36 million for ATF and Secret Service agents to investigate juvenile gun trafficking.

Homicides and aggravated assault are three times more likely to be committed by gang members than by non-gang delinquents.

BILL INCREASES PENALTIES IN SCHOOL ZONES AND FOR GANG-RELATED CRIMES:

The crime bill increases the federal penalties for employing children to distribute drugs near schools and playgrounds and it imposes new federal penalties for crimes committed by gang members.

Today, more than 3 million crimes a year are committed in or near the 85,000 U.S. public schools.

CRIME BILL INCLUDES JUVENILE HANDGUN BAN:

The bill includes a ban, with limited exception, on the sale or transfer of a gun to a juvenile, as well as the possession of a gun by a juvenile. It also increases the penalty for transferring a gun to a juvenile where the transferor knows that the juvenile will use the gun to commit a crime.

In 1992, 46,000 juveniles were arrested on weapons charges nationally, with guns involved on a vast majority of the cases. This number is double that of similar arrests in 1982.

THIRTEEN YEAR OLDS TRIED AS ADULTS:

The compromise worked out in the Senate is that for serious violent crimes, 13-year olds **may** be tried as adults under the decision of the federal prosecutor, but federal law does not require that they be tried in all cases.

JUVENILE DETENTION:

\$500 million is authorized to be passed on to states for the construction of facilities to house violent juveniles.

"OUNCE OF PREVENTION":

The bill authorizes \$75 million for an "Ounce of Prevention Fund" for after-school and summer youth programs, including outreach programs for at-risk families.

VIOLENT CRIME REDUCTION TRUST FUND

PRESIDENT CLINTON IS FULFILLING A PROMISE WITH THE VCRTF:

In his campaign book, Putting People First, then-Governor Clinton....

ACROSS THE BOARD WORKFORCE REDUCTION WILL FUND CRIME BILL:

Senators Byrd, Mitchell, Sasser, Biden, Hatch, Dole, Gramm and others reached agreement on an amendment to codify the Administration's 252,000 federal workforce reduction, transfer these savings into a newly-created Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund (VCRTF), and reduce the discretionary caps by an equal amount. The total amount of money available for crime bill authorizations under the amendment would be \$22.268 billion over the next 5 years. The VCRTF, since it is essential to achieving a crime bill conference report, is included in the FY 1995 budget.