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KAREN CARDEN WALSH
GARY L. WATTS
DANNY C. WILLIAMS

August 30, 1994

Senator Nancy Kassebaum
United States Senate
SR-302, Russell Building
1st & C Streets, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20510



Dear Senator Kassebaum:

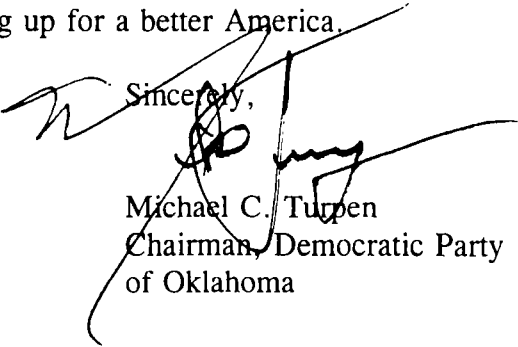
Thank you for your courageous vote on the Crime Bill. I can only imagine how hard it was to transcend the admonitions of your Party leaders and vote your conscience for the good of your country.

I am a Democrat. I respect my President for not giving up on this critical issue, but I especially see you and the other six Republican Senators as the personification of courage. Andrew Jackson said "One person with courage makes a majority." When I was District Attorney in Muskogee, Oklahoma, fighting corruption in my own courthouse, my motto was "Courage is being scared but saddling up anyway."

As District Attorney and later as Attorney General, I became increasingly concerned that more often than not "Demography is Destiny." Oh yes, I have put men on death row and got them executed, but I have come to believe that we can change our civilization more significantly when we focus on the high chair rather than the electric chair. For gosh sakes, why not try at least some prevention?

Congratulations on standing up for a better America.

Sincerely,



Michael C. Turpen
Chairman, Democratic Party
of Oklahoma

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United States Senate
SR-249, Russell Building
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Washington, D.C. 20510

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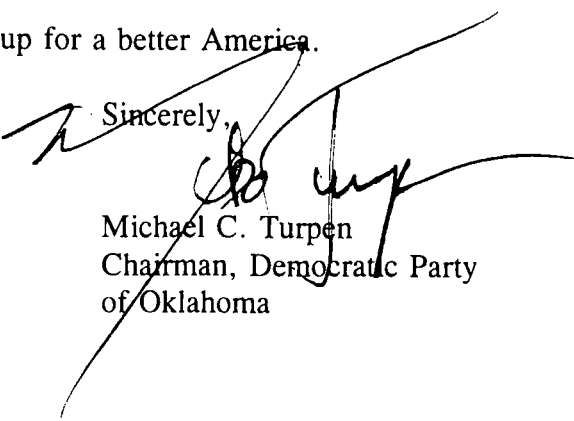
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United States Senate
SD-567, Dirksen Building
1st & C Streets, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20510

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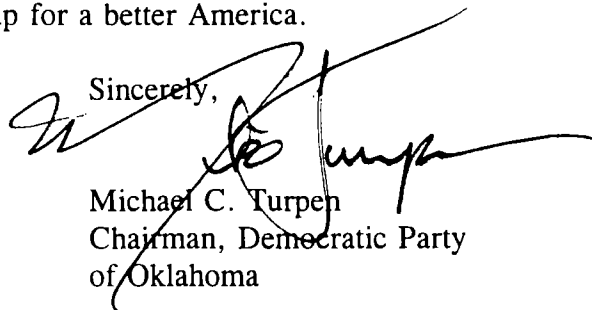
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Sincerely,



Michael C. Turpen
Chairman, Democratic Party
of Oklahoma

The Morning Briefing -- Friday, August 26, 1994
Special Edition

SENATE PASSES THE PRESIDENT'S CRIME BILL

Yesterday, with Democrats leading the way, the Senate passed a crime bill that will make our neighborhoods, our homes and our families safer. Breaking through the latest round of special interest-inspired gridlock, fifty-four Democrats and seven Republicans freed the crime bill from a long six year imprisonment. Last night, the Washington special interests lost and the American people won.

The crime bill now goes to the President for his signature.

"The United States Senate made history today. The long, hard wait is finally over -- and the American people are going to get the action against crime they have been demanding for over six years. I want to thank the members of both parties, in the House and Senate, who answered the call of ordinary Americans to get this job done. With a little good faith and a lot of hard work, Republicans and Democrats overcame the partisan divisions and false choices that have blocked anti-crime efforts time and time again.

"And because they did, children will be safer and parents will breathe a little easier. Police officers will no longer be threatened by gangs and thugs with easy access to deadly assault weapons designed only for war. Violent criminals are going to learn quickly that the revolving door on our prisons has been locked and bolted shut.

"This crime bill is going to make every neighborhood in America safer -- and the bipartisan spirit that produced it should give every American hope that we can come together to do the job they sent us here to do."

-- President Clinton on the Senate's passage of the crime bill, August 25, 1994

PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST

As passed, the bill:

- Puts 100,000 more police officers on the streets
- Keeps repeat violent criminals off our streets with longer sentences and "three strikes and your out"
- Funds prison construction to house violent criminals
- Provides funding for boot camps for young offenders
- Bans assault weapons
- Makes it illegal for kids to carry handguns
- Extends the death penalty for the most heinous crimes
- Requires sexual predators to register with law enforcement and allows them to notify the community that a sexual predator lives in the area
- Gives children positive alternatives to crime and drugs with gang prevention, safe schools, job training and other prevention programs
- Combats sexual and domestic violence through the Violence Against Women Act

President Clinton first committed to enact many of these provisions during the 1992 Presidential campaign -- he promised to pass a plan *"that puts people first and will make America safe again."* As Governor Clinton said when he received the endorsement of the National Association of Police Organizations in Oakland, Michigan, on August 20, 1992, *"Al Gore and I will make our nation's streets safe again."*

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SEN BIDEN WILM + LIZ RYAN IN DC

NO.675 P002

Roth breaks ranks on crime bill

Del. senator won't endorse GOP plan

By PENNY BENDER
Washington reporter

WASHINGTON — Sen. William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., broke ranks with Republicans Tuesday, refusing to go along with a GOP plan to hold up the \$30.2 billion crime bill.

Although he hasn't said so publicly, the decision to shy away from his party's tough stand is a strong

■ GOP says it has votes to kill measure A6
■ Editorial A8

indication he will vote for the bill. He voted for the legislation when it passed 95-4 in November.

Forty-one of the 44 Senate Republicans signed a letter Tuesday demanding changes to the bill, including the removal of a ban on 19 types of semiautomatic assault weapons and a cut of \$5 billion from prevention programs.

Roth is absent from the letter, as are Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, who said Monday he supports the bill, and James Jeffords of Vermont.

"I'm still reviewing the final conference report," Roth said. "However ... my major concern is that in the past 12 years, crime in Delaware has seen an incredible, and even frightening, increase."

Republicans would not comment, but the GOP does not need Roth's support to derail the bill.

"They are probably going to kill this bill. I'm at least a vote away," said Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., prime sponsor of the measure.

The GOP group is challenging the bill on a procedural motion that requires Democrats to garner 60 votes to override. The GOP has secured enough votes without Roth's backing.

As Democrats lobbied for votes, President Clinton called Roth to ask for his support.

Roth has opposed other big-ticket spending bills, but he has supported the funding of the crime bill.

Delaware Attorney General Charles M. Oberly III, who hopes to unseat Roth, has repeatedly criticized him for not supporting a crime bill in 1991, calling his position inconsistent. He called on Roth to publicly state his position on the current bill.

Roth struck back Tuesday, citing statistics showing that violent crime in Delaware has increased 55 percent, rape by 168 percent and murder by 28 percent during Oberly's watch.

"To put it simply, the crime statistics in Delaware over the last 12 years are criminal," Roth said.

Wed. 7/24/94 - WNS

08/24/94 15:17

SEN BIDEN WILM + LIZ RYAN IN DC

NO.675 P003

A6

THE NEWS JOURNAL

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 24, 1994

GOP: Have votes to kill crime bill

Foes in Senate sign ultimatum

By PENNY BENDER
and NORM BREWER

WASHINGTON — The \$30.2 billion crime bill continued its fight for life Tuesday — Senate Republicans claiming enough votes to kill it unless it is trimmed and toughened, angry Democrats accusing them of trying to hurt President Clinton politically.

The mammoth legislation survived a similar attack in the House last week. It passed

■ Both broke ranks A1

Sunday, 235-185, after three grueling days of negotiations that resulted in cuts of \$3.3 billion.

All but three of the Senate's 44 Republicans signed an ultimatum Tuesday, demanding the administration and congressional Democrats cut further — \$5.3 billion, Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, said later — or face a deadly roadblock.

Those 41 Republicans are threatening to raise a procedural challenge and, if they stick together, that would be enough to keep the bill from a final vote. Sen. Richard Shelby, D-Ala., also is siding with the Republicans, as is his custom, leaving Democrats with only 58 of the 60 votes they need to head off the challenge.

With Republicans saying they want to talk before voting, and Democrats scrambling for support, a vote wasn't expected before today at the earliest.

At the White House, Clinton asked the Senate to "continue the bipartisan spirit that was established in the House," and urged "every senator, without

regard to party," to work for the passage of the bill.

Miffed the White House left them out of recent negotiations with the House, Senate Republicans want some of their own provisions put in the bill.

"The House had its chance. Why should the Senate be denied its chance?" asked Sen. John Warner, R-Va., who said Clinton called him Monday night and asked, "Is there not a means to work this out?"

Angry Democrats accused Republicans of hiding behind charges of "pork spending" when their real aim is to strip from the bill a ban on 19 types of semiautomatic assault weapons. And, the Democrats charge, the Republicans are out to politically damage Clinton.

"This is an effort to defeat the assault weapons ban without appearing to do so and without being held accountable," said Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine. Tuesday's GOP action is "a transparent political game, and I hope the American people see through it."

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas denied the Republicans are playing partisan politics, and insisted deleting the gun ban also was not their aim — "What we're concerned about primarily is the spending."

Republicans not signing the GOP letter of ultimatum were Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, a former Philadelphia district attorney who announced support of the crime bill Monday; William V. Roth Jr., Delaware; and James Jeffords, Vermont.

Penny Bender is News Journal Washington reporter and Norm Brewer writes for Gannett News Service.

THE CRIME BILL**Senate GOP threatens more of the same old partisan posturing****WHERE WE STAND****Stop Republican obstructionism.****WHAT SHOULD BE DONE****Call Sen. Roth and tell him to get off the fence and support the crime bill.**

Right-wing Republicans in the Senate are threatening to take up where their GOP and Democratic conservative counterparts in the House left off trying to block passage of the crime bill now struggling through Congress.

Led by Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, they are claiming to discover budgetary flaws they themselves helped craft and pass by a 94-4 vote last fall. Too much "pork" (by which they mean crime prevention programs) and not enough punitive stuff, they say.

This is just another partisan ploy to steal President Bill Clinton's thunder — and to satisfy the National Rifle Association's desire to stop the ban on assault weapons. The strategy, invoking a procedural challenge that would require 60 votes to circumvent, is just another way of filibustering the bill. The political risks are too high to openly filibuster.

As of late yesterday, Delaware's Sen. William V. Roth Jr. had not joined the movement to block the bill. He told us, "I want a bill and I want it this year. Crime is increasing." Sen. Roth must get off the fence. He has a history of bipartisanship. He must not abandon it now.

The majority of Americans believe this crime bill would help. They are going to be unkind to politicians who deny them because of peripheral issues.

The real intent is not getting rid of a few more "social" programs — some of which Republicans themselves proposed in the Senate version of the bill — it is getting rid of the ban on 19 varieties of assault weapons. With missionary zeal, the NRA has turned this limited ban, which makes good sense, into a conspiracy theory that has it becoming the first step toward a universal ban on firearms.

The Senate should follow the lead of the House, where Delaware's Rep. Michael Castle helped forge a bipartisan coalition of support for restructured anti-crime legislation.

Del. first when D.C. delegation casts votes

By PENNY BENDER
Washington reporter

WASHINGTON — One of the biggest thorns sticking in Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s side last week was the vote cast by Delaware's House member against Biden's \$30.2 billion anti-crime bill.

Rep. Michael N. Castle, R-Del., may stick the Democratic senator

Gilchrest might change vote... A14

again this week, by voting no on a renewed effort to save the founding crime legislation.

But Biden refuses to attack Castle for his opposition. He calmly defends the freshman lawmaker. "I understand Mike's problem. He's a new guy. I assume he wants to be a team player. It's a tough spot."

Biden's refusal to rail against the former governor isn't unusual. "I'm not going to attack Mike Castle. In my 22 years in the Senate, I've never said an angry thing about [Sen.] Bill Roth. My state's too small. So much is at stake for us that we've got to stick together."

Delaware's tiny delegation has one motto when it comes to voting or lobbying each other on legislation: Keep your complaints and opinions private.

The tradition started on Biden's first day in the Senate, said William V. Roth Jr., R-Del.

"The first day Joe was elected, I went over to Joe and said, 'You are now the other U.S. senator. I think it's critically important that we work together.' He came back the next day and said, 'Bill, I agree with you.'"

The tradition continued when Gov. Thomas R. Carper was the state's congressman, Roth said.

"We're of different parties. We know we're going to disagree on the issues," Roth said. "But when it comes to Delaware, we work together, whether it's (funding for) Amtrak or the VA hospital or something involving the poultry business in Sussex."

Castle agrees. "I'm sure at

Harmony: Biden won't slam Castle

FROM PAGE A1

times we'd like to strangle each other, but you try to hold on to that."

Delaware probably isn't much different from other small states with only one House member, he added. "I would hazard a guess that those states' lawmakers tend to work together more even if they disagree. Otherwise they are going to get shut out of things. You really do have to plug each other's holes."

In addition to being from a small state, the three men genuinely like each other.

Roth attends Biden's Christmas parties. They occasionally ride home together on the train.

Biden worked with Castle when Castle was governor. Although they rarely meet socially, other than an occasional political dinner, they boast of good personal relationships.

Still, none of the three can think of a time when they voted against a bill so important to one member of the delegation. In fact, in many cases, they have supported one another, voting the same way on such major issues as the North American Free Trade Agreement.

For instance, when the Republicans controlled the Senate in the early 1980s, Biden voted for the Roth-inspired tax cuts Reagan pushed and won in 1981.

And although Roth voted against a crime bill in 1990, he voted for the current legislation in November, helped promote the creation of a trust fund to pay for the bill and changed his position and supported the Brady Bill, which implements a national background check for handgun purchasers. Roth initially opposed the Brady Bill.

Although Biden takes the high road and avoids criticizing his Republican counterparts, he really doesn't need to speak out against Castle. There are other Delaware Democrats willing to do that.

"I think Joe Biden was very disappointed in Mike Castle's vote on the crime bill," said Attorney General Charles M. Oberly III, who supports the bill and is disappointed in the vote himself.

Gov. Carper expressed his own dismay with Castle in a two-page letter to the former governor, made public the day it was written. "While you may not approve of every aspect of the bill, I believe its passage clearly will benefit the people of Delaware, whom you serve," he wrote.

Roth may find himself in the same situation as Castle in the next week if the crime bill passes the House. He has concerns about the cost of the bill, which grew from \$22 billion in November to \$30.2 billion in July, and he hasn't said he'll vote for the final bill.

"I'll reserve judgment," Roth said Wednesday. "I don't know what's coming back here. I hope they bring (the cost) closer to the Senate version."

Again, Biden won't have to comment if Roth casts a no vote on crime. Oberly will be sure to fill the void.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 13, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR PAT GRIFFIN

From: Rahm Emanuel

Subject: Senator Dole and the Crime Bill

There is ample evidence to demonstrate that Senator Dole's opposition to the preventive measures in the Crime Bill is a smokescreen for his opposition to an assault weapons ban. The following information demonstrates that Dole has historically supported preventive measures and opposed crime bills. This may be of use for your meeting with Senators Mitchell and Dole tomorrow.

Prevention

In the past, Senator Dole has been an outspoken supporter of prevention measures to fight crime:

- The Senator backed a Juvenile Drug Trafficking and Gang Prevention Grants program. In Senator Dole's own words this program provides \$125 million "to develop and provide parenting classes to parents of at-risk youth . . . to develop and provide training in methods of nonviolent dispute resolution to youth of junior high school and high school age . . . (and) to establish sports mentoring and coaching programs in which athletes serve as role models for juveniles to teach that athletics provides a positive alternative to drug and gang involvement."
- In a 1983 speech on prevention before Kansans, the Senator exalted preventive approaches to crime prevention with the words,
" . . . crime, like illness, must be addressed preventively. For crime too is a form of sickness, which drain's society's resources and tears the social fabric."
". . . at a time when rising crime rates give voice to call for tougher sentencing, elimination of probation and parole for violent offenders, and other reforms in the criminal justice system . . . (preventive treatment) offers yet another approach -- one that seeks to instill respect for human life and human values short of the jail cell." (See attached for full text)

- Midnight basketball was funded as one of the President's "thousand-points-of-light." If it was good enough for George Bush, it should be good enough for Bob Dole.

Historic Opposition to Crime Bills

Senator Dole has voted down two previous Crime Bills. He voted against the 1992 Crime Bill, and against an earlier Crime Bill in 1991.

Senator Dole's attacks on prevention-as-pork, are clearly an attempt to mask his opposition to the ban on assault weapons.

BOB DOLE



R - Kansas)

SII 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
FRIDAY, JULY 22, 1983

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-6521

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
DR. KARL MENNINGER LECTURE

"THE PROPHET OF PREVENTION"

TOPEKA -- Fellow Kansans... Today is a special one for you and me, for our neighbors and for all people everywhere who take a generous view of the human race - who see possibilities where others see only problems - who glimpse potential where others prescribe punishment. Today is Karl Menninger's ninetieth birthday - and as one who has had the privilege of sharing birthday celebrations with Dr. Karl for sixty years on my own, I can't imagine a better way to spend this 22nd of July than here, in the company of his friends and admirers. Of course, such occasions do have their drawbacks. When Somerset Maugham was asked how he felt on his own ninetieth birthday, he replied not bad - considering the alternative. President Eisenhower had a slightly different approach. A reporter once asked him at a White House conference if he was aware of the fact that on his upcoming birthday he would reach the milestone of seventy years - the oldest President ever to serve in office to that time.

Ike smiles at this. "I believe it's a tradition in baseball," he replied, "that when a pitcher has a no-hitter going for him, nobody reminds him of it."

Well, Karl Menninger has been pitching no-hit ball for a long while now - and this is one game whose fans are eager to see in extra innings. It has been said that years alone are no adequate measure of the aging process. People grow old only by deserting their ideals, only as self-interest or despair bow the head and wrinkle the soul. By this or any other standard of measurement, Dr. Karl is the youngest man in this room. Even now, at an age when some men survive from pill to pill, he continues to write, to lecture, to advise colleagues and challenge casual assumptions with the intellectual rigor that has made him a pioneer and prophet in his own field.

Long before I entered this world, he was leading the minds of men and women out of the dark ages into the bright light of scientific inquiry. Today, on his ninetieth birthday, the candle he lit here at the villages casts a glow reaching to Washington and beyond. He has raised his voice for more than half a century - and only now is the political process prepared to lower its guard and heed his message.

For one thing, government is learning to emulate his own preference for fresh ideas. The man we honor this afternoon may have been born in 1893, but in his creative approach to the human mind, Karl Menninger has often seemed ahead of his time. The record confirms his taste for innovation. Less than a decade after his graduation from the Harvard Medical School, he purchased a farm near Topeka, which in May, 1925 admitted its first patient to the Menninger Sanitarium. Later came the Menninger Foundation, the Topeka School for Psychoanalysis and a school of Psychiatry which was soon training nearly a tenth of America's practicing Psychiatrists. He was not yet forty when he published his landmark volume The Human Mind, which translated the jargon of science into language accessible to the layman. In its pages, mental illness could be treated and cured. Throughout his career, Dr. Karl guided us through the labyrinth of human thought and motivation. He has thrown light on the dark corners and given hope to those anxious to escape their own imprisonment. Equally important, he has never contented himself with the scientific cloister or remote lab. His classroom has been society itself, and his students have been politicians and the general public, as well as fellow professionals.

Most of all, Dr. Karl has focused his attention on those whose minds and manners are not yet fully shaped. Samuel Johnson once wrote that it was the inevitable lot of the elderly to complain about the young, to find demerit and insolence in the rising generation. Karl Menninger has never lived bounded by such rules. Having educated us to the fact that mental illness could be cured, here at the Villages, he has taught us for nearly twenty years that anti-social behavior can be prevented. In a very real and compelling sense, he remains today what he has always been - a prophet of prevention.

"OUR MOST PRECIOUS POSSESSION"

Of all her natural resources, America's children are the most precious. If you seek a definition of childhood's whimsy, you might turn to another midwesterner, who also reached his ninetieth birthday and who similarly enriched American life through his humanitarian instincts. Along with his sister, Herbert Hoover once wrote, "The boy is our most precious possession. He strains our nerves, yet he is a complex of cells teeming with affection. He is a periodic nuisance, yet he is a joy forever. He is a part-time incarnation of destruction, yet he radiates sunlight to all the world... He is an illuminated interrogation point, yet he is the most entertaining animal that is."

Hoover spoke his words in an appeal for the boys clubs, his own proposed solution to the dangers of modern urban boyhoods, where prairie sod had given way to cement paving, and the outlets of aggression and curiosity open to earlier generations of boys had been largely closed off, or converted into back alleys and fire escapes. The number of boys per acre has vastly increased in Karl Menninger's ninety years. And whimsy has given way in many corners of this country to danger, to violence, to physical assault or emotional emptiness.

Our physical health has never been better. Today, 75% of all deaths in America are due to degenerative illnesses like heart disease, stroke, or cancer. From age one up to the early forties, the leading cause of death is not disease at all, but accidents. Put this in historical perspective, and you can see how far we've advanced since the days of Karl Menninger's boyhood: In 1900, the death rate for Americans was 17 per 1,000. Today, it is less than half that figure. Had mortality rates prevailing back then continued into our own era, this year alone we would lose nearly 400,000 Americans to tuberculosis... 80,000 to diphtheria and 55,000 to polio. Instead, all three diseases will claim fewer than 10,000 lives.

A child born in 1900 could expect to live to the ripe old age of 47; today's child, by contrast, can reasonably count on 73 years of life. And not only the quantity but the quality of that life has improved. In recent years we have cut in half the mortality rate for children under fourteen. Since the mid-1960's, we've seen deaths due to heart disease in this country decline by one-fourth. In the last decade alone, we managed to add nearly three years to the average lifespan.

PREVENTION'S GREATEST ADVOCATE

There are many reasons behind such impressive strides. Undoubtedly the greatest is a word that Karl Menninger has all but patented over the years. That word is prevention. Through research, both private and public, we have added to the storehouse of knowledge. We have used our knowledge to practical benefit, improving sanitation, housing, nutrition and immunization. We have encouraged a public awareness that individual lifestyles determine individual lifespans.

At the same time, government has entered that health arena, dragging a long array of dollar signs in its wake. Between 1960 and 1983, Americans saw spending for health care go from \$27 billion to \$322 billion. Today, nearly eleven cents of every federal dollar - that is, every taxpayer's dollar - goes to some form of health-related expense. That's an increase of over 1100% since Dwight Eisenhower celebrated his 70th birthday. But government doesn't always share Karl Menninger's emphasis on preventing ill health. Instead, much of the money allocated from public funds has been spent on the treatment of disease and disability. We have reacted to sickness rather than anticipated it - and the resulting epidemic of numbers makes for sobering reading. For instance...

*12 other nations do better than the United States in preventing cancer-related deaths.

*26 others have a lower death rate from circulator disease.

*11 others do a better job of keeping babies alive to see their first birthday.

*14 others have a higher level of life expectancy for men; brothers can claim a longer lifespan for women

Fortunately, there are encouraging signs of change all around us. Americans are paying more attention than ever before to exercise, diet, nutrition, environmental health and occupational safety. They are beginning to grasp the vital linkage between personal behavior and the prevention of crippling or fatal diseases. Even degenerative diseases are coming to be seen as preventable. As a result, we occupy a threshold in time and thought. But far more is involved than medical theory. For, with the growth of government's role in scientific research and social planning, we have witnessed a centralization of authority as well as dollars. We have told ourselves that Washington might somehow find the resources to abolish sickness as well as poverty - and that only solutions conceived in the forums of public policy could be legitimate. And yet the political process is even less suited than most individuals to anticipate future needs or innovate present solutions. Government does not hold to preventive theories; government reacts. And so we cannot leave to government alone the responsibility to ask or answer such questions as

What shall our health goals be - and who can best help us achieve them? How can we adapt the preventive theories that have so dramatically lessened the scourge of physical illness to the less evident issues of life's quality? Having extended the lives of most Americans, how can we now expand their range of opportunities, especially those open to our children?

The relationships between such questions are complex. They are no more likely than disease itself to yield to a slogan - or a government program. Money alone is not the answer. For money can help the scientists. But it cannot supplant them. It cannot implant healthful attitudes in the general public. It cannot bring hope to a child's vision, nor console him for the loss of a cohesive family. In the last generation, we have tried to spend our way out of poverty. We have declared more than one war on crime. And always we have been frustrated. The reasons are painfully clear. A Marshall Plan might restore a shattered economy. An Apollo program might land a man on the moon. But neither could restore a shattered spirit, or replace the family unit as the bricks and mortar on which any successful society rests. Dr. Karl has understood this perhaps better than anyone else - and it must be a cause of real joy for him on this 90th birthday to know that Washington too is beginning to share his wisdom.

FIGHTING CRIME - HELPING CHILDREN

Let me provide you with a specific case of what I mean. One of Dr. Karl's great accomplishments has been his perception that crime, like illness, must be addressed preventively. For crime too is a form of sickness, which drains society's resources and tears the social fabric. As an early advocate of rehabilitation for criminal offenders, he went against the grain. But here as elsewhere, the man who swam upstream eventually helped dictate the river's course.

Quite simply, Dr. Karl warns us that abused children can become abusive adults. Without an alternative for development, they can even become criminals. As he himself has put it, "Nearly every inmate I ever interviewed had been beaten as a child. We should expect some direct kind of retaliation." The cost of that retaliation is high; current estimates have it that perhaps a third of all violent crime in this country is committed by persons under the age of eighteen. There are many factors at work to make this so: a changing economy, rising divorce rate, educational failings, and plain demographics are all involved to some degree. With the baby boom launched after World War II came an increase in crime rates.

And those who find solace in the fact that most of those born during the fifteen years after 1945 are now past the age where an offender is likely to commit criminal acts had better take another look at the statistics. Because they tell us that a new surge in the birthrate is occurring, one which, if unaddressed, may lead to yet another explosion in lawlessness.

Dr. Karl proposes something better - a preventive approach to youthful crime.

It represents the logical end-product of a lifetime view that crime can be attacked through means other than incarceration. Moreover, at a time when rising crime rates give voice to calls for tougher sentencing, elimination of probation and parole for violent offenders, and other reforms in the criminal justice system, Dr. Karl offers another approach - one that seeks to instill respect for human life and human values short of the jail cell.

THE VILLAGES - A RESCUE FOR CHILDREN

Dr. Karl believes children without families or positive models for development are given both. They are protected, not patronized. Each house is run like any home with a large number of children, with house parents and an atmosphere of discipline matched by genuine love. Most of the foster children here are classed as "status Offenders" or wards of the court for deeds that would not warrant legal action if they were adults. Their ranks include truants, runaways, sexually active children and children orphaned, abused or abandoned. Many have a brother or sister living with them. Nearly all have survived a gauntlet line of foster parents, psychiatric centers or detention homes, with an average of seven previous placements.

When they arrive, they are provided with the very stability so lacking in their previous lives. They are accorded the individualized care we associate with an ideal home setting. They are included in a wide circle of activities; from here they can attend public schools. They attend church; they delight in vacations with their foster families. They can enjoy high quality staff and support services that distinguish these homes from most traditional placement alternatives, including special attention by tutors, career advisers, or psychiatrists. In short, these homes replace the cynical, even dangerous warehouses of the past with an authentic family. Throughout it all, their residents taste the preventive concepts pioneered in by Dr. Karl.

As usual, he put it best himself. "Children without love or faith or hope," he has written, "grow up to be our vagrants, delinquents, and mentally ill. Rescued children can help save our world. If we are serious about large-scale prevention of delinquency and crime, is it not obvious and imperative that we greatly multiply our efforts to rescue these children before they are ruined?"

Society can have no higher goal. But first we must ask ourselves: What does ruin a child? The lack of family security, for one thing. The lack of regular school attendance, for another. Still more of the responsibility lies with parents who neglect their children's wellbeing. For it is they who are a child's earliest and most influential teachers. The values they embody and the encouragement they provide will nurture or starve a child for life. We cannot expect our educational system to become substitute child care centers, to teach algebra and mould character simultaneously and without any assistance from the home. Nor can we believe that either our schools or a concerned government can by themselves instruct the basics of citizenship and social behavior if the seeds of social integration are not first planted in the family and community.

And yet, even though the formal instruments of society are ill-equipped to prevent such human wastage, we all bear the financial and social burden that results from our neglect and our naive conviction that the political process has a solution up its sleeve.

The costs of failing to deal with the breakdown in social values are frightening. Even as I speak, there are more than 400,000 Americans locked away behind prison bars - a number swelled some 55% in less than ten years. Authorities in at least 36 states are under pressure - often by court order - to ease conditions of overcrowding in their prisons. Over half the facilities declared unconstitutional by federal courts because of abhorrent conditions. And so we ask ourselves another question: Are we content to allocate more and more of our wealth to building prisons - or will we invest some of that wealth and still more of our imagination in saving children before it's too late? How do we accomplish such an immense salvage operation?

Surely one answer is to be found here, in the preventive experiences of Dr. Karl here, far from the halls of Congress or the bureaucratic enclaves of Washington. Young people in trouble are taught to live and to love, to produce and to grow in their own individuality. Here they are treated as human beings, not faceless numbers checked out by a government computer or toted up in some academic study. And others are watching closely. Already, preventive treatment programs for the young are firmly established in over 30 states. From in-home counseling to foster care placement, the trend is flowing Dr. Karl's way.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS FOR CHILDREN

Where do we go from here? What signposts exist to guide our course. And who can we call upon to make the journey with us? These questions will also demand grassroots answers. They will demand equal imagination and creativity from all of us - from businesses and individuals as well as government and the medical community.

Much has been made of a so-called conservative revolution in Washington, of budget cuts that aren't really cuts at all and a retrenching of priorities that should not be confused with retreat from social commitments. In fact, this president and this congress are renewing those commitments. But they are listening as well as speaking out. And they are yielding in local and individual expertise in place of the heavy-handed dictation of prior years. For the first time in memory, Washington is expressing interest in partnership with the American people. This theme is being picked up and amplified by concerned individuals and institutions.

The Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services and the Villages itself exemplifies the advantages of such public-private partnerships. The construction costs of the homes are paid for with contributions from private individuals and foundations. The daily operating expenses are assumed primarily by the state or county that refers a child here. As a result, it costs less than half the amount spent per child per day at most institutions run by public authorities. Until now, the Villages has used neither federal revenue sharing nor United Way funds. At the same time each Village voluntarily pays local property taxes. An endowment built up by friendly supporters helps to guarantee a child's care, whatever the action of his referring state or county. Private donors also contribute to scholarship funds.

A ROLE FOR WASHINGTON - AND THE FAMILY

What all of this adds up to is an encouraging alternative to people who would prefer that we simply turn to Washington for help. The federal government has a role to play. Headstart and other federal programs can and should help disadvantaged children narrow the gap with their more fortunate peers. I have long supported such efforts, and I am determined that they not suffer now, when economy in government has never been more critically needed.

But neither have I deluded myself into believing that any federal program can take the place of a supportive homelife. A caring family, or a community bred to know children in need as its own special responsibility. Government can and should do all in its power to create conditions, both economically and socially, that blunt the rising divorce rate, that stem the increase in single-parent families, that turn desperate adults against their own offspring or simply alienate them due to the pressures of self-support or economic hardship. But it cannot replace a disintegrated family by claiming family status for itself. It can punish criminals better than it prevents crime. And that brings me to my final point.

Historically, the American Republic has been decentralized for a reason. That reason was the need for experimentation, innovation, and the trial and error that states and localities have always excelled at. This nation was designed as a kind of intellectual hot house, where many theories could take root and many alternatives be tried out. In America, public policy was meant to originate with the public itself. Government can try to play the role of parent. But it can hardly hope to succeed. How much better to encourage those like Dr. Karl and his followers who are equipped, both emotionally and through professional training, to play the role of genuine family.

The results of their work offer more than just hope. Most of the children graduate from high school. Some have completed college studies. A few have pursued graduate professional training for social work, art or music. Few are known to have committed criminal acts. And all can attribute at least part of their success to the supportive family structure created and maintained by the man whose birthday we celebrate this afternoon.

"THE UNREASONABLE MAN"

Dr. Karl has been accused of seeing too much good in the human species. He has more accurately been described as "a hopeful humanist." I have my own definition of Karl Menninger. In words first spoken over a half a century ago by the great playwright and social critic George Bernard Shaw. "The reasonable man adapts himself to the world," wrote Shaw. "The unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man."

For ninety years, Karl Menninger has been unreasonably dogged in his pursuit of medical and social truths...unreasonably dedicated to challenging the status quo and disproving ingrained cynicism...unreasonably generous with his time and his talent. As a result, his own profession has been raised to a higher level. His native state has been endowed with some of his own reputation for innovation tied to the values that hold a nation together. And all of us who have been fortunate

to stand in his shadow have been encouraged and inspired to be unreasonable in our own demands for a society that cares enough about its young people not to leave them to the agents of a distant government.

Ninety years is a long time for any man to live. In Dr. Karl's case, it has been a story of abundant gifts generously shared, and of a visionary mind stretched in the service of his fellow man. No words of mine could repay such a debt as we owe, and so we gather to say through our presence what we cannot convey through words alone - the feeling summed up by the ancient greeks who told us that one must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been. Dr. Karl - your day has been - and remains - splendid indeed. Because of it, the darkness has been lifted for all of us. You have provided us with an example to follow. You have given us a standard to reach for. With God's help, and for the sake of our posterity, we will embrace your preventive philosophy. And the glow from your candle will truly light the way.

11/ → 1993

want to do something about this have a chance of voting down the Biden amendment and voting up the Hatch-Mack amendment, which will really make a dent in what is going on in our society.

So I am prepared to go ahead to a vote, but I understand there are others who would like to speak.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, let me say I think, first of all, Senator DOMENICI is taking a look at the amendment offered by the distinguished President pro tempore, Senator BYRD. He will have some information on that soon. But I do think we really have to pay for these things. I am not certain we are going to get any savings out of a national performance review, but we might. It might be a start. I think that is one big difference between the Republican approaches and Democratic ones. We paid for ours. If Senator BYRD has a better idea, that is fine with me, and as soon as we have time to analyze it we will be happy to proceed to a vote on it.

I think sometimes the best ideas are the easiest ones to understand.

Here's a good example: A convicted violent criminal should serve the full term of this prison sentence. Not one-half or two-thirds of the sentence, but the full sentence. No exceptions and no parole.

This idea, known as truth-in-sentencing, was first embraced by the Federal Government during the 1980's when it instituted pretrial detention, and eliminated parole and probation. The basic principle underlying these reforms is that incarceration works, that a criminal kept behind bars will not terrorize a single law-abiding citizen.

Under today's Federal system, a violent felon, once apprehended, can remain in prison from the moment of arrest until the full sentence has been served.

Unfortunately, truth-in-sentencing is one area where the States have not followed the Federal Government's lead. They have in a lot of areas but not in this area-but they ought to follow our lead. At the State level, for example, a typical murderer is sentenced to 15 years, but serves only 5-1/2-years. A typical rapist is sentenced to 8 years, but serves only 3 years. A typical mugger is sentenced to 6 years, but serves just slightly more than 2 years. The list goes on and on and with tragic consequences. People are back on the street committing more rapes, more murders-whatever it may be.

Take the case of Walter McFadden. McFadden was convicted in Texas of two rapes and sentenced to two 15-year sentences. Paroled 5 years later, he kidnaped and raped a third victim. McFadden then served 4 years of his new 15-year sentence. Less than a year after being paroled again, he raped and strangled an 18-year-old honor student.

There are thousands of other similarly tragic stories, as vicious killers enter our criminal justice system, only to slide through its revolving doors-legally. They are back on the streets, committing these violent crimes and people are saying, why do you not do something about it? I hope we can do something about it.

The problems associated with State prison overcrowding have made this revolving door spin even faster and faster. According to a 1989 survey, nearly one-fourth of the 4,000 prisoners released in Florida that year because of overcrowding went on to commit new crimes during the very period in which they otherwise would have been in prison serving out their full sentences. That is about 25 percent; we could have avoided 25 percent of those crimes committed. These repeat offenders wrecked havoc on the

Dole

[From Remarks at the Dr. Karl Menninger Lecture -- Topeka, 1983]

"Crime, like illness, must be addressed preventatively...(Menninger's proposal) represents the logical end-product of a lifetime view that crime can be attacked through means other than incarceration. Moreover, at a time when rising crime rates give voice to calls for tougher sentencing, elimination of probation and parole for violent offenders, and other reforms in the criminal justice system, Dr. Karl offers another approach -- one that seeks to instill respect for human life and human values short of the jail cell." [3]

"The costs of failing to deal with the breakdown in social values are frightening ... And so we ask ourselves...Are we content to allocate more and more of our wealth to building prisons -- or will we invest some of that wealth and still more of our imagination in saving children before it's too late?" [4]

"Government can and should do all in its power to create conditions, both economically and socially, that blunt the rising divorce rate, that stem the increase in single-parent families, that turn desperate adults against their own offspring...But it cannot replace a disintegrated family by claiming family status for itself. It can punish criminals better than it prevents crime." [5]

On prisons:

(1993)

"Alternatives to prison, like boot camps, halfway houses, and drug treatment centers may have their merits, but when it comes to the security of the law-abiding public, they are no substitute for prisons." [8]

On prevention programs:

(1993)

"There are not any easy answers... We have some long-term problems that have to be dealt with when it comes to young people." [9]

law-abiding citizens of Florida, committing 2,180 new crimes, including murders, armed robberies, and rapes. All that could have been avoided had they kept these people in prison under a truth-in-sentencing law.

With State prisons now operating at 123 percent of capacity, other States are restoring to early-release programs patterned after the Florida example.

Should we try to put more cops on the street? Maybe. "Of course," some would say.

"Maybe," others would say because by the time you spread out 100,000 policeman, 100,000 cops in the United States of America-I am not certain whether any are going to get to the rural areas, and if so it would not be very many. How many are going to get to each of the urban areas?

But as Georgia's Democratic attorney general Michael Bowers has explained:

All of the police officers in the world aren't going to make a difference on the crime situation until you provide a place to put the criminals. Unless you do that, this is a waste of time.

So you hire more policeman, sentence more criminals, hire more prosecutors and they are back on the streets because you do not have a place to keep them.

Attorney General Bowers is right. That is why I urge my colleagues to support the amendment offered by my distinguished colleagues, Senator HATCH and Senator MACK.

This amendment proposes to spend-and pay for-\$6 billion to help build and operate new prisons; \$3 billion of this total would be used to provide direct grants to the States.

The remaining \$3 billion would be devoted to building and operating 10 new regional prisons at the Federal level.

We are not just going to build these prisons so the States will have a new dumping ground and eliminate some costs for the States. They are not going to be able to send any prisoners there unless they adopt truth-in-sentencing reform.

Kansas would be allowed to send its most violent criminals to these regional prisons, but only if it keeps up its end of the bargain by adopting the truth-in-sentencing reform. No reform, no prison space.

There are those who will say that the Government does not need to build more prisons, that the best way to find more prison space is to release all those nonviolent, nonrepeat offenders who are taking up scarce prison beds and who could better serve their sentences elsewhere. I wish this solution would work, but it will not because it ignores the realities of the State prison population.

According to a 1991 study conducted by the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics, 94 percent of the inmates in State prison either had been convicted of a violent crime or had a previous sentence to probation or incarceration. In other words, only 6 percent of the total State prison population are nonviolent offenders with no prior sentence. The bottom line is that the overwhelming majority of those in prison have committed horrible crimes, and have done so repeatedly.

Alternatives to prison, like boot camps, halfway houses, and drug treatment centers may have their merits, but when it comes to the security of the law-abiding public, they are no substitute for prisons. In fact, when introducing the administration's anticrime plan, my colleague Senator JOE

BIDEN made this curious pitch in defense of alternative sanctions.

A criminal, a cocaine addict, and a heroin addict commit roughly 175 crimes per year. You know if that addict is in treatment for a year, even if (he) never get(s) cured, the number of crimes (he) commit(s) while in treatment drops by about half. They would drop altogether if he were in prison. He would not commit any. That is what the American people are suggesting.

I think we should have gotten some little message out of what happened on Tuesday. You can turn a blind eye to election returns if you want. Any survey that anybody takes, I do not care, politics, business, whatever, No. 1 is crime-it is in Chicago, it is in rural Kansas, it is everywhere you go-when people are prisoners in their own home, they cannot leave; they are afraid to get out on the streets after dark; they are even afraid to get out on the streets during the daytime.

It does not happen just in urban areas, it happens in rural areas. Drive-by shootings, things we had not heard about in places like Wichita, KS, are occurring now sort of commonplace. We have gangs with 11, 12, 13 teenagers in Kansas-not just in California, but in States like Kansas where we did not think we had the problem.

There are not any easy answers. We are being told in this bill it is not going to solve all the problems, we should not try to oversell it. It is going to be a short-term help, maybe. Maybe a tourniquet, maybe bigger than a Band-Aid, but it is not going to solve the problem. This is short term. The long term gets back to family, church, a lot of other things-schools, a lot of other things we have to address-job opportunities. You cannot really fault some young people who grow up without parents, any jobs, any opportunities, never knowing anything but crime.

So we have some long-term problems that have to be dealt with when it comes to young people. But I am talking here about hardened criminals who commit violent crimes. They ought to be in jail. If they are sentenced to 10 years, it ought to be 10 years; it should not be 2-1/2- years or 3 years or 4 years and it ought to be paid for. We pay for it with real money in the Hatch amendment. This is real. It is going to be paid for.

We can adopt all the amendments we want and make all the great speeches, but if we do not pay for it, it is never going to happen. We are not going to build any more prisons.

I am not certain whether the amendment of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia sets aside money for prisons or not. It goes into a violent crime trust fund. Who is going to decide how that is allocated and how much will be spent for prisons? I think I read the amendment fairly carefully.

So there are some questions we need to answer if that is the route we want to go. But we do pay for ours. It is paid for.

I think everybody in this body is willing to take the next step. I know the distinguished Senator from North Dakota is because he has had the experience himself and his family members have had the experience, so he is prepared and we are prepared. We come from small States but we are not exempt in North Dakota or Kansas from crime, criminal activities or drugs. So I think you will find a lot of bipartisan support.

We have to get tough in the right sense-not mean, but tough. We have to mean what we say. So if we pass a law, we know we can go out and say, looking somebody in the eye and say we have done something, and if somebody commits a crime, if somebody is going to go to prison, they are going to serve their time. My view is that certainly will give a lot of assurance to a lot of people who are having a lot of thoughts about criminal activity in



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BUDGET

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2201
(202) 224-4822

August 4, 1994

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

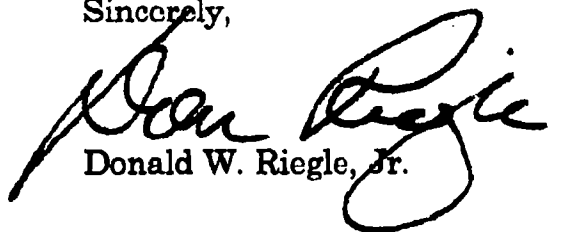
As you may know, S. 1066, a bill to restore federal services to the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians was passed by the House of Representatives yesterday.

It would be an honor for the Pokagon Band of Potawatomis to witness the signing of this bill. As the sponsor of this legislation in the Senate, I am requesting a White House Signing Ceremony on behalf of the almost 3,000 members of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians. If it is possible to accommodate this request, I would be grateful if we could schedule an event for the week of September 12, 1994.

The passage of this legislation is a most historic and important event for the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians. Federal recognition deems the members of the Pokagon Band eligible for Federal Indian programs and services. This affirmation of formal federal recognition has restored fairness and legitimacy to the federal government's relationship with the Pokagon Band.

Again, thank you for your attention and concern regarding this significant event. If your staff needs further information, please have them contact Liz Rosman of my staff at 224-3422.

Sincerely,



Donald W. Riegle, Jr.

DWR/lr

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SENATOR DURENBERGER

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

-- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

-- Family Unity Demonstration Projects, to allow certain offenders to live with their children in community correctional facilities;

-- The Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children and Sexually Violent Offender Registration Act, to promote the establishment by states of registration systems for convicted child molesters and sexually violent predators.

~~For: Keith~~
MASON

File
Crime
Bill

SENATOR ROTH

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

- Full funding for the President's 100,000 new police initiative.
- More money for states to build more boot camps and prisons.
- The Violence Against Women Act, historic legislation to make our streets and homes safer for women.
- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.
- A \$23 billion Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, to pay for crime bill programs with monies saved by shrinking the federal bureaucracy.
- Banning the 19 deadliest assault weapons.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

- A Sense of the Senate Resolution concerning the expansion of the role of the United Nations in international organized crime control.
- A Report by the Attorney General on what success the Federal Government has in recruiting Royal Hong Kong Police Officers for Federal law enforcement positions.

SENATOR KASSEBAUM

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

- Full funding for the President's 100,000 new police initiative.
- More money for states to build more boot camps and prisons.
- The Violence Against Women Act, historic legislation to make our streets and homes safer for women.
- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.
- A \$23 billion Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, to pay for crime bill programs with monies saved by shrinking the federal bureaucracy.
- Banning the 19 deadliest assault weapons.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

- Reforms to our asylum laws that will help curb their abuse by alien smugglers and others.

SENATOR COHEN

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

- Full funding for the President's 100,000 new police initiative.
- More money for states to build more boot camps and prisons.
- The Violence Against Women Act, historic legislation to make our streets and homes safer for women.
- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.
- A \$23 billion Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, to pay for crime bill programs with monies saved by shrinking the federal bureaucracy.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

- Enhanced penalties for health care fraud.

SENATOR DANFORTH

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

- Full funding for the President's 100,000 new police initiative.
- More money for states to build more boot camps and prisons.
- The Violence Against Women Act, historic legislation to make our streets and homes safer for women.
- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.
- A \$23 billion Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, to pay for crime bill programs with monies saved by shrinking the federal bureaucracy.
- Banning the 19 deadliest assault weapons.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

- Community Schools, to keep schools open in the evenings and on weekends so that they serve as community centers.

SENATOR HATFIELD

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.
- Banning the 19 deadliest assault weapons.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

- A grant program to help locate missing Alzheimer's disease patients.

SENATOR PACKWOOD

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

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SENATOR SPECTER

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

- Full funding for the President's 100,000 new police initiative.
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- "Three strikes and you're out," to put away repeat violent offenders for life.
- A \$23 billion Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, to pay for crime bill programs with monies saved by shrinking the federal bureaucracy.

COSPONSORED KEY AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIME BILL

- Police Corps, to give educational opportunities to kids who go back to their communities to serve as law enforcement officers.
- Closing the "loophole" on interstate trafficking in lottery tickets.

SENATOR CHAFEE

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

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- Banning the 19 deadliest assault weapons.

SENATOR JEFFORDS

SUPPORTED KEY ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CRIME BILL

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- More money for states to build more boot camps and prisons.
- The Violence Against Women Act, historic legislation to make our streets and homes safer for women.
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