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August 30, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR HAROLD ICKES, CAROL RASCO, RAHM EMANUEL,
PAT GRIFFIN, MARCIA HALE, AND BRUCE REED

FROM: RON KLAIN *RAK*

SUBJECT: CRIME BILL: PRE- AND POST-SIGNING EVENTS

~~What follows is a plan of events for the next 30 days, aimed at demonstrating momentum and seriousness of purpose in implementing the Crime Bill.~~

The events are largely DoJ and White House events; other agencies may, too, be able to add some ideas. I have tried to propose very little use of the President's time, knowing that it will be limited; if the Vice President has some time available, events for him can be added.

Events Being Planned

The following is a schedule of events that we are beginning to plan, subject to approval:

9/09: Immigration/Border Control (San Diego)

The Attorney General and INS Commissioner will visit the border to explain the Crime Bill's benefits for border control.

9/09: First Regional Crime Bill Forum (Los Angeles)

This would be the first of four regional forums, where the AG will meet with local mayors, police chiefs, officials, prosecutors, community leaders, and the like, to solicit their views on Crime Bill implementation, and offer our thoughts. We are hoping that Mayor Riordan will host this one.

9/10: Rural Crime Bill Forum (Missouri)

The second forum would focus on the Crime Bill's impact in rural areas. We want Sen. Danforth to host.

9/12: AmeriCorps Community Policing (N.Y.C.)

This is a National Service event in Central Park, where the AG will address community policing volunteers.

9/12: Third Regional Crime Bill Forum (N.Y.C.)

Another forum in the series. We would envision Mayor Guiliani hosting, with Rep. Schumer having a key role.

9/12: Media Tour (N.Y.C.)

The AG would give Crime Bill implementation interviews to major magazines, and the TV networks. Also, special press for womens' magazines (re: violence against women) is planned.

9/13: Final Regional Forum (Southeast)

The final regional forum will be at a site to be determined in the Southeast (either in Ga. or Fla.).

9/14: National Press Club Speech (D.C.)

The AG will speak at the National Press Club, to outline our implementation plans, and to discuss what she has learned at the regional forums.

9/16: Border Control Event (Arizona)

Similar to the event a week earlier in California.

9/19: Crime Bill Pre-Signing (D.C.)

This begins the three-day series of events surrounding the Crime Bill signing. We would propose for this day:

- An AG "thank you" reception at the Justice Department. Guests will include individuals who were helpful, Congressmen and Senators, U.S. Attorneys, police groups, other organizations, and the like.
- A meeting between the President and all of the U.S. Attorneys, at the White House, to discuss implementation of new federal penalties, like "three strikes;"
- An Oval Office address to the nation, in prime time, regarding the Crime Bill.

9/20: Crime Bill Signing (D.C.)

Events on this day will include:

- The signing itself, to be held at the White House.
- Perhaps another event, designed to give prominence to Congress;
- A nationally-televised "town meeting" on crime, in which the President, VPOTUS, and key cabinet officers (Reno, Bentsen, Brown, etc.) would participate.

9/21: Crime Bill Post-Signing (D.C./Travel)

Events on this day will include:

- A national version of the regional Crime Bill forums, to be held at DoJ (or the WH), in which hopefully the President, the AG, and other Cabinet officials would participate;
- Travel by many principals to police swearing-ins, at locations all around the USA.

9/26: Violence Against Women Announcement (D.C.)

The AG would announce, with federal prosecutors, a directive immediately implementing some of the Crime Bill's key "violence against women" provisions, including increased penalties for repeat sex offenders and mandatory restitution for victims.

9/30: COPS Director Announcement (D.C.)

The President and AG would announce, in a Rose Garden ceremony, the director of the COPS program.

10/4: First 2,000 Cops Awarded (D.C.)

Just three days after the money is available, the President and the AG would announce awards for the first 2,000 of the 100,000 new cops. These will be given to about 150 cities and towns.

We believe that these events will achieve the goals outlined above, and demonstrate that the administration is serious and purposeful about implementing this important bill.

Events Not Yet Scheduled

We have several more events that we are trying to plan, but have not yet scheduled. These include:

- **Presidential Directive/AG Response on Racial Justice**

We still need to plan when the President will sign his directive on racial justice -- and the timing of DoJ's new procedures in response to that directive.

- **Racial Justice Commission**

Moreover, we need to set up and announce the study Commission we have promised.

- **Ounce of Prevention Council**

At some point, the President should convene the first meeting of the Ounce Council, and name the Vice President as its chair.

- **"Real" Cop Policing Forum**

Finally, DoJ is trying to arrange, by satellite if possible, a forum where street-level police officers could comment on Crime Bill implementation. The idea would be that we should hear not just from chiefs, or officials -- but also from the folks in the trenches.

Other events that might fit in this time frame would be the announcement of a person to head implementation of the Violence Against Women grant programs, announcement of an Advisory Group to assist that program, and possibly other events as well.

August 26, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

From: Rahm Emanuel

Subject: Updated Crime Bill Roll Out
DRAFT NO. 2



One of the best things we have been able to do to help both the President and Democratic candidates in '94 is to pass the Crime Bill. The success of the Crime Bill will change the political environment in which candidates are running, and will demonstrate that the President is getting things done on behalf of the American people.

The Republican strategy has been to deride the bill as pure pork; to portray it as an urban aid bill rather than an anti-crime bill. We need to continue to aggressively counter the GOP strategy by highlighting how the Crime Bill is both tough on crime and value-based.

In addition to highlighting some of the tougher components of the bill, such as 100,000 cops, 3-strikes, prison funding, tougher sentences, and the death penalty, we must show the moral foundation of the bill. We must lift the debate above the specifics of the bill, and outline the President's larger vision. In particular, we should tie the crime issue to the beginning of the school year (see below.)

Following is a roll-out plan to build drama around the Crime Bill vote, and sustain the President's and the Democrats' profile on the issue of crime through the election. The signing of the Crime Bill should be seen as the beginning of a campaign through the November elections, and should be a recurring theme in the President's speeches over the 8 weeks following the signing.

III. SIGNING CEREMONY

The night before the signing of the Crime Bill, the President should give a 5-minute Oval Office address to the nation. In his remarks, the President would first briefly outline the bill -- what the Administration is doing to fight crime -- and then issue a challenge to the American people to do their part as well.

In other words, this would be a speech with a moral tone, in which the President would talk about the importance of personal responsibility, family values, and community action in the fight

against crime. As he launches the largest national anti-crime effort in history by signing the Crime Bill, the President should remind the American people of their role in ending the cycle of crime and violence in this country.

The signing ceremony should be a large South Lawn event. The audience at the signing ceremony would consist of: mayors, police officers, leadership day participants, victims rights groups, police heroes, community leaders, and gun control advocates. On stage with the President would be: AG Reno; bipartisan leadership (depending on how the vote turns out); Chairmen Biden and Brooks, Steve Spasato, whose wife was killed in the San Francisco law office massacre; Mark Klaas; and a police officer. Reno, Spasato, the officer, and Klaas would speak. Klaas, who would speak about 3-strikes, would introduce the President.

IV. ROLL OUT

Following are ideas for roll-out events after the Crime Bill is signed:

- **Talk Radio.** Immediately before and after the signing, radio talk show hosts from around the country would conduct interviews from the North Lawn. Cabinet members, White House officials, and specific members of Congress would make the rounds to different radio hosts to praise the bill. This would be modeled after the health care radio blitz that took place on the White House lawn.
- **Swearing In.** The day after the signing, the President should swear-in a new class of police officers in one of the cities or towns that have received cop grants from Justice. His remarks would focus on community policing.
- **Travel.** We should ask Reno, Bentsen, and the Vice President to commit to travelling to promote the Crime Bill. Reno and Bentsen would go to the districts of vulnerable House Democrats. The Vice President would go to North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, the three states where there are the most open seats (currently held by Democrats.) The Vice President would highlight the tough components of the bill, such as the death penalty, 3-strikes, prisons, tougher sentencing, and would work to show that this bill is based on values. These issues are particularly important in the South. Reno should also do satellite interviews from the Hill with members of Congress who have been particularly helpful.
- **Police Coordinator.** The President should announce the appointment of a person to coordinate the police grants that will put 100,000 new officers on our streets. This should be a person that communicates a sense of urgency about crime (i.e. Commissioner Bratton of New York.)

- **Regional Forums.** In August, when there is little news being generated, the President should announce that he will hold 4 regional forums on crime over the next year. These forums would focus specifically on local anti-crime initiatives, highlighting innovative people and programs that are helping keep kids off the street and turning neighborhoods around (i.e. teachers who instituted an anti-truancy program, etc.)
- **Town Hall.** We have a standing offer from Mark Klaas for the President to hold a town hall in Petaluma, California. This would ideally occur in September or October. (Senator Feinstein and Kathleen Brown would be immediate beneficiaries.)
- **Back-to-School Initiatives:** In an effort to elevate the debate on crime and violence above the specific legislation, we should tie it into the beginning of the new school year. To this end, the President should do the following school-related activities/events that call on kids and parents to take responsibility for their education and their lives:
 - Announce 5-point plan for parents, calling on parents to become actively involved in their children's education and after-school activities;
 - Sign Kids Bill of Rights, calling for safe and drug-free schools;
 - Take Chelsea to school on the opening day, to demonstrate his involvement in his daughter's education;
 - Announce Department of Justice guidelines for instituting a youth curfew.

cc: George Stephanopoulos
Mark Gearan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1994

File

MEMORANDUM ON CRIME BILL EVENTS

FROM: MARCIA HALEN ^{WJK}
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Congress has entered the final phases of its work on the President's crime bill. As the final votes approach, we are emphasizing the broad and balanced nature of this bipartisan bill. This memo outlines the essential components of a successful public event.

MESSAGE

The Crime Bill before the Congress is a comprehensive, balanced approach that rejects the false choice between punishment and prevention -- it has both. The bill is the product of a process that has been bipartisan from beginning to end. Every Member of Congress, Democrat and Republican, who has supported the bill and its components deserves to be applauded for his or her leadership.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Local law enforcement should appear with you at any event on this bill -- the 100,000 police officers program is the signature component of the crime bill and it is almost universally supported by the nation's law enforcement officers. As well, police officers are very credible advocates of effective prevention programs and it is useful to demonstrate their support for this critical component of the President's approach.

STATISTICS

Estimates of the number of new police officers and prison cells your state stands to receive, as well as the number of police officers funded through the Police Hiring grants earlier this year, are attached. You should make it very clear that passage of the crime bill will mean substantial, tangible benefits to your city or state.

LEGISLATIVE INVOLVEMENT

In addition to voting for the crime bill and in support of its various components, most Members of Congress have shown their leadership on this issue by championing specific programs or initiatives that are included in the bill. These initiatives reflect a commitment to responding to public demand for swift action on the crisis of crime and violence plaguing our neighborhoods.

OTHER PARTICIPANTS/AUDIENCE

In addition to substantial law enforcement presence, you should include community leaders involved in local crime fighting efforts (like neighborhood watch or midnight basketball programs), religious leaders, and school principals.

DELAWARE

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 1,868,532
Total Number of Cops Granted:	26
Number of Cops Requested:	59
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	44%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	2
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	10

Allocation/Member of Congress

Delmar (2), New Castle (24) CASTLE

Projections

State:	New Cops	429 (1,583 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	544

Prevention Programs

Dover

Dover Boys and Girls Club. Serves 300 6-18 year-olds a year. Serves as an alternative school during the day for kids not succeeding in traditional school. Also serves as a sentencing alternative for small-time offenders.

Newark

Seaford Collaboration for Youth. Targets high-risk 5-19 year-olds and their families at five sites, including two public housing complexes. Counselors direct programs on drug and alcohol awareness, self-esteem and trust, and communication skills. Middle school program shows 75% of active participants demonstrate consistent school attendance, improved behavior, positive attitudes and increased academic achievement.

Wilmington

Delaware Futures. College guidance for promising but underprivileged youth. Local colleges and universities agree to underwrite tuition and fees of DF kids that meet entrance requirements. Program starts when kids are 8th graders.

Latin American Community Center. Focused on turning Delaware's high-risk youth against drugs through sports and educational activities.

New Castle

Police Athletic League. Recreation oriented crime prevention program. Officers bond with kids aged 9-18. Special emphasis on education.

KANSAS

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 2,453,372
Total Number of Cops:	34
Number of Cops Requested:	102
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	33%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	3
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	32

Allocation/Member of Congress

Kansas City (10) MYERS, Topeka (9) SLATTERY, Wichita (15) GLICKMAN

Projections

State:	New Cops	1,117 (5,750 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	1,878

Wichita:	New Cops	97 (486 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Statewide

Alcohol and Drug Addiction Primary Treatment (ADAPT). Targets adult and juvenile drug-dependent and alcohol-dependent offenders. ADAPT has a success rate of 85% for admitted clients. \$482,353.

DARE. Law enforcement officers give demand reduction education classes in the classroom. \$722,398 - 20 projects. 15% of Kansas students participate.

MAINE

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 900,000
Total Number of Cops:	12
Number of Cops Requested:	53
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	23%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	3
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	26

Allocation/Member of Congress

Maine State (4), Portland (6) ANDREWS, Wells (2) ANDREWS

Projections

State:	New Cops	429 (1,978 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	745

Prevention Programs

Portland

Correctional Options Part II. Sentencing advocacy and intervention services for 20 youthful addicted offenders. \$75,000.

Norway, Lewiston

Community Policing Initiatives. Two years of the program have resulted in a dramatic reduction in crime, and a town approval rating of 75% for "more than adequate services". About \$70,000. (Bush visited Lewiston in 1991)

MINNESOTA

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 1,997,190
Total Number of Cops:	28
Number of Cops Requested:	123
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	23%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	4
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	63

Allocation/Member of Congress

Columbia Heights (2) GRAMS, Minneapolis (10) SABO, Moorhead (6) PETERSON, St. Paul (10) VENTO

Projections

State:	New Cops	1,290 (6,642 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	3,029

Minneapolis:	New Cops	166 (831 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Statewide

Community Crime Prevention. Designed to enhance the community's sense of security and self-reliance, assisting in crime control and drug prevention efforts. There are approximately 30 established local programs across the state and the objectives of the projects are specifically tailored for each community. Amount: \$843,638.

Community Oriented Policing. Creates alliances between local communities, police and other city services promoting drug-free neighborhoods. This allows police departments to be proactive as partners in developing and maintaining a coordinated network of services for neighborhoods. Amount: \$600,000.

Ramsey County

Gang Intervention. A multi-disciplinary task force aimed at developing programs to combat growing gang/drug problems. Representatives of law enforcement, prosecution, defense, corrections, education, community organizations, Amount: \$76,450.

St. Paul

A Community Outreach Program (ACOP). Designed to improve the working relationship between refugee residents at four housing projects and the police department, providing crime prevention services, after-school activities, volunteer tutoring and other services. Amount: Not listed.

Gang Prevention through Targeted Outreach. Identifies youth at risk of gang involvement by referrals from Probation, schools, and direct outreach work, and provides educational and recreational programs. Amount: \$1,500.

Mobile Crisis Intervention. Providing mental health services to families in crisis. Amount: \$49,500.

Forest Lake

Project Linkage. Links school district, police department, and Youth Service Bureau to provide expanded services to 100 juvenile offenders. Aims at developing a "Plan of Action" for mental health, family counseling and suspension program services. Amount: \$32,500.

Hibbing and Chisholm

Teens, Crime, and the Community. Educates youth about crime prevention and engages them in designing projects to make the community safer. Amount: \$3,000.

Minneapolis

Expelled Student Services. Provides temporary alternative school services to 50 students who have been expelled as a result of weapon possession. During the last year, over 150 students participated in daily classes for nine-weeks. Amount: \$48,760.

St. James

Conflict Resolution and Mediation Project for Hispanic Youth. Provides family mediation, workshops, tutoring, bilingual assistance and recreation to improve interaction between school and Hispanic families and youth. Amount: \$44,563.

MISSOURI

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$3,966,345
Total Number of Cops:	53
Number of Cops Requested:	210
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	25%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	3
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	73

Allocation/Member of Congress

Cole Co (4) SKELTON, Kansas City (26) DANNER/SKELTON/WHEAT, St. Louis (23) CLAY/GEPHARDT

Projections

State:	New Cops	1,921 (9,889 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	4,282

St. Louis:	New Cops	304 (1,519 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Kansas City

Project Redirect. Treatment program for juvenile sex offenders. Program also provides funding for staff-training, out-patient, individual group counseling and parent education and support. Amount: \$58,000.

St. Louis

Y.O.U.R.S. Leadership Institute. A collaborative effort by the Department of Secondary Education, Department of Social Services and the Department of Mental health. Project addresses the needs of African-American youth at risk of gang involvement and criminal activity. Other program's activities are, after school tutorial and youth counseling services. Amount: Not listed.

Springfield

COP. A community based policing program involved in activities such as retaking public parks, preventing racial strife and responding to disorders. Results from this program have been an observable positive difference. Amount: \$250,750.

Statewide

Street Corner Apprehension Team. A 10-person unit of undercover detectives make videotaped narcotics buys with warrants later being issued in more than 95% of the cases. Apprehension is geared to street corner sales with particular interest at stopping the sales of "crack cocaine". Amount: \$135,650.

WORKING DOCUMENT -- NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

OREGON

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 1,500,000
Total Number of Cops:	20
Number of Cops Requested:	128
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	16%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	5
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	36

Allocation/Member of Congress

Albany (4) DEFAZIO, Benton Co (4) DEFAZIO/KOPETSKI, Corvallis (4)
DEFAZIO/KOPETSKI, Douglas Co (5) DEFAZIO, Roseburg (3) DEFAZIO

Projections

State:	New Cops	910 (4,683 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	2,105

Portland:	New Cops	174 (871 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Portland

House of Umoja. With over 1,200 youths involved in gang activities throughout the Portland area, this program aims at reducing gang activity and helping gang members re-enter the community. The program provides enrollment in educational and employment programs. Amount: 427,348.

Race Against Drugs. In cooperation with the FBI, Police Activity League, The Portland Police Bureau and the Sheriff's Department, this program provides a week-long educational program to combat drug use. Amount: \$2,500.

PENNSYLVANIA

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 3,705,143
Total Number of Cops:	49
Number of Cops Requested:	355
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	14%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	9
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	104

Allocation/Member of Congress

Chambersberg (4) SHUSTER, Chester (9) FOGLIETTA/WELDON, Coatesville (4) WALKER, Johnstown (3) MURTHA, Harrisburg (4) GEKAS, Lancaster (8) WALKER, Pottstown (2) HOLDEN/MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY, Reading (10) HOLDEN, Wilkinsburg (5) SANTORUM

Projections

State:	New Cops	4,290 (22,080 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	8,475

Philadelphia:	New Cops	1,247 (6,233 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Pittsburgh

Community Intensive Supervision Program. Alternative to incarceration for serious juvenile offenders. Nine-month comprehensive program. (412) 578-8210.

Operation Weed and Seed. A comprehensive, multi-agency program designed to coordinates the delivery of social services and criminal justice activities.

Community-oriented policing units work along side citizens and business in the targeted neighborhood, increasing citizen and police interaction and communication. Amount: \$1,100,000.

Wynnewood

National Night Out. Develops police-community partnerships and community-based programs to empower neighborhoods and to help reduce crime, violence and substance abuse. This program involves over 8,600 communities in all 50 states. Amount: \$150,000.

Doylestown

Bucks County School-Based Juvenile Probation Program. Provides on-site juvenile probation officers to help reduce absenteeism and expulsions among student probationers. Program goals are to improve overall school and community performance and to reduce out-of-home delinquency residential placement. Amount: \$123,284.

WORKING DOCUMENT -- NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Harrisburg

Targeted Outreach. Designed to reduce the number of minorities in the juvenile justice system. Program aims to encourage high-risk minorities to participate in educational, physical and social vocational programs offered by the Boys Club. Tutorial, life skills development and preventive health care programs are offered to participant. Amount: 80,966.

Philadelphia

Checkmate Project. Leadership training and community services are provided to reduce the number of minorities in the juvenile justice system. Students participate in a 90 hour life skill program that emphasizes family life, short-and long term goals and teenage pregnancy. Leadership training and community services are provided by a community and police interracial group. Amount: \$261,353.

West Milton

Bethesda Day Treatment Program. Serves 200-300 juvenile offenders a year. Program includes day treatment, school classes, family counseling, drug and alcohol treatment, and temporary foster care. (717) 568-1131.

Farrell

Farrell Area School District. Comprehensive After-School services program. Cross-the-board community involvement. (412) 346-6585.

RHODE ISLAND

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 1,213,156
Total Number of Cops:	14
Number of Cops Requested:	54
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	26%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	1
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	16

Allocation/Member of Congress

Providence (14) MACHTLEY/REED

Projections

State:	New Cops	437 (2,249 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	734

Providence:	New Cops	84 (421 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Providence

Weed and Seed. With a total of 30 officers directly involved in community policing, this program uses team patrol and storefront methods to curtail criminal activities within the targeted community. Amount: \$57,000.

Narragansett

Oceans Tide School. A private residential program for adjudicated boys of about 13-17 years of age. This program provides Counseling for adjudicated youth after they return to their home communities. Amount: \$16,000.

VERMONT

Supplemental Cop Grant:	\$ 217,643
Total Number of Cops:	3
Number of Cops Requested:	32
Percentage of Cops Received over Number Requested:	9%
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Received Cops:	2
Number of Cities/Towns/Counties Who Applied:	14

Allocation/Member of Congress

Rutland (2), Winooski (1) SANDERS

Projections

State:	New Cops	429 (849 currently sworn)
	New prison cells	344

State Police:	New Cops	57 (283 currently sworn)
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Prevention Programs

Waterbury

Community Control Initiative. Provides a community-based alternative for offenders who represent lower levels of crime risk. A 100 bed work (boot)camp was built to offer control and probation functions, thus allowing for increased availability of bed space for the detention and incarceration of increased numbers of drug related offenders. Amount: \$100,000.

Middlebury

Community Service Program. A high school volunteer community service program for surrounding community. Amount: \$4,000.

Montpelier

The Basement Teen Center. A prevention program that operates after school and weekend activities for area youth. Amount: \$4,500.

St. Albans

New Connections. Designed to keep families together and children out of state custody. Program provides counseling and mediation assistant for families who are experiencing difficulty getting along. Amount: \$60,000.

June 14, 1994

*File:
Crime
Bill*

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL, PAT GRIFFIN, BRUCE REED,
RON KLAIN AND KAREN HANCOX

SUBJECT: CRIME BILL -- LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY ISSUES

Since the Attorney General met with all the House and Senate Democratic Conferees last Thursday, vast strides have been made toward agreement on a potential Crime Bill Conference Report. The purpose of this memorandum is to update you on this progress, discuss the timing of the next steps towards enactment, and identify five major problems that remain.

Items included in the "Chairmen's Mark"

For the past two weeks, we have been working with Chairmen Biden and Brooks to develop a "Chairmen's Mark," to guide the subsequent development of the Conference Report. Substantively, this has been very successful for us: though we have not gotten every program we wanted, the Chairmen's Mark will ultimately include every one of the seven major initiatives the President proposed to fight crime. These are:

- 100,000 more police, engaged in community policing;
- A ban on semi-automatic assault weapons;
- Stiffer punishments for violent criminals, including a federal death penalty and "three strikes and you're out;"
- An attack on youth crime, including boot camps, drug courts, and anti-gang measures;
- New crime prevention programs, including the "YES" program funded at \$900 million (we asked for \$1 billion);
- Initiatives to combat violence against women, rural crime, and protect victims' rights; and
- Funding for states to increase certainty of punishment, and build prisons to lengthen sentences for violent criminals.

These measures would be paid for by a Crime Trust Fund, totalling \$30 billion over a six-year period (we had wanted to keep the spending to \$28 billion), funded with the savings from a 252,000 person reduction in federal employment.

Remaining Potential Pitfalls

There are five potential pitfalls, listed in escalating significance, that could derail a final agreement:

- (1) **Schumer.** Right now, because we have dealt so exclusively with Brooks, Schumer is miffed. He needs to be stroked, particularly if we want his help in selling compromises on RJA and Assaults. Also, he wants us to modify our Community Policing program, to allow funds to be used for purposes other than hiring cops, so long as the expenditures result in more police being on the streets (e.g., hiring secretaries so police officers do not do clerical work).
- (2) **YES.** The House and Senate Labor Committees want us to abandon this as a distinct program, and consolidate it with existing job training efforts. We need to boost Kennedy and Ford's support for our program if we want to see it included as a separate initiative.
- (3) **Prisons.** We have yet to achieve an agreement on a grant program that satisfies all the major House and Senate players. To win passage of the Bill, the result on this issue must satisfy House moderates (led by Rep. Chapman) and Senate moderates (led by Sens. Dorgan and Conrad) -- but the two groups themselves are at odds.
- (4) **Assault Weapons.** Unless we compromise with ban opponents, the inclusion of this in the Crime Bill may cost us 35-45 Democratic votes, and 40-50 Republican votes in the House -- enough to prevent final passage. We believe we can achieve an agreement with Chairman Brooks on a ban that is more sweeping than Sen. DeConcini's original proposal, but more narrow than the House-passed bill. It would ban 18 (of 19) listed guns, "copy cats" of those guns, and magazines holding 15 or more rounds; it would not ban additional guns based on their characteristics. We will be blasted by Sens. Metzenbaum and Feinstein, and perhaps Rep. Schumer (see above) for "caving" to Chairman Brooks.
- (5) **Racial Justice Act.** This is clearly the most difficult. Brooks says he cannot get the House Democratic Conferees to support a bill that drops it; Biden says he cannot win Senate passage of a bill that includes it. We continue to work around the clock with prosecutors and RJA proponents on potential compromise texts -- but if no compromise can be achieved (a substantial prospect), we will have to take a great gamble by either including or dropping this provision.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Chairmen Biden and Brooks have agreed to work towards a June 21 deadline, so as to permit enactment of the Crime Bill before the July 4th recess.

Proposal for June 21 Event and Subsequent Strategy

We will continue our talks and negotiations, in anticipation of formal Conference meetings beginning on June 15th. We will need an aggressive communications plan in the week of June 15 to June 22, the period when the debate over the Conference Report will be joined, and the images associated with each side will be shaped in the public mind.

The Conference meeting on June 15 will be devoted to posturing -- and be followed by some outreach efforts to Republicans, who we fear will remain unwilling to join us in breaking gridlock on this issue. Thus, the Chairs currently plan to set a second, and final Conference meeting for June 21st.

On that morning, Brooks and Biden would come to the White House with all of the Democratic Conferees, to announce their agreement with you on a final Conference Report. They would reconvene the Conference that afternoon to ratify that agreement.

We would then anticipate House action on the Conference Report later in that week, and Senate action during the week of June 27th. The timing on the Senate vote is set to back a Republican filibuster up against the recess, and to take advantage of Senator Mitchell's offer to threaten to keep the Senate in to break the filibuster.

We need to begin talks with the House and Senate leadership to attempt to "lock in" this timetable. We need their support and commitment to insure that floor time is available to get this bill done.

Additional Republican Strategy

In addition to continuing to work to develop a Conference Report that is consistent with the President's objectives, and capable of winning broad support in Congress, we need to focus on House and Senate Republicans specifically:

- House GOP: We should target those 65 Members who voted for the Crime Bill on final passage initially.
- Senate GOP: Winning some early endorsements -- before Sen. Dole issues the filibuster rallying cry -- is critical to our success.

Keep in mind also that if House Republican votes can be mustered for the Crime Bill, it will be harder for the Senate Republicans to sustain their filibuster.

Spector
Jeffords
Packwood
Roth
Cohen

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INITIALS: JGP DATE: 4/4/16
2009-1305-F

ATTACHED HOUSE TARGET LIST

A total of 172 Members of Congress (147Ds, 25Rs) voted for the Crime Bill on final passage, and then went on to vote for the Assault Weapons Ban. Thus, if we fail to win converts to the Crime Bill among Assault Weapons Ban supporters because that provision is included in the Conference Report, we need at least 46 members who voted against the Assault Weapon Ban to vote for a Crime Bill that includes such a limitation.

Attached is a list of 102 target House members (67Ds, 35Rs) who voted for the Crime Bill and against the Assault Weapons Ban. (Their votes on RJA are also indicated.) Keeping in mind that we need 46 of these targets, here is how they currently break down:

	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Repubs</u>	<u>Total</u>
Will support bill w/ AW and RJA	20	4	24
Will support bill w/ AW (but not RJA)	3	0	3
Leaning Favorably	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>
SUPPORT OR LEAN YES	30	4	34
 UNDECIDED/UNKNOWN	 12	 13	 25
Leaning Against if AW included	14	6	20
Against if AW is included	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>23</u>
OPPOSE OR LEAN NO	25	18	43

Thus, if the Assault Weapons Ban is included in the Conference Report, we will need to win about half of the current undecideds (or all of the Democratic undecided) to hold the bill. And even this assumes that we do not lose any of the 25 Republicans included in our base, who could switch sides for purely partisan reasons.

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CRIME BILL TARGETS:
MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR FINAL PASSAGE
BUT AGAINST ASSAULT WEAPONS AND/OR FOR McCOLLUM RJA SUBSTITUTE**

KEY:

- + Voted for Assault Weapons Ban (AWB)
Voted against McCollum RJA Substitute
- Voted against Assault Weapons Ban (AWB)
Voted for McCollum RJA Substitute

**VOTED FOR CRIME BILL PASSAGE,
FOR ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN,
AND AGAINST McCOLLUM RJA: Ds=132, Rs=4**

**VOTED FOR CRIME BILL PASSAGE,
FOR ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN,
AND FOR McCOLLUM RJA: Ds=15, Rs=21**

DEMOCRATS

Member	RJA	AWB	Comments
Barca (D-WI) 225-3031	+	-	Will vote for CRpt FP even w/AWB in SFA 6/3 (29% Rural)
Barcia (D-MI) 225-8171	+	-	AWB is big problem - Leaning no if it's included SFA 6/3 (Rural)
Bevill (D-AL) 225-4876	-	-	[Staff] Probable "no" if AWB included SFA 5/27 (Rural)
Bilbray (D-NV) 225-5965	-	-	[Staff] ok with AWB; unclear as to RJA ME 6/8 (Las Vegas) HANCOX
Boucher (D-VA) 225-3861	+	-	[Staff] Categorically "no" if AWB in SFA 5/27 (Rural)
Brewster (D-OK) 225-4565	-	-	No if both RJA and AWB; maybe if AWB - will test waters at home SFA 5/26 (56% Rural)
Brooks (D-TX) 225-6565	+	-	[REDACTED]
Browder (D-AL) 225-3261	-	-	[Staff] Probable "no" if either RJA or AWB are in SFA 5/27 (47% Rural)
Chapman (D-TX) 225-3035	+	-	AWB in will mean "no" vote, even if prisons and TIS are satisfactory SFA 5/27 (56% Rural)
Clement (D-TN) 225-4311	-	-	[Staff] Will vote for CRpt even w/AWB included SFA 6/2 (Urban Nashville)
Cooper (D-TN) 225-6831	+	-	[Staff] Okay with CRpt in AWB in; wants a bill SFA 5/27 (Rural)
Costello (D-IL) 225-5661	+	-	[Staff] Will vote for CRpt even w/AWB in RB 6/7 (Urban)

Member	RJA	AWB	Comments
Cramer (D-AL) 225-4801	-	-	Probably yes with ASB & RJA; depends on reaction from DA's 6/1 (39% Rural)
Danner (D-MO) 225-7041	+	-	Leaning no (AWB big issue in district) KH 5/26 (37% Rural)
Darden (D-GA) 225-2931	-	-	No if both; Yes if AWB; recommends call to Rowland SFA 5/26 (46% Rural)
de la Garza (D-TX) 225-2531	+	-	[Staff] ok with RJA, don't know SFA 6/2
DeFazio (D-OR) 225-6416	+	-	[Staff] possible with AWB; AWB "not a show stopper in a big bill" RB 6/2 (39% Rural)
Dingell (D-MI) 225-4071	+	-	[Staff] Has told NRA will not oppose CRpt even w/AWB in SFA 6/1
Frost (D-TX) 225-3605	+	-	[Staff] Will vote for conference rpt even w/AWB: wants a bill SFA 5/26
Gordon (D-TN) 225-4231	+	-	[Staff] Probably "won't vote against" if AWB in; but doesn't like it SFA 5/27 (54% Rural)
Green (D-TX) 225-1688	+	-	[Staff] Undecided SFA 5/27 (Metro Houston)
Hamilton (D-IN) 225-5315	+	-	[Staff] Undecided SFA 6/1 (59% Rural)
Hayes (D-LA) 225-2031	-	-	[Staff] Undecided SFA 5/27 (42% Rural)
Hefner (D-NC) 225-3715	+	-	[Staff] Prefer RJA out; undecided, but would be hard pressed to vote ag CRpt even w/AWB in SFA 5/27 (55% Rural)
Hinchey (D-NY) 225-6335	+	-	[staff] yes even if AWB in RB 6/2 (43% Rural)
Holden (D-PA) 225-5546	-	-	Probable no w/AWB DB 5/27 (44% Rural)
Hutto (D-FL) 225-4136	-	-	[Staff] Unknown SFA 5/31 (Florida Panhandle [Although 26% rural, referred to as "Redneck Riviera])
Johnson (D-SD) 225-2801	-	-	"Enthusiastically" for final passage KH 5/26
Kanjorski (D-PA) 225-6511	-	-	Undecided - will think carefully - tough vote DB 5/27 (40% Rural)
Klink (D-PA) 225-2565	-	-	Undecided/Leaning no - "Puts him in a tough spot" DB 5/27 Leaning no - extender for disabled is big issue w/him KH 5/26 (33% Rural)
Lancaster (D-NC) 225-3415	-	-	[Staff] Probably would vote for CRpt if AWB in; harder if RJA and AWB SFA 5/27 (62% Rural)
LaRocco (D-ID) 225-6611	+	-	[Staff] Don't know; but probably no if AWB in SFA 5/27 / <u>Definitely</u> no w/AWB in SFA 5/31
Laughlin (D-TX) 225-2831	-	-	No on CRpt w/ RJA+AWB; leaning agnst w/AWB only, still thinking abt. SFA 5/26 (51% Rural)
Long (D-IN) 225-4436	+	-	Wd support motion to recommit on AWB, but + on final passage KH 5/26 (40% Rural)
McCloskey (D-IN) 225-4636	+	-	Undecided KH 5/26 (42% Rural)

Member	RJA	AWB	Comments
Montgomery (D-MS) 225-5031	-	-	Kyle [staff] probably no if AWB, but check back SFA 6/3 (61% Rural)
Murphy (D-PA) 225-4665	-	-	"Might be persuaded to vote for" DB 5/27 (40% Rural)
Murtha (D-PA) 225-2065	+	-	Probable no on CRpt w/AWB in SFA 6/1 (70% Rural)
Obey (D-WI) 225-3365	+	-	Okay on final passage w/ AWB KH 5/26 (59% Rural)
Ortiz (D-TX) 225-7742	+	-	Very difficult if CRpt incl. AWB SFA 5/26 (Corpus Christi)
Orton (D-UT) 225-7751	-	-	[Staff] chance he'll vote against CR if RJA and/or AWB in SFA 6/3 (23% Rural)
Parker (D-MS) 225-5865	+	-	Won't like it but hasn't ruled out + with AWB included SFA 5/26 Leaning no KH 5/26 (47% Rural)
Payne (D-VA) 225-4711	-	-	[Staff] ? on AWB; could do RJA; check next week RB 6/2 (67% Rural)
Peterson (D-FL) 225-5235	-	-	Leaning no KH 5/26 (46% Rural)
Peterson (D-MN) 225-2165	-	-	[Staff] probably yes, important to get a bill SFA 6/3 (62% Rural) BRINK
Pickett (D-VA) 225-4215	-	-	[Staff] probably yes if AWB; no if RJA SFA 6/3 (Norfolk) BRINK
Poshard (D-IL) 225-5201	+	-	[Staff] "open to hearing from administration"/everything can't be perfect/"open mind" RB 6/2 (51% Rural)
Rahall (D-WV) 225-3452	+	-	[Staff] "No" if AWB in SFA 5/27 (74% Rural)
Richardson (D-NM) 225-6190	+	-	[Staff] Unofficially, will vote FOR CRpt with AWB in SFA 5/27 (40% Rural, Santa fe)
Rose (D-NC) 225-2731	+	-	[Staff] Inclined to support CRpt SFA 5/27 (41% Rural)
Rowland (D-GA) 225-6531	-	-	No if AWB in KII 5/26 (51% Rural)
Sisisky (D-VA) 225-6365	-	-	[Staff] has concern about both – will check RB 6/2 (37% Rural, Portsmouth)
Skelton (D-MO) 225-2876	-	-	[Staff] Undecided/Both RJA and AWB and negatives;but not determinant of final vote SFA 5/31 (61% Rural)
Smith (D-IA) 225-4426	+	-	[Staff] would vote for Crpt w/AWB but misgivings abt other features incl. death pen RB 6/2 (26% Rural)
Strickland (D-OH) 225-5705	+	-	[Staff] Probable no on CRpt if AWB in RB 6/3 (60% Rural)
Stupak (D-MI) 225-4735	+	-	[Staff] almost certain no if AWB is in RB 6/2 (69% Rural)
Tanner (D-TN) 225-4714	-	-	[Staff] Will be OK if only AWB; "no" if both AWB and RJA SFA 5/27 (52% Rural)

Member	RJA	AWB	Comments
Taylor (D-MS) 225-5772	-	-	Least objectionable is RJA - Probably cd support; but AWB: Probably no SFA 5/26 Leaning no - modify AWB? KH 5/26 (35% Rural)
Tejeda (D-TX) 225-1640	+	-	Don't know - still thinking about SFA 5/26 (21% Rural)
Thornton (D-AR) 225-2506	+	-	[Staff] Leaning YES on CRpt SFA 5/31 (31% Rural, Little Rock)
Thurman (D-FL) 225-1002	+	-	[Staff] Probable yes ob CRpt SFA 5/31 [Staff] LN if AWB included; "would prefer to have a crime bill without AWB" RB 6/2 (42% Rural)
Unsoeld (D-WA) 225-3536	+	-	[Staff] supports RJA; opposes AWB, but unclear as to vote ME 6/8 (38% Rural) HANCOX
Volkmer (D-MO) 225-2956	+	-	Leaning no - opponent hard on guns, so no flexibility KH 5/26 (51% Rural)
Whitten (D-MS) 225-4306	+	-	[Staff] Undecided; Vote for RJA was "unintentional"; doesn't favor SFA 5/31 (67% Rural)
Williams (D-MT) 225-3211	+	-	OK if RJA; "no" if AWB SFA 5/27 (47% Rural)
Wilson (D-TX) 225-2401	+	-	"Pretty well committed to vote against gun control." SFA 5/26 (61% Rural)
Wise (D-WV) 225-2711	+	-	[Staff] Supports RJA; opposes AWB, but unclear as to vote ME 6/8 (62% Rural) BRINK
REPUBLICANS			
Bentley (R-MD) 225-3016	-	-	[Staff] No, if either RJA or AWB included SFA 6/3 (Urban Baltimore)
Bilirakis (R-FL) 225-5755	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if RJA; likely oppose if AWB ME 6/3 (St. Petersburg/Tampa)
Bonilla (R-TX) 225-4511	-	-	[Staff] Inclined to vote against if either provision included ME 6/3 (25% Rural)
Buyer (R-IN) 225-5037	-	-	[Staff] Uncertain but note voted against AWB & opposes RJA language in H. version ME 6/3 (58% Rural)
Calvert (R-CA) 225-1986	-	-	[Staff] Undecided ME 6/8 (Urban Riverside) TRASVINA
Camp (R-MI) 225-3561	-	-	(72% Rural)
Canady (R-FL) 225-1252	-	-	[Staff] Undecided -- but strongly negative on both RJA and AWB RB 6/2 (34% Rural)
Cunningham (R-CA) 225-5452	-	-	[Staff] Inclined to vote against if either provision included ME 6/3 (rban San Diego County)
Diaz-Balart (R-FL) 225-4211	-	-	[Staff] Probably okay with AWB; unclear as to RJA ME 6/3 (Urban Miami)
Ewing (R-IL) 225-2371	-	-	[Staff] Unclear ME 6/3 (34% Rural)
Fowler (R-FL) 225-2501	-	-	[Staff] Likely oppose if RJA; unclear as to AWB ME 6/3 (Jacksonville)

Member	RJA	AWB	Comments
Franks (R-CT) 225-3822	-	-	[Staff] Could likely accept either, but probably oppose if both included ME 6/8 (21% Rural)
Gallegly (R-CA) 225-5811	-	-	[Staff] Unclear, but strongly opposes both provisions ME 6/8 (Urban Simi Valley) BRINK
Gillmor (R-OH) 225-6405	-	-	[Staff] Unclear ME 6/3 (54% Rural)
Gilman (R-NY) 225-3776	-	-	[Staff] Unclear ME 6/8 (23% Rural, Suburban NYC) BRINK
Hastert (R-IL) 225-2976	-	-	[Staff] Likely oppose if either provision included ME 6/3 (21% Rural, Suburban Chicago)
Hunter (R-CA) 225-5672	-	-	[Staff] Probable NO on CRpt if either AWB or RJA are included. ME 6-6 (Urban San Diego)
McCandless (R-CA) 225-5330	-	-	[Staff] Will vote "no" if either included ME 6/8 (14% Rural)
McHugh (R-NY) 225-4611	-	-	[Staff] Likely oppose if AWB included; okay with RJA ME 6/3 (65% Rural)
Mica (R-FL) 225-4035	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if RJA; likely to oppose if AWB ME 6/8 (11% Rural)
Quillen (R-TN) 225-6356	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if AWB; probably oppose if RJA ME 6/3 (53% Rural)
Ramstad (R-MN) 225-2871	-	-	[Staff] Would likely accept both if his own 3 bills remain in; far greater concern w/RJA than AWB ME 6/8 (Urban Minneapolis) BRINK
Ravenel (R-SC) 225-3176	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if either included ME 6/3 (25% Rural, Charleston)
Regula (R-OH) 225-3876	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if AWB; probably okay with RJA ME 6/3 (37% Rural)
Roth (R-WI) 225-5665	-	-	[Staff] Leaning NO if AWB in; OK w/RJA, but undecided on Final passage SFA 5/31 (44% Rural)
Royce (R-CA) 225-4111	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if either included ME 6/3 (Suburban Orange County)
Santorum (R-PA) 225-2135	-	-	[Staff] Likely oppose if either included MR 6/3 (Urban Pittsburgh)
Snowe (R-ME) 225-6306	-	-	[Staff] Unclear; adamantly opposes AWB ME 6/8 (60% Rural) ANTHONY
Spence (R-SC) 225-2452	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if AWB; unclear as to RJA ME 6/3 (40% Rural)
Sundquist (R-TN) 225-2811	-	-	[Staff] Oppose if AWB; probably okay with RJA ME 6/3 (43% Rural)
Talent (R-MO) 225-2561	-	-	[Staff] Unclear ME 6/3 (Urban St. Louis)
Torkildsen (R-MA) 225-8020	-	-	[Staff] ok as to either or both ME 6/8 (Urban North Shore)
Upton (R-MI) 225-3761	-	-	[Staff] Likely YES with both AWB and RJA included ME 6/6 (50% Rural)
Walsh (R-NY) 225-3701	+	-	[Staff] Okay with RJA; oppose if AWB ME 6/3 (26% Rural, Syracuse)

Member	RJA	AWB	Comments
Weldon (R-PA) 225-2011	-	-	[Staff] Probably okay with RJA; unclear as to AWB ME 6/3 (Urban Philidelphia)

6-13-94

6:00 pm

January 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM:

RAHM EMANUEL *RE*
BRUCE REED

Subject:

Crime Bill Strategy *File*

I. INTRODUCTION & GOALS

Poll after poll show that crime and violence are consistently major concerns of the American public, along with the economy. Crime also tops Congress' agenda: the Crime Bill is one of the first major pieces up on Congress' 1994 legislative calendar. The Crime Bill is also a central part of this administration's legislative agenda.

The window of opportunity for action on crime is the next 2-3 months. The House and Senate will most likely issue their conference report in mid- to late-March. We therefore need to develop and execute our plan as soon as possible.

This memo is an attempt to put together a crime strategy for the administration with passage of the Crime Bill as the central vehicle. This strategy should have the following goals:

- To pass the Crime Bill.
- To cement public perception of this President as tough on crime.
- To improve the Democratic Party's standing with regard to crime.

These are three attainable goals which will serve to measure our success on crime.

Passage of the Crime Bill will have an inevitable ripple effect and will benefit not only the President, but also the Democratic Party, which lost almost every major race in 1993 on the crime issue. Crime is likely to be the #1 issue in 1994 gubernatorial races, as Cuomo in New York and Wilson in California have already made clear. The Republican Party still has a 7 point advantage over the Democrats on the issue of crime. Traditionally, this gap has been even greater, in favor of the GOP. Now that the Democrats are in the White House, we finally have a real opportunity to make gains and to improve the Democrats' identification on crime.

Given the fact that Congress has been trying and failing to pass a comprehensive Crime Bill since 1988, legislative victory will also reinforce a central tenet of the Clinton political ideology: breaking gridlock.

Furthermore, if it is done on our terms legislative victory gives the administration momentum to move onto health care and other initiatives. Funding the Crime Bill also provides us with our strongest argument against the Balanced Budget Amendment.

There are three pieces to this strategy that need to be coordinated: communications, legislative, and public outreach.

II. COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY

A. Message:

Polls across the country show that, when it comes to the issue of crime and violence, the public is more focused on punishment than prevention. From Stan Greenberg to the *Wall Street Journal* to Mellman-Lazurus, polls show that certainty and severity of punishment is widely considered a strong deterrent of violent crime. The *WSJ* states that 75% of the public support the "3-Strikes-You're-Out" proposal, which puts three-time violent offenders in prison for life. If you are not talking to the public about the punishment side, you are not talking about crime.

We therefore need to make sure our communications strategy addresses two things: (1) where the public debate is now focused (punishment); and (2) what the legislation will eventually look like.

Our current rhetoric on crime is dealing with important, but to the public's mind, secondary issues. To date, we have been talking primarily about cops and guns. We need to start talking as well about swift and certain punishment for criminals. The President has a strong record on punishment, going back to his support for the death penalty in Arkansas. We cannot afford to shy away from talking about the subject.

Following are examples of what issues we should be talking about:

- 3-Strikes-You're-Out
- Prisons and Boot Camps
- Death Penalty
- 100,000 Cops
- Ban/Limit on Assault Weapons

Our communications strategy needs to address what the likely legislation will actually look like, as well as what we would like it to look like. We do not want to be behind the curve with regard to Congress. We need to anticipate what the crime bill legislation will look like.

Before we can execute an effective communications strategy, however, we need to clearly define the administration's positions on a few key issues related to crime, such as the "3-Strikes-

You're-Out" proposal. (The President has hinted privately that he is interested in this proposal, but the administration has not publicly stated a position.) Making these policy decisions immediately is of utmost importance. The President can then spell out his goals and set markers which will determine whether the conference report is the Clinton Crime Bill.

Once policy decisions have been made, we can find places where the President can reinforce these markers and show that he is serious about crime. This will help us do a better job of using the full volume of the presidential microphone, which we are currently not doing.

B. Calendar:

At the time of this writing, we know that the President will talk about crime and violence in the State of the Union Address. He will also address the issue when he speaks to the National Governor's Association.

However, we need to have a larger agreement as to where crime is on the radar screen, i.e. what level of time commitment the President will give to crime vis a vis health care, balanced budget, FY '95 budget, etc. Without a clear picture of the priority level of this issue, we cannot develop a communications strategy calendar to achieve the stated goals.

III. LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY

A. Congressional Timetable:

The Congressional timetable includes the following pieces:

- Naming of conferees.
- Conferees meet to hammer out bill.
- Possible House votes on other crime-related measures prior to conference.
- Bill voted on, signed by POTUS.

The conference report is expected in mid- to late-March, which provides us with a 2-3 month window for action. Biden and Brooks have both asked us to give them clear direction in conference.

B. Strategy:

Similar to the communications strategy, we cannot execute a legislative strategy without clear markers. The administration's positions on the various issues involved in the crime bill must be clearly defined. We cannot go forward with a legislative strategy unless we are clear about what the administration wants to achieve and will push for.

We also need to be clear about where we are willing to negotiate and compromise. For example, can we persuade Republicans (and some House Democrats) to go along with a ban on assault weapons if we go along with "3-Strikes"?

We need to define the debate, and not let the Republicans define it. If we talk about swift and certain punishment as well as our cops, boot camps, and drug programs, all the Republicans will have left to argue with us about is banning assault weapons, an issue on which we command 80% public support.

We have been waiting nearly a month for Justice to tell us its specific recommendations about the Crime Bill, but apparently these have been held up by internal disagreements within the Department. Webb, George, Carol, and Pat Griffin are meeting with Reno on Monday, but ultimately the President will have to resolve a few pivotal issues -- whether to endorse "3-Strikes-You're Out," and what negotiating instructions to give Biden and Brooks on prisons. The other issues are just details. If the President intends to support "3-Strikes-You're-Out," he should do so in time for the State of the Union.

The message we want to send is that of the President prodding Congress to move with unprecedented speed to pass a tough and comprehensive crime bill, which has been held up since 1988. The ideal picture is of government working: the Congress working hard to develop and deliver a bill to the President.

IV. PUBLIC OUTREACH STRATEGY

Public outreach is an area where we can easily achieve our goal. The public cares deeply about the issue of crime, and will welcome the President's personal commitment to reducing crime.

The crime issue allows us to reach out to people and communities with which we do not have consistent contact. Our public outreach strategy needs to go beyond talking to governors, mayors, and local political leaders. We need to establish a regular dialogue with community groups, parents, teachers, and police officers.

The President should make public appearances with members of the law enforcement community: police officers, police chiefs, in police cars, etc. The Cabinet should deal with the other groups, appropriate to their position.

Cabinet participation in public outreach on crime is critical. The President has promised a sustained, disciplined, organized approach, and the fight against crime and the punishment of criminals must be viewed as an administration-wide effort. Five Cabinet members in particular should be given special direction

from the White House; Attorney General Reno, Secretary Riley, Secretary Bentsen, Secretary Cisneros, and Drug Chief Lee Brown.

We should convene a meeting for the Cabinet members to insure that they are on cue and have assigned a point person in their office to specifically handle crime.

This is an excellent opportunity for the President to stake his claim as the Domestic Commander-in-Chief.

V. CONCLUSION

To recap the above, we need to do the following:

- Agree on how we will measure success; define what success looks like.
- Quickly settle the remaining major policy and legislative questions.
- Convene meeting with Cabinet members on the "Crime Team" to brief them on strategy and assign tasks.
- Agree on how much of the President's time will be dedicated to crime over the next 90 days.

Once these issues are resolved, we have fleshed out and can execute a comprehensive crime strategy.

cc: George Stephanopoulos
David Gergen
Pat Griffin
Carol Rasco
Marcia Hale

December 13, 1993

POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S ANTIVIOLENCE PROGRAM
(Peter Edelman and Phil Heymann)

File: CRIME

1. Enact the crime bill (especially community policing)
2. Next steps on guns (whatever the President decides to propose)
3. Media (President announces he is inviting leaders of all the media -- networks, cable, filmmakers, record companies, video toys -- to White House for meeting to discuss what they can do. This obviously needs careful honing of list of requests and knowledge of how they are going to respond.)
4. Neighborhood and community-wide antiviolence coalitions (These are absolutely key to the President's call to take our cities back block by block and neighborhood by neighborhood. They are developing on their own in many communities. We have worked with Denver and Omaha, but seven cities in Texas have action plans for crime prevention connected to broad-based coalition building, and cities like San Diego and Seattle have done their own city-wide task forces. Fort Worth says it has reduced crime in all categories by 25 to 30 percent by the totality of its activities. Could say U.S. Attorneys will lead federal team to draw on federal expertise to help in any city that wants it. Could also propose modest federal cash assistance on a formula basis to states and major cities as "glue" to start up and staff the coalitions. Major message point here: everyone has to take responsibility.)
5. Drug and alcohol treatment (This goes here because drugs and alcohol are so closely interwoven with so much of the violence. There will be a new hard-core drug and alcohol abuser treatment initiative in the FY 95 budget and there is a significant criminal justice drug treatment portion of the crime bill.)
6. Federal law enforcement activities to prosecute and assist local prosecution of violent crime:
 - At local level, define the problem, inventory federal and local prosecution and investigative resources, and develop joint anti-violence strategy. Use integrated force of federal investigators (FBI, DEA, and Customs) to work with local law enforcement.
 - Design federal role as part of the locally determined strategy, based on special advantages of the various federal tools available to assist.
 - Coordinate and share intelligence among federal and local law enforcement agencies.
 - Create new Violent Crime Section in Criminal Division to support training, help in the field, facilitate coordination and share intelligence and ideas.
7. Safe schools (Enact the Safe Schools Act and the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act portion of the Elementary and

Secondary Act reauthorization)

8. Million Mentors Initiative (Get a million mentors out there with young people -- there are perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 now by rough estimates, so this is a reasonable aim. This is prototypical reinventing government. Doing good mentorship programs is neither simple nor free. It requires careful organization to recruit, screen, train, supervise, monitor, support, and provide logistical assistance for mentors. Could propose small grant program to states to distribute as they think most wise. Leverage would be multiplied many times over, because the heart of the effort would be private action.)

9. Turn schools into community centers and enact "Ounce of Prevention" program in crime bill (Would enable nonprofit organizations, colleges, and others to work with schools within neighborhoods to reach "at risk" youth with after-school, evening, and summer academic enrichment and recreation, with lots of adult role models to create meaningful adult relationships for kids who so often lack them, and organized activities to connect youth to labor market. Call for enactment of Ounce of Prevention (Dodd) and Bradley-Danforth-Domenici amendments in crime bill to do these things. Major message point here: There is a tendency to send the message that all youth or all youth in certain categories are threats. All youth have strengths and we need to build on them even as we punish those who engage in violence. Need to treat youth as assets, not collections of problems.)

10. Massive public education

- re guns as dangerous consumer products
- re "time out" or "squash it" to appeal to kids to settle disputes nonviolently
- re real men don't beat women
- re underage drinking

(fund Centers for Disease Control to work with private sector to develop messages)

11. Use national service to get full-time volunteers into violence reduction and prevention activities (Call on everyone involved at grass-roots and on up to make this a priority in implementation of the program.)

12. Get prosecutors and police and social service people to cooperate in each community to implement tough domestic violence arrest and prosecution protocols and safe places for battered women and children to go (Enact Violence Against Women Act provisions in crime bill. Message point: there is a continuity of violence. What children see and experience at home reflects itself all too often in their later behavior.)

13. New hate crimes legislation

14. Strengthen families and parenting skills (Implement recently enacted Family Preservation legislation)

15. Promote jobs and opportunity and hope for young people (This is a missing piece at present, especially for young men, since we will concentrate some effort on young women via welfare reform -- we need some kind of youth employment initiative as part of Job Training Partnership Act reorientation, concentration of resources within national service, or connected to Bill Galston's zero to three year old initiative. Bob Reich tells me he has a \$5 billion idea to revive the CCC -- not bad if we could find the money.)

16. Cut red tape for localities, develop improved on-line computerized information about federal resources, new resource guides and how-to manuals about promising activities to reduce violence.

NOTE: Martin Luther King's birthday would be a good time to do something or things to dramatize all of the above -- possibly a speech or lead a march against violence or go to Lincoln Memorial or meet with kids and talk about Dr. King or some combination.