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Crime Bill Debate [1]

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001. background paper	re: Rep. Newt Gingrich - Record on Crime (5 pages)	01/29/1994	Personal Misfile

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FOLDER TITLE:

Crime Bill Debate [1]

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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**DOLE, GINGRICH, GRAMM, HATCH, THURMOND;
EXCERPTS FROM DEBATE ON THE CRIME BILL 1991 - 1994**

	DOLE	
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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]

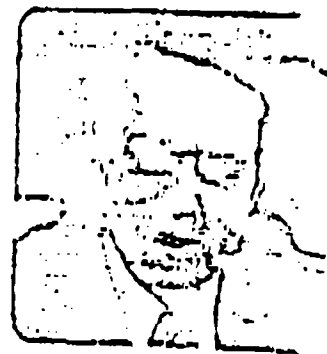
On prevention programs:

(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]

News from Senator

BOB DOLE



R - Kansas)

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
FRIDAY, JULY 22, 1983CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-6521REMARKS 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.

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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 depravity 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 facility 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 grass-roots answers. They will demand equal imagination and creativity from all of us - from businesses and individuals as well as government and the medical community.

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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 to 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

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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.

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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

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

GINGRICH

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Gingrich - VOTES



Newt Fights Crime?

Background Research

Major anti-crime funding bills

- Gingrich's votes from 1980-1990 would have taken \$48.08 billion from the Department of Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies.

<u>1980</u>	\$ 3.36 billion
<u>1981</u>	3.56 billion
<u>1982</u>	3.90 billion
<u>1983</u>	missed vote
<u>1984</u>	5.12 billion
<u>1985</u>	5.52 billion
<u>1986</u>	5.93 billion
<u>1987</u>	7.14 billion
<u>1988</u>	7.30 billion
<u>1989</u>	2.31 billion
<u>1990</u>	3.94 billion
<u>Total</u>	<u>\$ 48.08 billion</u>

- For an entire decade, Gingrich ignored the need for strong anti-crime programs. From 1980-1990, Gingrich voted against anti-crime funding every year -- except for 1983, when he missed the votes entirely.

Anti-crime funding amendments and bills

- Gingrich is playing politics with anti-crime efforts by backing across-the-board cuts in anti-crime funding.
- We must try to cut government spending wherever possible. But first and foremost, we must ensure that law enforcement authorities have the resources they need. The across-the-board cuts Gingrich supports are a dangerous approach that doesn't take into account the safety of our communities.
- Waste and bureaucracy in the government must be eliminated, but across-the-board cuts are a careless, political solution that eliminate the good programs right along with the waste.

Newt Fights Crime?

General Criminal issues

- Gingrich twice opposed comprehensive anti-crime legislation - the 1991 Omnibus Crime Bill.
- Congress must work in partnership with local law authorities to fight crime. But Gingrich rejected this idea when he opposed creating the States Justice Institute to aid state and local governments.
- There is no place in our society for discrimination in employment. Yet Newt Gingrich opposed measures to fight discrimination in employment.
- The overwhelming crime problems in the nation's capital are typical of the crime plaguing cities across the country. But Newt Gingrich opposed additional police officers for Washington, D.C.

Guns

- Gingrich opposed the Brady Bill. The Brady Bill ensures that responsible persons can become gun owners, while keeping guns out of the hands of those who shouldn't have the guns. The Brady Bill was supported nationwide by the major law enforcement groups.
- Instead of supporting the Brady Bill, Gingrich backed a substitute proposal that promoted an unrealistic approach to handgun control.

Newt Fights Crime?

Drugs

- Employee drug testing is a controversial issue. But whatever the employer's policy is, it is vital to protect employees from inaccurate tests. Gingrich opposed measures to protect employees from harm caused by inaccurate drug tests.
- Local authorities need assistance in order to deal with the rising rate of violence caused by drug crimes. Gingrich opposed aid to trauma centers to help with the costs of drug-related violence.
- Gingrich has been A.W.O.L. in the fight against drugs. He has missed several key votes.
 - Missed vote on the Omnibus Drug Bill, which provided tougher penalties -- suspended drivers' licenses -- for drug-related criminal offenders.
 - Missed vote on ensuring drug-free workplaces.
 - Missed vote on measure providing that students convicted on drug offenses would not be eligible for student financial aid.
 - Missed vote on a resolution of support for the anti-drug efforts of the people of Colombia

International Crime Issues

- Gingrich is soft on terrorism. In 1981, Gingrich opposed a measure condemning Libya for supporting international terrorism. In 1990, right before Iraq invaded Kuwait, Gingrich opposed sanctions against countries with patterns of human rights violations, acquiring chemical weapons, or supporting international terrorism.
- Gingrich opposed security protection for foreign diplomats in the United States. He voted against funding for states protecting foreign diplomats and for embassy security.

Newt Fights Crime?

Missed Crime Fighting Votes

- Newt Gingrich has been absent in the war on crime. Newt Gingrich has missed a votes on key, anti-crime measures:
 - funding for Department of Justice and the Judiciary
 - Department of Justice authorization
 - contracting for drug treatment services
 - tougher consumer products tampering laws
 - investigating drug use by House members and employees
 - funding for Legal Services Corporation
 - modification of the insanity defense
 - compensation for terrorism victims
 - ensuring drug-free workplaces
 - life imprisonment in drug-related murder cases
 - removing diplomatic immunity in serious crime cases
 - passage of the Hate Crimes Act
 - cutting student financial aid for drug offenders
 - tougher penalties for drug and S&L offenders

Ethics/Investigating

- At a time when the public distrust of government officials is hitting new highs, Gingrich still opposes laws for independent investigations into wrongdoing by government officials. Gingrich voted against special prosecutor and independent prosecutors for investigating high-level government officials. At other times, Gingrich voted to put limits on independent counsel investigations.
- Gingrich wanted to let defense fraud crooks off the hook without strict penalties. Gingrich voted to eliminate criminal penalties for company officers of defense contractors who wrongly certify unallowable costs.
- Gingrich wanted to allow the "revolving door" employment practice, where defense department officials leave the Pentagon for high-paying lobbyist jobs. Gingrich voted against an amendment that would have restricted revolving door employment.
- Gingrich opposed providing defense whistleblowers employment protection, making it harder for people to come forward to expose government waste and abuse.

MAJOR FUNDING BILLS

- **1980 - OPPOSED \$3.36 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 7584 - STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, JUDICIARY APPROPS.
FY81. BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$3.36 BILLION IN FY81 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 252-158, July 23, 1980, CR# 421, CQ# 381.
Gingrich voted no.
- **1981 - OPPOSED \$3.56 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 4169 - STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, JUDICIARY APPROPS.
FY82. BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$3.56 BILLION IN FY82 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 245-145, September 9, 1981, CR# 194, CQ# 183
Gingrich voted no.
- **1982 - OPPOSED \$3.90 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 6957 - STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE APPROPRIATIONS FY83.
BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$3.90 BILLION IN FY83 FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 234-125, December 9, 1982, CR# 431, CQ# 406.
Gingrich voted no.
- **1983 - MISSED VOTE ON \$4.70 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 3222 - STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE APPROPRIATIONS
FY84. BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$4.70 BILLION IN FY84 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 281-133, November 9, 1983, CR# 479, CQ# 444
Gingrich did not vote.
- **1984 - OPPOSED \$5.12 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 5712 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY APPROP.
FY85. CONFERENCE REPORT: APPROPRIATES \$5.12 BILLION IN
FY85 FOR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED
AGENCIES.
Passed 277-135, August 8, 1984, CR# 350, CQ# 312
Gingrich voted no.
- **1985 - OPPOSED \$5.52 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 2965 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY APPROP.
FY86. BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$5.52 BILLION IN FY86 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 273-136, July 17, 1985, CR# 240, CQ# 218
Gingrich voted no.
- **1986 - OPPOSED \$5.93 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 5161 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE AND THE JUDICIARY.
BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$5.93 BILLION IN FY87 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 269-66, July 17, 1986, CR# 233, CQ# 211
Gingrich voted no.
- **1987 - OPPOSED \$7.14 BILLION IN FUNDING**
HR 2763 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE AND THE JUDICIARY.

BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$7.14 BILLION IN FY88 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 292-102, July 1, 1987, CR# 244, CQ# 244
Gingrich voted no.

- **1988 - OPPOSED \$7.30 BILLION IN FUNDING**

HR 4782 - FY89 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY
APPROP. CONFERENCE REPORT: APPROPRIATES \$7.30 BILLION
IN FY89 FOR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND
RELATED AGENCIES.
Passed 269-141, September 27, 1988, CR# 349, CQ# 349
Gingrich voted no.

- **1989 - OPPOSED \$2.31 BILLION IN FUNDING**

HR 2991 - FY90 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY
APPROP. BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$2.31 BILLION IN FY90 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
(This is substantially less than in previous years
because the House did not appropriate funds for
unauthorized programs.)
Passed 258-165, August 1, 1989, CR# 197, CQ# 197
Gingrich voted no.

- **1990 - OPPOSED \$3.94 BILLION IN FUNDING**

HR 5021 - FY91 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY
APPROP. BILL TO APPROPRIATE \$3.94 BILLION IN FY91 FOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES.
(This is substantially less than in previous years
because the House did not appropriate funds for
unauthorized programs.)
Passed 358-55, June 26, 1990, CR# 196, CQ# 196
Gingrich voted no.

FUNDING AMENDMENTS AND BILLS

● BACKED CUTS IN JUSTICE FUNDING

HR 2965 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY APPROP. FY86. AMENDMENT TO REDUCE DISCRETIONARY FUNDING BY 4 PERCENT, EXCEPT FOR BUSINESS LOAN AND INVESTMENT FUNDS. Failed 149-266, July 17, 1985, CR# 237, CQ# 215
Gingrich voted yes.

● VOTED TO CUT LAW ENFORCEMENT SPENDING

HR 3036 - TREASURY, POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS FY86. MEASURE EXEMPTS LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES & POSTAL SERVICE FROM 2.65% CUTS IN ALL DISCRETIONARY PROGRAMS. Passed 288-133, July 30, 1985, CR# 268, CQ# 243
Gingrich voted no.

● FAVORED ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUTS FOR ANTI-CRIME EFFORTS

HR 2763 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE AND THE JUDICIARY. AMENDMENT FOR 4.9% ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUTS (\$675 MILLION), EXCEPT FOR DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION, FBI, AND IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE. Failed 192-206, July 1, 1987, CR# 242, CQ# 242
Gingrich voted yes.

● OPPOSED FUNDING FOR EXPANDED PRISON PROGRAMS

HR 4994 - FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES REFORM. BILL AUTHORIZING FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES TO BORROW UP TO 25% OF NET WORTH FROM TREASURY TO EXPAND OPERATIONS. Failed 252-163, September 14, 1988, CR# 313, CQ# 313
Gingrich voted no.

● OPPOSED FUNDING FOR THE WAR ON DRUGS

HR 2072 - FY 1989 SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS. PASSAGE OF H.R. 2072, PROVIDING FY 1989 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR VARIOUS PROGRAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING \$822 MILLION FOR FIGHTING DRUGS. Passed 227-197, May 24, 1989, CR# 65, CQ# 65
Gingrich voted no.

● OPPOSED FUNDS FOR ADDITIONAL POLICE FOR THE NATION'S CAPITAL

HR 1502 - DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE EXPANSION. MEASURE AUTHORIZING FUNDS FOR WASHINGTON, D.C. FOR 700 ADDITIONAL POLICE OFFICERS AND PROVIDING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF A COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICE SYSTEM. Passed 289-105, June 13, 1989, CR# 82, CQ# 82
Gingrich voted no.

● BACKED ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUTS IN JUSTICE AND JUDICIARY

HR 5021 - FY91 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE APPROPRIATIONS. AMENDMENT FOR 5% ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUT IN ALL DISCRETIONARY ACCOUNTS IN THE BILL. Failed 88-323, June 26, 1990, CR# 195, CQ# 195
Gingrich voted yes.

- **OPPOSED PROGRAM FUNDING TO FIGHT DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE**
HR 5269 - CRIME BILL/DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE. AMENDMENT
PROVIDING \$50 MILLION IN FY91 FOR GRANTS TO TRAUMA
CENTERS TO ASSIST IN DEFRAYING UNCOMPENSATED COSTS
CAUSED BY DRUG RELATED VIOLENCE.

Passed 262-160, October 5, 1990, CR# 425, CQ# 425
Gingrich voted no.

GENERAL CRIMINAL ISSUES

- **OPPOSED PROGRAM TO STRENGTHEN STATE JUDICIAL SYSTEMS**
HR 4145 - STATE JUSTICE INSTITUTE ACT. CREATES STATES JUSTICE INSTITUTE TO AID STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN STRENGTHENING AND IMPROVING THEIR JUDICIAL SYSTEMS.
Failed 243-176, May 22, 1984, CR# 158, CQ# 140
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED TAX INCENTIVES TO EXPAND LEGAL SERVICES**
HR 5361 - GROUP LEGAL SERVICES EXCLUSION. BILL TO EXTEND FOR 1 YEAR A TAX PROVISION TO ENCOURAGE EMPLOYERS TO PROVIDE LEGAL SERVICES FOR EMPLOYEES.
Passed 300-87, October 1, 1984, CR# 426, CQ# 375
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED AID TO STATES FOR PROTECTION OF MENTALLY ILL**
HR 4055 - PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY FOR THE MENTALLY ILL. AMENDMENT PERMITS STATES WITH EXISTING PROGRAMS FOR PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY TO RECEIVE AID UNDER THE ACT.
Passed 280-90, January 30, 1986, CR# 12, CQ# 9
Gingrich voted no.

HR 4055 - PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY FOR THE MENTALLY ILL. FINAL PASSAGE AUTHORIZING FUNDS FOR STATES TO ESTABLISH PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY PROGRAMS FOR MENTALLY ILL INDIVIDUALS AND REQUIRING DEPARTMENT OF H.H.S. TO PROMOTE SUPPORT GROUPS FOR ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE.
Passed 290-84, January 30, 1986, CR# 13, CQ# 10
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED MEASURE TO FIGHT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT**
HR 3810 - IMMIGRATION REFORM. AMENDMENT STRIKES PROVISIONS PROHIBITING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION BASED ON NATIONAL ORIGIN OR CITIZENSHIP STATUS & PROVIDES FOR APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL COUNSEL IN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO ENFORCE THE BILL'S ANTI-DISCRIMINATION PROVISIONS.
Failed 140-260, October 9, 1986, CR# 452, CQ# 416
Gingrich voted yes.
- **OPPOSED EXPANDED PRISON OPERATIONS**
HR 4994 - FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES REFORM. BILL AUTHORIZING FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES TO BORROW UP TO 25% OF NET WORTH FROM TREASURY TO EXPAND OPERATIONS.
Failed 252-163, September 14, 1988, CR# 313, CQ# 313
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED ADDITIONAL POLICE FOR NATION'S CAPITAL**
HR 1502 - DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE EXPANSION. BILL AUTHORIZING FUNDS FOR 700 ADDITIONAL POLICE OFFICERS AND PROVIDING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICE SYSTEM FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.
Passed 289-105, June 13, 1989, CR# 82, CQ# 82
Gingrich voted no.

- **VOTED TWICE TO LIMIT LIABILITY IN OIL SPILLS**
 HR 1465 - OIL-SPILL LIABILITY. MEASURE CHANGING BILL'S NEGLIGENCE STANDARD, PROVIDING FOR UNLIMITED OIL SPILL LIABILITY FOR OIL AND SHIPPING COMPANIES IN CASES OF "SIMPLE NEGLIGENCE" INSTEAD OF "GROSS NEGLIGENCE."
 Passed 213-207, November 8, 1989, CR# 341, CQ# 341
 Gingrich voted no.

 HR 1465 - OIL-SPILL LIABILITY. AMENDMENT TO CHANGE BILL'S NEGLIGENCE STANDARD OF CARE FOR PURPOSES OF CAPPING LIABILITY ON OIL AND SHIPPING COMPANIES FROM "GROSS NEGLIGENCE" TO "SIMPLE NEGLIGENCE."
 Failed 185-197, November 9, 1989, CR# 344, CQ# 344
 Gingrich voted no.
- **MISSED VOTE ON HATE CRIMES ACT**
 HR 1048 - HATE CRIMES STATISTICS ACT. BILL PROVIDING FOR ACQUISITION AND PUBLICATION OF DATA ABOUT CRIMES MANIFESTING PREJUDICE BASED ON GROUP CHARACTERISTICS, I.E. RACE, ETHNIC ORIGIN, SEX, RELIGION.
 Passed 402-18, April 4, 1990, CR# 66, CQ# 66
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **OPPOSED BILL TO FIGHT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT**
 HR 4000 - CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1990. BILL TO AMEND CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 TO RESTORE AND STRENGTHEN CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS BANNING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT.
 Passed 272-154, August 3, 1990, CR# 310, CQ# 310
 Gingrich voted no.
- **MISSED VOTE ON TOUGHER PENALTIES ON DRUG AND S&L CRIMINALS**
 S 3266 - CRIME CONTROL. MEASURE TO PROVIDE HARSHER PENALTIES AGAINST DRUG CRIMES AND S&L CRIMINALS.
 Passed 313-1, October 27, 1990, CR# 534, CQ# 534
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **OPPOSED ADDITIONAL FBI CRIME-FIGHTING PROGRAM**
 HR 2608 - FY92 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE APPROP. MEASURE TO ESTABLISH FBI FINGERPRINTING FACILITY.
 Passed 252-162, October 3, 1991, CR# 290, CQ# 290
 Gingrich voted no.
- **TWICE OPPOSED COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-CRIME LEGISLATION**
 HR 3371 - OMNIBUS CRIME BILL. EXPANDS DEATH PENALTY, ALLOWS GOOD FAITH IN EXCLUSIONARY RULE, PROVIDES \$1.1 BILLION FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT, MODIFIES HABEAS CORPUS.
 Passed 305-118, October 22, 1991, CR# 327, CQ# 327
 Gingrich voted no.

 HR 3371 - CRIME BILL. CONFERENCE REPORT ENACTS 5-DAY WAITING PERIOD, PROVIDES POLICE FUNDING, EXPANDS DEATH PENALTY, ALLOWS GOOD FAITH RULE, CHANGES HABEAS CORPUS.
 Passed 205-203, November 27, 1991, CR# 443, CQ# 443
 Gingrich voted no.

GUNS

- **OPPOSED LIMITING ELIGIBLE PERSONS FROM PURCHASING HANDGUNS**
HR 4332 - FIREARMS LAW REFORM. AMENDMENT ELIMINATING PROVISIONS PERMITTING ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUALS TO BUY HANDGUNS IN A STATE OTHER THAN THEIR HOME STATE.
Passed 233-184, April 10, 1986, CR# 72, CQ# 66
Gingrich voted no.

- **OPPOSED HANDGUN WAITING PERIOD (BRADY BILL)**
HR 7 - HANDGUN WAITING PERIOD/DEALER HOT LINE. STAGGERS AMENDMENT TO INSTITUTE A SYSTEM BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO ESTABLISH A HOTLINE FOR HANDGUN DEALERS TO VERIFY PURCHASER'S CRIMINAL RECORD. SALE COULD BE MADE WITHIN 24 HOURS IF THE CHECK WAS NOT COMPLETED. ALSO OUTLINED EXCEPTIONS.
Failed 193-234, May 8, 1991, CR# 81, CQ# 81
Gingrich voted yes.

HR 7 - HANDGUN WAITING PERIOD. BILL TO REQUIRE A SEVEN DAY WAITING PERIOD BEFORE HANDGUNS COULD BE PURCHASED. WAITING PERIOD WOULD BE ABOLISHED WHEN A NATIONAL COMPUTER SYSTEM FOR INSTANT CHECKS WAS IMPLEMENTED.
Passed 239-186, May 8, 1991, CR# 83, CQ# 83
Gingrich voted no.

DRUGS

- **OPPOSED CREATION OF COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE**
HRS 13 - HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE.
RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL.
Passed 276-101, February 25, 1981, CR# 13, CQ# 9
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED PROTECTING EMPLOYEES FROM INACCURATE DRUG TESTS**
HR 1827 - SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FY87. MEASURE
PROHIBITS USE OF FUNDS TO IMPLEMENT DRUG TESTING OF
FEDERAL EMPLOYEES (ESTABLISHED UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S
SEPTEMBER 1986 EXECUTIVE ORDER) UNTIL ACCURACY OF
RESULTS IS ENSURED & RIGHTS OF EMPLOYEES PROTECTED.
Passed 343-77, June 30, 1987, CR# 236, CQ# 236
Gingrich voted no.

HR 5269 - CRIME BILL. AMENDMENT CREATES STANDARDS FOR
CERTIFICATION OF DRUG TESTING LABS, AND SAFEGUARDS TO
PROTECT AGAINST HARM CAUSED BY INACCURATE TESTS.
Passed 333-86, October 5, 1990, CR# 426, CQ# 426
Gingrich voted no.
- **MISSED VOTE ON ENSURING DRUG-FREE WORKPLACES**
HR 4587 - FY 1989 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS.
PROHIBITS FUNDS BEING SPENT IN ANY WORKPLACE NOT FREE
OF ILLEGAL USE OR POSSESSION OF CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES.
Passed 286-98, May 19, 1988, CR# 147, CQ# 147
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON DEATH PENALTY ALTERNATIVE**
HR 5210 - OMNIBUS DRUG BILL. AMENDMENT REQUIRING LIFE
IMPRISONMENT FOR INDIVIDUALS CONVICTED OF KILLING
PERSON WHILE COMMITTING OR AIDING IN DRUG FELONY.
Passed 410-1, September 8, 1988, CR# 297, CQ# 297
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON TOUGHER PENALTIES FOR DRUG OFFENDERS**
HR 5210 - OMNIBUS DRUG BILL. PROVIDES \$125 MILLION TO
STATES SUSPENDING DRIVER'S LICENSES OF PERSONS
CONVICTED OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL OFFENSES.
Passed 281-119, September 22, 1988, CR# 330, CQ# 330
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE TO SUPPORT ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS IN COLOMBIA**
HCR 194 - SUPPORT FOR COLOMBIAN PEOPLE. RESOLUTION TO
EXPRESS THE SUPPORT OF CONGRESS FOR THE COURAGEOUS
PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF COLOMBIA FOR THEIR STAND
AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKERS.
Passed 348-0, October 16, 1989, CR# 289, CQ# 289
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON SUSPENDING STUDENT AID FOR DRUG OFFENDERS**
HR 5115 - OMNIBUS EDUC AUTHORIZATIONS. PROVIDES THAT STUDENTS CONVICTED OF POSSESSION OR SALE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS WOULD BE INELIGIBLE FOR STUDENT FINANCIAL AID.
Passed 315-59, July 20, 1990, CR# 255, CQ# 255
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE PROMOTING SERVICE WORK IN DRUG COUNSELLING**
HR 4330 - NATIONAL SERVICE ACT. AMENDMENT STRIKES PROVISIONS FORGIVING CERTAIN FEDERAL STUDENT LOANS FOR STUDENTS WHO VOLUNTEER FOR FULL-TIME PUBLIC SERVICE CONCERNING DRUG COUNSELING AND NATIVE AMERICANS.
Failed 200-212, September 13, 1990, CR# 330, CQ# 330
Gingrich did not vote.
- **OPPOSED AID TO FIGHT DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE**
HR 5269 - CRIME BILL. PROVIDES \$50 MILLION IN FY91 FOR GRANTS TO TRAUMA CENTERS TO ASSIST IN DEFRAYING UNCOMPENSATED COSTS CAUSED BY DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE.
Passed 262-160, October 5, 1990, CR# 425, CQ# 425
Gingrich voted no.

MISSED VOTES

- **MISSED VOTE ON JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION**
S 840 - JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION. CONTINUES THROUGH SEPT. 30, 1981, AUTHORITY PROVIDED UNDER FY80 JUSTICE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZATION ACT.
Passed 368-2, April 7, 1981, CR# 21, CQ# 16
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTES ON EXPANDED PRE-TRIAL SERVICES**
HR 3481 - PRETRIAL SERVICES ACT OF 1981. BILL AUTHORIZES EXPANSION OF PRETRIAL SERVICE AGENCIES THROUGHOUT FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT SYSTEM, ESTABLISHING THEM ON A DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT BASIS, AND SET CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON AGENCIES' ACTIVITIES.
Passed 369-30, May 11, 1982, CR# 67, CQ# 64
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON CONTRACTING FOR DRUG TREATMENT SERVICES**
HR 2173 - DRUG DEPENDENT FEDERAL OFFICERS. AUTHORIZATIONS FOR FYs 84-86 FOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF U.S. COURTS TO CONTRACT FOR DRUG TREATMENT AND DRUG ABUSE MONITORING SERVICES FOR FEDERAL PROBATIONERS AND PAROLEES WITH HISTORY OF DRUG PROBLEMS.
Passed 275-8, May 9, 1983, CR# 91, CQ# 85
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON TOUGHENING CONSUMER PRODUCT TAMPERING LAWS**
HR 2174 - CONSUMER PRODUCTS TAMPERING. BILL TO MAKE IT FEDERAL CRIME TO KNOWINGLY TAMPER WITH PRODUCT DESIGNED TO BE INGESTED OR CONSUMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT MIGHT RISK DEATH OR INJURY TO PURCHASER.
Passed 292-0, May 9, 1983, CR# 92, CQ# 86
Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE TO INVESTIGATE DRUG USE IN CONGRESS**
HRS 267 - COMMITTEE FUNDS. RESOLUTION PROVIDING EXPENSES OF INVESTIGATIONS AND STUDIES OF ILLICIT DRUG USE BY MEMBERS OR EMPLOYEES OF THE HOUSE.
Passed 407-3, July 28, 1983, CR# 277, CQ# 262
Gingrich did not vote.
- **TWICE MISSED VOTES ON FUNDING FOR JUSTICE AND JUDICIARY**
HR 3222 - STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE APPROPS. FY84. BILL APPROPRIATES \$4.38 BILLION FOR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, RELATED AGENCIES, AND THE JUDICIARY.
Passed 228-142, September 19, 1983, CR# 343, CQ# 326
Gingrich did not vote.

HR 3222 - STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE APPROPS. FY84. CONFERENCE REPORT APPROPRIATES \$4.69 BILLION FOR DEPT. OF JUSTICE, RELATED AGENCIES, AND THE JUDICIARY.
Passed 281-133, November 9, 1983, CR# 479, CQ# 444
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION FUNDING**
 HR 5712 - COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, JUDICIARY APPROP.
 FY85. APPROPRIATES \$305 MILLION FOR LEGAL SERVICES
 CORP., PLUS MAKES CERTAIN RULES CHANGES.
 Passed 278-138, August 8, 1984, CR# 352, CQ# 314
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON CHANGING INSANITY DEFENSE**
 HR 3336 - INSANITY DEFENSE REVISIONS. BILL TO MODIFY
 USE OF INSANITY DEFENSE IN FEDERAL COURTS. SHIFTS
 BURDEN OF PROOF FROM PROSECUTION TO DEFENSE AND
 ELIMINATES USE OF "IRRESISTIBLE IMPULSE" DEFENSE.
 Failed 225-171, September 18, 1984, CR# 394, CQ# 351
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON COMPENSATION FOR TERRORISM VICTIMS**
 HR 4151 - DIPLOMATIC SECURITY. AMENDMENT MAKING
 COMPENSATION FOR TERRORISM VICTIMS SUBJECT TO ANNUAL
 APPROPRIATION RATHER THAN BEING AN ENTITLEMENT.
 Failed 144-252, March 18, 1996, CR# 58 CQ# 53
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON RESTRICTING DRUG LAW ENFORCEMENT**
 S 858 - ABANDONED SHIPWRECK ACT. AMENDMENT STATING
 THAT NOTHING IN THE BILL CAN BE USED TO PREVENT D.E.A.,
 COAST GUARD, OR ANY LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY FROM
 INVESTIGATING/ENFORCING LAWS RELATING TO THE
 TRAFFICKING, USE, OR ABUSE OF NARCOTICS.
 Failed 183-221, April 13, 1988, CR# 53, CQ# 53
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON ENSURING DRUG FREE WORKPLACE**
 HR 4587 - FY89 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS.
 AMENDMENT PROHIBITS FUNDS APPROPRIATED UNDER THIS BILL
 FROM BEING SPENT IN ANY WORKPLACE THAT IS NOT FREE OF
 ILLEGAL USE OR POSSESSION OF CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES.
 Passed 286-98, May 19, 1988, CR# 147, CQ# 147
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON DEATH PENALTY ALTERNATIVE**
 HR 5210 - OMNIBUS DRUG BILL. AMENDMENT REQUIRING LIFE
 IMPRISONMENT FOR INDIVIDUALS CONVICTED OF KILLING
 PERSON WHILE COMMITTING OR AIDING IN DRUG FELONY.
 Passed 410-1, September 8, 1988, CR# 297, CQ# 297
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON TOUGHER PENALTIES FOR DRUG OFFENDERS**
 HR 5210 - OMNIBUS DRUG BILL. AMENDMENT PROVIDING \$125
 MILLION TO STATES SUSPENDING THE DRIVER'S LICENSES OF
 PERSONS CONVICTED OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL OFFENSES.
 Passed 281-119, September 22, 1988, CR# 330, CQ# 330
 Gingrich did not vote.
- **MISSED VOTE ON DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY, SATELLITES TO CHINA**

HR 4637 - FY89 FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS. REMOVES DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY FOR DIPLOMATS & FAMILIES ACCUSED OF SERIOUS CRIMES, & PROHIBITING EXPORTS OF SATELLITES/COMPONENTS TO CHINA UNLESS PRESIDENT CERTIFIES CHINA NOT SELLING MISSILES TO IRAN, IRAQ, SYRIA, LIBYA.
Failed 23-234, September 30, 1988, CR# 375, CQ# 375
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON SUPPORT OF COLOMBIAN ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS**

HCR 194 - SUPPORT FOR COLOMBIAN PEOPLE. CONCURRENT RESOLUTION TO EXPRESS THE SUPPORT OF CONGRESS FOR THE COURAGEOUS PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF COLOMBIA FOR THEIR STAND AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKERS.
Passed 348-0, October 16, 1989, CR# 289, CQ# 289
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON HATE CRIMES ACT**

HR 1048 - HATE CRIMES STATISTICS ACT. RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FOR ACQUISITION AND PUBLICATION OF DATA ABOUT CRIMES THAT MANIFEST PREJUDICE BASED ON GROUP CHARACTERISTICS - RACE, ETHNIC ORIGIN, SEX, RELIGION.
Passed 402-18 April 4, 1990, CR# 66, CQ# 66
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON STUDENT AID FOR DRUG OFFENDERS**

HR 5115 - OMNIBUS EDUC AUTHORIZATIONS. PROVISION THAT STUDENTS CONVICTED OF POSSESSION OR SALE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS WOULD BE INELIGIBLE FOR STUDENT FINANCIAL AID.
Passed 315-59, July 20, 1990, CR# 255, CQ# 255
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON SERVICE WORK IN DRUG COUNSELING**

HR 4330 - NATIONAL SERVICE ACT. MEASURE STRIKES LANGUAGE FORGIVING CERTAIN FEDERAL STUDENT LOANS FOR STUDENTS WHO VOLUNTEER FOR FULL-TIME PUBLIC SERVICE CONCERNING DRUG COUNSELING AND NATIVE AMERICANS.
Failed 200-212, September 13, 1990, CR# 330, CQ# 330
Gingrich did not vote.

- **MISSED VOTE ON TOUGHER PENALTIES FOR DRUG AND S&L CRIMINALS**

S 3266 - CRIME CONTROL. MEASURE TO CONTROL CRIME WHICH INCLUDED HARSHER PENALTIES FOR DRUG AND S&L CRIMINALS.
Passed 313-1, October 27, 1990, CR# 534, CQ# 534
Gingrich did not vote.

ETHICS

- **OPPOSED MEASURE TO EXPAND ROLE OF INSPECTORS GENERAL**
HR 2098 - INSPECTOR GENERAL ACT AMENDMENTS. BILL TO ESTABLISH INSPECTORS GENERAL IN DEFENSE, TREASURY, JUSTICE, AND AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.
Passed 334-65, May 19, 1981, CR# 49, CQ# 42
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED AUTHORIZATION FOR SPECIAL PROSECUTORS**
S 2059 - ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1982. BILL TO EXTEND AUTHORIZATION FOR SPECIAL PROSECUTORS FOR INVESTIGATING HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS. REDUCES NUMBER OF OFFICIALS COVERED, CHANGES MECHANISMS FOR TRIGGERING APPOINTMENT OF PROSECUTOR.
Passed 347-37, December 13, 1982, CR# 439, CQ# 414
Gingrich voted no.
- **OPPOSED CITING EPA OFFICIAL FOR CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS**
HRS 632 - CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS. MEASURE CITING EPA ADMINISTRATOR ANNE GORSUCH FOR CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS FOR FAILURE TO PROVIDE SUBPOENAED DOCUMENTS.
Passed 259-105, December 16, 1982, CR# 471, CQ# 444
Gingrich voted no.
- **TWICE OPPOSED TOUGHER PENALTIES FOR DEFENSE FRAUD**
HR 4428 - DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION FY87. AMENDMENT DELETES PROVISION FOR CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR FINANCIAL OFFICERS OF DEFENSE CONTRACTORS WHO CERTIFIED WRONGLY THAT COSTS CHARGED TO THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT WERE ALLOWABLE WHEN THE CHARGES WERE NOT PERMITTED.
Failed 157-251, August 5, 1986, CR# 282, CQ# 258
Gingrich voted yes.

HR 4428 - DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION FY87. AMENDMENT PROVIDES NO CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICERS OF CONTRACTORS INADVERTENTLY CERTIFYING UNALLOWABLE COSTS.
Failed 164-245, August 5, 1986, CR# 284, CQ# 260
Gingrich voted yes.
- **OPPOSED WHISTLEBLOWER PROTECTION, BACKED REVOLVING DOOR**
HR 4428 - DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION FY87. AMENDMENT CHANGING PENTAGON PROCUREMENT PRACTICES, INCLUDING RESTRICTING REVOLVING DOOR EMPLOYMENT AND PROVIDING NEW WHISTLEBLOWER PROTECTION.
Passed 347-60, August 5, 1986, CR# 285, CQ# 261
Gingrich voted no.
- **TWICE SUPPORTED LIMITS ON INDEPENDENT COUNSEL INVESTIGATIONS**
HR 2939 - INDEPENDENT-COUNSEL LAW. AMENDMENT TO LIMIT INITIAL INVESTIGATION BY INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO ONE YEAR. WOULD HAVE AUTHORIZED AN EXTENSION OF UP TO TWO YEARS IN UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

Failed 185-231, October 21, 1987, CR# 370, CQ# 370
Gingrich voted yes.

HR 2939 - INDEPENDENT-COUNSEL LAW. AMENDMENT STRIKES
ALL OF THE BILL'S PROVISIONS; PROVIDES FOR ONE-YEAR
EXTENSION OF CURRENT LAW WITHOUT MODIFICATION.

Failed 171-245, October 21, 1987, CR# 371, CQ# 371
Gingrich voted yes.

● **TWICE OPPOSED PASSAGE OF INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LEGISLATION**

HR 2939 - INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LAW. EXTENDS FOR 5 YEARS
LAW PROVIDING FOR APPOINTMENT OF INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO
INVESTIGATE ALLEGED CRIMINAL VIOLATIONS BY CERTAIN
HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND OTHERS.

Passed 322-87, February 21, 1987, CR# 373, CQ# 373
Gingrich voted no.

HR 2939 - INDEPENDENT-COUNSEL LAW. CONFERENCE REPORT
EXTENDS FOR FIVE YEARS THE LAW PROVIDING FOR
APPOINTMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO INVESTIGATE
ALLEGED CRIMINAL CONDUCT OF HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN
EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND OTHERS.

Passed 322-90, December 2, 1987, CR# 450, CQ# 450
Gingrich voted no.