

SAFETY ON CAPITOL HILL: DC CRIME'S IMPACT ON CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS AND VISITORS

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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C O N T E N T S

	Page
OPENING STATEMENTS	
Chairman Bryan Steil, Representative from the State of Wisconsin	1
Prepared statement of Chairman Bryan Steil	3
Ranking Member Joseph Morelle, Representative from the State of New York	4
Prepared statement of Ranking Member Joseph Morelle	6
WITNESSES	
J. Thomas Manger, Chief of Police, United States Capitol Police	8
Prepared statement of J. Thomas Manger	10
Greggory Pemberton, Chairman, D.C. Police Union	15
Prepared statement of Greggory Pemberton	18
Rafael A. Mangual, Nick Ohnell Fellow, Policing and Public Safety Initiative, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research	20
Prepared statement of Rafael A. Mangual	23
SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD	
The Two-Decade Red State Murder Problem study	44
Letters of appointment	55
QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD	
J. Thomas Manger answers to submitted questions	57
Rafael A. Mangual answers to submitted questions	71

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March 21, 2024

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:37 a.m., in room 1310, Longworth House Office Building, Hon. Bryan Steil [chairman of the Committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Steil, Loudermilk, Murphy, Bice, Carey, D'Esposito, Lee, and Morelle.

Staff present: March Bell, General Counsel; Alexander Deise, Counsel; Kristen Monterroso, Director of Operations and Legislative Clerk; William Neitzel, Deputy Director of Member Services; Michael Platt, Staff Director; Elliot Smith, Director of Oversight; Evan Van Orman, Professional Staff; Jordan Wilson, Director of Member Services; Khalil Abboud, Minority Deputy Staff Director; Jamie Fleet, Minority Staff Director; Kwame Newton, Minority Oversight Counsel; and Owen Reilly, Minority Professional Staff.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BRYAN STEIL, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM WISCONSIN

Chairman STEIL. The Committee on House Administration will come to order. I note that a quorum is present.

Without objection, the chair may declare a recess at any time.

Also, without objection, the meeting record will remain open for five legislative days so Members may submit any materials they wish to include therein.

Thank you, Ranking Member Morelle, Members of the Committee, and our witnesses, for participating in today's hearing.

D.C. crime is out of control. Anyone who lives, visits, or works in D.C. has seen the impact that weak-on-crime policies have had on public safety.

In recent years, the D.C. City Council has taken a variety of steps that have weakened the city's crime laws, requiring Congress to step in.

In 2020, the D.C. City Council cut \$15 million from the Metropolitan Police Department budget. Simultaneously, the council repeatedly passed temporary emergency policies that restricted police officers' authority and changed the D.C. criminal code.

For the first time in 30 years, Congress had to act and nullify a D.C. law because it was so ridiculous.

Crime in D.C. is so bad that President Biden was shamed into reversing his veto threat.

Months later, the House and Senate had to act again. We passed another resolution to overturn the anti-police policies implemented by the D.C. City Council.

Unfortunately, President Biden vetoed this bill.

This was a missed opportunity, as today D.C. crime continues to remain a problem.

In my hometown of Wisconsin, I hear from countless families who are concerned with crime and policies we have in place. Last spring, Wisconsin adopted a new amendment to our State constitution related to bail reform. This amendment came as concerns for public safety and crime continued to increase.

The same can be said for Capitol Hill today.

I hear from visitors and staff alike who share their concerns about crime in our Nation's capital. Capitol Hill, specifically Ward 6, which encompasses the Capitol complex, has seen an increase in violent crime in the past few years.

I would like to note for the Committee record that we invited Ward 6 Councilman Charles Allen to our discussion today. The Committee made several attempts. Unfortunately, Mr. Allen did not answer our requests to participate in today's hearing.

As Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, I am committed to ensuring our Nation's capital and surrounding area is safe for every American family.

I think we can all agree, whether you are here for a tour of the Capitol or to meet with your Representative, every visitor deserves to feel safe.

Each year, the Capitol Visitor Center alone welcomes an estimated 2.5 million visitors to our Nation's capital. However, in the last year we have seen a dramatic increase in crime in Washington, D.C., particularly near the Capitol complex.

Let us examine the numbers.

In 2023, violent crime was up 39 percent year over year in our Nation's capital. There were over 6,800 motor vehicle thefts in D.C. There were 959 carjackings. For context, there were 152 carjackings in 2019.

In Ward 6 specifically, which includes the United States Capitol, there were over 150 robberies in the past 6 months, and 350 vehicles were stolen.

Last year, two of my colleagues were victims of crime. In September, I hosted a security briefing where we heard from two staff members who were mugged at gunpoint just down the street. These individuals shared their stories about the dangers of violent crime and the need to remain vigilant.

Each of these statistics represents a staff member, a visitor, a Member of Congress.

As the Committee on House Administration, we are tasked with the oversight over the Capitol campus security. Rising crime in our Nation's capital, particularly near the Capitol, has constrained resources for U.S. Capitol Police and the Sergeant at Arms. U.S. Cap-

itol Police must devote more and more of their resources to increased threats against the Hill community.

These resources may otherwise be spent on the U.S. Capitol Police's actual obligation and their core mission.

As crime continues to remain a serious threat and concern for Members, staff, and visitors, I am focusing on finding ways we can reduce violent crime in our Nation's capital, in particular near the Capitol campus.

Today I am looking forward to hearing from our witnesses about how violent crime threatens U.S. Capitol security. We will explore the impact of soft-on-crime policies, and we must discuss how we can ensure the Capitol is safe and secure for all visitors and staff.

As Chairman, I am committed to making Capitol Hill a safe place to visit and to work.

With that, I will now yield to the Ranking Member 5 minutes for an opening statement.

[The prepared statement of Chairman Steil follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION BRYAN STEIL

D.C. crime is out of control. Anyone who lives, visits, or works in D.C. has seen the impact that weak-on-crime policies have had on public safety.

In recent years, the D.C. City Council has taken a variety of steps that have weakened the city's crime laws, requiring Congress to step in.

In 2020, the D.C. City Council cut \$15 million from the Metropolitan Police Department budget. Simultaneously, the council repeatedly passed temporary emergency policies that restricted police officers' authority and changed the D.C. criminal code.

For the first time in 30 years, Congress had to act and nullify a D.C. law because it was so ridiculous.

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Each year, the Capitol Visitor Center alone welcomes an estimated 2.5 million visitors to our Nation's capital. However, in the last year we have seen a dramatic increase in crime in Washington, D.C., particularly near the Capitol complex.

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As Chairman, I am committed to making Capitol Hill a safe place to visit and to work.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH MORELLE, RANKING
MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION,
A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW YORK**

Mr. MORELLE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for convening us.

Let me begin, first of all, by offering congratulations. I know we have some new staff here, a new parliamentarian, assistant parliamentarian, deputy clerk. I want to congratulate these appointees and wish them the best as they take on these new responsibilities.

I certainly want to welcome our panel.

First of all, always good to see Chief Manger—thank you for your long service—Chairman Pemberton, and Mr. Mangual. We are grateful for your service and for being here today.

I do not think there is a responsibility I take more seriously as the Ranking Member of this Committee than the safety of staff, visitors, and certainly Members on or around the Capitol campus.

I have said this before, I will say it in the future: Law enforcement has our back. It is critical that we have your back as well. That includes the United States Capitol Police, the Washington Metropolitan Police Department, as well as Federal law enforcement agencies like the FBI and ATF.

It is no secret that in 2020, during the pandemic, homicide and violent crime increased across the Nation.

Thankfully, while there is so much more that needs to be done, in 2023 violent crime and homicide rates dropped significantly, and last year saw one of the lowest rates of violent crime in the United States in more than half a century. Those are not my observations. Those are the statistics.

Unfortunately, the District of Columbia has been the exception to the rule, and the congressional community has not been immune to this uptick in violence here. Members, as the chair has indicated, have been assaulted in elevators and carjacked, and staff have been brutally stabbed and robbed at gunpoint.

I am pleased that the District of Columbia has taken some steps to address these issues.

As I understand it, earlier this month the D.C. Council passed the Secure D.C. Omnibus Amendment Act, which contains about a hundred provisions—increasing gun violence penalties, expanding the definition of carjacking, addressing organized retail theft, and more.

I must point out, however, that this is at least the fourth hearing convened by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle on crime in the Nation's capital this Congress.

Despite all the talk of armed robberies and shootings, I have yet to hear my colleagues meaningfully address the issue of common-sense gun safety measures to keep guns out of the hands of criminals in the District of Columbia.

On the contrary, the Fiscal Year 2024 Financial Services and General Government funding bill includes a policy rider advanced by my Republican colleagues that would permit concealed carry of firearms in the District of Columbia.

It is astonishing that you would do that at a time when we are concerned about violent crime.

Guns—and let us make this clear—guns make violent crime more violent and more deadly. I struggle to reconcile my colleagues' concerns about violent crime with a complete disregard of the key driver of those crimes.

There are no commercial gun stores in the District of Columbia. The guns used here are from out of State. These guns are often acquired illegally through either straw purchasers or unlicensed sellers.

Yet, every single Republican on this Committee who was here in the last Congress voted against the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act, which created the first Federal criminal statutes for firearms trafficking and straw purchasing.

Just recently, Capitol Police officers arrested a man just off Capitol Grounds carrying a rifle he brought to the District of Columbia from the State of Georgia.

Unless we take common-sense steps supported by a majority of Americans, the American people, on the question of illegal firearms, we will never fully address or solve the violent crime issue here in Washington.

That is why I have introduced the State Firearms Dealer Licensing Enforcement Act and will soon reintroduce the Gun Theft Prevention Act. These bills would crack down on gun trafficking by ensuring oversight and licensing requirements for firearm dealers and by granting ATF the tools to hold repeat offenders accountable.

We also need to support the efforts of Federal law enforcement partners, like the FBI and ATF, who in the last few months have redoubled their efforts to track down and prosecute violent criminals in Washington, D.C.

What we should not be doing at this time is to call for the defunding of the FBI and ATF.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not note the role the Federal Government plays in the local criminal justice system here in the District of Columbia. For example, when the Metropolitan Police reports to the city government, much of the rest of the criminal justice infrastructure is Federal, which creates serious coordination issues.

In a tragic example of these issues, according to the Chairman of the D.C. Council, the individual who stabbed Senator Rand Paul's staffer was released by the Federal Bureau of Prisons with no notice to the District of Columbia. He was supposed to go into custody or supervision of another Federal agency, the Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency, which apparently did not happen.

The coordination is an issue we must address.

I want to thank again our witnesses. I am looking forward to your testimony and to the questions. I look forward to the proceedings.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Ranking Member Morelle follows:]

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER OF THE
COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION JOSEPH MORELLE**

First of all, always good to see Chief Manger—thank you for your long service—Chairman Pemberton, and Mr. Mangual. We are grateful for your service and for being here today.

I do not think there is a responsibility I take more seriously as the Ranking Member of this Committee than the safety of staff, visitors, and certainly Members on or around the Capitol campus.

I have said this before, I will say it in the future: Law enforcement has our back. It is critical that we have your back as well. That includes the United States Capitol Police, the Washington Metropolitan Police Department, as well as Federal law enforcement agencies like the FBI and ATF.

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The coordination is an issue we must address.

I want to thank again our witnesses. I am looking forward to your testimony and to the questions. I look forward to the proceedings.

Chairman STEIL. The Ranking Member yields back.

Today we have one witness panel. We welcome Chief Manger, Mr. Gregory Pemberton, and Mr. Rafael Mangual.

We appreciate you being with us today and look forward to your testimony.

Pursuant to paragraph (b) of Rule 6, the witnesses will please stand and raise their right hand.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Chairman STEIL. Let the record show that the witnesses all answered in the affirmative.

I will now introduce our panel of witnesses.

Our first witness is Chief Thomas Manger, who is the Chief of the U.S. Capitol Police.

Chief Manger was appointed as Chief of Police in July 2021. Chief Manger has served 45 years in the policing profession, including more than two decades as Chief of Police for three of the largest police agencies in the national capital region.

Our next witness, Mr. Gregory Pemberton, is the Chairman of the D.C. Police Union.

Mr. Pemberton joined the Metropolitan Police Department in 2005 and worked in patrol and vice in the Third District.

In 2020, Gregg successfully ran for the position of Chairman of the D.C. Police Union and was reelected in 2022 and again in 2024. He currently serves and represents the 3,000 members of MPD's rank and file.

Our last witness, Mr. Rafael Mangual, is a fellow at the Manhattan Institute. He has authored and co-authored a number of Manhattan Institute reports and op-eds on issues ranging from urban crime and jail violence to broader matters of criminal and civil justice reform.

We appreciate all of you being here today and look forward to your testimony.

I will now recognize Chief Manger for 5 minutes.

**STATEMENTS OF J. THOMAS MANGER, CHIEF OF POLICE,
UNITED STATES CAPITOL POLICE; GREGGORY PEMBERTON,
CHAIRMAN, D.C. POLICE UNION; AND RAFAEL A. MANGUAL,
NICK OHNELL FELLOW, POLICING AND PUBLIC SAFETY INI-
TIATIVE, MANHATTAN INSTITUTE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**

STATEMENT OF J. THOMAS MANGER

Chief MANGER. Chairman Steil, Ranking Member Morelle, and Members of the Committee, thank you for the invitation to testify regarding crime and safety in and around Capitol Hill.

The department greatly appreciates the Committee's continued support of the men and women of the United States Capitol Police. Congress' support has been invaluable as we continued our work in addressing law enforcement demands within our jurisdiction and the dramatic workload increases in an ever-expanding volatile threat environment throughout the country.

I want to start off with a very brief video. This is something that happened just 2 weeks ago. A lookout was broadcast for a robbery that occurred at the CVS on I Street Southeast. What you are going to see catches the suspect as he runs, flees the scene. I want to show you what happens next.

[Video shown.]

Chief MANGER. You will see here in a moment, there is a black SUV that comes down the street and stops. There it is right there. It is going to stop on the corner. You see two women jump out of the SUV because they have seen the suspect fleeing down the street. The one intercepts him; the other one tackles him.

Then you see the driver of the SUV, a male, help bring the suspect down. The fourth individual came out of the back passenger seat.

All four of those individuals were Capitol Police officers. The first one who intercepted him, the tall woman, was Deputy Chief Jeanita Mitchell. Inspector Carneysha Mendoza tackled him. Dave Millard and Sergeant Angela Singletary assisted with getting him into custody.

This is just an example of the almost daily interaction that the USCP has with our law enforcement partners in the national capital region. It is a mutually beneficial relationship that allows our department to fulfill its mission in securing the Capitol and the surrounding neighborhoods in order to keep Members, their families, staff, and visitors safe.

By necessity, we are more and more a protection agency. However, at its core, the USCP still has traditional police department responsibilities.

The department has patrol officers who enforce traffic laws. We have criminal investigators, crime scene technicians, officers that handle prisoner processing, motorcycle units, a topflight bomb squad team, canine units.

The department deals with the enforcement of the law as it applies on Capitol Grounds and the extended jurisdiction zone in order to protect the campus and the Members and staff who work, reside, and travel through the neighboring communities.

For instance, like the case last year where USCP officers spotted a stolen car tied to multiple carjackings in the city. The suspects

in the vehicle were considered armed and dangerous. The vehicle sped away from our officers. We chased them. When they bailed out on foot, our cops ran them down and took them into custody, recovering a gun and a high-capacity magazine.

Right after that case, one of our bicycle officers spotted a suspect wanted by the Secret Service. Our officer took multiple knives and a chainsaw blade off of the guy. The Secret Service also found that the individual had fake police equipment in his car and charged him with impersonating a police officer.

I am sure that some of you recall when the USCP officer confiscated an M4-style rifle near the Senate Parks. That day they stopped the assault rifle from getting onto Capitol Hill.

Even more recently, we made an arrest of an individual carrying a machete on Capitol Grounds and arrested another individual for carrying Molotov cocktails just off Capitol Grounds.

Just last week, officers at the Capitol Visitor Center prevented a man with a hammer in his backpack from entering the Capitol.

Over the course of the last 2 years, we have had a Member attacked in their apartment building, a Member and staff carjacked, and a staff member assaulted at the congressional Baseball Game.

The fact is our community—the Members of Congress, their staff, their families, our visitors—do not just stay on Capitol Grounds. Many live here when they are in session. For many, this city is their home away from home.

The USCP works hand in hand with the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D.C., and our other law enforcement partners to keep people safe, and we patrol and respond to where our community lives, works, and plays when they are in the Nation's capital.

You each should have a map of our extended jurisdiction zone. We have full police authority in that zone.

You should also know that the USCP has a roster of locations where many Members reside when they are in session, and we regularly patrol and respond to those buildings and areas 24/7.

Our partnership with MPD is as strong as ever. They never fail to assist us when needed. Our cops are out there as well.

In conclusion, earlier this week, for example, we responded to an assault in the 400 block of New Jersey Avenue. We arrested the individual who struck a passerby with a tree branch.

Then, just a couple days ago, we responded at 3 o'clock in the morning to a man who was throwing bricks at the front of a house, of a home, on Maryland Avenue. We responded, we stopped the guy, and we took him into custody. The home that was damaged was adjacent to the home of a U.S. Senator.

U.S. Capitol Police understand that our priority has to be this Capitol campus, but we also understand that our community does not just stay on this campus.

We are working hand in hand with the Metropolitan Police Department in the areas in and around Capitol Hill when we have events in the city but outside the Capitol Hill area. We send our folks there to ensure and enhance the safety in partnership with MPD. We will continue to do that.

I am happy to answer any questions that the Committee may have.

[The prepared statement of Chief Manger follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF J. THOMAS MANGER

**Formal Statement of J. Thomas Manger
Chief of Police
United States Capitol Police
For the United States House of Representatives
Committee on House Administration
March 21, 2024**

Chairman Steil, Ranking Member Morelle, and Members of the Committee, thank you for the invitation to testify regarding safety on Capitol Hill and the enforcement efforts of the United States Capitol Police within our jurisdiction, the Department's cooperation with our law enforcement partners and our work in keeping the Capitol Complex and surrounding neighborhoods safe and secure. The Department greatly appreciates the Committee's continued support of the women and men of the United States Capitol Police, who courageously carry out their duties of protecting the Members of Congress, staff, visitors, the Capitol Complex, and the legislative process each and every day. Congress' support has been invaluable as we continue our work in addressing the law enforcement demands within our jurisdiction and the dramatic workload increases in an ever expanding, volatile threat environment throughout the country.

On Thursday, February 29, 2024, a call went out that a Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) Housing Authority officer had been shot in the vicinity of 4th and M Streets, S.E. MPD and United States Capitol Police units responded. The assailant ran into a parking garage of a senior citizen residential building, a barricade situation occurred and a perimeter was established. A USCP officer assisted with emergency medical treatment and along with MPD accompanied the wounded officer to the hospital. USCP Containment Emergency Response Team (CERT) responded to the scene to assist and USCP personnel were in the incident command post. Ultimately, the individual surrendered and the incident was resolved without further injury. This is just a recent example of the almost daily interaction that the Department has with our law enforcement partners in the National Capitol Region. It is a mutually beneficial relationship

allowing the Department to fulfill its mission of securing the Capitol and the surrounding neighborhoods in order to keep Members, their families, staff and visitors safe.

As you know, the United States Capitol Police is unique among federal law enforcement agencies. We patrol a campus that is completely open. The public has a constitutional right to visit, protest, and petition their Representatives on Capitol Grounds. Our officers and civilians work 24/7 to keep you, your staff and visitors safe, whether here on Capitol Hill, or when you travel to your home districts. Our mission is vast and our responsibilities have expanded immensely over the years. The threat picture has morphed from securing our buildings and dealing with traditional criminal activity to the threat of a 9/11 scenario, to the lone offender and now to an unprecedented increase in threats to Members and their families.

However, at its core, the United States Capitol Police is a traditional police department similar to the police agencies in your districts. The Department has patrol officers who enforce traffic laws and the Capitol Police Board's traffic regulations, criminal investigators, crime scene technicians, officers that handle prisoner processing, motor cycle units, a top flight bomb squad and K-9 units among others. The Department deals with the enforcement of the law as it applies on Capitol Grounds and our extended jurisdiction zone in order to protect the Campus and the Members and staff who work, reside and travel through the neighboring communities.

There are other examples of USCP officers keeping the streets around the Capitol safe for those who work and visit the Capitol. In January of last year, the Department chased two individuals who were spotted on E Street, NW in a BMW believed to be tied to multiple carjackings. The individuals were considered armed and dangerous. Our officers attempted to make a traffic stop and the individuals sped away, ultimately crashing into a USCP vehicle on the 300 block of 3rd Street, SE. After the individuals fled the scene on foot, our officers

ultimately found them hiding in a restaurant freezer and made the arrest. A gun and a high-capacity magazine were recovered.

That same month, Bicycle Response Officers spotted an individual wanted for questioning by the United States Secret Service. A search of the suspect found multiple knives and a chain saw blade. A subsequent search of the suspect's vehicle by the Secret Service found fake police equipment leading to charges that the individual was impersonating a Law Enforcement Officer.

Among other law enforcement activities, USCP officers have confiscated an M-4 style "Ghost Gun" near the Senate Parks; stopped an assault rifle from getting to Capitol Hill; arrested an individual with a high-capacity magazine; pursued a stolen vehicle reportedly used in an armed robbery, made an arrest of an individual carrying a machete on Capitol Grounds and arrested an individual carrying Molotov Cocktails just off of Capitol Grounds. Just last week, officers at the Capitol Visitors Center prevented a man with a hammer in his backpack from entering into the Capitol.

Over the course of the last two years, we have had a Member attacked in their apartment building; a Member and a staff member car jacked; and a staff member assaulted after the Congressional Baseball Game as examples. In many of these cases, the Department worked in conjunction with our local law enforcement partners, the Metropolitan Police Department, the United States Park Police, the United States Secret Service and numerous local law enforcement agencies throughout the country investigating these matters. Investigating this activity requires law enforcement cooperation.

In addition, the USCP relies on mutual aid from local law enforcement agencies to supplement our civil disturbance unit and to act as a force multiplier for larger scale events at the

Capitol, such as the State of the Union address or handling protest activity to ensure individuals can exercise their First Amendment Rights safely but also to protect the Capitol and its occupants in the event that the First Amendment Activity morphs into a civil disturbance. This is made possible by the relationships that the Department has throughout the Region, but also as a result of our ability to reimburse agencies who assist the Department in its protective mission. The ability to reimburse these agencies is critical to the success of the Department, and I would like to thank Congress for providing us with the necessary funding.

Criminal activity has also impacted Members, family and staff away from the Capitol. We have had a Member attacked on the campaign trail, the husband of the former House Speaker was critically wounded in a politically-motivated attack, and a Member's district staff attacked by a baseball bat wielding intruder.

The Department recognizes that new and evolving challenges will continue to emerge, rendering it imperative that the Department be positioned, equipped, and resourced to meet and defeat threats to Members of Congress outside of the Capitol Complex. Strategic planning, forward thinking, proactive versus reactive policing is the new operational model that is best suited to confront the operational challenges facing the Department today and in the future. The Department's traditional model of law enforcement no longer applies to the current context. The old approach of Member protection has been replaced by the need to protect a Member's environment, as well as a Member's family. This requires the support of law enforcement agencies nationwide and we thank Congress with providing us with the funding to do so.

As the threat landscape changes, the Department is adapting to this changing threat landscape. Member expectations with regard to their safety, as well as the safety and security of their family, has also changed. Keeping you and your families safe is my paramount objective.

Working with the Office of the Sergeant at Arms, the Department provides law enforcement protection from the time that you leave the Capitol Complex to return to your districts until you return back to Washington. Among the services that the USCP can provide are providing escorts at the DC area airports, conducting law enforcement coordinations for your events in the District where we will review open source material regarding your event and work with local law enforcement to provide the necessary level of coverage to keep Members, staff and constituents safe. We can also monitor a Member's threat profile and work with local law enforcement to provide law enforcement presence as necessary for the Member and their family and can work with the Sergeant at Arms on a Member's residential security. I encourage all Members to take advantage of these services.

Recently we began the construction of a protective intelligence operations center (PIOC) to create a "command center" to serve as the command center for our Protective Services Bureau by consolidating all of the above, existing PSB Member protection functions. Functions of the PIOC will include case intake of threats, Intelligence operations, and Event Security/LE Coordination, air operations monitoring, detail tracking, residential security monitoring for protectees, and intelligence analysis. This will be a critical law enforcement tool in keeping you safe.

The Department thanks the Committee for its support and greatly appreciate our continued partnership with the Congress. We welcome any questions or comments.

Chairman STEIL. Thank you, Chief Manger.

If I can, I think on behalf of all of the Members here, we want to extend our appreciation to all the men and women that serve in the U.S. Capitol Police.

I think the four individuals you highlighted in that video who were involved in taking down a suspect is a reminder of how dangerous of a job all of our law enforcement officers have.

We thank those four, but it is the countless men and women that work at U.S. Capitol Police. If you could extend our appreciation, I would appreciate it.

Chief MANGER. Thank you.

Chairman STEIL. Our next witness is Mr. Gregg Pemberton.

You are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF GREGGORY PEMBERTON

Mr. PEMBERTON. Good morning, Members of the Committee. Thank you for this opportunity to testify.

As the Chairman of the D.C. Police Union, I speak on behalf of approximately 3,000 sworn police officers, detectives, and sergeants who serve the District of Columbia as members of the Metropolitan Police Department.

I am a Detective Grade 1, and I have worked for the MPD for 19 years. I take great pride in serving the city.

My testimony here today will be an effort to inform the Committee on issues related to crime in the District of Columbia.

I will try to answer three questions that I hear most often here in the District. Why is crime so bad? How did it get like this? What can we do to fix it?

My testimony will focus on how numerous actions by the D.C. Council—to include their rhetoric—has resulted in a mass exodus of sworn law enforcement officers and an exponential increase in violent crime.

Beginning in June 2020, the D.C. Council began introducing anti-police legislation designed, in their own words, to, quote, “act accordingly to bend the arc of justice,” end quote.

I would like to provide a list of just some of the legislation that the D.C. Council would introduce over the course of the next 2 years.

The Comprehensive Policing and Justice Reform Amendment Act. The Strengthening Oversight and Accountability of Police Amendment Act. The Revised Criminal Code Amendment Act. Reducing Law Enforcement Presence in Schools Act. Law Enforcement Qualified Immunity Cessation Act. Law Enforcement Present Sense Impression Act. Law Enforcement Vehicular Pursuit Reform Act. The School Police Incident Oversight and Accountability Amendment Act. The White Supremacy and Policing Prevention Act.

The rhetoric that council members use when speaking publicly about law enforcement amounts to nothing short of virulent attacks on all police officers in the District.

One council member stated in a public hearing, quote, “I know for a fact there are police in the District who are bad actors and who have been going on without the proper penance,” end quote.

He felt the need for Metropolitan Police officers to receive, quote, “some kind of retribution.”

Other council members bragged about defunding the Department or making, quote, “the biggest reduction to MPD he had ever seen.”

In a hearing that took place just 2 weeks ago, many council members became apoplectic when there were proposals to roll back just some of the legislation that I mentioned earlier.

Without delving into the granular details of how terrible these bills are or how blatantly awful the council’s rhetoric is, I can assure the Members of this Committee that the direct result has been a mass exodus of police officers from the Department.

Since the beginning of 2020, the MPD has lost 1,426 officers, more than one-third of the Department; 540 of those separations, nearly 40 percent, were resignations, employees who just walked away from a career with the MPD.

The MPD currently has over 500 vacancies for the position of sworn officer, and our Chief of Police has testified that it will take over a decade to fill them.

These dangerously low police officer staffing levels take away valuable resources from our ability to respond to and investigate crime. Losing patrol officers and detectives impedes the Department’s ability to close cases and to engage and speak with victims in a timely manner.

Crime stats in the District closing out 2023 are absolutely staggering. Homicides have reached 274, a 35-percent increase. Carjackings reached 958, a 105-percent increase. Robberies were up 67 percent. Violent crime overall went up 39 percent, and all crimes went up 26 percent.

These statistics I have mentioned are city-wide. If one parses out the data to the neighborhood level, some of these communities have grown to look like war zones.

The District’s Ward 6, which encompasses the Capitol, downtown, Navy Yard, Eastern Market, Barracks Row, and Capitol Hill, experienced a 188-percent increase in homicides, a 66-percent increase in robberies, a 42-percent increase in sex assaults, a 57-percent increase in carjackings, and a 44-percent increase in violent crime.

Over the past three-and-a half years, our union has been sounding the alarm about this problem to anyone within earshot, including the D.C. Council. We tried to inform our elected leaders of the unintended consequences of these policies. Unfortunately, we have been ignored.

D.C. residents and business owners are under siege. Members of Congress are being assaulted and carjacked. Your congressional staff members are being robbed and stabbed. Tourists and visitors, your constituents, are being targeted and attacked. Yet, the D.C. Council fails to admit that their policies have played a significant role in this outcome.

Now, almost 4 years later, we have all seen the results of the D.C. Council’s experiment, the empirical data is in, and we know for a fact that their efforts have been an abject failure, resulting in thousands of more victims of crime for the city.

The lasting impacts of these horrible policies will not be fully realized for some time, and the efforts to repair the damage done could take decades without swift and thoughtful actions.

If we do not undo the failing policies put in place by the D.C. Council that are pushing our police officers to leave MPD, crime will continue to rise and thousands more victims will be subjected to crime and violence.

The purpose of my testimony here today is to inform the Committee on this ongoing crisis that exists in the District and to publicly state that we are prepared to assist in any way we can.

Again, I thank you for the opportunity to testify, and I welcome any questions the Committee may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Pemberton follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GREGGORY PEMBERTON

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March 21, 2024

**Testimony of DC Police Union for the Committee on House Administration
on "Safety on Capitol Hill: DC Crime's Impact on Congressional Operations and Visitors."**

Good morning, members of the Committee, thank you for this opportunity to testify. As the Chairman of the D.C. Police Union, I speak on behalf of approximately 3,000 sworn police officers, detectives and sergeants who serve the District of Columbia as members of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD). I am a Detective Grade 1, and I have worked for the MPD for nineteen years. I take great pride in serving this city.

My testimony here today will be an effort to inform the Committee on issues related to crime in the District of Columbia. I will try to answer three questions that hear most often here in the District. "Why is crime so bad?" – "How did it get like this?" – and "What can we do to fix it?" My testimony will focus on how numerous actions by the D.C. Council, to include their rhetoric, has resulted in a mass exodus of sworn law enforcement officers and an exponential increase in violent crime.

Beginning in June of 2020, the D.C. Council began introducing anti-police legislation designed, in their own words, to "act accordingly to bend the arc of justice."

I'd like to provide a list of just *some* of the legislation the D.C. Council would introduce over the course of the next two years:

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- Reducing Law Enforcement Presence in Schools Act of 2021
- Law Enforcement Qualified Immunity Cessation Act of 2021
- Law Enforcement Present Sense Impression Act of 2021
- Law Enforcement Vehicular Pursuit Reform Act of 2021
- School Police Incident Oversight and Accountability Amendment Act of 2021
- White Supremacy in Policing Prevention Act of 2021

The rhetoric that Councilmembers use when speaking publicly about law enforcement amounts to nothing short of virulent attacks on all police officers in the District. One

Councilmember stated in a public hearing, “I know for a fact there are police in the District who are bad actors and who have been going on without the proper penance.” and he felt the need for Metropolitan police officers to receive “some kind of retribution.”

Other Councilmembers bragged about “defunding” the department or making “the biggest reduction to MPD” he had ever seen. In a hearing that took place *just two weeks ago*, many Councilmembers became apoplectic when there were proposals to roll back some of the legislation I mentioned earlier.

Without delving into the granular details of how terrible these bills are, or how blatantly awful the Council’s rhetoric is, I can assure the members of this Committee that the direct result has been a mass exodus of police officers from the department.

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These dangerously low police officer staffing levels take away valuable resources from our ability to respond to, and investigate crime. Losing patrol officers and detectives impedes the department’s ability to close cases and to engage and speak with victims in a timely manner.

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These statistics I have mentioned are citywide. If one parses out the data to the neighborhood level, some of these communities have grown to look like warzones. The District’s Ward 6, which encompasses the Capitol, Downtown, Navy Yard, Eastern Market, Barrack’s Row, and Capitol Hill, experienced a 188% increase in homicides, a 66% increase in robberies, a 42% increase in sex assaults, a 57% increase in carjackings, and a 44% increase in violent crime.

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Now, almost four years later, we have all seen the results of the D.C. Council’s experiment. The empirical data is in, and we know for certain that their efforts have been an abject failure, resulting in thousands more victims of crime in this city. The lasting impacts of these horrible policies will not be fully realized for some time, and the efforts to repair the damage done could take decades without swift and thoughtful actions. If we do not undo the failing policies set in

place by the D.C. Council that are pushing our police officers to leave MPD, crime will continue to rise, and thousands more victims will be subjected to crime and violence.

The purpose of my testimony here today is to inform the Committee on this ongoing crisis that exists in the District and to publicly state that we are prepared to assist in any way we can.

Again, I thank you for the opportunity to testify and I welcome any questions the Committee may have.



Greggory Pemberton
Chairman
D.C. Police Union

Chairman STEIL. Thank you, Mr. Pemberton.
Mr. Mangual, you are now recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF RAFAEL A. MANGUAL

Mr. MANGUAL. Chairman Steil, Ranking Member Morelle, and other Members of this distinguished body, I would like to begin by thanking you for the opportunity to offer remarks on an important topic.

To put it bluntly, our Nation's capital is very much in the midst of a crime and disorder crisis. In 2023, a year in which the latest FBI estimates suggest the Nation saw homicides decline by 13 percent and violent crime decline by nearly 6 percent, Washington, D.C., saw homicides spike 35 percent and violent crime increase 39 percent.

For historical context, D.C.'s 2023 homicide total was the highest it has been in 26 years. Robberies and car thefts in the District were up a whopping 67 and 82 percent, respectively, in 2023, while carjackings nearly doubled, even after half a decade of year-over-year increases.

Those numbers are even more concerning than they might seem at first glance because robberies, carjackings, and assaults are occurring at such high numbers despite the fact that D.C. has, like other cities, seen a marked shift in what criminologists call routine activities.

In short, foot traffic, in-office work, and public transit ridership in D.C. are all down significantly, which has reduced the number of opportunities for offenses to take place because there are fewer targets in public spaces.

In other words, what the official crime statistics do not fully capture is the increase in the rate at which opportunities for crime are actually converted into victimizations.

According to an analysis of cell phone data by the University of Toronto, foot traffic in downtown Washington as of last spring was just 70 percent of what it was pre-pandemic.

Data published by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority shows that on weekdays rail ridership in November 2023 was just 55 percent of what it was in November 2019. Just last week, The Washington Post reported that office attendance is at, quote, “48 percent of pre-pandemic levels, as a preponderance of Federal workers still work from home,” and, quote, “More than 20 percent of downtown storefronts and offices are vacant.”

All of this means that the crime increases seen in the District reflect an even larger increase in the risk of victimization. This phenomenon was recently illustrated by research published last fall in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, which found that activity-adjusted crime rates—i.e., crime rates that accounted for the amount of time that potential victims actually spent outside—showed that in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago people in public spaces were, quote, “15 to 30 percent more likely to be robbed or assaulted” in 2020 even though the number of robbery and assault offenses recorded in those cities that year decreased.

The increase in victimization risk is, on its own, sufficient cause for urgency when it comes to combating crime here in Washington, but it is worth noting that the economic and broader societal impacts of rising crime and disorder are unlikely to be positive.

Research establishes that violent crime can impact housing prices, economic mobility, and even standardized test performance. Then there is the potential effect of crime and perceptions of public safety on tourism, which should be particularly concerning for Washington.

All of this raises two questions. What might explain the recent crime spike? What can be done about it?

The answer to the first suggests the answer to the second. Like so many other American cities that have seen crime spike in recent years, D.C. has fallen short in two important ways.

First is the dwindling number of experienced police officers on the street. Last spring, the now former D.C. Metro Police Chief, Robert J. Contee, reported to the D.C. Council that the Department was down some 450 officers compared to 2020, bringing it to its lowest staffing level in half a century.

This is not unrelated to the sharp decline in arrests throughout the city, a measure that has remained low after falling off a cliff midway through 2020.

Strong causal analyses show that the addition of new officers will likely reduce homicides, particularly in the city’s most troubled enclaves, and D.C. knows firsthand just how effective police surges can be on crime, as it was home to one of the most well-known studies on the effect of additional police presence on crime.

Second is the fact that serious violent crime in Washington is driven disproportionately by chronic offenders with extensive criminal histories, suggesting that not enough is being done to incapacitate those who repeatedly offend.

A 2021 report published by the National Institute for Criminal Justice Reform reported that, quote, “Approximately 86 percent of homicide victims and suspects were known to the criminal justice system prior to the incident,” and that, quote, “Most victims and suspects with prior criminal offenses had been arrested about 11 times for about 13 different offenses by the time of the homicide.”

That measure was in line with what Chief Contee related to reporters in March of last year when he said that homicide offenders in D.C. had 11 prior arrests, which is in line with measures from other cities.

The repeat offender problem certainly has not been helped by the decline in the share of felony and misdemeanor arrests charged by the U.S. Attorney's Office. Total cases charged by that office hit a 20-year low in 2022, though recent reporting from The Washington Post shows that more cases were filed by U.S. Attorney Graves in 2023. Still, there is much ground to make up on that front.

The reality is that D.C. has not been immune from the general national trend toward depolicing and decarceration. I do not think it is a coincidence that the city has also seen public safety deteriorate since more dramatically moving in that direction.

Now is the time to pause and recalibrate. The recent passage of a new omnibus crime bill by the D.C. Council last week is a good first step, but the city is far from out of the woods, even if recent year-to-date crime numbers show declines on some crime measures.

If the city is to achieve a true turnaround on the public safety front, it is going to have to address the gaps in policing and prosecution that have allowed too many chronic offenders to walk the streets of our Nation's capital with too few officers to respond and prevent the sorts of offenses that have been plaguing D.C. residents and visitors for far too long.

Thank you very much, and I look forward to answering any of your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mangual follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RAFAEL A. MANGUAL

Statement of Rafael A. Mangual

Statement to the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on House Administration

Full Committee Hearing On: "Safety on Capitol Hill: DC Crime's Impact on Congressional Operations and Visitors."

Thursday, March 21st, 2024

Washington, DC

Considerations for those concerned about public safety in Washington, D.C., and other cities

Submitted by:

Rafael A. Mangual
Nick Ohnell Fellow
Policing & Public Safety Initiative
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New York, NY 10017

Statement of Rafael A. Mangual

About the Author

Rafael A. Mangual is the Nick Ohnell fellow and head of research for the Policing and Public Safety Initiative at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research** and a contributing editor of *City Journal*. He is also the author of *Criminal (In)Justice: What the push for decarceration and depolicing gets wrong and who it hurts most*.

Through the Manhattan Institute, and in other outlets, Mr. Mangual has authored and coauthored numerous policy papers, as well as more than one hundred essays and columns on topics related to policing, crime, and incarceration, among others. His work has been featured in a wide array of publications, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*. He has testified on many prior occasions before committees of both houses of Congress, state legislatures, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Rafael holds a B.A. from the City University of New York's Baruch College and a J.D. from DePaul University's College of Law in Chicago, IL. In 2022, he was elected a member of the Council on Criminal Justice, and also serves on the New York State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

**The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research does not take institutional positions on federal, state, or local legislation, rules, or regulations. Although my comments draw upon my research and writing about criminal justice issues as an Institute fellow, my statement to the Subcommittee is solely my own, and should not be construed as my employer's.

Statement of Rafael A. Mangual

Statement

Chairman Steil, Ranking Member Morelle, and all other members of this distinguished body, I'd like to begin by thanking you for the opportunity to offer remarks on an important topic.

To put it bluntly, our nation's capital is very much in the midst of a crime and disorder crisis. In 2023, a year in which the latest FBI estimates suggest the nation saw homicides decline 13% and violent crime decline nearly 6%,¹ Washington D.C. saw homicides spike 35% and violent crime increase 39%.² For historical context, D.C.'s 2023 homicide total was the highest it's been in 26 years.³ Robberies and car thefts in the District were up a whopping 67% and 82%, respectively in 2023,⁴ while carjackings nearly doubled, even after half a decade of year-over-year increases.⁵

These numbers are even more concerning than they might seem at first glance, because robberies, carjackings, and assaults are occurring at such high numbers despite the fact that D.C. has, like other cities⁶, seen a marked shift in what criminologists call "Routine Activities."⁷ In short, foot traffic, in-office work, and public transit ridership in D.C. are all down significantly, which has reduced the number of opportunities for offenses to take place (because there are fewer targets in public spaces). In other words, what the official crime statistics don't capture is the increase in the rate at which opportunities for crime are actually converted into victimizations.

According to an analysis of cell phone data done by the University of Toronto, foot traffic in downtown Washington D.C. as of last spring was just 70% of what it was pre-pandemic.⁸ Data published by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority shows that on weekdays, rail ridership in November of 2023 was just 55% of what it was in November of 2019.⁹ And just last week, the *Washington Post* reported that "Office attendance is at 48 percent of pre-pandemic levels, as a preponderance of federal workers still work from home," and "More than 20 percent of downtown storefronts and offices are vacant..."¹⁰ All of this means that the crime increases seen in the District reflect an *even larger* increase in the risk of victimization. This phenomenon was recently illustrated by research published last fall in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, which found that activity-adjusted crime rates (i.e., crime rates that accounted for the amount of time potential victims spent outside) showed that, in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago "People in public spaces were 15 to 30% more likely to be robbed or

¹ <https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/quarterly>

² <https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/district-crime-data-glance>

³ <https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/passionate-about-reducing-crime-dc-police-chief-speaks-on-crime-drop-amid-officer-shortage/3570469/#:~:text=D.C.%20had%20274%20homicides%20in,the%20latest%20crime%20enforcement%20programs.>

⁴ <https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/district-crime-data-glance>

⁵ <https://www.axios.com/local/washington-dc/2024/01/04/carjacking-rings-arrests-2023#>

⁶ <https://www.vitalcitynyc.org/articles/what-crime-stats-fail-to-show>

⁷ <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/routine-activity-theory>

⁸ <https://www.axios.com/local/washington-dc/2023/05/18/downtown-dc-foot-traffic-data>

⁹ <https://www.wmata.com/initiatives/ridership-portal/upload/November-2023-Ridership-Snapshot.pdf>

¹⁰ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2024/03/15/downtown-dc-bowser-crime-offices-vacancy/>

Statement of Rafael A. Mangual

assaulted” in 2020, even though the number of robbery and assault offenses recorded in those cities decreased.¹¹

The increase in victimization risk is, on its own, sufficient cause for urgency when it comes to combatting crime here in Washington; but it’s worth noting that the economic and broader societal impacts of rising crime and disorder are unlikely to be positive. Research establishes that violent crime can impact housing prices,¹² economic mobility,¹³ and even standardized test performance.¹⁴ Then there’s the potential effect of crime and perceptions of public safety on tourism, which should be particularly concerning for Washington, D.C.

All of this raises two questions: What might explain the recent crime spike, and what can be done about it? The answer to the first question suggests the answer to the second.

Like so many of the other American cities that have seen crime spike in recent years, D.C. has fallen short in two important ways.

First is the dwindling number of experienced police officers on the street. Last spring, the now-former D.C. Metro Police Chief Robert J. Contee, III reported to the D.C. Council that the department was down some 450 officers compared to 2020, bringing it to its lowest staffing level in half a century.¹⁵ This is likely not unrelated to the sharp decline in arrests throughout the city—a measure that has remained low after falling off a cliff midway through 2020.¹⁶ Strong causal analyses show that the addition of new officers will likely reduce homicides—particularly in the city’s most troubled enclaves,¹⁷ and D.C. knows first-hand, just how effective police surges can be on crime, as it was home to one of the most well-known studies on the effect of additional police presence on crime.¹⁸

Second is the fact that serious violent crime in Washington is driven disproportionately by chronic offenders with extensive criminal histories (suggesting that not enough has been done to incapacitate those who repeatedly offend). A 2021 report published by the National Institute for Criminal Justice Reform reported that “Approximately 86 percent of homicide victims and suspects were known to the criminal justice system prior to the incident,” and that “most victims and suspects with prior criminal offenses had been arrested about 11 times for about 13 different

¹¹ <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2208598119>

¹² See, e.g., https://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2012/06/violent_crime.pdf, and http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1995795.

¹³ <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S009411901730058X>.

¹⁴ https://furmancenter.org/files/Working_Paper_03-13.pdf

¹⁵ <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/2582066/district-of-crime-what-happened-to-washingtons-shrinking-police-force/>

¹⁶ https://dcrimedata.substack.com/p/bouncing-back-from-rock-bottom?utm_source=post-email-title&publication_id=1467106&post_id=141338126&utm_campaign=email-post-title&isFreemail=true&r=chcu&utm_medium=email

¹⁷ <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aeri.20200792>

¹⁸ <https://www.istor.org/stable/10.1086/426877>

Statement of Rafael A. Mangual

offenses by the time of the homicide.”¹⁹ That measure was in line with what Chief Contee related to reporters in March of last year that homicide offenders in D.C. had 11 prior arrests,²⁰ which is in line with measures from other cities.²¹

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Thank you, and I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

¹⁹

https://cjcc.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/cjcc/release_content/attachments/DC%20Gun%20Violence%20Problem%20Analysis%20Summary%20Report.pdf

²⁰ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/05/05/dc-crime-contee-murder-victims/>

²¹ See, e.g., <https://manhattan.institute/article/hardening-the-system-three-commonsense-measures-to-help-keep-crime-at-bay> (noting that: homicide suspects in Oakland, CA had an average of 10 prior arrests; and that shooting and homicide suspects in Chicago had an average of 12 prior arrests.)

Chairman STEIL. Thank you very much, Mr. Mangual.

We will now begin our questions, starting with me, followed by the Ranking Member. We will then alternate between the parties. I will now recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I will start with you Mr. Pemberton.

Countless congressional staffers have been robbed within a mile of the Capitol. Last year, a staffer for Senator Rand Paul, he was stabbed repeatedly, puncturing his lungs and skull. A Member of Congress was assaulted in an elevator. A Representative was carjacked just down the road.

All these crimes happened within a mile of here, largely in Ward 6, represented by Council Member Charles Allen. We invited Allen to speak today, but he rejected that invitation.

Mr. Pemberton, you mentioned some of the bills the D.C. Council passed in the last few years that have had a negative impact on policing. I want to focus in on the Youth Rehabilitation Act that passed in 2018 that reduced sentences for first-time offenders.

Is it true that the bill raised the age of what is considered a youth to 24 years of age?

Mr. PEMBERTON. That is correct.

Chairman STEIL. If a 24-year-old was to commit a carjacking with a gun in our Nation's capital, they would be eligible for a reduced sentence under that law?

Mr. PEMBERTON. That is correct.

Chairman STEIL. Have you encountered people who have used this program more than once, contrary to how the program was sold?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Absolutely.

Chairman STEIL. You know individuals who are over the age—well over the age of 18, up to the age of 24, who could commit a carjacking with a gun, be eligible for a reduced sentence, and that can happen multiple times?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Yes, absolutely.

Chairman STEIL. What would be the impact of an individual who does this? What is your analysis of that law?

Mr. PEMBERTON. There are no consequence for the actions of their behavior, and they understand that. When they get back out on the street, they are free to recommit these crimes as often as they like.

Chairman STEIL. What does that do to the morale of police officers serving in the Metropolitan Police Department?

Mr. PEMBERTON. It is horrible, because you are arresting people for violent crimes, and then they are back out on the street the next day, and then they are never held accountable for their actions. It really takes an impact on morale.

Chairman STEIL. An officer would risk their life to try to apprehend a dangerous criminal, in this case maybe a 24-year-old who carjacked someone with a gun, only to find out that this individual is treated as a youth in our Nation's capital with limited consequences and can find themselves back out on the street in short order to commit another crime?

Mr. PEMBERTON. This is what happens more often than not. Yes, this is regular.

Chairman STEIL. Then if we look at the numbers in D.C., violent crime increased last year by 39 percent, homicides increased 35 percent, robberies increased 67 percent, and carjackings increased 82 percent.

For those reasons, we created a House Security Resources Guide after a briefing with you last September.

Would you agree that D.C.'s increase in crime is a direct result of the policies pushed by the D.C. City Council and anti-policing and soft-on-crime policies?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Absolutely.

Chairman STEIL. To go to you, Mr. Mangual, is it safe to say that the nationwide research shows a correlation between increased crime and anti-policing, soft-on-crime policies?

Mr. MANGUAL. Absolutely.

Chairman STEIL. Let me come back to you, Mr. Pemberton, if I can.

In 2023, D.C. had the fifth-highest homicide rate of any city in the country. That is saying something, and it is not saying anything good.

Meanwhile, the average homicide suspect in our Nation's capital had already been arrested 11 times. Is that accurate?

Mr. PEMBERTON. That is correct, yes.

Chairman STEIL. We are looking at these trends where officers are arresting time and again as having a detrimental impact on morale, correct?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Absolutely.

Chairman STEIL. Mr. Pemberton, in your testimony you mentioned the Comprehensive Policing and Justice Reform Act was negatively impacting police. There were a number of policies that are in there.

Can I ask you what the impact of negative rhetoric by the D.C. City Council toward police has had on officers?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Yes. The discussions that came out around all these pieces of legislation and then the regular conversations that the council has about policing generally are incredibly negative.

The message is loud and clear from the council, and the rank-and-file Members are receiving that: The council does not like police officers. They do not want them doing police work. They do not want them making arrests. They certainly do not want them getting out and stopping and investigating people.

That message is loud, and it drives people away from the Department, and people who, those that do not leave the Department, are apprehensive about doing their job.

Chairman STEIL. Thank you.

Then, as noted, because of the dramatic increase in crime, in particular in the area surrounding the Capitol, this has an overflow effect on you, Chief Manger, and your officers.

Is it accurate that last year Capitol Police made 234 arrests related to DUI, assaults, drugs, motor vehicle thefts, and weapon law violations?

Chief MANGER. That is correct.

Chairman STEIL. Have you seen a dramatic uptick in those types of arrests in the Capitol Hill area over the last 4 years?

Chief MANGER. Yes, we have.

Chairman STEIL. Has it made your job harder and the job of the U.S. Capitol Police harder to deliver on your chief mission, which is securing and protecting the Capitol complex.

Chief MANGER. Yes. We look at our crime-fighting responsibilities as integral to our mission. It just, like so many other areas of our mission, it has just increased. The volume of work has increased.

Chairman STEIL. Understood. We appreciate the work that you and the men and women under your command do every day.

I think D.C. in 2023 is a stark example of what happens when anti-police, soft-on-crime policies are implemented. The data is clear: When you make a police officer's job harder and more difficult, when you denigrate the service of police officers, when you defund police, there are negative consequences.

In contrast, we are going to continue to support the law enforcement officers, and in particular the law enforcement officers of the Capitol Police who are doing their job to protect visitors, staff members, and Members here, and we will ensure that they have the resources to do their job. I am committed to making sure the U.S. Capitol and the surrounding area are safe.

I will yield back. I now recognize the Ranking Member for 5 minutes.

Mr. MORELLE. Thanks so much, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate all the comments made by the witnesses, and, obviously, this is a challenging, challenging issue.

I do note that since there has been extensive use made of statistics, I just thought I would read some of the more current ones for the year 2024, which, admittedly, we are only about a quarter of the year in, so I want to be mindful of that.

As I understand it, according to the Metropolitan Police Department statistics, homicide in 2024 for the same period in 2023 is down 31 percent, assault with a dangerous weapon is down 32 percent, robbery down 8 percent, violent crime overall down 16 percent.

As it relates to property crimes, burglary is down 19 percent, motor vehicle theft down 30 percent, theft from auto is down 23 percent, arson is down 40 percent, property crime down 11 percent, and all crime down 12 percent.

I assume if these trends continue that some of the remarks that have been made would be withdrawn by people who have made them since we are relying so heavily on statistics, and I certainly hope that the trend lines continue.

I also just want to note for the record that, while a number of statements have been made about continuing to support law enforcement, I do note that the Republican House bill on CJS, which is Commerce, Justice, and Science, that the Republican bill, had it passed—and, fortunately, it did not—would have cut funding for the FBI by \$415.3 million as opposed to Fiscal Year 2023, would have reduced ATF's funding by \$149.9 million, and would have reduced funding for United States Attorneys who prosecute these Federal crimes by \$320 million.

For folks who continue to talk about supporting law enforcement, some of my colleagues either have amnesia or do not recognize the importance of supporting law enforcement at the Federal, State, and local levels.

I want to ask you, Chief Manger, particularly since you have responsibility for the Capitol complex, and this hearing is really about Capitol Hill—in fact, it is titled “Safety on Capitol Hill,” and you have responsibility to that—you mention in your testimony that the Capitol Police confiscated an M4-style ghost gun near the Senate Parks, stopped an assault rifle from getting to Capitol Hill, and arrested an individual with a high-capacity magazine.

I also know you have experience as a police chief in both Maryland and Virginia.

How are these guns making their way into Washington, D.C.?

Chief MANGER. Typically, they are coming from other States. I can tell you, having been a police officer in Virginia for 27 years, Virginia has got plenty of guns.

Mr. MORELLE. Many of those guns are making their way into Washington, D.C.?

Chief MANGER. They make their way to a lot of places.

Mr. MORELLE. In your opinion, your professional opinion, would the Capitol campus and the area immediately around it be safer without M4-style ghost guns, assault rifles, and high-capacity magazines on the street?

Chief MANGER. Certainly in the wrong hands, yes.

Mr. MORELLE. Yes.

Do you believe your officers would be safer if it was more difficult to obtain M4-style guns, assault rifles, and high-capacity magazines?

Chief MANGER. Any police officer is safe when there are fewer guns around, in my view.

Mr. MORELLE. I want to ask you, you have talked about and others have mentioned the attacks that have occurred on Members of Congress, as well as staff.

What are the safety resources available to Members and staff when they are off Capitol Grounds in D.C.? You mentioned it a little bit in your testimony. I wonder if you could just expand on that.

Chief MANGER. We do—when we have congressional events that are off campus, we certainly want to provide escorts or resources.

One of the initiatives that we are looking to do is to reach a memorandum of agreement with MPD so that when we have a congressional event—I will give you an example, like the congressional football game or the congressional softball game—that we have authority to take action should something happen.

We have that in the extended jurisdiction zone. If we can have that at any congressional event no matter where it might be in the city, that would be of great benefit to us.

Because, again, we are not trying to replace MPD. MPD is the best partner we have. We can supplement and focus more resources when our community is in and around the city.

Mr. MORELLE. Very good.

I want to join with you, Mr. Chairman, in certainly thanking the officers of the Capitol Police department and MPD who put their lives on the line every day.

We are completely grateful for your service and for your sacrifice and will continue to support your efforts.

With that, I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentleman yields back.

Dr. Murphy is recognized for 5 minutes.

Dr. MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Just a point of inquiry. Can we subpoena the D.C. City Council? Do you know if we are able to subpoena the D.C. City Council?

Chairman STEIL. We do have that authority. We invited Mr. Charles Allen. Mr. Charles Allen rejected the invitation to attend. We did not—

Dr. MURPHY. I do not know why this crime and the safety of individuals within this community is a partisan issue. I do not get it. I do not get—like, bullets can kill Democrats just as well as they can kill Republicans and innocent individuals.

There is a reason that criminals should be prosecuted. I will remind our colleagues that money for prosecutors does not matter if the laws do not allow them to be prosecuted, period.

I am just going to remind everybody here, the Michael Brown incident in St. Louis was a tragic one, but the bullet holes were in the top of his head, showing that he did not have his hands up. He was charging the police officer, period. That is when so much of this started, and truth matters when we are dealing with these things.

This is infuriating. It is absolutely infuriating. We are allowing a city council to let havoc be wreaked in this town because they do not like law enforcement. It is time for the adults to come back in the room and make this country and this city safe.

Questions to Mr. Pemberton.

Can you tell me what, when we are dealing with police chases, what the policies are in this city?

Mr. PEMBERTON. The Metropolitan Police Department has very strict policies on vehicle pursuits. The only vehicles we are allowed to pursue would be when a violent felony is committed and if we believe there is an imminent threat of serious bodily injury or death if we do not pursue that person.

Dr. MURPHY. Tell me about carjacking. What happens with those?

Mr. PEMBERTON. In certain circumstances, officers would be able to pursue those vehicles. In reality, most of those pursuits are called off by management officials.

Dr. MURPHY. Because of what reason?

Mr. PEMBERTON. The danger—the perceived danger that there could be or possible bad public relations for a vehicle pursuit.

Dr. MURPHY. I had a condo here in town. There were five shootings in 3 months. My wife would take our dog out just in the median to relieve itself and it felt no longer safe for my wife.

I will be damned if I am going to risk my life coming up here to serve the people of North Carolina, serve the country, and get shot doing it just because the city council here is absolutely derelict in their duty to protect the citizens in which they are charged.

Just following up with that. As far as jurisdictional grounds, what happens if the police chase an individual outside D.C. into Maryland or any of the surrounding communities? What happens with that chase?

Mr. PEMBERTON. In certain circumstances, Metropolitan Police officers would be permitted to pursue a vehicle into other jurisdictions, but most often, in reality, those pursuits are called off.

Dr. MURPHY. When you have discussions with the city council, what is the tenor of those? Are you immediately—because of the role in which you are placed, are they immediately adversarial?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Yes. Many of the meetings that we have made with city council members that we thought would be productive, they would send low-ranking staff members and not show up themselves. Then we would try to have conversations with those individuals, which I would imagine were not even related to—

Dr. MURPHY. You know, it is interesting. D.C. wants statehood, and this is the type of legislative body that they demonstrate themselves to be.

How in hell could people want that, anything other than reasons than being political, that they want two more votes in the Senate? They have not shown the ability to protect their citizens.

Our Capitol Police do a fantastic job. If our D.C. police are handled?

What am I supposed to think if, God forbid, my wife gets carjacked and the criminal who does that is literally slapped on the wrist to go out and do it again? We are in our Nation's capital for God's sake. I just do not get it.

What is the purpose of allowing criminals back on the street to repeat their offenses? Can you give some examples? I would love to hear this. The carjacking thing absolutely destroys me.

We had a Member of our own body carjacked by three individuals at gunpoint. The person got slapped on the wrist.

What am I—what are we supposed to do with this? What kind of pursuit policies actually will allow our officers to actually do something about it? God forbid we do it, we turn them in to the prosecuting attorneys, and they just push them right back on the street.

What does that do to the morale?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Officers do not want to work in an environment where their work is meaningless. People join the policing profession because they want to help their community. This is not a job where you get rich. This is a municipal government position, and people typically take this job because they like what they are doing.

Dr. MURPHY. They put their lives on the line for the safety of the citizens that they protect, yet they are not—it is just a circular firing squad.

I am not allowed to carry a gun unless I go through hoops and hoops and hoops, but then I am only in a specific area. I will be damned if I will let a criminal hurt my wife. God forbid he tries to do something to me. I feel sorry for him, to be truth be told, that this should happen.

This is absolutely against what the laws of the United States should dictate, and here we are allowing our own individuals to wreak crime across this Nation. Dammit, it is a damn partisan issue, and I just do not get it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentleman yields back.

Mr. Loudermilk is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LOUDERMILK. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for having this hearing. Very timely and very important.

Thank you all for being here. Thank you for your service.

It is essential that we have the resources here to protect the Members of Congress, the staff, even the visitors that come to Capitol Hill here. The crime that is in the city has an impact on that.

Let me say this: I have the greatest admiration for those that wear the uniform of law enforcement, both in the city, Capitol Police.

I am here today because of the bravery and heroism of one of the Capitol Police officers on the baseball field in 2017 who on his own drew fire to allow me to try to get to one of the players who had been already shot. David Bailey will remain a hero not only to me, but to my family. I appreciate their dedication.

Chief, good to see you again. It has been almost 16 hours. I appreciate—I mean, you were at the Gershwin Awards last night. I think it is important not only you be there, you were in uniform.

To show—one thing is that, even though the jurisdiction may be Capitol Hill, it really follows anywhere that we go as Members, whether it is somewhere else on Capitol Hill or whether it is we are traveling in a codel or we are traveling somewhere else.

It is not just what happens on Capitol Hill, but it is the crime in the area because—I was even thinking of this last night as we spoke about this hearing. Here we are, not on Capitol Hill, but we are in D.C. with a significant number of Members of Congress that are there.

I know that the police budget request for Fiscal Year 2024 was 841 million, and that has increased substantially over the past 5 years.

Chief, can you speak to the challenges that the department is facing that led to that increase in your request?

Chief MANGER. It really comes down to our mission and our workload. Our mission has expanded, and our workload has gone up dramatically.

You have heard me talk many times about the number of threats against Members of Congress, and you have heard me talk about the number of demonstrations that we handle and the tactics that these demonstrators seem to—that seem to escalate, which requires a commensurate response from Capitol Police.

One of the things that I have done since I got here was to take a more—a broader approach to the safety of our community. When I say “our community,” I am talking about the Members of Congress, your staff, the visitors, and not—so when they cross the street and they are no longer on the Capitol complex, OK, well, that is somebody else’s problem. No, we take responsibility for our community as best we can.

A good example is Union Station. There is a lot of activity over at Union Station. Some of it is great and some of it is criminal. We assist Amtrak Police, we assist Metro Transit Police, and we assist MPD to the best of our ability.

We monitor the radio. When we hear 911 dispatches come out over MPD’s radio, if we are close by, our cops respond, because we want to be able to help. Again, MPD is the best partner we have, and they always come to help us when we have the need.

We want to be better partners, good partners as well, and make sure that folks that are in and around Capitol Hill, when our community is at an event, you are going to see us there.

Mr. LOUDERMILK. All right. I know it is beyond just Capitol Hill because in our recent policy conference several members of the Capitol Police were there securing us. We have conventions coming up that I am sure that you are going to be involved in both of those.

Chief MANGER. Hundreds of officers, yes.

Mr. LOUDERMILK. Yes, there is a big draw on the force.

Mr. Pemberton, does MPD face similar challenges that necessitate more funding? Is it true that you are at the lowest level of officers that you have been in in 50 years?

Mr. PEMBERTON. That is correct, the lowest staffing levels we have had in 50 years. Funding would be a problem if we did not have a shortage of 500 police officers. Not paying those 500 cops that are supposed to be here, I think, is saving the city a lot of money.

Even when the city has thrown money at this—right now they are offering \$25,000 signing bonuses to become a Metropolitan Police officer, and that is not moving the needle. The reason is, is because of this climate and this environment that has been created by the city council. It is not an attractive place to work for current employees or potential future employees.

Mr. LOUDERMILK. All right. Thank you. I see my time has expired.

I also want to thank you for your response on January 6th. You guys were an integral part of that. Thank you.

I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentleman yields back.

Mrs. Bice is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. BICE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I first want to say a heartfelt thank you to Capitol Police and Metro Police for the jobs that you do.

I come from a State that we respect law enforcement and we abide by the letter of the law. Every week that I get on a plane and I fly to D.C., my husband wonders if something is going to happen to me while I am here working, serving the people of Oklahoma's Fifth Congressional District.

It is absolutely infuriating to me what is happening to the Nation's capital right now. People call my office excited to come this summer to tour the monuments, to bring their children. One of the questions they are asking my office is: Can you tell me about safety?

Why in the world do we have to have a conversation with visitors to the U.S. Capitol, the heart of this country, we have to worry about safety? It is just appalling.

I think it should be noted, the majority of the Members have been popping in and out, but we have not seen the majority of the Democrat side attend this hearing, nor did they offer up a Dem witness to be able to ask questions to.

As my colleague Dr. Murphy mentioned, this is not a partisan issue. This is a safety issue.

It was brought up at the beginning of this hearing by the Ranking Member. There was a discussion about gun violence. This is not a gun violence discussion. This is a prosecute the crimes that the individuals are committing in this city problem. It was referenced

that we are arresting young people under the age of 24 and not prosecuting them.

The D.C. City Council and the Mayor of D.C. should be held fully accountable for the crime that is happening in this city. It is infuriating to me.

Chief, I want to start with you. How is the USCP trying to suppress or deter crime in the Capitol Hill area?

Chief MANGER. We have the advantage of having a much smaller jurisdiction than other police departments. As I have said, we certainly understand that we can be of service and we can be of help to the neighborhoods in and around Capitol Hill. We respond to calls that we hear come out in this area. I think it is important that we work in partnership with MPD to help them.

I talk all the time about us being a protection agency, which we are, but we cannot ever walk away from our police responsibilities. We are still cops, and we still fight crime.

On this campus, if you took the crime rate of things that happen on this campus, it is very low. There is not a lot of crime on this campus. Not nonexistent, but there are not a lot.

To the extent that we can branch, push that out to the surrounding neighborhood, certainly push it out where we have congressional events, we are going to continue to do that. It is just understanding that we need to continue to take our police responsibilities very seriously.

Mrs. BICE. It was mentioned by a couple of my colleagues that we have a 50-year low for the number of officers on the MPD currently.

Is your USCP trying to help augment some of the 500-police-officer shortage that the MPD is seeing currently?

Chief MANGER. To the extent we can, absolutely, especially in the area where we are patrolling. We would offer them the help, the same way they offer us help every day of the week. Yes, we are doing our best to work hand in hand with them, yes.

Mrs. BICE. If I can also just ask, what do you think are the proactive measures that can be taken by either Members or staff to try to protect the safety of people in and around the Capitol? What should we be doing?

Chief MANGER. We offer a fair number of services in terms of escorts, in terms of what we call law enforcement coordinations. It still frustrates me that the participation rate, the request rate for those services is very low.

Just encouraging your colleagues, encouraging staff members, encouraging at any event that you all might have to let us know so that we can help either coordinate with the State and locals who are in the jurisdiction or we can be there ourselves.

Mrs. BICE. The last thing I think I want to read, which I think really gets to the heart of the problem, has to do with some of the police reforms that have come forward.

I would say that D.C. is not prosecuting the crimes, not just these individuals that are being classified as youth that are under 24, but a myriad of other crimes as well.

There were over 15,000 crimes committed, according to the report that I have in front of me, but more than 10,000 were not actually prosecuted, and I think that is part of the problem.

Maybe the D.C. City Council should look at changing their statutes to allow for an elected DA to be able to hold a DA accountable.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentlewoman yields back.

The gentleman from the State of Ohio, Mr. Carey, is now recognized.

Mr. CAREY. I want to thank the Chairman and also the Ranking Member for having this hearing today.

I do want to point out a couple things.

I happen to be one of those Members that actually lives in a neighborhood very similar to Capitol Hill in Columbus, Ohio. We have seen the uptick, of course, and I have talked to our police officers there. The recruiting efforts that they are facing are equal to what I think is consistent with what I am seeing across the country.

I also do want to point out that when you reach a certain age, a lot of your staff tend to be about the same age as your children.

We had three of our young staffers that were just walking back on Capitol Hill—one of them is here with us today—that were attacked by a homeless guy with a knife.

As a father, you hear that and you view these young staffers as professionals, but you are mindful.

Anyway, along those lines, I do have a few questions.

Chief, I would like to kind of start with you.

As we know, the Capitol Police expanded jurisdiction reaches beyond the Capitol campus itself into some of those surrounding neighborhoods.

You mention this in your written testimony, you also highlighted it, and you describe some of the multiple incidences that you have responded to and the crimes in the nearby area.

What are the greatest challenges that you face with the jurisdiction of these neighborhoods?

Chief MANGER. The biggest challenge for us is that once you get beyond that extended jurisdiction zone—and oftentimes we are patrolling beyond there because we have got a building where 30 Members of Congress live. We are patrolling that three, four, five times a night.

The fact that we—if something happens, oftentimes we would have to call for MPD to take some sort of action, because we do not have the authority that we need.

Mr. CAREY. Well, with that, what would you say the coordination with MPD, what is that typically like?

Chief MANGER. It is great. A very quick example.

At the congressional softball game last year, it was beyond our extended jurisdiction zone. We had a group of demonstrators walk into center field and stop the game.

We called for MPD because we did not have the authority to arrest them, because it was outside the extended jurisdiction zone.

What I would like is to have a memorandum of agreement—we have several memorandums of agreement with MPD—to be able to, at a congressional event, that we would, in fact, have the authority to take police action at something like that so we would not have to wait for them to arrest—make the arrests.

Mr. CAREY. I appreciate that.

Something else. Like I mentioned, I live in a neighborhood very similar to Capitol Hill. It is in the city of Columbus. Of course, many Members do across the country.

Chief, can you describe how the Capitol Police work with our local law enforcement agencies nationwide to ensure Member security in our own districts?

Chief MANGER. I appreciate that question.

We have dozens—and that number is growing exponentially—dozens of memorandums of agreement that have been signed with State and local police departments from around the country so that we can request their assistance and they will provide that assistance for an event in a Member's home district, so that they will provide additional security, and we will reimburse them for any cost of that assistance.

We work very well with State and local agencies from around the country. As you may know, we have nationwide jurisdiction to investigate threats against Members of Congress.

The fact is we do not have the staffing to investigate, to go all over the country to do so. We work with State and locals, and we have great relationships all over the country.

Mr. CAREY. Last, and I only have a minute left.

How many arrests does the Capitol Police make in a typical week from DUIs or other criminal suspects coming from D.C. into the nearby campuses?

Chief MANGER. Traffic offenses, including DUIs, we probably make a dozen or so every week. I will tell you that the number of arrests over the last couple years has gone up each year.

Mr. CAREY. As somebody who was a staffer here in the 1990's, I can tell you it has definitely changed, in many ways for the better, but obviously we are seeing this uptick.

Really appreciate your testimony, and I appreciate the work that you do with our local security teams. I know we have a person on our staff that coordinates with you guys, and you guys have done a fantastic job, and I appreciate that.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentleman yields back.

A former law enforcement officer, Mr. D'Esposito, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you all for being here today.

This is rare, but I have to disagree with my colleagues when they say that this is not partisan.

This is actually, in fact, partisan, because Democrats and their legislation have created this issue, whether it is here in Washington, D.C., in our Nation's capital, or if it is home in New York.

They have passed and promoted pro-criminal, anti-law enforcement legislation that has led us to this situation.

Law enforcement officers actually wear handcuffs on their gun belts to use them against criminals, but Democrats in places like New York and Washington, D.C., have allowed those handcuffs to be put on us to not do our jobs.

I know that in the beginning of the hearing we heard that the beginning of this year it seems that crime is down in Washington, D.C.

Chief Manger, Mr. Pemberton, you guys have been in law enforcement for how many years?

Chief MANGER. Forty-five.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. Forty-five.

Mr. PEMBERTON. Nineteen.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. Nineteen. That is 64. We will add mine in. Let us say almost 80 years, all right? Eighty years on the job.

What season do we usually see the least amount of crime committed, especially those on the street? Probably be the winter, right? When the weather gets nicer, crime tends to spike.

Now, I know that we also talked about guns. One of the issues that we are facing with guns throughout this country is that people are getting arrested with illegal firearms and they are not getting prosecuted.

We see guns being taken off the streets, but very often the criminals who tote those firearms are able to walk the streets freely again before the cops are actually done with their paperwork.

Now, Mr. Pemberton, I know that you were in the Violent Crimes Unit, similar to the work that I did. If you had to take a guess, an estimation, how many firearms, how many gun arrests have you been a part of in your career?

Mr. PEMBERTON. I would have to say it would be over a thousand.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. OK. My number is probably a little less. You have some more time on the job.

My next question is this. Out of the over a thousand gun arrests that you were part of, how many of those individuals when you went to arrest them presented you with a license to carry that gun?

Mr. PEMBERTON. Zero.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. Gun licensing really would have nothing to do with the carrying of firearms, because those who are breaking the law really do not care about what gun laws are, correct?

Mr. PEMBERTON. That is correct.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. OK. Now, in all of the guns that you have recovered—I guess we should focus more recently here in Washington, D.C., because it seems like the other side of the aisle wants to talk about assault weapons, they want to talk about high-capacity firearms, when, in fact, much of the time the people who speak the most—and I am not talking about Mr. Morelle at all. I have great respect for him.

There are people who love to speak about high-capacity weapons. They love to talk about guns that are in mass shootings. In fact, they really do not know much about firearms and they do not even know about the guns that they are speaking of.

In the arrests that have been made by the MPD, how many of the guns over the last year would have been handguns? You could give an estimate. I am sure you do not have the number off the top of your head.

Mr. PEMBERTON. Yes, I do not. I know that last year we recovered 3,200 firearms. I do not know how many were handguns, but I would venture a guess that it was at least 90 percent.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. 90 percent of the guns recovered last year in Washington, D.C., you said 3,200 were recovered, so 90 percent of

them were handguns, illegal firearms. Not one of those people probably presented a license to carry it.

Mr. PEMBERTON. I think that is fair, yes.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. OK. A lot of those individuals were repeat offenders, right? They have been arrested. They have been part of the criminal justice system.

Why? Because over the last few years, legislation implemented by Democrats throughout this country has made this country less safe. It is a fact.

Mr. Mangual, I know that you mentioned in your opening statement about the dwindling number of police officers. Why do you think we have a dwindling number of police officers?

Mr. MANGUAL. I think a lot of it has to do with the rhetoric and the environment that is been created by policy, and I have some personal experience with this.

Mr. D'ESPOSITO. That is exactly right. It is the rhetoric and it is the policy that has been created. It is the rhetoric that is being spewed by Democrats here on Capitol Hill, by anti-cop people throughout this country.

It is the policies. Not only policy, because now we are talking about laws, actually things that are on the books. People took pens, put them to paper, and passed legislation to make this country less safe, to make the jobs of law enforcement harder, and to give criminals free rein to do whatever it is they want without any repercussions.

It is why right here on Capitol Hill you cannot go to CVS and get batteries because they are locked up. Why? Because people go into stores, take whatever they want, and walk right out.

That is the country, that is the city that Democrats have created. I blame it, and I say it is partisan, because they are the ones who have carried this banner, they are the ones who have passed this legislation, and they are the ones who have doubled down and said: We are going to continue to do this.

My time is expired, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentleman yields back.

Ms. Lee is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you to our witnesses who have joined us here today for your important testimony and also your efforts to fight crime, to fight violent crime, and your work to ensure that those who live and visit our Nation's capital can do so in a way that is safe.

I would also like to discuss today a program with the Capitol Police, Chief Manger, the Special Assistant United States Attorney program, and how that is a program that you are utilizing to actually help ensure that you are keeping Members of Congress, other Government officials, and the public safe.

Would you please describe for us the Special Assistant United States Attorney, or SAUSA, program that you are using in field offices in Tampa, Sacramento, and D.C.?

Chief MANGER. DOJ has provided us with the authorization to have these SAUSAs to prosecute cases nationwide and to assist in prosecuting threats against—involving Members of Congress. The Department of Justice has also designated our SAUSAs as subject matter experts on threats cases.

We have had great success with them. Our SAUSA in Tampa has worked multiple cases in the Middle District of Florida, leading to guilty pleas in threat cases involving a threat against a Member of Congress, other Federal officials, and in one case a threat against a Supreme Court Justice.

We have had, again, great success. The SAUSA in D.C., their primary portfolio includes managing the threat portal for the U.S. Attorney's Office in the District of Columbia.

A number of cases involving Members of Congress as victims, congressional staff members as victims, or crimes that occurred on Capitol Grounds, we have our own prosecutor that makes sure those cases go forward.

Ms. LEE. Do you foresee or would you hope to see an expansion of the SAUSA program into additional cities across America?

Chief MANGER. I think as the workload presents itself, it is a very efficient way for us to handle a lot of these cases so that not every investigator, not every attorney is flying out from D.C., we have got folks around the country that can be on the scene working these cases.

Ms. LEE. I believe the SAUSAs also provide training to case agents and investigators within the threat assessment section.

Could you describe for us that section and how the SAUSAs are working to help train case agents and investigators?

Chief MANGER. They are the subject matter experts on threat cases. We get, as everybody here knows, you get threats and concerning calls and directions of interest that are very concerning.

These attorneys train our officers to know when it crosses that line from being just free speech or being just something concerning to something that is a criminal threat.

Ms. LEE. In your assessment, has the program, as implemented thus far, been successful in addressing some of the rise in threats against Members in Congress?

Chief MANGER. Absolutely. We have better success in terms of prosecution now than we did before we had this program.

Ms. LEE. Can you tell us why you think that change, why that better rate of success is happening?

Chief MANGER. I think it is because this is their primary job. Prior to this, we were competing with attorneys that had a huge caseload. Sometimes they just looked at our case and said: OK, not sure this is going to rise to the level of being a priority for me, because I am prosecuting much more serious cases.

This way, we have folks that their priority is working threats against Members of Congress.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Chief.

Mr. Mangual, last fall the Committee on House Administration held a briefing for Members and staff regarding the rise in crime in Washington, D.C. It included safety tips and advice for how best to protect oneself against carjackings and the proliferation of other things, like assaults and robberies, that we have been seeing here in the District.

Would you like to provide any additional insight or advice on how residents or visitors to our Nation's capital can protect themselves from these types of violent crimes?

Mr. MANGUAL. Unfortunately, I cannot say that I have any expertise in terms of giving advice on personal security. The one piece of advice that I would give residents is to urge their policymakers and their representatives in the D.C. Council and in Congress to push harder on anti-crime measures.

As I mention in my testimony, it is very, very clear that the criminal justice system's capability of dealing with repeat offenders has been eroded, and it has been eroded for quite some time. That is why you see the most heinous crimes consistently committed by people who have 10, 15, 20, 30 prior arrests.

To my mind, one of the most effective uses of time that citizens can make with respect to this issue is putting pressure on their elected officials to make some changes and stop that problem where it is.

Ms. LEE. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentlewoman yields back.

We are in the homestretch here of our hearing, but I would like to recognize the Ranking Member for brief closing remarks.

Mr. MORELLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Again, thank you all for being here. This is a complicated and nuanced issue, no doubt, and more resources would clearly be helpful.

Ms. Lee pointed out an interesting point as relates to the U.S. Attorneys, which, again, is why I am so strongly opposed to the proposed \$320 million cut that was proposed by House Republicans for U.S. Attorneys, who do great work all across this country, including prosecuting crimes here in Washington, D.C.

I am sorry that Mr. D'Esposito left, but since he raised a couple things.

First, as it related to 2024 crime statistics, he talked about seasonality. I was actually comparing the same period of time of year from January 1 to March 21.

Basic statistics, you want to compare like things, and that is what I did. I understand there will be seasonal adjustments.

He raised another thing, which he said this was a partisan issue and basically condemned Democrats and blamed us for the crime issue.

I was not going to raise this, but I am going to now, which is violent crime, as I said, in D.C. is obviously of concern to all of us.

I know, according to a study by Third Way that looked at 21 years of crime data, at the peak of the violent crime spike in 2020 murder rates were 40 percent higher in red States, defined as States that voted for former President Trump in 2020, as opposed to blue States, defined as those States that voted for Joe Biden in 2020.

The murder rate in States that voted for Donald Trump exceeded the murder rate in the States that voted for Joe Biden every year for two decades, from 2000 to 2020.

Over the course of those 21 years, the per capita murder rate in Trump States was 23 percent higher than the murder rate in Biden States.

Even if you remove murders in the largest cities in red States from the equation, those dominated by Democrats, murder rates in

Trump-voting States were 12 percent higher across the 21-year period than Biden States, which included those Democratic-controlled areas.

I ask unanimous consent to enter this study entitled “The Two-Decade Red State Murder Problem” into the record.

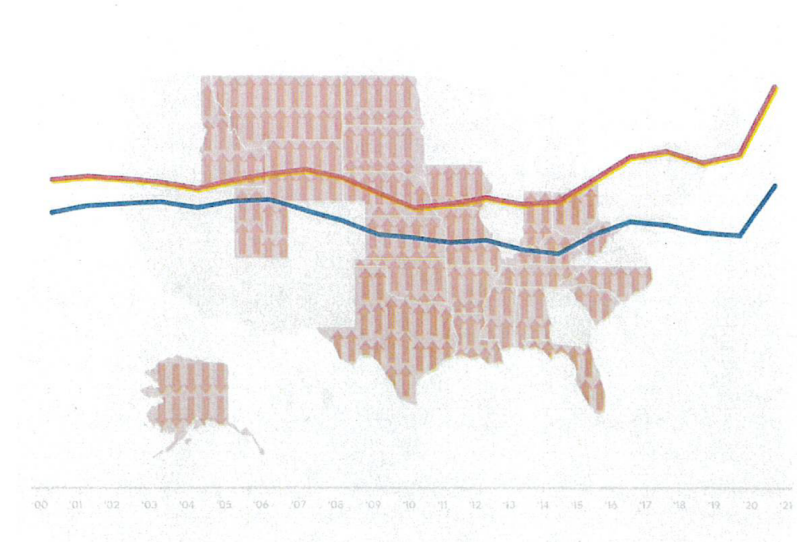
Chairman STEIL. Without objection.

[The article referred to follows:]



REPORT Published January 27, 2023 · 13 minute read

The Two-Decade Red State Murder Problem



Kylie Murdock
Special Advisor to Programs
[@kyliemurdock](https://twitter.com/kyliemurdock)



Jim Kessler
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Takeaways

- The murder rate in the 25 states that voted for Donald Trump has exceeded the murder rate in the 25 states that voted for Joe Biden in every year from 2000 to 2020.
- Over this 21-year span, this Red State murder gap has steadily widened from a low of 9% more per capita red state murders in 2003 and 2004 to 44% more per capita red state murders in 2019, before settling back to 43% in 2020.
- Altogether, the per capita Red State murder rate was 23% higher than the Blue State murder rate when all 21 years were combined.

- If Blue State murder rates were as high as Red State murder rates, Biden-voting states would have suffered over 45,000 more murders between 2000 and 2020.
- Even when murders in the largest cities in red states are removed, overall murder rates in Trump-voting states were 12% higher than Biden-voting states across this 21-year period and were higher in 18 of the 21 years observed.

Republicans have made crime a major selling point over the past several elections. In 2020 and 2022, they ran ads accusing Democratic candidates of wanting to “defund the police”—a position held by only a handful of fringe Democratic officeholders. In October 2022, one-quarter of ads from Republican candidates and PACs focused on crime. Republican-aligned Fox News aired, on average, 141 segments on crime across weekdays in the two months leading up to the midterms. In the week after the midterm, their coverage of violent crime dropped by 50%.

In March of 2022, we released a report that found murder rates in 2020 were 40% higher in Trump-voting states than Biden-voting states. In this follow-up report, we studied homicide data going back to 2000 to see if this one-year Red State murder epidemic was an anomaly. It was not. Despite a media narrative to the contrary, a wide and widening Red State murder gap has spanned the past two decades.

In this study, we collected homicide data from 2000 through 2020 for all 50 states from the Center of Disease Control Wonder’s National Center for Health Statistics Mortality Data. Data is based on death certificates collected by state registries and provided to the National Vital Statistics System. We chose CDC data over FBI data because it’s more up to date and does not rely on voluntary reporting from counties and states. All states are *required* to report mortality data to the CDC; they’re only *encouraged* to report crime data to the FBI. The United States Department of Justice has acknowledged that CDC data is more accurate. (There were four states with several years of missing data—New Hampshire, North Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming. In these instances, we relied on FBI numbers from the Uniform Crime Statistics.)¹ To allow for comparison, we calculated the state’s per capita murder rate, the number of murders per 100,000 residents, and categorized states by their presidential vote in the 2020 election, resulting in an even 25–25 state split.

We found that the murder rate in Trump-voting states has exceeded the murder rate in Biden-voting states every year this century. Cumulatively, overall murder rates since 2000 were on average 23% higher in Trump-voting states. For the past 21 years, the top 10 murder rate states have been dominated by reliably red states, namely Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri. Even when we removed the county with the largest city in Trump-voting states (and kept them in for Biden-voting states), murder rates were still significantly higher in these red states.

And while media reports give the impression that murder rates are skyrocketing in blue areas, murder rates have actually increased at far higher rates in Trump-voting states over the past two decades, widening the Red State murder gap from a low of 9% in 2003 and 2004 to a high of 44% in 2019, before falling to 43% in 2020. Since 2000, murder rates have increased 39.4% in red states and just 13.4% in blue states.

There is a media and political narrative that crime is a Democratic problem, occurring mostly in big blue cities and fueled by lax policies. While murder is by no means the only crime in America, it is the most serious. And as far as murder is concerned, it is a bigger problem in red states than blue states and only becoming more so. As we noted in our last report, Republicans do a much better job blaming others for crime than actually stopping it.

The murder rate in Trump-voting states has exceeded Biden-voting states every year this century.

Despite the “Democrat-caused crime crisis,” murder rates in Trump-voting states have been higher than Biden-voting states every single year this century (see graph below). In 2000, the murder rate in Trump-voting states was 6.35 per 100,000 residents compared to Biden states’ 5.47 per 100,000 residents, 16% higher. At its lowest, in 2003 and 2004, murder rates in Trump states were 9% higher than in Biden states. At its highest, in 2019, murder rates in Trump states were 44% higher than in Biden states.

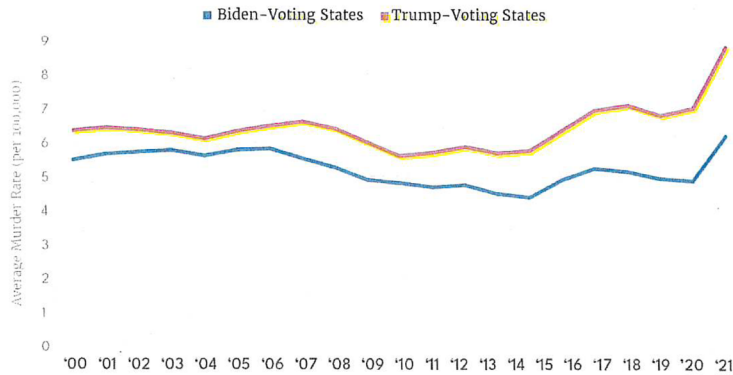
Overall, when looking at 2000–2020, murder rates were on average 23% higher in Trump states. The average murder rate in Trump states between 2000 and 2020 was 6.44 per 100,000 residents compared to 5.23 per 100,000 residents in Biden states. If Biden states had the same murder rate as Trump states, they would have seen 5,000 more murders in 2020 alone. Between 2000 and 2020, they would have suffered an additional 45,400 murders.

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The Murder Rate in Trump-Voting States Has Exceeded the Rate in Biden-Voting States Every Year This Century



Source: Author's calculations based on CDC data.

The top 10 murder rate states are increasingly dominated by Trump-voting states.

Solidly red states have dominated the top 10 murder rate states for the past decade—some for each of the last 21 years. Louisiana had the highest murder rate in the country from 2000 to 2018, until it was surpassed by Mississippi. Before becoming the state with the highest murder rate in 2019, Mississippi held the number two spot for 16 years between 2000 and 2018. Alabama has been in the top 5 for 20 out of the last 21 years. South Carolina has been in the top 10 for each of the past 21 years. All of these states have voted for the Republican presidential candidate in every election since 2000. The red states of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri have also consistently been in the top 10 since 2004.

A handful of Biden states have as well, but not to the same degree as Trump states. Maryland has been among the top 10 for 20 out of 21 years, New Mexico for 16 years, and Georgia for 10 years. States often mentioned in the media as crime havens, like California and New York, have not graced the top 10 once. New York has never even been in the top 25 for murder rates this century.

Between 2000 and 2010, red states and blue states roughly split the top 10, with four or five of the states being blue. But after 2010, murder rates fell in blue states relative to red states. Beginning in

2011, red states have held 7 or 8 spots in the top 10 every year.

Red States Have Dominated the Top 10 Murder Rate States for Two Decades

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2000	LA	MS	AL	MD	NM	TN	NC	SC	GA	IL
2001	LA	MS	AL	MD	AZ	SC	IL	NV	GA	TN
2002	LA	MS	MD	AZ	AL	NM	TN	NV	IL	SC
2003	LA	MS	MD	AL	AZ	NM	GA	NV	SC	IL
2004	LA	MS	MD	AZ	NM	AL	NV	SC	AR	GA
2005	LA	MD	AL	AZ	MS	TN	NM	SC	AR	NV
2006	LA	MS	MD	AL	AZ	SC	NV	AR	TN	GA
2007	LA	AL	MD	MS	AR	AZ	SC	GA	NM	TN
2008	LA	MS	AL	MD	MO	SC	TN	NM	AZ	GA
2009	LA	MS	AL	NM	TN	MD	AR	SC	MO	IL
2010	LA	MS	AL	MD	NM	MO	SC	DE	GA	AZ
2011	LA	MS	AL	SC	NM	MD	MO	AR	TN	OK
2012	LA	MS	AL	AR	SC	MI	TN	OK	MO	DE
2013	LA	MS	AL	AR	MD	OK	SC	NM	MO	MI
2014	LA	MS	AL	SC	AR	MO	GA	MD	NM	OK
2015	LA	MS	MD	AL	SC	MO	AK	OK	NM	AR
2016	LA	MS	AL	MD	MO	IL	NM	SC	TN	AR
2017	LA	AL	MS	MO	AK	MD	AR	SC	IL	TN
2018	LA	MS	AL	MO	NM	SC	MD	TN	AR	IL
2019	MS	LA	AL	NM	AK	MO	SC	MD	AR	TN
2020	MS	LA	AL	MO	AR	SC	TN	IL	MD	GA

Source: Author's calculations based on CDC data. Red states are states that voted for Trump in 2020. Blue states are ones that voted for Biden in 2020.



The murder rate gap between Trump and Biden states has widened over the course of two decades.

Murder rates in Trump states have been increasing at much higher rates than Biden states. Back in 2000, murder rates in Trump states were 16% higher and fell to a 9% gap in 2003 and 2004. By 2007, the Red State murder gap reached 20% and would exceed 20% in every year but one thereafter. In 2014, the Red State murder gap exceeded 30% for the first time (32% in 2014) and would remain above that threshold throughout. The Red State murder gap crossed the threshold of 40% in 2019, when murder rates in Trump states were 44% higher than Biden states, before receding slightly to 43% in 2020.

Over the period studied, murder rates jumped 39.4% in Trump-voting states (6.35 murders/100,000 population in 2000 to 8.84/100,000 in 2020). Murder rates increased just 13.4% in Biden-voting states (5.47 murders/100,000 population in 2000 to 6.20/100,000 in 2020).

Ironically, as the media frenzy over “soft on crime” Democrats reached its peak, the Red State murder gap widened to its deepest gulch, contrary to the popular narrative.

Ironically, as the media frenzy over “soft on crime” Democrats reached its peak, the Red State murder gap widened to its deepest gulch, contrary to the popular narrative.



Even when large cities are removed from red states, murder rates are still higher.

Some on the right argue that murder rates in red states are higher because of the blue cities in those red states. Of course, blue states have more blue urban areas than red states. That is what makes most states blue. The fact is that murder rates have increased in urban, suburban, and rural areas.

But to answer these critics, we performed an exercise to give red states a special boost. For this exercise, we removed all of the murders in the county with the largest city for 19 of 25 red states. In six rural red states home to no cities with large numbers of murders, this calculation was not possible based on available CDC data.² Blue states would get no such advantage. But even with the largest city removed from red states, the Red State murder gap persisted.

Over the course of the full 21 years between 2000 and 2020, the Red State murder rate was still 12% higher than the Blue State murder rate, even when murders in the largest cities in those red states were removed. And the murder rate was still higher in 18 of 21 years.

Between 2010 and 2020, even after removing New Orleans and Jackson, Louisiana and Mississippi continued to hold the number one and two spots for highest murder rates. Alabama, Kentucky, Missouri, South Carolina, and Tennessee were still consistently in the top 10 after removing their largest city.

In 2020, the states with the highest murder rates stayed roughly the same after making this change: Mississippi in first, then Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, Missouri, Illinois, Maryland, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Georgia.

Why are Murder Rates Persistently Higher in Red States?

Crime and murder are complicated issues that are, unfortunately, ripe for demagoguery. This paper is not intended to provide definitive causes for the growing and persistent Red State murder gap; rather it is meant to show that it exists. But here are some thoughts on why red states have higher murder rates.

- **Guns:** Gun ownership rates are far higher in red states than blue states. Studies have estimated that gun ownership rates are as much as twice as high in a typical red state than a typical blue state. Since 79% of all homicides are committed with a firearm, it stands to reason that more guns will produce more murders, not less.
- **Poverty:** Studies have found a correlation between poverty and violent crime. Red states tend to have higher poverty rates than blue states.
- **Educational Attainment:** Those who have a high school diploma or less tend to be overrepresented among victims and perpetrators of homicide. Increasingly, there is an educational attainment gap between red and blue states as well.
- **Social Service and Police Resources:** Despite accusations that Democrats “defund the police,” we found that cities with Democratic mayors fund police at far higher levels on a per capita basis than cities run by Republican mayors. In 2020, the 25 largest Democrat-run cities spent 38% more on policing per capita than the 25 largest Republican-run cities. In addition, blue states may be more likely to fund social service programs that help steer people away from violent crime than red states.

Conclusion

On a typical day, about 65 Americans are murdered. If we watch the cable networks, we're likely to hear about one of them. The one that is chosen often fits a narrative that is as familiar as it is shallow. It may cohere with a political point a network wants to make – chaos in Democratic cities, an illegal immigrant committing a brazen and lethal act. Usually, it's a murder in New York City or Los Angeles, two cities that actually have murder rates far lower than many states.

These crime stories aren't inaccurate, but they are curated. And when we see them every day they create an impression of crime and murder in America that tells only a part of the story. When we released "The Red State Murder Problem" in March 2022 showing that murder rates in Trump-voting states in 2020 were far higher than Biden-voting states, the reaction was incredulity. That is because the news stories we see each day tell us something different.

But the numbers don't lie. It is our hope that with this report we can create a more accurate political discussion about crime. And perhaps with a more holistic political discussion, we can do more to actually reduce violent and lethal crime.

Methodology

We collected murder data for all 50 states from 2000 to 2020. Our primary source was the Center of Disease Control Wonder's National Center for Health Statistics Mortality Data. We chose to use CDC data over FBI data because it tends to be more accurate. This is because states are *required* to report mortality data to the CDC while states are only *encouraged* to report crime data to the FBI. As mentioned above, there were four states that were missing a few years of data in the CDC database. New Hampshire was missing data for 2002, North Dakota was missing data for 2001, 2002, and 2008, Vermont was missing data for 2002 and 2009–2013, and Wyoming was missing data for 2006 and 2010. For these, we used FBI data. Using the CDC data and population data from the US Census Bureau, we calculated the per capita murder rate for each state for every year. We split states into "red" and "blue" states based on their vote in the 2020 Presidential election—Trump versus Biden. For each year, we averaged the number of homicides and populations for "red" and "blue" states and calculated the average per capita murder rate. When we removed the largest cities from red states, we removed the following counties: Alabama– Madison County (Huntsville), Arkansas– Pulaski County (Little Rock), Kentucky– Jefferson County (Louisville), Louisiana– Orleans Parish (New Orleans), Mississippi– Hinds County (Jackson), Missouri– Jackson County (Kansas City), South Carolina– Charleston County (Charleston), Tennessee– Davidson County (Nashville), Alaska– Anchorage Borough (Anchorage), Florida– Duval County (Jacksonville), Indiana– Marion County (Indianapolis), Kansas– Sedgwick County (Wichita), Nebraska– Douglas County (Omaha), North Carolina– Mecklenburg County (Charlotte), Ohio– Franklin County (Columbus), Oklahoma– Oklahoma County (Oklahoma City), Texas– Harris County (Houston), Utah– Salt Lake County (Salt Lake City), West Virginia– Kanawha County (Charleston). The following states had less than 10 murders in their largest city (the CDC doesn't disclose murders under 10 for privacy reasons): Idaho, Iowa, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming. Data is attached.

ENDNOTES

1. We used FBI data for New Hampshire for 2002. For North Dakota for 2001, 2002, and 2008. For Vermont for 2002, 2009–2013. For Wyoming for 2006 and 2010.
2. 19 out of 25 red states had homicide data that allowed us to do this exercise. The largest cities in the 6 other states typically had less than 10 murders in a year, and because of the way the CDC compiles and publicly releases data, the exact number of murders in these states was not made available by the CDC for privacy reasons. The 6 red states not included in this calculation are Idaho (the county with Boise), Iowa (the county with Des Moines), Montana (the county with Billings), North Dakota (the county with Fargo), South Dakota (the county with Sioux Falls), and Wyoming (the county with Cheyenne).

Mr. MORELLE. I would say again, this is nuanced.

Look, I have strongly, as a Democrat, supported more resources for law enforcement. I will continue to do that. I believe we should have zero tolerance for crime in general. I do not disagree with many of the comments made about prosecution.

It is impossible to look at the crime problem in the United States without looking at gun safety measures that are common sense. We have 400 million guns in the United States today. That is more than a single gun for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

I have a family of hunters and people who take this very seriously, and most people do take gun violence seriously and gun safety. We have a problem. Not to acknowledge it and to suggest that the only reason that we have a problem is because of Democrats in urban areas I think is just irresponsible and I think is beneath the really learned approach that needs to be taken by the Congress in addressing these problems.

Again, thank you for the hearing, Mr. Chair.

Thank you again to the witnesses for your service.

I yield back.

Chairman STEIL. The gentleman yields back.

I thank you for your attendance.

I will note, if we are debating if this is a partisan issue, I think it is telling one Democrat showed up willing to defend the soft-on-crime policies of the D.C. City Council. The rest of the entire Democrats on this Committee ducked out.

Why? Because it is pretty darn tough to defend a 24-year-old male who uses a gun to carjack someone being treated as a youth, and that is the policy here in our Nation's capital because of soft-on-crime policies.

It is pretty tough to defend the fact that the average homicide suspect in our Nation's capital has been arrested 11 times before.

It is pretty hard to defend the massive rise on crime we have seen in Washington, D.C., over the last 4 years after in 2020 the D.C. City Council and the Mayor cut the budget for the law enforcement officers in our Nation's capital.

It is not surprising to me that only one Democrat on this Committee showed up. It is partisan because we see Democrats and the radical left have driven through soft-on-crime policies, and what we have seen here is the empirical data of what happens when you do that.

You combine that with the anti-police rhetoric from those on the left that we documented here today, shared by Mr. Pemberton, what the impact is on the morale of law enforcement officers and how hard it is to recruit men and women to join the law enforcement community, to put a badge over their heart, to walk out the door every day not knowing what the call will be, but knowing that they are going to answer the call on all of our behalf.

Everyone, visitors, staff members, Members of Congress, have a right to feel safe in our Nation's capital. Right now, far too many do not feel safe. They do not feel safe because of the policies put forward by liberals on the D.C. City Council that have allowed crime to spike in our Nation's capital.

As the Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, I can tell you, I am committed to making sure that you, Chief Manager, have the resources that you need to be able to do your job and to be able to make sure that we continue to put pressure and pass laws, as we have, to overturn soft-on-crime policies in our Nation's capital.

We have been successful once. We have been vetoed by the President of the United States another time. We are going to continue our efforts to make sure that everyone, visitors, staff members, Members alike, are safe here in our Nation's capital.

I want to, on behalf I think of all the Members who showed up, I want to say thank you to the law enforcement officers of the Metropolitan Police Department, the men and women of the U.S. Capitol Police, who are out there every day, whose jobs are darn hard, in particular darn hard because of the policies and the soft-on-crime policies that have been advocated by this City Council.

I will pause there, and I will just once again thank our witnesses for appearing before us today. Your comments were very helpful. The Members of the Committee may have some additional questions for you, and we ask that you please respond to those questions in writing.

Without objection, each Member will have 5 legislative days to insert additional materials into the record or to revise and extend their remarks.

Now, pursuant to paragraph (c) of rule 14 of the rules of the Committee, I will hereby appoint March Bell as parliamentarian of the Committee on House Administration and Thomas Lane as assistant parliamentarian on the Committee on House Administration.

In addition, pursuant to paragraph (b) of rule 14, I hereby appoint Annemarie Cake as deputy clerk of the Committee on House Administration.

Without objection, letters announcing both appointments will be placed in the record, and a copy of these letters will be available to all Committee Members.

[The letters referred to follow:]

LETTERS OF APPOINTMENT

BRYAN STEIL, WISCONSIN
CHAIRMAN

BARRY LOUDERMILK, GEORGIA
H. MORGAN GRIFFITH, VIRGINIA
GREGORY F. MURPHY, NORTH CAROLINA
STEPHANIE I. BICE, OKLAHOMA
MIKE CAREY, OHIO
ANTHONY D'ESPOSITO, NEW YORK
LAUREL M. LEE, FLORIDA

MICHAEL PLATT
STAFF DIRECTOR

One Hundred Eighteenth
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION
1309 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-6157
(202) 225-8281 | CHA.HOUSE.GOV

JOSEPH D. MORELLE, NEW YORK
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

TERRI A. SEWELL, ALABAMA
DEREK KILMER, WASHINGTON
NORMA J. TORRES, CALIFORNIA

JAMIE FLEET
MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

March 21, 2024

Committee on House Administration
1309 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, District of Columbia 20515

Dear Colleague,

Pursuant to Paragraph (c) of Rule 14 of the Rules of the Committee, I hereby appoint T. March Bell as Parliamentarian of the Committee on House Administration. If you have questions concerning this matter, please contact the Committee at (202) 225- 8281.

Sincerely,



Bryan Steil
Chairman
Committee on House Administration

BRYAN STEIL, WISCONSIN
CHAIRMAN

BARRY LOUDERMILK, GEORGIA
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One Hundred Eighteenth
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION
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March 21, 2024

Committee on House Administration
1309 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Colleague,

Pursuant to paragraph (b) of Rule 14 of the Rules of the Committee, I hereby appoint Annemarie Cake as Deputy Clerk of the Committee on House Administration effective March 21, 2024. If you have questions concerning this matter, please contact the Committee at (202) 225-8281.

Sincerely,



Bryan Steil
Chairman
Committee on House Administration

Chairman STEIL. There being no further business, I want to thank the Members for their participation.
Without objection, the Committee stands adjourned.
[Whereupon, at 12:01 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION FULL COMMITTEE HEARING “SAFETY ON CAPITOL HILL: DC CRIME’S IMPACT ON CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS AND VISITORS”

March 21, 2024

Questions for the Record
Mr. J. Thomas Manger

Majority Questions for the Record

1. During a time of heightened crime in DC, how can we help support the U.S. Capitol Police (USCP) in your mission to protect members of Congress, their staff, and visitors on the Capitol campus?

The Committee on House Administration, and the Congress as a whole, has been very supportive of the women and men of the United States Capitol Police (USCP or Department) and of the Department’s mission to protect members of Congress, their staff and visitors on the Capitol campus. The number one issue that the USCP has been dealing with is attempting to increase staffing in order to meet the mission requirements. Increasing both uniform and protective service officers will allow the Department to increase patrols around campus and in the extended jurisdiction zone, have dedicated teams that can handle demonstrations around campus without pulling officers off of their post, investigate threats made toward Members and their families and to stand up threat details without compromising operations in other areas.

In addition, the Department would like to have jurisdiction, not only in the extended jurisdiction zone, but also around areas where Members reside in the District and at Congressional events. This would allow the Department to further enhance the protection to Members. For example, at last year’s Congressional Softball Game, the game was interrupted by protestors. USCP, while on the scene, had to wait for the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police (MPD) to arrive as MPD had primary jurisdiction. This caused a twenty minute delay in the event.

The Department’s ability to utilize mutual aid, and to reimburse those law enforcement agencies that come to the assistance of USCP, has been an invaluable resource. It acts as a force multiplier, allowing the Department to prepare for large events and demonstrations and minimize the risk to the campus and those working at and visiting the Capitol complex.

2. How does USCP ensure the protection of the over 2.5 million visitors at the Capitol campus?

The USCP is continuously assessing and adapting operational capabilities to maximize our mission readiness. The USCP takes proactive measures to protect the over 2.5 million visitors to the Capitol campus. USCP operates at concentric layers of security concept which is meant to deter threats at an ever-increasing level. USCP also deploys security

measures that are highly visible and other security measures, personnel and technology that are not easily seen by visitors coming to the Capitol campus. This vigilant and best practice approach to security for an open campus allows USCP to employ proactive measures of security in order to keep all who work and visit the Capitol campus safe.

The USCP conducts vigilant screening procedures at the entrances to all of the Congressional office buildings using visual observation, x-ray machines, magnetometers and explosive trace detectors to help ensure that prohibited items do not get into the building. At the entrances to the Capitol Visitor Center and at the House Chamber Galleries, the Department utilizes millimeter wave technology, similar to that used at many airports, to provide an additional layer of security when the use of a magnetometer may not be as effective or to identify other non-metallic threats. In addition, the camera system the Department utilizes throughout the campus allows the Department's Command Center to maintain situational awareness and focus in on areas to determine if a USCP response is required and to subsequently manage such response activities. The Department continually seeks to enhance existing systems and researches new technologies which will enable it to provide the same, if not better, level of security in a more efficient and less intrusive manner.

The Department has greatly enhanced its intelligence operations post January 6. Prior to January 6 the Department was merely a consumer of other agencies intelligence. Now the Department collects and analyzes intelligence and provides it to our law enforcement partners. This allows the Department to make operational plans for events on campus, utilizing the proper amount of resources from civil disturbance units to mutual aide. This is all to minimize the risk to the Capitol and to those on campus during events, both large and small.

3. In November 2023, pro-Palestine protestors blocked members of Congress, including Minority Leader Jeffries, inside of the DNC headquarters and assaulted police officers.
 - a. What was the extent of USCP's involvement in that situation? Were other law enforcement bodies present and, if so, what support did they provide?

USCP was heavily involved in protecting all of the occupants inside the DNC in November 2023, when multiple groups of approximately 200 pro-Palestinian protestors became violent and attempted to enter the DNC, block all entrances and move dumpsters in front of garage exits. This group failed to obey lawful orders from USCP, utilized pepper spray against our officers and attempted to move bike rack barriers. USCP was quick and decisive in our response and actions and I firmly believe it is because of the courageous efforts of USCP that night that prevented these violent protestors from entering the DNC and causing harm to the Members of Congress and staff that were inside the DNC, to include a DPD Leadership protectee. USCP was able to safely extract and evacuate all Members of Congress from the DNC to a safe location on Capitol grounds without incident while at the same time engaging the violent group of demonstrators outside of the DNC.

On site with USCP that night was officers from the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD). MPD provided assistance to USCP with maintaining a perimeter and assisting with street closures and mountain bike teams. After the group became violent, USCP was also assisted by our partners with DC Fire who tended to officers and civilians that were injured by the group's violent actions.

Our response and operational plans at the DNC that night are an excellent example of the improvements in our intelligence analysis, communication of available intelligence and how USCP uses that information to enact operational plans based on that information. Since the October 7th deadly attack in Israel, our team produced dozens of intelligence products to keep the Congressional Community safe on Capitol Hill and across the country. These intelligence products reflected not only USCP's intelligence efforts, but also the improved close coordination with our partners. It was these exact products that forecasted the potential for violence that allowed USCP to put enhanced operational plans in place and we were prepared for an escalation with these groups. Our intelligence analysts even went to roll calls the week of the DNC violence to brief our officers in person about the heightened tense environment surrounding the Israel/Hamas war.

- b. As a result of that situation, there were numerous Capitol Police officers injured. How are USCP operations and USCP morale impacted by officer injuries?

As for USCP morale being impacted by injuries sustained at the DNC, we had 6 officers that were injured that night by the violent protestors. Injuries ranged from an officer being punched in the face, multiple officers being pepper sprayed, an officer injuring his knee tackling a demonstrator that was passing out pepper spray canisters as well as officers injured while attempting to hold back the protestors away from the DNC doors. All officers understand that with this job the potential for injury or worse could present itself. Our officers acted quickly, decisively and heroically that night to protect the Members of Congress and Staff inside the DNC. The morale of officers that night was high, even after the injuries, because the officers were prideful in the actions they took, they witnessed USCP's improved operational plans, command and response. We even had one of our injured officer's leave being treated by DC Fire because she wanted to get back with her fellow officers as soon as possible.

1. What crime prevention techniques does USCP use, if any, and how could they be more effective?

The USCP utilizes numerous crime prevention techniques in order to keep the Capitol Complex safe. As noted above in the response to Question #2, the Department maintains a high profile, visible presence to act as a deterrent. This includes patrolling around the Capitol Complex and in the extended jurisdiction zone to provide a deterrence around buildings and residences where a number of Members reside. Providing the Department with jurisdictional authority in and around Members' residences would add to the Departments effectiveness.

One of the other techniques that is more preventative is conducting security surveys on Member residences in their districts and district offices. The USCP can make recommendations on security systems and related components that a Member can install these at their residence and district office(s) to protect the space in question and provide the Member, their family, and staff a means to call for help. The Member can then utilize the Office of the Sergeant at Arms residential and district office security programs to purchase and install the systems.

The USCP can also escort staff to their vehicles parked in the exterior lots of the campus to ensure that staff get to their car safely, especially at night.

2. Do you ever look for patterns on where and when crime is occurring, and take steps from there?

Yes. The Department knows that the Capitol Complex has a low crime rate. However, we also know that the areas around the Capitol are experiencing a rise in crime. As many Members live in the extended jurisdiction zone, we push patrols out to act as a deterrent where Members reside. This will hopefully create a bigger buffer around the Capitol Complex to keep crime further out. In addition, the USCP is placing an officer in MPD's Real Time Crime Center so that the USCP can act on any issue arising around the Capitol and to assist our Law Enforcement Partners who have assisted the USCP by furnishing mutual aid.

While not necessarily dealing with a great deal of violent criminal activity, the Department does conduct intelligence assessments for demonstrations and other large events at the Capitol. This informs the Department's planning on how to prepare for a particular demonstration or civil disobedience by specific groups. Many times this involves looking at previous demonstrations and/or civil disobedience by particular groups.

3. To what extent has USCP faced recruitment or retention problems among officers, and what is your department doing to address these challenges, to the extent they exist?

Post-January 6 the Department faced an extremely high attrition rate. This attrition rate, compounded by the fact that the Department was not able to bring on new officers due to the pandemic and the temporary closure of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, created a dangerous shortfall of officers. This impacted the Department from meeting its mission, which increased after January 6. Working with Congress, the Department has been able to get ahead of attrition, particularly in our Uniformed Services Bureau. Congress raised the USCP pay scale making the Department more competitive with federal and local agencies. Our current starting salaries for USCP Academy graduates is \$81,552. In addition, Congress has provided the Department with money for a retention bonus which has lowered the attrition rate. The Department is currently averaging approximately 1000 applications a month to become USCP officers. However, it should be noted that a number of officers who came onto the Department immediately after 9/11 are reaching eligibility for retirement. Currently, there are over

350 officers eligible to retire today. That number increases to over 420 through the end of FY 2025.

The Department has initiated new hiring programs, including lateral, reemployed annuitant, and entry-level special agent programs, to support our efforts to expand the workforce. While the Department continues to hire from within, these new programs have provided another mechanism to increase staffing across all operational areas by expanding the scope of our applicant pool.

4. What resources does USCP make available to officers to improve their physical or mental health?

The Liebigood Center for Wellness (LCW) provides a broad array of resources for officers to improve their physical and mental health. Programming covers every domain of personal wellbeing - physical, mental, social, and spiritual. LCW staff are also able to connect USCP personnel and their immediate family members to community and external resources to meet specific needs. The program is divided into three divisions, the Wellness and Resiliency Division, the Employee Assistance Division, and the Peer Support Division, which also houses the Volunteer Chaplaincy Program.

Wellness and Resiliency Division (WRD)

Wellness Specialists in the USCP Wellness & Resiliency Program provide a wide array of free, confidential, holistic services to assist employees with many dimensions of their health and well-being as well as with their performance. Services include health & wellness coaching in areas such as stress management, sleep enhancement, nutrition, physical fitness, pain management, and social connection. Staff also provide mind-body skills training on an individual or group basis in evidence-based self-care practices such as yoga, meditation, breath work, positive psychology, and relaxation skills.

The Wellness and Resiliency Division is also home to the two USCP Wellness Support Dogs, Lila and Leo. The USCP wellness dogs, are on call to provide stress relief, comfort and support when needed. They perform outreach to officers at their posts across the Capitol Complex and are available to deploy upon request. They also provide mutual aid when local jurisdictions suffer a crisis event that affects a large portion of the workforce.

An important component of the WRD is the three fitness centers it oversees, and the personal fitness and nutrition coaching provided by staff at each. Certified personal trainers provide on-site fitness training in the USCP fitness centers and nutrition specialists work with employees to help them achieve their overall fitness and health goals.

Employee Assistance Program (EAP)

The United States Capitol Police (USCP) Employee Assistance Program (EAP) was established in 2022 to provide internal mental health and well-being support to the USCP workforce and immediate family members. The staff who support these services are

trauma-informed with relevant backgrounds for assisting law enforcement to support the diverse needs of the Department's workforce. Services provided include, but are not limited to, short-term counseling, training, community resource identification and referrals, policy guidance, clinical support for the Peer Support Program, and management consultations. Clinical services are free, voluntary, and confidential. Walk-ins and same day appointments are accommodated, and an after-hours crisis line ensures a counselor can be reached during any shift.

Peer Support Program (PSP)

The Peer Support Program ensures that the physical and mental needs of all USCP employees are met and serves as a force multiplier for LCW. The program consists of sworn and civilian Department employees who have been trained in Critical Incident Stress Management (CISM) to provide one on one support and to direct those seeking assistance to all Liebenood Center for Wellness services when appropriate. Peer Support Specialists utilize their training to help USCP employees through personal and professional situations. Seeking assistance from the Peer Support Program is voluntary, however, Peers are often on hand during stressful situations or events to be readily available should anyone need or want to connect with them.

Volunteer Chaplaincy Program (VCP)

The USCP Volunteer Chaplaincy Program was implemented in 2023 as a proactive measure in providing acute and long-term spiritual care for its workforce and family members. Chaplains are selected for the program based on a demonstrated ability to make and sustain connections in a diverse and pluralistic environment. The team is under development and is being designed to be mobile to provide compassionate and empathic care throughout the Capitol complex and across all shifts. Amongst the care and support provided topics often addressed include bereavement, emotional support, crisis management, and overcoming moral injury with an aim to bolster and reinforce resiliency. Chaplaincy support is free, voluntary, and confidential as are all LCW program elements.

Training and Education

LCW provides targeted and tailored educational programming to help employees build stress management and resiliency skills. All new recruits are provided with a three-day intensive, experiential wellness curriculum to ensure they begin their careers with a firm understanding of the importance of building and maintaining personal and professional wellbeing. Supervisors and the broader workforce are provided opportunities to attend workshops and briefings on topics to include suicide awareness, resilient leadership, communication, and combatting negative thinking. Content is also created and delivered upon request for work groups experiencing situational challenges or who have specific identified needs.

Cordico Smarthphone App

All USCP employees have the Cordico smartphone app installed on their department issued phones. This law enforcement wellness app can also be downloaded to a personal cell phone. Cordico is a nationally recognized leader in public safety wellness. The app is designed to provide employees and their family members with completely confidential, customized resources and information. It is available 24/7 to help users understand the stresses they may be facing and know how to get help when needed.

5. In hiring and retention, does USCP compete for the same individuals as other police departments and federal security agencies? How do you address this challenge and remain competitive for officer recruitment?

Yes, for the most part, the USCP, which recruits nation-wide, is competing for the same individuals as other police departments and federal security agencies. However, there are a number of factors that make the USCP an attractive law enforcement agency for applicants. The USCP salary and benefits is extremely competitive. The USCP is a full service police department with opportunities for officers to work on the bomb squad, K-9 unit, dignitary protection, and patrol among other units. This provides officers the opportunity to explore their interests and to advance their careers. The USCP Public Information Office utilizes social media to inform potential candidates of all of these opportunities available to an officer. This has gone a long way in keeping the USCP visible to the public and to highlight the agency and its mission.

6. The nation's capital is entering its Spring and Summer tourist season. What message does your department have for those leery of visiting D.C. because of the increased crime?
 - a. What steps is your department taking to help ensure the safety of those less familiar with the city, particularly families or school groups?

USCP is proactive in our approach to ensuring the safety of all visitors to the Capitol campus. Our teams occasionally provide security awareness training to the CVC Tour Guides, our patrols frequently interact with visitors as they traverse the campus and we have an active social media and public relations team that communicates important information externally.

- b. How do USCP operations change seasonally to reflect the change in seasonal visitors to the Capitol campus?

In preparation for the typically busier months for tourists visiting the Capitol, USCP increases staffing at the CVC in order to efficiently process all of the tourists through screening in order to reduce wait times and large congregations of public outside entrances that could potentially become a target. In addition to the screening of all visitors, USCP has officers that are assigned outside of the CVC for an enhanced presence where tourists

typically arrive as well as dedicated K-9 teams that actively perform sweeps along the main pedestrian routes and public lines for tourists at the CVC.

- c. What sure support has USCP considered requesting, if any, to help ensure the safety of visitors during this season?

Additionally in order to enhance our operational capabilities due to the increased crime and increased threat environment, USCP has started a new Rapid Response Team that actively patrols Capitol Grounds. This new team has 16 officers daily that conduct enhanced patrols of our parks, heavily trafficked pedestrian routes, and foundation checks of buildings while being deployed on mountain bikes. This team is equipped with additional equipment (medical and operational equipment) to provide USCP with an enhanced response and highly visible patrol team.

- 7. There are over 30 federal and local law enforcement agencies operating in D.C. Who is running point on coordination efforts for crime that spills over onto the Capitol complex?

USCP is the primary law enforcement agency for crime on Capitol Grounds. We frequently work with allied agencies: MPD, United States Park Police, United States Secret Service, Amtrak Police Department, Metro Transit Police, and the Federal Bureau of Investigations. The USCP has a great working relationship with all of the local agencies.

- 8. How has USCP partnered with the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) to bolster member security?

USCP works daily with MPD and they are our closest law enforcement partner. We assist in patrolling in the USCP extended jurisdiction zone and will respond to nearby calls for service if necessary, especially near Member residences. We have numerous MOUs with MPD to include: participation in the License Plate Reader program and to provide mutual aid. In addition, the USCP now has an officer staffing MPD's real crime center that monitors issues throughout the District. This enable the USCP to get faster information related to crimes occurring in D.C. but outside the USCP's primary law enforcement jurisdiction. Finally, as noted below in response to Minority Question #3, the USCP is also discussing entering into a Memorandum of Agreement with MPD to expand the USCP's law enforcement jurisdiction in D.C.

- a. Can you describe the strength of the relationship between MPD and USCP?

USCP has an excellent relationship with MPD. They were the first law enforcement agency on the scene to provide support to the USCP on January 6. In addition, we work daily on issues that impact Member security both near the campus and throughout the District. Chief Manger and Chief Pamela Smith are in regular contact about a host of issues and their staff also have strong relationships as well.

- b. How does MPD coordinate with USCP on crime that spills over onto the Capitol complex?

The USCP and MPD coordinate when crime spills onto the Capitol complex, if needed. MPD has statutory authority to handle major crimes would they occur on the Capitol complex, such as homicide or sexual assault. Otherwise, USCP would be the lead agency. For big events that occur on Capitol Grounds, MPD usually puts a representative in the USCP Command Center to assist with coordination between the two departments. In addition, the USCP has a representative in the D.C. real time crime center.

9. How does USCP coordinate with local police departments within member districts to help ensure their safety when the member is in their home district?

When notified of an event in a Member's district or an issue at a Member's residence, the USCP Protective Services Bureau will reach out to the local law enforcement agency and work with that agency to determine if the agency can provide coverage for the event or to provide coverage at a Member's residence. If a local law enforcement agency cannot assist, due to manpower restraints or is unwilling, the Department will reach out to other agencies in the area to determine if coverage can be provided. One of the tools that the USCP has is the ability to enter into MOUs with local law enforcement agencies to provide coverage on a reimbursable basis. This is a vital tool in keeping Members safe in their districts. At the present time we have 45 MOUs with local law enforcement agencies and the number keeps growing. There are other actions that USCP can take that will assist in keeping Members and their families safe in the district, such as conducting security awareness briefings for the Member, the Member's family and their staff, having the local law enforcement agencies flag the Member's address in their computer aided dispatch system (CAD) system so that if there is a call to respond to the address, the officers know it is a Member's residence and then can respond accordingly. Also, the USCP can conduct a residential security assessment and the Member can work with the Office of the Sergeant at Arms to provide a residential or district office security system.

Minority Questions for the Record

1. According to the FBI, crime in the U.S. declined significantly in 2023, continuing a post-COVID-19 pandemic trend and contradicting perceptions that crime is rising nationwide. Data for the fourth quarter of 2023 was released on the eve of this hearing and includes a 13% decline in murder in 2023 from 2022 a 6% decline in reported violent crime and a 4% decline in reported property crime. Unfortunately, the District of Columbia has been an outlier to this favorable trend. While year to date crime (i.e., crimes committed during the same period of time in 2023 and 2024) is down in the first quarter of 2024, the District and its residents continued to experience high crime rates in 2023.

- a. To what do you attribute the District of Columbia's outlier status?

Unfortunately, there is a lack of support for public safety by some local elected officials on the District Council. There is also a failure to hold dangerous offenders in jail while awaiting trial, for which they may never appear.

- b. To what do you attribute falling crime rates nationwide?

There are two main reasons that I believe there are falling crime rates nationwide. The first being that advances in technology assist criminal investigators. This gives law enforcement new tools to help solve crimes. Second, public support for local law enforcement agencies goes a long way in the police getting leads to solve crimes. The public needs to be able to speak freely to police without the fear of retaliation and trust that the police will do their job in a professional manner.

- c. Are there recent innovations from other large cities could the District of Columbia should emulate?

MPD Chief Pam Smith has implemented a number of new initiatives which I believe will favorably impact the crime rate. This includes the creation of MPD's Real Time Crime Center.

- d. While there is still work to be done to improve public safety in DC, the year to date decrease in crime in 2024 appears to be a step in the right direction.
 - i. Do the statistics showing a decrease in crime in DC during the first quarter of 2024 align with your observations as Chief of the U.S. Capitol Police?

Yes.

- ii. To what do you attribute this modest 2024 decline in crime?

Recognition by judges and elected officials that dangerous offenders need to be held in jail and police continuing to make the effort while not always getting adequate support or funding. Also, the public working with law enforcement to curtail crime in their neighborhoods greatly help the decline.

- 2. Several Members of Congress, as well as staff, have been victims of violent crime while away from the Capitol campus.

- a. What guidance would you give to Members and staff trying to keep themselves and their property safe?

Members and staff should always be aware of their surroundings and what activity is going on around them. Request escorts and assistance from USCP when on Capitol grounds. Keep the phone number of the USCP 24 hour Command Center in your phone, 202-224-0908.

- b. If someone calls 911 from a building or neighborhood containing many Members or staff do the Metropolitan Police alert you?

USCP monitors MPD's radio channels, so we hear all calls that are dispatched. MPD typically alerts us if they discover a Member of Congress is involved in a call for service.

- 3. During your testimony you announced that the Capitol Police and Metropolitan Police Department are working towards a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) that would broaden the scope of USCP's Extended Jurisdiction Zone (EJZ) to Congressional events.

- a. What specific conditions would trigger the expansion of the EJZ?

Pursuant to D.C. Code §4192, "Cooperative Agreements Between Federal Agencies and Metropolitan Police Department," and the provisions of the "Federal Law Enforcement Officer Cooperation Act of 1999," see D.C. Law 13-100, 47 D.C. Reg. 74 (2-11-2000), the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) has the authority to grant full law enforcement authority to federal law enforcement agencies. That grant is subject to an MOA that the USCP and MPD would enter into. Depending on the terms of the MOA, that authority is likely to be without qualification and is typically defined by a set area where MPD gives the USCP full concurrent law enforcement authority with MPD.

- b. Would MPD have decision-making authority over when the MOA applies on a case-by-case basis?

Although the terms of the MOA are still being negotiated, decision-making authority by MPD on a case-by-case basis is not a typical agreement term and the USCP would be unlikely to agree to such a provision.

- c. What controls will you have in place to prevent so-called “mission creep” and prevent USCP personnel and resources from becoming stretched too thin?

Once the terms of the MOA have been finalized, the USCP will draft a policy that sets forth how the expanded jurisdiction is to be handled. The main reason for the request to MPD for the MOA is to permit the USCP to provide greater Member protection in D.C. and not to increase the USCP’s patrol responsibilities.

- 4. You said that taking M4 style ghost guns, assault rifles, and high-capacity magazines out of the wrong hands would make streets safer, and that any officer is safer when there’s fewer guns around.
 - a. What strategies or partnerships would you recommend disrupting the supply of illegal guns in DC?

The USCP and MPD should create strategic partnerships with ATF on Domestic Firearms Trafficking investigations and with Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) for transnational firearms trafficking investigations that involve DC recovered firearms. USCP should join any firearms trafficking case in any state involving a threat to a Member of Congress. The Department currently has Special AUSAs who are looking into handling such cases.

- b. What measures can Congress take to prevent the proliferation of ghost guns?

Continued support for the Legislation entitled Ghost Guns and Untraceable Firearms Act which classifies Ghost Guns as “Firearms” and are subject to serialization and registration in applicable states.

- c. How would the legalization of “concealed carry” impact the safety of Capitol Police officers, MPD officers, and DC residents?

Expanding out of state concealed carry authority to visitors, tourists, etc in the Nation’s Capital would allow the introduction of firearms into a city that has a multitude of federal lands and buildings where firearms are not allowed. The city experiences a high volume of 1st Amendment assemblies where opposing sides of a debate often converge. Having citizens armed during these gatherings would could be potentially dangerous and intimidating to those looking to exercise their rights to free speech. The Department

believes that the current statutes and regulations generally prohibiting all firearms on Capitol Grounds are appropriate.

5. In your years as a law enforcement officer in Maryland and Virginia, you observed that firearms purchased in the state “make their way to a lot of places.”
 - a. In your experience, which states are the main sources of crime guns in DC?

The top source state for DC guns has been Virginia. Followed by Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. (ATF keeps firearms trafficking data on their public website at www.atf.gov).

The District of Columbia does not have any gun stores that sell firearms. There are Federal Firearms Licensees (FFL) that facilitate firearms transactions for DC residents that buy from gun stores from outside the District. The majority of firearms recovered in DC were legally purchased or illegally straw purchased which requires additional investigation.

- b. What federal assistance do police receive from the ATF to help trace and recover these firearms?

ATF is the primary agency tasked with the investigation of federal firearms trafficking offenses. The host task forces with federal, state and local law enforcement agencies to work cases together. ATF also operates the National Tracing Center (NTC) which traces all firearms recovered by police and are submitted for tracing.

6. One of the most significant challenges facing the Metropolitan Police is the officer shortage. The Capitol Police has also faced an officer shortage crisis. While there is still work to be done, you have recently made great strides in filling out your ranks. To what do you attribute your success and what advice do you have for MPD?

Through Congressional support, our starting salary is very competitive with other agencies in the region. The USCP enjoys widespread community support which is not true for some other nearby agencies. Retention bonuses have drastically reduced our attrition rate compared to 2021. The Capitol Police Board waiving raising the mandatory retirement age from 57 to 60 has had a positive impact. Changing legislation to mirror a provision that the FBI had for a period by raising the retirement age to 65 would have an even better positive impact. Bottom line-USCP employees enjoy great benefits, good salaries, great Congressional support, high approval from our community and great career enhancement opportunities.

7. The Capitol Police recently began a body worn camera pilot program, primarily for officers working outside. Do you think the use of body worn cameras help improve safety on and near Capitol grounds?

The main benefit to the body worn camera program is increased accountability for the police. However, officers involved in the criminal arrests benefit by having video for the prosecution of the offense and the video can aid in training officers.

8. The Capitol Police face unique challenges in protecting the Capitol campus and the people who work and visit these grounds from across the country. How do crime rates in DC affect the safety of the Capitol campus itself?

The crime rates in the city vary from neighborhood to neighborhood, they always have. Capitol Hill is a safe neighborhood with a fairly low crime rate. However, crime does occur in every neighborhood. The Capitol campus, largely due to USCP presence, has very little violent crime, and low crime numbers in general.

9. Thus far, how many individuals have been charged and convicted of crimes based on conduct on or around the Capitol campus on January 6, 2021?

As of May 6, 2024, approximately 1,400 defendants have been charged and/or arrested for January 6th crimes. Of those 1,400, approximately 800 have plead guilty and nearly 180 have been convicted at trial.

**Committee on House Administration:
Full Committee Hearing
Safety on Capitol Hill: DC Crime's Impact on Congressional Operations and Visitors
March 21, 2023**

Questions for Mr. Rafael Mangual, Manhattan Institute, Nick Ohnell Fellow

Minority Questions for the Record

1. In your recent book, "Criminal (In)Justice," you advocate for a return to "traditional crime control policies." **How do you define "traditional crime control policies?"**

By "traditional," I mean approaches to crime control centered around policing, prosecution, and incarceration.

2. Gun trafficking is a significant factor contributing to violent crime in DC, with many illegal firearms flowing into the city from other states. From 2017-2021 the ATF traced 3,966 recovered firearms to sources in Virginia and Maryland, accounting for 70% of all traced crime guns in DC. **How does the flow of illegal guns into the District of Columbia contribute to violent crime and how would the "traditional crime control policies" for which you advocate address illegal firearms trafficking?**

It strikes me as completely unsurprising that a significant share of traced crime guns were traced to the two states that border Washington, D.C., which, according to the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Police website, contains just two Federal Firearms License Dealers (FFLs).¹ To my mind, the flow of firearms into D.C. for the purpose of being used in crimes is a byproduct of the demand for such illegal firearms. That demand is the true driver of violence within the District. The traditional crime control measures that would address illegal firearms trafficking include identifying, arresting, prosecuting, and incarcerating dealers and straw purchasers, as well as bringing both criminal and civil actions against firearms dealers who knowingly sell firearms to prohibited possessors. However, to the extent that the goal is to reduce gun violence within the District, what should be prioritized is the targeted, intelligence- and data-driven policing of the areas in which gun violence is concentrated with an eye toward identifying, arresting, prosecuting, and incarcerating those driving the shootings in a given area. For a strong example of the potential benefits of such a strategy, see the July, 2021 evaluation of New York City's "precision policing" initiative published in the Journal of Policy Analysis and Management,² which found an approximately 33% decline in shootings in and around public housing communities in the year following a "gang takedown."

3. According to Everytown for Gun Safety, 71% of crime guns recovered in DC originated in states without a background check law. **How do lax regulations on gun purchases in certain states, such as a lack of a background check requirement, facilitate firearms trafficking?**

¹ <https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/authorized-dc-ffl-dealers>.

² <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/pam.22323>

I don't find this statistic particularly compelling in light of the available evidence on how criminal offenders who used firearms in the commission of their crimes report acquiring the firearms they used. One of the most recent surveys on this front was published in 2019 by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, which showed that 81% of such offenders either stole (6%), found (7%), purchased from the underground market (43%), or obtained it from a family member or friend, or as a gift (25%).³ None of these methods of acquisition would be affected by the passage of a background check law. Nor would such laws prevent a straw purchaser with a clean record from acquiring a firearm that is later sold illegally.

4. You testified that the District Columbia needs to address its gaps in policing and prosecution. **Can you expand on what you believe these gaps are and your views on how best to fill them?**

The gaps referred to in my testimony were the low police staffing levels and U.S. Attorney's declination rate. As for how to best fill them, my suggestion would be to invest in both better pay (beyond bonuses already being offered) and undertake an aggressive recruitment campaign. However, I suspect that part of what may be driving recruitment and retention issues—at least in part—is the impression on the part of D.C. cops and potential recruits that they are not (and will not soon be) appreciated or given a fair shake by those in the media or the city's political leadership. For that, there is no policy prescription. As for the declination issue, the answer is simple: The U.S. Attorney must bring more of the cases presented by the police department.

³ <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/suficspi16.pdf>