

Judd Gregg's Incomprehensible Votes on Terrorism and Homeland Security

Senator Gregg has regularly voted against increasing funding for homeland security, including funding for first responders, port and aviation security, the protection of chemical production facilities, and increased security along the United States-Canadian border.

Votes Against Increasing Homeland Security Funding:

Senator Gregg, on July 23, 2003, voted against the Schumer amendment to H.R.2555, which provided \$200 million to improve security along the United States-Canadian border. (Senate Vote 298, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on July 23, 2003, voted against the Corzine amendment to H.R.2555, which provided \$80 million for the Office of the Undersecretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection for chemical facility security. (Senate Vote 297, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on July 23, 2003, voted against the Mikulski amendment to H.R.2555, to increase funding for firefighter assistance grants. (Senate Vote 296, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on July 24, 2003, voted against the Dodd amendment, to increase funding for police, firefighters and other state and local emergency personnel. (Senate Vote 299, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on July 22, 2003, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.R.2555 to increase overall homeland security spending for port and border security, aviation security, maritime and land transportation security, the Coast Guard, the Office of Domestic Preparedness, and for information analysis and infrastructure protection. (Senate Vote 291, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on April 3, 2003, voted to kill the Breaux amendment to S.762, to increase counterterrorism spending for the Coast Guard, the Customs Service and border protection, the Transportation Security Administration, and the FBI. (Senate Vote 119, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on July 24, 2003, voted against the Specter amendment to H.R.2555, which was

an amendment to increase funding for improving security in high threat urban areas. (Senate Vote 301, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on July 24, 2003, voted against the Schumer amendment to H.R.2555, which was an amendment to increase funding to improve security in high-threat urban areas, with the funds offset by decreasing the allocation for the Office of the Undersecretary of Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection and by decreasing the allocation for science, technology, research and development. (Senate Vote 302, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on April 3, 2003, voted to kill the Byrd amendment to S.762, which was an amendment to appropriate \$1.13 billion on homeland security spending, including spending on port security and mass transit security. (Senate Vote 120, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on March 21, 2003, voted against the Clinton amendment to S.Con.Res.23, to increase homeland security funding by \$3.5 billion, with the \$3.5 billion offset by a reduction in high-income tax cuts in the resolution. (Senate Vote 73, 2003)

The above vote clarifies Senator Gregg's priorities.

Senator Gregg, on March 21, 2003, voted against the Schumer amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to increase funding for homeland security by \$88 billion over ten years. (Senate Vote 65, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on January 16, 2003, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.J.Res.2, to increase funding for homeland security by \$5 billion, including \$1.4 billion in grants for state and local governments. (Senate Vote 2, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on January 16, 2003, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.J.Res.2, which was an amendment to increase funding by \$3.0 billion for homeland security, including \$750 million for border security, \$200 million for security at nuclear facilities, \$850 million for smallpox vaccinations for first responders, \$200 million to improve communication between first responder agencies, \$1.1 billion for aviation security, and \$100 million for the FEMA. (Senate Vote 3, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on March 21, 2003, voted against the Lautenberg amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to create a \$103.5 billion homeland security and national defense reserve fund, with the \$103.5 billion offset by a reduction in tax cuts in the resolution. (Senate Vote 68, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on April 2, 2003, voted against the Hollings amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to add \$1 billion for port security. (Senate Vote 115, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on March 25, 2003, voted against the alternative to S.Con.Res.23, which was an effort to reduce the size of the tax cut in the resolution by \$1.24 trillion, and increase domestic spending in many areas, including an \$80 billion increase in homeland security spending. (Senate Vote 83, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on December 6, 2001, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.R.3338, which included \$7.5 billion in emergency funds for homeland defense programs. (Senate Vote 354, 2001)

Senator Gregg, on December 6, 2001, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.R.3338, which included \$7.5 billion in emergency recovery funds for areas in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania that were directly affected by the attacks on September 11, 2001. (Senate Vote 355, 2001)

Senator Gregg, on March 13, 2003, voted in the Senate Budget Committee against the Murray amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to increase the amount of homeland security funding for FEMA to use for first responder training and equipment. (Senate Budget Committee Markup of S.Con.Res.23, 03/13/03)

Senator Gregg, on April 3, 2003, was one of 32 senators who voted against the Specter amendment to S.762, which was an amendment to increase spending for first responders in high-risk urban areas by \$500 million, and cut by \$300 million grants from the Office of Domestic Preparedness. John McCain voted for the Specter amendment. (Senate Vote 122, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on March 21, 2003, voted against the Schumer amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to appropriate \$2.33 billion

for first responders in states and localities. (Senate Vote 123, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on March 25, 2003, voted against the Leahy amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to increase spending for fire departments and other first responders by \$3 billion and provide another \$3 billion for deficit reduction, with the \$6 billion offset by a reduction in tax cuts in the resolution. (Senate Vote 88, 2003) Senator Gregg, on March 25, 2003, voted against the Dodd amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to increase funding for fire department personnel and equipment by \$17.5 billion over 10 years, with the funding offset by a reduction in tax cuts in the resolution. (Senate Vote 91, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on March 25, 2003, voted against the Clinton amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which was an amendment to increase funding for first responders by \$3.5 billion over two years, increase funding by \$1.05 billion for Byrne Grants and Local Law Enforcement Block Grants over two years, and provide \$4.5 billion for deficit reduction, with the funds offset by a reduction in tax cuts in the resolution. (Senate Vote 92, 2003)

Senator Gregg, on June 19, 2003, voted in the Senate Appropriations Committee against the Byrd amendment, which was an amendment to raise the Fiscal Year 2004 budget cap by \$5.6 billion and offset it by reducing tax cuts for millionaires in the recently enacted tax law (PL 108-27). The amendment would use the savings from the reduced tax cuts for millionaires to add \$2.86 billion to the Labor, Health and Human Services (HHS) and Education allocation, \$1.8 billion to the VA-HUD allocation and \$909 million to the Homeland Security allocation in the appropriations process. (Senate Appropriations Committee on 302(b) Fiscal Year 2004 Allocations, 06/19/03)

Senator Gregg opposed an attempt in 2001 to increase anti-terrorism funding \$3 billion. "Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, S.D., is pushing for \$3 billion in new spending on bioterrorism as part of the broader \$20 billion homeland security proposal assembled by Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va." "But Sen. Senator Gregg, R-N.H., ranking HELP member, said Republicans oppose that effort. Congress should include money to fight bioterrorism within the

parameters of the \$40 billion emergency spending law enacted after the Sept. 11 attacks (HR 2888 -- PL 107-38), he said."

"Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott, Miss., said bio-terrorism legislation should be one of lawmakers' top priorities before adjourning but he agreed with Gregg that Congress should not add any more emergency spending to pay for it. 'We shall not allow ourselves to use September 11th as an excuse to bust the budget,' he said." (*Congressional Quarterly Daily Monitor*, 11/06/01)

On the bright side: Senator Gregg, on March 21, 2003, voted for the Cochran amendment to S.Con.Res.23, which increased funding for homeland security by \$3.5 billion. The amendment passed 97 to 0. (Senate Vote 66, 2003)

Senator Gregg, in 2003, voted against increasing funding for bio-terrorism training for first responders who will be called upon if there is a biological weapons attack within the United States.

Senator Gregg, on September 5, 2003, voted against an amendment to H.R.2660, which was an amendment to increase funding by \$93.2 million to train members of the bio-terrorism workforce, including funding "to double the number of outbreak specialists in the Epidemic Intelligence Service," in accordance with the recommendation of the Center for Disease Control's National Advisory Committee on Children and Terrorism. "These EIS specialists are dispatched to respond to epidemics and bio-terrorism." (Senate Vote 328, 2003, and Hillary Clinton, Floor Statement, 09/05/03)

In fact, when Bill Frist and Ted Kennedy introduced a \$3.2 billion bio-terrorism bill on November 15, 2001, Senator Gregg opposed it, claiming that \$3.2 billion was too much money. "A spokeswoman for Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee ranking member Senator Gregg, R-N.H., who did not attend the news conference to unveil the measure...said the \$3.2 billion total is too high. 'The White House and Gregg have one number, and Kennedy and Frist have another number,' she said." "But the Gregg aide stressed that the senator does not have problems with the bill's contents. 'On policy, people are all on the same page,' she

said." (*National Journal's CongressDaily*, 11/16/01)

"The last sticking point is cost, not policy, Gregg told reporters in New Hampshire in a conference call. 'All the policy issues have been resolved,' he said." (*The Associated Press State & Local Wire*, 11/15/01)

Senator Gregg, in 2001, voted against a \$35 billion antiterrorism package in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the anthrax attacks that followed.

Senator Gregg, on December 7, 2001, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.R.3338, the Fiscal Year 2002 Defense Appropriations bill, which was an amendment to provide \$35 billion to respond to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the anthrax attacks that followed, including \$7.5 billion for homeland defense programs and \$7.5 billion in recovery funds for areas in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania that were directly affected by the attacks on September 11, 2001. (Senate Vote 357, 2001)

The amendment was defeated 50 to 50. "Eager to keep their stamp on the government's response to the Sept. 11 attacks, Democrats came back hours later with a \$20 billion alternative, the level Bush wanted. That package received preliminary approval from the Senate on a voice vote." (*AP Online*, 12/07/01)

In addition, Senator Gregg, on December 6, 2001, voted against the Byrd amendment to H.R.3338, which included \$7.5 billion in emergency funds for homeland defense programs. (Senate Vote 354, 2001)

Senator Gregg, on December 6, 2001, also voted against the Byrd amendment to H.R.3338, which included \$7.5 billion in emergency recovery funds for areas in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania that were directly affected by the attacks on September 11, 2001. (Senate Vote 355, 2001)

On the bright side: Back in 1996, Senator Gregg sponsored an amendment in the Commerce, Justice and State (CJS) Appropriations Subcommittee to double counterterrorism funding. The amendment passed by voice vote on July 30, 1996. (CJS Appropriations

Senator Gregg voted against funding for the development and deployment of technology to protect commercial aircraft from terrorists using shoulder-mounted surface-to-air missiles.

Senator Gregg, on April 3, 2003, voted against the Boxer amendment to S.762, which was an amendment to appropriate \$30 million for research, development, and the deployment of technology to protect commercial aircraft from terrorist attacks from shoulder-mounted surface-to-air missiles. (Senate Vote 117, 2003)

Senator Gregg voted against increasing funding for research on improving explosive detection devices and port security technologies.

Senator Gregg, on July 23, 2003, voted against the Schumer amendment to H.R.2555, which was an amendment to increase funding for research and development on transportation security to \$200 million, with \$45 million earmarked for development of explosive detection devices and \$70 million earmarked for grants awarded by the secretary of Homeland Security to private and public entities for the development of port security technologies. (Senate Vote 295, 2003)

Senator Gregg voted against increased funding for terrorism related emergency management planning grants for state and local governments.

Senator Gregg, on July 23, 2003, voted against the Murray amendment to H.R.2555, which was an amendment to increase funding for emergency management planning grants for state and local governments by \$100 million in Fiscal Year 2004. (Senate Vote 293, 2003)

Senator Gregg voted to provide \$15 billion in relief for airlines after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, yet he voted against authorizing \$1.9 billion over two years to extend unemployment, job training, and health benefits to aviation industry workers displaced as a result of the attacks.

Senator Gregg, on September 21, 2001, was one of 96 senators who voted for S.1450, which was a bill to provide \$5 billion in grants and up to \$10 billion in loan guarantees to airlines to compensate for losses incurred as a result of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The bill also would create a federal board to review how the loan guarantees are handled, establish a victims' compensation fund to compensate victims killed or injured in the attacks, or their survivors, and limit the airlines' liability for damages related to the attacks to the amount of insurance coverage they had for such incidents. (Senate Vote 284, 2001)

However, Senator Gregg, on October 11, 2001, voted against cloture on the Carnahan amendment to S.1447, which was an amendment to authorize \$1.9 billion over two years to extend unemployment, job-training, and health benefits to aviation industry workers displaced as a result of the attacks. There was no floor vote on the Carnahan amendment to S.1447 because this cloture vote failed, so the vote against cloture was the equivalent of a vote against passage of the amendment. (Senate Vote 293, 2001)

Senator Gregg voted against allowing the attorney general to request aid from the military if there is a biological or chemical weapons attack by terrorists.

Senator Gregg, on April 16, 1996, voted against the Biden motion to recommit S.735 to the conference committee with instructions to report it back with an amendment to allow the attorney general to request military aid in cases involving biological and chemical weapons. Proponents of the amendment argued that the military has the capability to counter these weapons. They have the training and equipment to detect, suppress, and contain these materials, while local police and fire departments do not. (Senate Vote 62, 1996)

Senator Gregg, in 1998, inserted a line into an appropriations bill to repeal a provision signed into law in 1996 to require the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to establish strict entry and exit controls at all U.S. borders.

Section 110 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996

"would require strict entry and exit controls at all U.S. borders. Its premise is to crack down on illegal immigrants by keeping track of people who enter the United States legally, and then overstay their visas." (*Maclean's*, 08/03/98)

Section 110 "requires the attorney general to establish an automated entry-exit tracking system at all U.S. land borders to keep tabs on aliens entering or leaving the country." (CQ Committee Coverage, 11/05/97). "Sen. Senator Gregg, R-N.H., added language repealing Section 110 to a must-pass spending bill that will fund commerce, judiciary and State Department programs for the coming year." (*Buffalo News*, 06/27/98) "Senators from several northern states, led by Republican Senator Gregg of New Hampshire, added a one-line provision to repeal Section 110 onto a spending bill and senators passed it by a vote of 99 to 0." (*Maclean's*, 08/03/98)

According to Patrick Leahy, "legislation striking onerous border-crossing requirements moved closer to becoming law...when the U.S. Senate approved an appropriations bill which includes a provision scrapping any increased paperwork demands for Canadians crossing the U.S. border. Included in the funding bill for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State is a provision sponsored by Sen. Senator Gregg, R-N.H., that completely strikes the potentially burdensome provision in the 1996 immigration reform law. The Senate unanimously approved the bill." (Patrick Leahy, Press Release, 07/23/98)

In a dialogue on the Senate floor between Spencer Abraham and Senator Gregg, Senator Gregg said, "we included a repeal of section 110 in the CJS appropriations bill. Section 110 would require a tremendous amount of appropriations for what would be, in my view, almost no tangible benefit. We should be responsible with our appropriations and ensure that federal monies are spent on immigration enforcement efforts that really will be effective, rather than on unintended, untried, and untested systems."

Spencer Abraham then said, "is my understanding correct that the current appropriations legislation before the Congress does not include any funding for implementing entry and exit control at the land borders?" Senator Gregg answered, "that is correct." Spencer Abraham then said, "I would hope that the appropriators will ensure in the future that no money is appropriated for this system until it is

certain that the system will cause no additional delays at the land borders and will not harm American trade, tourism, or other legitimate crossborder traffic in any way. Do you agree?" Senator Gregg answered, "I agree with you entirely on that." (Senator Gregg and Spencer Abraham, Floor Statements, 10/20/98)

Senator Gregg, in 2000, sponsored legislation to repeal a provision requiring INS to set-up a computerized system to track foreign students and those who enter the United States claiming to be students. This computerized system was not in place on September 11, 2001.

Coordinated Interagency Partnership Regulating International Students (CIPRIS) "was an outgrowth of the 1996 federal immigration law passed by Congress, but its roots are in the late 1970s, when the INS had been unable to provide a list of Iranian students in America after the U.S. Embassy was seized in Tehran."

"As envisioned, CIPRIS would load into a computer database information about foreign nationals living in the United States on F-1 student visas and M-1 vocational education visas. That information would include classes in which a student is enrolled, addresses, faculty advisers and overseas addresses. If the person violated the terms of the visa – didn't enroll or stopped going to class, or disappeared from the campus or technical school – the INS would have a real-time record of that."

"CIPRIS had been developed by 1997. Following field tests in the Atlanta INS office in 1999, INS officials were hopeful that the system would soon be online." (*The Houston Chronicle*, 10/07/01) The system was tested at 21 universities in the south, but INS "never fully developed the system because concerns about the program stunted its growth." (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 01/07/02)

"In December 1999, the INS proposed funding the tracking system with a \$95 fee, collected by universities and vocational schools from each foreign student," which led to complaints by politicians, universities, vocational schools, and students from overseas. (*The Houston Chronicle*, 10/07/01)

Senator Gregg, in 2000, sponsored an anti-CIPRIS amendment. "Sponsored by Sen. Senator

Gregg, RN. H., the amendment repealing the CIPRIS is part of the Senate version of the Commerce, Justice and State departments' appropriations bill, H.R. 4690." (*Enrollment Management Report*, 11/13/00) CIPRIS was never implemented. (*The Houston Chronicle*, 10/07/01) "If the computer system had been in place nationwide before Sept. 11, [Thomas] Fischer [former INS Atlanta regional director] said, it might have sounded alarms. One reason is that it was designed to alert the INS when a foreign student failed to show up for class." (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 01/07/02)

Senator Gregg attempted to slip into a large appropriations bill a provision to make it easier for illegals to stay in the United States.

Senator Gregg "inserted into his fiscal 2001 spending bill (HR 4690) a provision that would make it easier for some illegal aliens to stay in the United States while the government processes their applications for permanent residency. A law known as Section 245(i), which expired in November 1997, allowed foreigners who were in line to get green cards but had overstayed their visas to stay in the U.S. while their paperwork was completed. They also had to pay a \$1,000 fine. Since the old law lapsed, these immigrants have been forced to leave their families and U.S. jobs, return to their home countries and wait years to finish the legalization process. Congress included a provision in the fiscal 1998 CJS spending law (PL 105-119) that allowed those who had applications pending as of Jan. 14, 1998, to finish the process without leaving the country. Gregg's provision would restore the law to its pre-1997 state. Anti-immigration lawmakers, including House Judiciary Immigration Subcommittee Chairman Lamar Smith, R-Texas, vehemently oppose restoring 245(i)." (*Congressional Quarterly Daily Monitor*, 07/21/00)

Senator Gregg voted against extending the statute of limitations for terrorists and others who illegally make bombs.

Senator Gregg, on April 17, 1996, voted against the Biden motion to recommit S.735 to the conference committee with instructions to report it back with a provision that increases from three to five years the statute of limitations for violations of the National Firearms Act, which makes it a crime to manufacture sawed-off

shotguns, machine guns, silencers, grenades, and bombs without proper registration. (Senate Vote 64, 1996)

Senator Gregg voted against studying the "marking" of black and smokeless explosive powders to aid law enforcement investigations. Most pipe bombs are made from black and smokeless powders.

Senator Gregg, on September 12, 1996, voted against the Kerry amendment to H.R.3756, which was an amendment to cut \$21.3 million from Internal Revenue Service tax law enforcement efforts and use the savings for a study on the feasibility of tagging and licensing explosive materials, including black and smokeless explosive powders. (Senate Vote 287, 1996)

Senator Gregg voted against making it illegal to distribute information on how to manufacture a bomb, even if the distributor knows that the information will be used in a terrorist attack or other criminal offense.

Senator Gregg, on April 17, 1996, voted against the Biden motion to recommit S.735 to the conference committee with instructions to report it back with a provision to make it illegal to distribute information on how to manufacture a bomb, if the person intends or knows that the information will be used in a criminal offense. (Senate Vote 67, 1996)

Senator Gregg was one of eight senators who voted against creating an independent commission to conduct a broad investigation into intelligence failures and other government missteps before the September 11, 2001, attacks, and recommend how to prevent future terrorist attacks.

The Senate voted "to create an independent commission to conduct a broad investigation into intelligence failures and other government missteps before to the Sept. 11 attacks and recommend how to prevent future disasters." "The Senate voted 90-8 to attach to the Department of Homeland Security bill an amendment authorizing the 10-member commission." John McCain was one of 90 senators to vote for this amendment offered by Joe Lieberman, and Judd Gregg was one of eight senators who voted against this amendment.

(Senate Vote 223, 2002, and *Associated Press Online*, 09/24/02)

Senator Gregg defended this vote by saying, "I feel very strongly that in this instance we know most of what happened." He continued, "we know there were huge failures in the intelligence community, we know that people that were out there who were threatening us were not being properly tracked. I think there are a lot better places to put the money," Gregg said, estimating that the commission will cost \$10 million to \$15 million." (*The Union Leader*, 09/27/02)

(Why were they not being properly tracked? See further above.)

In addition, Senator Gregg, on October 17, 2003, voted against the Corzine amendment to S.1689, which was an amendment to establish a 12-member independent bipartisan commission to examine and report on the role of policymakers in the development and use of intelligence related to Iraq and Operation Iraqi Freedom. (Senate Vote 395, 2003)

Senator Gregg voted against releasing a 28-page section of the congressional report on the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that deals with foreign support for terrorism and supposedly details ties between Saudi Arabia and al Qaida.

Senator Gregg, on October 29, 2003, voted against the Dorgan amendment to H.R.2800, which was an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the president should declassify the 28-page section of the congressional report on the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that deals with foreign support for terrorism and supposedly details ties between Saudi Arabia and al Qaida. (Senate Vote 415, 2003)

More specifically, this was an amendment to "put the Senate on record in favor of declassifying a 28- page chapter of Congress' July report on the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. That portion of the report, which discusses foreign support for terrorism, is said to contain allegations about ties between Saudi Arabia and al Qaida. Many Democrats have called for the chapter's declassification, but Republican lawmakers, backed by the White House, have blocked efforts to make the findings public.

Bob Graham, D-Fla., a cosponsor of the amendment and former chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said, 'Ignorance and secrecy serve no national purpose.' But Intelligence Chairman Pat Roberts, R-Kan., warned that making the material public would endanger intelligence sources, methods and ongoing investigations. Roberts said curious senators can read the chapter. 'If members have a keen interest [in the 28 pages], please come to the committee, and we'll provide you with the information,' he said." (*CQ Today*, 10/29/03)

Senator Gregg voted against eliminating funding for two F-16 aircraft not requested by the military and using the savings for anti-terrorism activities.

Senator Gregg, on July 18, 1996, voted against the Levin amendment to S.1894, which was an amendment to cut \$48 million for two F-16 Air Force fighters that were not requested by the Department of Defense, and transfer the money to anti-terrorism activities at the Department of Defense. John McCain was one of 41 senators who voted for this amendment. (Senate Vote 199, 1996)

This last item gives a clue to Senator Gregg's many otherwise incomprehensible votes. Granny D will connect the dots between his votes and his major contributors in an upcoming speech.