

Executive Actions & Statements related to CRIME:

15 May, 2000	Memorandum on Honoring the Extraordinary Valor of Our Public Safety Officers, for the Attorney General.
25 April, 2000	Remarks on the Proposed Hate Crimes Legislation, The White House.
12 April, 2000	Remarks at a Gun Safety Rally, Denver, CO.
17 March, 2000	Remarks on the Gun Safety Agreement with Smith and Wesson, and an Exchange with Reporters, The White House.
15 October, 1999	Memorandum on the White House Council on Youth Violence, for the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Education, and the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy.
9 June, 1999	Memorandum on Fairness in Law Enforcement: Collection Data, for the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of the Interior.
30 April, 1999	Remarks Announcing Measure to Address School Violence, The White House.
27 April, 1999	Remarks Announcing Proposed Gun Control Legislation, The White House.
22 April, 1999	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Violence in Schools at T.C. Williams High School, Alexandria, VA.
6 April, 1999	Memorandum on Annual Reports on Hate Crimes in Schools and College Campuses, for the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General.
6 April, 1999	Remarks on the Proposed Hate Crimes Prevention Act, The White House.
20 March, 1999	Memorandum on Deterring and Reducing Gun Crime, for the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney General.
13 November, 1998	Remarks on Signing Legislation to Provide Educational Assistance to Families of Slain Officers and Strengthening Penalties for Criminals Using Guns, The White House.
6 November, 1998	Memorandum on Preventing Firearms Sales to Prohibited Purchasers, for the Secretary of The Treasury and the Attorney General.
4 November, 1998	Memorandum on Guidebook for Victims of Domestic Violence, for the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

8 July, 1998	Remarks on Efforts to Promote Gun Safety and Responsibility, The White House.
16 June, 1998	Remarks on Signing the Bulletproof Vest Partnership Grant Act and the Care for Police Survivors Act, the White House.
29 May, 1998	Remarks on the New COPS Pilot Project, The White House.
14 May, 1998	Memorandum on Privacy and Personal Information in Federal Records, for the Heads of Executive Agencies and Departments.
6 April, 1998	Remarks on the Assault Weapons Ban, The White House.
19 March, 1998	Remarks on the Safe Schools Initiative, The White House.
15 November, 1997	Memorandum on Importation of Modified Semiautomatic Assault-Type Rifles for the Secretary of the Treasury.
25 August, 1997	Memorandum on Law Enforcement in Indian Country, for the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Interior
27 June, 1997	Remarks on Signing the Drug-Free Communities Act of 1997, The White House.
11 June, 1997	Memorandum on Enforcing the Youth Handgun Safety Act, for the Secretary of the Treasury.
11 June, 1997	Remarks at the Juvenile Justice Conference, Washington, DC.
5 March, 1997	Memorandum on Child Safety Lock Devices for Handguns, for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies.
19 February, 1997	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Juvenile Crime, Boston, MA.

3 October, 1996	Memorandum on Guidelines for Implementing the Family Violence Provisions, for the Secretary of Health and Human Services and the Attorney General.
23 August, 1996	Remarks Announcing the Final Rule to Protect Youths from Violence.
8 July, 1996	Memorandum on the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative, for the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General.
27 June, 1996	Memorandum on Crime Victims' Rights,

for the Attorney General.

25 June, 1996	Remarks Announcing Support for a Constitutional Amendment on Victim's Rights, the White House.
25 June, 1996	Memorandum on the Development of a National Sexual Offender Registration System, for the Attorney General.
17 May, 1996	Remarks on Signing Meghan's Law and an Exchange with Reporters, The White House.
13 May, 1996	Remarks Announcing Proposed Anti-Gang and Youth Crime Control Legislation, The White House.
21 February, 1996	Remarks on the Unveiling of the Domestic Violence Hotline and an Exchange with Reporters, The White House.
18 December, 1995	Remarks on Signing the Memorandum on Federal Arrestee Drug Testing and an Exchange with reporters.
2 October, 1995	Memorandum on Federal Employee Domestic Violence Awareness Campaign, to Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies
22 October, 1994	Memorandum on Implementation of Safe Schools Legislation, for the Secretary of Education.
13 September , 1994	Remarks on Signing the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, The White House.
28 July, 1994	Remarks on Proposed Anticrime Legislation, Washington, DC.
5 May, 1994	Remarks on Action by the House of Representative on Legislation to Ban Assault Weapons, The White House.
28 February, 1994	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Violence and Crime, Chicago, IL.
11 December, 1993	Radio Address by the President on Crime and Violence. The White House.
11 August, 1993	Memorandum on Importation of Assault Pistols, for the Secretary of the Treasury.
11 August, 1993	Memorandum on Gun Dealer Licensing, for the Secretary of the Treasury.
11 August, 1993	Remarks by the President on the announcement of the Anti-Crime Initiative, The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1993

REMARKS TO THE CONVOCATION OF THE CHURCH
OF GOD IN CHRIST IN MEMPHIS

November 13, 1993

11:51 A.M.

Thank you. Please sit down. Bishop Ford, Mrs. Mason, Bishop Owens, and Bishop Anderson; my bishops, Bishop Walker and Bishop Lindsey. Now, if you haven't had Bishop Lindsey's barbecue, you haven't had barbecue. And if you haven't heard Bishop Walker attack one of my opponents, you have never heard a political speech. [Laughter]

I am glad to be here. You have touched my heart. You've brought tears to my eyes and joy to my spirit. Last year I was with you over at the convention center. Two years ago your bishops came to Arkansas, and we laid a plaque at the point in Little Rock, Arkansas, at 8th and Gaines, where Bishop Mason received the inspiration for the name of this great church. Bishop Brooks said from his pulpit that I would be elected President when most people thought I wouldn't survive. I thank him, and I thank your faith, and I thank your works, for without you I would not be here today as your President.

Many have spoken eloquently and well, and many have been introduced. I want to thank my good friend Governor McWherter and my friend Mayor Herenton for being with me today; my friend Congressman Harold Ford, we are glad to be in his congressional district. I would like to, if I might, introduce just three other people who are Members of the Congress. They have come here with me, and without them it's hard for me to do much for you. The President proposes and the Congress disposes. Sometimes they dispose of what I propose, but I'm happy to say that according to a recent report in Washington, notwithstanding what you may have heard, this Congress has given me a higher percentage of my proposals than any first-year President since President Eisenhower. And I thank them for that. Let me introduce my good friend, a visitor to Tennessee, Congressman Bill Jefferson from New Orleans, Louisiana --please stand up; and an early supporter of my campaign, Congressman Bob Clement from Tennessee, known to many of you; and a young man who's going to be coming back to the people of Tennessee and asking them to give him a promotion next year, Congressman Jim Cooper from Tennessee, and a good friend. Please welcome him.

You know, in the last 10 months, I've been called a lot of things, but nobody's called me a bishop yet. [Laughter] When I was about 9 years old, my beloved and now departed grandmother, who was a very wise woman, looked at me and she said, "You know, I believe you could be a preacher if you were just a little better boy." [Laughter]

Proverbs says, "A happy heart doeth good like medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth the bone." This is a happy place, and I'm happy to be here. I thank you for your spirit.

By the grace of God and your help, last year I was elected President of this great country. I never dreamed that I would ever have a chance to come to this hallowed place where Martin Luther King gave his last sermon. I ask you to think today about the purpose for which I ran and the purpose for which so many of you worked to put me in this great office. I have worked hard to keep faith with our common efforts:

to restore the economy, to reverse the politics of helping only those at the top of our totem pole and not the hard-working middle class or the poor; to bring our people together across racial and regional and political lines, to make a strength out of our diversity instead of letting it tear us apart; to reward work and family and community and try to move us forward into the 21st century. I have tried to keep faith.

Thirteen percent of all my Presidential appointments are African-Americans, and there are five African-Americans in the cabinet of the United States, 2 1/2 times as many as have ever served in the history of this great land. I have sought to advance the right to vote with the motor voter bill, supported so strongly by all the churches in our country. And next week it will be my great honor to sign the restoration of religious freedoms act, a bill supported widely by people across all religions and political philosophies to put back the real meaning of the Constitution, to give you and every other American the freedom to do what is most important in your life, to worship God as your spirit leads you.

I say to you, my fellow Americans, we have made a good beginning. Inflation is down. Interest rates are down. The deficit is down. Investment is up. Millions of Americans, including, I bet, some people in this room, have refinanced their homes or their business loans just in the last year. And in the last 10 months, this economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous 4 years.

We have passed a law called the family leave law, which says you can't be fired if you take a little time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. We know that most Americans have to work, but you ought not to have to give up being a good parent just to take a job. If you can't succeed as a worker and a parent, this country can't make it.

We have radically reformed the college loan program, as I promised, to lower the cost of college loans and broaden the availability of it and make the repayment terms easier. And we have passed the national service law that will give in 3 years, 3 years from now, 100,000 young Americans the chance to serve their communities at home, to repair the frayed bonds of community, to build up the needs of people at the grassroots, and at the same time, earn some money to pay for a college education. It is a wonderful idea.

On April 15th when people pay their taxes, somewhere between 15 million and 18 million working families on modest incomes, families with children and incomes of under \$23,000, will get a tax cut, not a tax increase, in the most important effort to ensure that we reward work and family in the last 20 years. Fifty million American parents and their children will be advantaged by putting the Tax Code back on the side of working American parents for a change.

Under the leadership of the First Lady, we have produced a comprehensive plan to guarantee health care security to all Americans. How can we expect the American people to work and to live with all the changes in a global economy, where the average 18-year-old will change work seven times in a lifetime, unless we can simply say we have joined the ranks of all the other advanced countries in the world, you can have decent health care that's always there, that can never be taken away? It is time we did that, long past time. I ask you to help its achieve that.

But we have so much more to do. You and I know that most people are still working harder for the same or lower wages, that many people are afraid that their job will go away. We have to provide the education and training our people need, not just for our children but for our adults, too. If we cannot close this country up to the forces of change

sweeping throughout the world, we have to at least guarantee people the security of being employable. They have to be able to get a new job if they're going to have to get a new job. We don't do that today, and we must, and we intend to proceed until that is done.

We have a guarantee that there will be some investment in those areas of our country, in the inner cities and in the destitute rural areas in the Mississippi Delta, of my home State and this State and Louisiana and Mississippi and other places like it throughout America. It's all very well to train people, but if they don't have a job, they can be trained for nothing. We must get investment into those places where the people are dying for work.

And finally, let me say, we must find people who will buy what we have to produce. We are the most productive people on Earth. That makes us proud. But what that means is that every year one person can produce more in the same amount of time. Now, if fewer and fewer people can produce more and more things, and yet you want to create more jobs and raise people's incomes, you have to have more customers for what it is you're making. And that is why I have worked so hard to sell more American products around the world; why I have asked that we be able to sell billions of dollars of computers we used not to sell to foreign countries and foreign interests, to put our people to work; why next week I am going all the way to Washington State to meet with the President of China and the Prime Minister of Japan and the heads of 13 other Asian countries, the fastest growing part of the world, to say, "We want to be your partners. We will buy your goods, but we want you to buy ours, too, if you please." That is why.

That is why I have worked so hard for this North American trade agreement that Congressman Ford endorsed today and Congressman Jefferson endorsed and Congressman Cooper and Congressman Clement, because we know that Americans can compete and win only if people will buy what it is we have to sell. There are 90 million people in Mexico. Seventy cents of every dollar they spend on foreign goods, they spend on American goods.

People worry fairly about people shutting down plants in America and going not just to Mexico but to any place where the labor is cheap. It has happened. What I want to say to you, my fellow Americans, is nothing in this agreement makes that more likely. That has happened already. It may happen again. What we need to do is keep the jobs here by finding customers there. That's what this agreement does. It gives us a chance to create opportunity for people. I have friends in this audience, people who are ministers from my State, fathers and sons, people -- I've looked out all over this vast crowd and I see people I've known for years. They know I spent my whole life working to create jobs. I would never knowingly do anything that would take a job away from the American people. This agreement will make more jobs. Now, we can also leave it if it doesn't work in 6 months. But if we don't take it, we'll lose it forever. We need to take it, because we have to do better.

But I guess what I really want to say to you today, my fellow Americans, is that we can do all of this and still fail unless we meet the great crisis of the spirit that is gripping America today.

When I leave you, Congressman Ford and I are going to a Baptist church near here to a town meeting he's having on health care and violence. I tell you, unless we do something about crime and violence and drugs that is ravaging the community, we will not be able to repair this country.

If Martin Luther King, who said, "Like Moses, I am on the mountaintop, and I can see the promised land, but I'm not going to be able to get there with you, but we will get there" -- if he were to

reappear by my side today and give us a report card on the last 25 years, what would he say? You did a good job, he would say, voting and electing people who formerly were not electable because of the color of their skin. You have more political power, and that is good. You did a good job, he would say, letting people who have the ability to do so live wherever they want to live, go wherever they want to go in this great country. You did a good job, he would say, elevating people of color into the ranks of the United States Armed Forces to the very top or into the very top of our Government. You did a very good job, he would say. He would say, you did a good job creating a black middle class of people who really are doing well, and the middle class is growing more among African-Americans than among non-African-Americans. You did a good job; you did a good job in opening opportunity.

But he would say, I did not live and die to see the American family destroyed. I did not live and die to see 13-year-old boys get automatic weapons and gun down 9-year-olds just for the kick of it. I did not live and die to see young people destroy their own lives with drugs and then build fortunes destroying the lives of others. That is not what I came here to do. I fought for freedom, he would say, but not for the freedom of people to kill each other with reckless abandon, not for the freedom of children to have children and the fathers of the children walk away from them and abandon them as if they don't amount to anything. I fought for people to have the right to work but not to have whole communities and people abandoned. This is not what I lived and died for.

My fellow Americans, he would say, I fought to stop white people from being so filled with hate that they would wreak violence on black people. I did not fight for the right of black people to murder other black people with reckless abandon.

The other day the Mayor of Baltimore, a dear friend of mine, told me a story of visiting the family of a young man who had been killed -- 18 years old -- on Halloween. He always went out with little bitty kids so they could trick--or--treat safely. And across the street from where they were walking on Halloween, a 14-year-old boy gave a 13-year-old boy a gun and dared him to shoot the 18-year-old boy, and he shot him dead. And the Mayor had to visit the family.

In Washington, DC, where I live, your Na-tion's Capital, the symbol of freedom throughout the world, look how that freedom is being exercised. The other night a man came along the street and grabbed a 1-year-old child and put the child in his car. The child may have been the child of the man. And two people were after him, and they chased him in the car, and they just kept shooting with reckless abandon, knowing that baby was in the car. And they shot the man dead, and a bullet went through his body into the baby's body, and blew the little bootie off the child's foot.

The other day on the front page of our paper, the Nation's Capital, are we talking about world peace or world conflict? No, big article on the front page of the Washington Post about an 11-year-old child planning her funeral: "These are the hymns I want sung. This is the dress I want to wear. I know I'm not going to live very long." That is not the freedom, the freedom to die before you're a teenager is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for.

More than 37,000 people die from gunshot wounds in this country every year. Gunfire is the leading cause of death in young men. And now that we've all gotten so cool that everybody can get a semiautomatic weapon, a person shot now is 3 times more likely to die than 15 years ago, because they're likely to have three bullets in them. A hundred and sixty thousand children stay home from school every day because they are scared they will be hurt in their schools.

The other day I was in California at a town meeting, and a handsome young man stood up and said, "Mr. President, my brother and I, we don't belong to gangs. We don't have guns. We don't do drugs. We want to go to school. We want to be professionals. We want to work hard. We want to do well. We want to have families. And we changed our school because the school we were in was so dangerous. So when we showed up to the new school to register, my brother and I were standing in line and somebody ran into the school and started shooting a gun. My brother was shot down standing right in front of me at the safer school." The freedom to do that kind of thing is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for, not what people gathered in this hallowed church for the night before he was assassinated in April of 1968. If you had told anybody who was here in that church on that night that we would abuse our freedom in that way, they would have found it hard to believe. And I tell you, it is our moral duty to turn it around.

And now I think finally we have a chance. Finally, I think, we have a chance. We have a pastor here from New Haven, Connecticut. I was in his church with Reverend Jackson when I was running for President on a snowy day in Connecticut to mourn the death of children who had been killed in that city. And afterward we walked down the street for more than a mile in the snow. Then, the American people were not ready. People would say, "Oh, this is a terrible thing, but what can we do about it?"

Now when we read that foreign visitors come to our shores and are killed at random in our fine State of Florida, when we see our children planning their funerals, when the American people are finally coming to grips with the accumulated weight of crime and violence and the breakdown of family and community and the increase in drugs and the decrease in jobs, I think finally we may be ready to do something about it.

And there is something for each of us to do. There are changes we can make from the outside in; that's the job of the President and the Congress and the Governors and the mayors and the social service agencies. And then there's some changes we're going to have to make from the inside out, or the others won't matter. That's what that magnificent song was about, isn't it? Sometimes there are no answers from the outside in; sometimes all the answers have to come from the values and the stirrings and the voices that speak to us from within.

So we are beginning. We are trying to pass a bill to make our people safer, to put another 100,000 police officers on the street, to provide boot camps instead of prisons for young people who can still be rescued, to provide more safety in our schools, to restrict the availability of these awful assault weapons, to pass the Brady bill and at least require people to have their criminal background checked before they get a gun, and to say, if you're not old enough to vote and you're not old enough to go to war, you ought not to own a handgun, and you ought not to use one unless you're on a target range.

We want to pass a health care bill that will make drug treatment available for everyone. And we also have to do it, we have to have drug treatment and education available to everyone and especially those who are in prison who are coming out. We have a drug czar now in Lee Brown, who was the police chief of Atlanta, of Houston, of New York, who understands these things. And when the Congress comes back next year, we will be moving forward on that.

We need this crime bill now. We ought to give it to the American people for Christmas. And we need to move forward on all these other fronts. But I say to you, my fellow Americans, we need some other things as well. I do not believe we can repair the basic fabric of

society until people who are willing to work have work. Work organizes life. It gives structure and discipline to life. It gives meaning and self-esteem to people who are parents. It gives a role model to children.

The famous African-American sociologist William Julius Wilson has written a stunning book called "The Truly Disadvantaged" in which he chronicles in breathtaking terms how the inner cities of our country have crumbled as work has disappeared. And we must find a way, through public and private sources, to enhance the attractiveness of the American people who live there to get investment there. We cannot, I submit to you, repair the American community and restore the American family until we provide the structure, the values, the discipline, and the reward that work gives.

I read a wonderful speech the other day given at Howard University in a lecture series funded by Bill and Camille Cosby, in which the speaker said, "I grew up in Anacostia years ago. Even then it was all black, and it was a very poor neighborhood. But you know, when I was a child in Anacostia, a 100 percent African-American neighborhood, a very poor neighborhood, we had a crime rate that was lower than the average of the crime rate of our city. Why? Because we had coherent families. We had coherent communities. The people who filled the church on Sunday lived in the same place they went to church. The guy that owned the drug-store lived down the street. The person that owned the grocery store lived in our community. We were whole." And I say to you, we have to make our people whole again.

This church has stood for that. Why do you think you have 5 million members in this country? Because people know you are filled with the spirit of God to do the right thing in this life by them. So I say to you, we have to make a partnership, all the Government agencies, all the business folks; but where there are no families, where there is no order, where there is no hope, where we are reducing the size of our armed services because we have won the cold war, who will be there to give structure, discipline, and love to these children? You must do that. And we must help you. Scripture says, you are the salt of the Earth and the light of the world, that if your light shines before men they will give glory to the Father in heaven. That is what we must do.

That is what we must do. How would we explain it to Martin Luther King if he showed up today and said, yes, we won the cold war. Yes, the biggest threat that all of us grew up under, communism and nuclear war, communism gone, nuclear war receding. Yes, we developed all these miraculous technologies. Yes, we all have got a VCR in our home; it's interesting. Yes, we get 50 channels on the cable. Yes, without regard to race, if you work hard and play by the rules, you can get into a service academy or a good college, you'll do just great. How would we explain to him all these kids getting killed and killing each other? How would we justify the things that we permit that no other country in the world would permit? How could we explain that we gave people the freedom to succeed, and we created conditions in which millions abuse that freedom to destroy the things that make life worth living and life itself? We cannot.

And so I say to you today, my fellow Americans, you gave me this job, and we're making progress on the things you hired me to do. But unless we deal with the ravages of crime and drugs and violence and unless we recognize that it's due to the breakdown of the family, the community, and the disappearance of jobs, and unless we say some of this cannot be done by Government, because we have to reach deep inside to the values, the spirit, the soul, and the truth of human nature, none of the other things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go.

So in this pulpit, on this day, let me ask all of you in your heart

to say: We will honor the life and the work of Martin Luther King. We will honor the meaning of our church. We will, somehow, by God's grace, we will turn this around. We will give these children a fu-ture. We will take away their guns and give them books. We will take away their despair and give them hope. We will rebuild the families and the neighborhoods and the communities. We won't make all the work that has gone on here benefit just a few. We will do it together by the grace of God.

Thank you.

END

September 9, 1999

PRESIDENT CLINTON: WORKING TO PROTECT COMMUNITIES FROM GUN VIOLENCE

"No one asks you when you're a victim of a crime whether you're a Republican or a Democrat. It is an American issue beyond the confines of the Capital City and it should become America's cause as Congress returns to work."

President Bill Clinton
Thursday, September 9, 1999

Today at the White House, President Clinton, joined by mayors and police chiefs from across the nation, urged Congress to help keep our communities safe from gun violence by quickly passing common-sense gun legislation. The President also unveiled new reports showing the effectiveness of the National Instant Criminal Background Check System; a \$15 million gun buy-back initiative; and nearly \$147 million in COPS grants to help communities hire an additional 1,600 police officers for our streets and schools.

Keeping Guns out of the Wrong Hands President Clinton announced the findings of two new reports by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms showing the importance of the Brady background checks and cooperation in enforcement of our gun laws:

- *National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) Report.* In its first seven months of operation, the NICS conducted over 4.7 million background checks and blocked an estimated 100,000 prohibited gun sales – bringing the total number of sales stopped to felons, fugitives, and other prohibited persons to over 400,000 since the Brady Law took effect. Key findings of this report include:
 - The vast majority of background checks are completed swiftly – over 75 percent within 30 seconds, 95 percent within 2 hours. When a check cannot be completed within 24 hours, the individual being checked is nearly 20 times more likely to be a felon or other prohibited buyer than the average purchaser;
 - Of sales denied by the FBI, 76 percent were based on a felony conviction; 11 percent for domestic violence misdemeanors or restraining orders; and
 - If the FBI had only 24 hours to do a background check, as some in Congress are proposing, instead of 3 business days under current law, 20,000 prohibited purchasers – over 41 percent of FBI denials – would have received guns.
- *ATF Enforcement Report.* This report details the way the ATF, FBI, and local law enforcement work together to ensure effective and thorough enforcement of the Brady Law. Since the NICS took effect, the ATF has opened over 1,000 criminal investigations involving individuals who have illegally attempted to purchase firearms -- over 200 of which have been referred to U.S. attorneys for federal prosecution.

Giving Communities Tools to Reduce Gun Violence. The President announced two important initiatives to help communities combat crime and gun violence:

- a \$15 million HUD initiative to help create nationwide community gun buy-back programs, which are expected to remove up to 300,000 guns from circulation by the end of the year; and
- over \$146 million in Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) grants to fund nearly 1,600 additional officers on our streets and in our schools.

Fighting for Common-Sense Gun Legislation. The President renewed his call on Congress to pass sensible gun legislation supported by a bipartisan coalition of mayors and police chiefs. The President

Gun Laws

PRESIDENT CLINTON: URGING PASSAGE OF COMMON-SENSE GUN LAWS

"I think that taking a little time and a little inconvenience to save a lot of lives is a good deal for America."

President Bill Clinton
Wednesday, March 15, 2000

Today, at the White House, President Clinton unveiled the FBI's first annual report on the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) created under the Brady Law. The new report shows that in its first year of operation, the NICS stopped 179,000 felons, fugitives, domestic abusers, and other prohibited purchasers from buying guns. The President also urged Congress to pass the motion by Representative Zoe Lofgren calling on juvenile justice conferees to meet in the next two weeks, and to move on gun safety legislation that has been stalled for over eight months.

REPORT SHOWS EFFECTIVENESS OF BACKGROUND CHECKS. Today's report confirms that the NICS is a powerful tool to help law enforcement and federally licensed gun dealers keep guns out of the wrong hands. Through NICS, the FBI and state and local law enforcement perform instant searches of over 35 million records to help prevent the sale of guns to prohibited buyers. In its first 13 months of operation, the NICS conducted over 10 million background checks and blocked an estimated 179,000 prohibited gun sales. To date, the Brady Law has stopped more than half a million felons, fugitives, and other prohibited persons from purchasing firearms. Among the key findings of today's report:

- **Most checks completed within seconds.** During the first year of NICS, 72% of checks were completed within 30 seconds, and 95% were completed within two hours. In cases where completing a check takes longer, there is a strong rationale for additional time: an individual whose check takes more than 24 hours to complete is almost 20 times more likely than the average gun buyer to be a felon or other prohibited purchaser.
- **Most blocked sales were to felons and other criminals.** Of sales denied by the FBI, 71% were to felons, 15% to persons with domestic violence misdemeanors or under restraining orders, and 4% to persons with histories of drug abuse.
- **NICS checks help law enforcement apprehend fugitives.** NICS prevented more than 2,400 wanted persons from buying guns, and FBI employees identified those persons to law enforcement agencies, leading to the apprehension of dangerous fugitives from justice.
- **Reducing time for background checks means more criminals get guns.** If the FBI were given only 24 hours to complete all background checks, instead of up to three business days as under current law, nearly 34,000 prohibited purchasers - over 38% of FBI denials - would have received guns since the NICS first took effect.

MAKING BRADY CHECKS FASTER AND MORE EFFECTIVE. The President's FY 2001 budget provides \$70 million to give law enforcement more tools to increase the speed and accuracy of Brady background checks, which will keep guns out of the hands of even more prohibited persons. The President's initiative doubles funding for the National Criminal History Records Improvement Program which helps states to update, computerize and complete their records on felons, fugitives, domestic abusers, and others restricted from purchasing firearms.

PUSHING FOR ACTION ON COMMON-SENSE GUN LEGISLATION. For over eight months,

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs



Office for Victims of Crime

September 1999

OVC Fact Sheet

*Advocating for the Fair
Treatment of Crime Victims*

What is the Office for Victims of Crime?

The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) was created by the U.S. Department of Justice in 1983 and formally established by Congress in 1988 through an amendment to the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 (VOCA). OVC provides Federal funds to support victim assistance and compensation programs around the country and advocates, through policy development, for the fair treatment of crime victims. OVC administers formula and discretionary grants for programs designed to benefit victims, provides training for diverse professionals who work with victims, develops projects to enhance victims' rights and services, and undertakes public education and awareness activities on behalf of crime victims.

OVC's Mission

The mission of OVC is to enhance the Nation's capacity to assist crime victims and to provide leadership in changing attitudes, policies, and practices to promote justice and healing for all victims of crime. OVC accomplishes its mission in many different ways: administering the Crime Victims Fund, supporting direct services, providing training programs that reach diverse professionals across America, sponsoring demonstration projects with national impact, and publishing and disseminating publications that highlight promising practices in the effective treatment of crime victims that can be replicated throughout the country.

Crime Victims Fund

A major responsibility of OVC is to administer the Crime Victims Fund, *which is derived, **not from tax dollars**, but from fines and penalties paid by Federal criminal offenders*. Nearly 90 percent of the money collected each year is distributed to States to help fund their victim assistance and compensation programs. These programs are the lifeline services that help many victims heal. Federal victim assistance funds help support more than 4,000 local victim services agencies, such as domestic violence shelters, children's advocacy centers, and rape treatment programs. Compensation funds available from OVC supplement State efforts to provide reimbursement to victims for out-of-pocket expenses resulting from crime, including medical and mental health counseling costs, lost wages, and funeral expenses. Since 1988, OVC has distributed more than \$3 billion to States to support victim services and compensation.

OVC-Sponsored Training

OVC sponsors training on a variety of victims' issues for many different professions, including victim services providers, law enforcement, prosecutors, the judiciary, the

clergy, and medical and mental health personnel. Training on victim/witness issues also is provided for 70 different Federal law enforcement agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Department of Defense, and the National Park Service.

OVC's Direct Services

OVC's mission includes providing direct services to people victimized on Tribal or Federal lands, such as military bases and national parks, and American citizens victimized in foreign countries. OVC supports emergency funds to provide victims of Federal crimes with needed services, such as crisis counseling, temporary shelter, and travel expenses to court when these services are otherwise unavailable. The agency also sponsors victim assistance programs in Indian Country, including the establishment and training of multidisciplinary teams to handle child sexual abuse cases and provide comprehensive victim services.

OVC's Discretionary Grants

Through discretionary grants, OVC has initiated many innovative projects that will have a national impact. For example, the Victim Services 2000 demonstration sites in Denver, Colorado; Medina County, Ohio; and the State of Vermont are working toward creating an integrated, seamless system of service delivery. OVC also has funded important reports on civil legal remedies for victims, model antistalking laws, exemplary corrections programs that assist victims and train victim advocates, and protocols for handling offenses on Tribal lands. In addition, OVC has developed numerous training curricula addressing subjects such as hate crimes, elder abuse, and the role of the clergy in assisting victims. Other OVC-funded projects include a manual for developing Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner programs and monographs, bulletins, and videotapes designed to improve the criminal justice response to child victims.

OVC's Resource Center

OVC established the Office for Victims of Crime Resource Center (OVCRC), an information clearinghouse which provides research findings, statistics, and literature on emerging victim issues. OVCRC is a component of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), the most comprehensive criminal justice library in the world. Through this resource, information is available 24 hours a day through the Internet and Fax-on-Demand. The NCJRS World Wide Web Justice Information Center menus provide information and publications from all Office of Justice Programs agencies the-Office for Victims of Crime, the National Institute of Justice, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and the Bureau of Justice Assistance as well as from the Office of National Drug Control Policy. For more information and help with online services, first-time users can send an e-mail message to look@ncjrs.org, or if technical assistance or specific questions on criminal and juvenile justice topics is required, query askncjrs@ncjrs.org. Additionally, selected publications can be obtained through the Fax-on-Demand system.

Training and Technical Assistance Center

OVC has established the Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center (TTAC) to serve as a centralized access point for information about OVC's training and technical assistance resources. TTAC allows OVC to further disseminate training and technical assistance developed under its discretionary grant program. TTAC activities include:

- Providing expert consultants, who specialize in crime victim-related areas, to support training events of Federal, State, Tribal, and local agencies and special emphasis organizations that are involved in activities related to crime victims.
- Providing intensive onsite technical assistance to meet specific programmatic and administrative requirements of agencies offering services to crime victims.
- Organizing, arranging, and facilitating national conferences, regional workshops, and meetings with diverse constituent groups, including State VOCA administrators and OVC discretionary grantees.
- Planning focus groups that develop action plans to respond to major emerging issues.
- Developing publications and other materials, such as brochures, briefing materials, and information packets on crime victim-related issues. This activity may include the adaptation and modification of existing materials to make them suitable for various user groups.
- Promoting information sharing and networking opportunities for administrators and leaders of similar agencies in an effort to improve response to crime victims.

For more information about the Office for Victims of Crime and its programs, contact:

OVC
202-307-5983

OVC Web Site
<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/>

OVC Resource Center
800-627-6872

OVC Resource Center Web Site
<http://www.ncjrs.org>

OVC Training and Technical Assistance Center
800-627-6872

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Chapter 1 Scope of Crime/Historical Review of the Victims' Rights Discipline

Abstract

Violent crime in America has become a national crisis and, as a result, America's mental health, health care, and public safety systems are seriously challenged. Recent surveys have helped create new understanding of the scope of crime and its impact. The mental health impact of violent crime can be seen in the prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among women with a history of violent victimization and individuals who have lost a family member to homicide. This chapter will discuss scope and impact of crime in America, the foundations of the rule of law in this country, the four somewhat diverse movements that pre-dated the victims' rights discipline and set the stage for its emergence, and the history of the victims' rights discipline in five distinct stages. In addition, the emergence of new organizations dedicated to assisting crime victims is described, as well as the challenges facing the field today.

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will understand the following concepts:

- The extent to which violent crime is a concern for Americans.
- The scope and cost of violent crime and the extent to which it has increased in recent years.
- The extent to which concerns or fears about crime have affected the way Americans live and the broader impact of violence on an individual's world view.
- The origins of the rule of law in the United States.
- The origins and historical stages of the crime victims' rights movement in the United States.
- The major crime victim advocacy organizations and critical legislative and policy accomplishments of the victims' rights discipline over the past thirty years.

Statistical Overview

The first set of statistics summarized below are from the U.S. Department of Justice *National Crime Victimization Survey*, conducted annually by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). Each year, BJS interviews 100,000 people aged twelve or older about crimes they experienced during the previous six months. The survey includes both crimes reported and not reported to police. Because the BJS survey includes these unreported crimes, there are differences between these data and the FBI's *Uniform Crime Report*, the second set of statistics listed below. The *Uniform Crime Report* is based on reports of crime from 16,000 police agencies.

NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY

- According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics' 1997 *National Crime Victimization Survey* data released in December of 1998, U.S. residents age twelve or older experienced nearly 35 million crimes in 1997. Of these victimizations, approximately 26 million involved theft, household burglary, or car theft; 8.6 million involved the violent crimes of rape, sexual assault, robbery, and nonsexual assault; and 0.4 million involved personal thefts such as purse snatching.
- Translated into the number of violent and property crimes per 1,000 persons or households, crime rates for 1997 show 39 violent victimizations per 1,000 persons and 248 property crimes per 1,000 households (Ibid.).

- A 17% decline in the robbery rate was largely responsible for the 7% overall drop in 1997 in the nation's crime rate as reported in the *National Crime Victimization Survey* (Ibid.).
- The rate of rape and sexual assault did not decline significantly in 1997 (Ibid.).
- According to BJS, the total number of estimated personal and household victimizations has fallen in each year since 1992, except for 1993, despite increases in the U.S. population:

1992 42.8 million 1995 38.5 million

1993 43.5 million 1996 36.8 million

1994 42.4 million 1997 35 million (Ibid.)

FBI'S UNIFORM CRIME REPORT

- According to the FBI's *Crime Clock* in 1997: one violent crime occurred every 19 seconds; one property crime occurred every 3 seconds; one murder occurred every 29 minutes; one forcible rape occurred every 5 minutes; one robbery occurred every 1 minute; one aggravated assault occurred every 31 seconds; one burglary occurred every 13 seconds; one larceny-theft occurred every 4 seconds; and one motor vehicle theft occurred every 23 seconds. The *Crime Clock* is designed to convey the annual reported crime experience by showing the relative frequency of the occurrence of Crime Index crimes (FBI 1998).
- In 1997, the Crime Index total (which measures the following crimes reported to law enforcement: murder, nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and the property crimes of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson), estimated approximately 13.2 million offenses, dropped 2% from the 1996 total. This decline represents the lowest annual serious crime count since 1985 and the sixth consecutive annual decline (Ibid., 7).
- In 1997, an estimated 1.6 million violent crimes were reported to law enforcement, indicating a 3% decrease from the 1996 level (Ibid., 12).
- From 1996 to 1997, violent crime decreased in the nation's cities collectively by 4% and in the suburban counties by 2%. Rural counties, however, reported an increase of 3% in violent crime (Ibid.).
- The nation's violent crime rate fell 10% between 1995 and 1996 and was 16% lower than in 1993. Overall property crime was down more than 8% in 1996 and was 17% lower than in 1993 (Ibid.).

Introduction

According to Webster's New World Dictionary, "disaster" is defined as "any happening that causes great harm or damage, serious or sudden misfortune, or calamity." Using this definition, the current level of violence in America is clearly a health, public safety, and mental health disaster. Despite recent reductions in criminal violence, crime still harms too many children and adults; it also affects America's families, America's communities, and the nation at large.

Scope of Crime

Fear of crime continues to imperil the social fabric of America. Earlier studies expressed the concerns of Americans in several ways:

- In a 1991 survey of a national probability sample of 1,000 adult Americans, more than four out of five Americans (82%) said they were personally very concerned about violent crime (Kilpatrick, Seymour, and Boyle 1991).

- More Americans were concerned about violent crime and drug abuse than about unemployment, pollution, the deficit, or educational quality (Ibid.).
- A majority of Americans (54%) think that violent crime is more of a problem now than it was ten years ago (Ibid.).

More recent studies continue to point out Americans' fear of crime. In 1997, 64 percent of Gallup poll respondents reported they believed there was more crime than in the previous year (BJS 1998b), despite the significant reductions in crime recorded nationally during the late 1990s. Even as crime drops, the public perception of crime's magnitude increases.

Information about the magnitude of the violent crime problem suggests that Americans' concerns about crime are not misplaced. Data from *The National Women's Study*, a National Institute of Drug Abuse-funded survey of a national probability sample of 4,008 adult American women, indicated the following violent occurrences during a one-year period:

- 3.5% of the sample, or an estimated 3.7 million adult women, were victims of some type of sexual or aggravated assault during a one year period.
- 2.5%, or an estimated 2.4 million American women, were victims of rape or aggravated assault.
- 1.8%, or approximately 1.7 million American women, were victims of aggravated assault.
- 0.71%, or an estimated 683,000 American women, were victims of completed rape (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, and Seymour 1992; Resnick et al. 1993).

These estimates of rape are much higher than those obtained in the *National Crime Victimization Survey* because *The National Women's Study* used screening questions that were specifically designed to measure rape and other types of sexual assault (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, and Seymour 1992).

Americans are vulnerable to criminal victimizations throughout their lifespan. For example, *The National Women's Study* reported the frequency level of violence experienced in women's lives:

- 22.6% of sample members, or an estimated 21.7 million women in America, had been victims of some type of sexual assault throughout their lifetime.
- 12.9% of the sample, or an estimated 12.1 million people in America, had been victims of one or more completed rapes.
- 10.3%, or an estimated 9.8 million women, had been victims of aggravated assault.
- 13.4%, or an estimated 12.8 million women, had lost a family member or close friend to criminal homicide or alcohol-related vehicular homicide.
- Over a third of the sample members (35.6%), or an estimated 34.1 million adult women in America, had been victims of forcible sexual assault, aggravated assault, or had suffered the homicide death of a relative or close friend (Resnick et al. 1993).
- Almost 40% of women who had been raped had been raped more than once.
- 29% of all rapes happened before the victim was age eleven, and an additional 32.3% happened between the ages of eleven and seventeen (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, and Seymour 1992). Thus, almost two thirds (62.6%) of all rapes happened during childhood or adolescence.

A National Institute of Justice-funded national study of the indirect effects of criminal homicide (*The National Homicide Study*) found that 1.58% of the sample, or an estimated 2.8 million adults in America, had lost an immediate family member to criminal homicide (Amick-McMullan, Kilpatrick, and Resnick 1991).

- Another 1.48% of the sample, or an estimated 2.6 million adults, had lost another relative to homicide.
- An additional 0.75% of the sample, or an estimated 1.3 million adults in America, had lost a close friend to criminal homicide.
- In total, an estimated 3.82% of the sample, or an estimated 6.7 million adults, had suffered a homicide death of an immediate family member, other relative or close friend (Amick-McMullan, Kilpatrick, and Resnick 1991).

The *National Homicide Study* was conducted in 1987, preceding an increase in the homicide rate. Therefore, these estimates are extremely conservative as to the number of Americans indirectly affected by homicide between 1988 and 1990. Noting the statistics above indicating a decline in homicide since 1993, these figures may have validity today.

Millions of American men, women, and children are victims of criminal violence each year. Particularly for rape and sexual assault, official statistics substantially underestimate the extent of the problem. Information from nonretrospective studies is particularly poor about violence directed at children under twelve, adolescents, and/or men.

Cost of Crime

In February 1996, the National Institute of Justice released the first comprehensive report on the cost of victimization. As a result of the data gathered from criminal justice agencies, medical professionals, hospitals, insurance companies, mental health professionals, crime victim compensation programs, and crime victims, significant information is available about the immediate, short-term, and long-term financial impact of victimization. Highlights of the study's findings include the following:

- Violent crime (including drunk driving and arson) accounts for \$426 billion annually, while property crime accounts for \$24 billion.
- Rape has the highest annual victim costs at \$127 billion per year (excluding child sex abuse), followed by assault at \$93 billion, murder (excluding arson and drunk driving) at \$61 billion, and child abuse at \$56 billion.

THE PHYSICAL IMPACT OF VIOLENCE

Increasingly, attention is being focused upon the impact of violent crime on our nation's health care system. In August 1997, the Bureau of Justice Statistics released a bulletin entitled *Violence-Related Injuries Treated in Hospital Emergency Departments*, which presented findings from a study using the Consumer Product Safety Commission's National Electronic Injury Surveillance System (NEISS) program of violence-related injuries treated in hospital emergency departments in 1994. This study gives a specific view of the physical impact of violence. These findings, as reported in the bulletin, include the following:

- During 1994, U.S. hospital emergency departments (EDs) treated an estimated 1.4 million people for injuries from confirmed or suspected interpersonal violence. The study found that 94% of the persons treated for intentional or possibly intentional injuries sustained those injuries in an assault. About 31% of those injured during an assault--or 29% of all of those injured--indicated being injured during a fight. Two percent were injured during a completed or attempted robbery, and five percent were injured by an offender during a completed or attempted rape or sexual assault.
- Three-fifths of all persons treated in EDs for injuries sustained in violence were male. Persons under age twenty-five comprised about half of those treated in EDs for violence-related injuries.
- Patients treated as a result of confirmed (1.3 million) or suspected (82,000) violence represented a total of 1.5% of all visits to hospital EDs and 3.6% of the injury-related ED visits in 1994.

- People injured by violence were treated for a variety of injuries: 34% for bruises or similar injuries; 31% for cuts, stab wounds, or internal injuries; 17% for fractures, sprains, dislocations, dental injuries, or other muscular/skeletal injuries; 5% for gunshot injuries; 5% for rapes/other sexual assaults; 4% for concussions or other head injuries; and 5% for other injuries.

THE IMPACT OF VIOLENCE ON MENTAL HEALTH

The mental health impact of criminal violence is substantial, but is not limited to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). A history of violence substantially increases the risk for a host of other mental health disorders and problems including depression, suicide attempts, anxiety disorders, alcohol, and other drug abuse problems (Burnam et al. 1988; Kilpatrick et al. 1985; Kilpatrick, Edmunds, and Seymour 1992; Kilpatrick and Resnick 1993; Saunders et al. 1992). Illustrative are these data from *The National Women's Study* comparing the rates of PTSD, major depression, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts among rape victims and nonvictims of crime (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, and Seymour 1992).

- Compared to their noncrime victim counterparts, rape victims were 6.2 times more likely to develop PTSD (31% vs. 5%), three times more likely to develop major depression (30% vs. 10%), 4.1 times more likely to have seriously contemplated suicide (33% vs. 8%), and 13 times more likely to have actually made a suicide attempt (13% vs. 1%).

There is also evidence that violence affects the longer-term physical health as well as the mental health of its victims. At least one study found that health care utilization and health problems increased following violent attacks (Koss, Woodruff, and Koss 1990).

THE IMPACT OF VIOLENCE ON WORLD OUTLOOK

Not only does being a victim of violence affect physical and mental health; it also influences how one views the world. Many violence victims are no longer able to see the world as a safe place, as a just place, or as a place with meaning. Violence often breeds a cynicism and distrust that unravel the very fabric of social life.

Violence and fear of violence have taken away Americans' freedom. A majority of adult respondents interviewed in *America Speaks Out* reported that they were at least "a little fearful" of being attacked or robbed (Kilpatrick, Seymour, and Boyle 1991):

- When traveling on vacation or business (72%).
- Out alone at night in their own neighborhoods (61%).
- At home in their own house or apartment (60%).

Fear of crime restricts freedom of people to go where they want, when they want. Because of the threat of crime, many people in our nation restrict their behavior and/or have purchased some manner of protective device.

In *America Speaks Out* (Ibid.) respondents reported that:

- Sixty percent limited the places they will go by themselves.
- Almost a third limited the places or times they go shopping.
- More than one person in five limited the types of places he or she will work.
- More than one person in four has installed a home security system.
- Nearly one out of every five adults (18%) reports that the fear of crime has caused them to purchase a weapon for self-protection.

Fear of crime and fear of crime-related restrictions on lifestyle and behavior take a much heavier toll on women than on men.

Crime and fear of crime also place a heavy burden on the lives of racial and ethnic minorities. The *America Speaks Out* survey of 1,000 adults asked if respondents had ever been a victim of a violent crime involving the use or threat of force (Ibid.):

- Three out of ten Hispanics (30%) and almost three out of ten African-Americans (28%) but slightly less than two out of ten whites (19%) had been victims of violent crime. *Note:* These crime prevalence rates are almost certainly an underestimate because only one screening question was used.
- A higher proportion of African-Americans and Hispanics than whites say they are either somewhat or very afraid of being attacked or robbed at home (44% vs. 35% vs. 27%), on the streets of their neighborhood in the daytime (30% vs. 25% vs. 16%), alone at night in their neighborhood (48% vs. 50% vs. 31%), and with others at night in their neighborhood (28% vs. 23% vs. 13%). Fears of being attacked or robbed while traveling were more similar across racial/ethnic groups.
- With the exception of limiting places they go by themselves, which was high for all racial/ethnic groups, a higher percentage of African-Americans and Hispanics than whites say fear of crime has caused them to limit times or places they will work (33% vs. 37% vs. 19%), purchase a weapon for protection (27% vs. 25% vs. 16%), and purchase a home security system (34% vs. 41% vs. 22%).

This research information suggests racial/ethnic minorities are more likely than whites to have been violent crime victims. Their fear of crime is higher than whites, and their fear of crime causes them to place more restrictions on their lifestyles than whites.

The next sections of this chapter will "step back in time" and review the origin of the attitudinal changes about victimization that are exemplified in the recent surveys noted above. In order to provide a framework for understanding these attitudinal changes, a short overview of the historical origins of the rule of law in this country is provided below.

The Development of the Concept of Law

A complete and accurate understanding of the concepts inherent in our American criminal law system can only be attained by a review of its history, philosophy, and development. Modern criminal law is the result of a long evolution of laws that have attempted to deal with and define deviant behavior in society.

CODE OF HAMMURABI

The Code of Hammurabi is considered one of the first known attempts to establish a written code of conduct. King Hammurabi ruled Babylon at approximately 2000 B.C. He was the sixth king of the First Dynasty of Babylonia for about 55 years. During that period of time, Babylon was a commercial center for most of the known and civilized world. Since its fortune lay in trade and other business ventures, the Code of Hammurabi provided a basis for order and certainty essential for commerce. The Code established rules regarding theft, sexual relationships, interpersonal violence, and other issues. It was intended to replace blood feuds with a system sanctioned by the state.

The Code of Hammurabi was divided into five sections:

1. A penal or code of laws.
2. A manual of instruction for judges, police officers, and witnesses.

3. A handbook of rights and duties of husbands, wives, and children.
4. A set of regulations establishing wages and prices.
5. A code of ethics for merchants, doctors, and officials (Masters and Roberson, 1985).

The code established certain obligations and objectives for the citizens of Babylon to follow. These included:

- *An assertion of the power of the state.* This was the beginning of state-administered punishment. The blood feuds that had occurred previously between private citizens were barred under the code.
- *Protection of the weaker from the stronger.* Widows were to be protected from those who might exploit them, elder parents were protected from sons who would disown them, and lesser officials were protected from higher ones.
- *Restoration of equity between the offender and the victim.* The victim was to be made as whole as possible and, in turn, he or she was required to forgive vengeance against the offender.

Of noteworthy importance in the code was its concern for the rights of victims. In reality, this code may have been the first "victims' rights statute" in history. Unfortunately, as will be seen, society began to neglect victims in its rush to punish the offender, with the result that victims' rights would not resurface until the present century (Gordon 1957).

EARLY ROMAN LAW

Another important milestone in the development of American law was early Roman law. Roman law was derived from the Twelve Tables, written about 450 B.C. These tables were a collection of basic rules relating to conduct of family, religious and economic life. Early Roman legions conquered England in the middle of the first century. Roman law, customs, and language were forced upon the English people during the next three centuries of Roman rule.

Emperor Justinian I codified the Roman laws into a set of writings. The Justinian Code, as these writings became known, distinguished between two major types of laws:

- *Public laws:* Dealt with the organization and administration of the Republic.
- *Private laws:* Addressed issues such as contracts, possession and other property rights, the legal status of various persons such as slaves, husbands and wives, and injuries to citizens.

It contained elements of both our civil and criminal law and influenced Western legal theory into the Middle Ages.

THE BIBLE

It is unclear when the fifth book of the Old Testament, Deuteronomy, was written, and indeed, as "oral history," the very first version was not written at all (it was probably written for the first time in about 100 B.C.). In any event, Deuteronomy instructs that with respect to certain crimes, the penalty shall be "... eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" (Chapter 19, Verse 15). Because the rabbinic tradition taught that this penalty was not to be interpreted literally and that what the Biblical instruction really meant was that a victim of an assault or other crime should receive from the criminal the *value* of an eye, or the *value* of a foot, arguably Deuteronomy presents the first more formalized scheme of victim restitution since the Code of Hammurabi.

THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

Prior to the Norman conquest of 1066 A.D., the legal system in England was very decentralized. There

was little written law except for crimes against society. As a society, England had forgotten or moved away from the teaching of the Code of Hammurabi, and crimes during this period were again viewed as personal wrongs. Compensation was paid to the victim or his/her family for the offense. If the perpetrator failed to make payments, the victim's family could seek revenge resulting in a blood feud. For the most part during this period, criminal law was designed to provide equity to what was considered a private dispute.

The Norman Conquest under William the Conqueror established royal administrators who rode circuit to render justice. These royal judges would use local custom and rules of conduct as a guide in rendering their judgments. This system, known as *stare decisis* (Latin for the phrase "to stand by the decided law"), would have far reaching effects on modern American criminal law.

COMMON LAW

The next major development in the history of law was the acknowledgment of the existence of Common Law. Early English Common Law forms the basis for much of our present day legal system. Common Law is a traditional body of then unwritten legal precedents created by court decisions (as distinguished from statutory law written by a Congress or other legislative body) during the Middle Ages in England. During this period of time when cases were heard, judges would start their deliberations from past decisions that were as closely related as possible to the case under consideration. In the eleventh century, King Edward the Confessor proclaimed that Common Law was the law of the land. Court decisions were finally recorded and made available to lawyers who could then use them to plead their cases. This concept is one of the most important aspects of today's modern American law.

THE MAGNA CARTA AND U.S. CONSTITUTION

The Magna Carta of England and the U.S. Constitution both stand as great documents and moments in the history of American law. The Magna Carta was signed on June 15, 1215 and was later interpreted to grant basic liberties to all British citizens. The U.S. Constitution established certain individual rights, defined the power of the federal government, and -- among other things -- limited punishment for violation of laws.

American law combines both Common Law and written statutes.

- Statutory laws are enacted by state legislatures and Congress, and are the major sources of American criminal law today.
- These laws are usually compiled in various codes, and are subject to revision by the legislatures and Congress.

An offshoot of written law, administrative law is comprised of rules and regulations adopted by governmental agencies at the federal, state and local levels. Many governmental agencies are invested with the power to pass regulations that prohibit certain types of conduct. Some of these regulations provide for fines rather than imprisonment of the offender.

Constitutional law. Constitutional law is at the foundation of American criminal law. The Constitution does not define new crimes (the only crime defined in the Constitution is treason); rather, it sets limits on other laws as they apply to individuals. An example of this principle is the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling that flag burning, which was proscribed as criminal conduct by a state statute, is protected under the First Amendment right to freedom of expression.

The Purpose of Law

Max Weber, an acclaimed sociologist during the early twentieth century, stated that the primary purpose of law is to regulate the flow of human interaction (Reinstein 1954).

Dr. Weber, who is famous for a number of modern day concepts including the concept of bureaucracy, believed that laws make the behavior of others predictable (Wallace, Roberson, and Steckler 1994).

Thus, one of the accepted purposes of law is to support social order.

Laws also serve other purposes including:

- Banishing private retribution.
- Reflecting public opinion.
- Deterring criminal acts.
- Punishing offenders.
- Providing socioeconomic control (Siegel 1989).

Banishing retribution occurs because laws replace the power of individuals to carry out revenge against the perpetrator. The law shifts the burden and responsibility of making the victim whole from the individual to the state. Laws reflect public opinion by defining the boundaries between current concepts of illegal behavior and allowing individuals to guide their conduct according to these written requirements. Some argue that laws deter potential law violators. The threat of punishment is sufficient to prevent individuals from committing the prohibited act. Punishment of offenders occurs when laws grant the government the ability or power to sanction wrongdoers. Finally, socioeconomic control occurs when laws support and maintain the social and economic systems they serve.

Roscoe Pound, one of the great legal scholars of modern times, believed that law was a type of social engineering (1968). The law was a *tool* that met the needs of men and women living and working together in society. Pound believed that law must change with the advent of new ideas. He articulated a series of *Jural Postulates* that were propositions setting forth the basis of all law because they reflected the shared needs of society.

It is against this legal framework and amidst tremendous societal as well as political upheaval and transition that the victims' movement began to take hold in this country nearly three decades ago.

History and Overview of the Victims' Rights Discipline

Today's view of violent crime and victimization is quite different than thirty years ago. The nation's emotional and legal reaction to criminals has changed dramatically. Why have our personal and political responses changed during this period? The remaining portion of this chapter will focus on the historical development of the victims' rights discipline and the reasons for the public's more recently altered perceptions of criminals and crime statistics.

In the last three decades, the victims' rights discipline has emerged as a powerful source of social, legal, and political change. There are four somewhat diverse movements that pre-dated the victims' rights discipline and set the stage for its emergence. The history of the victims' rights discipline can be divided into five distinct stages along with corresponding legal changes, victim involvement and services, changes in service providers' attitudes, and new theoretical concepts. This description is--by necessity--not inclusive of all historical facts; rather, it is included to acquaint the reader with the *zeitgeist*, or spirit, of each stage of the victims' rights discipline.

There were four movements that strategically opened the way for the victims' rights discipline:

- Civil Rights Movement (1963-72).
- Anti-war Movement (1967-72).
- Women's Movement (1970-Present).
- "Law and Order" Movement (1968-Present).

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other leaders of the Civil Rights Movement changed this country's view of civil disobedience, clarified that *all* Americans have rights under the U.S. Constitution, and focused on forging change through nonviolent means. Even though this country has had a long history of civil disobedience dating back to the Boston Tea Party and continued by 19th century literary figures (Thoreau, Whitman, etc.), this approach diminished as a result of 20th century patriotism engendered by two world wars.

Civil disobedience was not new in 1963, but re-emerged and was applied to a new group: American minorities. The Civil Rights Movement enabled society's disenfranchised minorities to exert power over American governmental and private institutions and demand equal rights and equal access to society's opportunities.

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The Anti-war Movement focused on America's propensity towards violence, the influence and predilections of governmental/military bureaucracy, and expressed a distrust in authority that is still evident today. This movement, through its well orchestrated marches in cities across America, showed that grassroots politics could influence and even overpower establishment politics. More importantly, the movement raised questions not only about governmental decision-making but also about the moral implications of these decisions.

This movement increasingly empowered citizens and even young people to speak out and take a public stand for what they believed was right. It was a crucial step in a new awakening to the power of grassroots organization and influence.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Women's Movement focused on American family values, traditional male/female roles, sexism in bureaucracy (including, very importantly, the criminal justice system), and economic discrepancies between men and women. This has been considered the most significant precursor of the victims' movement (Karmen 1990). The victimization of women and the bureaucratic facilitation of this violence in all areas of society were clarified and politicized. The long overdue fact that women were entitled to equal social, political, and economic opportunity and power became a national focus. A direct result of this increase in women's power and attention to women's issues was the formation of rape crisis centers and domestic violence shelters in the early 1970s.

THE "LAW AND ORDER" MOVEMENT

The "Law and Order" Movement predated the victims' movement, but an alliance developed between its supporters and some victim advocates ten years later to press for stiffer punishment of offenders. Since the emergence of this movement in the 1960s, there has been a focus upon increasing the rights of the common person to achieve parity with the rights of the criminal. However, supporters of this movement from all segments of society insisted the common citizen could manage his or her own protection, and "justice" should be accomplished without expanding governmental assistance and monetary support (Karmen 1990). Supporters felt that criminals should be punished more; potential victims should be more careful; and victims, once victimized, should be self-sufficient.

By the early 1980s, a shift developed placing more emphasis on victims' needs. The support for increased offender accountability and a "back to the basics" constitutional approach produced new emphasis on restitution and individual rights. The "Law and Order" Movement has been particularly influential in the fourth and fifth stages of the victims' rights discipline.

The following section gives an overview outline of the stages of the victims' rights discipline with critical events in the history of this movement.

Historical Stages of the Victims' Rights discipline

Stage One: Response to Crime (1972-1976)

- First Crime Victims' Compensation Program (1965)
- National Commissions and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)
- National Crime (Victimization) Survey
- Grassroots Programs
- National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA)
- First Victim Impact Statement

Stage Two: Polarization and Unstable Funding (1977-1981)

- LEAA Funding
- New Organizations
- National Coalition Against Sexual Assault (NCASA).
- National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV)
- Parents of Murdered Children (POMC)
- Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD)
- Victims' Assistance Legal Organization (VALOR)
 - President Proclaims "Crime Victims' Week"
 - Legislative Developments

Stage Three: Public Awareness (1982-1986)

- President's Task Force on Victims of Crime
- Federal Victim and Witness Protection Act
- State Legislation
- Victims of Crime Act (VOCA)
- Establishment of the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC)
- National Center for Victims of Crime (NCVC) (formerly National Victim Center)
- New Programs
- Theoretical Concepts Recognized

Stage Four: Expanding Legislative Agenda (1987-1991)

- Three Major Issues
- Funding
- Victims' Rights
- Law and Order Concerns

Stage Five: Emerging Professionalism and Advancing Advocacy (1992-Present)

- Professionalism
- Legislative Landmarks

STAGE ONE: RESPONSE TO CRIME (1972-1976)

Starting in the early 1960s, crime began to steadily rise in the United States, reaching its highest point in 1981. By the early 1970s, the effect on American life was evident. In response, the victims' rights movement began on multiple fronts (Young 1986).

In 1965, the first crime victims' compensation program was established in California. However, the major strides of this period were accomplished by the energy of volunteers, many of whom were crime victims themselves and, in many cases, had suffered revictimization due to less than adequate assistance and services within the criminal justice system.

In 1972, volunteers founded the first three victim assistance programs, all of which still exist today:

- Aid for Victims of Crime, St. Louis, Missouri.
- Bay Area Women Against Rape, San Francisco, California.
- Rape Crisis Center, Washington, DC.

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, many state and federal commissions were established to study crime and its consequences. Following these efforts, the federal government took two significant steps to address the problem: the creation of the first government-sponsored victimization survey (*National Crime Survey* 1972 [renamed the *National Crime Victimization Survey* in 1990]) and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) (Karmen 1990).

- The *National Crime Survey* gathered crime data from individuals and households all across America, an approach that was very different from the FBI's *Uniform Crime Report* (UCR), a compilation of statistics *reported* to law enforcement agencies. The new information made it devastatingly clear that the rates of child abuse, rape, and domestic violence were much higher than imagined.
- The *National Crime Survey* identified actual crime rates that were three or four times higher than the UCR's published "official" rates.
- LEAA monies were used to combat victimization by increasing law enforcement funding and establishing victim-witness programs around the United States. Funds were also used to help educate and increase the sensitivity of police officers in dealing with victims.

By 1974, the first battered women's shelter had also been established in Denver, CO. These first service programs were operated by volunteers using their own funds and donations. Their major focus was to provide victim support utilizing the approach of self-help groups. Their goals quickly expanded to target insensitive and unfair treatment of victims by the criminal justice system (Young 1986).

Fortunately, several key leaders within the criminal justice system recognized the problems of victims and witnesses and responded (NCVC 1994):

- LEAA created some pilot victim-witness programs (1974).
- James Rowland, Chief Probation Officer in Fresno, California, in 1976, developed the first victim impact statement used by the criminal justice system to clearly ascertain and specify the victims' losses.
- In Fort Lauderdale, Florida and Indianapolis, Indiana, the first law enforcement-based victim-witness programs were established.

In 1975, Frank Carrington's book, *The Victims*, was published, promoting "the proposition that the victim's current sorry status in the criminal justice system *need not be so* and that something can and must be done to enhance the rights of the victim." That same year, LEAA called together leading victim activists to discuss methods of increasing victims' rights.

- The major result of this meeting was the founding of the National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA).
- The following year, forty to fifty leaders met in what has been called the first victim assistance conference in Fresno, California (Young 1986).

During this first stage, mental health providers had limited involvement at the grassroots level. However, practitioners working with victims of sexual assault recognized characteristics common to many victims.

- In 1974, Anne Burgess coined the term "rape trauma syndrome." Although not universally accepted until years later, its initial use during this time would later facilitate better services for victims in both the mental health and criminal justice systems.

By the late 1970s, mental health providers became more aware of victim trauma. Research began to show the efficacy of peer support groups; some research indicated that these groups were much more helpful than professionals, often because these professionals had little training in the grieving process and crisis therapy.

As specialized service providers gained new insights into victimization, mental health practitioners began to acknowledge their lack of expertise, and began to listen to advocates and victims. For example, the description of the "battered woman syndrome" was published and provided a theoretical framework for working with victims of domestic violence.

Another very important "movement" that supported the general crime victims' movement was the increased focus upon child abuse and neglect. The "child protection" movement was initially comprised primarily of physicians, social workers, and public-sector personnel concerned with child maltreatment. The attention of child advocates and the Congress to the work of C. Henry Kempe, (the "battered child syndrome," 1962) led to creation of the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1974).

STAGE TWO: POLARIZATION AND UNSTABLE FUNDING (1977-1981)

During this second stage, it appeared that many of the gains of the victims' movement might be lost. Federal funding began to diminish, and in 1979, LEAA ceased to exist due to lack of congressional support. As is often the case when there is limited funding paired with identified needs, the various community-based and government-based programs began to compete for limited resources (Lurigio, Skogan, and Davis 1990).

The issues of professionalism and training emerged as divisive themes. Despite their common purpose of assisting victims, the contrasting perspectives, purposes, structure, and operation of grassroots victim

programs versus criminal justice-based programs increasingly became issues. This was exacerbated by the frequent complaint of victim advocates that the criminal justice system did not adequately support victims of rape and domestic violence. Even today, some of the residual animosity from this period is still evident.

In 1978, sexual assault programs and domestic violence programs created their own national organizations to pursue their specific agendas (Young 1986):

- National Coalition Against Sexual Assault (NCASA).
- National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV).

During this period, program leaders and administrators debated the strengths and weaknesses of the various programs. Less time and money were directed toward those in need. The focus and direction of the victims' movement were consequently diluted.

Many movements fail (including some of the precursors of the victims' movement) because no "second generation" is trained to continue with the original fervor and energy. Fortunately, this was not true for the victims' movement. In spite of the dissension between the established programs, new grassroots organizations developed. These organizations used the media very effectively. Often led by victims, they directly attacked the indifference of the criminal justice system and the stigmatizing approach of the mental health system.

Two new grassroots programs grew in response to a void in services to underserved victims. The cumulative effect was a new infusion of energy into the movement. These two programs were the following:

- Parents of Murdered Children (POMC) founded by Robert and Charlotte Hullinger (1978).
- Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) founded by Candy Lightner and Cindy Lamb (1980).

Also during this time, in 1979, Frank Carrington founded the Crime Victims' Legal Advocacy Institute, renamed the Victims' Assistance Legal Organization (VALOR) in 1981, to advocate for the legal rights of crime victims.

On the legislative front, crime victim advocates pressed for reforms, and state legislators enacted laws that increasingly supported victims (NCVC 1994):

- In 1977, Oregon passed the first law mandating arrest in domestic violence cases.
- In 1978, Minnesota enacted legislation to allow warrantless arrest in domestic violence cases, whether or not there was a prior protection order.

In 1981, Ronald Reagan became the first president to proclaim "Crime Victims' Week." Later that year, the Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime issued its report. The Task Force, which included Frank Carrington, a leading advocate for improved treatment of crime victims, recommended that a separate Task Force be created to consider victims' issues. This became the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime, which issued its report in 1982.

STAGE THREE: PUBLIC AWARENESS (1982-1986)

As the revitalized victims' movement learned to better access the news media, public awareness of victims' issues increased. The 1981 *Uniform Crime Reports* had clearly shown the increase in victimization, and the movement actively used these new statistics for its cause.

- In December of 1982, Ronald Reagan appointed a Task Force on Victims of Crime. Chaired by Lois Haight Herrington, this Task Force published sixty-eight recommendations to improve the

treatment of crime victims. The recommendations were directed at all segments of public and private sector, including the criminal justice system. The Report included a recommendation for a constitutional amendment for crime victims' rights.

- Later that year, Congress passed the first law addressing victim-witness issues: the Federal Victim and Witness Protection Act. This Act provided for witness protection, restitution, and fair treatment for federal victims and witnesses of violent crimes.

Changes at the federal level led to legislative changes at state levels: Victims' Bills of Rights, proposals for training and education, and expansion of existing victim-witness programs. The single greatest event in the victims' movement to date occurred in 1984: the passage of the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA).

- This Act established the Crime Victims Fund to provide funds for local victim assistance programs and state victim compensation and discretionary funding for research and promotion of promising practices in behalf of victims' needs. The fund was made up of money from federal criminal fines, penalties, and bond forfeitures.
- The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC), created in the Department of Justice in 1983 to implement the sixty-eight recommendations of the President's Task Force, was designated as responsible for administering VOCA, including distribution of VOCA funds to states for existing victim programs.

With increased public awareness and high level political support for victims' issues, numerous programs were started and laws passed during this period. The greatest increase in victim-witness programs occurred in this third stage. Some of the highlights of this stage were the following:

- National Conference of the Judiciary on Victims of Crime (1983).
- Missing Children's Assistance Act, which included the establishment of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children by Congress (1984).
- Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence (1984).
- Family Violence Prevention and Services Act (1984).
- National Center for Victims of Crime (formerly National Victim Center) (1985).
- NOVA Constitutional Amendment Meeting (1986).
- President's Child Safety Partnership (1987).

While "second generation" grassroots organizations feared that increased governmental involvement and new competition for funding of victims' programs would lead to dissension as in previous years, these fears were not realized.

In addition, during this stage, theoretical concepts were put to more practical use in both the criminal justice and mental health systems.

- The concept of "second victimization"--that often the victim was harmed as much by the system's response as by the crime itself--became generally recognized.
- The various syndromes identified earlier were being discussed within the context of a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). With the identification of PTSD, a general diagnosis was now developed that did *not* stigmatize the victim, but clarified and legitimized the victim's normal response to an abnormal situation. (This diagnosis was recognized by the field of psychiatry and formalized with the 1987 publication of

DSM-III-R, a comprehensive definitional and diagnostic manual for mental health professionals.)

In addition, better training in trauma and crisis intervention enabled mental health professionals to learn about victims' issues. Mental health professionals also began to provide better supportive services. Peer support groups began to be seen as a necessary adjunct to successful individual therapy.

During this period, the victims' movement came of age and was more focused and sophisticated (Andrews 1992). The first ten years were initiated and perpetuated by strong leaders with forthright personalities. During this period an important paradigm shift was taking place. The movement had expanded beyond the dynamics of individual-level politics to group-level national politics, resulting in necessary change for growth into a more formalized discipline in the next period.

STAGE FOUR: EXPANDING LEGISLATIVE AGENDA (1987-1991)

In this stage and the next, three major issues emerged:

- Victim service funding.
- Victims' rights.
- Law and order concerns.

The growing sophistication of the victims' movement noted earlier enabled advocates to exert power and influence on several fronts. Political efforts during this time were much more organized and presented a clear and cohesive agenda. This agenda addressed funding, victims' rights, and law and order concerns:

- Increasing the cap on VOCA funding to provide expanded and more stable funding for both crime victim compensation and victim assistance programs.
- Promoting a common sense interpretation of the Bill of Rights as it pertains to due process rights of criminals.
- Expanding victims' rights through more extensive and more effective state legislation.
- Adopting crime victims' rights constitutional amendments in state constitutions.

Successful results of this agenda include the following:

- In 1988, VOCA was reauthorized and the Office for Victims of Crime was established. Crime victim compensation was expanded to include victims of both domestic violence and drunk driving.
- As of 1995, all fifty states and the District of Columbia had enacted crime victim compensation programs.
- As of 1999, thirty-one states had passed constitutional amendments.
- As of 1995, forty-eight states had passed victims' rights legislation in the form of Victims' Bills of Rights for a series of statutory protections that essentially mirror a unified Victims' Bill of Rights statute.
- Congress also passed major legislation that addresses hate crimes, campus security, child protection, violence against women, sexual assault, kidnapping, and gun control; and the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the use of victim impact statements in capital cases.

This legislative agenda continues to grow and expand. The recent serious congressional consideration of a constitutional victim rights' amendment exemplifies this. Activities and issues in this stage continued

into the next stage.

STAGE FIVE: EMERGING PROFESSIONALISM AND ADVANCING ADVOCACY (1992-PRESENT)

Professionalism. The most salient issue in recent years is the emerging professionalism in the field of victim services. As with other grassroots movements, there is fear of "professionalizing" a community-based service system that originated and developed its strength through the dedication of volunteers who extended themselves personally to victims in need. Most of the victim service programs, however, have not diluted their passion and are led by dedicated professionals who have years of experience working with victims in a specialized setting.

The historical distrust of other professionals who have no "specialized" training or experience in victim treatment issues has persisted in many areas. Experience has made some of these concerns both legitimate and urgent. However, salary issues, increased availability of training, and a growing interest in program evaluation and quality services have increased the discussion in this area:

- Victim service providers work in a very diverse array of settings. Advocates typically perform a variety of tasks that require an understanding of social, psychological, and legal principles and clerical skills.
- The areas of expertise and the training needed are multidisciplinary in nature.
- There is a growing recognition that in order to be accepted by other professionals, certification or some other form of credentialing is necessary.
- Increased professionalization would develop as a result of available professional-level salaries for experienced victim advocates and administrative staff.

The changes in this area have often been small, almost unnoticed, and yet significant. Some states have adopted training guidelines (especially in the areas of rape crisis and domestic violence), and certification initiatives are underway in several states (i.e., California, Connecticut, Kansas, South Carolina, etc.). A handful of community colleges and universities also offer extensive training to victim service providers. A study by Dr. Dana DeHart in South Carolina (1998) indicated the following academic programs for victim advocates:

- *California State University, Fresno*: Victimology major (B.A.), Victim Services Certificate Program, and Victim Services Summer Institute.
- *University of New Haven*: Degree concentrations and Certificate Programs at both graduate (M.S.) and undergraduate (B.S.) levels.
- *Washburn University*: Victim/Survivor Services major and Certificate.
- *Kansas City, Kansas Community College*: A.A. Degree, A.A.S. Degree, and Certificate Program in Victim Services.
- *Red Rocks Community College, Lakewood Colorado*: A.A. Degrees and Certificate Programs in Victim Assistance Services and Victim Services Administration.
- *Sam Houston State University*: Victim Services courses, National Institute for Victim Studies.

In the summer of 1989, California State University-Fresno (CSUF) started the first Victim Services Institute to make its Certification Program available to professionals in other states. By 1990, the number of graduates from this program tripled. By 1991, CSUF developed the first victimology major and, by 1992, the first graduate concentration in victimology.

- Such steps represent the foundation for expanding professionalism of the field.
- Academics, advocates, and criminal justice and allied professionals have worked together as equals to make professional development available to the field of victim advocacy.

Some victimology programs have also developed legal advocacy components in addition to their training, technical assistance, and educational activities such as the Center for the Study of Crime Victims' Rights, Remedies, and Resources of the University of New Haven in Connecticut. This program, part of the School of Public Safety and Professional Studies, provides *Amicus* Briefs in selected appellate cases dealing with victims' rights issues, such as several recent Connecticut Supreme Court cases involving evidence in cases of sexual assault, the criminal liability of negligent parents when children are killed by nonbiological caregivers, and the "constancy of accusation" doctrine in adult and child sexual assault cases.

Academic credit and the development of more degree programs will be necessary for the next phase of the victims' rights discipline to take place. The next step is the development of curriculum standards to be used at the national and state levels. The National Victim Assistance Academy (NVAA) curriculum offers this opportunity. NVAA began in 1995 offering a forty-five-hour core course of work in victim services that can be taken for academic credit; this can currently be done at five sites each summer throughout the United States. This course content is updated annually. It was the basis for the first state-level academy in Michigan in 1998. A multiyear funding strategy for the development of state victim assistance academies was initiated by OVC in 1999.

During this stage, additional significant developments have occurred on the national and state levels with respect to victims' rights constitutional amendments, legislation, expansion of VOCA fund collections, and creation of national programs affecting crime victims.

Advancing Advocacy.

Victims' rights constitutional amendments

- In the spring of 1996, bi-partisan federal victims' rights constitutional amendments were introduced in both the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. The amendment was re-introduced in the Senate in the opening days of the 105th Congress in January 1997, but no formal action was taken. Hearings have been held in Congress on the Federal Constitutional Amendment in 1996, 1997, and 1998.
- In April 1996, the Senate Judiciary Committee conducted hearings on the proposed federal constitutional amendment. While not endorsing specific language, Attorney General Janet Reno testified in support of federal constitutional rights for crime victims.
- In June 1996, President Clinton reaffirmed his support of federal constitutional rights for crime victims in a Rose Garden ceremony attended by members of Congress, criminal justice officials, and local, state, and national victims' rights organizations. Also that month, the Judiciary Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives conducted its first hearing on the proposed amendment.
- During the 1996 elections, both presidential candidates endorsed the concept of a federal Victims' Rights Constitutional Amendment. In these elections, eight states ratified the passage of state-level constitutional amendments--raising the total number of state constitutional amendments to twenty-nine nationwide.
- In 1998, Senate Joint Resolution 44, a new version of the federal Victims' Rights Amendment, was introduced in the Senate by Senators Jon Kyl and Dianne Feinstein. The Senate Judiciary Committee subsequently approved SJR 44, but no further action was taken by Congress.
- As of 1999, a total of thirty-one states have ratified crime victims' rights constitutional

amendments.

- On January 19, 1999, Senate Joint Resolution 3, identical to SJR 44, was introduced and is now pending before the 106th Congress.

Landmark Federal Legislation

- In 1996, the Congress passed "Megan's Law"--the Community Notification Act--as an amendment to the national Child Sexual Abuse Registry legislation. This new law provides for notification of local communities on the location of convicted sex offenders. President Clinton stated in his 1997 National Crime Victims' Rights Week Proclamation that: "With community notification, we are working to prevent cases like that of the Act's namesake, Megan Kanka, a seven-year-old who died at the hands of a repeat sex offender released into an unsuspecting community."
- In 1996, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act provided one million dollars in funding to strengthen antiterrorism efforts. In addition, restitution was made mandatory in federal violent crime cases, including domestic violence, sexual exploitation, and telemarketing fraud. In addition, compensation and victim assistance services for victims of terrorism both at home and abroad, including victims in the military, were expanded.
- The Mandatory Victims' Restitution Act, enacted as Title II of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, allows federal courts to award "public harm" restitution directly to state VOCA victim assistance programs. As a result of the new sentencing guidelines, judges can require federal offenders in certain drug offense cases to pay "community restitution."
- As a result of the passage of the Antiterrorism Act and Effective Death Penalty Act, the Office for Victims of Crime was able to use its new authority under the Act to provide substantial financial assistance to the victims and survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing.
- The Church Arson Prevention Act was signed into law in July 1996 in response to increasing numbers of acts of arson against religious institutions around the country.
- In 1996, the Drug-induced Rape Prevention Act was enacted to address the emerging issue of the use of sedating drugs by rapists to incapacitate their victims.
- The Interstate Anti-Stalking Punishment and Prevention Act of 1996 was enacted by Congress in September. The law was incorporated as an amendment to the Defense Authorization bill, H.R. 3610. The Anti-Stalking Law created a uniform federal law to protect stalking victims when they travel across a state line and on federal property, including military bases and Indian reservations. The Act makes it a felony to cross a state line to stalk someone in violation of a restraining order.
- The Victims' Rights Clarification Act of 1997 was enacted to give further assurance to the right of victims of crime to attend and observe the trials of those accused of the crime. The *Act* passed through Congress at an historic speed as the result of a ruling by the U.S. District Judge presiding over the Oklahoma City bombing case. The ruling would have excluded victims and survivors from observing the trial proceedings in Denver or on closed circuit television in Oklahoma City if they were planning to give victim impact statements during the sentencing phase. A detailed description of the Act is provided at the end of this chapter.
- The Higher Education Amendments of 1998 is passed. Part E of this legislation, "Grants to Combat Violent Crimes Against Women on Campus," is authorized through the year 2003 and appropriates a total of \$10 million in grant funding to the Violence Against Women Grants Office for fiscal year 1999. Another primary aim of this legislation is to reduce binge drinking and illegal alcohol consumption on college campuses.
- The Child Protection and Sexual Predator Punishment Act of 1998 was enacted, providing for numerous sentencing enhancements and other initiatives addressing sex crimes against children,

including crimes facilitated by the use of interstate facilities and the Internet.

- The Crime Victims with Disabilities Act of 1998 is passed, representing the first effort to systematically gather information on the extent of the problem of victimization of individuals with disabilities. This legislation directs the Attorney General to conduct a study on crimes against individuals with developmental disabilities within eighteen months. In addition, the Bureau of Justice Statistics must include statistics on the nature of crimes against individuals with developmental disabilities and victim characteristics in its annual *National Crime Victimization Survey* by 2000.
- The Identity Theft and Deterrence Act of 1998 is signed into law in October 1998. This landmark federal legislation outlaws identity theft and directs the U.S. Sentencing Commission to consider various factors in determining penalties including the number of victims and the value of to any individual victim. The Act further authorizes the Federal Trade Commission to log and acknowledge reports of identity theft, provide information to victims and refer complaints to appropriate consumer reporting and law enforcement agencies.

Federal Crime Victims Fund

- In 1996, deposits in the federal Crime Victims Fund reached an all-time high of over \$525 million available for state crime victim compensation, local victim assistance programs, national training and technical assistance, and federal victim assistance. As a result of this landmark increase in fund collections, states received more than three times as much in federal funds in 1997 as they had in any previous year.
- In January of 1997, the Office for Victims of Crime hosted a series of regional meetings with state VOCA administrators to encourage states to develop multiyear funding strategies to help stabilize local victim assistance program funding; encourage states to provide funding for programs that serve previously underserved crime victims, such as Indian tribes; and encourage the use of technologies to improve victims' rights and services.
- To fully recognize the sovereignty of Indian Nations, the Office for Victims of Crime, for the first time in 1997, provided victim assistance grants in Indian Country directly to the tribes.

Aviation Disasters

- In September 1996, the President directed the National Safety Transportation Board (NTSB) to coordinate the roles of the Departments of Justice, Defense, State, and other federal agencies with responsibilities for victim services following the tragic explosion of TWA flight 800 and the Valuejet crash in Miami, Florida. Subsequently, Congress passed the Aviation Disaster Family Assistance Act of 1996, establishing the responsibility of NTSB in all domestic aviation disasters as "a point of contact within the federal government for the families of passengers involved in the accident and a liaison between the air carrier . . . and the families." (*Title VII of Public Law 104-264. Cong. Rec. H11303*)
- The Attorney General designated OVC as the lead agency within DOJ to work with NTSB on a coordinated government protocol for aviation disasters. In conjunction with other DOJ components, including the FBI, OVC developed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to ensure that the needs of victims and their survivors are addressed in a sensitive and appropriate manner in the event of an aviation disaster resulting from criminal activity. It was signed by the Attorney General and the NTSB Chair and became effective on January 28, 1997. It is the first step in developing a coordinated government response to aviation disasters.

Other Significant Developments

1996

- In February 1996, the National Domestic Violence Hotline (1-800-799-SAFE) was established to provide crisis intervention information and assistance to victims of domestic violence. The new hotline was cited in the *President's 1997 National Crime Victims' Rights Week Proclamation* as having already responded to more than 73,000 calls for assistance from around the country.
- The Office for Victims of Crime launched a number of international crime victim initiatives in 1996 including working to foster worldwide implementation of a United Nations declaration on victims' rights and initiatives to better assist Americans who are victimized abroad.
- The Office for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) within the U.S. Department of Justice issued the *Juvenile Justice Action Plan* that includes recommendations for victims' rights and services for victims of juvenile offenders within the juvenile justice system.

1997

- As stated in the *President's 1997 National Crime Victims' Rights Week Proclamation*, as of April 1997, the *Brady Bill* has prevented over 225,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from buying handguns.
- The Federal Crime Victims Fund reached its second highest year in fund collections with deposits totaling \$363 million.
- OVC continued its support of the victims and survivors of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City by funding additional advocates, crisis counseling, and travel expenses to court proceedings for the bombing victims. When the venue of the trial was changed to Denver, Colorado, OVC provided funding for a special closed circuit broadcast to victims and survivors in Oklahoma City.
- OVC representatives joined the United States Delegation to the United Nations Commission on Criminal Justice and Crime Prevention. OVC played a leadership role in the development of an International Victim Assistance Training Manual to implement the *U.N. Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*.
- The National Center for Victims of Crime (formerly National Victim Center) utilized its extensive legislative database to create the *Legislative Sourcebook*, a comprehensive compendium of victims' rights laws in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Developed with support from OVC, the *Sourcebook* became the definitive digest of state crime victims' rights legislation for the nation.
- A comprehensive national training for VOCA Compensation and Assistance programs is hosted by the National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards and the National Organization for Victim Assistance with support from OVC. VOCA representatives from *all* fifty states and every territory attended the conference.
- During National Crime Victims' Rights Week, OVC officially launched its homepage <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/> providing Internet access to its comprehensive resources on victims' rights and services.
- The Victims' Rights Clarification Act of 1997 was passed, in response to a federal ruling that excluded victims and survivors of the Murrah federal building bombing from observing the proceedings in Denver or on closed-circuit television in Oklahoma City, if they were planning to give victim impact testimony during the sentencing phase of the case.

Specifically, the Act amends Chapter 223 of Title 18 of the United States Code by adding the following new language in Section 3510--*Rights of Victims to Attend and Observe the Trial*:

- *Noncapital cases*: "Notwithstanding any statute, rule, or other provision of law, a United States district court shall not order any victim of an offense excluded from the trial of a defendant accused of that

offense because such victim may, during the sentencing hearing, make a statement or present any information in relation to the sentence.

- *Capital cases*: "Notwithstanding any statute, rule, or other provision of law, a United States district court shall not order any victim of an offense excluded from the trial of a defendant accused of that offense because such victim may, during the sentencing hearing, testify as to the effect of the offense on the victim and the victim's family or as to any other factor for which notice is required under section 3593(a).

- *Clarification of grounds for exclusion*: Section 3593(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "For the purposes of the preceding sentence, the fact that the victim, as defined in 3510, attended or observed the trial shall not be construed to pose a danger of creating unfair prejudice, confusing the issues, or misleading the jury."

(Title 18, Chapter 223, United States Code, as amended by the Victims Rights Clarification Act of 1997. See Section 3510: Rights of Victims to Attend and Observe Trial.)

1998

- On May 29, 1998, *New Directions from the Field: Victims Rights and Services for the 21st Century* was released to the field. The report was developed with support from OVC and input from over 1000 individuals across the nation. It assessed the nation's progress in meeting the recommendations set forth in the *Final Report* of the 1982 President's Task Force on Victims of Crime and issued over 250 new recommendations from the field for the next millennium. OVC printed 30,000 copies of this report and disseminated it widely across the nation.
- The fourth National Victim Assistance Academy (NVAA), sponsored and funded by OVC, is held at four university sites around the country. The number of NVAA graduates through 1998 totals nearly 700 students from all fifty states, one American territory, and three foreign countries have attended the Academy.

Scope of Crime/Historical Review

of the Victims' Rights discipline Self-Examination

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1. To what extent are people in America concerned about violent crime in the U.S.?
 2. How has a concern about violent crime affected the way people in America view the world and live their lives?
 3. What are the four movements that set the stage for the victim's rights discipline?
 4. Identify the original grassroots crime victim programs and describe their impact on the victims' rights discipline.
 5. List two major federal laws that were passed to benefit crime victims in the 1980s and two in the 1990s.

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Lowest Crime Rates in 25 Years

Lowest Crime Rates in 25 Years

Overall Crime Rate at Lowest Level Since 1973

- Under President Clinton and Vice President Gore, America has experienced the longest continuous drop in crime on record. Violent crime rate fell 7 percent in 1998 and 27 percent since 1993. The murder rate is down more than 25 percent since 1993, its lowest point since 1967.

[source: FBI, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1998]

Funding 100,000 New Police Officers.

- The Clinton-Gore Administration met its commitment of funding 100,000 police officers for our communities, ahead of schedule and under budget. In the FY 2000 budget, the President won full funding for the first installment toward his goal to hire up to 50,000 more police officers for our nation's streets by 2005.

[source: Justice Department, COPS Program, 5/12/99]

Keeping Criminals and their Guns off our Streets

- Since the President signed the Brady Bill into law more than 470,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied guns.
- The historic 1994 Crime Bill banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies and increased penalties for interstate gun trafficking and for using semiautomatic weapons in violent or drug trafficking offenses.
- The Clinton-Gore Administration has vigorously prosecuted gun crimes. From 1998 to 1999, the number of federal firearms cases prosecuted by U.S. Attorneys increased 25 percent, from 4,391 cases in 1998 to 5,500 cases in 1999.
- Tough prosecutions, strategic efforts to deter and prevent gun crime, and the passage of strong new gun laws such as the Brady Act, have together led to a more than 35 percent drop in gun-related crime since 1992 and a 57 percent decrease in juvenile gun homicide offenders since 1993.
- The homicide rate dropped 7 percent in 1998 -- almost entirely due to a decrease in homicides committed with guns.

[source: Department of Justice, 11/30/99, 1/18/2000; CQ Annual 1994]

Giving Police the Tools They Need to Fight Crime

- President Clinton and Vice President Gore won \$230 million in the FY00 budget to provide law enforcement with the latest crime-fighting and crime-solving technology.
- This funding will help make crime mapping technology -- which enables police agencies to track crime hot spots and target their resources to where they are most needed -- more widely available, to improve compatibility among law enforcement radio systems, and aid development of innovative programs such as the so-called ALERT car, which allows officers to enter electronically, at the scene of a crime, at an accident or at a traffic stop.

[source: Justice Department, 2/1/99]

Developed Comprehensive Anti-Drug Strategy

- President Clinton appointed four-star general Barry McCaffery to lead anti-drug strategy as the nation's Drug Czar.
- Illicit drug use among young people age 12-17 declined from 1997 to 1998.
- Overall drug use is down since its peak in the 1970's, drug-related murders have fallen by 40 percent since 1992, and youth drug use is on the decline for the third straight year.

[source: Dept of Health and Human Services, 12/17/99]

Fighting Hate Crimes

- President Clinton fought for and signed the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act in 1994.
- President Clinton hosted the first White House Conference on Hate Crimes, where he called for passage of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act -- bipartisan legislation which would strengthen hate crimes laws and make it clear that America will not tolerate acts of violence based on race, color, gender, national origin, religion, sexual orientation or disability.

[source: White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 11/10/97]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 27, 1999

PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCES COMPREHENSIVE LEGISLATION
TO KEEP GUNS AWAY FROM YOUTH AND CRIMINALS

April 27, 1999

Today, President Clinton will announce new legislation to strengthen federal firearms laws and make it more difficult for kids and criminals to have access to guns and explosives. The President's package represents the most comprehensive gun legislation any Administration has put forward in 30 years. The proposed bill will include new proposals to: (1) reduce illegal gun running by limiting the purchase of handguns to no more than one per month; (2) raise the age of the youth handgun ban from 18 to 21 years of age; (3) ban the juvenile possession of semi-automatic assault rifles; (4) halt the importation of large capacity ammunition magazines; (5) require Brady background checks for the purchase of explosives; (6) help law enforcement trace more crime guns to their source; and (7) authorize repeat inspections to crack down on gun dealers involved in illegal gun trafficking.

BUILDING ON THE SUCCESS OF THE BRADY LAW. Since taking effect in 1994, the Brady Law has prevented over a quarter million felons, fugitives, stalkers, and other prohibited purchasers from buying handguns. In November 1998, the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) took effect, allowing access to a fuller set of records that law enforcement officials can use to conduct checks of all prospective gun purchases -- not just for handguns. To date, NICS has conducted over 3.4 million background checks on gun purchasers, and the FBI has stopped over 36,000 illegal gun sales. The President's legislation will propose strengthening the Brady Law by:

- Extending the Brady Law's requirements to purchases of explosives. Under current law, no Brady background check is required to buy explosives. The President's bill would help cut off easy access to explosives by requiring Brady background checks before the sale of explosives, and by extending the same prohibitions in our gun laws to prospective purchasers of explosives. The bill would also prohibit convicted felons from purchasing any quantity of black powder, which is used to make most pipe bombs, and require all explosives dealers to keep records of their sales of black powder.
- Closing the gun show loophole on Brady background checks. In 1998, there were more than 4,000 gun shows held throughout the country as well as flea markets and other events at which guns could be traded anonymously. An estimated 25-50 percent of the sellers at such gun shows are unlicensed, and the guns sold by the unlicensed sellers are not subject to background checks. As a result, gun shows can provide a forum for illegal firearms sales and gun trafficking. In fact, a recent review by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) of 314 gun show investigations found that 46 percent of these investigations involved the purchase or sale of firearms by felons, and 34 percent involved the sale of firearms later used in serious crimes, including homicides. To end this policy of firearms being sold at gun shows on a "no questions asked" basis, the President's bill requires : (1) Brady background checks on all firearms transferred at gun shows, with the assistance of federally-licensed dealers; (2) vendors to report information on firearms sold at gun shows to the ATF , so that they can be traced

by law enforcement if they are later used in crimes; and (3) gun show promoters to register with the ATF and notify it of all gun shows.

- Creating a mandatory Brady waiting period. Although the NICS has generally improved law enforcement's ability to conduct background checks, a mandatory waiting period would provide a cooling-off period for handgun purchases and allow local law enforcement officers to check additional, non-computerized records. Accordingly, the President's legislation would: (1) require a minimum 3-day waiting period for all handgun purchases; (2) add up to an additional two days to the waiting period if law enforcement officers need more time to clarify arrest records; and (3) provide authority for dealers to notify local law enforcement officials of all proposed handgun purchases.
- Extending the Brady Law to violent juveniles. Although violent youth convicted in adult courts are barred from owning firearms as adults, the same is not true for youth convicted of serious violent crimes in juvenile court. Violent juveniles should be treated as adults for their adult crimes, and stopped from getting weapons to hurt again. The President's legislation would permanently ban all violent juveniles from buying guns, so that they could not purchase a gun on their 21st birthday.

RESTRICTING YOUTH ACCESS TO GUNS. Keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles has been one of President Clinton's top priorities. He fought for and signed legislation prohibiting the juvenile possession of handguns, requiring "zero tolerance" for guns in schools and establishing the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) to help identify and arrest adults who traffic guns to children. The President's bill does even more to restrict unauthorized youth access to guns by:

- Raising the age of the youth handgun ban to 21 years of age. In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Youth Handgun Safety Act, which generally banned the possession of handguns by juveniles under the age of 18, and prohibited adults from transferring handguns to juveniles -- except in limited circumstances. A separate provision of the 1968 Gun Control Act also prohibits federally-licensed gun dealers from selling handguns to any one under 21 years of age. However, it is perfectly legal for 18-20 year-olds to possess handguns -- and even to buy them from unlicensed sellers, such as from a neighbor who is a private collector. Additionally, ATF gun trace data show that the more crime guns are traced to 18 and 19-year-olds than all other age groups. The President's legislation would extend the provisions of the youth handgun ban to youth between 18 and 21 years of age.
- Banning juvenile possession of semiautomatic assault rifles. Although the Youth Handgun Safety Act generally banned the possession of assault pistols, it did not include assault rifles and large capacity magazines manufactured before the Assault Weapons Ban went into effect. Thus, it remains legal for juveniles under the age of 18 to possess these deadly weapons and ammunition. The President's bill prohibits their possession by juveniles in any instance.
- Holding adults responsible for child access to guns. Child Access Prevention (CAP) laws promote gun safety and responsibility by holding adults responsible if they allow children easy access to loaded firearms. According to a study published by the Journal of the American Medical Association, CAP laws help reduce fatal unintentional shootings by an average of 23%. The President's legislation would impose felony penalties on adults who knowingly

1 or recklessly allow a child to have unlawful access to a gun that is later used to cause death or injury. Individuals sentenced under this provision could be imprisoned for up to three years, fined a maximum of \$250,000, or both.

- Requiring child safety locks for guns. Child safety locks and other devices can reduce the unauthorized use of handguns, by a child at play or a teen looking to commit a crime. Many youth have to look no further than their own home to get their hands on a gun: it is estimated that one-third of all privately-owned handguns are left both loaded and unlocked. To address this problem, the President's bill requires federally-licensed firearms dealers, manufacturers, and importers to provide a child safety lock or device with every gun they sell.
- Increasing penalties for transferring guns to juveniles. The President's bill would increase penalties for adults who transfer handguns to juveniles knowing that they will be used in a violent crime -- establishing a new mandatory minimum sentence of at least 3 years and up to 10 years.

CRACKING DOWN ON ILLEGAL GUN TRAFFICKERS. In 1996, President Clinton launched the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) in 17 cities to help trace crime guns to their source, as well as identify and arrest the adults who traffic firearms to our children. Since that time, YCGII has been expanded to 20 more cities and has conducted more than 200,000 traces for local law enforcement. Additionally, over the last two years the President has proposed hiring more than 280 new ATF agents and more than 40 new federal prosecutors to arrest gun traffickers and violent criminals, and crack down on illegal gun sales.

- Reduce illegal gun running by limiting handgun sales to no more than one per month. The President's legislation would crack down on gun trafficking by limiting handgun sales to any individual a maximum of one per month. Gun runners should not be able to circumvent Brady background checks, and employ "straw purchasers" -- or persons not prohibited from purchasing firearms -- to buy guns in bulk and divert them to the street. The President's bill would implement a national system as soon as practicable to limit handgun sales to one per month.
- Allowing law enforcement to trace all firearms used in crimes. Under current law it is much more difficult for law enforcement to trace used firearms later used in crimes than it is to trace new guns later used in crimes. To improve law enforcement's ability to trace crime guns, the President's legislation requires that federal gun dealers also report the manufacturer, model, and serial number of all used guns sold to ATF's National Tracing Center. No information on the purchaser would be provided to ATF unless the gun later became the subject of a crime gun trace.
- Doubling the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII). Over the past 2 years, the President has expanded the YCGII initiative to 37 cities -- helping them to trace all crime guns to their source, to identify illegal gun markets, and to crack down on gun traffickers. Last year, ATF initiated over 300 investigations in these cities, which involved over 3,300 illegally trafficked firearms. The President's bill would increase the number of cities participating in YCGII over the next 4 years to a total of 75.
- Increasing penalties on gun kingpins. To send a strong message to gun runners that their illegal gun trafficking will not be tolerated, the President's bill doubles the maximum penalty for illegally selling firearms without a license (from 5 to 10 years of imprisonment), and instructs the U.S. Sentencing Commission to

enhance the current penalty for offenses where over 50 firearms have been illegally trafficked.

- Cracking down on gun dealers involved in illegal gun trafficking. While most gun dealers are not associated with unlawful activities, some are involved in the illegal gun trade. The President's legislation allows for more inspections of federal firearms licensees (from 1 to 3 per year), tougher penalties for serious violations that interfere with trafficking investigations, and suspension of a gun dealer's license for willful violations of the Gun Control Act.

STRENGTHENING THE ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN. In 1994, the President fought for and signed into law legislation to ban the manufacture and importation of the 19 deadliest assault weapons, their copies, and large capacity ammunition clips. Last year, the President also took action to ban the importation of over 50 models of modified assault weapons. The President's bill strengthens the assault weapons law by:

- Banning the importation of all large capacity ammunition magazines. Although the 1994 assault weapons law banned the future domestic manufacture and importation of large capacity ammunition feeding devices that hold more than 10 rounds of ammunition, those manufactured before the law's enactment were grandfathered. Because of the difficulty in determining when large capacity ammunition magazines manufactured by foreign companies were made, it has become relatively easy for foreign gun manufacturers to circumvent the ban. The President's bill would close this loophole by banning the importation of all large capacity magazines -- regardless of when they were manufactured.

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President Clinton's Remarks on Gun Legislation**THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary**

For Immediate Release

June 15, 1999

**REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON GUN LEGISLATION**

The Rose Garden

1:10 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated, everyone. Welcome to the Rose Garden on this beautiful afternoon. I want to especially thank those who will be speaking after me -- Representatives Connie Morella and Carolyn McCarthy, and our leader of the Democrats in the House, Dick Gephardt. I thank the many members of Congress; who are here, and others for whom they speak who are not able to be here this afternoon.

I also want to thank Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder, Treasury Under Secretary Jim Johnson, Director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics Jan Chaiken, representatives of the law enforcement and faith communities, gun advocacy, and victims groups who are here today.

Five and a half years ago here at the White House, I signed the Brady Bill into law. I was especially pleased to be standing that day beside two great women fighters against gun violence -- Sarah Brady and Attorney General Janet Reno. Today, I am proud to be here with Congresswoman Morella and Congresswoman McCarthy, and many other of the women members of the United States House of Representatives, along with some men they allowed to come along today -- (laughter) -- and who appreciated being invited.

I think it is important to note that women members of both parties in Washington and women who belong to both parties in America, all over this country, have been in the forefront of this fight. They care about it as mothers, as sisters, as daughters, as citizens of this country. In the audience with us today are a number of mothers and fathers whose children have been victims of gun violence, and others who have personally suffered from it. Particularly to those who have been personally affected, I thank you for coming.

On that day when I signed the Brady Bill, I said that our efforts to produce this bill proved once again that democracy can work. The American people and their grassroots demand for common-sense action against gun violence prevailed over the entrenched and very powerful Washington gun lobby. Now, in the aftermath of the terrible shootings at Littleton, our nation is even more galvanized to act on every front to reduce crime, especially violence committed by and against our children.

In recent weeks, we talked about the need to reduce our children's exposure to violence in the media, and have taken steps to do just that. We've talked about the need for parents to be more present in their children's lives, and we are taking steps to give parents new time to do so. We talked about the need for

a national grassroots citizen effort to combat violence against children, and we're in the process of establishing that. But we've also talked about the need to take new steps to keep guns out of the hands of juveniles, criminals, and others who shouldn't have them.

Now is the time for those of us in government to act by strengthening the Brady Law. Congress has a chance to do that this week. Once again, the gun lobby is resisting with all its might. Once again, we're battling not just for the safety of our families, but for the soundness of our democracy.

Support for the Brady Bill is as bipartisan, as broad as the American people. Teachers, doctors, law enforcement officials, even gun manufacturers support it. About the only ones who are against it still are the NRA and its' allies in Congress. It seems that every day they try another procedural or rhetorical trick to confuse everyone and avoid responsibility. These are the same kind of tactical smoke screens they threw up six years ago.

Back then -- now let's just remember -- I want every member of Congress to think about this before they vote on Thursday -- what did they say six years ago? They said the Brady Bill threatened the right of citizens to own firearms. Well, today we know the Second Amendment, hunting and sport shooting are alive and well in America, just as alive and well as they were in 1994. But we also know they said gun violence wouldn't be reduced if the Brady Bill passed. But since 1993, gun crimes have fallen by over 25 percent. Police chiefs all across America believe the Brady Law is vital to their efforts.

You remember the gun lobby said that requiring background checks at gun stores wouldn't keep guns out of the hands of criminals, because criminals don't buy guns at stores -- they said. Well, that claim has now been disproved hundreds of thousands of times.

Periodically the Justice Department estimates how effective the Brady Law has been in keeping guns out of the hands of those who shouldn't have them. Today I'm pleased to announce the latest figures. Since it went into effect in 1994, the Brady Law has blocked over 400,000 illegal gun sales. That's a pretty good record for the United States of America. (Applause.)

Two-thirds -- two-thirds of those sales were to people indicted or convicted of felony crimes. Most of the rest were fugitives or had records of domestic violence, drug abuse, or mental illness. We have stopped over 400,000 gun sales that were dangerous since 1994 because Congress listened to the American people and not the NRA, and passed the Brady Bill. And, I'll say again, every single, red flag they threw up about all the danger and all the burden and all the problems this would be to gun owners was wrong, wrong, wrong.

Now, Congress has another vitally important choice before it. Are they going to strengthen the Brady Bill or weaken it? The Brady Law has worked. It's worked so well, in fact, that criminals now have to buy their weapons at places not fully covered by the gun laws -- like gun shows and flea markets.

Now, you remember when the NRA said in 1994 -- we don't really need the Brady Bill because people don't buy their guns at gun stores; these criminals don't buy their guns there. So, now they want to protect the sales at the places where the criminals do buy their guns -- the flea markets and the gun shows. Someone ought to go back before we vote on Thursday and read them what they said in 1994 and remind them where they do buy the guns. (Applause.)

Earlier this year, I sent to Congress measures to close the loophole by expanding the background checks to gun shows and to flea markets where guns are sold along with other items. Last month, the Senate passed these measures, thanks to a tie-breaking vote by Vice President Gore, and despite efforts by the gun lobby to shoot new loopholes in the Brady Law. The Senate did the right thing, and the House should follow suit.

Now, I want to be fair to the House members who are not here. This is a harder vote in the House, and we have to work harder to help them and to stand by them. Why? Because some of our members who

desperately want to vote for this bill come from Congressional districts which are less populist than almost all states, and where the influence of the NRA, and their ability to promote scare tactics and misinformation, is relatively greater. So, it's a harder vote, and we're going to have to work harder -- all of us.

But look at what they're being asked to do. They're being asked to reject the measures that the Senate passed which were by any standard moderate and common-sense, and, instead, adopt bills that were ghost-written by the NRA. Listen to this: the gun lobby's bill would leave a gaping loophole in the gun show provision, would exempt flea markets from Brady checks altogether. Now, this is from the same group that told us in 1994 there was no point in regulating sales at gun stores because the criminals got their guns somewhere else. So, now we want to go somewhere else, and they can't wait to protect that. Someone should ask about this before we have a vote on Thursday.

This provision of theirs would invite felons, fugitives, and stalkers to buy their weapons at flea markets, or walk out in the parking lot at the gun show. The gun lobby's bill would shorten the time allowed for background checks, giving thousands of criminals a year the chance to slip through the system. They would let gun dealership weapons -- now, listen to this -- I want to say this again. Sometimes we get up here, we read these speeches, and I get too much in a hurry. I want you to listen to this. They would let gun dealers ship weapons directly to unlicensed buyers, across state lines, reversing 30 years of settled law that has helped to control interstate gun running.

I want the House to reject these bills, and pass legislation that will strengthen, not weaken, the Brady Law. I want us to honor the sacrifices of those people in Littleton, Colorado -- not turn our backs on them. (Applause.)

I also think the House should take further action to reduce gun violence, especially among the young. Yesterday, the Vice President announced a new government study showing that young people, age 18 through 20, make up just four percent of our population, but commit 24 percent of all gun murders. We could save lives by raising the legal age of handgun possession from 18 to 21, and I ask the House to do that as well.

I also call on the House to mandate that child safety locks be sold with all new handguns as the Senate has done. (Applause.)

Let me say, I have been deeply encouraged by the comments we've been getting, the calls we've gotten here at the White House, from people identifying themselves as Republicans, as well as Democrats -- people identifying themselves as long-time NRA members, who say, this is crazy -- why are we out here fighting an attempt to close the loopholes in gun shows and flea markets? How can we be against child safety locks? Why should kids under the age of 21 be walking the streets with these guns? America is in a different place than they were in 1994. The numbers are larger and more intense. We have all been sobered by what we have been through in these school shootings, and the 13 children a day that die by gun violence in ones and twos, and never make the evening news.

This is too important an issue to be decided by strong-arm lobbying tactics in Washington. The heart and soul of America is on the line. And out in America, this is not a partisan issue.

I would like now to introduce someone who embodies the best of our bipartisan efforts -- Congresswoman Connie Morella, from the State of Maryland. (Applause.)

* * *

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, we're about to adjourn. Congress has to go back to cast the vote. I want to thank Congresswoman Morella, Congresswoman McCarthy, Leader Gephardt, all the members who are here.

I don't know what will be on the evening news tonight, but one thing I hope will be remembered -- Carolyn McCarthy, who has earned a right to stand here before God and every American and say

Saving Lives by Taking Guns Out of Crime:

The Drop in Gun-Related Crime Deaths Since Enactment of the Brady Law

I. INTRODUCTION

In their book, *Crime is Not the Problem* (1997), Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins demonstrated that the United States is distinguished from other industrialized nations, not by the level of violence in our society, but by the level of lethal violence. As they put it, “our rate of assault is not exceptional; our death rate from assault is exceptional.” Drs. Zimring and Hawkins went on to single out guns, identifying the “use of firearms in assault and robbery as the single environmental feature of American society that is most clearly linked to the extraordinary death rate from interpersonal violence in the United States.” Finally, they concluded that, “no program for the prevention of lethal violence can possess even superficial credibility without paying sustained attention to guns. Without strategies for the reduction of firearm use in assaults, no policy can be accurately characterized as directed at the reduction of American lethal violence.” (Zimring and Hawkins, p. 122, 123, 200)

In other words, the likelihood that a violent event becomes a lethal event depends on the weapon used by the assailant in addition to the assailant’s intent. As Duke University Professor Phil Cook explained, “...murder can be viewed as a byproduct of robbery, the likelihood of which depends to an important degree on the type of weapon [used].” (Cook 1991, p. 18) The more lethal the weapon involved (e.g., a gun rather than a fist), the greater the prospect that an attack will result in a murder.

The impact of weapon choice on fatality rates (known as the “instrumentality effect”) can be understood through an example (see generally Cook 1989). In 1993, there were 3,182 robberies that resulted in a murder: 2,412 (76%) involved the use of a gun and 770 a weapon other than a gun.¹ That same year, less than half (42.4%) of all robberies were committed with a gun. Therefore, victims of gun robberies were several times more likely to be killed than were victims of non-gun robberies. Specifically, for every 116 gun-robberies there was one robbery death compared to one death for every 493 non-gun robberies. If the ratio of gun-robberies to robbery deaths were applied to all 659,757 robberies committed in 1993, the number of fatalities would have exceeded 5,600. If none of the robberies involved the use of a gun, the number of fatalities would have fallen below 1,400.

¹ Note that the figures in this paragraph are adjusted from the UCR to include unknown crimes in proportion to known crimes. If X% of known crimes are robberies, that same percentage is applied to unknown crimes and added to the total.

The number of murders reported to the FBI has been falling every year from 1993 to 1998 (the most recent year for which data is available). The reduction can be attributed to two factors: a falling violent crime rate and a reduction in the proportion of violent crimes committed with guns, which peaked in 1993 at 42.4% of robberies and 25.1% of aggravated assaults. Coinciding with the implementation of the Brady Law, gun use began to fall, accounting for just 38.2% and 18.8% of robberies and assaults respectively, in 1998.

The primary purpose of this report is to:

- Estimate the number of lives saved (or deaths averted) as a result of the reduction in the proportion of robberies and assaults committed with guns for the five-year period beginning in 1994 -- coinciding with the implementation of the Brady Law -- through 1998.

Additionally, preliminary data linking the reduction in firearm use in violent crime to implementation of the Brady Law is presented suggesting that the Law has saved lives.

II. METHODS

This analysis is composed of three steps. First, the development of statistical evidence linking the changes in the annual total number of murders to changes in the percentage of robberies and assaults committed with firearms. Second, the number of deaths averted attributable to reduction in gun use was calculated. Third, statistical evidence linking the change in the percentage of crimes committed with firearms to implementation of the Brady Law was formed. All data for this analysis was obtained from the Uniform Crime Reports.

Step One: Linking the decline in murders to the falling proportion of robberies and assaults committed with firearms

Multivariate regression was used to test the hypothesis that the number of murders committed during the commission of a robbery or aggravated assault depends on the percentage of robberies and assaults committed with firearms. The dependent variable was the annual number of murders reported to the FBI by state for the years 1991-1998. Independent variables included were: (1) the percentage of robberies and aggravated assaults committed with firearms for each state; (2) 50 state dummy variables; and (3) time, which was captured in two variables -- one for the number of years prior to implementation of Brady (1991-1993) and the other, the number of years Brady had been implemented (1994-1998). The state dummy variables are used to control for policies or circumstances unique to each state.

Step Two: Calculating the number of deaths averted

The number of lives saved was calculated for the five-year time period beginning in 1994. It is defined as the difference between the number of robberies and assaults that resulted in a homicide and the number of homicides that would have occurred—the counterfactual—had the crime rate and the proportion of robberies and assaults committed with firearms remained constant at levels reached in 1993. The number of deaths averted attributable to each factor (the

change in the crime rate and the gun crime rate) was then calculated using the method illustrated in the example that follows below.

Assume that:

- There is one death for every 50 violent crimes committed with a firearm;
- There is one death for every 200 violent crimes that do not involve the use of a gun;
- In Year One, there were 10,000 violent crimes (50% committed with guns); and,
- In Year Two, there were 8,000 violent crimes (25% committed with guns) so that, in Year Two there was a decline in both the number of violent crimes and in the proportion of violent crimes committed with guns.

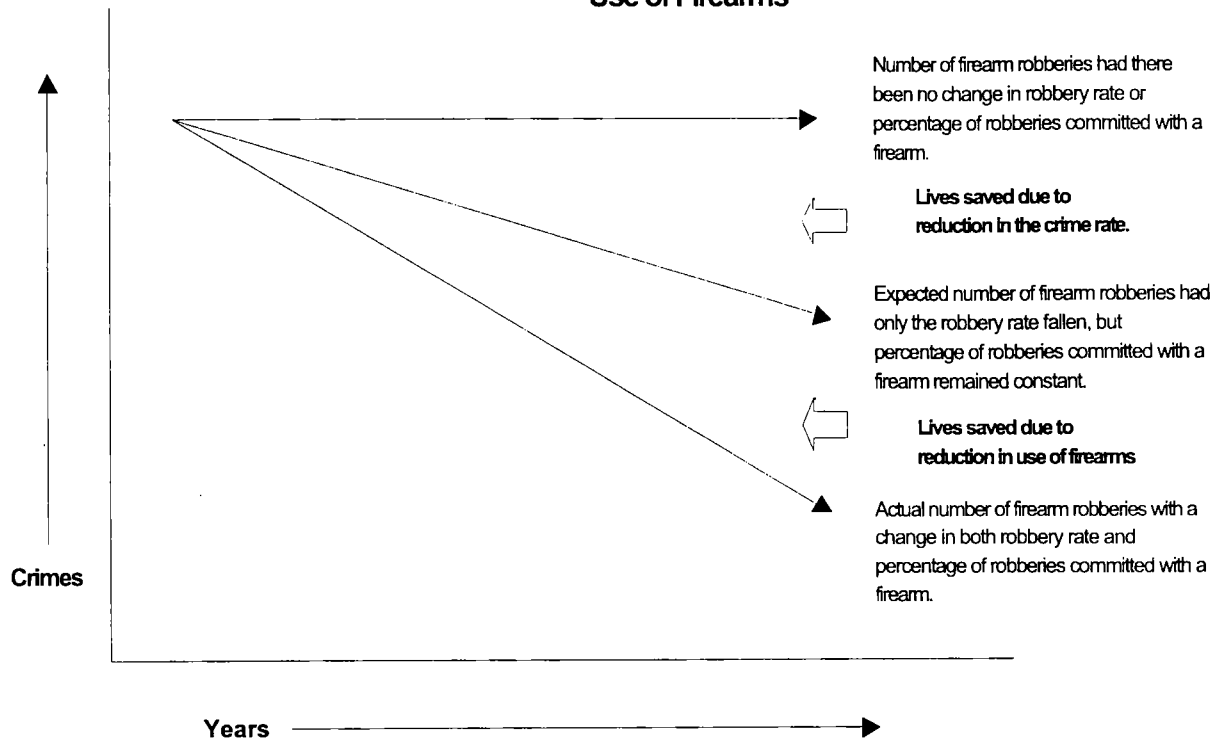
Applying the percentage of crimes that involved the use of a gun to the total number of violent crimes committed, there were 5,000 gun-crimes in Year One resulting in 100 deaths. Additionally, there were 5,000 crimes committed that year without the use of firearms resulting in 25 deaths. In Year One, the total number of deaths is 125.

In Year Two, there were 2,000 gun-crimes resulting in 40 deaths, a reduction of 60 gun-related deaths (100-40) from the previous year. There were also 6,000 non-gun crimes resulting in 30 deaths – an increase from Year One of 1,000 non-gun crimes and of 5 deaths. The total number of deaths in Year Two is 70 (30 non-gun + 40 gun) or, 55 fewer deaths in Year Two than in Year One. Of the 55 deaths averted, 30 can be attributed to the change in the proportion of crimes committed with firearms and 25 to the declining crime rate.

Had the proportion of crimes committed with guns in Year Two remained at the Year One level of 50%, there would have been 4,000 gun-crimes resulting in 80 deaths in Year Two – a reduction of 20 gun-related deaths from the preceding year (100-80) instead of the reduction of 60 deaths. Therefore, of the 60 gun deaths avoided in Year Two, 20 can be attributed to the reduction in crime and the other 40 to the change in the proportion of crimes committed with firearms.

The additional deaths associated with non-gun crimes (10) should be subtracted from the total number of deaths averted as a result of the drop in gun use leaving a total of 30 deaths averted (40-10) because fewer violent crimes involve the use of firearms. And, because in this example, there was an overall reduction of 55 deaths from Year One to Year Two, the remaining 25 deaths averted can be attributed to the fall in the crime rate (55-30). See Figure 1 for the theoretical construct, which also applies to aggravated assaults.

Figure 1 – Portion of Reduction in Robberies Due to Reduction in Use of Firearms



Using the same methodology described above, an estimate was also calculated for the excess mortality associated with increasing rates of violent crime and gun crime for the three-year time period beginning in 1991. Data necessary to extend this analysis to additional years was not readily available in the Uniform Crime Reports.

Table 1 is a summary of the methodology:

Table 1 – Steps to calculate the number of lives saved from a reduction in the use of firearms.

Goal	Method
1. Number of robberies per year from 1993-1998.	1. Obtained from UCR data.
2. Number of firearm robberies per year from 1993-1998.	2. Calculated by multiplying #1 by the percentage of robberies in each year committed with a firearm, obtained from UCR data.
3. Number of expected firearm robberies per year from 1994-1998.	3. Calculated by multiplying #2 by the percentage of robberies committed with a firearm in the previous year.
4. Difference between expected firearm robberies and firearm robberies per year from 1994-1998.	4. Calculated by subtracting #3 from #2.
5. Number of firearm robberies that end in murder per year from 1994-1998.	5. Obtained from UCR data.
6. Rate of firearm robbery murders per firearm robberies from 1994-1998.	6. Calculated by dividing #5 by #2.
7. Number of lives saved by the reduction in use of firearms from 1994-1998.	7. Calculated by multiplying #4 by #6.

The process is repeated to determine the number of lives saved for aggravated assaults. This procedure is also used to determine the number of lives lost for the period 1990-1993 for both robberies and aggravated assaults.

The first step was to determine how many firearm robberies and firearm aggravated assaults were averted in the five-year period since 1993. To do this, the number of firearm robberies and firearm aggravated assaults in a given year was multiplied by the percentage of robberies and aggravated assaults committed with a firearm in the previous year. These are the expected firearm robberies and aggravated assaults between 1994-1998. These figures are then subtracted from the actual number of firearm robberies and aggravated assaults to give us the number of firearm robberies and aggravated assaults avoided after 1993 due to a reduction in gun use.

Not all of these potential crimes would have ended in murder so we cannot conclude that all of these lives have been saved. UCR data breaks up murders by the type of crime that is being committed (as noted earlier, *unknown* murder crimes were distributed across the crimes in proportion to the *known* crimes for this calculation).

These ratios were applied to the number of averted crimes to arrive at a total number of murders avoided or lives saved.

Step Three: Attributing the decline in gun use to the implementation of Brady

Multivariate regression analysis was used to test the hypothesis that the reduction in the use of guns for robberies and aggravated assaults coincided with the implementation of the Brady Law. In this equation, the dependent variable was the percentage of robberies and aggravated assaults committed with firearms. The independent variables included a dummy variable for each state, and a pre- and post-Brady variable constructed to account for the amount of time before the law went into effect and the number of years after the Law was implemented.

III. RESULTS

A. The number of murders committed depends on the percentage of robberies and assaults committed with firearms.

Controlling for both year and for unidentified factors in all 50 states, the number of murders reported to the FBI was found to vary significantly ($p=0.009$) with the changes in the proportion of robberies and assaults committed with firearms. Specifically, there were 835 fewer murders reported to the FBI for every 1- percent decline in the percentage of robberies and assaults committed with firearms.

B. Estimated number of deaths averted due to falling gun use as a percentage of violent crime.

From 1994-1998, there were 9,368 fewer murders than expected in connection with gun robberies (418) and gun assaults (8,950) due to the change in the percentage of robberies and assaults committed with firearms since 1993.

In 1993, there were 659,870 robberies, of which 42.4%, or 279,785, were committed with firearms. By 1998, the number of robberies had fallen to 446,625, of which 38.2%, or 170,611, were committed with guns. Had the percentage of robberies committed with firearms remained at the 1993 level (42.4%), there would have been 189,369 firearm robberies in 1998 – 18,758 more than actually did occur. This is the number of firearm robberies avoided in 1998 due to the reduction in the percentage of robberies committed with guns. Over the entire period 1994-1998, the number of firearm robberies avoided is calculated to be 54,412 (see Table 2).

Table 2 – Number of Fewer Robberies since 1993 Due to Decrease in Gun Use

YEAR	ROBBERIES	% WITH FIREARMS	FIREARM ROBBERIES	EXPECTED FIREARM ROBBERIES ²	DIFFERENCE ³
1993	659,870	42.4%	279,785	N/A	N/A
1994	618,817	41.6%	257,428	262,378	4,951
1995	580,545	41.0%	238,023	246,151	8,128
1996	537,050	40.7%	218,579	227,709	9,130
1997	497,950	39.7%	197,686	211,131	13,445
1998	446,625	38.2%	170,611	189,369	18,758
TOTAL	3,340,857	40.8%	1,082,328⁴	1,136,738	54,412

Notes: Because of rounding, figures may not equal total.
 Conservative estimates.
 All data from the UCR reports, 1993-1998.

In 1993, there were 1,135,099 aggravated assaults, of which 25.1%, or 284,910, were committed with firearms. By 1998, the number of assaults had fallen to 974,402, of which 18.8%, or 183,188, were committed with guns. Had the percentage of assaults committed with firearms remained at the 1993 level (25.1%), there would have been 244,575 firearm assaults in 1998 -- 61,387 more than actually did occur. This is the number of firearm assaults avoided in 1998 due to the reduction in the percentage of assaults committed with guns. Over the entire period 1994-1998, the number of firearm aggravated assaults avoided is calculated to be 181,959 (see Table 3).

² The number of firearm robberies if the percentage of robberies committed with a firearm remained constant from 1993.

³ The number of robberies not committed due to a reduction in firearm robberies.

⁴ This figure excludes the year 1993. The actual number for firearm robberies for 1993-1998 is 1,362,112.

Table 3 – Number of Fewer Aggravated Assaults since 1993 Due to Decrease in Gun Use

YEAR	AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS	% WITH FIREARMS	FIREARM AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS	EXPECTED FIREARM AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS ⁵	DIFFERENCE ⁶
1993	1,135,099	25.1%	284,910	N/A	N/A
1994	1,119,950	24.0%	268,788	281,107	12,319
1995	1,099,179	22.9%	251,712	275,894	24,182
1996	1,029,814	22.0%	226,559	258,483	31,924
1997	1,022,492	20.0%	204,498	256,645	52,147
1998	974,402	18.8%	183,188	244,575	61,387
TOTAL	6,380,936	22.2%	1,134,745⁷	1,316,704	181,959

Notes: Because of rounding, figures may not equal total.
Conservative estimates.
All data from the UCR reports, 1993-1998.

C. How many lives saved?

From here, we can determine the number of murders averted since 1993. From 1994 through 1998, an average of one death occurred for every 130.08 firearm robberies and one death occurred for every 20.33 firearm aggravated assaults. (The murder rate for robberies is calculated by dividing the total number of firearm robberies from 1994-1998 by the total number of firearm robbery that resulted in murder from 1994-1998. A parallel procedure is used for aggravated assaults.)

Applying the ratio of one fatal gun robbery for every 130.08 firearm robberies to the total number of firearm robberies averted from 1994-1998 (calculated in Table 2) yields 418 lives that

⁵ The number of firearm aggravated assaults if the percentage of aggravated assaults committed with a firearm remained constant from 1993.

⁶ The number of aggravated assaults not committed due to a reduction in firearm robberies.

⁷ This figure excludes the year 1993. The actual number for firearm aggravated assaults for 1993-1998 is 1,419,655.

have been saved (54,412 gun robberies avoided/130.08). Applying the ratio of one fatality for every 20.33 aggravated assaults to the total number of gun assaults averted over the same time period (calculated in Table 3) yields an additional 8,950 lives saved (181,959 gun assaults/20.33). **Therefore, a total of 9,368⁸ lives have been saved due to the reduction in the proportion of robberies and assaults that involve the use of a gun since the enactment of the Brady Law (see Table 4).**

Table 4 – Lives Saved Due to Reduction in Use of Guns in Robberies and Aggravated Assaults since 1993

CRIME	MURDER RATE PER FIREARM CRIME	FEWER FIREARM CRIMES	LIVES SAVED ⁹
Robbery	1 firearm robbery murder for every 130.08 firearm robberies	54,412 ¹⁰	418
Aggravated Assault	1 firearm aggravated assault murder for every 20.33 firearm aggravated assaults	181,959 ¹¹	8,950
Total			9,368

D. It is also useful to look at the violent crime statistics for the years preceding the enactment of the Brady Law to illustrate that the principle works in the opposite direction.

In 1990, there were 639,271 robberies, of which 36.6%, or 233,973, were committed with firearms. By 1993, the number of robberies had risen to 659,870, of which 42.4%, or 279,785, were committed with guns. Had the percentage of robberies committed with a firearm remained at the 1990 level (36.6%), there would have been 241,512 firearm robberies in 1993, 38,272 fewer than actually did occur. This is the excess number of firearm robberies in 1993 due to the increase in the percentage of robberies committed with guns. Over the entire period 1990-1993, the excess number of firearm robberies is calculated to be 85,849 (see Table 5).

⁸ In 1993, there were 23,271 murders. Had the number of murders remained the same over the next five years, there would have been 29,077 more murders than actually did occur. By dividing 9,368 lives saved by 29,077 murders avoided, 32.2% of the potential murders that were not committed since 1993 are due to the change in gun use in robberies and aggravated assaults.

⁹ Calculated by multiplying the number of fewer firearm crimes by the murder-to-firearm crime ratio.

¹⁰ Total difference from Table 2.

¹¹ Total difference from Table 3.

Table 5 – Number of Robberies, 1991-1993, Due to Increase in Gun Use

YEAR	ROBBERIES	% WITH FIREARMS	FIREARM ROBBERIES	EXPECTED FIREARM ROBBERIES ¹²	DIFFERENCE ¹³
1990	639,271	36.6%	233,973	N/A	N/A
1991	687,732	39.9%	274,405	251,710	-22,695
1992	672,478	40.3%	271,009	246,127	-24,882
1993	659,870	42.4%	279,785	241,512	-38,272
TOTAL	2,659,351	39.8%	825,199 ¹⁴	739,349	-85,849

Notes: Because of rounding, figures may not equal total.

Conservative estimates.

All data from the UCR reports, 1990-1993.

In 1990, there were 1,054,863 aggravated assaults, of which 23.1%, or 243,673, were committed with a firearm. By 1993, the number of assaults had risen to 1,135,099, of which 25.1%, or 284,910, were committed with guns. Had the percentage of assaults committed with firearms remained at the 1990 level (23.1%), there would have been 262,208 firearm assaults in 1993, 22,702 fewer than actually did occur. This is the excess number of firearm assaults in 1993 due to the increase in the percentage of assaults committed with guns. Over the entire period 1990-1993, the excess number of firearm aggravated assaults is calculated to be 46,197 (see Table 6).

¹² The number of firearm aggravated assaults if the percentage of aggravated assaults committed with a firearm remained constant from 1990.

¹³ The number of aggravated assaults not committed due to a reduction in firearm robberies.

¹⁴ This figure excludes the year 1990. The actual number for firearm robberies for 1990-1993 is 1,059,172.

Table 6 – Number of Aggravated Assaults, 1991-1993, Due to Increase in Gun Use

YEAR	AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS	% WITH FIREARMS	FIREARM AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS	EXPECTED FIREARM AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS ¹⁵	DIFFERENCE ¹⁶
1990	1,054,863	23.1%	243,673	N/A	N/A
1991	1,092,739	23.6%	257,886	252,423	-5,464
1992	1,126,974	24.7%	278,363	260,331	-18,032
1993	1,135,099	25.1%	284,910	262,208	-22,702
TOTAL	4,409,675	24.1%	821,159¹⁷	774,962	-46,197

Notes: Because of rounding, figures may not equal total.
 Conservative estimates.
 All data from the UCR reports, 1990-1993.

E. How many additional lives were lost before the Brady Law?

We can determine the number of additional murders that took place between 1990 and 1993. During that time, an average of one death occurred for every 122.85 firearm robberies and one death occurred for every 19.20 firearm aggravated assaults.

Applying the above ratios to the excess number of crimes calculated in Tables 5 and 6, we conclude that, between 1990 and 1993, 699 extra lives were lost from firearm robberies and 2,406 lives were lost from firearm aggravated assaults. **Therefore, a total number of 3,105 additional lives were lost from firearm robberies and aggravated assaults from 1990 to 1993 before the Brady Law was implemented** (see Table 7).

¹⁵ The number of firearm aggravated assaults if the percentage of aggravated assaults committed with a firearm remained constant from 1990.

¹⁶ The number of aggravated assaults not committed due to a reduction in firearm robberies.

¹⁷ This figure excludes the year 1990. The actual number for firearm aggravated assaults for 1990-1993 is 1,064,832.

Table 7 – Lives Lost Due to Increase in Use of Guns in Robberies and Aggravated Assaults, 1991-1993

CRIME	MURDER RATE PER FIREARM CRIME	MORE FIREARM CRIMES	LIVES LOST ¹⁸
Robbery	1 firearm robbery murder for every 122.85 firearm robberies	85,849 ¹⁹	699
Aggravated Assault	1 firearm aggravated assault murder for every 19.20 firearm aggravated assaults	46,197 ²⁰	2,406
Total			3,105

The chart at the end of this paper illustrates the expected combined murders from robberies and aggravated assaults compared to the actual combined murders from robberies and aggravated assaults for 1991-1998.

F. Implementation of Brady is associated with a decline in the percentage of robberies and assaults committed with firearms.

Controlling for year, Brady State status, and unidentified factors for all 50 states, the analysis revealed that the percentage of crimes committed with firearms was increasing through 1993, and began to decline in 1994 with the implementation of Brady. In states that did not require background checks for firearm purchases prior to Brady (Brady States), the percentage of robberies and assaults that involve firearms rose just under 1% per year through 1993 ($p \leq 0.001$), and fell approximately 0.75% annually in the years that followed ($p \leq 0.001$). In states that were exempt from Brady because they already required background checks, the percentage of robberies and assaults that involved the use of a gun rose 0.63% per year annually through 1993 ($p = 0.061$) and began to fall in 1994 by a rate of 1.25% annually ($p \leq 0.001$).

IV. DISCUSSION

In 1988, a study released in the *New England Journal of Medicine (NEJM)* revealed that the risk of being murdered with a handgun in Seattle was nearly 5 times greater than the risk in Vancouver, while homicide rates by other means were similar in the two cities (Sloan, et al, 1988). The authors concluded that the elevated risk of handgun homicide was the result of the disparate approach to the regulation of handguns in Seattle and Vancouver noting that the violent crime rates in the two cities were comparable but that gun crime in Seattle was significantly

¹⁸ Calculated by multiplying the increased number of firearm crimes by the murder-to-firearm crime ratio.

¹⁹ Total difference from Table 4.

²⁰ Total difference from Table 5.

higher. Unlike Seattle, Vancouver restricts handgun purchases through a permitting system that does not recognize self-defense as a valid or legal reason to acquire a handgun, and requires that handgun owners register their weapons.

The Seattle-Vancouver experience is not unique. Zimring and Hawkins reported that the death rates associated with violent crime were vastly different in New York City and London though the cities share many similarities. Specifically, they reported that the death rate from reported robberies in New York is 13 times the rate in London, and the death rate from assault is 18 times greater. A similar disparity in the lethality of violent crime is revealed in data comparing Los Angeles to Sydney and, more generally, when comparing the United States to other high-income countries. This led the authors to conclude that the assault and robbery rates in many countries is comparable to, and even exceeds, US rates, but “assaults and robberies that present special dangers to life are much more prevalent in the United States. Even those European and Commonwealth nations that report relatively high rates of violent crime have homicide rates that are a small fraction of those in the United States.”

The authors of the *NEJM* study reported that assaults in Seattle were seven times more likely to involve the use of a gun than in Vancouver. In London, 1% of reported assaults involved the use of a gun – 81% no weapon other than personal force. By comparison, 26% of assaults and 40% of robberies in New York City involved the use of a gun while just 13% of assaults involved only the use of personal force.

Data from four countries that share a common heritage with the United States -- Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom – further underscore the role of guns in turning violence into lethal violence. In 1994, there were in excess of 1.8 million violent crimes reported to the police in the United States; 30% (541,671) were committed with firearms, including 42% of robberies. By comparison, just 25% of thefts in Canada were committed with a gun and under 13% in Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Not coincidentally, the homicide rate in the United States was 4 or more times greater than the rate in each of the other countries. In Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom guns owners are required to obtain a license and guns are registered.

The results of this analysis are consistent with the existing literature. UCR data supports the contention that the likelihood of death as the result of a violent crime is significantly greater when the assailant uses a gun. Over the five-year period beginning in 1994, there was one firearm death for every 37.3 robberies and assaults that involved the use of a gun compared to one death for every 204.2 non-gun robberies and assaults. Therefore, the likelihood that the victim of a robbery or an assault would die was nearly 5.5 times greater when the assailant used a gun.

Overall, there were an estimated 236,371 fewer firearm robberies and assaults – and 9,368 fewer fatalities – associated with violent crimes than would otherwise have been expected from 1994-1998 had gun use as a proportion of these violent crimes remained at the peak levels reached in 1993.

The multivariate regression analysis supports the contention that the likelihood that a violent event becomes a lethal event depends on the choice of weapon made by the assailant. Controlling for other factors, we found that every one-percent decline in the percentage of robberies and assaults that involve the use of a gun was associated with a reduction of 835 murders reported to the FBI. **We further found statistically important evidence that the upward trend in gun use as a percentage of robberies and assaults was reversed in 1994, coinciding with the implementation of Brady.**

During the first five years of the Brady Law, background checks prevented over 320,000²¹ prohibited purchasers (primarily felons) from obtaining firearms from retail gun dealers. The denial of a handgun purchase because of a prior felony conviction has been associated with a 20-25% reduction in the risk of committing a new crime of violence with or without a gun (Wright 1999). Brady has also been shown to disrupt the flow of illegal guns from Brady to non-Brady States (Weil 1997). The impact on interstate gun trafficking suggests that Brady's influence on gun crime extended beyond the states in which the Law was implemented. Our findings suggest Brady did impact gun use in states that were already conducting background checks when the Law took effect.

It must be noted that there are limitations to these findings. First, in estimating the number of lives saved, our calculations were based on the assumption that the proportion of robberies and assaults that were committed with firearms would have remained constant at the levels reached in 1993 despite the fact that gun use was trending higher. Had we factored in an upward gun crime trend, our estimate for the difference between the expected number of gun crimes and the actual number of gun crimes would have increased; therefore, the estimate for the number of deaths averted would have been even higher.

We could, however, have taken an even more conservative approach to the calculation of deaths averted had we based our analysis on one-year differences in the percentage of crimes committed with firearms rather than the differences from 1993. This would have lowered our estimate of lives saved to 3,112.

We also did not account for the change in population size. Not only are crimes decreasing, but the size of the population is increasing. Had we taken the population trend into account, our estimate of lives saved would have also increased.

The analysis would benefit from the inclusion of additional factors other than Brady that could help explain why the trend in criminal gun use was reversed in 1994. If one or more other factors which could impact the use of a gun in crime (e.g., changing police practices) been implemented at the same time as Brady or in subsequent years, then the effect of Brady might be overstated. Conversely, if there were factors that would have worked to increase gun use in during the study time period, then Brady's contribution could be understated.

V. CONCLUSIONS

²¹ According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Despite comparable levels of criminal violence, no other industrialized country suffers from a rate of lethal violence similar to that experienced by the U.S. population. Research demonstrates that the reason is guns – so commonly a part of violent crimes committed within U.S. borders and relatively rare outside the United States. From 1994-1998, there was one death for every 130 robberies committed with firearms, and one death for every 20 aggravated assaults committed with a gun compared to one death for every 556 robberies and 89 assaults that do not involve guns. These differences in weapons-specific fatality rates underscore the need to get guns out of crime.

After trending higher for many years, the proportion of violent crimes that involved the use of a gun began to fall in 1994. Over a five-year period, the reduction in gun use resulted in 9,368 lives (or, approximately 1900 lives per year) that were not lost as a result of criminal gun violence. The data presented demonstrates that the change in the trend in gun use not only coincided with the implementation of the Brady Law, but was, in fact, due in part to Brady. While additional research is needed to prove the causal nature of the connection between Brady and the reduction in criminal gun use, this report provides the first evidence of a direct link between the implementation of the Brady Law and the declining murder rate observed over the last several years.

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Public Papers of the Presidents, November 30, 1993

Public Papers of the Presidents

November 30, 1993**CITE:** 29 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 2477**LENGTH:** 1461 words**HEADLINE:** Remarks on Signing the **Brady Bill****BODY:**

Thank you very much, Sarah and Jim and General Reno, Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Musick. Thank you for your wonderful remarks.

There were two Members of Congress who inadvertently were not introduced. I want to recognize them because they've played a major role in this. One of our Democratic leaders in the House, Steny Hoyer and Senator Herb Kohl from Wisconsin, who also sponsored the bill to make it illegal for minors to possess handguns, and I thank you for that, sir.

Senator Metzenbaum, Congressman Schumer, Senator Mitchell; and others who gave birth to this great effort; to all the law enforcement representatives, the Governors, the mayors, the folks from Handgun Control who are here; to the families whose lives would have been changed for the better if the **Brady bill** had been law; Mrs. Musick and my friend Cathy Gould and her children, Lindsey and Christopher who lost a husband and father who would be here today if the **Brady bill** had been law, I am honored to have all of you here in the White House. I also want to say a special word of thanks to the Members of Congress who were out there early on this, when there was some considerable political risk either attached to it or thought to be attached. The **Brady bill** was first introduced almost 7 years ago by Congressman Ed Feighan of Ohio on February 4th, 1987. I can't resist saying a special word of thanks to the Members who come from difficult districts who voted for this bill. My good friend and Congressman, Beryl Anthony, from Arkansas lost a tough race in 1992 and part of the reason was that he voted for the **Brady bill**. And the NRA came after him in an unusual election. He said to me on the way in here, he said, "If it cost my seat, it was worth it."

Everything that should be said about this has already been said by people whose lives are more profoundly imbued with this issue than mine. But there are some things I think we need to think about that we learned from this endeavor as we look ahead to what still needs to be done.

Since Jim and Sarah began this crusade, more than 150,000 Americans, men, women, teenagers, children, even infants, have been killed with handguns. And many more have been wounded -- 150,000 people from all walks of life who should have been here to share Christmas with us. This couple saw through a fight that really never should have had to occur, because still, when people are confronted with issues of clear common sense and overwhelming evidence, too often we are prevented from doing what we know we ought to do by our collective fears, whatever they may be.

The **Brady bill** has finally become law in a fundamental sense not because of any of us but because grassroots America changed its mind and demanded that this Congress not leave here without doing something about this. And all the rest of -- even Jim and Sarah -- did was to somehow light that spark that swept across the people of this country and proved once again that democracy can work. America won this battle. Americans are finally fed up with violence that cuts down another citizen with gunfire every 20 minutes.

And we know that this bill will make a difference. As Sarah said, the Washington Post pointed out that about 50,000 people have been denied the right to buy a handgun in just four States since

1989. Don't let anybody tell you that this won't work. I got a friend back home who sold a gun years ago to a guy who had escaped from a mental hospital, that he hadn't seen in 10 years. And he pulled out that old form from the 1968 act and said, "Have you ever been convicted of a crime? Have you ever been in a mental hospital?" The guy said, no, no and put the form back in the drawer. And 12 hours later six people were dead, and my friend is not over it to this day. Don't tell me this bill will not make a difference. That is not true. It is not true.

But we all know there is more to be done. The crime bill not only has 100,000 new police officers who, properly trained and deployed, will lower the crime rate by preventing crime, not just by catching criminals. It also has a ban on several assault weapons, long overdue; a ban on handgun ownership and restrictions on possession of handguns by minors; the beginning of reform of our Federal firearms licensing systems; and an effort to make our schools safer. This is a good beginning. And there will be more to be done after that.

But I ask you to think about what this means and what we can all do to keep this going. We cannot stop here. I'm so proud of what others are doing. I'm proud of the work that Reverend Jesse Jackson has been doing, going back now to the streets and talking to the kids and telling them to stop shooting each other and cutting each other up, and to turn away from violence. I'm proud of people like David Plaza, not so wellknown, a former gang member who has turned his life around and now coordinates a program called gang alternative programs in Norwalk, California, telling gang members they have to take personal responsibility for their actions and turn away from violence; Reverend William Moore, who organized parents and educators and other clergy in north Philadelphia to provide safety corridors for kids going to and from school -- 160,000 children stay home every day because they're scared to go to school in this country -- and all the police officers on the street who have restored confidence in their neighborhoods, becoming involved in ways that often are way beyond the call of duty, people like Officer Anthony Fuedo of Boston, who took a tough section of east Boston and transformed it from a neighborhood full of fear to one which elderly people now feel safe sitting on benches again.

We can do this but only if we do it together. And I ask you to think about this: I come from a State where half the folks have hunting and fishing licenses. I can still remember the first day when I was a little boy out in the country putting a can on top of a fencepost and shooting a .22 at it. I can still remember the first time I pulled a trigger on a .410 shotgun because I was too little to hold a .12 gauge. I can remember these things. This is part of the culture of a big part of America. But people have taken that culture -- we just started deer season -- I live in a place where we still close schools and plants on the first day of deer season, nobody is going to show up anyway. [Laughter] We just started deer season at home and a lot of other places. We have taken this important part of the life of millions of Americans and turned it into an instrument of maintaining madness. It is crazy. Would I let anybody change that life in America? Not on your life. Has that got anything to do with the **Brady bill** or assault weapons or whether the police have to go out on the street confronting teenagers who are better armed than they are? Of course not.

This is the beginning of something truly wonderful in this country if we have learned to separate out all this stuff we've been hearing all these years, trying to make the American people afraid that somehow their quality of life is going to be undermined by doing stuff that people of common sense and good will would clearly want to do and every law enforcement official in America telling us to do it.

So, I plead with all of you today, when you leave here to be reinvigorated by this, to be exhilarated by the triumph of Jim and Sarah Brady and all these other folks who didn't let their personal losses defeat them but instead used it to come out here and push us to do better.

And each of you in turn, take your opportunity not to let people ever again in this country use a legitimate part of our American heritage in ways that blinds us to our obligation to the present and the future. If we have broken that, then there is nothing we cannot do. And when I go and sign this bill in a minute, it will be step one in taking our streets back, taking our children back, reclaiming our families and our future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to former White House Press Secretary James Brady, who was wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan; his wife, Sarah, who is head of Hand Gun Control, Inc.; and Melanie Musick, who became a supporter of the **Brady bill** after her husband was shot and killed in 1900. H.R. 1025, "To provide for a waiting period before the purchase of a handgun, and for the establishment of a national instant criminal background check system to be contacted by firearms dealers before the transfer of any firearm," approved November 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-159.

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Historic Agreement with Smith & Wesson

THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 17, 2000

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION REACHES HISTORIC AGREEMENT WITH SMITH AND WESSON

- Today, President Clinton will highlight an historic agreement with Smith and Wesson to build on his comprehensive efforts to reduce gun violence in America. The agreement represents an unprecedented partnership between the government and the gun industry to bring about meaningful reforms in the way the industry does business.
- Since the beginning of his Administration, President Clinton has been working on every front to reduce gun violence and keep our communities safe. Since signing the historic Brady Law and 1994 assault weapons ban, the President has continued to fight for more tools to protect citizens from gun violence. President Clinton took recent executive action to crack down on unscrupulous gun dealers who sell guns to criminals and youth, and has continued to lead the national fight for common-sense gun safety legislation.
- As part of this effort, President Clinton last December called on gun manufacturers to work with the Administration to make needed changes in the way they do business. Today, Smith and Wesson -- one of the nation's largest gun manufacturers -- joined the federal government and cities and states across the country in a landmark agreement that will keep guns out of the wrong hands and result in safer guns.
- Today's agreement represents the first time a major gun manufacturer has committed to fundamentally change the way guns are designed, distributed and marketed. This deal shows what is possible when we work together in good faith. We applaud Smith and Wesson's leadership, and hope other responsible members of the gun industry will step forward too.
- Some of the key provisions of the agreement include:

New design standards to make guns safer and prevent accidental shootings and gun deaths

- **Locking devices.** Safety locking devices will be required for handguns and pistols, external locking devices within 60 days and internal locking devices within 24 months.
- **Smart guns.** Two percent of annual firearms revenues will be dedicated to the development of authorized user technology that can limit a gun's use to its proper owner. Authorized user technology will be included in all new firearm models within 36 months.
- **Large capacity magazines.** New firearms will not be able to accept ammunition magazines with a capacity of over 10 rounds. The manufacture of such magazines has been prohibited since 1994.
- **Safety testing and standards.** All firearms are to be tested by ATF to ensure that they meet performance and safety standards such as drop tests.
- **Other safety devices.** Within one year, all pistols will have chamber load indicators to show that a

pistol is loaded to prevent accidents, and magazine disconnectors will be available to customers within 12 months.

New sales and distribution controls to help keep guns out of the hands of criminals and help law enforcement crack down on illegal gun traffickers. Under the deal, manufacturers will agree to sell only to authorized dealers and distributors who agree to a code of conduct. The code of conduct imposes new requirements on authorized dealers and distributors.

- **Cutting off dealers with disproportionate crime guns.** Under the agreement, manufacturers will take action against dealers or distributors who sell disproportionate numbers of guns that turn up in crimes within three years of sale, including termination or suspension against the dealer or distributor.
- **Gun shows.** Authorized dealers cannot sell at gun shows unless every seller at the gun show conducts background checks.
- **Ballistics testing.** To help law enforcement trace guns used in crime when only the bullet or casing is recovered, ballistics fingerprints will be provided for all new firearms to ATF/FBI National Integrated Ballistics Identification Network within 6 months if technologically feasible.
- **Safety training for purchasers.** No sales will be made to dealers who do not require gun purchasers to demonstrate that they can safely handle and store firearms.
- **Theft prevention.** No sales will be made to dealers who do not implement a security plan to prevent gun theft.
- **Weapons attractive to criminals.** Authorized dealers and distributors will not sell large capacity ammunition magazines or semiautomatic assault weapons.
- **Restrictions on multiple handgun sales.** To deter illegal gun trafficking, dealers must agree to new limits on multiple handgun sales. All purchasers of multiple handguns can only take one handgun from the day of sale, the remainder 14 days later.

Enforcement of agreement. An Oversight Commission will be established to oversee the implementation of the agreement. The Commission will have five members selected as follows: one by manufacturers; two by city and county parties; one by state parties; one by ATF. ATF will work with manufacturers and the Oversight Commission to assist them in meeting obligations under the agreement.

What's New - March 2000

Women's History Month 2000

The Minimum Wage: Increasing the Reward for Work

New Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit

Meeting with Religious Leaders

Women's History Month

New Public Private Initiative to reduce Weather Related Air Travel Delays

Gun Violence

Agreement with Smith & Wesson

Restoring

Progress By the Numbers

Improving the Quality of Life for America's Working Families

Clinton-Gore Administration Accomplishments

Progress By The Numbers

Jobs & The Economy:

Jobs - 22.1 million new jobs created since 1993 -- the most jobs ever created under a single administration, and more jobs than Presidents Reagan and Bush created during their three terms. Under President Clinton, the economy has added an average of 248,000 jobs per month, the highest of any President on record. This compares to 52,000 per month under President Bush and 167,000 per month under President Reagan. [National Economic Council, 7/29/00]

Unemployment In 2000, the unemployment rate has averaged 5.0 percent -- the lowest rate in over 30 years -- and has stayed below 5 percent for 36 months in a row. [National Economic Council, 7/29/00]

Income Median family income (in inflation-adjusted 1998 dollars) fell from \$44,354 in 1988 to \$42,490 in 1992. Since 1993, real median family income has increased by \$5,046, rising to \$46,737 in 1998. [National Economic Council, 7/29/00]

Wages Real wages have risen 6.5 percent since 1993, compared to declining 4.3 percent during the Reagan and Bush years. Wages have increased five years in a row -- the longest consecutive increase since the 1960s. In the last 12 months, average hourly earnings have increased 3.8 percent -- faster than the rate of inflation. [National Economic Council, 6/00]

Tax Cuts 15 million additional working families receive additional tax relief through the President's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit. In 1998, the EITC lifted 4.3 million out of poverty -- double the number who were removed from poverty in 1993. Over half of the people removed from poverty by the EITC (2.3 million) were children under the age of 18. [National Economic Council, 1/12/00]

\$500 per-child tax credit 27 million families with 45 million children receive the \$500 per-child tax credit. [Treasury Department]

Minimum Wage 10 million Americans received an increase in wages thanks to the President's leadership in raising the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 per hour. [Good News for Low Income Families: Expansions in the EITC and Minimum Wage, CEA, 12/98]

New Businesses More than 5.9 million new businesses have been created since 1993. [Small Business Administration, 1/00]

National Debt Paid off \$360 billion of the national debt over three years, and public debt is on track to be \$2.4 trillion lower in 2000 than was projected in 1993. There is \$25,000 less debt for each family of four than in 1993. With the President's plan, we are on track to eliminate the nation's publicly held debt by 2012. [Presidential Statement, 7/31/00]

Home Ownership The homeownership rate reached 67.2 percent in the second quarter of 2000 -- the highest ever recorded. Minority homeownership rates were also the highest ever recorded. In contrast, the homeownership rate fell from 65.6 percent in the first quarter of 1981 to 63.7 percent in the first quarter of 1993. [Census Bureau, 7/26/00]

Expanding Educational Opportunity: Elementary and Secondary Schools

Teachers Nearly 30,000 new, well-prepared teachers were hired for fall 1999 with funds from the first down payment on the President's seven-year plan to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 teachers.

President Clinton won \$1.3 billion in the FY00 budget to support these teachers and continue hiring additional teachers to reach his goal. [Education Department, Local Success Stories - Reducing Class Size, 11/99]

After School Programs 850,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities will have safe and educational after-school opportunities in 2000 because of the expanded 21st Century Community Learning Centers program -- 375,000 more than last year. [Education Department]

Learning to High Standards Communities in 49 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico are using the flexibility of Goals 2000 funds to accelerate progress toward their own standards-based education improvements. These communities have set higher academic standards for public schools by adopting comprehensive Goals 2000 plans for education reform. [Education Department]

Education Technology 30 million children and up to 47,000 schools and libraries are being connected to the Internet through the education rate, or E-rate, created by the 1996 Telecommunications Act. In 1999, 95 percent of public schools were connected to the Internet -- up from 35 percent in 1994. In 1999, 63 percent of all public school classrooms were connected to the Internet -- up from just 3 percent in 1994. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 67; National Center for Education Statistics, Stats in Brief NCES 2000-086, 2/00]

Title I 11 million low-income students in 13,000 school districts now benefit from higher expectations and a challenging curriculum geared to higher standards. And through better targeting of federal funds, Title I funds now reach 95 percent of highest poverty schools, up from 79 percent in 1993-94. [Education Department, "Challenging the Status Quo: The Education Record, 1993-2000," 4/00]

Charter Schools Increased the number of charter schools from one in 1993 to more than 1,700 today. More than 250,000 students nationwide are now enrolled in charter schools in 30 states and the District of Columbia. Won \$145 million in the FY00 budget to provide startup funding to as many as 2,400 charter schools. Charter schools help expand choice and accountability in public schools. [Education Department, 8/28/99; White House at Work, 2/11/00]

America Reads Challenge 1,400 colleges and universities joined the President's America Reads Challenge, and 26,700 college work-study students now serve as reading tutors to help every child to read well and independently by the third grade. [Education Department, "Challenging the Status Quo: The Education Record, 1993-2000," 4/00]

Mentoring Won a 67 percent funding increase so that 482,000 middle school students will be prepared for college this year through expanded mentoring efforts as part of GEAR-UP. [Education Department]

Scores Are Up Since 1992, average SAT scores have increased by 15 points. In 1998, students posted the highest math scores in 27 years on the SAT. And the number of high school students taking Advanced Placement exams tripled between 1984 and 1997. [College Board, 9/1/98; Center on Education Policy, Do You Know... The Good News About American Education?]

Expanding Educational Opportunity: Postsecondary Education and Training

Tuition Tax Credits In 1999, an estimated 10 million American families claimed the HOPE Scholarship and Lifetime Learning Tax Credits to help them pay for college.

Pell Grants 3.9 million low-income students will receive a Pell Grant award to help them attend college. In the FY00 budget, the President increased the maximum Pell Grant award from \$3,000 to \$3,300 -- the largest maximum award ever. The maximum award has increased 43 percent since 1993. [Office of Student Financial Assistance, Department of Education: Interim Performance Objectives, Final Report FY99]

Direct Loan Program More than 5 million student and parent borrowers have received direct loans since the program began.

Reduced Loan Fees Since 1993, students have saved \$8.7 billion through lower student loan fees and interest rates. [Department of Education, Statement by Secretary Riley, 10/5/99]

Student Loan Default Rate Declines The student loan default rate declined from 22.4 percent in 1990 to 8.8 percent in 1999, and collections on defaulted student loans increased from \$1 billion in 1992 to \$3 billion in 1999. [Education Department, "Challenging the Status Quo: The Education Record, 1993-2000," 4/00]

AmeriCorps More than 150,000 volunteers have earned up to \$4,725 for college by serving their communities and their country in the AmeriCorps program since the program began in 1994. [Corporation for National Service, Press Release, 10/16/99]

School-To-Work 470,000 high school students, 36,000 schools (K-12), and 136,000 employers, participated in school-to-work programs in 1997. [Progress Measures Survey 1997, National School-to-Work Office, Education Department]

Work Study One million students will be able to work their way through college this year thanks to the President's expansion of the Work Study Program. [Office of Student Financial Assistance, Department of Education: Interim Performance Objectives, Final Report FY99]

College Enrollment Up 67 percent of high school graduates went on to college in 1998, compared to 62 percent in 1992. The percentage of African American high school graduates enrolling in college increased from 48 percent in 1992 to 59 percent in 1997 -- the highest number ever.

Retrained Workers An estimated 836,000 American workers will benefit this year from the dislocated worker program. In the FY 2000 budget, President Clinton won a \$190 million increase, bringing the total investment to \$1.6 billion and allowing the program to serve more than three times as many dislocated workers.

Crime and Public Safety

Declining Crime Rates Under the Clinton-Gore Administration, America has experienced the longest continuous drop in crime on record. The overall crime rate is the lowest in 25 years, and in 1999 crime fell for the eighth consecutive year nationwide. Violent crime rate fell 7 percent in 1999 and 27 percent since 1993. Since 1993, the murder rate is down more than 25 percent to its lowest point since 1967, and gun violence has declined by more than 35 percent. [Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998 National Crime Victimization Survey; Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1998, 1999; FY 2001 Budget, p. 107]

Juvenile Arrests Down In 1998, the nation saw an 8 percent drop in the juvenile violent crime arrests. [FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1998]

Community Policing Reached the President's goal of funding 100,000 more community police officers for our streets in May 1999 -- ahead of schedule and under budget. President Clinton won funding in the FY00 budget to begin hiring an additional 50,000 officers by 2005. [Justice Department, COPS program, 5/12/99]

Brady Bill More than 536,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been stopped from buying guns since the Brady Law was enacted. [Bureau of Justice Statistics, Background Checks for Firearm Transfers, 1999, 6/00]

Improving Officer Safety In its first year, the Bulletproof Vest Partnership Grant Act helped state and local law enforcement purchase 92,500 bulletproof vests. [White House Fact Sheet, 5/15/00]

"Zero-Tolerance" for Guns In Schools Nearly 10,000 students have been expelled from public schools for bringing weapons to school under zero tolerance policies. [Dept. of Education, Report on State Implementation of the Gun-Free Schools Act, 1997-98]

Domestic Violence Hotline More than 458,000 calls have been received by the nationwide, 24-hour domestic violence hotline President Clinton established. [Domestic Violence Hotline, Semi-Annual Program Report, 10/1/99-3/31/00]

Strengthening Families

Family & Medical Leave Nearly 91 million workers are covered by the Family and Medical Leave Act -- 71 percent of the American labor force. Millions of Americans have taken job-protected leave. [[Five Years of Success: Report on FMLA](#), Department of Labor, 8/98 (updated number provided 7/99)]

Welfare to Work 7.8 million fewer people are receiving welfare benefits today than in 1993, a 56 percent decrease. The percentage of Americans on welfare is the lowest since 1965, and millions of Americans have moved from welfare to work -- 1.3 million in 1998 alone. The percentage of adults still on welfare who were working reached an all-time high of 33 percent in 1999, nearly five times the percent working in 1992. [HHS Administration for Children and Families, 8/22/00]

Head Start Head Start will reach a total of 880,000 children in FY 2000 and will serve one million children and their families by the year 2002. The President and Vice President have expanded Head Start funding by 90 percent since 1993. [Head Start Fact Sheet; Administration of Children and Families, HHS; 1/99]

Child Care Child care funding has increased by 80 percent more than doubled under the Clinton-Gore Administration, helping parents pay for the care of more than one million children. An average of 1.25 million children were served by states under the child care block grant in FY 1997 -- a 25 percent increase from the estimated 1 million children served in FY 1996. The 1996 welfare 1.5 million children and the 1996 welfare reform law increased child care funding by \$4 billion over six years to provide child care assistance to families moving from welfare to work. [FY 2001 Budget, p. 59]

Child Poverty The child poverty rate has dropped from 22.7 percent in 1993 to 18.9 percent in 1998 -- the biggest five-year drop in nearly 30 years, and the lowest childhood poverty rate since 1980. [[Poverty in the United States: 1998](#), Bureau of the Census, 9/99]

Teen Pregnancy The teen birth rate has fallen eight years in a row, by 20 percent from 1991 to 1999. The teen pregnancy rate is now the lowest rate ever recorded in the 60 years this data has been collected. [Centers for Disease Control, National Vital Statistics Report, 8/08/00]

Child Abuse Child abuse has declined for five years in a row, down approximately 11 percent from a record 1,018,692 in 1993. [HHS Press Release, 4/10/00]

Child Support Collections Federal and state child support programs broke new records, nearly doubling records in 1999, collecting nearly \$16 billion -- double the amount collected in 1992. The number of paternities established rose to a record 1.5 million in 1998 -- more than triple the number from 516,000 in 1992. The number of child support cases with collections rose 59 percent, from 2.8 million 1992 to 4.5 million in 1998. [Department of Health and Human Services]

Improving Our Nation's Health

Patients' Bill of Rights 85 million people covered by Federal health plans, and Medicare and Medicaid, received patient protections -- protections included in the President's Patients' Bill of Rights -- thanks to executive action taken by President Clinton. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 85]

Health Insurance Reform As many as 25 million people will benefit from the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, which helps millions of Americans who move from one job to another, are self-employed, or have pre-existing medical conditions keep their health insurance. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 83]

Eliminating Fraud Health care convictions have increased 80 percent since 1992, saving more than \$500 billion in health care claims thanks to the Clinton-Gore Administration's efforts to eliminate waste, fraud and abuse. Since 1993, the Administration has assigned more federal prosecutors and FBI agents to fight health care fraud than ever before. [HHS Fact Sheet, 2/22/00]

Children's Health Care As many as 5 million more children will receive health insurance under President Clinton's State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP). Already 2 million uninsured

children have enrolled in SCHIP, doubling the program's enrollment in less than a year. In October 1999, President Clinton announced new outreach initiatives to enroll millions of uninsured, eligible children. [White House Fact Sheet, 1/11/00]

Infant Mortality There has been a 15.2 percent decrease in the infant mortality rate -- to the lowest level in history -- from 8.5 in 1992 to 7.2 in 1997. [America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, NIH, 7/8/99]

Immunization Childhood immunization coverage rates in 1998 were the highest ever recorded. Over 90 percent of America's toddlers received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines in 1996, 1997, and again in 1998-- surpassing the President's childhood vaccination goal. With childhood vaccination levels at an all-time high, disease and death from diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, measles, mumps, rubella and Hib are at or near record lows. There was only one reported case of diphtheria, 100 reported cases of measles, and no reported cases of wild poliovirus for 1998. [HHS Fact Sheet, 9/23/99; HHS Fact Sheet 12/31/99]

WIC 7.3 million women, infants, and children -- 1.4 million more than in 1993 -- have access to health care, supplemental foods, nutrition and breastfeeding education thanks to WIC. [Food and Nutrition Service, USDA, 9/99]

Biomedical Research Two years ago, the President called for an increase of almost 50 percent over 5 years in the NIH budget as part of his Research for America Fund. Since then, the NIH budget has increased by over \$4.3 billion and with the funding proposed by the President this year, the Administration will be one year ahead of schedule in reaching the 50 percent goal. This funding has enabled scientists to pursue a wide range of cutting edge research from cancer to AIDS, and accelerated the pace of genetic mapping, leading to a more rapid discovery of ways to prevent and treat diseases. [Domestic Policy Council]

Food Safety Two years after President Clinton's meat and poultry inspection system went into place, the number of Americans stricken by the most common forms of foodborne illness has declined by almost 20 percent. Overall, 855,000 fewer Americans became ill from bacteria in their food in 1999 than two years before. [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention]

Government That Works Better

Reinventing Government The Vice President's National Performance Review recommended and Congress adopted savings of about \$136 billion since 1993. [National Performance Review, Accomplishments fact sheet]

Smaller Government There are 377,000 fewer employees in the Federal government workforce than in 1993 -- nearly a fifth -- giving us the smallest Federal workforce since 1960. [National Partnership for Reinventing Government, Accomplishments fact sheet; National Economic Council, 6/26/00]

Lower Government Spending At 18.5 percent, Federal Government spending as a share of the Gross Domestic Product is at its lowest level since 1966. [National Economic Council, 6/26/00]

Motor Voter 28 million new voters registered to vote -- and voting was made easier for millions more Americans -- since 1995 because of the National Voter Registration Act. [FEC, 6/99; FEC, 6/97]

Environment

Toxic Waste Sites Completed cleanup at more than 530 Superfund sites, more than three times as many as completed in the previous twelve years. Cleanup of 91 percent of all sites either completed or in progress. The Administration's brownfields initiative has generated 6,400 jobs, and leveraged over \$2.3 billion in private sector investment for brownfields redevelopment. . [EPA, Construction Completions at National Priorities List Sites, as of 7/27/00; EPA, www.epa.gov, 8/23/00]

National Parks The National Park System has increased by about 4.56 million acres during the Clinton-Gore Administration.

The President has also created 13 new national park areas and has significantly expanded others, like Joshua Tree and Death Valley National Parks in California. [[Protecting Our National Treasures](#), Department of Interior]

Preserving Our National Treasures Protected tens of millions of acres, from the red rock canyons of Utah to the Florida Everglades. Reached historic agreements to protect Yellowstone from mining and save the ancient redwoods of California's Headwaters Forest. [[Protecting Our National Treasures](#), Department of Interior]

Safe Drinking Water Since 1993, 22.5 million more Americans receive drinking water that meets all federal health standards. Ninety-one percent of America's tap water from community drinking water systems meets all federal standards. [EPA, Summary of the 2001 Budget, p. 33]

Clean Air Since 1993, the number of Americans living in communities that meet federal air quality standards has grown by 43 million. [White House, Council on Environmental Quality, 5/1/99]

Encouraging Recycling Americans recycle 22 million tons more material than in 1992 -- thanks to that effort, the United States will discard less waste in 2000 than in 1992. We recycle more of our municipal waste than any major country in the world. [White House, Council on Environmental Quality]

August 2000

A Nation Transformed

Progress By the Numbers

Supporting African Americans

Supporting Americans With Disabilities

Supporting Asian Pacific Americans

Supporting America's Farmers and Rural Communities

Supporting Gay and Lesbian Americans

Supporting Hispanic Americans

Improving Mental Health

Supporting Native Americans

Supporting Senior Citizens

Supporting Women and Families

Supporting America's Working Families

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 29, 1999

CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION'S AGENDA FOR COMMUNITIES

Crime/Drugs

21st Century Policing Initiative

In order to keep crime coming down to record low levels and the number of officers walking the beat at an all-time high, the President is committing nearly \$1.3 billion for a new 21st Century Policing Initiative. The new 21st Century Policing Initiative builds on the President's successful COPS program by: (1) helping communities to hire and redeploy between 30,000 and 50,000 more law enforcement officers over five years, with an effort to target new police officers to crime "hot spots" and to help retain those officers recently hired; (2) giving law enforcement access to the latest crime-fighting technologies, such as improved police communications, crime mapping software, laptop computers, and crime lab improvements; and (3) making an unprecedented commitment to engage entire communities in the hard work of preventing and fighting crime --by funding new community-based prosecutors, and partnerships with probation and parole officers, school officials, and faith-based organizations.

Zero Tolerance Drug Supervision Numerous studies confirm that the vast majority of prisoners report drug use and that many prisoners commit their crimes to buy drugs or while high. To help break this iron link between crime and drugs, the President will propose \$215 million for Zero Tolerance Drug Supervision that works to keep offenders drug-and crime-free. This initiative will provide new funds to help states and localities implement tough new systems to drug test, treat, and punish prisoners, parolees, and probationers. In addition, this initiative provides increased funds for innovative drug courts throughout the country and intensive drug treatment for state prisoners with the most serious drug problems.

Making the Brady Waiting Period Permanent The Brady Law, which requires background checks of all prospective firearms purchasers, has stopped well over a quarter of a million illegal handgun sales since its enactment in 1993 --proving itself to be one of the most effective law enforcement tools ever. But the Brady Law's "cooling off" or waiting period recently expired, and handguns can now be purchased on the spot in some states. To make sure that local law enforcement officers have enough time to conduct the best background check possible, the President will call for a new national waiting period of up to five days before the purchase of a handgun.

Preventing Violent Juveniles from Buying Guns Violent juveniles should be treated as adults for their adult crimes, and stopped from getting weapons to hurt again. The President will propose legislation to ban violent juveniles from buying guns for life. The President's proposal would extend the Brady Law to violent juveniles, closing the loophole under current law which permits youths convicted in juvenile court for certain violent and drug offenses to buy handguns on their 21st birthday.

Child Safety Locks for Handguns Child safety locking devices can reduce the unauthorized use of handguns, by a child at play or a teen looking to commit a crime. And many youths have to look no further than their

own home to get access to a gun: a third of all privately-owned handguns are left both loaded and unlocked. To address this problem, the President's proposal would require federally-licensed firearms dealers to sell a child safety lock with every handgun --to help prevent youths from hurting themselves or each other.

Helping Make All Schools Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free President Clinton is proposing a significant overhaul of the nearly \$600 million Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program to provide more effective prevention programs for the reduction of drugs and violence in schools, more accountability for results, and better targeting to those schools that need the most assistance. Under the President's proposal, schools would be required to adopt rigorous, comprehensive school safety plans that include: tough, but fair, discipline policies; safe passage to and from schools; effective drug and violence policies and programs; annual school safety and drug use report cards; links to after school programs; efforts to involve parents; and crisis management plans.

Economic Empowerment

New Markets Investments Initiative One of the great still unmet challenges for the start of the 21st century is building economically vibrant communities in those places that our prosperity has not yet reached --inner cities and distressed rural areas. These new markets here at home have great potential. We must build a bridge between Wall Street and our great untapped markets. The President's new markets initiative will spur \$15 billion in new capital investment in businesses in these underserved areas through a package of tax credits and guarantees.

Specifically:

New Markets Tax Credit: A billion dollars of tax credits over five years worth up to 25% of the amount of equity invested in a variety of vehicles for providing equity and credit to businesses in underserved areas.

America's Private Investment Companies (APICs): Modeled after the Overseas Private Investment Corporation's (OPIC) successful investment fund program, this program would create, each year, five new private investment partnerships of up to \$300 million. For each new APIC, HUD and the SBA would provide up to \$200 million in loan guarantees to match \$100 million in private investment, creating a fund of \$300 million for investment in mid-sized firms expanding or relocating into underserved areas.

New Market Venture Capital Firms (NMVCs): SBA will match equity investment and technical assistance funds to finance 10-20 new investment partnerships selected to provide both patient growth capital and expert guidance to entrepreneurs who need both in order to transform their small businesses and great ideas into thriving companies.

SBICs targeted to new markets: Over 40 years, the SBIC program has helped more than 85,000 small companies grow, some from start-ups to household names like AOL; but the program has not done enough to help spur growth in underserved areas. SBA will provide more flexibility and new financing terms, along with aggressive outreach, to promote investment in low-and moderate-income areas by SBICs.

New Market Lending Companies (NMLCs): SBA will approve approximately 10 new non-bank lenders who have a strategy to target their lending to underserved areas.

Other: other elements include seed money to expand BusinessLINC partnerships to encourage large businesses to work with small businesses in new markets and reforms to the Specialized Small Business Investment Company (SSBIC) tax credit to make it easier to use.

Empowerment Zones Earlier this month, Vice President Gore named 20 economically distressed communities as new Empowerment Zones (EZs). Tonight, the President is reaffirming his Administration's commitment to securing full funding of flexible grant funding for the new EZs. If Congress approves full funding for the EZs, federal investment is expected to help create and retain about 90,000 jobs and stimulate \$20.3 billion in private and public investment in the next 10 years.

Community Development Financial Institutions Fund (CDFI) In 1994, the President proposed and Congress established the CDFI Fund. This Fund further expands the availability of credit, investment capital, financial services, and other development services in distressed communities. The President is proposing to expand funding for the CDFI program to \$125 million --a \$30 million increase from FY 1999.

Working to Ensure a Fair and Accurate Census As the President said in his 1999 State of the Union Address, "since every person in America counts, every American ought to be counted. We need a census that uses modern scientific methods to do that." The Clinton-Gore Administration is working to ensure that Census 2000 is the most accurate census possible. Recently, the Supreme Court ruled against the use of "sampling" for apportioning congressional seats among States, but affirmed the Administration's use of scientific methods for other purposes. The Census Bureau has already begun the work necessary to make sure that Census 2000 is accurate and accommodates the Court's ruling.

The Clinton-Gore Administration understands what is at stake. The President is mindful that, according to the Census Bureau, the last decennial census, conducted in 1990, missed 8.4 million people and double-counted 4.4 million others. The Administration knows that the American people rely on census data every day and that over \$180 billion in federal funding is distributed annually based on census figures. The President and Vice President also understand that census information is relied upon by communities to help determine where to locate schools, build roads and bridges, and establish child care facilities and job training centers. The Clinton-Gore Administration believes that a fair and accurate census is a fundamental part of a representative democracy and is the basis for providing equality under the law. That is why the President is determined to have a fair and full count in 2000.

Helping America's Communities Redevelop Abandoned Buildings This new Federal initiative would attack one of the primary causes of blight in urban neighborhoods: abandoned apartment buildings, single family homes, warehouses, office buildings, and commercial centers. Under the proposal, HUD will provide \$50 million in competitive grant funds in FY2000 to local governments to support the demolition or deconstruction of blighted, abandoned buildings, as long as there is a plan -- with significant private-sector participation -- to redevelop the property for commercial use or multi-family and single family housing. To ensure no incentive is created to abandon buildings, the program would be sunsetted after three years and no building abandoned after October 1, 1999 would be eligible for redevelopment. Preferences will be given to communities that link existing youth training programs with the property's redevelopment.

Education

Accountability for Results In his State of the Union Address, President Clinton will announced a package of accountability measures designed to hold students, teachers, and schools to high standards, and to ensure that school districts and states provide students with a high quality education. These proposals will help to lift student achievement in every public school and close the achievement gap by giving special attention to disadvantaged students in low-performing schools.

The President's plan marks a sea change in national education policy --for the first time holding states and school districts accountable for progress and rewarding them for results. While insisting that states and local governments retain primary responsibility for education, President Clinton will call on Congress to make sure federal dollars support what works and not what doesn't. His proposal emphasizes reforms that a growing number of states, cities, and schools across the nation are implementing and that are producing clear results. Specifically, the President will announce that he will send Congress legislation to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to ensure that schools end social promotion; teachers are qualified to teach the subjects they are assigned; states turn around their lowest-performing schools; parents get annual report cards on school performance; and schools institute effective discipline policies.

Accountability for Results: End Social Promotion The President's ESEA proposal will require states and school districts to end social promotion --the practice of promoting students from grade to grade regardless of whether they have mastered the appropriate material and are academically prepared to do the work at the next level. Students who are promoted without regard to their achievement fall even further behind their classmates, and are more likely to lack basic skills upon graduating from high school.

To ensure that this requirement helps more students succeed, rather than simply increasing the number held back, states and school districts would have to show how they will help students meet promotion standards on time by (1) strengthening learning opportunities in the classroom with clear standards, small classes with well-prepared teachers, high quality professional development, and use of proven instructional practices; (2) identifying students who need help at the earliest possible moment; (3) providing extended learning time, including after-school and summer school for students who need extra help; and (4) developing an effective remedial plan, with intensive intervention, for students who still do not meet the standards, so they can get back on track in their schooling.

In 1996 President Clinton challenged every state and school district to adopt policies to end social promotion and require students to pass high school graduation exams. Twenty six states now have high school exit exams, and last year four states adopted policies to stop promoting unprepared students from grade to grade. A growing number of urban school districts, including Boston, Philadelphia, New York City, and Washington D.C. are adopting similar policies. In Chicago, which three years ago ended the practice of social promotion in a way that gives students who need it substantial extended learning time, citywide math and reading scores have gone up every year, with the largest gains among the most disadvantaged students. President Clinton's FY 2000 budget proposes to triple federal funding for after-school and summer school programs (from \$200 million to \$600 million) to help schools ending social promotion give students the extra help they need to succeed.

Accountability for Results: Turn Around Low Performing Schools The President's ESEA proposal will require states to identify the schools with the lowest achievement levels and least improvement and take

corrective action to turn them around. These corrective actions, based on a careful assessment of each school's needs, would include steps such as intensive teacher training, support to improve school discipline, and the implementation of proven approaches to school reform. If these actions do not result in improved student achievement within two years, the proposal would require states to take additional corrective actions, such as permitting students to attend other public schools; reconstituting the school, by fairly evaluating the staff and making staff changes as appropriate; or closing the school and reopening it as a charter school or with an entirely new staff. Nineteen states currently take similar actions to help improve low-performing schools, and experience demonstrates that when these interventions are carefully implemented and accompanied by the resources to support change, schools improve and student achievement increases. The President's FY 2000 budget contains \$200 million to help states begin taking these steps immediately.

Accountability for Results: Put Qualified Teachers in the Classroom According to the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, one of the most important factors in improving student achievement is the knowledge and skills teachers bring to the classroom. Yet every year, approximately 50,000 individuals teach on "emergency" certificates, which means they do not meet the standards the state has set for certification. In addition, numerous teachers teach subjects for which they lack adequate preparation, with fully one quarter of secondary school teachers lacking even a minor in their main teaching field. Students in schools with the highest concentrations of poverty --those who often need the most help from the best teachers --are most likely to be in classrooms with teachers who are not fully qualified: for example, in schools with the highest minority enrollment, students have a less than 50 percent chance of having a math or science teacher with a license and degree in the field.

The President's ESEA proposal will require states to adopt performance examinations for all new teachers, requiring them to demonstrate both subject-matter knowledge and teaching expertise. The proposal also will require states and school districts to phase out, over five years, the use of teachers with emergency certificates and the practice of assigning teachers to subjects for which they lack adequate preparation. To support these new teacher quality standards, the proposal will provide resources to help states strengthen teacher certification standards, test new teachers, provide training to current teachers, and give incentives to recruit more highly qualified teachers.

Accountability for Results: Issue School Report Cards The President's ESEA proposal will require states to distribute to all parents annual report cards for each school and school district, as well as the state as a whole. The report cards will include information on student achievement, teacher professional qualifications, class size, school safety, and other factors that will help parents to judge the performance of the schools. Where appropriate, the report cards also will show the academic achievement of ethnic and racial subgroups, to ensure accountability for helping all students achieve. Thirty-six states currently publish or require local school districts to publish school report cards, and five additional states will begin the practice in the next two years. A recent report by Public Agenda, however, shows that only 31 percent of parents had seen these report cards. The President's ESEA proposal will help ensure that all parents in all states have access to the information they need to evaluate the quality of their schools and identify the areas in which improvement is needed.

Accountability for Results: Adopt Discipline Policies Schools must be a place of learning. President Clinton already has challenged states, communities, and schools to take a number of steps to restore order and safety, such as adopting school uniforms, enforcing truancy laws, and

imposing curfews. But in some schools, the breakdown of classroom discipline remains one of the biggest obstacles to learning and one of the greatest concerns for teachers, students, and parents alike. The President's proposal will require states and school districts to adopt discipline policies to make sure students have the chance to learn and teachers have the chance to teach.

A National Effort to Reduce Class Size in the Early Grades In his 1998 State of the Union address, President Clinton proposed to help local school schools hire 100,000 well-prepared teachers in order to reduce class size in grades 1-3 to a national average of 18, and make sure that every child gets a solid foundation in the basics. Studies show that smaller classes help teachers provide more personal attention to students and spend less time on discipline; this helps students to learn more and get a stronger foundation in the basic skills. In these studies, minority and disadvantaged students showed the largest achievement gains. Last year, Congress provided a down payment on the President's seven year, \$12.4 billion proposal by appropriating \$1.2 billion to help local communities hire about 30,000 teachers. Now Congress must finish the job by providing the next installment of funds for local schools to continue progress toward hiring 100,000 new teachers over seven years.

Modern School Buildings to Improve Student Learning For students to learn, schools must be well-equipped and be able to accommodate smaller class sizes. In 1998, the American Society of Civil Engineers said that school buildings represent the nation's most pressing infrastructure need. To address this critical need, President Clinton is proposing federal tax credits as incentives to help states and school districts to build and renovate public schools. Half of the bond authority will be allocated to the 100 school districts with the largest number of low-income children, and the other half will be allocated to the states.

Recruiting Outstanding New Teachers for Our Nation's Public Schools With more than 2 million teachers to be hired in the next ten years to accommodate record student enrollments and an aging teaching force, the nation must not only recruit an adequate number of teachers, but ensure a quality teaching force through effective teacher recruitment and preparation. The President's budget will contain a series of new initiatives and funding increases to help recruit well prepared individuals to teach where they are needed the most, in high poverty urban and rural communities. In particular, the President's FY 2000 budget will increase funding for his teacher recruitment effort enacted in last year's Higher Education Act -- to \$35 million from \$7.5 million --to recruit 7,000 outstanding new teachers into high need public schools by giving them scholarships in exchange for a commitment to teach. The President will announce other initiatives to improve teacher quality at an event later in the week.

Housing

Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Since its creation in 1986, the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) has given states tax credits of \$1.25 per capita to allocate to developers of affordable housing. Even though building costs have increased 40 percent in the last decade, the amount of the credit has not been adjusted for inflation. Therefore, President Clinton and Vice President Gore propose to increase the cap on the LIHTC from \$1.25 per capita to \$1.75 per capita -- restoring the value of the credit to its 1986 level. Estimates suggest that the LIHTC currently helps build 75,000-90,000 affordable housing units each year. The President and Vice President's proposal to increase the cap by 40 percent will create an additional 150,000-180,000 new rental housing units for low-income American families over the next five years. Last year, over two-thirds of the House and Senate were co-sponsors on bills

to raise the cap on the LIHTC -- more support than any other tax legislation. This proposal will cost \$1.7 billion over five years.

Senior Housing Plan To complement the long-term health care initiatives announced by the President in his State of the Union Address, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's plan to meet the changing housing needs of our nation's elders will provide security and peace of mind to coming generations of senior citizens, especially the rapidly growing number of frail elderly over age 85. Priority budget items are \$747 million for Section 202 Housing for the Elderly, including reforms to allow for conversion of existing buildings where seniors need assisted living, and \$87 million to give elderly people housing vouchers.

Homelessness The President's budget will include an increase of \$150 million to a record level of \$1.1 billion for expanding the continuum of care for the nation's homeless. The increase in homeless assistance, plus 10,000 new vouchers to create permanent housing solutions, will address the housing needs of the most vulnerable Americans -- those making a transition from the streets back into homes and community life.

Livability

Livability Agenda: Easing Traffic Congestion and Community Planning and Collaboration To help communities across America grow in ways that ensure a high quality of life and strong, sustainable economic growth, President Clinton and Vice President Gore are proposing a comprehensive Livability Agenda providing new tools and resources for state and local governments. The initiative includes: a record \$6.1 billion for public transit, plus \$2.4 billion for other innovative programs to promote improved transportation planning and ease traffic congestion so commuters can spend less time in traffic and more with their families; \$50 million in matching grants to help neighboring communities develop collaborative "smart growth" strategies; and \$10 million to encourage citizen participation in the design of schools as centers of their communities, provide communities with new information tools so they can grow according to their values, and improve public safety by sharing crime data among communities. By delivering tools and resources to the local level, where issues of growth are most appropriately addressed, this initiative helps empower citizens to build more "livable communities" for the 21st century.

Livability Agenda: Better America Bonds To help communities reconnect with their land and water, preserve green space for future generations, and provide attractive settings for economic development, the Administration is proposing a new financing tool generating \$9.5 billion in bond authority for investments by state, local and tribal governments. The President's budget will propose tax credits totaling almost \$700 million over five years --to support Better America Bonds, which can be used to preserve green space, create or restore urban parks, protect water quality, and clean up brownfields (abandoned industrial sites). The program will be coordinated through an interagency process.

Welfare Reform

Welfare Rolls Decline as More Recipients go to Work The President announced that welfare is at its lowest level in 30 years and the welfare rolls have fallen by nearly half since he took office. The percent of welfare recipients working has tripled since 1992, and all states met the first overall work participation rates required under the welfare reform law. Two years ago the President challenged the business community to create jobs so that people can move from welfare

to work. Today, 10,000 companies of all sizes, industries, and from all regions have joined the Welfare to Work Partnership and are successfully hiring and retaining hundreds of thousands of welfare recipients. The President has announced that his budget will include \$530 million to extend for one year the Welfare to Work and Work Opportunity Tax Credits to encourage more employers to hire welfare recipients and other disadvantaged individuals.

Welfare-to-Work Funds with a Focus on Fathers The President's \$1 billion Welfare-to-Work initiative will help 200,000 long-term welfare recipients in high-poverty areas move into lasting unsubsidized employment. It is an extension of the two-year \$3 billion Welfare-to-Work program the President secured in the Balanced Budget Act. The initiative, as reauthorized, will provide at least \$150 million to ensure that every state helps fathers fulfill their responsibilities by working, paying child support, and playing a responsible part in their children's lives. Under this proposal, states and communities will use a minimum of 20 percent of their formula funds to provide job placement and job retention assistance to low-income fathers who sign personal responsibility contracts committing them to work and pay child support. This effort will further increase child support collections, which have risen 80 percent since the President took office, from \$8 billion in 1992 to \$14.4 billion in 1998. Remaining funds will go toward assisting long-term welfare recipients with the greatest barriers to employment to move into lasting jobs. The reauthorized program also will double the welfare-to-work funding available for tribes.

Transportation and Housing for Families Moving From Welfare to Work The President has announced that his budget will contain \$580 million for welfare-to-work housing vouchers and transportation assistance to help those on welfare get to work and stay employed. The President's budget will provide \$430 million for 75,000 welfare-to-work housing vouchers, including \$144 million in new funds for 25,000 additional vouchers. This is a 50 percent increase over the 50,000 vouchers the President secured last year. The vouchers will help families move closer to a new job, reduce a long commute, or secure more stable housing so they can perform better on the job. The President's budget will also increase Access to Jobs transportation funding from \$75 million to \$150 million, doubling the number of individuals and communities that can receive transportation assistance. This competitive grant program supports innovative state and local transportation solutions such as shuttles, van pools, new bus routes, and connector services to mass transit to help welfare recipients and other low income workers get to work.

Workforce Initiatives

Adult Education And Family Literacy Initiative Today, 44 million adults struggle with a job application, cannot read to their children, or cannot fully participate in our economic and civic life because they lack basic skills or English proficiency. The President's \$190 million adult education and family literacy initiative would provide \$95 million -- or 25 percent -- more for adult education grants and challenges state and local governments to join with us to raise program quality; \$70 million for a new English literacy/civics initiative; \$20 million to help develop new technology for adult learners; create a new 10% tax credit to employers who establish certain workplace literacy programs; and put in place a new initiative to mobilize state and local communities to implement strategies to promote adult education and lifelong learning.

Universal Re-employment Initiative. The President's FY2000 budget makes a five-year commitment to our Nation's reformed job training system.

Specifically, President Clinton proposes to put us on a path that ensures that within five years: (1) all displaced workers will receive the job training they want and need -- after nearly tripling funding for dislocated workers since 1993, this initiative makes the first-year commitment of an additional \$190 million; (2) All people who lose their jobs due to no fault of their own will get the re-employment services -- e.g., job search assistance -- they need; and (3) All Americans will have access to One-Stop Career Centers, including a nationwide toll-free telephone system so that all workers will be able to find out what services are available and where they can go to receive them; job search information at 4,000 Community-Based Organizations; 100 mobile One-Stop Career Centers; and increased access for the disabled and the blind.

Youth Employment Initiative. The unemployment rate among disadvantaged youth -- especially African American teens -- is significantly higher than the national average. In addition to an increase in JobCorps and the \$250

million for the new Youth Opportunity Areas, this initiative includes a 75-percent increase in YouthBuild, from \$42.5 million to \$75 million; create a new \$100 million ?Right-Track? Partnership initiative to help lower drop-out rates; doubles the funding for GEAR UP -- which helps mentor children and prepare them for college -- from \$120 million to \$240 million; create a new \$50 million initiative to help link Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZ/ECs) to their broader metropolitan regional economies in order to increase the employment of disadvantaged youth; and provides \$65 million more to prepare disadvantaged youth for success in college, including \$30 million increase in outreach, counseling, and educational support through TRIO program, and new \$35 million initiative to help disadvantaged students stay in college.

Minimum Wage Increase The President called on Congress to pass an increase in the minimum wage. Despite the strongest economy in a generation, there are still millions of workers trying to raise a family and struggling to make ends meet. The President believes that parents who works hard and play by the rules should not have to raise their children in poverty. That is why, in 1993, he expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and, in 1996, fought for and won a minimum wage increase. The President's proposal would increase the minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$6.15 over two years -- through a 50-cent increase on September 1, 1999 and a 50-cent increase on September 1, 2000 -- helping to restore the real value of the minimum wage to what it was when President Reagan took office in 1981. This increase will help ensure that -- as costs continue to increase -- parents who work hard and play by the rules can bring up their children out of poverty. For someone who works full-time, this minimum wage increase will mean an additional \$2,000 per year. According to data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, about 12 million hourly paid workers would benefit directly from this pay raise.

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President Clinton Unveils Largest Ever National Gun Enforcement Initiative

THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 18, 2000

PRESIDENT CLINTON UNVEILS LARGEST EVER NATIONAL GUN ENFORCEMENT INITIATIVE, HAILS NEW PROSECUTIONS DATA January 18, 2000

At an event today in Boston, where federal and local partnerships have helped dramatically reduce gun crime, President Clinton will unveil the largest national firearms enforcement initiative in history. He will also announce new figures from the Department of Justice showing increased federal prosecutions of dangerous gun criminals.

The Administration's initiative provides a record \$280 million investment in the FY 2001 budget to: 1) add 500 new Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents and inspectors to target violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers; 2) fund over 1,000 new federal, state, and local gun prosecutors to take dangerous gun offenders off the streets; 3) create the first nationally-integrated ballistics testing system and expand crime gun tracing to help catch more gun criminals; 4) fund local media campaigns to discourage gun violence and send a tough message on penalties for breaking gun laws; and 5) expand development of "smart gun" technologies. The President today will also unveil new data from the Justice Department indicating that federal firearms prosecutions rose 25 percent from 1998 to 1999. Finally, he will call on Congress to enact common sense gun measures that will keep guns out of the wrong hands and make our communities safer.

SWEEPING INITIATIVE TO CRACK DOWN ON GUN CRIMINALS. President Clinton today will unveil budget plans for an unprecedented initiative on gun enforcement. The plan includes funding for:

- **500 New ATF Agents and Inspectors.** The President's initiative includes the largest-ever increase to the ATF for firearms enforcement, including 500 new ATF agents and inspectors. The agents will crack down on violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers at gun shows, gun stores and on the street. The firearms inspectors, whose numbers are doubled by this funding, will target unscrupulous gun dealers who supply guns to criminals and juveniles.
- **Over 1,000 Federal, State, and Local Gun Prosecutors.** The President's initiative will fund more than 1,000 new federal, state and local prosecutors to incarcerate gun criminals:
- **1,000 state and local gun prosecutors.** The initiative provides \$150 million to hire 1,000 more state and local gun prosecutors. The new prosecutors will work closely with the community, law enforcement, and federal prosecutors on gun-related crimes.
- **Over 100 additional federal gun prosecutors and new enforcement teams.** The initiative will fund nearly 100 more federal gun prosecutors in the offices of U.S. Attorneys. The initiative also funds 20 gun enforcement teams in high gun crime areas, enabling 20 cities to replicate Boston's comprehensive anti-crime strategy, "Operation Ceasefire." These teams will coordinate enforcement efforts and maximize tough federal sentencing laws against armed career criminals and illegal gun traffickers.

- **Comprehensive Crime Gun Tracing.** Boston's "Operation Ceasefire" and the Boston Gun Project have brought federal, state and local law enforcement together to trace crime guns and identify and arrest illegal gun traffickers. The Administration's Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative was launched to replicate the Boston model, and today the President will announce that his budget expands this initiative from 38 cities to 50 cities. Today's initiative will also help more cities crack down on illegal traffickers by providing funds for tracing equipment and training to 250 state and local law enforcement agencies.
- **New Initiative on Ballistics Testing.** The Administration's FY 2001 budget request will triple current ballistics testing funding by investing \$30 million to create the first ever National Integrated Ballistics Information Network (NIBIN). This system will help law enforcement use the unique "fingerprints" of bullets or shell casings left at the scene of a crime to identify criminals and illegal gun traffickers -- even in the absence of a firearm. Ballistics testing programs at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and ATF have already helped advance over 16,000 criminal investigations of gun crimes in over 40 states. This initiative will link these two systems for the first time, and, within two years, will triple the number of law enforcement jurisdictions with access to nearly one million ballistics images.
- **Local Anti-Gun Violence Media Campaigns.** The President's initiative will provide \$10 million in Justice Department matching grants to support local media campaigns on gun violence and gun safety. Campaigns would be linked to local gun violence strategies to publicize gun penalties and to maximize deterrence, as well as to highlight proper storage of guns and child access prevention. Targeted campaigns have been used successfully in Richmond's "Project Exile" to emphasize lengthy federal sentences, and in Boston to make clear the consequences of breaking gun laws.
- **Innovative "Smart" Gun Technologies.** The President will also propose \$10 million -- more than double last year's request -- for the expansion, testing and replication of "smart" gun technologies. These state-of-the-art safety innovations could limit a gun's use to its owner or other authorized users -- and could therefore prevent accidental shooting deaths of children, deter gun theft, and stop criminals from seizing and using the guns of police officers against them.

NEW DATA SHOW THAT FEDERAL FIREARMS PROSECUTIONS ARE UP. Today, the President will also highlight new data from the Justice Department showing the results of bolstered efforts by federal prosecutors to put serious gun criminals behind bars. From 1998 to 1999, the number of federal firearms cases prosecuted by U.S. Attorneys increased 25 percent, from 4,391 cases in 1998 to 5,500 cases in 1999. Tough prosecutions, strategic efforts to deter and prevent gun crime, and the passage of strong new gun laws such as the Brady Act, have together led to a more than 35 percent drop in gun-related crime since 1992 and a 57 percent decrease in juvenile gun homicide offenders since 1993.

COMMON-SENSE GUN MEASURES ARE STILL NEEDED AND LONG OVERDUE. In addition to pursuing an aggressive enforcement budget, the President will continue to call for much-needed reforms to our nation's gun laws to keep guns out of the wrong hands. Among the common-sense measures he will call on Congress to enact: requiring background checks at gun shows, mandating child safety locks for handguns, banning the importation of large capacity ammunition clips, and banning violent juveniles from owning guns for life.

What's New - January 2000

African American History Month

Protecting America's Natural and Historic Treasures

Remarks by Samuel Berger to the National Press Club

The Lowest Unemployment Rate in 30 Years

September 9, 1999

PRESIDENT CLINTON: WORKING TO PROTECT COMMUNITIES FROM GUN VIOLENCE

"No one asks you when you're a victim of a crime whether you're a Republican or a Democrat. It is an American issue beyond the confines of the Capital City and it should become America's cause as Congress returns to work."

President Bill Clinton
Thursday, September 9, 1999

Today at the White House, President Clinton, joined by mayors and police chiefs from across the nation, urged Congress to help keep our communities safe from gun violence by quickly passing common-sense gun legislation. The President also unveiled new reports showing the effectiveness of the National Instant Criminal Background Check System; a \$15 million gun buy-back initiative; and nearly \$147 million in COPS grants to help communities hire an additional 1,600 police officers for our streets and schools.

Keeping Guns out of the Wrong Hands President Clinton announced the findings of two new reports by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms showing the importance of the Brady background checks and cooperation in enforcement of our gun laws:

- *National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) Report.* In its first seven months of operation, the NICS conducted over 4.7 million background checks and blocked an estimated 100,000 prohibited gun sales – bringing the total number of sales stopped to felons, fugitives, and other prohibited persons to over 400,000 since the Brady Law took effect. Key findings of this report include:
 - The vast majority of background checks are completed swiftly – over 75 percent within 30 seconds, 95 percent within 2 hours. When a check cannot be completed within 24 hours, the individual being checked is nearly 20 times more likely to be a felon or other prohibited buyer than the average purchaser;
 - Of sales denied by the FBI, 76 percent were based on a felony conviction; 11 percent for domestic violence misdemeanors or restraining orders; and
 - If the FBI had only 24 hours to do a background check, as some in Congress are proposing, instead of 3 business days under current law, 20,000 prohibited purchasers – over 41 percent of FBI denials – would have received guns.
- *ATF Enforcement Report.* This report details the way the ATF, FBI, and local law enforcement work together to ensure effective and thorough enforcement of the Brady Law. Since the NICS took effect, the ATF has opened over 1,000 criminal investigations involving individuals who have illegally attempted to purchase firearms -- over 200 of which have been referred to U.S. attorneys for federal prosecution.

Giving Communities Tools to Reduce Gun Violence. The President announced two important initiatives to help communities combat crime and gun violence:

- a \$15 million HUD initiative to help create nationwide community gun buy-back programs, which are expected to remove up to 300,000 guns from circulation by the end of the year; and
- over \$146 million in Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) grants to fund nearly 1,600 additional officers on our streets and in our schools.

Fighting for Common-Sense Gun Legislation. The President renewed his call on Congress to pass sensible gun legislation supported by a bipartisan coalition of mayors and police chiefs. The President