

**PRESIDENT CLINTON: CALLING ON ALL AMERICANS TO JOIN THE FIGHT
AGAINST GUN VIOLENCE**

March 4, 2000

In the aftermath of this week's tragic shootings, President Clinton today will call on Congress to put the interests of American families over those of the gun lobby and to enact long-delayed gun safety legislation. The President will convene a meeting of Congressional leaders Tuesday to break the logjam on this bill, and in today's radio address he will outline measures he believes must be in the final bill, including: closing the gun show loophole, requiring child safety locks for handguns, and banning importation of large capacity ammunition clips. The President also will challenge Congress to pass his plan to punish adults who recklessly allow children to have access to deadly weapons. He will press Congress to fund the development of "smart gun" technologies that can limit a gun's use to its proper owner, and to support his proposal for state-issued licenses for new handgun purchasers. And he will call on Congress to resist the pressure of the NRA, which has stood shamelessly in the way of common sense gun safety measures.

PUSHING CONGRESS TO PASS COMMON SENSE GUN LEGISLATION. For eight months -- despite numerous gun tragedies at schools, workplaces, and even places of worship all across America -- the Congress has allowed the common sense gun measures in the pending juvenile crime bill to languish. The House failed altogether to pass critical gun safety measures as part of its bill, but the Senate passed key Administration proposals to help keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals. Today the President will demand that any final juvenile crime bill must contain gun safety measures and he will pledge to work with Congressional leaders to enact the Senate-passed provisions into law. The Senate gun provisions include:

- **Closing the gun show loophole.** In 1998, there were over 4,000 gun shows held across the country -- events where guns can be sold on a cash and carry basis with no questions asked. It is estimated that up to half the sellers at gun shows are not subject to the same laws as licensed gun dealers and therefore are not required to conduct background checks or keep sales records to help law enforcement trace guns later used in crimes. The Senate bill contained provisions, championed by Senator Lautenberg, to close this dangerous loophole and require background checks and record-keeping for all sales at gun shows. Reps. Blagojevich, McCarthy, Conyers and Morella have been leaders in the House on this issue.
- **Requiring child safety locks for handguns.** An estimated one-third of all privately-owned handguns are left loaded and unlocked. Child safety locks can reduce the unauthorized use of handguns by a child at play or a teen looking to commit a crime. Such a device might have prevented the tragedy in Michigan this week. Last year the Senate passed Sen. Kohl's amendment to require a child safety lock with every new handgun. Reps. Carson, Millender-McDonald, DeFazio and DeLauro have pushed this provision in the House.
- **Banning the importation of all large capacity ammunition magazines.** While the 1994 assault weapons law banned the future domestic manufacture and importation of large capacity ammunition feeding devices that hold more than 10 rounds, those manufactured before the law's enactment were grandfathered. Since it is difficult to determine when clips manufactured by foreign companies were made, it has become relatively easy for foreign gun

manufacturers to circumvent the ban. The Senate bill contains Senator Feinstein's measure to close this loophole by banning the importation of all large capacity magazines – regardless of when they were manufactured. Rep. DeGette has also been a leader on this issue.

- **Extending the Brady Law to violent juveniles.** Although violent youths convicted in adult courts are barred from owning firearms as adults, the same is not true for youths found guilty of serious violent crimes in juvenile court. The President's proposal, championed by Senator Biden, would permanently ban all violent juveniles from buying guns.

HOLDING PARENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR CHILD ACCESS TO GUNS. The President will also call on the Congressional leaders to take a step beyond the Senate-passed provisions and pass his Child Access Prevention (CAP) proposal, which would hold adults accountable if they allow children easy access to loaded guns. Sixteen states have already adopted CAP laws. 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 percent. The President's proposed legislation, championed by Sens. Durbin and Kennedy and Rep. McCarthy, would impose felony penalties on adults who knowingly or recklessly allow a child to have unlawful access to an unlocked gun that is later used to cause death or serious injury. Such adults could be imprisoned for up to three years, fined up to \$250,000, or both.

LEADING AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP SMART GUN TECHNOLOGY. The President has proposed a \$10 million FY 2001 budget initiative to fund the research, development and replication of "smart gun" technologies. These state-of-the-art safety innovations would limit a gun's use to its proper adult owner – and could prevent accidental shooting deaths, deter gun theft, and stop criminals from seizing and using the guns of police officers against them. Despite an NRA advertising campaign ridiculing smart guns, Congressional support for smart gun technology has grown rapidly, thanks to Rep. Pascrell, Senators Kohl and Boxer and others.

CALLING FOR A STATE-BASED LICENSING SYSTEM FOR HANDGUN

PURCHASES. President Clinton will also call on Congress to create a state-based licensing system that would apply to all new handgun purchases. Sens. Schumer and Feinstein and Reps. Nadler, Holt, McCarthy and Lowey have been active on this issue. Individuals seeking to buy a handgun would be required to obtain a photo license from their state of residence, and to present the license when they purchase a handgun. States would issue a license only if the applicant has passed a Brady background check and completed a certified safety course or exam. Such a system would differ from registration, which requires firearms owners (in addition to purchasers) to register all firearms in their possession with a governmental authority.



Record Type: Record

To: Ruby Shamir/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: hyde compromise

Ruby -- here's a piece from our briefing paper on the politics of the Hyde compromise. The DPC memo I referenced on the phone does a much better job of outlining the basics of both the Hyde and Conyers compromise. Let me know if you need anything else, or if you have difficulty getting the DPC memo?

Hyde's Gun Show "compromise"

For months, Hyde has been floating various gun show loophole alternatives with Rep. Conyers that Conyers has rejected as flawed, loophole-filled approaches to the issue. But this effort by Hyde has allowed Hyde to claim that he is trying to make progress. Senator Hatch would likely stand with Rep. Hyde and back the "Hyde gun show compromise." Although Senate Hatch has not been very public in his support for the Hyde compromise, he and his staff have called the measure the "Hyde-Hatch compromise" in small group meetings. The only likely scenario under which Hatch would not support Hyde is if the Republican Leadership and/or the NRA decide that even the Hyde compromise goes too far. By the way, it is not at all clear that Hyde could sell his compromise to his own leadership.

As to the gun show loophole issue, Hyde's alternative leaves much to be desired. During the meeting, it would be very effective for you at this point to allow Rep. Conyers to attack some of the egregious flaws in Hyde's approach, including:

- The exclusion of events where items other than guns are sold, e.g. flea markets.
- A loophole ("let's step outside" transactions) that allows an individual to advertise a gun at a gun show, but offer to sell that gun to a prohibited purchaser that same day at another location.
- Allowing three business days to investigate "official records" with potentially disqualifying information. Non-finalized domestic restraining orders, and communications and phone calls from courts and law enforcement authorities concerning mentally disturbed persons would trigger an extra three business days for review by law enforcement. This is a major break from current law.

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JUSTICE INTERGOVERNMENTAL

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Office of Justice Programs

Office of Juvenile Justice and
Delinquency Prevention

Office of the Administrator

Washington, D.C. 20537

23 FEB 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL

THE ACTING ASSOCIATE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Laurie Robinson
Assistant Attorney General
Office of Justice Programs

FROM:

John J. Wilson
Acting Administrator

SUBJECT: Advance Notification of OJJDP Publications

PURPOSE: To provide you with advance copies and notification of the pending release of a 1999 National Report Series Bulletin: *Kids and Guns* (NCJ 178994).

DISCUSSION: This Bulletin, extracted from OJJDP's recent publication *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report*, provides an overview of the national statistics that show the devastating impact that availability of guns has had on the lives and well-being of American youth. The Bulletin notes that while other types of homicide remained constant, the number of juveniles killed with a firearm increased greatly between 1987 and 1993. An analysis of the data show that the rise in murders of juveniles from the mid-1980's through the 1993 peak year was all firearm related, as was the subsequent decline in juvenile murders that occurred between 1993 and 1997. The Bulletin also reports on the large role guns have in juvenile suicides. The Bulletin suggests that despite the sobering statistics, there are steps we can take to make our children and communities safer, and it provides further resources on these steps.

COORDINATION: The information in the Bulletin, including selected graphs and tables, was taken from the *1999 National Report*. As part of the series, it is also designed to give readers quick, focused access to some of the Report's most critical findings. Several Department of Justice and other Federal agencies provided data for and reviewed the *1999 National Report*, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Bureau of the Census, National Center for Health Statistics, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, and we

have consulted with Bea Witzleben, Office of the Deputy Attorney General. The 1999 National Report Series of Bulletins exemplifies OJJDP's commitment to consolidate and analyze data from diverse sources and makes the information easily available to policymakers and practitioners to help them meet the crucial challenges facing the juvenile justice system.

DISSEMINATION: This Bulletin will be made available to the APA Cadre of Experts on Youth Violence, Congressional Black Caucus members, Native American tribal leaders, U.S. Attorneys, Governors, mayors, prosecutors, sheriffs, police chiefs, juvenile and family court judges, public and private juvenile facility administrators, community-based organizations including OJJDP juvenile mentoring program grantees, Weed and Seed sites, Title V recipients, drug-free communities grantees, policymakers, and researchers. We have consulted with the OJP Office of Congressional and Public Affairs, which has made preliminary plans to issue a publications advisory. The Bulletin also will be posted on OJJDP's Web site immediately after publication.

TIMETABLE: OJJDP will begin releasing this document 14 days from the date of this memorandum.

If additional information regarding this document is needed, I may be reached at 202-307-5911.

CC: Ann M. Harkins, Chief of Staff, OAG
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FEBRUARY 2000

1999 NATIONAL REPORT SERIES

Juvenile Justice Bulletin

Kids and Guns

As the Nation moves into the 21st century, the reduction of juvenile crime, violence, and victimization constitutes one of the most crucial challenges of the new millennium. To meet that challenge, reliable information is essential. *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report* offers a comprehensive overview of these pervasive problems and the response of the juvenile justice system. The National Report brings together statistics from a variety of sources on a wide array of topics, presenting the information in clear, nontechnical text enhanced by more than 350 easy-to-read tables, graphs, and maps.

This Bulletin series is designed to give readers quick, focused access to some of the most critical findings from the wealth of data in the National Report. Each Bulletin in the series highlights selected themes at the forefront of juvenile justice policymaking and extracts relevant National Report sections (including selected graphs and tables).

Administrator's Message

Guns kill. In many cases, guns kill our children. Sometimes the guns are fired by other juveniles, often by acquaintances or family members. This Bulletin, drawn from *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report*, provides an overview of the national statistics that show the devastating impact that the availability of guns has had on the lives and well-being of American youth.

While other types of homicide remained constant, the number of juveniles killed with a firearm increased

greatly between 1987 and 1993. A close look at the numbers shows that the rise in murders of juveniles from the mid-1980's through the 1993 peak year was all firearm related, as was the subsequent decline in juvenile murders that occurred between 1993 and 1997.

Guns play a large role in suicides as well. Families, teachers, and friends have virtually no chance to reach out to youth in desperate need of help when that desperation is signaled by the immediate and often fatal impact of a gunshot wound. Statistics show that for every two youth age 19 or younger murdered in 1996, one youth committed suicide. The rate of youth suicides involving a firearm increased 39% between 1980 and 1994, and although firearm-involved suicides declined 19% from 1994 to 1996, these numbers are still much too high.

Despite these sobering statistics, it is important to remember that there are steps we can take to make our children and our communities safer. In fact, a number of communities have made progress in countering the threat of gun-related violence by bringing together law enforcement, elected officials, prosecutors, judges, schools, community organizations, and citizens to develop their own comprehensive, strategic violence prevention plan. The experiences of these communities are described in the OJJDP publication *Promising Strategies To Reduce Gun Violence*. This OJJDP Report provides a wealth of practical information and tools that communities can use to develop their own firearm violence reduction programs.

The recent decline in firearm-related juvenile homicides and suicides is encouraging and reinforces the need to remain vigilant in keeping handguns and other weapons out of the hands of children. Rational gun control policies, community involvement in schools, better relationships between law enforcement agencies and communities, support for parents in supervising and disciplining their children, and help for teens in despair are all approaches that we can use in our efforts to reduce the illegal use of firearms by juveniles.

Shay Bilchik
Administrator

OJJDP

Robert J. J. [Signature]

The rise in murders of juveniles between 1984 and 1993 was all firearm related, as was the subsequent decline

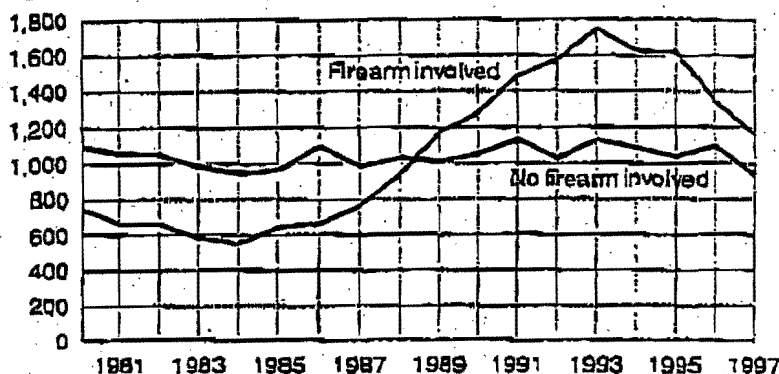
The increase in juvenile homicides is tied to firearm use by nonfamily offenders

A study of the 65% increase in juvenile homicides in the 7-year period from 1987 to 1993 shows that increases did not occur proportionately in all types of homicides. Over this period, homicides by family members held constant, while homicides by acquaintances increased substantially. The increase was disproportionate for black victims, with the growth in the number of black victims twice that of white victims. Most significantly, nearly all of the growth in juvenile homicides was in the number of older juveniles killed with firearms.

The decline in juvenile homicides between 1993 and 1997 brought the number to a level just 20% above that of 1987 (the last year in which juvenile homicides were within their historic range). Both the decline from 1993 to 1997 and the growth from 1987 to 1993 involved substantial changes in the number of murders by acquaintances and in the number of murders of older youth and black youth. The proportion of homicides committed with a firearm, which had increased dramatically between 1987 and 1993, however, did not decline between 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the major legacy of the growth in juvenile homicides from 1987 through 1993 is that it increased the proportion of juveniles killed by firearms.

The annual number of juveniles killed with a firearm increased substantially between 1987 and 1993, while other types of homicide remained constant

Juvenile homicide victims

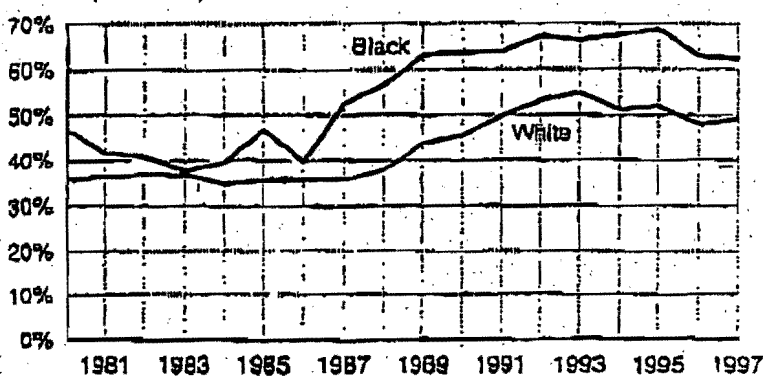


- In 1980, fewer than half (41%) of the juveniles murdered were killed with a firearm. The proportion of juvenile firearm homicides began to increase in 1987 and peaked (at 61%) in 1993. Since then, the proportion has declined somewhat, with 56% of juvenile homicides involving a firearm in 1997.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 (machine-readable data files).

The use of firearms in juvenile homicides was common in the 1990's for both black victims and white victims

Firearm percent of juvenile homicide victims

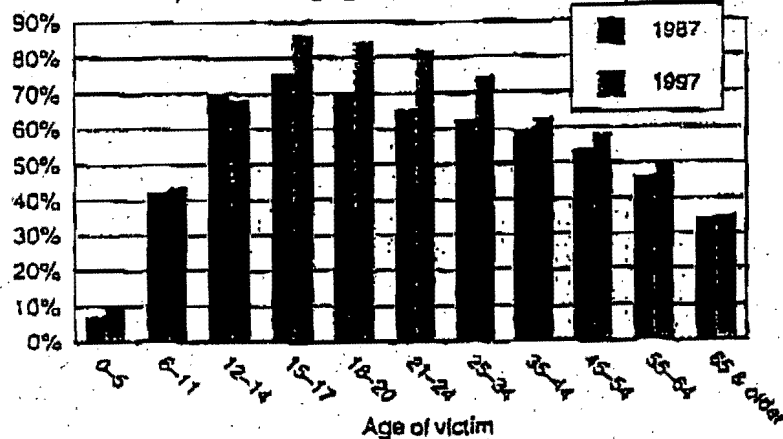


- In the early 1980's, proportions of juvenile homicides involving a firearm were roughly equal for white victims and black victims.
- The proportion of black juvenile homicides involving a firearm increased substantially during a 3-year period in the late 1980's.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 (machine-readable data files).

Homicides of juveniles ages 15 to 17 were more likely to involve a firearm than were homicides of adults

Percent killed by firearm in age group



- Over the 10-year period from 1987 to 1997, the proportion of homicides committed with a firearm increased in most victim age groups.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 (machine-readable data files).

Between 1980 and 1997, 3 out of 4 murdered juveniles age 12 or older were killed with a firearm

Weapon	Age of victim				Victim ages 0-17	
	0-17	0-5	6-11	12-17	Males	Females
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Firearm	51	10	42	75	60	31
Knife/blunt object	14	11	19	15	13	17
Personal*	19	48	11	3	15	27
Other	16	30	28	7	12	25

- Nearly half (48%) of all murdered children below age 6 were killed by offenders using only their hands, fists, or feet.
- Male murder victims were nearly twice as likely as female victims to be killed with a firearm.

* Personal includes hands, fists, or feet.

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 (machine-readable data files).

Since 1980, 1 in 4 murders of juveniles involved a juvenile offender

Nearly 38,000 juveniles were murdered between 1980 and 1997. A juvenile offender was involved in 25% of these crimes when an offender was identified. In murders of juveniles by juveniles, about 1 of 4 also involved an adult offender. Between 1980 and 1997, the victim and the offender were the same race in 91% of murders of juveniles by juveniles.

The proportion of juvenile murders that involved a juvenile offender increased from 21% in 1980 to 33% in 1994—the peak year for all murders by juveniles. In 1980, an estimated 400 juveniles were killed by other juveniles, growing to nearly 900 in 1994; by 1997, this figure had fallen to about 500, or about 1 of every 4 juveniles murdered that year.

When juveniles kill juveniles, the victims are generally acquaintances killed with a firearm

Of juveniles killed by other juveniles between 1980 and 1997, 33% were under age 6; nearly half of these murders (48%), the juvenile offender was the parent of the victim. In another 18%, the juvenile offender was another family member. Firearms were rarely used when the victim was under age 6 (10%).

Of juveniles killed by other juveniles, 63% were age 15 or older. Fewer than 5% of these older juvenile victims were killed by family members, 46% were killed by acquaintances, and 49% were killed by strangers. Between 1980 and 1997, 74% of these older juveniles were killed with a firearm.

All of the increase in homicides by juveniles between the mid-1980's and mid-1990's was firearm related

It is difficult to assess the exact number of murders committed by juveniles

Based on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) Supplemental Homicide Report (SHR) data, 18,200 persons were murdered in the U.S. in 1997—the lowest number in more than a generation. Of these murders, about 1,400 were determined by law enforcement to involve a juvenile offender; however, the actual number is greater than this. In 1997, the FBI had no information on the offender(s) for about 6,900 reported murders (38% of the total). These may have been homicides for which no one was arrested or the offender was otherwise not identified, or these may have been cases for which the local agency did not report complete information to the FBI. Regardless, the number of murders committed by juveniles in 1997 was undoubtedly greater than 1,400, but just how much greater is difficult to determine. If it were assumed that the murders without offender information were similar to those with offender information, then about 2,300 murders (or 12% of all murders) in 1997 had at least one offender who was under the age of 18 at the time of the crime.

The 1,400 murders known to involve a juvenile offender in 1997 involved about 1,700 juveniles and 900 adults. Of all murders involving a juvenile, 31% also involved an adult, and 13% involved another juvenile. In all, 44% of all murders involving a juvenile involved more than one person.

Whom do juveniles kill?

Between 1980 and 1997, most victims in homicides involving juveniles were male (83%). Slightly more victims were white (50%) than black (47%). In 27% of homicides by juveniles, the victim was also a juvenile. Victims in 70% of homicides by juveniles were killed with a firearm. Of all victims killed by juveniles, 14% were family members, 55% were acquaintances, and 31% were strangers.

Who are the juvenile murderers?

Between 1980 and 1997, the large majority (93%) of known juvenile homicide offenders were male. More than half (56%) were black. Of known juvenile homicide offenders, 42% were

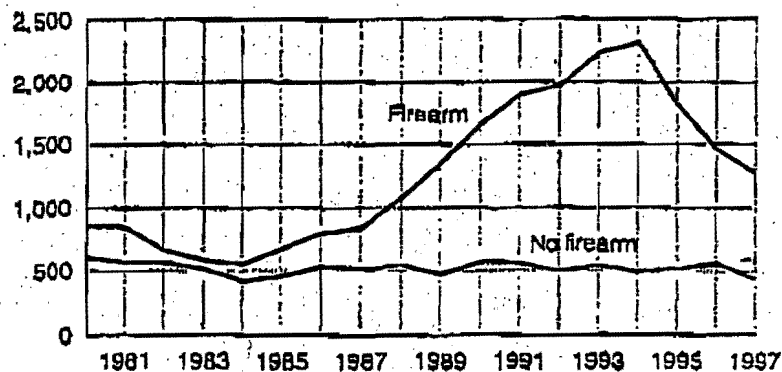
age 17, 29% were age 16, and 17% were age 15; 88% of juvenile homicide offenders were age 15 or older.

Murders by the very young are rare

Annually between 1980 and 1997, fewer than 10 juveniles age 10 or younger were identified as participants in murders—a figure that has remained essentially constant over the time period. The majority of these young homicide offenders were male (88%), and more than half (54%) were black. In these cases, the victim was equally likely to be either a family member or an acquaintance (43%). A firearm was involved in 50% of the murders committed by these young offenders.

The sharp decline in homicides by juveniles between 1994 and 1997 was attributable entirely to a decline in homicides by firearm

Known juvenile offenders



■ Between 1980 and 1987, firearms were used in just over half (54%) of all homicides involving a juvenile offender. Then firearm-related homicides began to increase, so that, by 1994, most homicides by juvenile offenders (82%) involved the use of a firearm.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 (machine-readable data files).

Boys and girls tend to kill different types of victims

Between 1980 and 1997, 54% of male juvenile homicide offenders killed an acquaintance, 37% killed a stranger, and 9% killed a family member. In comparison, the victims of females were more likely to be family members (39%) and far less likely to be strangers (15%).

Between 1980 and 1997, about 1% of male offenders killed persons under age 6, while 18% of the female offenders killed young children. Because there were so many more male offenders than female offenders, however, roughly equal numbers of male and female juvenile offenders were involved in the murder of young children. Annually between 1980 and 1997, about 25 male and 25 female juvenile offenders were tied to the death of a child under age 6.

Males were far more likely than females to kill with a firearm. Between 1980 and 1997, 73% of male juvenile homicide offenders used a firearm, while 14% used a knife. In contrast, 41% of female juvenile homicide offenders used a firearm and 32% used a knife. While

27% of females used other means to kill (e.g., hands or feet, strangulation, drowning, or fire), only 13% of males killed by these means.

Black juveniles were more likely to commit murders with firearms than were youth of other races

In the U.S. in 1997, about 1 of every 16,000 youth between the ages of 10 and 17 was identified as participating in a homicide. This is a rate of 56 known offenders for every 1 million youth in the U.S. population ages 10-17. This rate was greater for black youth than youth of other races: black (194), Asian/Pacific Islanders (44), American Indians (34), and whites (30).

Between 1980 and 1997, 72% of black juvenile homicide offenders used a firearm in their crimes. This proportion was higher than that for Asian/Pacific Islander (67%), white (59%), or American Indian (48%) youth.

Youth were most likely to kill persons of their own race. Between 1980 and 1997, 81% of juvenile offenders were involved in murders of persons of

their own race. Same-race killing was most common for white youth (90%) and less common for blacks (76%), Asian/Pacific Islanders (58%), and American Indians (48%).

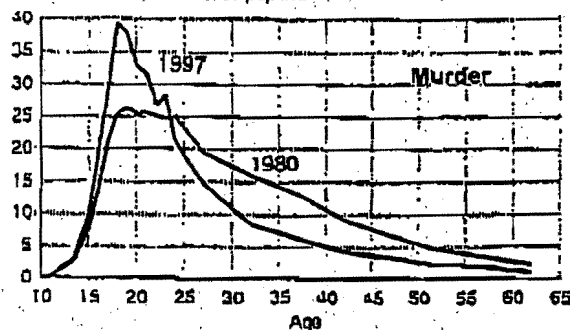
A greater proportion of white youth and American Indian youth killed family members than did youth of other races: American Indian (17%), white (16%), black (7%), and Asian/Pacific Islander (7%).

Growth in murders by juveniles is linked to weapon use

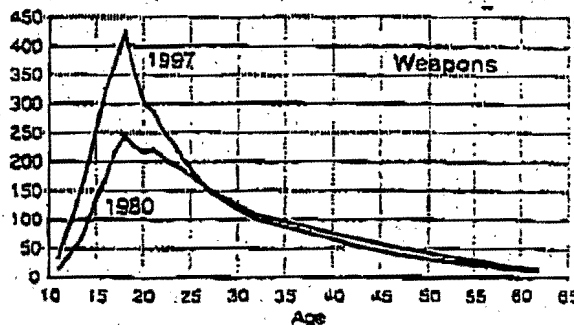
Relevant to an understanding of juvenile murder arrest trends is the link between murder rates and weapon use. The relationship of the murder and arrest curves for 1980 and 1997 is similar to that for weapons law violations. (See murder graph and weapons graph.) For murders, the rates were lower in 1997 than in 1980 for all persons above age 25, but there were substantial increases in murder rates among juveniles and young adults. The age-specific arrest rate trend profile for weapons violations is comparable to that for murder, showing large increases for juveniles and young adults.

Age-specific arrest rate trends for murder are similar to those for weapons violations

Murder arrests per 100,000 population



Weapons arrests per 100,000 population

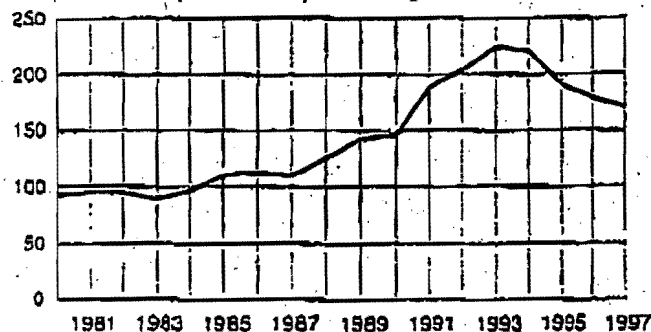


Source: Authors' analysis of arrest data from an unpublished FBI report for 1980 and from *Crime in the United States 1997* and population data from the Bureau of the Census for 1980 from *Current Population Reports*, P25-1095 and for 1997 from *Estimates of the population of States by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin: 1997* (machine-readable data file).

Juvenile arrest rates for weapons, which increased sharply during the late 1980's and early 1990's, began declining in the mid-1990's

The juvenile arrest rate for weapons law violations doubled in the 6-year period between 1987 and 1993

Weapons arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17

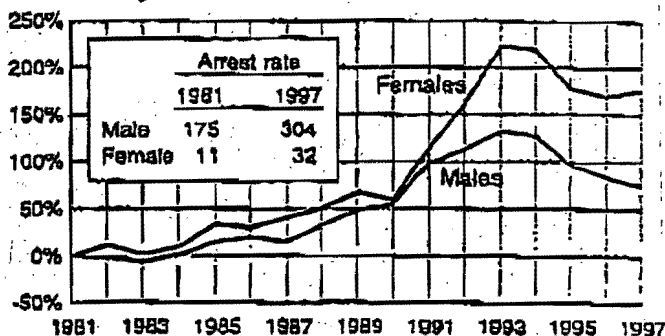


- The decline between 1993 and 1997 brought the juvenile arrest rate for weapons law violations to its lowest level since 1990, but the rate was still 55% above the 1987 level.

Source: Authors' analysis of arrest data from unpublished FBI reports for 1980 through 1994 and the FBI's *Crime in the United States* reports for 1995, 1996, and 1997 and population data from the Bureau of the Census for 1980 through 1989 from *Current Population Reports*, P25-1095 and for 1990 through 1997 from *Estimates of the population of States by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin: 1990-1997* (machine-readable data files).

Female arrest rates for weapons law violations nearly tripled between 1981 and 1997, while the male rate nearly doubled

Percent change in weapons arrest rate from 1981



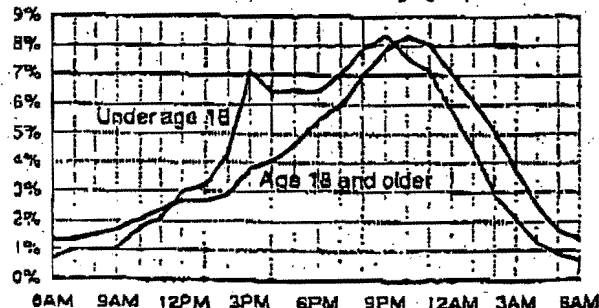
- Even with its greater increase, the female rate in 1997 was only 10% of the male rate.

Note: Arrest rates are arrests per 100,000 males or females ages 10-17.

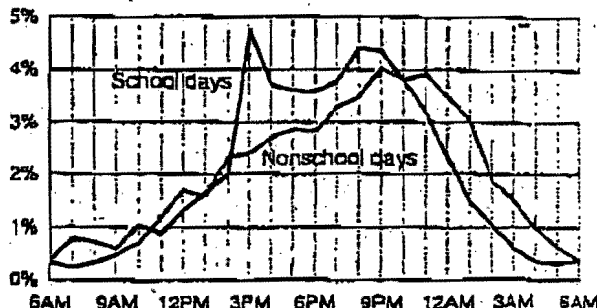
In general, the temporal pattern of violent crimes committed by juveniles with firearms is similar to the adult pattern, except for the high proportion of juvenile firearm-involved crimes that occur immediately after school on school days

Violent crime committed with a firearm

Percent of violent incidents with firearm in age group



Percent of all juvenile violent incidents with firearm



Note: Violent crime includes murder, violent sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Data are from 12 States (Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia).

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* master files for the years 1991-1996 (machine-readable data files).

1 in 5 juvenile arrestees carried a gun all or most of the time

Gun use and crime among male arrestees/detainees is studied

The National Institute of Justice interviewed a sample of arrested and/or detained individuals during the first 6 months of 1995 to learn about gun acquisition and use. Seven of eleven study sites provided data on juvenile males: Denver, District of Columbia, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Phoenix, St. Louis, and San Diego.

Although sites varied, the juvenile males studied were disproportionately black or Hispanic, and most were age 15 or older. Because 5 of the 7 sites limited the study to juveniles in detention rather than all juveniles arrested, the offense profile for juveniles studied was skewed to more serious offenses (crimes against persons ranged from 15% to 29%). Also, the proportion of juveniles who admitted to current membership in a gang ranged from 2% to 41%.

Juveniles are more likely than arrestees overall to commit a crime with a gun

The proportion of respondents who were charged with a weapons offense ranged from 1% to 12%. Among the juvenile males interviewed, however, 20% said they carried a gun all or most of the time, compared with 14% of arrestees overall.

Juvenile arrestees were nearly twice as likely as arrestees overall to say they had stolen a gun (25% vs. 13%). Gang members and drug sellers were also more likely than other arrestees to have stolen a gun (each about 30%).

Overall, 23% of arrestees who owned a gun had used one in a crime. The proportion was higher for juveniles (33%) and higher still for drug sellers (42%) and gang members (50%).

Arrestees were often the victims of gun violence

Juvenile males and gang members were more likely than arrestees overall to have been shot at. The proportion who said they had been shot at was about 4 in 10 overall, compared with about 5 in 10 for juvenile males and about 8 in 10 for gang members.

Although juveniles were more likely than adults to be shot at, they were not more likely to suffer gunshot injury. Overall, 16% of arrestees reported gunshot injuries.

Arrestees say they carry guns for protection and respect

Two-thirds of respondents said they had a gun for protection/self-defense. Almost one-third of arrestees agreed that, "Your crowd respects you if you have a gun." Among drug sellers and gang members, the proportion agreeing was higher (4 in 10). When asked when using a gun was appropriate, 7% of arrestees agreed that, "It is OK to shoot someone who disrespected you." Among juveniles, the proportion agreeing was double (18%). Among drug sellers, 21% agreed, and among gang members, 34% agreed.

More than half of crime guns were recovered from adults age 25 years or older

In 1996, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms established the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative to trace crime guns (i.e., any firearm illegally possessed, used in a crime, or suspected to have been used in a crime) recovered by law enforcement. More than 76,000 crime guns were traced from 24 cities during a 1-year period between 1997 and 1998. Almost one-half (44%) of crime guns were recovered from persons under the age of 25. 11% were recovered from youth age 17 or younger.

Age	Percent of crime guns
All	100%
17 or younger	11%
18-24	32%
25 or older	56%

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

4 in 5 recovered firearms were handguns

A handgun was the most common type of recovered firearm traced by law enforcement. Of these, a semi-automatic pistol was the most frequently possessed handgun among all age groups (52%). Semiautomatic pistols were more common among youth under age 18 (58%) and those age 18-24 (62%) than among persons age 25 or older (47%).

Type of gun	17 or younger	18-24	25 or older
Semiautomatic pistol	58%	62%	47%
Revolver	19%	24%	23%
Long gun	12%	15%	25%

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

A new survey of youth shows that handgun carrying is linked to other problem behavior

A new survey will follow a cohort of youth as they make the transition from school to work.

The first wave of the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97) interviewed a nationally representative sample of 9,000 youth who were between the ages of 12 and 16 at year-end 1996. The survey asked youth to report whether they had engaged in a variety of deviant and delinquent behaviors, including carrying a handgun. Plans are to interview members of this cohort every 2 years to track changes in delinquent and criminal activity over the life course.

- Youth who had ever used marijuana were more likely to have sold marijuana (24% vs. <1%), carried a handgun (21% vs. 7%), or been in a gang (14% vs. 2%) at some point than youth who never used marijuana.
- Youth who had ever sold marijuana were more likely to have sold hard drugs (i.e., cocaine, LSD, or heroin) (40% vs. 1%), carried a handgun (35% vs. 8%), or been in a gang (24% vs. 4%) than youth who never sold marijuana.
- Active marijuana users (i.e., youth who used marijuana during the month prior to the survey) were more likely to have consumed alcohol (78% vs. 14%) or carried a handgun (12% vs. 2%) during that period than youth who did not use marijuana.
- Youth who had carried a handgun in the last 12 months were also more likely to have been in a gang than youth who did not carry a handgun during this period (15% vs. 1%).

The survey also found that more than half of all 16-year-olds who had ever committed assault, carried a handgun, or belonged to a gang had done so for the first time by age 12. In contrast,

less than one-fifth of all 16-year-olds who had ever used marijuana, sold any drugs, or sold hard drugs (i.e., cocaine, LSD, or heroin) had done so for the first time by age 12.

Recent participation (i.e., within the last 12 months or 30 days prior to the interview) in delinquent acts such as carrying a handgun varied by race and ethnicity for males and females

Behavior	Males ages 12-16			Females ages 12-16		
	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
Carried a handgun						
Last 12 months	10%	8%	8%	2%	2%	2%
Last 30 days	5	5	4	1	1	1
To school in last 30 days	<1	1	1	0	0	<1

- In the year preceding the interview, white males were less likely to have been in a gang than black and Hispanic males but more likely to have carried a gun.

Note: The white and black racial categories do not include youth of Hispanic ethnicity. Hispanic youth can be of any race.

Source: Authors' analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' *The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997* (machine-readable data file).

Among 15-year-olds, employed youth were significantly more likely to have carried a gun in the last 12 months than unemployed youth

Behavior	15-year-olds		16-year-olds	
	Unemployed	Employed	Unemployed	Employed
Carried a handgun				
Last 12 months	5%	8%	7%	6%
Last 30 days	3	4	4	3

Source: Authors' analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' *The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997* (machine-readable data file).

For every two youth (ages 0-19) murdered in 1996, one youth committed suicide

7% of all suicides in 1996 involved youth age 19 or younger

FBI data indicate that about 3,900 youth age 19 or younger were murdered in the U.S. in 1996. The magnitude of this problem has captured the public's attention, but much less attention has been given to the fact that for every two youth murdered, one youth commits suicide.

The National Center for Health Statistics reported that 30,903 persons committed suicide in the U.S. in 1996. Of these, 7% (2,119) were youth age 19 or younger. Overall, suicides increased 9% between 1980 and 1996. For youth younger than age 15, the increase was 113%. Despite this large increase, these youngest suicide victims accounted for just 1% of all suicides in 1996.

Young suicide victims are disproportionately male and white

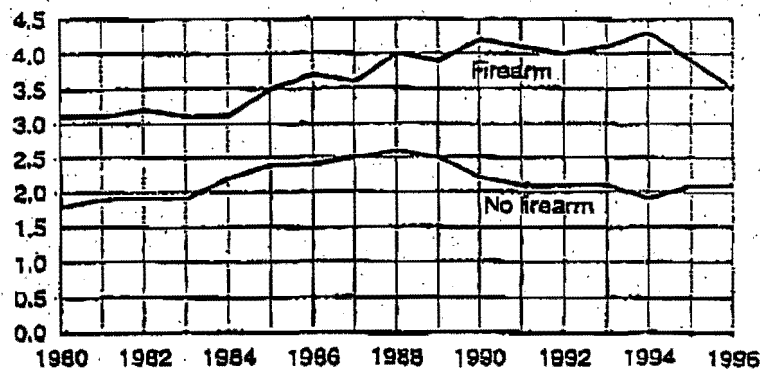
Males accounted for 8 in 10 youth suicides; white youth also accounted for 8 in 10 suicides.

	Number of suicides		Suicides per 100,000 youth	
	Ages 10-14	Ages 15-19	Ages 10-14	Ages 15-19
Total	298	1,817	1.8	9.7
Male	222	1,496	2.3	15.6
Female	76	321	0.8	3.5
White	244	1,522	1.6	10.3
Male	179	1,248	2.3	16.3
Female	65	273	0.9	3.8
Nonwhite	54	295	1.4	7.7
Male	43	247	2.2	12.7
Female	11	48	*	2.6

* Too few cases to obtain a reliable rate.

The rate of youth suicides involving a firearm increased 39% between 1980 and 1994, before declining 19% to the 1996 level

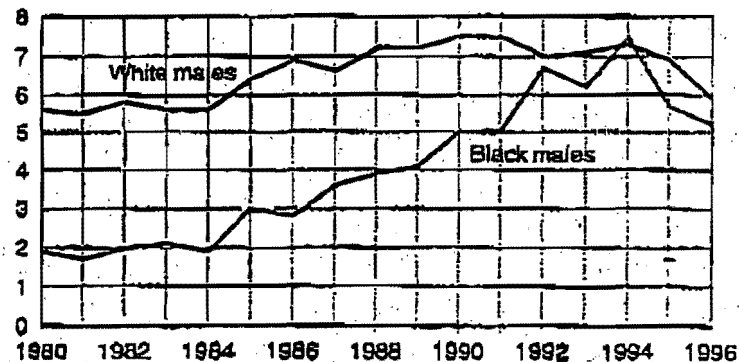
Suicides per 100,000 youth ages 10-19



Source: Authors' analysis of the National Center for Health Statistics' 1979-1996 data from the compressed mortality file (unpublished data).

The firearm-related suicide rate for young black males peaked in 1994 at a level higher than the rate for young white males, before declining to the 1996 level

Firearm-related suicides per 100,000 youth ages 10-19



- Between 1994 and 1996, firearm-related suicide rates decreased 19% for young white males and 31% for young black males.
- In 1996, firearm-related suicide rates for young white males declined to mid-1980's levels, while the rate for young black males was more than twice the 1980 rate.
- Changes in firearm-related suicide rates for young black males were similar to homicide patterns for young black males between 1980 and 1996.

Source: Authors' analysis of the National Center for Health Statistics' 1979-1996 data from the compressed mortality file (unpublished data).

U.S. child homicide and suicide rates exceed rates for other industrialized countries

Rates of firearm-related homicides and suicides are high in the U.S.

A study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention compared the homicide and suicide rates for children under age 15 in the U.S. with the rates for several other industrialized countries. Each country reported data for 1 year between 1990 and 1995; U.S. data were reported for 1993. The number of homicides per 100,000 children under age 15 in the U.S. was five times the number in the other countries combined (2.57 vs. 0.51). The rate of child homicides involving a firearm, however, was 16 times greater in the U.S. than in the other countries combined (0.94 vs. 0.06).

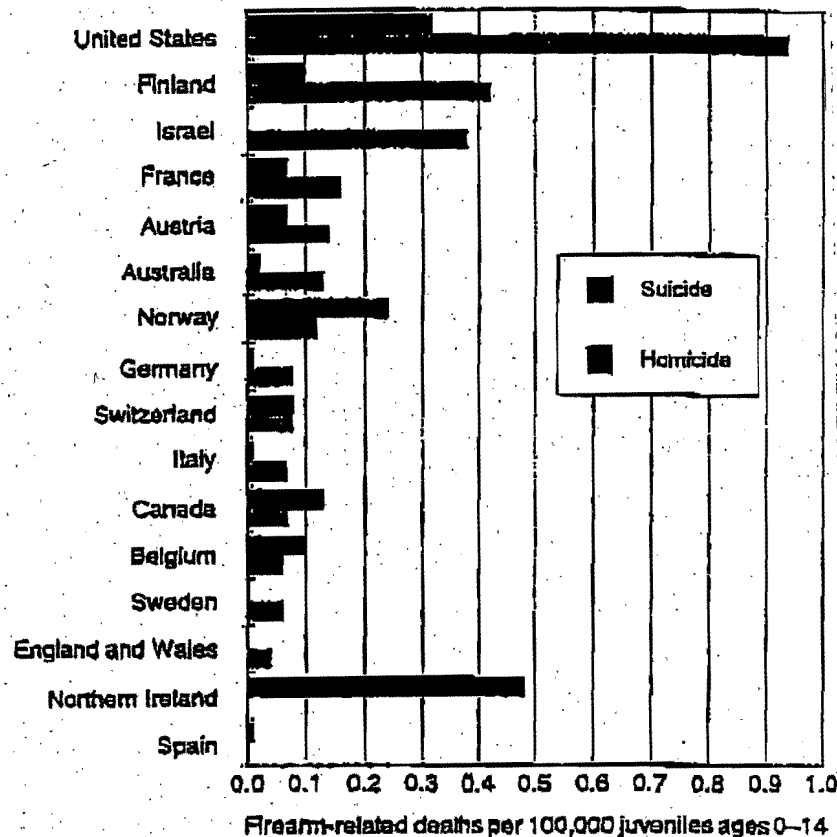
A similar pattern was seen in the suicide rates of children under age 15. Overall, the U.S. suicide rate was twice the rate for the other countries combined (0.55 vs. 0.27). For suicides involving firearms, however, the suicide rate in the U.S. was almost 11 times the rate for the other countries combined (0.32 vs. 0.03).

	Homicide rates*		Suicide rates*	
	U.S.	Foreign	U.S.	Foreign
Ages 0-4	4.10	0.95	0.00	0.00
Firearm	0.43	0.05	0.00	0.00
No firearm	3.67	0.05	0.00	0.00
Ages 5-14	1.75	0.30	0.84	0.40
Firearm	1.22	0.07	0.49	0.05
No firearm	0.53	0.24	0.35	0.35
Ages 0-14	2.57	0.51	0.55	0.27
Firearm	0.94	0.06	0.32	0.03
No firearm	1.63	0.45	0.23	0.24

* Rates are the number of homicides or suicides per 100,000 children in the age group.

Note: Data were provided by Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Singapore, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Taiwan.

The U.S. firearm-related homicide rate for children is more than twice that of Finland, the country with the next highest rate



Note: If both suicide and homicide rates for a country were 0, that country is not displayed on the graph. Data were provided by Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Singapore, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Taiwan.

Source: Authors' adaptation of Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Rates of homicide, suicide, and firearm-related death among children—28 industrialized countries.

Homicides involving a firearm were about 10% of all homicides among younger children (ages 0-4) in the U.S. in 1993. In contrast, about two-thirds of U.S. homicides among older children (5-14) involved a firearm. In other countries, firearm-related homicides were less than one-quarter of all homicides in either age group.

While nonfirearm-related suicide rates were the same among older children in the U.S. and other countries (0.35), firearm-related suicide rates in the U.S. were 10 times greater than those in other countries (0.49 vs. 0.05).

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PRESS RELEASE

Congressman John Conyers, Jr.

Fourteenth District, Michigan
Ranking Member, Committee on the Judiciary
Dean, Congressional Black Caucus

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE:
March 7, 2000

CONTACT:
Ted Kalo (202) 225-6906

Conyers Releases Hyde Language and Supporting Documentation, Says Gun Show Proposal is "Loophole-ridden" and Clip ban is "Meaningless"

Today, John Conyers, Jr., Ranking Member of the House Judiciary Committee, released the latest gun safety proposal offered by Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde. Commenting on Chairman Hyde's contention that his bill represents a "middle ground," Conyers criticized the proposal and repeated his call for a conference meeting:

"In this case it is not the perfect being the enemy of the good, but special interest loophole that it is the enemy of the public's safety. Unfortunately, I must disagree with Chairman Hyde's contention that his bill represents a 'middle ground' between the Lautenberg amendment and NRA backed proposals. The proposal and the supporting documentation I have released clearly demonstrate that the heart of the bill -- who the bill applies to and the time allotted to conduct background checks -- have an uncanny resemblance to previous proposals offered with the backing of the NRA that would allow more criminals to get guns.

The only difference is this debate is not, as some say, the gun show proposal. Aside from the serious problems in his gun show proposal, it is striking that the Hyde proposal eviscerates the high capacity ammunition clip importation ban in the Senate gun safety bill and the amendment Chairman Hyde offered on the floor. A cursory comparison on Hyde's amendment offered in June and his latest proposal reveals that the latest 'clip ban proposal' is a meaningless restatement of current law.

We want an open and public conference meeting to debate our respective proposals. The Republican Leadership fears such a meeting. That fact alone speaks volumes."

#106-92#

**THE HYDE PROPOSAL:
GUN SHOW LOOPHOLES AND
A MEANINGLESS CLIP BAN**

HOW S. 254 CLOSES THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	HOW THE HYDE PROPOSAL REOPENS THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	WHY IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE.
Defines "gun show" to cover <i>all</i> events where a large number of guns are for sale.	The Hyde proposal resurrects language from the failed Hatch-Craig amendment that applies background checking requirements only to events that are both "sponsored to foster the collecting, competitive use, sporting use, or any other legal use of firearms."	<u>The Hyde proposal</u> creates a "gun runner" <u>loophole</u>. Under the Hyde proposal, there would still be lots of flea markets, sport shows and gun shows where hundreds of guns are being sold without background checks. Under the Hyde proposal, if the event is not "sponsored" for a reason set out in the bill, background checks would not be required at the event, no matter how many guns are for sale. A gun show organizer could simply recast the purpose of his gun show by selling items other than guns and could then argue that his event was sponsored for another purpose such as promoting home security or for making a profit and thereby circumvent background checking requirements. Indeed, the vast majority of flea markets, sport shows and gun shows sell items other than guns, such as knives, books or survival gear.
Prohibits evasion of the Brady Law by requiring background checks on all gun show transactions.	The Hyde proposal applies only to transactions where the purchaser sells, transfers or exchanges a gun while the gun is accessible at the gun show or the curtilage area of the gun show.	<u>The Hyde proposal</u> creates a "<u>let's step outside</u>" <u>loophole</u>, allowing a gun seller to offer to sell a gun at a gun show, the purchaser to accept the offer and the transaction to be completed at another location without a background check.

HOW S. 254 CLOSES THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	HOW THE HYDE PROPOSAL REOPENS THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	WHY IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE.
Applies the current Brady Law to all transfers of guns at gun shows.	The Hyde proposal would allow prohibited purchasers such as wife beaters and mentally disturbed persons to buy guns at gun show if the NICS system does not respond within 24 hours and there is no "official record" which indicates the individual is a prohibited purchaser. This significantly shortens the up to three business days allowed under current law to investigate any potentially disqualifying information.	<u>The Hyde proposal</u> creates a "<u>convicted felon</u>" loophole. Under the Hyde proposal, felons, fugitives, and other prohibited persons will get guns at gun shows, even though they could not get guns at gun stores. Although more than 70% of all Brady checks are completed within minutes, some checks require a few days and we know that those purchasers who require additional time to investigate are <u>20 times more likely to be a prohibited purchaser</u>. Non- "official" records, currently used by the background checking system, such as non-finalized domestic violence restraining orders, letters from courts and communications from law enforcement officials could not be investigated for more than 24 hours and - consequently - a gun would have to be transferred to a possible wife beater or mentally disturbed person at the expiration of that time period.
Requires everyone who wants to sell a gun at a gun show to verify their identity to the gun show promoter, and to be notified that they understand they must have a background check done on their buyer.	The Hyde proposal does not require that anyone notify ALL sellers of background check requirements and exempts all gun sellers who do not rent a table as a "vendor" -- but instead walk around selling guns at the gun show -- from verifying their identity.	<u>The Hyde proposal</u> creates a "<u>roving vendor</u>" loophole allowing gun vendors at gun shows to sell firearms with no background checks if they are simply walking the premises and not fixed at an assigned location. This loophole complicates what is otherwise a very simple rule: if you intend to sell a gun at a gun show, you must check in with the promoter and be notified of your obligations to have a background check done on your buyer.

HOW S. 254 CLOSES THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	HOW THE HYDE PROPOSAL REOPENS THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	WHY IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE.
Enhances law enforcement's ability to trace used guns if those guns are used in crimes.	The Hyde proposal prevents tracing of <i>all</i> crime guns sold through "instant check registrants" at gun shows and does nothing to improve tracing of used guns sold by licensed dealers.	<u>Under the Hyde proposal, gun shows remain a safe harbor for criminals</u>, who know that there are no recordkeeping requirements on unlicensed sales at gun shows and, therefore, law enforcement will be unable to trace used guns bought and sold at gun shows.
Uses existing framework of federally-licensed firearms licensees to do background checks on behalf of unlicensed sellers at gun shows. Protects privacy of gun buyers who get their backgrounds checked by using licensed professional dealers – who are subject to strict recordkeeping and inspection – to do background checks.	The Hyde proposal adds new layer of bureaucracy to federal firearms regulation by resurrecting the "special registrants" (now called "instant check registrants") from the repudiated Craig Amendment to the Senate bill. Allows anyone to get an "instant check registration" that will allow them to do background checks and transfer guns, even if they don't know anything about guns or the firearms business.	<u>The Hyde proposal opens up a "fly-by-night background checker" loophole.</u> Creation of "instant check registrants" invites fraudulent transactions by creating a fly-by-night background checker with no vested interest in the integrity of the background checking system. Licensed professional firearms dealers already have experience filling out the appropriate paperwork and using the NICS, and will make entries with fewer errors than non-professionals, assuring more accurate background checks and crime gun tracing information. Licensed dealers also stand to lose their business if they engage in fraud while "instant check registrants" do not.

HOW S. 254 CLOSES THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	HOW THE HYDE PROPOSAL REOPENS THE GUN SHOW LOOPHOLE	WHY IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE.
Allows States with instant check system to continue to operate under their existing framework.	The Hyde proposal forbids anyone doing background checks as points of contact for the instant check system – even states with their own instant check systems – from retaining records or charging a fee.	Keeping States in the Brady check system assures the most thorough background checks, because States often have access to records that the federal government cannot access. The Hyde proposal will drive States away from doing background checks.
Does not create any new immunities.	The Hyde proposal gives gun sellers and "registrants" at gun shows potentially sweeping immunity.	<u>The purpose of gun show legislation is to increase the personal responsibility of those who engage in gun transactions.</u> The Hyde proposal works to minimize this needed accountability.

HOW S. 254 CLOSES THE AMMUNITION CLIP LOOPHOLE	THE HYDE PROPOSAL REOPENS THE AMMUNITION CLIP LOOPHOLE	WHY IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE
When Congress banned the importation of high capacity ammunition clips in 1994, a loophole was created that allowed the importation of high capacity ammunition clips manufactured before 1994. S. 254, and the amendment Chairman Hyde offered on the floor in June, both contained essential language amending the definition of high capacity ammunition clip to include clips manufactured before 1994.	The Hyde proposal fails to amend the definition of high capacity ammunition clip to include those manufactured before 1994 and, consequently, is a meaningless restatement of current law.	The Hyde proposal does NOTHING to close the loophole. A strong bipartisan majority of both Houses of Congress voted to close the loophole that allows the importation of clips that fire ten or more rounds and serve no function other than to kill quickly. The language amending the definition of clips is the essence of this loophole. Without it, this proposal is a meaningless restatement of current law that merely rennumbers and reletters sections of the United States Code. Chairman Hyde stated it himself on the floor on June 17, 1999: "Current law prohibits the transfer or possession of large capacity ammunition feeding devices, such as clips and other types of magazines. <u>But current law also provides a major exception. It permits the possession and transfer of any such device lawfully possessed on or before the date of enactment of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.</u> That is September 13, 1994. The world is awash in high-capacity ammo clips manufactured before the effective date of the 1994 Act, and such devices have been approved for importation into the United States if importers submit evidence establishing that the devices were manufactured on or before September 13, 1994. <u>Our proposal would amend the definition of a 'large capacity ammunition feeding device' to delete the language limiting the definition to devices manufactured after September 13, 1994."</u>

Gun Show Definition

“(A) at which 50 or more firearms are offered or exhibited for sale, transfer, or exchange, if 1 or more of the firearms has been shipped or transported in, or otherwise affects, interstate or foreign commerce; and

“(B) at which—

“(i) not less than 20 percent of the exhibitors are firearm exhibitors;

“(ii) there are not less than 10 firearm exhibitors; or

“(iii) 50 or more firearms are offered for sale, transfer, or exchange.

“

promote

S. 254: A COMMON-SENSE DEFINITION

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“vendor” means any person who exhibits, sells, offers for sale, transfers, or exchanges 1 or more firearms at a gun show, regardless of whether or not the person arranges with the gun show promoter for a fixed location from which to exhibit, sell, offer for sale, transfer, or exchange 1 or more firearms.”

(c) REGULATION OF FIREARMS TRANSFERS AT GUN

SHOWS.—

from receiving or possessing firearms or ammunition; and

(ii) as a term or condition for posting or listing the firearm for sale or exchange on the web site for a prospective transferor, the web site, advertisement or notice requires that, in the event of any agreement to sell or exchange the firearm pursuant to that posting or listing, the firearm be transferred to that person for disposition through a federal firearms licensee, where the Gun Control Act of 1968 requires the transfer to be made through a federal firearms licensee.'

(b) **Technical and Conforming Amendments**--The analysis for chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 930 the following:

'931. '931. Criminal firearms and explosives solicitation.'

[Page: S5313]

SEC. 433. EFFECTIVE DATE:

The amendments made by Sections 430-432 shall take effect beginning on the date that is 180 days after of the enactment of this Act.

On page 65, after line 20, insert the following:

SEC. XX. APPLICATION OF SECTION 923 (j) AND (m).

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, section 923 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by this Act, shall be a

In subsection (j) amend

(1) paragraph (2)(A) a **HATCH/CRAIG: AN NRA-ENDORSED
DEFINITION REPUDIATED BY THE SENATE**

(A) **In general:** A term in the State specified bought, sold, traded, a r a gun show, or event elated items may be iws.

(B) **Locations out of state:** If the location is not in the State specified on the license, a licensee may display any firearm, and take orders for a firearm or effectuate the transfer of a firearm, in accordance with this chapter, including paragraph (7) of this subsection.'

(C) **Qualified gun shows or events.**--A gun show or an event shall qualify as a temporary location if--

(i) the gun show or event is one which is sponsored, for profit or not, by an individual, national, State, or local organization, association, or other entity to foster the collecting, competitive use, sporting use, or any other legal use of firearms; and

(ii) the gun show or event has (a) 20 percent or more firearm exhibitors out of all exhibitors; or (b) 10 or more firearms exhibitors.

(2) paragraph (3)(C) to read as follows:

(C) shall be retained at the premises specified on the license.'; and

(3) paragraph (7) to read as follows:

(7) **No effect on other rights:** Nothing in this subsection diminishes in any manner any right to display, sell, or otherwise dispose of firearms or ammunition that is in effect before the date of enactment of the Firearms Owners' Protection Act, including the right of a licensee to conduct firearms transfers and business away from their business premises with another licensee without regard to whether the location of the business is in the State specified on the license of either licensee.'

In subsection (m), amend--

Let's Step Outside Loophole

1 “(ii) the appropriate State law en-
2 forcement agency of the jurisdiction in
3 which the transfer occurs; and

“(6) retain a record of the transfer as part of the permanent business records of the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer.

“(f) RECORDS OF LICENSEE TRANSFERS.—If any part of a firearm transaction takes place at a gun show, each licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, and licensed dealer who transfers 1 or more firearms to a person who is not licensed under this chapter shall, not later than 10 days after the date on which the transfer occurs, submit to the Secretary a report of the transfer, which report—

15 “(1) shall be in a form specified by the Sec-
16 retary by regulation;

"(2) shall not include the name of or other
ee;

S. 254: AIRTIGHT BACKGROUND CHECKS ON SALES AT GUN SHOWS

ON SALES AT GUN SHOWS in

22 “(g) FIREARM TRANSACTION DEFINED.—In this sec-
23 tion, the term ‘firearm transaction’—

24 “(1) includes the offer for sale, sale, transfer,
25 or exchange of a firearm; and

offer
included

HYDE: "LET'S STEP OUTSIDE" LOOPHOLE

6 “(d)(1) It shall be unlawful, at a gun show or the
7 curtilage area of a gun show, for a person who is not li-
8 censed under section 923 to sell, transfer, or exchange to
9 another person who is not licensed under section 923, a
10 firearm that is accessible at the gun show or in the
11 curtilage area of the gun show, unless—

12 “(A) the firearm is transferred through a li-
13 censed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed
14 dealer otherwise in accordance with law; or

15 “(B)(i) before the completion of the transfer,
16 an instant check registrant contacts the national in-
17 stant criminal background check system established
18 under section 103 of the Brady Handgun Violence
19 Prevention Act;

20 “(ii)(I) the system provides the registrant with
21 a unique identification number; or

22 “(II) 3 business days (meaning a day on which
23 State offices are open) have elapsed since the reg-
24 istrant contacted the system, and the system has not
25 notified the registrant that the receipt of a firearm

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Convicted Felon Loophole

§ 25.6

NICS Index and will immediately correct any record determined to be invalid or incorrect.

§ 25.6 Accessing records in the system.

(a) FFLs may initiate a NICS background check only in connection with a proposed firearm transfer as required by the Brady Act. FFLs are strictly prohibited from initiating a NICS background check for any other purpose. The process of accessing the NICS for the purpose of conducting a NICS background check is initiated by an FFL's contacting the FBI NICS Operations Center (by telephone or electronic dial-up access) or a POC. FFLs in each state will be advised by the ATF whether they are required to initiate NICS background checks with the NICS Operations Center or a POC and

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able to contact the NICS 24 hours each day, excluding scheduled and unscheduled downtime.

(c)(i) The FBI NICS Operations Center, upon receiving an FFL telephone or electronic dial-up request for a background check, will:

(i) Verify the FFL Number and code word;

(ii) Assign a NICS Transaction Number (NTN) to a valid inquiry and provide the NTN to the FFL;

(iii) Search the relevant databases (i.e., NICS Index, NCIC, III) for any matching records; and

(iv) Provide the following NICS responses based upon the consolidated NICS search results to the FFL that requested the background check:

(A) "Proceed" response, if no disqualifying information was found in the NICS Index, NCIC, or III.

(B) "Delayed" response, if the NICS search finds a record that requires more research to determine whether the prospective transferee is disqualified from possessing a firearm by Fed-

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eral or state law. A "Delayed" response to the FFL indicates that the firearm transfer should not proceed pending receipt of a follow-up "Proceed" response from the NICS or the expiration of three business days (exclusive of the day on which the query is made), whichever occurs first. (Example: An FFL requests a NICS check on a prospective firearm transferee at 9:00 a.m. on Friday and shortly thereafter receives a "Delayed" response from the NICS. If state offices in the state in which the FFL is located are closed on Saturday and Sunday and open the following Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and the NICS has not yet responded with a "Proceed" or "Denied" response, the FFL may transfer the firearm at 12:01 a.m. Thursday.)

(C) "Denied" response, when at least

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section will contain any of the underlying information in the records checked by the system.

(d) Access to the NICS through POCs.

In states where a POC is designated to process background checks for the NICS, FFLs will contact the POC to initiate a NICS background check. Both ATF and the POC will notify FFLs in the POC's state of the means by which FFLs can contact the POC. The NICS will provide POCs with electronic access to the system virtually 24 hours each day through the NCIC communication network. Upon receiving a request for a background check from an FFL, a POC will:

(1) Verify the eligibility of the FFL either by verification of the FFL number or an alternative POC-verification system;

(2) Enter a purpose code indicating that the query of the system is for the purpose of performing a NICS background check in connection with the transfer of a firearm; and (3) Transmit

CURRENT LAW: BETTER SAFE THAN SORRY

any record

1 “(3) DEADLINE FOR COMPLETION OF CHECKS
2 REQUESTED FROM GUN SHOWS.—

3 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in
4 subparagraph (B), the Attorney General shall
5 ensure that each background check conducted
6 through the national instant criminal back-
7 ground check system pursuant to a request
8 made from a gun show is completed within 24
9 hours after an authorized person has contacted
10 the system to request the check.

11 “(B) EXCEPTIONS.—The requirement of
12 subparagraph (A) shall not apply if the system
13 indicates that—

14 “(i) receipt of the firearm by the pro-
15 spective transferee would violate subsection
16 (g) or (n) of section 922; or

17 “(ii) there exists an arrest record, civil
18 commitment complaint, or official record
19 with respect to a matter described in sub-
20 section (g) or (n) of section 922, which in-
21 dicates that receipt of the firearm by the
22 prospective transferee may violate sub-
23 section (g) or (n) of section 922.”

*only official
records*

24
25 S HYDE: “OFFICIAL” RECORDS

T GUN

Roving Vendor Loophole

“(A) at which 50 or more firearms are offered or exhibited for sale, transfer, or exchange, if 1 or more of the firearms has been shipped or transported in, or otherwise affects, interstate or foreign commerce; and

“(B) at which—

"(i) not less than 20 percent of the exhibitors are firearm exhibitors;

“(ii) there are not less than 10 firearm ex-

**S. 254: EVERY SELLER APPRISED OF
BACKGROUND CHECK REQUIREMENT**

'promoter' means any person who organizes, plans, promotes, or operates a gun show.

“(37) GUN SHOW VENDOR.—The term ‘gun show vendor’ means any person who exhibits, sells, offers for sale, transfers, or exchanges 1 or more firearms at a gun show, regardless of whether or not the person arranges with the gun show promoter for a fixed location from which to exhibit, sell, offer for sale, transfer, or exchange 1 or more firearms.”

(c) REGULATION OF FIREARMS TRANSFERS AT GUN
SHOWS.—

1 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 44 of title 18,
2 United States Code, is amended by adding at the
3 end the following:

4 **“§ 931. Regulation of firearms transfers at gun shows**

5 **“(a) REGISTRATION OF GUN SHOW PROMOTERS.—**

6 It shall be unlawful for any person to organize, plan, pro-
7 mote, or operate a gun show unless that person—

8 “(1) registers with the Secretary in accordance
9 with regulations promulgated by the Secretary; and

10 “(2) pays a registration fee, in an amount de-
11 termined by the Secretary.

12 **“(b) RESPONSIBILITIES OF GUN SHOW PRO-**
13 **MOTERS.—**It shall be unlawful for any person to organize,
14 plan, promote, or operate a gun show unless that person—

15 “(1) before commencement of the gun show,
16 verifies the identity of each gun show vendor partici-
17 pating in the gun show by examining a valid identi-
18 fication document (as defined in section 1028(d)(1))
19 of the vendor containing a photograph of the vendor;

20 “(2) before commencement of the gun show, re-
21 quires each gun show vendor to sign—

22 “(A) a ledger with identifying information
23 concerning the vendor; and

1 “(35) The term ‘gun show’ means an event which is
2 sponsored to foster the collecting, competitive use, sport-
3 ing use, or any other legal use of firearms, and—

4 “(A) at which 50 or more firearms are offered
5 or exhibited for sale, transfer, or exchange, if 1 or
6 more of the firearms has been shipped or trans-
7 ported in, or the event otherwise affects, interstate
8 or foreign commerce; and

9 “(B) at which there are not less than 5 firearm
10 vendors.

11 “(36) The term ‘gun show’ means an event at which a gun
12 show is held at any
13 place where real
14 property is used in ac-
15 tivities in furtherance of firearms transactions occur.

16 “(37) The term ‘gun show organizer’ means any per-
17 son who organizes or conducts a gun show.

18 “(38) The term ‘gun show vendor’ means any person
19 who, at a fixed, assigned, or contracted location, exhibits,
20 sells, offers for sale, transfers, or exchanges 1 or more
21 firearms at a gun show.”

MUST
BE AT
FIXED
LOCATION

22 (b) TIME LIMIT FOR NATIONAL INSTANT CRIMINAL
23 BACKGROUND CHECKS.—Section 103(e) of the Brady
24 Handgun Violence Prevention Act (18 U.S.C. 922 note)
25 is amended by adding at the end the following:

1 “(4) A registration issued under this subsection may
2 be revoked pursuant to the procedures provided for license
3 revocations under section 923.

4 “(b) It shall be unlawful for any person to organize
5 or conduct a gun show unless the person—

6 “(1) registers with the Secretary in accordance
7 with regulations promulgated by the Secretary,
8 which shall not require the payment of any fee for
9 such registration;

10 “(2) before commencement of the gun show—

11 “(A) records and verifies the identity of
12 each individual who is to be a gun show vendor
13 at the gun show by examining, but not retain-
14 ing, a copy of, a valid identification document
15 (as defined in section 1028(d)(1)) of the indi-
16 vidual containing a photograph of the indi-
17 vidual; and

18 “(B) provides to each such individual a
19 copy of the document provided by the Secretary
20 under subsection (c); and

21 “(3) maintains a copy of the records described
22 in paragraph (2) at the permanent place of business
23 of the gun show organizer for such period of time
24 and in such form as the Secretary shall require by
25 regulation.

Tracing loophole

**S. 254: MEASURES AID IN THE
IDENTIFICATION OF GUN CRIMINALS**

**HYDE: NO MEASURES AID IN THE
IDENTIFICATION OF GUN CRIMINALS**

“(f) RECORDS OF LICENSEE TRANSFERS.—If any part of a firearm transaction takes place at a gun show, each licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, and licensed dealer who transfers 1 or more firearms to a person who is not licensed under this chapter shall, not later than 10 days after the date on which the transfer occurs, submit to the Secretary a report of the transfer, which report—

“(1) shall be in a form specified by the Secretary by regulation;

“(2) shall not include the name of or other identifying information relating to the transferee; and

“(3) shall not duplicate information provided in any report required under subsection (e)(4).

“(g) FIREARM TRANSACTION DEFINED.—In this section, the term ‘firearm transaction’—

“(1) includes the offer for sale, sale, transfer, or exchange of a firearm; and

*Measures
that
aid in
identification
of
gun
criminals*

"Fly-By-Night Background Checker" Loophole

(1) paragraph (2)(E)(i) to read as follows:

(i) **In general:** A person not licensed under this section who desires to transfer a firearm at a gun show in his State of residence to another person who is a resident of the same State, and not licensed under this section, shall only make such a transfer through a licensee who can conduct an instant background check at the gun show, or directly to the prospective transferee if an instant background check is first conducted by a special registrant at the gun show on the prospective transferee. For any instant background check conducted at a gun show, the time period stated in section 922(t)(1)(B)(ii) of this chapter shall be 24 hours in a calendar day since the licensee contacted the system. If the services of a special registrant are used to determine the firearms eligibility of the prospective transferee to possess a firearm, the transferee shall provide the special registrant at the gun show, on a special and limited-purpose form that the Secretary shall prescribe for use by a special registrant--

(I) the name, age, address, and other identifying information of the prospective transferee (or, in the case of a prospective transferee that is a corporation or other business entity, the identity and principal and local places of business of the prospective transferee); and

(II) proof of verification
922(t)(1)(C).; and

section

(2) paragraph (4) to read

HATCH-CRAIG: NRA-ENDORSED "SPECIAL REGISTRANT" LOOPHOLE

(4) **Immunity:**

(A) **Definition:** In this

(i) **In general:** The term 'qualified civil liability action' means a civil action brought by any person against a person described in subparagraph (B) for damages resulting from the criminal or unlawful misuse of the firearm by the transferee or a third party.

(ii) **Exclusions:** The term 'qualified civil liability action' shall not include an action--

(I) brought against a transferor convicted under section 924(h), or a comparable State felony law, by a person directly harmed by the transferee's criminal conduct, as defined in section 924(h); or

(II) brought against a transferor for negligent entrustment or negligence per se.

(B) **Immunity:** Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a person who is--

(i) a special registrant who performs a background check in the manner prescribed in this subsection at a gun show;

(ii) a licensee or special licensee who acquires a firearm at a gun show from a nonlicensee, for transfer to another nonlicensee in attendance at the gun show, for the purpose of effectuating a sale, trade, or transfer between the 2 nonlicensees, all in the manner prescribed for the acquisition and disposition of a firearm under this chapter; or

(iii) a nonlicensee person disposing of a firearm who uses the services of a person described in clause (i) or (ii);

shall be entitled to immunity from civil liability action as described in subparagraphs (C) and (D).

(C) **Prospective actions:** A qualified civil liability action may not be brought in any Federal or State court.

(D) **Dismissal of pending actions:** A qualified civil liability action that is pending on the date of

1 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 44 of such title is
2 amended by adding at the end the following:

3 **“§ 931. Regulation of firearms transfers at gun shows**

4 “(a)(1) A person who is not a licensed importer, li-
5 censed manufacturer, or licensed dealer, and who desires
6 to be registered as an instant check registrant shall submit
7 to the Secretary an application which—

8 “(A) contains a certification by the applicant
9 that the applicant meets the requirements of sub-
10 paragraphs (A) through (D) of section 923(d)(1);

11 “(B) contains a photograph and fingerprints of
12

13 **HYDE: RESURRECTS NRA-ENDORSED** 1 by
14 **LOOPHOLE**

15 tion
16 submitted pursuant to paragraph (1) which meets the re-
17 quirements of paragraph (1). On approval of the applica-
18 tion and payment by the applicant of a fee of \$100 for
19 3 years, and upon renewal of valid registration a fee of
20 \$50 for 3 years, the Secretary shall issue to the applicant
21 an instant check registration, and advise the Attorney
22 General of the United States of the same, which entitles
23 the registrant to contact the national instant criminal
24 background check system established under section 103
25 of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act for infor-

Meaningless Clip Ban

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 1501
OFFERED BY MR. HYDE OF ILLINOIS

At the end of the bill, insert the following:

1 TITLE ____—ASSAULT WEAPONS

2 SEC. ____1. SHORT TITLE.

3 This title may be cited as the “Juvenile Assault
4 Weapon Loophole Closure Act of 1999”.

5 SEC. ____2. BAN ON IMPORTING LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNI-
6 TION FEEDING DEVICES.

7 Section 922(w) of title 18, United States Code, is
8 amended—

9 (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “(1) Except as
10 provided in paragraph (2)” and inserting “(1)(A)
11 Except as provided in subparagraph (B)”;

12 (2) in paragraph (2), by striking “(2) Para-
13 graph (1)” and inserting “(B) Subparagraph (A)”;

14 (3) by inserting before paragraph (3) the fol-
15 lowing new paragraph (2):

16 “(2) It shall be unlawful for any person to import
17 a large capacity ammunition feeding device.”; and

18 (4) in paragraph (4)—

19 (A) by striking “(1)” each place it appears
20 and inserting “(1)(A)”;

S. 254 AND HYDE AMENDMENT:
AIRTIGHT CLIP BAN

1 (B) by striking "(2)" and inserting
2 "(1)(B)".

3 **SEC. ____ 3. DEFINITION OF LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION**
4 **FEEDING DEVICE.**

5 Section 921(a)(31) of title 18, United States Code,
6 is amended by striking "manufactured after the date of
7 enactment of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforce-
8 ment Act of 1994".

1 the person resides. Any person who is successful with re-
 2 sp s, pu-
 3 ni **HYDE PROPOSAL: MEANINGLESS** t may
 4 de attor-
 5 ney's fee.

6 **SEC. 1106. BAN ON IMPORTING LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNI-**
 7 **TION FEEDING DEVICES.**

8 Section 922(w) of title 18, United States Code, is
 9 amended—

10 (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “(1) Except as
 11 provided in paragraph (2)” and inserting “(1)(A)
 12 Except as provided in subparagraph (B)”;

13 (2) in paragraph (2), by striking “(2) Para-
 14 graph (1)” and inserting “(B) Subparagraph (A)”;

15 (3) by inserting before paragraph (3) the fol-
 16 lowing:

17 “(2) It shall be unlawful for any person to import
 18 a large capacity ammunition feeding device.”; and

19 (4) in paragraph (4)—

20 (A) by striking “(1)” each place it appears
 21 and inserting “(1)(A)”;

22 (B) by striking “(2)” and inserting
 23 “(1)(B)”.

*Simply
renumbers
and
reletters
existing
sections*

*Where is language amending
definition? (Section 3 in
Hyde amendment)*

Statement of Honorable Henry J. Hyde
The White House
March 7, 2000

Our meeting this morning with President Clinton was helpful. As I have said previously, I believe the country wants Congress and the President to fashion compromise juvenile justice legislation in response to Columbine and other recent tragic shootings.

The President made various proposals regarding guns, some of which, I believe, have promise and deserve careful consideration.

In November, I put forward a compromise package of gun safety initiatives that includes child safety locks, a ban on possession of assault weapons by juveniles; a ban on the importation of large capacity ammunition clips, a juvenile "Brady" provision, and language to ensure background checks for those who purchase guns at gun shows. And I'm open to the President's idea of developing "smart gun" technology; and I support additional state and local prosecutors to help prosecute gun laws too often ignored.

What are prospects for enactment of gun-safety legislation this year? The answer largely depends on decisions made in the coming weeks by the President and members of his party in the House and Senate.

In the House last year, we had a gun safety bill that included child safety locks, the juvenile "Brady" provision, a ban on juvenile possession of assault weapons, and a ban on the importation of large capacity ammunition clips. 197 Democrats voted no. My question coming into Today's meeting is what is the President doing to bring these Democrats on board? I don't have an answer, so I can't tell you today what prospects are for the legislation this year.

Please permit me a word about the larger issue of juvenile justice. The problem is complex and has to do with the unraveling of family life and the coarsening of our culture. It has to do with more effective and energetic enforcement of guns laws already on the books. And it also has to do with overburdened and under equipped judicial systems unable to enforce meaningful consequences for youthful wrongdoing.

Any solution with a chance of offering long-term hope must address these central problems. Our legislation includes a more than \$5 billion investment in our juvenile justice system, a much-needed downpayment on reform. We must reject the voices of some in Congress who have demonstrated an eager willingness to use this as a political issue and hold hostage any meaningful juvenile justice legislation, and embrace a compromise proposal that will help our local and state governments rebuild their broken juvenile justice systems.

Thank you.

PREVENTION OF YOUTH VIOLENCE AND CRIME

3-2-00
Gun Safety. As you recall, last session the Senate passed four major provisions of the Administration's gun control measures including (1) closing the gun show loophole; (2) mandating child safety locks for handguns; (3) banning the importation of large capacity ammunition clips; and (4) banning violent juveniles from owning guns for life. As you know, the House did not pass similar gun control measures as part of its companion bill. Republican Leadership teamed up with Rep. John Dingell (D-MI) and forty-nine other pro-NRA Democrats to defeat the McCarthy (D-NY) amendment. Although it is quite likely that the Conference Committee on this bill could resolve most of the discrepancies on the substantive juvenile justice measures, the committee has made no progress on the gun control provisions. Our objective has been to ensure that these four provisions, most importantly closing the gun show loophole, are included in the Juvenile Justice bill.

Today, the President met with Senators Leahy and Hatch and Representatives Conyers and Hyde to discuss the impasse over gun control. At this meeting, Chairman Hyde (R-IL) stated that he is willing to reach a compromise on gun shows, child safety locks and other issues. While Hyde

indicated a willingness to compromise, the reality is that Chairman Hyde and Senator Hatch have done very little to advance the conference, and, in fact, are trying to lay the blame for the impasse on Democrats. They claim – particularly on trigger locks – that the Republicans are willing and able to reach an agreement, but that the advocates, Democrats and the President want all or nothing. It is important to note, however, that the Hyde gun show compromise is a watered down version of a proposal Chairman Hyde (R-IL) has tried unsuccessfully to get Rep. Conyers (D-MI) to accept. The Hyde compromise is particularly ineffective in closing the gun show loophole because, among other things, it:

- Excludes events where items other than guns are sold, e.g. flea markets.
- Includes a “let’s step outside” loophole that allows an individual to advertise a gun at a gun show, but offer to sell that gun to a prohibited purchaser that same day at another location.
- Prohibits the tracing of all crime guns sold through “instant check registrants,” making gun shows a safe harbor for criminals to buy guns.
- Creates a loophole that weakens existing law by limiting the time law enforcement has under current law (from 3 business days to 24 hours) to complete background checks at gun shows when there are questions about certain “non-official” records relating to domestic violence restraining orders and mental health histories.

It is not clear whether Hyde could successfully sell his compromise to his own leadership. A full analysis of the Hyde proposal is attached.

For this meeting, the President also released *Kids and Guns*, a bulletin derived from *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report*, which provides an overview of national data that show the impact the availability of guns has had on the lives and well-being of American youth. While other types of homicide remained constant between 1987 and 1993, the number of juveniles killed with a firearm increased greatly. Analysis of the data show that the rise in murders of juveniles from the mid-1980’s through the 1993 peak year was all firearm related, as was the subsequent decline in juvenile murders that occurred between 1993 and 1997. The bulletin also reports on the large role guns have in juvenile suicides.

Public Trust and Integrity in Law Enforcement. This week, Representative John Conyers plans to introduce the “Law Enforcement Trust and Integrity Act” to help force a partnership between police and community groups. In his “Dear Colleague” letter, he conjures up the images of Diallo, LA’s Rampart division, and the Abner Louima case to argue for a comprehensive approach to address the issues of police accountability and trust between police and communities. This bill includes provisions to improve law enforcement management and to improve misconduct prosecution tools including: developing and refining accreditation standards for local law enforcement agencies, supporting the development of pilot programs such as civilian review boards, requiring the AG to establish a National Task Force on Law Enforcement oversight to coordinate investigations related to law enforcement misconduct, requiring Federal data collection on racial profiling, and including a whistleblower protection to protect law enforcement officers who expose police misconduct.

daughter Betina was shot twice, once in the back and once in the foot, in last year's school shooting in Springfield, Oregon that left 2 dead and 22 injured. Since the shooting, she and her daughter Betina have been fighting for common sense gun laws in Oregon. Earlier this year in Oregon, they helped rally support for a child access prevention bill and a measure that would require background checks at local gun shows in Oregon. Both measures are still pending before the Oregon legislature. When the Children's Gun Violence Prevention Act was reintroduced in March of this year, Rebecca and Betina appeared at a Capitol Hill press conference with Senator Ted Kennedy and Representative Carolyn McCarthy.

Catherine Murphy is a New York City policewoman married to another law enforcement officer. They have always stressed gun safety, and disarmed and locked up their service weapons when at home. That did not help their eleven-year-old son, Christopher, who was accidentally shot and killed in December of 1997 by a friend playing with his older brother's illegal gun. Since the shooting, Catherine has become a leading gun safety advocate. Last year, the City of New York adopted a child safety lock ordinance measure, known as Christopher's law, in memory of her son. Last year she also became a leading advocate for the Children's Gun Violence Prevention Act, a bill sponsored by Senator Ted Kennedy and Representative Carolyn McCarthy.

Tom Mauser, who works for the Colorado Department of Transportation, is the father of 15 year old Daniel Mauser, a Columbine High School sophomore who was killed two and a half weeks ago. Daniel Mauser, who excelled in math and science and earned straight A's, was studying through his lunch hour in the library in the school library when he was ambushed and killed. Tom Mauser and his wife, Linda, have one other child, 13-year-old Christie. Mr. Mauser led the protests against the NRA when the organization held its Denver convention about a week ago.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Speaking Program

- Representative Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY)
- Rebecca Lynn
- Catherine Murphy
- Thomas Mauser
- The First Lady

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You will greet Representative Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY), Rebecca Lynn, her daughter Betina Lynn, Catherine Murphy, Thomas Mauser, and President of Handgun Control Inc. Bob Walker in the Blue Room.
- You will proceed to a speaking program in the East Room.
- You will make brief welcoming remarks and introduce Representative Carolyn McCarthy.

Mother's Day Gun Violence Event
Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

South Lawn
May 8, 1999

Welcome to the White House. For this event, I want to use Mother's Day to help us all focus the nation's attention on the most precious gift that any family can hope for—the safety of our children. I'm delighted to have all of you here. I want to welcome Congressman and Mrs. Lancost from California; and Congressman and Mrs. McGovern and their young son Patrick from Massachusetts; the President of Handgun Control, (inaudible name). And I want to acknowledge also the Bell Campaign. And I'm delighted that Secretary Donna Shalala, who is the active and effective secretary of Health and Human Services, who has labored tirelessly on behalf of improved health and safety for America's children and families, is also with us.

I know that there is in this audience, many, many family members who have brought young people (inaudible) to gun violence. I know that you have been personally touched by these senseless acts of violence, and our prayers are with you. I'm hoping that the pain that you have endured will remind all of us about what we need to do to make sure that other families don't face that same pain. I'm filled admiration for the ways you are turning your grief and loss into public action. I know we also have citizens' advocates and children's advocates and law enforcement officials, parents and parent leaders, who are all concerned about gun violence and that we have to have (inaudible). I'm joined on the stage by people who we'll hear from shortly, who are truly (inaudible segment) survivors in every sense of that word. They've been kind enough and brave enough to come forward today, some for their first time, to share their stories and insights with all of us.

...(inaudible) Kathy Murphy...(many inaudible names).

(Inaudible segment.)

I'm also very honored to introduce our first speaker, Representative Carolyn McCarthy, whose husband was killed and whose son was badly wounded by a gunman on a Long Island railroad. She has earned the title that she is often called, "The Conscience of the Congress on Guns." Not only has she brought (inaudible) to restore the sanity of America's gun laws, she has devoted three-quarters of her campaign to address the causes of gun violence. By expanding educational opportunities, promoting safe and drug-free schools, helping to create more jobs that pay minimum wage, doing whatever she can to help create a climate in our country that will turn people, particularly young people, away from violence. Please join me in welcoming one of the most eloquent and passionate leaders in the United States Congress, Representative Carolyn McCarthy.

(Carolyn McCarthy and others speak.)

(Inaudible segment.) But that does not mean that we are hopeless or helpless in the face of these tragedies. If we can set aside the impulse to fight over who's (inaudible), we can then all work together to take responsibility—in our homes, in our streets and neighborhoods, in our schools, in our communities and our countries. That is why we are here today. Because we want to issue a call to responsibility. We want to give people something very specific to do for anyone, (inaudible statement) really make a difference.

We have some suggestions. The first is to feel that responsibility. As we know, there are steps every one of us can take. Very few (inaudible) to avoid these tragedies occurring again. Each of us, in our own lives and in the lives of those we touch, can be proud parents. None of us should feel responsible for, but should act responsibly in their children's lives. (Inaudible.)

We also have to encourage parents to work together. I can just feel that if you walk up the (inaudible), which is the (inaudible) of gun violence in the first place, in the home, which is a first step...(inaudible) there's been nothing further that you could do. (inaudible).

Parents and citizens, banding together, will make a difference. (Inaudible) time and time again to represent (inaudible segment)...

So today, we are once more reaching out and speaking out to enlist the power of parents and citizens, for what 35 years, households across America have done. And in over a third of those homes, the guns are stored low and unlocked. We must remind parents that that is a job for all of us to do. That this package is dangerous and all too often, deadly. That is what the smallest thing life is all about. I would like to read the pledge now. We passed out copies so that everyone will have this and I hope that it will be posted in every place you can possibly put it up—workplaces, churches, community centers, civil market bulletin boards—everywhere you can display it. Here's what it says:

I will not give my child unsupervised access to a handgun.

I will not allow my child to play in a home where guns are improperly stored.

If I own guns, I will unload them and lock them up, and store the ammunition separately and securely.

I will urge others, including my community leaders and political leaders, to do everything in their power to protect our children from guns.

When we leave this room today, I hope that we will do (inaudible) getting in and everything in our power, to take this pledge and encourage as many others as you can reach, and distribute it as widely as possible.

And I hope that when we use the word "child," we won't just think of a small child. We think of teenagers. We think of young people who too often in our society give a strange or behavior-related distant sign to family and other responsible adults. I hope we'll also be brave enough to call up that neighbor or that friend whose house of the child they play in and say, "Before I send my child over, I want to know if you have guns in your home? Do you keep them safely?" What may seem like these are small steps, all give the effect, all joined together, will save hundreds and thousands of lives.

The pledge will be available on the White House web site, the Handgun Control web site, and the Lifetime network web site. And anyone will be able to link to it from your own site. If we take this pledge seriously for this Mother's Day, and I intend to carry it around with me and to raise it and talk about it and whatever, saying I find myself and asking people literally to sign it, and to promise themselves and the rest of us that they will follow its requirements. But if all do that, we may not have to come together in a setting like this. Maybe next Mother's Day, we will be able to celebrate a step forward in our continuing effort to bring common sense safety to the use and treatment of attitudes toward guns in our society.

I want to add that I often find myself doing (inaudible) to make very clear that if we could preach to the (inaudible), as my husband likes to say, that we can try to reach people who will contact their members of Congress, and as the President explained in his remarks earlier, about two weeks, or about ten days ago, you can say to people, "This should not be a part of the issue. This should not be a divisive issue. We're asking for responsible adult behavior so that our children can be free and clear."

There are many ways that we can and we must protect our children. And on Monday, my husband and I, along with the Vice President and Mrs. Gore, will be convening a strategy session to seek out the best ideas and lay the groundwork for a national campaign to reduce gun violence. We will be joined by parents and young people, teachers and clergy, gun manufacturers and entertainment industry executives that (inaudible) citizen activists, and together we will talk about how we can shield children from gratuitous violence, how we can help empower and encourage parents to stay involved in their children's lives, to provide more and more timely help to struggling young people, and do more to keep guns and bomb-making material out of the hands of young people.

Also, please, in fear that the Senate will begin debating sensible gun control measures this coming week, senators need to fear all of us and we need all of you to get as many young people as you can, to encourage them to let their voices and views be heard and to give them the encouragement to do what they know is right. And to remind them that there are many, many, many millions of American voters and citizens who will stand behind political leaders who are brave enough to (inaudible), whatever that may take us to vote for the measures that we know will save lives.

No one should ever be called to question that if citizens band together, we cannot make a difference. Just think about the difference that they made in our attitudes and our policies toward drunk driving in just a few short years, when the Mothers Against Drunk Driving began to say, there are many, many depictions in our beliefs and our movies and our television sets that people driving drunk is laughed at, that (inaudible) people getting drunk are getting sober (inaudible)... And think of how far they have come because they are a strong group of people. Many of them, and others, made it their business to change the laws and the cultural attitudes toward drunk driving. You can do the same thing about guns. You can take guns out of the (inaudible) that constitutes our children's daily lives. We can better equip and empower parents to meet their children's needs and we can, we can turn the culture of violence into a culture of caring and support.

Thank for what all of you are doing. Thank you for fighting through your own grief, and your own pain, and your own tears, to be here with us. I want to ask the family members who have come all this way, to just stand. And those of you (inaudible), please stand. And I hope that every one of us (inaudible)...remember your faces and your stories (inaudible) to give our children what they deserve most—a future of hope and a world that is safe.

Happy Mother's Day. Thank you very much.

Draft 5/7/98 7:20pm

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON MOTHER'S DAY PLEDGE FOR AMERICA'S PARENTS
THE WHITE HOUSE
May 8, 1999

Introductory remarks:

Good afternoon. I want to welcome you all to the White House. Thank you for being here on this Mother's Day to help us focus the nation's attention on the simple fact that the most precious gift any family can ask for is the safety of our children.

I want to thank Attorney General Reno; Members of Congress TK; Handgun Control President Bob Walker, and all children's advocates, law-enforcement officials, parents and parent leaders who are here today. And I want to extend a special welcome to the many parents and children in the audience who have been personally touched by senseless acts of violence. Our prayers are with you. I cannot possibly imagine the pain you have experienced. But I am filled with admiration for the ways you are turning your private grief into public action.

I am joined on stage by Rebecca and Betina Lynn, Cathy Murphy, Tom Mauser, and Rep. Carolyn McCarthy -- five of your fellow survivors, in every sense of that word. They have been kind enough to offer to share their stories and insights with us.

Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, whose husband was killed and son badly wounded by a gunman on the Long Island Railroad, has been called "the conscience of the Congress on guns." Not only has she fought tirelessly and tenaciously to restore sanity to America's gun laws. She has devoted equal intensity to addressing the root causes of gun violence -- by expanding educational opportunities, promoting safe and drug-free schools, and helping to create more jobs that pay a livable wage. Please welcome one of the most eloquent, passionate leaders in the U.S. Congress -- Rep. Carolyn McCarthy.

Substantive remarks:

Thank you, Mr. Mauser. Our hearts go out to you and your family. And thank you to the rest of you who shared your stories. I know it is not easy to relive such profound losses. But we are deeply grateful for the way you are working to ensure that other families never experience this kind of pain.

There is no single solution to the tragedies we heard about today. And I don't think there is any single measure that could have prevented what happened at Columbine and Thurston High Schools, what happened on the Long Island Railway, and what happened in Cathy Murphy's neighbor's house.

But that does not mean that we are hopeless or helpless in the face of these tragedies. If America can set aside the impulse to fight over who deserves the blame, we can all work together to take responsibility for protecting our children from violence and guns.

As others have pointed out, the primary caregivers and influences on children are their parents. So the first thing we must do is empower parents to feel that they have responsibility for and authority in their children's lives, especially as children navigate the rough waters of adolescence.

And we must encourage parents to work together. It is simply remarkable what parents can do when they are empowered to act. Before Mothers Against Drunk Driving got its start, it was considered more or less okay to have a few drinks and get behind the wheel of a car. But MADD fundamentally changed the way we think about our responsibilities out on the road. Working together, parents literally changed the culture of drinking and driving -- and they have saved countless lives.

Today, we are enlisting the power of parents once again. More than 35 million households across America have guns -- and in a third of those homes the guns are stored loaded and unlocked. We must remind parents that this practice is dangerous -- and all too often deadly. That is what this Mother's Day pledge is all about. I would like to read the pledge now:

"I will not give my child unsupervised access to a firearm."

"I will not allow my child to play in a home where guns are improperly stored."

"If I own a gun, I will unload it and lock it up and store the ammunition separately and securely."

"I will urge others, including community leaders and political leaders, to do everything in their power to protect our children from guns."

And now, I have an even more important request. At this ceremony, we are preaching to the choir, as my husband often says. So please, when you leave here today, I urge you to help us distribute this pledge as widely as we can. The pledge is already available on the White House, Handgun Control, and Lifetime Network web sites -- and anyone can link to it from their own site. This pledge will remind parents of the powerful role they play in keeping their children

safe. I believe it can be the beginning of a cultural change as profound as the one Mothers Against Drunk Driving achieved on America's roads.

Of course, there are many other ways we can -- and must -- help parents protect their children from violence. On Monday, my husband and I, with the Vice President and Mrs. Gore, will convene a strategy session to seek out the best ideas and lay the groundwork for a national campaign to reduce youth violence. We will be joined by parents and young people, teachers and clergy, gun manufacturers and entertainment industry executives, police officers and government leaders. Together, we will talk about how we can shield children from gratuitous violence, keep parents involved in their children's lives, provide help to troubled young people, and do more to keep guns out of children's reach.

I am also pleased to see that the Senate will begin debating sensible gun-control measures this coming week. It is essential for you to make your voice heard. As Carolyn McCarthy said two weeks ago here at the White House, "When enough people outside of Washington start calling into Washington, wow, people start listening."

Let no one tell you that you can't make a difference. Like the mothers who founded MADD, you have more power than you can possibly imagine. Together, we can take guns out of the volatile mix that constitutes our children's daily lives. We can equip and empower parents to meet their children's needs. And we can turn the culture of violence into a culture of caring and support. Thank you for all of the ways that you are already working to achieve these goals. Thank you for never giving up. Thank you for fighting through tears to give all children what they most deserve -- a future full of hope, in a world that is safe. Happy Mother's Day.

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A Mother's Day Pledge for America's Parents

- ***I will not give my child unsupervised access to a firearm.***
- ***I will not allow my child to play in a home where guns are improperly stored.***
- ***If I own a gun, I will unload it and lock it up and store the ammunition separately and securely.***
- ***I will urge others, including my community leaders and political leaders, to do everything in their power to protect our children from guns.***

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 7, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON GUN LEGISLATION

The James S. Brady Press Briefing Room

12:40 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. Given what I want to talk about today, it seems fitting that I am speaking to you in the briefing room we have just named for Jim Brady.

Last spring, the brutal shootings and Columbine gave a life and death urgency to the call for strengthening our nations gun laws. The Senate responded to that call, in spite of fierce pressures by the gun lobby. With a tie-breaking vote by the Vice President, the Senate passed an amendment to close the gun show loophole and pass other common-sense provisions that require child safety locks and ban the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips.

Unfortunately, the House narrowly defeated the McCarthy amendment to close the gun show loophole, and passed a much weaker bill than the Senate did. Now, for the past eight months, the leaders in Congress have done virtually nothing to complete a final bill.

That's why I called upon Senators Hatch and Leahy, and Representatives Hyde and Conyers to come to the White House this morning. I met with them in the Oval Office for nearly an hour. We had a very good discussion. My message was simple: Congress has kept the American people waiting long enough. I want Congress to finish the gun bill and send it to me by the anniversary of the Columbine tragedy, April 20th.

In the meeting this morning, I told the leaders the final bill needs to close the loophole that allows criminals to buy firearms at gun shows, without opening any new loopholes in the process.

I said I wanted a ban on the importation of ammunition clips that allow shooters, including those in Littleton, to spray bullets across a wide killing zone in a matter of seconds. And I said a final bill needs to require child safety locks, and should hold adults accountable when they allow young people to get their hands on deadly guns -- two measures that are particularly

relevant in light of the heartbreaking shooting of Kayla Rolland last week.

I know the gun lobby is cranking up pressure on Congress again. But when first graders shoot first graders, it's time for Congress to do what's right for America's families.

All four members of Congress I met with this morning expressed their desire to work with us in good faith. I'm grateful for their willingness to meet with me today and to continue working together. But let's be clear here: Eight months is long enough. There's no more time for delay. The conference committee should meet and work out their differences, and send me a good bill. We owe it to our children and to the victims to get this done by April the 20th.

When I talk to the parents of victims, they just can't understand why people in Washington are always talking about what we can't do instead of what we can do. I'm not interested in talking about how little we can do. I'm interested in how much we can accomplish to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, did you get any kind of commitment from the leaders --

Q Mr. President, if Congress --

THE PRESIDENT: I'll take both of them.

Q If the congressional leaders and the gun lobby were not swayed after the Columbine shooting, what makes you feel that the time is, so to speak, more right now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, how many more people have to get killed before we do something? I mean, we had a pretty rough week last week.

And let me say, one of the things that I did in preparation for this -- because, as you know, before last week we were pushing to try to get a conference on the juvenile justice bill -- I actually read the proposal made by Mr. Hyde on this subject, and the counterproposal made by Mr. Conyers. And the Conyers proposal, I think, is workable, and would keep -- would go a very long way toward, in fact, closing the gun show loophole. The Hyde proposal is a substantial movement away from just the total, what you might call the complete NRA position.

So I think that if we could get a conference meeting, and they could start working on the things everybody agrees on, and get these two leaders to work through this, and give us a provision that would actually work -- there's more than one way

to do this; we need something that will actually work -- I think that it's quite possible that that could occur.

Keep in mind, there's a reason that there's such an effort to keep this conference from meeting. I think they know now that if a bill came out that had a reasonable gun show provision, loophole provision, in it that actually closes the loophole, that it would pass the House and the Senate and -- because the American people want it.

So we can't pretend that it's not the same as defeating the bill just to never have the conference meet. The conference needs to meet. And what I believe will happen is that you will have more talking and more thinking, and less shouting, if the conference committee will meet. That's what Congress hires on to do, to write laws. And I think it's very important that this be done. And I hope that the conference committee will meet soon. And I believe that there's a way to work through this that will satisfy some of the practical concerns that people who are interested in the gun shows have, and still allow us to have an air-tight guarantee that we're going to keep the guns away from the criminals and the other categories of people covered by the Brady law.

Yes, Terry?

Q Mr. President, did you get any commitment from the Republicans today that they would actually have a meeting, that there would be a conference? And would you be willing to accept any bill that did not include the gun show background check?

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, where we left it was that -- I think that Leahy, Conyers and Hyde, I believe, are willing to start the conference -- I believe that. I don't want to speak for Mr. Hyde, but I think that's accurate. I believe that -- Senator Hatch said that he thought he had to go back and consult with the Republican leadership and the members of the caucus, and he would try to give us an answer in the next little bit here.

I think that Senator -- I mean, Mr. Conyers said he would work with Mr. Hyde to try to work out the gun show issue, but he didn't want to do that as a way of putting off the conference, and I agree with that. He said he thought we ought to have a conference; the conference ought to approve everything else, including the child trigger locks, the ammunition clip ban -- which is a big issue in view of some of the other things that have happened here lately -- and these other issues, and that, meanwhile, he would work with Mr. Hyde to try to work through this.

Now, all I can tell you is I think it would be a big mistake for Congress not to close the gun show loophole. Keep in mind -- let's everybody remember this -- one of the principal arguments used against the Brady Bill when we passed that and I

signed it was that criminals don't buy guns at gun stores, they buy guns at gun shows. You go back and look at the debate. And one of the things they said, oh, the criminals don't buy -- they either get them on one-on-one sales or they get them at these gun shows or urban flea markets.

Well, it turned out that was wrong. We've had almost a half-million gun sales not approved through gun stores. But the same people who were telling us seven years ago, or six and seven years ago, that we didn't need the Brady Bill because all the criminals were buying their guns at gun shows now tell us we can't stop the criminals from buying guns at gun shows. I mean, I think it's very important to understand, there are people's lives at stake here. This will save lives.

Now, people that are very solicitous and understanding of all the sort of practical problems for these rural gun shows -- I'm telling you, there are ways to work through that. I've actually been to these rural gun shows. I know what they look like. I understand what these people are saying. I'd been to them when I was governor, I know -- you have something off in a field in the country and you've got all the pickups and the cars opened up, and 2,000 or 3,000 people come through in a day -- I understand that. We have the technology to do the background checks and we can do it, and we can do it without shutting these things down and all the law-abiding people that are involved in them down.

But if we act like because there are practical problems, we're just not going to save these people's lives and we're going to let all these criminals buy guns, I think that is, to me, it's unconscionable to walk away from that.

Q When you meet with the mother of the Michigan child this afternoon, do you think that you can reasonably assure her that there will be a bill this year? And secondly, can you make that kind of commitment knowing that there are as many Democrats as Republicans needed still to get support for something like this?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I don't think that is true. I think that if -- among the Democrats that voted for Mr. Dingell's bill, I think if some practical changes were made in the law which would not undermine the ability of the checks to actually keep guns out of hands of criminals and felons, fugitives and stalkers, I think that most of the Democrats would vote for that bill. And I think a lot of Republicans would, and I believe it would pass. So that's what I believe would happen.

Now, what I'm going to tell her when I see her, first of all, is that as a parent my heart goes out to her, and as President I'm going to do everything I can to see that it doesn't happen to other children. That's all I can do.

I can't -- do I know whether the Republicans will permit a bill to pass this year, or whether they will be willing to stand up to the NRA? No, I don't know that. But I think that if we could get a bill out of that committee that was a good bill, this year I think it would pass. And I think that may be what is going on now. That may be why there's so much pressure on Senator Hatch not to call a meeting.

But that is no way to do it. They ought to vote, vote up or down, declare themselves. If they don't want this bill to pass, they shouldn't be ashamed to tell America they don't want it to pass. And if they do, they ought to get together and pass it.

Q Mr. President, regarding your trip to India, there are now reports that you will make a brief stop in Pakistan. Are those reports true?

THE PRESIDENT: I should have an announcement on that probably within a day. I'm working that and we're about to finalize the arrangements, and as quickly as I know -- as I can do so, when I finish the calls I'm making, I'll be glad to release that.

Q Mr. President, aid to Colombia is facing problems in the Congress of the United States. There are some people who doubt -- they think it might be another Vietnam. Some people think that the military aid will end up in violation of human rights and talks of collusion between the military and paramilitary forces. What are you doing to try to get this aid passed that Colombia has been waiting for a long time and you've been pushing for a long time?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I still believe the package will pass. I think the questions which are being asked are legitimate questions, and should be asked. If I were a member of Congress and I just heard the administration were to give this amount of money to Colombia and it was generally going to be used to fight drugs and do some other things, I would ask the same questions.

But all I can tell you is that it's not like Vietnam in the sense that we are not making a commitment to train soldiers in a way that we will then be called upon to come in and replace them or fight with them or work with them. This is to deal with a guerrilla war, which is what happened in Vietnam.

In this case, we will be using some of the funds to train soldiers to support police officers who will be doing antinarcotics work. And the units that will be involved in this will have to be particularly vetted to make sure that they don't have the pattern of abuse that you referred to.

So we have worked as hard as we could to do this. Now, can I tell you that there will never be a dollar of this that

would be spent in a way that I wouldn't want. Nobody can say that. But I can say this: I think that we're a lot better off trying to help stabilize Colombia and save democracy there, and help them fight narcotics there and keep more drugs out of this country, than if we walk away from it. I think the consequences, if we walk away, are pretty clear. And if we help them, we just might make it and turn the situation around. That's what I think we ought to try to do.

Mary.

Q Mr. President, the argument is made that the bill under consideration, all the other bills would not have prevented either Columbine or what happened in Flint. Have you ever considered advocating abolition of handguns, as advocated by the late Senator John Chafee, who spoke of the insanely easy access to guns in this country?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think, first of all, I'm not sure that's true. I just have a statement here by the young woman that bought the guns used at Columbine, and she said, "I wish it had been more difficult. I wouldn't have helped them buy the guns if I had faced a background check."

So, first of all, this works. And I also believe we should license handgun owners and when they buy guns, I think they ought to have to pass a Brady background check and show they've taken a safety course. I think we should do more than we're doing. But I believe that it is best for me as President to focus on what we can get done to save lives.

John Chafee, as you know, was a wonderful man and an aberration in the present Republican Senate Caucus. But I don't think there would be many votes for that in the Congress. And what I should be doing is trying to pass the strongest possible legislation I can pass to save the largest number of lives I can save.

I do believe, Mary, if we -- one of the things that we ought to do if we can get this legislation on the books is to be much more aggressive in these gun buy-back programs, as well, to try to reduce the total stock out there of the kind of loose guns that are running around. I mean, when you hear over 200 million guns are held in America, it's trembling -- it's a staggering figure. But a lot of them are held by collectors and hunters and others with big supplies who are responsible people. But if we had, I'm convinced if we had a more aggressive use of gun buy-back programs, we could draw down a lot of these guns that are used in crimes.

Q Page one of the usually reliable Washington Post reports this morning that you regularly --

THE PRESIDENT: Is that an editorial comment?
(Laughter.)

Q -- you regularly advise the campaign of Vice President Gore. Did you advise Mr. Gore to allow no media questions for the past 17 days, particularly because of the Maria Shaw case, including Gore's appearance in Buffalo on Saturday, where I found that the gymnasium was one-third empty, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No. (Laughter.) No.

Q Don't you think he ought to answer media questions like you do?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, since I didn't advise him privately, I don't think I should advise him publicly.
(Laughter.) It looks to me like he's doing a pretty good job with his campaign. But I did not -- I haven't talked to him about that at all.

Go ahead.

Q Mr. President, back on guns for just a moment. You said what we need to do is pass the strongest legislation we can pass. The leaders who came out were not all that specific, other than to say that the gun show loophole was the main thing hanging this up. In your view, what has to be done to close that loophole? Is it three days? Is it 24 hours? Is it less than 24 hours? What in your view needs to be done to close it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, let's look at the facts here. The answer may be a combination of both. That is, if you have an Insta-check system -- today, when we do the background checks, over 90 percent of them are completed within a day. Over 70 percent of them are completed within an hour, I think.

But you have to have some provision for dealing with the leakage. That is, suppose you're meeting over the weekend, and the records are not in the national crime database; suppose you're dealing with mental health records, for example, that would have, under the Brady Bill, would disqualify someone from getting a handgun, but aren't available; suppose you're dealing with records that are in a local police department that might not be in the database, where you have to make a phone call.

So the answer is, if you had 24 hours, you'd get most people. But the thing is, the people you don't get -- the people you don't get in that last 5 percent -- listen to this -- are 20 times more likely to be turned down than the population as a whole.

So what you need -- I have no objection to some provision which would say, okay, everybody that clears, do the 24 hours and let it roll. But you have to have some other provision there to deal with the 5 percent you can't -- or however, whatever the percentage is; it's less than 10 -- whatever the percentage is you can't get done in 24 hours, because a significant percentage of the people that shouldn't be getting the guns are in that percentage.

So that's why I say, you guys would have -- it would be great for you if they would actually have this conference and start debating this, and instead of debating the Senate provision or the Dingell bill, or the Senate provision or nothing, you could hear this debate between Conyers and Hyde, and we could get down to the facts. And it would be -- you'd really have something to get your teeth into and talk about in terms of, what does it take to save lives?

My criteria is, does it work? You know, I don't mind being -- like I said, I've been to these country gun shows. I know what they're like, and I understand what some of the practical questions raised are. But I'm just telling you, with a minimum of effort, we can save lives, and we can take care of all these cases that the Brady Bill takes care of.

So I'm not giving you an evasive answer. I'm telling you, this is a fact question. But you don't want to just -- the problem with the 24-hour thing is, you do over 90 percent of the checks, but of the ones that leak, they're 20 times more likely to be turned down. So, therefore, I think we have to have some provision to deal with them.

Q Mr. President, when do you plan to act on a request by Taiwan for new weapons systems? Do you think that granting such a request could help you with your China trade legislation on the Hill? And do you think the Taiwanese, perhaps, deserve the weapons given recent Chinese saber-rattling in the area?

THE PRESIDENT: I think my answer to the first question will answer the next two. I don't know because I have not sat down and looked at the facts. Any decision I make has to be made consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and with our general policy in the area. And I will do what I think the right thing to do is. But I literally have not had a meeting on it. We haven't discussed timing or anything; I have had no meetings.

Go ahead, April.

Q Mr. President, today is Super Tuesday, and it's the weeding-out process. What are your hopes for the candidates that are left standing? And since John McCain has been talking about George Bush's morals and ethics, have you been reminded of

that cruel joke that he told about Chelsea a couple years ago, and what are your thoughts about that?

THE PRESIDENT: He asked me to forgive him, and I did.

Q Do you think that he makes an appropriate presidential candidate --

THE PRESIDENT: He asked me to forgive him, and I did. And since I have asked people to forgive me, I would be in a poor position if I refused the same thing. And I believe him to be a good man. And he asked me to forgive him, and I did.

And I think the -- you know, what I think -- I have a slightly different take on this than most people, I guess, but since I'm not a candidate maybe you will believe me when I tell you, since I'm not running. When people fight with each other over issues that they disagree with, and they advertise about it, I don't consider that necessarily negative campaigning. When people say to each other that they're somehow -- that their opponents are morally inferior, or that they're morally superior, that can be negative campaigning. It's also very hazardous.

You know, there are lots of verses in the Bible -- one of them says that you've got to be careful when you're standing not to brag about it; otherwise you might find yourself on your knees. I mean, you know -- but I think the fact that this has been a vigorous campaign fight over differences of opinion on campaign finance, the nature of a tax cut, what kind of education policy we should have in all these primaries, I think that's been good for the American people. And my only wish today is that there's a real big turnout. I just hope they all go out and vote, and I hope they'll continue to vote all the way to November.

MR. LOCKHART: Thanks. Thank you.

Q And your hope for those who remain standing?

THE PRESIDENT: What did you say?

Q The hopes for those who remain standing after this weeding-out process?

THE PRESIDENT: I think they ought to go before the American people and say this is the millennial election, and they ought to say what they say. You know who I'm for and what I hope happens in the election. But the main thing is, I want this election to be fought out over the issues. And if they fight over the issues and criticize each other over the issues, I don't consider that to be negative campaigning. That's debating. That's the way the system works.

I would like to see this election be given back to the American people. I'd like to see the fights over things that affect them and not over whether one candidate should have gotten more merit badges than another.

Q On gas prices, just one last quick question. There are predictions that it could go to \$1.80.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Today I paid \$1.70 for a gallon of gas. Well, I can afford it; many Americans can't. (Laughter.) It's a serious thing for many people who are on tight budgets.

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, let me say -- I've told you this before, and as time goes on we'll have more to say about this. I've been working on this issue. I think what we want are stable oil prices that aren't too high, and I think that's the oil producing countries should want. Because what's going to happen is, there will be all kinds of reactions -- we have our options, others have theirs -- but some countries will just have their economic growth slowed if you have oil prices that are too high.

And then what's going to happen? One of two things, or both, will happen. You will either have a big drop in demand for oil prices, which will drive the price back down just because people won't be buying as much anymore, and it will cut the revenues of the oil-producing countries below where they would have been if they had maintained stable prices at a lower level. Or you will have a lot of non-OPEC members who aren't subject to their agreement start increasing their production, taking market share away from them, and that will also cut oil prices and lower their revenues, because they'll have less market share.

Now, one of those two things is going to happen unless there's more equilibrium in this market. And I think everybody recognizes that they're too high. There's a reason they're too high now -- because we're producing 73 million barrels a day and consuming 75 million. Therefore, the price is continuing to rise, because demand exceeds supply. And demand exceeds supply because of, in effect, artificial decisions made by the producers.

So this would be kind of like deregulation in America in telecom, and a lot of other areas. Once you get other producers, either that or supply will drop because -- I mean, excuse me -- demand will drop because they won't be able to sustain the price. So I think, sure, I want oil prices to go down some. But the producing countries should want them to go down some, too.

Now, on the other hand, Americans should not want them to drop to \$12 or \$10 a barrel again, because that puts you in

this roller coaster environment which is very destabilizing to the producing countries and not particularly good for our economy, and takes our mind off our business, which should be alternative fuels, energy conservation, reducing the impact of all this on global warming.

But we need stable prices at a lower level, and that's what we're working for. And I hope that's what the producing countries will see is clearly in their best interests, because it is.

Thank you very much.

END

1:05 P.M. EST