

PREVENTING GUN VIOLENCE: A CALL TO ACTION

HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME, TERRORISM, AND HOMELAND SECURITY OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2019

Serial No. 116-2

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PREVENTING GUN VIOLENCE: A CALL TO ACTION

Wednesday, February 6, 2019

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME, TERRORISM, AND HOMELAND SECURITY
Washington, DC

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:05 a.m., in Room 2141, Rayburn Office Building, Hon. Jerrold Nadler [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Nadler, Lofgren, Jackson Lee, Cohen, Johnson of Georgia, Deutch, Bass, Richmond, Jeffries, Cicilline, Swalwell, Raskin, Jayapal, Correa, Scanlon, Garcia, Neguse, McBath, Stanton, Dean, Mucarsel-Powell, Escobar, Lieu, Demings, Collins, Chabot, Gohmert, Gaetz, JOHNSON of Louisiana, Biggs, McClintock, Lesko, Reschenthaler, Cline, Armstrong, and Steube.

Democratic Staff Present: Joe Graupensperger, Chief Counsel, Crime Subcommittee; Ben Hernandez-Stern, Counsel, Crime Subcommittee; Milagros Cisneros, Detailee, Crime Subcommittee; Veronica Eligan, Professional Staff; David Greengrass, Senior Counsel; Susan Jensen, Parliamentarian.

Republican Staff Present: Brendan Belair, Staff Director; Bobby Parmiter, Deputy Staff Director and Chief Counsel; Jan Furo, Parliamentarian and General Counsel; Jason Cervanek, Counsel, Crime Subcommittee.

Chair NADLER. The Judiciary Committee will come to order. Without objection, the Chair is authorized to declare recesses of the Committee at any time.

We welcome everyone to this morning's hearing on Preventing Gun Violence: A Call to Action. I will now recognize myself for an opening statement.

The epidemic of gun violence in this country is a national crisis and an international embarrassment. In 2017, nearly 40,000 Americans lost their lives because of guns. In fact, every day in America, on average, 34 people are murdered with a firearm, and more than 183 people are injured in an attack. While no other country in the industrialized world would tolerate such statistics—in fact, gun deaths in most of those countries barely crack triple digits annually—in the United States it is accepted as a grim reality.

By comparison, in 2011 for example, the United Kingdom had 146 deaths due to gun violence; Denmark, 71; Portugal, 142; and Japan, 30. Last year in the United States, almost 40,000.

A 2016 study in the American Journal of Medicine found that, compared to 22 other high-income countries, the gun-related murder rate in the United States was 25 times higher. The common factor in all these other countries is that they have stronger gun laws. Our country, however, is awash in guns, and we have the shameful death toll to show for it.

Despite the obvious need to address the scourge of gun violence, Congress, for too long, has done virtually nothing. But now we begin a new chapter.

Today we will hear from a broad array of witnesses representing diverse perspectives on the issue of gun violence. They will help educate us on the scope of the problem, and they will inform our consideration of various legislative options so that we may, at last, take real action to address this crisis.

As we conduct this hearing today, we are reminded that one year ago next week, 17 students and staff were shot to death, and 17 others were injured at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. We have with us Fred Gutenberg, who is the father of one of the students who were killed at Parkland High School, and we have some others from Parkland with us today, too. This horrible incident was just one in an ever-increasing series of mass shootings that have shocked the Nation in recent years.

Mass shootings are just one way in which the problem of gun violence is manifested in our nation. Every day, guns are used in suicides, domestic violence incidents, gang violence, and in so many other tragedies.

Gun violence impacts all our communities: Rural, urban, and suburban. No place is immune from its reach, including our homes, our streets, our schools, even our places of worship.

Clearly, we must change our approach to combatting gun violence. As challenging as this problem is, however, we do have the ability to address it, and to make our citizens safer. What we have lacked in recent years is the political will.

We should remember that the Second amendment does not prevent the government from enacting legislation to prevent gun violence. As even Justice Scalia acknowledged in his 2008 opinion in *District of Columbia v. Heller*, an opinion that upheld an individual's right to possess a firearm, in his opinion for the Court he wrote, "Like most rights, the right secured by the Second amendment is not unlimited."

While Congress has done almost nothing in recent years to address gun violence, citizens across the country have been organizing and demanding action. As a result, several states have strengthened their gun laws.

I am disappointed that in his lengthy State of the Union address last night, President Trump did not see fit to even mention the need to protect our citizens against gun violence. But it is evident from the energy and the crowd in this room, as well as the millions of people across the country fighting for sensible gun safety laws, that the public is demanding national legislation, too.

I am particularly heartened by the mobilization of so many students and young people, from diverse backgrounds and from every part of our nation, who are now at the forefront of this effort. They join mothers and fathers in calling on us to do more to create a future in which children do not fear being shot in school or on their streets.

We have also seen many in our medical community adding their voices to the movement, shocked at how often they must treat gunshot victims, devastated by the need to console the families of those who lost their lives to gun violence, and stunned by Congress' failure to address this problem.

It is now time for Congress to begin answering these demands, and that is why we are holding this hearing today. We have a large panel of witnesses, and we wish we could have included even more people who wanted to testify, including current Members of Congress who have worked very hard on this issue in recent years. Today, however, is just the beginning of our discussion of these issues, and I hope to hear from many other people as the Committee continues its work on this important topic.

I want to note that we have with us in the audience today several survivors of gun violence, as well as family Members of those whose lives were lost to gun violence. I have already mentioned one such person. We thank you all for your courage and for attending today.

Congressman Mike Thompson, Chair of the House Gun Violence Prevention Task Force, is here as well. He has worked tirelessly to bring attention to this issue and is the author of H.R. 8, the bipartisan Background Check Act, which now has 229 co-sponsors, an absolute majority of the House.

For too long, Congress has ignored the epidemic of gun violence that plagues this country. After a particularly heinous mass shooting, we sometimes pause to offer a moment of silence to honor the victims, but we do not need another moment of silence. We do not need more thoughts and prayers. We need a moment of action. Today's hearing is the first step towards that goal.

I look forward to hearing from all our witnesses, and I now recognize the distinguished Ranking Member of the full committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins, for his opening statement.

Mr. COLLINS. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you to all who have attended today, and for holding this hearing on gun violence in America.

Any form of violence, with or without the use of a firearm, is a reason for concern, and it is our job to offer real solutions for families affected by criminal violence. It is good and right to reflect on the victims and their stories.

What do their experiences have in common, and how can lawmakers respond to the factors fueling violent crime? America has witnessed too many events of mass violence in recent years, yet the common factors here are not related to background checks for private sales.

Thomas Reed, a former Speaker of this House, said: "One of the greatest delusions in the world is the hope that the evils of this world are to be cured by legislation." I will take it a step further.

Today, I think the greatest cruelty in the world is to tell people you will help them in their situation with legislation and then try to pass off legislation that would do nothing to fix the problems that you claim to fix. In legal terms, that is called fraud.

When we understand what is going on, the evidence has shown, as was mentioned earlier—I appreciate the efforts of those who want H.R. 8 and many who have signed on, but similar gun control measures would not have prevented Columbine, San Bernardino, Charleston, or other tragedies. It actually indicates our problem today is that we are too far removed by the realities of violence, victimization, and murder. We are far too comfortable offering bills that constrain law-abiding citizens without protecting them from the people who mean them great harm. We are far too comfortable talking about tragedy without learning its clearest lesson. If we want to combat mass violence, we have to address the human factors actually driving it. This means acknowledging attempts to criminalize the Second amendment do nothing to address these complex factors that turn our attention to solutions that would.

One of my first acts in Congress was to ask President Obama why Federal firearm prosecutions failed 35 percent under his Administration, while widespread violence continued to infect American communities. Chicago, for example, prosecuted only 25 Federal firearm crimes in 2011, and then saw 506 murders in 2012. It seems clear that if we are going to be in the business of writing new laws to prevent violence, we should at minimum commit to enforcing the laws we already have.

Next door to Washington, Maryland illustrates how miserably gun control fails to prevent violence. Maryland requires universal background checks, bans assault weapons, restricts magazine capacity, and permits to purchase handguns, which then must be registered with the state. All these things the gun control advocates have asked for, but Baltimore consistently ranks among the top five cities for gun violence nationwide.

Again, I implore my colleagues across the aisle to look at our cities and our schools and to respond in a meaningful way. We best honor victims of gun violence by looking at the evidence. Neither H.R. 8 nor any of the proposed gun control measures would have prevented a single mass shooting in the last 20 years. When we pull at the stories of tragedy without learning from them, we exploit the victims, Mr. Chair.

In 1999, Columbine destroyed families in Colorado. In the weeks before, we knew that the shooters were psychopaths and had visually given threats, but nothing was done. Law enforcement knew; they failed to intercede.

Virginia Tech, another issue where the murderer had been in voluntary committed outpatient health facilities, but that was never uploaded into NICS, and that was not done. If it had been, he would have never been able to purchase the firearm.

A month prior to the Navy Yard shootings, just up the block from this room, the murderer filed a police report claiming he heard voices in his head. Almost a decade before the massacre, he was arrested for shooting out the tires of a man's vehicle. He was not prosecuted for the crime.

A year ago this month, students in Parkland fell victim to a shooter who law enforcement and school counselors had recommended for mental evaluation in 2016. According to CNN, law enforcement received at least 45 calls about the shooter and his family, and among the calls was an anonymous tip that specifically said he threatened to attack the school, and another call to the FBI tip line. The information was never forwarded to the FBI's Miami field office, and law enforcement took no action.

If we let these tragedies teach us, we see that we need to focus on mental health and missed opportunities. While we are careful to understand by no means are all of those who suffer from mental health illness violent, we can increase public safety by improving our approaches to mental health, our compassion and care for mental health, but we also have the opportunity to help law enforcement better respond.

It is my hope that we will begin to look at this problem with a larger, more honest approach. The problems of the bill H.R. 8 are numerous, and if I were here, many in this audience and many of the witnesses here, my question would be to the sponsors and cosponsors why they would give you a bill that is written and guts itself internally in the bill and will not work.

These are the things that will affect mental health and safety. These are the areas that we need to work on. These are the things that we can continue to find common ground, at the same time not offering a palliative exercise to say here is something that will make you feel better but not help you in the end.

With that, Mr. Chair, I do have one unanimous consent request, and that is the statement for the record by Republican Whip Steve Scalise. I will have to say also, Mr. Chair, that I am very concerned that Mr. Scalise, who everyone in this room knows was very publicly involved in a shooting last year, he wanted to come, and many times this Committee has offered Members the ability to testify and be a part, and then, as we have done in the past, leave. Mr. Scalise was denied that opportunity. I think that is wrong. Him having to put this into the record is something that should be addressed. It goes to the hearing that we are looking at right now. We are making it sound good, but in the end, those who come looking for answers do not find it in H.R. 8.

With that, I yield back.

Chair NADLER. I thank the gentleman.

Without objection, the document will be entered into the record.

Chair NADLER. I want to note for the record the presence of Congresswoman Robin Kelly of Chicago, who has been a champion of gun violence legislation.

I want to note that the reason that Mr. Scalise—we did not have a separate panel for Members is because we had too many Members, not just Mr. Scalise and Mr. Thompson, Ms. Kelly and quite a few others, who would have wanted to testify, and we decided it is a debatable decision. We decided that rather than hear from a lot of our colleagues, who will have other opportunities to address this issue in Congress, we would rather hear from the witnesses.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chair, I understand, except the uniqueness of Mr. Scalise's testimony, being denied this voice is tragic for all who attend and who have been a part of that, especially from his per-

spective as a lawmaker who will be voting on and working with this issue. Just because he probably disagrees with the majority should not have been a reason to keep him out.

Chair NADLER. Well, he was not denied because he disagrees. Majority Members decided we had to have a hard and fast Rule today, otherwise we would have been here all day with Members. In any event, that was the decision.

I will now introduce today's witnesses.

Our first witness is Aalayah Eastmond. She is a senior at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. She has advocated on behalf of young people and people of color who experience gun violence. She has also testified before the U.S. Senate and has participated in a number of forums on this subject.

Savannah Lindquist is a student at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, where she studies neuroscience. Savannah serves on the North American Executive Board of Students for Liberty and has publicly advocated for gun rights. She is also active in her local church and holds a number of leadership positions in student organizations at Old Dominion University.

Diane Latiker is the President and Founder of Kids Off the Block. In 2003, she opened her Chicago home to youth who felt threatened by gun violence. Diane sold her own television to purchase computers to provide the young people seeking shelter in her home educational programs. People in her neighborhood fondly refer to her as Ms. Diane. In 2011, CNN named her as a Top 10 Hero of the Year.

Dr. Joseph Sakran is an Assistant Professor of Surgery, Associate Chief of the Division of Acute Care Surgery, and Director of Emergency General Surgery at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Dr. Sakran spends the majority of his time taking care of injured patients and performing both emergency and elective general surgery. Dr. Sakran completed his undergraduate degree at George Mason University, trained as a medic and firefighter at the City of Fairfax Fire and Rescue Department, and received his medical degree from Ben Gurion University Medical School for International Health in Ber Sheva, Israel.

Major Sabrina Tapp-Harper commands the Domestic Violence Unit of the Baltimore City Sheriff's Office. She previously served for 26 years with the Baltimore Police Department, where she attained the rank of major. At the Baltimore Police Department, Major Tapp-Harper served in a variety of roles, from beat cop to commander. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Criminal Justice from Coppin State University, and a Master of Science Degree in Applied Behavioral Science from Johns Hopkins University.

It is now my pleasure to recognize the gentle lady from Texas, Ms. Jackson Lee, so that she may introduce her constituent, Chief Art Acevedo.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Chair, thank you.

To the Ranking Member, thank you both for this hearing.

Thank you to the witnesses.

It is my pleasure and privilege to introduce the Chief of Police of the City of Houston, who began serving and was sworn in on November 30th, 2016. Chief Acevedo leads one of the major police departments of this nation, 5,200 sworn law enforcement officers,

1,200 civilian support personnel, with an annual general budget of \$825 million, in the fourth, soon to be third largest city in the nation.

The value of Chief Acevedo's policing is that he understands that it is police and community, police and people. He believes in good communication, that it is vital for successful community, and I can assure you and attest to the fact that Chief Acevedo is not a desk chief. He steadily works to encourage the bond between the community and its police department, whether it is a local parade, a barbecue, or a civic meeting. On behalf of the mayor, Sylvester Turner, he shows the face of policing. Although he has been a long-standing proponent of community policing, he applies that terminology to relationships, and he believes in relational policing, which is a major part as well of the Chief's position.

He wants to meet and come in contact with each citizen. That is one of the reasons why devastating cases are solved, because citizens talk to the Chief. He is the first Hispanic to lead the HPD. Chief Acevedo brings a unique understanding of concerns of diverse communities in the City of Houston.

He was born in Cuba. He was four years old when he came to the United States. He grew up in California, attended college there, and began his law enforcement career in the field as a field patrol officer in East Los Angeles with the California Highway Patrol.

He rose through the ranks. One of the best ways of ascending to chief is to know your men and women, and he has recently, right before Houston, was the Chief of Police in Austin.

We are very delighted that he is now the President of the Major Cities Chiefs. He is involved with the International Association of Chiefs of Police. He is married and is the father of three children.

I am very pleased to say that even as we have suffered tragedies and shootings in our community, Chief Acevedo, who has been a stand-up chief and confronted these issues and said to the community that we are with you, I do want to offer to him again, to the officers that were shot last week, a wish for a speedy recovery, having visited them this past weekend. That is our collective wish of this committee.

Mr. Chair, I conclude by welcoming Chief Acevedo and acknowledging one of his extended constituents. Ms. Rhonda Hart is here, and she is a mother of, sadly, a young lady, her very special daughter, who was shot and killed in the Santa Fe shooting in Houston, Texas. Chief Acevedo rushed to that scene even though it was outside the jurisdiction of Houston. He rushed to be of help. That is the kind of chief he is.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chair. I yield back.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. I thank the gentle lady.

I will continue with our last couple of introductions.

Dr. Joyce Lee Malcolm is the Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law and the Second amendment at George Mason University's Antonin Scalia Law School. Dr. Malcolm holds a Bachelor's degree from Barnard College in my district, and a Master's of Arts and Doctorate from Brandeis University.

Robyn Thomas is the Executive Director of the Giffords Law Center. She holds a Bachelor's degree from Duke University and a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Miami School of Law.

We welcome all our distinguished witnesses and thank them for participating in today's hearing.

Now, if you would please rise, I will begin by swearing you in. Raise your right hand.

Do you swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that the testimony you are about to give is true and correct to the best of your knowledge, information, and belief?

Thank you. Let the record show the witnesses answered in the affirmative.

Please be seated.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Mr. Chair, a point of parliamentary inquiry.

Chair NADLER. Yes, sir?

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. We had a conversation on the Floor last week, and I just noted you left out "so help me God."

Chair NADLER. Sorry. Do you want me to repeat the whole—I will repeat the whole thing.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. I would love it. Thank you.

Chair NADLER. Please stand up again. Let me repeat this oath.

Do you swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that the testimony you are about to give is true and correct to the best of your knowledge, information, and belief, so help you God?

Thank you. Let the record show the witnesses answered in the affirmative.

Thank you, and please be seated.

Please note that each of your written statements will be entered into the record in its entirety. Accordingly, I ask that you summarize your testimony in 5 minutes. To help you stay within that time, there is a timing light on your table. When the light switches from green to yellow, you have 1 minute to conclude your testimony. When the light turns red, it signals your 5 minutes have expired.

Ms. Eastmond, you may begin.

TESTIMONY OF AALAYAH EASTMOND

Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and other Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to be here to share my experience and perspectives on gun violence in America.

My name is Aalayah Eastmond, a senior at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. While it is an honor to be here before you today, I am only here because of horrific events that have compelled me to be here. Next Thursday marks one year from the day that 17 of my fellow classmates and educators were shot and killed, 17 more injured. Many like me were fortunate enough to walk away with our lives, but we will never be free from the terror. Some will carry visible scars, but all of us are scarred emotionally for the rest of our lives.

I was in my 4th period Holocaust History class, and we were presenting our projects on hate groups. I can never have imagined that my group partner, Nicholas Dworet, would have saved my life in moments to come. After our presentations, we began to hear loud pops. When the gunman shot into our classroom, Nicholas Dworet was in front of me. The gunman's bullets killed him and Helena Ramsay. As Nicholas fell, I matched his every movement

and hid underneath his lifeless body as bullets riddled my classmates. I thought I was going to die. As I lay there, I begged God to please make it fast.

When the shooter moved on to another classroom, I rolled Nicholas off me and placed his head on his arm so it wouldn't be touching the cold ground. My classmates pulled me behind a filing cabinet where I called my mom and my dad to say what I thought would be my last goodbyes. I told them how much I loved them and my brothers. I will never forget that day, what I saw, what I did, what happened to my classmates. I will never forget Nicholas Dworet, who in death protected me. He saved my life.

The effect of the shooting did not end on February 14th. Days later, the stress from the shooting took such a toll on my mother's body that she experienced a miscarriage.

Gun violence ends thousands of lives every year. It is an epidemic that extends well beyond high-profile shootings. My family knew this long before Parkland. Fifteen years ago in Brooklyn, New York, my uncle Patrick Edwards was shot in the back and killed. He was just 18, with his whole life ahead of him. I ask that you give my generation the chance he never had.

Minority communities bear the heaviest burden of gun violence. We know this as a fact. Weeks ago, a new report showed that the life expectancy for African Americans has been reduced by four years, on average, because of gun violence. This report did not show me anything I did not already know. Gun violence is an everyday occurrence, and the vast majority of affected communities are minority. We must stop the supply of crime guns, and we must also ensure that there is comprehensive criminal justice reform to address the structural inequalities in the system.

I am here to tell you a simple truth: gun violence is such an epidemic that anyone, anywhere, at any time can be affected, rich or poor, White or black, young or old. All Americans are at risk, and this is a side of America that none of us can or should take pride in.

Since that horrific day, my classmates and I have been working tirelessly in support of sensible gun laws. I got involved with Brady Campaign's Team Enough, young people dedicated to strengthening our gun laws and engaging in communities most impacted by gun violence. I am just one of the hundreds of thousands of students that came out at the March for Our Lives demanding change. Our stories and voices must be heard on the most important issue facing our generation. We are the generation that will end gun violence.

I implore you to pass legislation that will make us all safer. Today in America, anyone can go on the Internet, answer an ad, or go to a gun show and buy a gun with no background check required. This makes absolutely no sense. I urge you to expand Brady background checks by voting for H.R. 8, requiring checks for virtually any gun transaction. The original Brady law passed with strong bipartisan support, and this should too.

The Protection in Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, also known as PLCAA, was passed by Congress 15 years ago. No other industry has this kind of protection from lawsuits, and it is time that Congress repealed this outrageous law.

Extreme-risk laws allow family Members and law enforcement to petition a court to temporarily remove guns from people in crisis who pose danger to themselves or others. Congress should encourage more states to pass these laws.

Assault weapons and high-capacity ammunition magazines belong on the battlefield, not in our communities. My classmates and I have seen firsthand how uniquely lethal these weapons are. Congress should immediately reinstitute the Assault Weapons Ban. Congress should also close the Charleston loophole. The shooter who killed nine people in the South Carolina church shooting was able to buy a gun because his background check wasn't completed in three days. Most Federal checks take just minutes. Some take longer. Law enforcement needs more time to complete those checks.

I also urge you to address the concerns of our Black and brown communities who are disproportionately affected by gun violence. Rather than listen to special interests, I ask you to listen to the nation's young people and the overwhelming majority of Americans who have had enough. We have had enough of gun violence in our schools, in our movie theaters, our places of worship, in nightclubs and restaurants, on our streets, and in our communities.

Enough. We have all had enough. I hope you have had enough too and use the power that the people have vested in you to do what is right. Our lives depend on you. Our lives are in your hands.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

[The statement of Ms. Eastmond follows:]

STATEMENT OF AALAYAH EASTMOND

Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and other Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to be here today to share my experience and perspectives on gun violence in America. My name is Aalayah Eastmond. I am a senior at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida.

While it is an honor to be before you today, it is only because horrific events have compelled me. Next Thursday will mark exactly one year from the day that 17 of my fellow schoolmates and educators were shot and killed, 17 more injured. Thousands more—like me—were fortunate to walk away with our lives that day but we will never be free of the terror. Some will carry visible scars, but all of us were scarred emotionally, for the rest of our lives.

I was in my 4th period Holocaust history class. We were presenting our projects on hate groups found on college campuses. I could never have imagined my group partner Nicholas Dworet would've saved my life in moments to come. As we sat at our desks working on our computers after presenting our projects, we began to hear loud pops. When the gunman shot into our classroom, Nicholas Dworet was in front of me. The gunman's bullets hit and killed him and Helena Ramsay. As Nicholas fell, I matched his every movement and hid beneath his lifeless body as bullets riddled my classmates. I thought I was going to die. As I layed there, I begged God to please make it fast.

When the shooter moved to another classroom, I rolled Nicholas off me and placed his head on his arm so it wouldn't be touching the cold ground. My classmates pulled me behind a filing cabinet where I called my mom and my dad and said what I thought would be my last goodbyes. I told them how much I loved them, and asked that they please tell my brothers the same. I was so petrified that I began hyperventilating. My classmates had to cover my face so the shooter wouldn't hear my cries and come back. I will never forget that day. What I saw. What I did. What I experienced. What happened to my classmates? I will never forget Nicholas Dworet who, in his death, protected me. He saved my life.

The effects of this shooting did not end on February 14th. Days later, our family experienced another tragedy: the stress from the shooting had taken such a toll on

my mother's body that she experienced a miscarriage. It is another painful, and permanent, reminder of that day that my family will endure the rest of our lives.

Gun violence ends thousands of American lives every year—it is a pervasive problem that extends well beyond high profile school shootings. My family knew this pain long before Parkland. Fifteen years ago, in Brooklyn, NY, my uncle Patrick Edwards was shot in the back and killed. He was just 18 and had his whole life ahead of him. I am asking you to give my generation the chance that he never had.

Minority communities bear the heaviest burden of gun violence in this country. We know this as fact. Just a few weeks ago, a report was released showing that the life expectancy for African American men was reduced by four years, on average, because of gun violence. But this report didn't tell me anything I didn't already know. We have communities in this country where gun violence is an everyday occurrence, and the vast majority of those communities are majority minority. We have to do something to stop the gun violence that has become an every day threat in those communities, including stopping the supply of crime guns and we must ensure that there is comprehensive criminal justice reform to address structural inequalities in the system. I am here to tell you a simple truth.

Our gun violence is now such an epidemic that anyone, anywhere, at any time can be affected. Rich or poor, White or black, young or old. All Americans are at risk, and that is an America in which none of us can or should take pride.

Since that horrible day, my classmates and I have been working tirelessly in support of sensible gun laws. I chose to get involved with the Brady Campaign's Team ENOUGH, a group of young people dedicated to strengthening our nation's gun laws and engaging in communities most impacted by everyday gun violence. I am just one of hundreds of thousands of students that came out at the March for Our Lives demanding change. We stand on the shoulders of local organizations and people that have been working on change for decades. We are *all* working to make sure our stories are told, and our voices are heard on the most important issue facing our generation. Our demand for sensible reforms crosses party lines, geographies, social classes, and racial divides. We *are* the generation that will end gun violence.

I implore you and your colleagues to pass legislation that will make us all safer by strengthening our nation's gun laws. We must do all we can to avoid the tragedies we see every day in our Nation due to gun violence.

Today in America, anyone can go on the internet, answer an ad, or go to a gun show and buy a gun with no background check required. This makes absolutely no sense. I urge you to expand Brady background checks by voting for H.R. 8, legislation requiring background checks for virtually every gun transaction. I know from working with the Brady Campaign that the original background check law passed with bipartisan support. This commonsense measure should enjoy similar support from every one of you on this Committee, since well over 90 percent of the public supports taking this action!

The Protection in Lawful Commerce at Arms Act (PLCAA) contributes to gun violence by providing the gun industry with special protections at the expense of victims of gun violence. PLCAA removes incentives for the gun industry to adopt life-saving business practices and instead provides legal cover to irresponsible gun dealers who supply the criminal gun market. This small minority of gun dealers profits from irresponsible and often dangerous business practices with no accountability to their victims. Congress must take immediate action to repeal PLCAA.

Extreme Risk Laws, already passed in several states, help protect people in crisis that pose a danger to themselves or others. These laws allow law enforcement to temporarily remove guns from people in crisis while also protecting their rights through due process in courts. Congress should pass legislation incentivizing more states to pass these life saving laws and providing funds for implementation and education.

Assault weapons and high-capacity ammunition magazines belong on the battlefield, not in our communities. Unfortunately, my classmates and I have seen firsthand the massive carnage that an assault weapon is uniquely capable of causing. Congress should immediately re-institute the assault weapons ban.

Every year thousands of people deemed by law to be too dangerous to access guns get them because of what has become known as the Charleston loophole. Under federal law, if a background check isn't completed in three days, a dealer can legally sell the gun. Ninety percent of federal background checks take only a few minutes, but in thousands of cases three days is not enough time to complete a check, as was the case in the tragedy in Charleston, South Carolina. The shooter, who took nine innocent lives in the deadly church shooting, was sold a gun before law enforcement had time to fully research his disqualifying records. Many individuals who are sold guns before checks are completed are criminals or domestic abusers, and once we figure out guns were sold to these unlawful purchasers, we have to send law en-

forcement out to get the guns back, which puts them in harm's way. We need to give law enforcement enough time to finish the background check before someone can buy a gun.

Gun violence affects all American communities, but not always equally or in the same way. I especially urge you to address the concerns of those living in our Black and brown communities who are disproportionately affected by gun violence.

Rather than listen to special interests, I ask you to listen to the nation's young people and the overwhelming majority of Americans, who have had enough. We have had enough of the gun violence rampant in our schools, in our movie theaters, our places of worship, in nightclubs and restaurants, on our streets, and in our communities. Enough. We have *all* had enough. I hope *you* have had enough too and use the power the people have vested in you to do what is right. We are **all** depending on you. We the people, our *lives* depend on you. It is in your hands.

Thank you.

Chair NADLER. Let me just say this now. I appreciate the passion and the energy of the people here, but I must ask that you refrain from making noise or otherwise disrupting the proceedings on either side. Our witnesses and all the Members of the committee, on whichever side, deserve that. Thank you.

Ms. Lindquist?

TESTIMONY OF SAVANNAH LINDQUIST

Ms. LINDQUIST. My name is Savannah, and I am a 24-year-old college student. I am also a daughter, a niece, and a friend. There is part of my identity, however, that I never expected to have. I am a sexual assault survivor.

In the fall of 2016, I was living my dream. I had just begun my senior year of college. I was at my dream school with my dream major. I loved my job and was just months away from graduating college. I was so excited, especially as a first-generation college student.

What started out as any normal day ended up becoming a nightmare. That night I was sexually assaulted. I will spare you the details, but it was the worst thing that has ever happened to me. I pray that none of you ever go through what I did, but I do know that this sort of thing seems like it can never happen to you.

Before I was raped, I saw sexual assault as something that only happened to other people. It is no secret that sexual violence is prevalent on college campuses, but I took as many precautions as I could, and I tucked my concerns away in the far corners of my mind.

After that night, I could no longer be naive. I had to come face to face with the harsh reality that there are terrible people in this world that do terrible things.

Detectives Benson and Stabler did not swoop in to save me that night like they do on *Law & Order SVU*. Instead, I was left completely shattered, replaying the events of that night over and over again. Due to the trauma, I dropped out of my dream school during my senior year and moved back home to Virginia. It was the hardest decision I have ever had to make, but I knew in my heart it was what I had to do.

I shut myself away from everyone and I spent my time hiding in my childhood bedroom. I gained 100 pounds, and my hair even began to fall out due to the stress.

I am a gun owner, and I was one at the time. I even began safety training and target practice when I was 10 years old. Because of

so-called commonsense gun control laws, I was left defenseless that night. In theory, yes, I could have broken the law and brought my firearm to college with me anyway, but I knew that that was not the right thing to do.

I obeyed the law as a responsible gun owner, and it ended in me being raped. I am just one of countless examples of gun control benefitting assailants and making victims like myself sitting ducks.

I am not telling you about my sexual assault to make you feel bad. To be clear, I do not want your sympathy. What I do want, however, is for you to at least consider stories like mine when you decide to advocate for laws that create additional physical and financial barriers to the right to self-defense. I could come up here and recite the Second Amendment, as could I recite statistics all day long. I could get up here and scream about how since 1950, 97.8 percent of mass shootings have occurred in gun-free zones. In this debate, few cares about the statistics; it is about emotion.

That emotion is understandable. There are things in this world worth being angry about. Acts of pure evil and gross injustices of all kinds seem to surround us, and there is no doubt that we hurt as a nation. In the midst of our emotions, no matter how valid they are, we have to remember and come back to the facts, and the facts say this: H.R. 8 has the potential to make responsible law-abiding gun owners suddenly criminals in emergency situations that would thankfully end up as false alarms; or when transferring a firearm to one of their beloved family Members, like their step-child; and with all of this, H.R. 8 would not have stopped a single mass shooting in modern history.

Requiring universal background checks adds yet another financial barrier to the right to self-defense, even though it is already a pricey thing to exercise Second amendment rights; and low-income individuals are at a higher risk of being the victim of violent crime.

An analysis released by the University of Pittsburgh showed lawful gun owners commit less than a fifth of all gun crimes.

Finally, three separate 2018 studies found zero evidence that universal background checks prevent gun death.

I want to show you that there are real people with real stories where being allowed to legally have their firearm could have saved them. Gun owners are a diverse group. No, we are not all Republicans; and no, we are not all in the NRA. I am neither. I am a college student willing to bear her soul to the world if it means people think twice before enacting laws that restrict the right to a reliable means of self-defense.

I once heard that when you are raped, you are split in two, but this allows you to come back twice as strong, and I could not agree more. I refuse to live in fear. Yes, I am a rape survivor, but the 9-millimeter that I carry on my hip allows me to stand tall, stay strong, and confidently say "never again." More than anything, I want my "never again" to be a catalyst for other women's "never going to happen."

Thank you for your time.

[The statement of Ms. Lindquist follows:]

STATEMENT OF SAVANNAH LINDQUIST

My name is Savannah and I am a 24-year-old college student. I am also a daughter, a niece, and a friend. There is part of my identity, however, I never expected to have; I am a sexual assault survivor.

In the fall of 2016, I was living my dream. I had just begun my senior year of college. I was at my dream school, with my dream major. I loved my job and was just months away from graduating college. I was so excited to finish college, especially as a first-generation college student. What started out as any normal day ended up becoming a nightmare.

That night I was sexually assaulted.

I will spare you the details, but it was the worst thing that's ever happened to me.

I pray that none of you ever go through what I did, but I do know that this sort of thing seems like it can never happen to you. Before I was raped, I saw sexual assault as something that only happened to other people. It's no secret sexual violence is *prevalent* on college campuses, but I took as many precautions as I could and tucked my concerns away in the far corner of my mind.

After that night I could no longer be naive. I had to come face to face with the harsh reality that there are terrible people in this world that do terrible things.

Detectives Benson and Stabler didn't swoop in to save me that night like they do in *Law and Order: SVU*. Instead, I was left completely shattered, replaying the events of that night over and over again. Due to the trauma, I dropped out of my dream school during my senior year and moved back home to Virginia. It was the hardest decision I've ever had to make, but I knew in my heart it was what I had to do. I shut myself away from everyone and spent my time hiding in my childhood bedroom. I gained 100 pounds, and my hair even began to fall out due to the stress.

I am a gun owner and was one at the time. I even began safety training and target practice when I was 10 years old, but because of so called "common sense" gun control laws, I was left defenseless that night. In theory, I could have broken the senseless law and brought my firearm to college with me anyways, but I knew that wasn't the right thing to do. I obeyed the law as a responsible gun owner, and it ended with me being raped. I am just one of countless examples of gun control benefiting assailants and making victims sitting ducks.

I'm not telling you about my sexual assault to make you feel bad. To be clear, I don't want your sympathy. What I do want, however, is for you to at *least consider* stories like mine when you decide to advocate for laws that create additional physical and financial barriers to the right to self-defense. I could come up here and recite the Second Amendment, as could I recite statistics all day long. I could get up here and scream about how since 1950, *97.8% of mass shootings* have occurred in gun free zones, but in this debate, few care about the statistics—it's about emotion.

But that emotion is understandable. There ARE things in this world worth being angry about. Acts of pure evil and gross injustices of all kinds seem to surround us, and there is no doubt that we hurt as a nation. But in the midst of our emotions, no matter how valid, we have to remember and come back to the facts.

The facts say this:

- H.R. 8 has the potential to make responsible, law-abiding gun owners suddenly criminals in emergency situations that thankfully end up as false alarms [proposed 18 U.S.C. 922(t)(2)(D)] or when transferring a firearm to some of their beloved family Members, like their stepchild. And with all of this, H.R. 8 wouldn't have stopped a single mass shooting in modern history.
- Requiring universal background checks adds yet another financial barrier to the right to self-defense, even though it's already *pricey* to exercise Second amendment rights and low income individuals are at a *higher risk* of being the victim of violent crime.
- An analysis released by the University of Pittsburgh showed lawful gun owners *commit* less than a fifth of all gun crimes.
- Three separate 2018 studies *found zero* evidence that universal background checks prevent gun deaths.

I want to show you that there are real people with real stories where being allowed to legally have their firearm could have saved them.

Gun owners are a diverse group. No, we're not all Republicans *and no*, we're not all NRA Members. I am a college student willing to bare her soul to the world if it means people think twice before enacting laws that restrict the right to a reliable means of self-defense.

I once heard that when you're raped, you're split in two, but this allows you to come back twice as strong. I couldn't agree more. I refuse to live in fear. Yes, I am

a rape survivor, but the 9 mm I carry on my hip allows me to stand tall, stay strong, and confidently say "NEVER AGAIN."

But more than anything, I want my "never again" to be a catalyst for other women's "never going to happen."

Chair NADLER. Thank you.
Ms. Latiker?

TESTIMONY OF DIANE LATIKER

Good morning, Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, Members of the Judiciary Committee. Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

My name is Diane Latiker. I am the Founding Executive Director of Kids Off the Block, a community-based anti-violence and social justice advocacy organization founded in 2003, located on the far south side of Chicago known as the Roseland Community in the 2nd District of Illinois, represented by the Honorable Congresswoman Robin Kelly. I want to thank Congresswoman Robin Kelly for arranging this opportunity.

Kids Off the Block was started in my home to provide a safe haven from the prey of gang recruitment and gun violence that youth and young adults were facing and continue to face every day when doing ordinary things in life, such as going to school.

Since founding KOB, we have engaged over 3,000 children, youth, and young adults in programs that have been largely funded out of our pockets or generous donors, and with continuous sadness across the street from my home, we have built a memorial tribute to youth killed by violence. There are almost 800 stones currently, and we are over 400 behind, and there is no outrage, the promises in lives lost in Chicago to gun violence and to families who will never recover. No matter how hard I work, more stones will be added until Congress acts.

I am here today to urge Congress to pass immediately meaningful gun reform legislation that I believe will begin to minimize how legally purchased guns are used illegally.

On behalf of the children, youth, and families of Kids Off the Block, we recommend the following.

One, close loopholes that allow purchases of guns without a background check and reselling of legally purchased guns to underage individuals.

Two, strengthen Federal penalties against gun trafficking and straw purchases. The current patchwork of State laws allows guns to flow from adjacent states with relaxed gun laws into cities and states with tight gun laws.

Three, Federal background checks on all gun purchases, including ammunition and sharing of guns, and ammunition purchases through a national database.

Quite simply, no matter how many people KOB or other organizations reach, we will not be able to put an end to gun violence in our country without Congress passing meaningful legislation that keeps guns out of the wrong hands.

On a personal note, and to conclude my testimony, for the past 15 years I have dedicated my life to taking the power of the gun out of the hands of Chicago's most vulnerable youth. I strive to reduce the traumatic effects of gun violence with the most powerful

feeling I know, which is hope. I have accomplished this by providing a safe space in my own home to young people, ages 10 to 24.

Opening my door to prevent hundreds of children I serve each year from being victimized by violence in an environment where the odds are already against them is the least, I can do to show them that their community cares. That is all I ask of you, to just care.

Thank you, and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The statement of Ms. Latiker follows:]

STATEMENT OF DIANE LATIKER

Good Morning. Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, Members of the Judiciary Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify. My Name is Diane Latiker, and I am the founding executive director of Kids off the Block, a community-based anti-violence and social justice advocacy organization founded in 2003, located on the far Southside of Chicago known as the Roseland community in the 2nd District of Illinois, represented by the Honorable Congresswoman Robin Kelly. I want to thank Congresswoman Kelly for arranging this testimony opportunity.

Kids off The Block was started in my home to provide a “safe haven” from the prey of gang recruitment and gun-violence that youth and young adults were facing, and continue to face every day, when doing ordinary life things such as going home from school.

Since founding KOB, we have engaged over 3,000 children, youth and young adults in programs that have been largely funded out of our pockets or generous donors. And, with continued sadness, across the street from our home, we have built a Memorial

Tribute to youth killed by violence. There are almost 800 stones currently and we are over 400 behind. The promises of lives lost in Chicago to gun violence, and families who will never recover.

No matter how hard I work, more stones will be added until Congress acts.

I am here today to urge Congress to pass, immediately, meaningful gun reform legislation that I believe will begin to minimize how legally purchased guns are used illegally.

On behalf of the children, youth and families of Kids Off The Block we recommend the following:

1. Close “Loop Holes” that allow purchases of guns without a background check, and reselling of legally purchased guns to underage individuals;
2. Strengthen federal penalties against gun trafficking and straw purchases. The current patchwork of State laws allows guns to flow from adjacent states with relaxed gun laws into cities and states with tight gun laws; and
3. Federal Background checks on all gun purchases, including ammunition, and sharing of guns, and ammunition purchases through a national data-base.

Quite simply: No matter how many people KOB or other organizations reach, we will not be able to put an end to gun violence in our country without Congress passing meaning legislation that keeps guns out of the wrong hands.

On a personal note and to conclude my testimony: For the past 15 years I have dedicated my life to taking the power of the gun out of the hands of Chicago's most vulnerable youth. I strive to reduce the traumatic effects of gun violence, with the most powerful feeling I know, which is hope. I have accomplished this by providing a safe space in my home to young people from age 10 to 24. Opening my door to prevent hundreds of children I serve each year from being victimized by violence in an environment where the odds are already against them is the least I can do to show them that their community cares. That's all I ask of you, to just care.

Thank you, and I look forward to answering your questions.

Chair NADLER. Thank you.

Dr. Sakran?

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH V. SAKRAN

Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and other Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to be here today to share my experience and perspectives on firearm-related injury and

death in America. I am not testifying on behalf of Johns Hopkins but rather in my role as a trauma surgeon at Johns Hopkins Hospital, a survivor of gun violence, and a board member of the Brady Campaign.

I was born and raised in Fairfax, Virginia, just a stone's throw away from here. As the son of immigrants, my family was living out the American Dream, and in a single instant, our lives changed. A fight broke out not far from my high school, and someone pulled out a gun and shot indiscriminately. One moment I was a carefree, 17-year-old senior, and the next collateral damage as a 38-caliber bullet was ripping through my throat and tearing into my shoulder.

I spent the next month at a hospital fighting for my life. Make no mistake about it: I am here today because of the medical professionals who treated me. The second chance inspired me to become a trauma surgeon and give other people that same second chance.

As a trauma surgeon, I and my colleagues are uniquely positioned to understand and address this issue. Every day, we are the ones on the front lines caring for patients who suffer injuries from bullets. We are the ones trying to stop bleeding from pulverized tissue and torn flesh. We are the ones telling families that their loved ones are never coming home. We are the ones trying to deliver data-driven solutions with inadequate research funding. We are the ones that understand all too often that the best medical treatment from this crisis is often prevention.

For many years, a debate about how we prevent firearm-related injury and death was one that Members of my profession were reluctant to broach. That time has come to an end. Some of us have been told that we should stay in our lane. Well, this is our lane, and doing nothing is not an option. If we do nothing and maintain the status quo, 1 million Americans will be shot in the next decade.

Let me be clear: Firearm-related injury and death in America is not only a disease, it is a true public health crisis of the United States. Every day, 109 people die from gun violence, and over 240 people suffer injuries from bullet wounds. The mass shootings that we have all heard about have become too common and unfortunately capture less than 2 percent of the entire epidemic we face as a nation. Every day in cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, we have young Black men that are killed, and their stories often go untold. We need to recognize this is a multifaceted health problem requiring a diverse group of stakeholders, including but not limited to health care professionals, public health leaders, survivors, manufacturers, academia, gun owners, and, yes, the young people.

We must develop a broad multi-disciplinary, multi-strategy system approach that is supported by good science and research. We have the best practices we can learn from. Look at motor vehicle crashes in the 20th century. We initially focused on the drivers. We then broadened that approach from who caused the crash to factors that lead to death and injury, and we invested in research. We developed solutions like seat belts and air bags and safer roads. Since then, we have seen fatalities per-mile-driven fall by 85 percent.

This is the essence of the public health approach, a multi-sector, research-informed, evidence-based program and policies. So, in response, we developed safer cars and roads, and we saved lives.

The American College of Surgeons Firearm Strategy Team, a group of surgeon leaders who are firearm owners, recently published a statement describing firearm injury prevention solutions consistent with a public health approach, further underlining that as Americans we have much more in common than we have that divides us, and there are ways to come together to prevent firearm-related injuries.

Congressmen Mike Thompson and Peter King introduced a bipartisan background check expansion Act to H.R. 8 on the anniversary of former Congresswoman Gabby Giffords' near-fatal injury. The bill expands Brady background checks to cover all private firearm sales, including those at gun shows or over the Internet. Since the Brady law was implemented in 1994, it has blocked more than 3 million unlawful purchases. Other commonsense solutions that decrease injury and death include firearm injury prevention research, implementation of extreme risk protection orders, education on safe storage to end family fire, investing in safe technologies, expanding access to behavioral health services, and improving victim services.

We have both the opportunity and the responsibility to comprehensively address gun violence as the true public health crisis that it is. This is not a Democrat versus a Republican issue. It is a uniquely American issue, and it is uniquely in each of your hands to help fix it.

The America I am fighting for is one where parents no longer have to fear the phone call that my parents received, that the Parkland parents received, and literally hundreds of others in communities across this country are receiving every single day. As a trauma surgeon, I have to look into the eyes of these parents, and it is nothing less than heartbreaking.

So, the medical community implores you, the time for action is now. There is no one solution to this complex health problem, which is why we must come together as a country, to build consensus and support and develop our research-informed, data-driven approach so that we can help you as our policymakers ensure the public safety of Americans across this great nation.

Thank you.

[The statement of Dr. Sakran follows:]

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH V. SAKRAN

Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and other Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to be here today to share my experience, and perspectives on firearm-related injury and death in America. I am not testifying on behalf of Johns Hopkins University, but rather my role as a trauma surgeon at Johns Hopkins Hospital, a survivor of gun violence and a board member of the Brady Campaign.

Laying semi-conscious on the gurney, I could sense the frantic commotion of healthcare workers bustling around me in the trauma bay. Donned in protective equipment from head-to-toe, like a man on the moon, all I could see were the eyes of the trauma surgeon as he hovered over me. Those eyes reflected both intense concentration and fierce determination to save my life. They say a picture is worth a thousand words, but my memory of that face is worth a million.

Only hours before, I had been a healthy 17-year-old student at a high school football game. One moment I was simply an innocent bystander, and the next I became

collateral damage as a violent fight broke out after the game and a 38-caliber bullet ripped through my throat, lodging in my shoulder. Nearly unconscious at the time, I still can vividly see the expressions on the faces of the many people trying to help me that day. The chaos around me in the trauma bay filled me both with fear and awe—fear that I might die and awe at the fearless purpose of the medical personnel fighting to save my life. A prolonged hospital stay, and many operations, gave me a second chance. This inspired me to become a trauma surgeon and provide that same second chance for other people.

As a trauma surgeon, I and my colleagues are uniquely positioned to understand and address this issue. Every day, we are the ones that are on the frontline of caring for patients who suffer injuries from bullets. We are the ones trying to stop bleeding from pulverized tissue and torn flesh. We are the ones telling families that their loved ones are never coming home. We are the ones trying to deliver data-driven solutions with inadequate research funding. And we are the ones that understand all too often that the best medical treatment for this crisis is prevention.

For many years, the debate over how we prevent firearm-related injury and death was one that many Members of my profession were reluctant to broach. That time has come to an end.

Some have told us to stay out of the debate and “stay in our lane”—well, this is our lane, and doing nothing is not an option. And if we do nothing and maintain the status quo, 1 million Americans WILL be shot in the next decade.

Firearm injury and death in America is not only a disease,¹ but a public health crisis in the United States. Every day, an average of 109 individuals are killed and more than 240 people suffer injuries secondary to firearm violence.^{2,3} While the United States is a world leader in many arenas, we are failing when it comes to firearm injury prevention. Firearm-related injury and death is a public health problem creating a vast burden of disease across the spectrum of ages and socioeconomic groups in this country. Additionally, firearm-related violence has a substantial economic burden of over 229 billion dollars per year to the United States health care system.^{4,5} Most concerning, despite advances in trauma systems and health care capabilities, the fatality rate secondary to firearms has not significantly changed or improved.^{6,7}

In 2017, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported 39,773 deaths from firearm injury. This accounts for 58% of all intentional injuries in the United States. Of these firearm-related deaths, 23,854 (60%) were suicides and 15,919 (40%) were homicides.^{2,7} These numbers are the highest that have been seen in the past 20 years. Since 1999, there has been a 17% increase in firearm-related intentional injury mortality rates, with 7,000 more suicide deaths secondary to firearms in 2017 compared to 1999.^{2,8}

The mass shootings that we have become all too familiar capture less than 2% of the entire epidemic we face as a nation. Every day in cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Chicago we have young Black men that are killed, and their stories often go untold. Despite the small proportion of the overall epidemic mass shootings are responsible for, in the United States mass shootings have been increasing in frequency since at least 2011. While the term “mass shooting” has different definitions among organizations, we define it as any firearm-related incident resulting in injury or death of 4 or more people. Semiautomatic weapons are commonly used in active shooter incidents resulting in more people being injured or killed.⁹

Recognizing we have a problem is essential, and this is a multi-faceted health problem requiring a diverse group of stakeholders including but not limited to healthcare professionals and organizations, public health leaders, survivors, manufacturers, academia, gun owners, and yes, young people. We must develop a broad multidisciplinary, multi strategy systems approach that is supported by good science and research.

We have best practices that we can learn from. Look at motor vehicle crashes in the latter half of the 20th century, we initially focused on the drivers. We then broadened our approach from, “who caused the crash” to, “factors that lead to death or injury.” We determined that numerous fatalities were caused by crashing into trees, heads smashing into steering wheels, or being ejected from vehicles. We invested in research. We developed solutions like seat belts, air bags, and safer roads. Since then we have seen fatalities per mile driven fall by 85%. This is the essence of the public health approach: Multisector, research informed, evidence-based programs and policies. In response, we developed safer cars and roads, and we saved lives.

The American College of Surgeons Firearm Strategy Team (FAST) work group, a group composed of surgeon leaders that are firearm owners, recently published a consensus statement¹⁰ describing firearm injury prevention solutions that is consistent with the public health approach. This is yet another demonstration that as

Americans, we have much more in common than we have than that which divides us. The false narrative that exists throughout social media and other outlets attempt to polarize a discussion at a time when now more than ever we must be united. It is thought that the vastly different viewpoints that may exist around firearms have brought our Nation to a standstill and prevented improvement in violence and injury prevention.

In 2015, a public opinion survey from the Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Policy and Research was conducted among gun-owners and non-owners. Both 84% of gun-owners and 84% of non-owners favored background checks for all gun sales. Additionally, 78% of gun-owners and 80% of non-owners favored preventing sales to people with temporary domestic violence restraining orders. The majority of both owners and non-owners also supported the release of data on which gun dealers sell the most guns used in crimes, requiring a license before buying a gun to verify identity, and temporarily removing guns from individuals who pose immediate threat of harm to self or others.¹¹

A few weeks ago, Congressman Mike Thompson and Peter King introduced the Bipartisan Background Check Expansion Act (HR 8) on the anniversary of Congresswoman Gabby Giffords near fatal injury. The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, or “The Brady Bill,” was signed into law in 1993 by President Clinton and instituted background checks at federally licensed gun dealerships designed to prevent high-risk individuals from purchasing firearms. This bill instituted the FBI to run each firearm purchaser through the National Instant Criminal Background Check System. Prohibited users include felons, fugitives, domestic abusers, and dangerously mentally ill individuals. Since the success of the Brady Bill and Brady Campaign, over 3 million attempts to purchase firearms have been prevented; about half of these blocked attempts were attempted purchases by felons.¹²

Background checks are a strongly evidence-based method to reduce firearm violence.² In addition, this process is critical to ensuring appropriate individuals have access to obtaining firearms and avoiding sales or transfer of firearms to criminals or others who should not have access to these weapons.

While the Brady Bill has been successful in limiting gun sales in federally licensed gun dealerships, a significant proportion of firearms are sold through non-licensed dealers that are not mandated to perform background checks.^{13 14} Currently, background checks are not required for guns sold at gun shows, online, or through private transfers. In total, these sales account for an estimated 6.6 million firearms.^{14 15} Another way to think about it is 1 in 5 (20%) gun sales take place with “no questions asked” resulting in thousands of guns going into the hands of people that shouldn’t have them.

We must also ensure federal investment for firearm injury prevention research, implementation of Extreme Risk Protections Orders, education on safe storage, firearm safety technology investment, expanded access to behavioral health services, and improving victim services that begin in the hospital, and expanding victim rights to bring recourse in the courts against gun manufacturers for their negligent acts.

In 1996, Congress passed the Dickey amendment in the omnibus spending bill mandating that none of the funds made available for injury prevention and control at the CDC could be used to “advocate or promote gun control.”¹⁶ In addition, in that same spending bill Congress stripped the CDC of 2.6 Million dollars, which happened to be the exact amount allocated in the prior year to firearm research. These actions severely limited research funding dedicated to firearm-related violence over the past two decades.¹⁷ In 2011, this was extended to include all federal agencies including the NIH.¹⁸ More recently, in 2013, President Obama signed an Executive Order permitting the CDC to study or sponsor research dedicated to firearm injury prevention.¹⁹ While this Executive Order created opportunities for funding injury prevention secondary to firearm-related injury and death, Congress has failed to appropriate the necessary funds to allow for research in this arena.

This funding limitation has substantially impacted firearm-related violence research. Violent injury secondary to firearms is the most poorly addressed public health problem in the US and is drastically underfunded given its substantial burden of disease.⁸ One study compared the mortality and research funding of different disease states. The number of deaths from firearm violence and sepsis were nearly the same in 2014. However, when comparing funding, the aid dedicated to gun violence research was 0.7% that of sepsis and the publication volume was only 4%.²⁰ Of all diseases compared in this study, firearm violence was the least researched cause of death.²⁰

We have both the opportunity and responsibility to comprehensively address gun violence as the true public health crisis that it is. This is not a Democrat versus

Republican issue. It's a uniquely American issue and it is uniquely in each of your hands to help fix it.

The America I'm fighting for is one where parents no longer have to fear the phone call that my parents received, that the Parkland parents received, and literally hundreds of others in communities across this country are receiving every single day. As a trauma surgeon, I have to look into the eyes of these parents and it's nothing less than heartbreaking. The medical community implores you: The time for action is now. There is no one solution to this complex health problem, which is why we must come together as a country to build consensus and support and develop a research informed, data-driven, approach so that we can help you, as our policy-makers, to ensure the public safety of Americans all across this great nation.

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Chair NADLER. Thank you.
Major Tapp-Harper?

TESTIMONY OF SABRINA TAPP-HARPER

Thank you, Chair Nadler and Members of the House Judiciary Committee, for inviting me here to testify today. My name is Sabrina Tapp-Harper, and I am the Commander of the Domestic Violence Unit of the Baltimore City Sheriff's Office in Baltimore, Maryland. I am here today to talk about the dangers that gun laws impose on our communities, specifically for women and families who are victims of domestic violence.

The data is clear: Victims of domestic violence are at increased risk of gun violence in this country. In the United States, women are 11 times more likely to be killed with a gun than women in comparable countries. Much of this fatal violence against women is committed by intimate partners. According to the FBI, almost half of the murders of women were committed by current or former husbands or boyfriends, 10 times as many as by a male stranger.

According to the American Journal of Public Health, the presence of a firearm in the domestic violence situation increases the risk of a homicide for a woman by 500 percent. These numbers miss many of the murders committed by ex-boyfriends who are seldom accurately categorized and who may account for another 300 to 400 of the 1,000 intimate partners murdered each year.

The Violence Policy Center found that a gun was the weapon used in over half of the murders in which the weapon was known. Dr. Jacqueline Campbell's research has shown that gun access by a bad actor is the single best predictor of whether a woman will be killed by him, increasing the risk of her murder by more than five-fold. Abusers also use guns to terrorize their victims.

While commanding the Domestic Violence Unit of the Baltimore City Sheriff's Office, one petitioner directed deputies to an assault rifle that had been buried in the ground for over 10 years and was still fully operable when recovered. The respondent in this particular case was also Federally prohibited from owning firearms.

Domestic abusers hide weapons in any place they can. I know of deputies directed by petitioners who have recovered hidden firearms in washing machines and air conditioning units as well.

In a study of over 400 women in domestic violence shelters in California, two-thirds of the women who reported a firearm in their home said their intimate partner used a gun against them, with over 70 percent threatening to shoot or kill her, 5 percent actually shooting at her. That same study found that only 1 in 20 abused women who had access to a gun reported ever having used it in self-defense against her abuser.

Another study found that among California handgun purchasers, women who had purchased guns had a 50 percent increased risk of homicide, all of which could be attributed to homicide by an inti-

mate partner. Having access to a gun did not make these women safer.

It is worth noting that mass shootings, those shootings involving the death of four or more people, disproportionately affect women. In an analysis of such shootings conducted by the research arm of Every Town for Gun Safety, in at least 54 percent of mass shootings, the shooter murdered or injured a current or former partner or family member, and most of these shootings took place in the home.

Background checks and laws restricting domestic abusers from owning weapons appear to be effective. Another analysis of Every Town found that states with stronger gun laws, including states that require background checks on every gun sale, reported lower rates of intimate partner gun homicides of women than states with weaker gun laws. There is also evidence that State laws to strengthen firearm prohibitions against domestic abusers reduced intimate partner homicides.

Law enforcement officers in this country are most often tragically killed in traffic-related incidents and domestic-related matters. Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends. Those of us who do this important work each day need strong laws that restrict firearm access to the most dangerous based on the best available evidence and strong enforcement of existing laws. This would include policies like closing loopholes that exempt private gun sales and gun shows from background checks, ensuring that all states have laws restricting possession and gun sales to those subject to domestic violence restraining orders and domestic violence misdemeanors, ensuring that states with such laws are removing firearms when allowed, and strictly enforcing the law and amending Federal laws to include dating partners who research indicates perpetrate a substantial portion of intimate partner homicide of women.

We all have a responsibility to Act on the facts supported by research data to establish legal parameters to keep us all safe.

Thank you for inviting me here today to share my views on this critically important public safety issue. I am happy to answer any questions you may have.

Thank you.

[The statement of Ms. Tapp-Harper follows:]

STATEMENT OF SABRINA TAPP-HARPER

Thank you, Chair Nadler and Members of the House Judiciary Committee for inviting me here to testify today. My name is Major Sabrina Tapp-Harper, and I am the Commander of the Domestic Violence Unit of the Baltimore City Sheriff's Office in Baltimore, Maryland. I am here to today to talk about the dangers that weak gun laws pose on our communities, specifically for women and families who are victims of domestic violence.

The data is clear: Victims of domestic violence are at increased risk of gun violence in this country. In the United States, women are 11 times more likely to be killed with a gun than women in comparable countries.¹ Much of this fatal violence against women is committed by intimate partners. According to the FBI, almost half of murders of women were committed by a current or former husband or a boy-

¹D. Hemenway and E.G. Richardson, "Homicide, Suicide, and Unintentional Firearm Fatality: Comparing the United States with Other High-Income Countries, 2003," 70 Journal of Trauma 238-42 (2011), available at doi: 10.1097/TA.0b013e3181dbaddf.

friend—ten times as many as by a male stranger.² According to the American Journal of Public Health, the presence of a firearm in a domestic violence situation increases the risk of homicide for a woman by 500%.³ These numbers miss many of the murders committed by ex-boyfriends, who are seldom accurately categorized, and who may account for another 300–400 of the 1000 intimate partner murders each year. The Violence Policy Center found that a gun was the weapon used in over half of murders in which the weapon was known.⁴

Dr. Jacqueline Campbell's research has shown that gun access by a batterer is the single best predictor of whether a woman would be killed by him, increasing the risk of her murder more than five-fold.⁵ Abusers also use guns to terrorize their victims. While commanding the Domestic Violence Unit in the Baltimore City Sheriff's Office, one petitioner directed deputies to an assault rifle that had been buried in the ground for 10 years, and was still fully operable when recovered. The respondent in this case was federally prohibited from owning firearms. Domestic abusers hide weapons in any place they can. I know of deputies, directed by the petitioner, who have recovered hidden firearms in washing machines and air conditioning units.

In a study of over 400 women in domestic violence shelters in California, two-thirds of the women who reported a firearm in their home said their intimate partner used a gun against them, with over 70% threatening to shoot or kill her and 5% actually shooting at her. That same study found that only 1 in 20 abused women who has access to a gun reported ever having used it in self-defense against her abuser.⁶ Another study found that among California handgun purchasers, women who purchased guns had a 50% increase in risk of homicide—all of which could be attributed to homicide by an intimate partner.⁷ Having access to a gun did not make these women safer.

It is worth noting that mass shootings—those shootings involving the death of 4 or more people—disproportionately affect women. In an analysis of such shootings conducted by the research arm of Everytown for Gun Safety, in at least 54% of mass shootings, the shooter murdered or injured a current or former partner or family member, and most of these shootings took place in homes.⁸

Background checks and laws restricting domestic abusers from owning weapons appear to be effective. Another analysis by Everytown for Gun Safety found that states with stronger gun laws, including the states that require a background check on every gun sale, reported lower rates of intimate partner gun homicides of women than the states with weaker gun laws.⁹ There is also evidence that State laws to strengthen firearm prohibitions against domestic abusers reduce intimate partner homicide. **In multiple studies, researchers found that states with statutes restricting those under domestic violence restraining orders from accessing firearms experience fewer intimate partner homicides, driven by a reduction in homicides committed with firearms.**^{10 11}

Law enforcement officers in this country are most often tragically killed in traffic-related incidents and domestic-related matters. *Greater love hath no man this, that a man lay down his life for his friends . . .* Those of us who do this important work each day need strong laws that restrict firearm access to the most dangerous based on the best available evidence and strong enforcement of the existing laws. This

²Bureau of Justice Statistics. Homicide Trends in the United States, 1980–2008. 2011. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2011 NCJ 236018.

³Campbell JC, Webster DW, Koziol-McLain J, *et al.* Risk factors for femicide in abusive relationships: results from a multisite case control study. *American Journal of Public Health* 2003;93:1069–97.

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⁸Everytown for Gun Safety, Mass Shootings in the United States: 2009–2017. <https://everytownresearch.org/reports/mass-shootings-analysis/>.

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¹⁰April M. Zeoli, *et al.*, "Analysis of the Strength of Legal Firearms Restrictions for Perpetrators of Domestic Violence and Their Association with Intimate Partner Homicide," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 187, No. 11 (2018).

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would include policies like closing loopholes that exempt private gun sales and gun shows from background checks; ensuring that all states have laws restricting gun possession and gun sales to those subject to domestic violence restraining orders and domestic violence misdemeanors; ensuring that states with such laws are removing firearms when allowed and strictly enforcing the law; and amending federal laws to include dating partners, who research indicates perpetrate a substantial portion of intimate partner homicide of women.

We all have a responsibility to Act on the facts, supported by research data to establish the legal parameters to keep us all safe. Thank you for inviting me here today to share my views on this critically important public safety issue. I am happy to answer any questions you may have. Thank you.

Chair NADLER. Thank you.
Chief Acevedo?

TESTIMONY OF ART ACEVEDO

Good morning, Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and distinguished Members of Congress, especially Sheila Jackson Lee, who has not only been a champion of this issue for a long time but is actually my Congresswoman. I live in her district.

Mr. COLLINS. Chief, can I just say, she does such an elegant job, you ought to take her everywhere for your introduction.

[Laughter.]

Chief ACEVEDO. Thank you. I think I will try that.

Obviously, Congresswoman Garcia, who we have worked with for so many years at the State level, and Mr. Correa and others that we have worked with over the years.

I speak today to all of you both as the Police Chief of Houston and President of the Chiefs Association, representing the largest police departments in the nation, where gun violence truly takes its greatest toll.

I am also honored to speak for the U.S. Conference of Mayors and attach their Membership resolution, which was submitted yesterday.

Mayors and Chiefs have formed an unprecedented alliance with others to address gun violence in our nation. On June 8th, I had the privilege to join the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Boston, along with Mayor Sylvester Turner of Houston and the President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, President Steven Benjamin of Columbia, South Carolina, where they unanimously adopted our position paper on gun violence and reducing gun violence.

I would like to introduce Laura Waxman, who is here today representing the nation's mayors. Laura, if you can wave.

It is important to realize that a firearms policy is not a zero-sum proposition. We all urge that you let common sense guide you as you pursue the development of public policies that balance the long-adopted Second amendment rights of our fellow Americans with the need to combat the scourge of daily gun violence throughout our nation.

This gun violence is arguably one of the greatest public health epidemics facing the Nation everyone in this room loves and serves. Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs join the victims in asking you to Act now to prevent one more death and bloodshed. We implore you to consider multiple steps and measures to curb the ongoing threat of gun violence.

The universal background check, expanded mental health provisions, red flag legislation are measures that we know will work.

The time is now to make sure that we get rid of the gaps and loopholes that defeat the purpose for which they were intended.

Next week we have invited Members of Congress, I think Mr. Thompson, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee and others will be joining the Chiefs and the Sheriffs here in Washington to have a roundtable on this issue, and if you have not been invited, I would like to extend that invitation to all Members here today. We hope again that as this debate continues, that we realize that doing nothing is not acceptable, and while we really focus and the media focuses on the multitudes of the almost regular mass shootings in our country that the media covers, for every one of those, sons and daughters, our children, our family Members, our police officers, are being shot, killed, and maimed, and I would urge Congress to do something this term. It is our time to make a difference because our streets, our neighborhoods, are truly drowning in the blood of our victims and in the tears of their loved ones.

At this moment in time, I would like to tell the young people from Parkland, Santa Fe and beyond, and the March for Our Lives, that the Chiefs are proud to stand with you. The future belongs to you, and we are here to help you secure it.

Thank you very much.

[The testimony of Chief Acevedo follows:]



TESTIMONY OF
CHIEF ART ACEVEDO
CHIEF OF POLICE
HOUSTON, TEXAS
PRESIDENT
MAJOR CITIES CHIEFS ASSOCIATION

BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

“Preventing Gun Violence: A Call to Action”

February 6th, 2019



Chairman Nadler, Ranking Member Collins and Members of the Committee

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Thank you, Chairman Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and distinguished Members of Congress.

I speak to you today both as a Police Chief in Houston, and President of the Major Cities Chiefs Association – representing all the largest police departments in the Nation – where gun violence takes its greatest toll. I am also honored to speak for the US Conference of Mayors and to attach their membership resolution. Mayors and Chiefs have formed an unprecedented alliance to stop gun violence. On June 8th, I was with the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Boston when they joined the Major Cities Chiefs in adopting our policy statement, submitted with this testimony. We salute Houston Mayor Sylvester Turner and U.S.C.M. President Steve Benjamin, of Columbia, SC, for their strong stand on sensible gun policies.

Last Sunday, I was deeply honored to see that the Washington Post used my own words in their editorial on gun violence. While I am humbled, I am also proud to speak for so many who have suffered and their police - who have taken an oath to protect them from harm. I am honored to say that what the Post quoted is why I am here today.... I said, **“We are not asking for prayers – we are asking for leadership.”**

Gun violence and mass murders in America have reached an unprecedented level of epic horror. The women and men Police Chiefs lead see the brutal ugliness of gun violence every day, and the suffering of victims and their families who ask, “how could this happen?” Families, churches, schools and neighborhoods are flowing with the tears shed by the loved ones of victims senselessly ripped away by gun violence.

Many Americans continue to fall victim to daily gun violence and mass murders, indicative of the fact NICS, the Nationals Instant Check System, is broken and seriously flawed.

- **Charleston, SC:** 9 killed, 1 Injured (*June 2015*)
- **Broward County, FL:** 5 Killed, 6 Injured (*January 2017*)
- **Schofield/Rothschild, WI:** 5 Killed (*March 2017*)



- Cincinnati, OH: 2 Killed, 16 Injured (March 2017)
- San Bernardino, CA: 3 Killed, 1 Injured (April 2017)
- Fresno, CA: 4 Killed (April 2017)
- Lincoln County, MS: 8 Killed, 1 Injured (May 2017)
- Orlando, FL: 6 Killed (June 2017)
- Sandy, UT: 3 Killed, 2 Injured (June 2017)
- Easton Township, PA: 4 Killed (June 2017)
- Alexandria, VA: 1 Killed, 6 Injured (June 2017)
- San Francisco, CA: 4 Killed, 5 Injured (June 2017)
- Little Rock, AK: 28 Injured (July 2017)
- Clovis, NM: 2 Killed, 4 Injured (August 2017)
- Plano, TX: 9 Killed, 1 Injured (September 2017)
- Antioch, TN: 1 Killed, 8 Injured (September 2017)
- Las Vegas NV: 59 Killed, 851 Injured (October 2017)
- Sutherland Springs, TX: 27 Killed, 20 Injured (November 2017)
- Tehama County, CA: 6 Killed, 12 Injured (November 2017)
- Aztec, NM: 3 Killed (December 2017)
- Highlands Ranch, CO: 2 Killed, 6 Injured (December 2017)
- Benton, KY: 2 Killed, 16 Injured (January 2018)
- Parkland, FL: 17 Killed, 17 Injured (February 2018)
- Yountville, CA: 5 Killed (March 2018)
- Nashville, TN: 4 Killed, 2 Injured (April 2018)
- Santa Fe, TX: 10 Killed, 14 Injured (May 2018)
- Scottsdale, AZ: 7 Killed (May 2018)
- Trenton, NJ: 1 Killed, 22 Injured (June 2018)
- Annapolis, MD: 5 Killed, 2 Injured (June 2018)
- Jacksonville, FL: 3 Killed, 9 Injured (August 2018)
- Aberdeen, MD: 4 Killed, 3 Injured (September 2018)
- Cincinnati, OH: 4 Killed, 2 Injured (September 2018)
- Florence, SC: 1 Killed, 7 Injured (October 2018)
- Louisville, KY: 2 Killed (October 2018)
- Pittsburgh, PA: 11 Killed, 6 Injured (October 2018)
- Tallahassee, FL: 3 Killed, 5 Injured (November 2018)
- Thousand Oaks, CA: 13 Killed, 25+ Injured (November 2018)
- Robbins, IL: 1 Killed, 4 Injured (November 2018)
- Chicago, IL: 4 Killed (November 2018)
- Sebring, FL: 5 Killed (January 2019)
- Ascension Parish, LA: 5 Killed (January 2019)



As the Chief of Police in Houston, I see first-hand the bloodshed and death from gun violence. Certainly major cities experience most gun violence from street crime, but mass murders by disturbed persons can occur anywhere. Horrible events in Texas, California, Florida, Virginia, Connecticut, Colorado, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Nevada and beyond, serve as grim reminders that we have not done enough to prevent gun violence in America. Gaps and loopholes in the system make it easy for criminals and the dangerously mentally ill to gain access to guns. As a nation we need to greatly strengthen our vetting process for purchasing firearms and work together to provide for a more secure America. We best protect the 2nd Amendment by insuring we do everything we can to keep firearms in the hands of law-abiding Americans of sound-mind.

Together, we can develop policies that can save countless lives that are senselessly taken by assailants who are prohibited from purchasing firearms but slip through the cracks because the information never got into the NICS database. Even if the information had been properly recorded, the shooter could have easily purchased that weapon privately, at a gun show, or on-line.

Universal Background Check

The Universal Background Check is the first and essential step toward comprehensive reform of gun laws. Without this essential element, there can be no lasting impact on gun violence – because without this legislation, guns will continue to be sold to those who are not permitted to possess a firearm. Make no mistake, we seek the adoption of H.R. 8 and we commend Representative Mike Thompson and his more than 200 colleagues who are sponsoring this long overdue legislation.

There can be no doubt that background checks required by the Brady Law have been very successful at combatting gun violence and preventing firearms from landing in the hands of those who are disqualified.

Approximately 2 million people were blocked from obtaining a firearm between 1994 and 2018 because of a failed background check^{1 2}. Additionally, of the 7 million NICS background checks processed, nearly 104,000 persons were denied³. According to a 2016 study, stronger gun policies are associated with decreased rates of firearm homicide, even after adjusting for demographic and sociological factors. Laws that strengthen background checks and permit-to-purchased seems to decrease firearm rates⁴.

¹ <https://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/bcft99.pdf>

² https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/federal_denials.pdf/view

³ <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/2017-nics-operations-report.pdf/view>

⁴ Lee, Lois & Flegler, Eric & Farrell, Caitlin & Avakame, Elorm & Srinivasan, Saranya & Hemenway, David & Monuteaux, Michael. (2016). Firearm Laws and Firearm Homicides: A Systematic Review. JAMA internal medicine. 177. 10.1001/jamainternmed.2016.7051.



NICS Default Approvals – the Charleston Murders

The tragic mass shooting at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C., which left 9 innocent people dead, help to expose a weakness in our gun laws. An obscure provision in the current law allows a federally licensed gun dealer to sell a firearm to a customer if the background check is not completed within three business days of the request being filed by the dealer. Approximately 90 percent of requests receive an immediate return on a firearms transfer,⁵ but those checks that take longer than 3-days increase the likelihood that the purchaser is prohibited by a factor of 9, according to data released by the FBI.⁶

Background check statistics give us insight into the daily consequences of a default proceed purchase, which is putting guns in the hands of persons determined by law to be too dangerous to possess firearms, and risks thousands of lives every year as a result. Over the 10-year period between 2008 and 2017 over 35,000 firearms transfers were completed to prohibited persons because of the Charleston Loophole according to the FBI.⁷ While all referrals are investigated by the NICS section and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF), often a transfer cannot be determined because definitive data is unavailable. In 2017 alone 6,004 scenarios were referred to ATF, but 1,140 delayed denials for prohibited persons could not be determined to have been completed.⁸

ATF is severely under-resourced for this task, currently maintaining fewer agents than the Broward County Sheriff's Office, and a 2017 report by the Washington State Statistical Analysis Center found gun retrieval is "both dangerous and time consuming."⁹

By extending the timeframe for NICS to complete a thorough investigation of a potential purchaser, we ensure that the background check system works as intended, to save lives by preventing dangerous individuals from purchasing guns.

Gun Show Loophole

Currently, Federal law requires Federal Firearms License (FFL) dealers to perform background checks on all buyers. However, unlicensed private persons who sell firearms at gun shows or to other private persons are not required to conduct background checks. This loophole in our system facilitates criminals and the dangerously mentally ill to purchase firearms outside of the regular NICS clearance process.

⁵ <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/2017-nics-operations-report.pdf/view>

⁶ <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3722150-Blueprint-for-Federal-Action-on-Illegal-Guns.html#document/p15/a353800>

⁷ <https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/nics>

⁸ <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/2017-nics-operations-report.pdf/view>

⁹ http://sac.ofm.wa.gov/sites/default/files/public/pdf/firearm_background_check_gap_analysis.pdf



Going forward, unlicensed private persons *and* firearms dealers should be required to conduct background checks through a Federal Firearms Licensee for both gun show purchases and individual sales or transfers. Universal background check legislation to eliminate the Gun Show Loophole must be pursued.

Mental Health Records

Next week will mark the one-year anniversary of the 17 tragic deaths in Parkland, Florida. Sadly, that was not an isolated mass murder. It was but one of many. Two months later I was speeding south from Houston to the same horrific violence at a school, where 10 died by gunfire. These cases show how disturbed persons gain access to guns, either because it was not reported to the FBI or current law does not provide for such reports.

Parkland, FL: 17 murdered and 17 wounded by a shooter who had a long and well documented history of mental illness and violent behavior.

Santa Fe, TX: Ten murdered and two wounded by a disturbed young man who should not have been permitted to possess a firearm.

Recent tragedies have taught us that failure to examine mental health status represents an enormous gap in the current process. We implore you to examine how current mental health records may be incorporated into the NICS. The assailants in Aurora, CO; Tucson, AZ; Virginia Tech; and Newtown, CT; and Jacksonville, FL *all* had documented and lengthy histories of severe mental instability.

Required Reporting: Twelve years ago, in 2007, the Virginia Tech massacre of 32 students by a disturbed young man who passed two background checks because the information had never been reported to the FBI. More than a decade later, little progress has been made to require States to entire required information in a timely manner¹⁰. Five years ago, a study showed that 12 States had submitted fewer than 100 mental health record each.¹¹

Expanded Reporting: Congress should examine the type and extent of reporting to determine if additional records should be required for mental health and domestic abuse. Current law would not have stopped the Parkland shooter a year ago because his behavior and illness did

¹⁰ A Virginia special justice declared Mr. Cho to be “an imminent danger” to himself as a result of mental illness on December 14, 2005, and directed Mr. Cho to seek outpatient treatment.

¹¹ Mayors Against Illegal Guns, *Twenty Years After US Requires Gun Background Checks, New FBI Data Shows Information Gaps Still Allow Criminals to Get Firearms* (Nov. 21, 2013), at <http://www.demandaction.org/detail/2013-11-twenty-years-after-us-requires-gun-background-checks>.



not meet the requirements of current law. Some States have wisely gone beyond the very limited requirements of Federal law and now require much more extensive reporting.

Red Flag Laws

Following the tragedy in Parkland, states looked more closely at laws that permit a court to take guns away from those who have been shown to be dangerous. Legislation was introduced in the last Congress to establish this process in the Federal Courts and Major Cities Chiefs strongly supported those bills in the House and the Senate.¹²

A new study concluded that 59% of mass shootings between 1900 and 2017 were carried out by people either diagnosed with a mental disorder or showed signs of a serious mental health illness prior to the attack¹³. Cops deal with mentally ill persons every day, but we cannot do anything to stop them from buying or possessing guns unless or until Congress acts to follow the lead of states and adopt "Red Flag" laws.

Persons with a history of violent behavior, especially domestic violence, may be legally eligible to purchase a gun during a period when they are extremely dangerous. A court order to temporarily take the gun, and a process to reinstate, should be part of our national policy. At least 13 States now have such laws, 8 of which were enacted over the course of the year since Parkland. A number of our member cities like the Seattle Police have well established programs to get guns out of a volatile and dangerous setting.

Fugitive Prohibited Purchases

While it was clearly the intent of Congress to prohibit gun purchases by fugitives from justice, a recent legal opinion by the Department of Justice has reversed what was intended. After many years of internal debate between Federal agency legal counsel, it was determined that the NICS database of prohibited persons should be purged of fugitives and thus, more than 500,000 wanted persons are now able to buy guns.

We appeal to Congress for swift and decisive action to correct this flaw and restore the prohibition on firearm purchases by fugitives who are a threat to public safety – as that was the intent of Congress.

Straw Purchase Buyers

Another glaring failure in current legislation is the ease with which persons may be recruited to buy firearms for prohibited persons. Most often these are convicted felons such as drug traffickers who may purchase a wide array of guns simply by paying for the intermediary. The Major Cities Chiefs has repeatedly supported legislation that would make straw purchases a new federal offense.

¹²HR2598 and S.1212

¹³ Duwe, G. (2007). *Mass Murder in the United States: A History*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.



Major Cities Chiefs support the establishment harsher penalties and aggressively prosecute straw purchasers, who are responsible for putting a substantial number of guns used in criminal acts. More aggressive prosecution with strong penalties would hold them accountable and act as a deterrent.

Concealed Weapons

Each State has carefully crafted its own laws relating to concealed weapons. While Congress has heretofore respected the Constitutional sovereignty of the States, we oppose legislation that would undermine the authority of State laws relating to carrying of weapons. We strongly urge Congress to reject misguided and impractical proposals for reciprocity. As police officers could not be expected to recognize legitimate or forged permits from thousands of jurisdictions, it would be impossible to determine which persons are authorized to carry a concealed weapon. For these reasons, we strongly oppose the proposals for CCW reciprocity.

Silencers

Legalizing the widespread availability of silencers on our city streets is not in the interest of public safety. Like machine guns, there is a Federal application process for obtaining silencers – and it works well. There is no reason to strike it down and allow gang members and felons to buy silencers. Moreover, silencers would render gunshot locator technology ineffective. There is simply no legitimate justification for a measure that would further endanger the public.

Bump stocks

Another common-sense measure is a ban on “bump stocks” and similar accessories that replicate fully automatic weapons fire. Such features result in a number of shots fired that causes the carnage we witnessed in Las Vegas. Like other law enforcement officials, I have studied the Las Vegas slaughter and concluded that there is no reasonable sporting or hunting purpose served by deadly devices that simulate military weapons capabilities. I was seated next to the ATF Director at a recent meeting of Major Cities Chiefs when he advised the Chiefs that new legislation will be required.

The Trump Administration has instituted a ban on Bump stocks, however legal challenges render the ban unenforceable for the foreseeable future. Legislation from congress to formally ban bump stocks would provide the Department of Justice, and ATF, the unequivocal authority needed to eliminate this dangerous firearm modification.

The Way Forward

Chairman Nadler, Ranking Member Collins and members of the committee, we look to you for leadership at a time when it is needed more than ever before. Like those of us who wear a badge, members of Congress share our solemn duty to protect the public. The tragedies we have cited today should be recognized by Congress as cries for help from past and future innocent victims of gun violence.



Firearms safety policy is not a zero sum proposition. We urge you to let common sense guide you as you pursue the development of public policies that balance the long-ago adopted 2nd Amendment rights of our fellow Americans, with the need to combat the scourge of daily gun violence throughout our nation, which constitutes what is arguably one of the greatest public health epidemics facing the nation we love and serve.

Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs join these victims in asking you to act now to prevent more death and bloodshed. We implore you to consider multiple steps and measures to curb the ongoing threat of gun violence. The Universal Background Check, expanded mental health provisions and "Red Flag" legislation are measures that we know will work. The time is now to make the NICS process *universal* without the gaps and loopholes that defeat the purpose for which it was intended.

We have invited members of the Committee to join us next week for a roundtable here in Washington D.C. to discuss how Chiefs and Sheriffs can help to advance this needed legislation. Chiefs from every major urban area will be gathered here to begin a campaign to get this legislation passed. To do anything less is a disservice to the public we serve and the communities we have taken an oath to protect.

On behalf of Major Cities Chiefs, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and the City of Houston, we thank you for your courage and leadership on this issue.



Firearms Violence Policy

Adopted by Membership Vote

The Major Cities Chiefs Association has been a strong advocate for sensible gun policy for many years and has taken these positions on key issues.

Legislative Positions

- Adopt Universal Background Checks for all gun sales and close both gun show and internet loopholes
- Strengthen NICS definitions of prohibited purchasers to cover all appropriate domestic violence cases, with strict judicial procedures for appeal and reinstatement
- Support "Red Flag" legislation and regulations to preclude gun purchases by mentally disturbed persons with histories of violent behavior
- Ban "bump-stock" devices that replicate fully automatic weapons fire
- Maintain ATF regulations and restrictions regarding silencers
- Reinstate the assault weapons ban and encourage stiffer penalties for illegal guns
- Ban high capacity magazines (10+ rounds)
- Ban internet ammo sales, require in-person transactions, records of sales and licensing of ammo vendors
- Oppose legislation that would require States to recognize any and all concealed carry permits
- Oppose legislation that further erodes ATF authority
- Prevent known terrorists from purchasing firearms and/or ammunition

Policy Statements

- Establish a strong system for universal background checks to cover all firearms purchases, with no exceptions.
- Strengthen the national criminal instant background check system. The background check system does not have complete data and measures should be undertaken to ensure comprehensive reporting. Mental health information, for example, is inadequate, inconsistent and incomplete. The NICS system must be improved.
- Encourage aggressive federal prosecution of violent offenders using guns. Conviction in Federal Court generally results in stronger sanctions, removes the offenders from the streets and serves as a deterrent.



- Encourage mandatory reporting of all purchases, transfers and stolen firearms. This measure would assist law enforcement agencies with identification, criminal investigations and recovery of stolen firearms.
- Establish harsher penalties and aggressively prosecute straw purchasers, who are responsible for putting a substantial number of guns used in criminal acts. More aggressive prosecution with strong penalties would hold them accountable and act as a deterrent.
- Support and strengthen the authorities of ATF, rather than to restrict and handicap enforcement of gun laws.





MAJOR CITIES CHIEFS ASSOCIATION

Legislation Supported by Major Cities Chiefs

- **Fix NICS** HR4477; S2135 (Adds new reporting requirements and procedures to toughen process and prevent mistakes) **Passed as an amendment to spending bill.**
- **Gun Violence Restraining Orders** HR2598, S1212 (Establishes process to obtain court orders barring gun purchases by dangerous persons)
- **Stop Gun Purchases by Mentally Disturbed Persons** HR4142 (Changes Definitions in NICS and supports school violence and gun violence studies/training)
- **Ban Bump Stocks** HR3947, S1916 (Defines and lists stocks of the type used in Las Vegas to be banned)
- **NICS Denial Notification** HR4471, S2492 (Notice to police of attempted/rejected gun purchases)
- **Assault Weapons Ban/Ban on High Capacity magazines** HR 5087 (Lists and defines military-style semi-auto weapons, limits to 10 rounds)
- **Strengthening the Ban on Straw Purchases** HR5134, S1185 (Clarifies and stiffens penalties)
- **Expanding Background Checks to Private Sales** S2009 (Transfers and sales between individuals)
- **Gun Violence Prevention and Safe Communities Act** HR5103, (Imposes a tax on guns and ammo to fund new programs)
- **Universal Background Checks** HR4240 (Closes gun show and internet loopholes, grants and incentives to strengthen NICS)

Legislation Opposed by Major Cities Chiefs

- **Concealed Carry Reciprocity** (Requires States to recognize permits issued in any jurisdiction, even when contrary to a State's laws)
- **Legalization of Silencers** (Abolishes current Federal restrictions on sales, possession and use of silencers)

**THE UNITED STATES
CONFERENCE OF MAYORS**

Submitted by:
The Honorable Stephen K. Benjamin, Mayor of Columbia

MAYORS AND POLICE CHIEFS TOGETHER IN SUPPORT OF SENSIBLE GUN POLICY

WHEREAS, The U.S. Conference of Mayors and the Major Cities Chiefs Association have worked together for many years on critical issues that affect the safety and wellbeing of our cities and our residents; and

WHEREAS, in April 2018 mayors and police chiefs, including top leaders from both the U.S. Conference of Mayors and Major Cities Chiefs Association, met together to discuss a range of public safety issues, including strategies to prevent gun violence; and



WHEREAS, both organizations have similar, comprehensive bodies of policy in support of sensible gun policies in this country,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that The U.S. Conference of Mayors formally adopts the gun policies of the Major Cities Chiefs Association and calls on the Administration and Congress to:

- Adopt universal background checks for all gun sales and close both gun show and internet loopholes;
- Strengthen NICS definitions of prohibited purchasers to cover all appropriate domestic violence cases, with strict judicial procedures for appeal and reinstatement;
- Support "Red Flag" legislation and regulations to preclude gun purchases by mentally disturbed persons with histories of violent behavior;
- Ban "bump-stock" devices that replicate fully automatic weapons fire;
- Maintain ATF regulations and restrictions regarding silencers;
- Reinstate the assault weapons ban and encourage stiffer penalties for illegal guns
- Ban high capacity magazines, those with 10+ rounds;
- Ban internet ammo sales, require in-person transactions, records of sales and licensing of ammo vendors;
- Oppose legislation that would require states to recognize any and all concealed carry permits;
- Oppose legislation that further erodes ATF authority; and
- Prevent known terrorists from purchasing firearms and/or ammunition; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that The U.S. Conference of Mayors formally adopts the gun policy statements of the Major Cities Chiefs Association, which call on the Administration and Congress to:

- Establish a strong system for universal background checks to cover all firearms purchases, with no exceptions;

**THE UNITED STATES
CONFERENCE OF MAYORS**

- Strengthen the national criminal instant background check system to ensure that it has complete data and comprehensive reporting, including the reporting of mental health information, which has been inadequate, inconsistent and incomplete;
- Encourage aggressive federal prosecution of violent offenders using guns since conviction in federal court generally results in stronger sanctions, removes the offenders from the streets and serves as a deterrent;
- Encourage mandatory reporting of all purchases, transfers and stolen firearms to assist law enforcement agencies with identification, criminal investigations and recovery of stolen firearms;
- Establish harsher penalties and aggressively prosecute straw purchasers, who are responsible for a substantial number of guns used in criminal acts, as more aggressive prosecution with strong penalties would hold them accountable and act as a deterrent;
- Use court orders to prevent the purchase of firearms by persons who pose a threat to public safety; and
- Support and strengthen ATF's authorities, rather than restricting and handicapping the enforcement of gun laws; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that The U.S. Conference of Mayors pledges to continue to work in concert with the Major Cities Chiefs Association to see these sensible gun policies enacted into law to reduce the scourge of gun violence in our cities and throughout our nation.

Chair NADLER. Thank you very much, Chief.
Professor Malcolm?

TESTIMONY OF JOYCE LEE MALCOLM

Dr. MALCOLM. Thank you very much for inviting me to testify here before the committee.

All of us are here today with the same goal: We want to increase public safety, and we want to protect the lives of the citizens of our country. The thing that divides us is how we feel we can best achieve that aim. The Supreme Court has explained in two landmark cases that the Framers of the Second amendment were clear about the solution to public safety. They have bequeathed to us, as individuals, the right to keep and bear those guns in common use for self-defense and other lawful purposes. In other words, we are to have the means to protect ourselves.

I should say about those two cases, the Heller case in Washington and the McDonald case in Chicago, that the petitioners were people who really needed to protect themselves. One of the ones in the Heller case was a woman named Shelly Parker who lived in Washington where there was a lot of drug dealing going on. She reported this several times to the police, and the drug dealers said they knew who she was, and they were going to get her. In Chicago, Otis McDonald was an African American in his 70s. His apartment had been invaded several times, and he needed something to protect himself.

So, these cases were brought by people who really needed to protect themselves. Now, there are some people who argue that this right of the Second amendment is outdated, we have the police to protect us, and go on to claim that permitting law-abiding citizens to have firearms to protect themselves would make all of us less safe.

Do we still need to protect ourselves? First, however responsible the police are, they cannot protect all of us all the time. In fact, in a landmark case here in Washington, we found out that they had no responsibility to protect any individual. There was a case brought by three women who were assaulted in their townhouse on Capitol Hill. They called 911 repeatedly for half an hour. Nobody ever came. They sued the police in Washington, and the court dismissed their case saying that there was a duty to provide public service to the public at large, but absent a special relationship between the police and an individual, no specific legal duty exists. So, the police have no legal duty to protect any one of us.

I should say about the horrible Parkland massacre that the school in Parkland has now decided after a study that they are going to allow the teachers to be armed.

The FBI does not record self-defense. So there have been some national surveys to try to find out how many people have actually used a gun in self-defense, and the national surveys, which vary a lot, have found between 700,000 and 3.6 million defensive uses of a gun annually. Normally, all that the person defending himself must do is actually brandish the gun. They almost never need to use it. It is just a way of showing that they can protect themselves during an attack.

Will the private transfer of weapons on the FBI instant background check prevent gun violence? No, they will not.

On the other hand, tactics to make it difficult for law-abiding Americans to keep and carry weapons in common use for their self-defense is a serious infringement of their constitutional right. Rather than improving public safety, it will make the public more vulnerable to those who would seek to harm them, including the battered women who are in danger, including students who are in a school where no one is protecting them.

To conclude, Justice Scalia, in writing for the majority in the case of *District of Columbia v. Heller*, reminded us of the enshrinement of constitutional rights necessarily takes certain policy choices off the table.

Thank you.

[The statement of Dr. Malcolm follows:]

STATEMENT OF JOYCE LEE MALCOLM

We are here today because of our common goal: Public safety and how best to protect the lives of the American people. What divides us is the means by which we would accomplish that goal. The Supreme Court has explained in two landmark cases that the Framers of the Second amendment were clear about the solution. They have bequeathed to us, as individuals, the right to keep and bear those weapons in common use for self-defense and other lawful purposes. In other words we are to have the means to protect ourselves.

Some argue that this right is outdated and that in 2019 we no longer need to protect ourselves, the police will protect us. Indeed, they go on to claim that permitting individual law-abiding citizens to have firearms to protect themselves will make all of us less safe. I would like to address both assertions.

First do we still need to be able to protect ourselves? Self defense has always been considered our most fundamental right. Despite the many police officers we now have, even with the best of intentions, they can never protect all of us all the time or even any one of us all the time. That is something only the individual on the spot can do. A means of self-defense is especially important to women and the elderly, or all those who live in more dangerous areas. "The future process of law," William Blackstone, the great English jurist, explained, "is by no means an adequate remedy for injuries accompanied by force." Self-defense, he adds, "is not, neither can it be in fact, taken away by the law of society." Depriving individuals of the means to protect themselves takes the possibility of effective self-defense away. Their safety is forfeit.

Do the police have a duty to protect you? This may seem a surprising question but a 1981 case involving three young women living in Capitol Hill provides a startling answer. The women who were brutalized by two men sued the police for failing to respond to their desperate and repeated calls to 911. The D.C. law banned their ownership of a firearm. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals dismissed the women's complaints against the District and Members of the police department pointing out: "the duty to provide public services is owed to the public at large, and absent a special relationship between the police and an individual, no specific legal duty exists." In short the police have no legal duty to protect any one of us.

Sadly, in a more recent case those charged with protecting us fail dramatically as in the terrible shooting at the Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland a year ago this month. No only did the local sheriff's department receive some 45 calls that the shooter Cruz posed a danger, they failed to block him from getting a gun or even to disarm him once he had weapons. After he had entered the school and began his killing spree the sheriff's deputy failed to confront him as did three other officers, instead waiting outside the building. The Parkland school now has decided the best way to protect students is to permit some teachers to be armed.

Has the growing number of law-abiding Americans carrying arms increased the gun homicide rate? In the past few years State after State has passed "shall issue" legislation permitting their law-abiding citizens who fulfill certain basic regulations to carry a concealed weapon, so they may keep and bear arms for self-defense and other lawful purposes as the Constitution permits. There are now 39 "shall issue" states. You can drive across the country from Florida to Washington State and never cross a State that does not have "shall issue" concealed carry. In 2018 the

FBI reported some 26,181,936 requests for background checks to purchase a weapon. Has this increase in the number of firearms led to higher gun homicide rates? The answer is “no.” Since a high of gun homicide deaths in 1991 there has been a steep decline, with firearm homicides dropping by nearly half. A study of an uptick in the past two years found that more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the gun deaths were suicides. While that is little comfort for those who have been grievously harmed by shootings, it does show that permitting people to protect themselves does not increase the homicide rate.

On the other hand guns are invaluable to protect oneself or others. The FBI does not record defensive uses of guns, but national surveys have found between 700,000 and 3.6 million defensive uses of a gun annually. Normally all the defender has to do is brandish the firearm to halt the attack.

Will including private transfers of weapons on the FBI instant background check prevent gun violence? A large proportion of gun violence is caused by street gangs and they and others bent on misusing weapons obtain their guns illegally and are unlikely to submit to background checks or other requirements. More mental health facilities able to treat those deemed dangerous to themselves and others would be an aid in preventing mass killings. In 2016 Congress passed the Helping Families with Mental Health Crisis Act. This is a positive step in that direction.

On the other hand tactics to make it difficult for law-abiding Americans to keep and carry weapons in common use for their self-defense is a serious infringement of their constitutional right and rather than improving public safety will make the public more vulnerable to those who would seek to harm them. To conclude, Justice Scalia, in writing for the majority in *District of Columbia v. Heller* reminded us that “the enshrinement of constitutional rights necessarily takes certain policy choices off the table.”

Mr. DEUTCH. Mr. Chair, a point of information.

Mr. Chair, it is important, before we go on, on important pieces of information, on declarations that are factually wrong, it is important to point them out.

The Broward County School Board, the Stoneman Douglas teachers did not conclude that the response to what happened in their school is arming teachers. It is important that we get those facts straight.

Dr. MALCOLM. There was a commission—if I could be allowed to respond?

Chair NADLER. Briefly, yes.

Dr. MALCOLM. There was a commission that was set up by the school, and it decided that was the best—

Mr. DEUTCH. That is also incorrect.

Chair NADLER. We will deal with this in the question period.

Thank you, Professor.

Ms. Thomas?

TESTIMONY OF ROBYN THOMAS

Ms. THOMAS. Thank you, Chair Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and Members of the committee, for the opportunity to testify here today.

My name is Robyn Thomas, and I am the Executive Director of the Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence. Giffords Law Center was formed more than 25 years ago after a mass shooting at a San Francisco law firm and renamed for Congresswoman Gabby Giffords after joining forces in 2016 with the organization she co-founded with her husband, Captain Mark Kelly. I have been the Executive Director of the Law Center since 2006.

Twelve years ago, I told a Committee of Congress that numerous loopholes undermine our gun laws, putting American lives at risk. Since I last testified before Congress, no significant progress has

been made to close these loopholes, and more than 390,000 people have died from gun violence in our country.

Some of these shootings made national headlines and shocked the nation. The massacres at a Safeway in Tucson, at Sandy Hook Elementary School, a church in Charleston, in Orlando, Las Vegas, Parkland, and Pittsburgh, just to name a few. Most American gun violence never makes the news despite nearly 100 people dying every single day.

The nominal effort made to address the reporting of records to the background check system has not done enough to stem the tide of gun violence in our country. It is still far too easy for people who want to do harm to get their hands on guns.

Because Federal law does not require a background check on every gun sale, people who should not have guns and are legally prohibited from accessing them, like domestic abusers, people with violent criminal records, and people prohibited for mental health reasons, can easily buy guns from unlicensed sellers with no background check and no questions asked.

Even if prohibiting records are in the NIC system, people can simply bypass that system altogether. A 2013 study found that approximately 80 percent of all firearms acquired for criminal purposes were obtained from sources who were not required to run a background check, and 96 percent of inmates who were prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time they committed their crime obtained a gun this way.

Congress must close this dangerous loophole. That is why I am grateful to Congressman Mike Thompson and this Committee for prioritizing H.R. 8, the bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019. H.R. 8 will make it harder for dangerous people to get their hands on guns and hurt themselves or others.

Since 1994, background checks have stopped over 3 million gun sales or transfers to convicted felons and other prohibited individuals. This bill would expand the appropriate use of this system, ensuring that laws prohibiting these people from possessing guns are properly enforced.

While closing the loopholes in our Federal background check system is a critical first step, we must also do more to cover people at a high risk from committing violence who are not currently prohibited from purchasing guns. This includes abusive dating partners, stalkers, and people convicted of hate crimes.

We should also ensure families and law enforcement have the tools they need to intervene when someone demonstrates signs of a serious crisis, called extreme risk protection order laws. These laws create a legal process to temporarily remove firearms if a court finds someone poses a real risk. These laws now exist in some form in 13 states and save lives while ensuring due process.

We must invest in our collective future. Congress should better regulate the gun industry and enact a gun trafficking law. It should also address gun violence in communities where its costs are felt most acutely, in urban areas where young African American and Latino men are most impacted. Well-funded violence intervention and prevention programs can successfully break cycles of violence and level the playing field for safety in our communities.

Congress should also invest financially into research in this public health and safety crisis. Federal research into gun violence has been virtually non-existent for 20 years. This must be addressed so we can learn more about this problem and how to effectively solve it.

There is no constitutional impediment to passing life-saving gun laws. Since the founding of our country, gun rights have always co-existed with gun regulations, and the need to protect public safety has always gone hand in hand with Americans' right to own guns. The only thing standing in the way of saving lives is a lack of political will. All we need to strengthen our Federal gun laws is a Congress with the courage to do so.

I urge this Congress to find that courage, to show leadership on this life and death issue, and to Act now.

Mr. Chair, Members of the committee, thank you for inviting us here to testify today, and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The testimony of Ms. Thomas follows:]

STATEMENT OF ROBYN THOMAS

Thank you, Chair Nadler, and Members of the Committee for the opportunity to testify here today. My name is Robyn Thomas and I am the Executive Director of Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence. Giffords Law Center was formed more than 25 years ago after a mass shooting at a San Francisco law firm and renamed for former Congresswoman Gabby Giffords after joining forces with the organization founded by her and her husband, Captain Mark Kelly. I have been the Executive Director of the Law Center since 2006.

Twelve years ago, I told a Committee of Congress that numerous loopholes undermine our gun laws, putting American lives at risk. Since that time, Congress has begun to address only one of those shortcomings: A loophole that undermines comprehensive reporting of records into the background check system for gun purchasers. And since I last testified before Congress, more than 390,000 people have died from gun violence in our country.

Some of these shootings made national headlines and shocked the nation—the massacres at a Safeway in Tucson; in an Aurora, Colorado movie theatre; at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut; in a church in Charleston; at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando; at a country music festival in Las Vegas; at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida; and at a synagogue in Pittsburgh—to name only a few.

After the Virginia Tech massacre in 2007 and again after the Sutherland Springs shooting a little over a year ago, we saw Members of both parties come together to address the records that were missing from the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS).¹ Yet, this effort has proven to be far too little to stem the tide of gun violence in this country. It is still far too easy for people who want to do harm to get their hands on guns.

Our federal elected officials need to do more than just ensure that records are in the background check system. We need to make sure that the background check system is used every time a person buys a gun. Under current law, unlicensed sellers can sell guns without running a background check. These sales occur online, at gun shows, and on the street—any place where the seller is not a licensed dealer.

Because federal law doesn't require a background check for every gun sale, people who shouldn't have guns and are legally prohibited from accessing them—domestic abusers, people with violent criminal records, and people prohibited for mental health reasons—can easily buy guns from unlicensed sellers with no background check and no questions asked, even if their records are in the system. They simply bypass that system.

This is not an abstract or theoretical matter; it's a dangerous loophole in our laws that threatens the public safety of communities across the country.

¹ NICS Improvement Amendments Act of 2007, Pub. L. No. 110–180, 121 Stat. 2559 (2008); Fix NICS Act of 2018, Pub. L. No. 115–141, Division S, title VI, 132 Stat. 1132, (2018).

Gun deaths in the United States have reached their highest level in almost 40 years, with nearly 40,000 Americans dying from gun violence in 2017—more than 100 people every day. Americans are 25 times more likely to be killed by a gun than people in other developed nations. In fact, no other developed country comes close. Sales and transfers of guns without background checks are a major contributor to this problem. A 2017 study estimated that 22 percent of American gun owners acquired their most recent firearm without a background check—which translates to millions of guns each year.²

A 2013 study found that approximately 80 percent of all firearms acquired for criminal purposes were obtained from sources who were not required to run a background check, and that 96 percent of inmates who were prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time they committed their crime obtained their gun this way.³

Congress must close this dangerous loophole. I am grateful to Congressman Mike Thompson and this Committee for prioritizing H.R. 8, the Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019, in the 116th Congress.

This bill does not infringe on the right of Americans to own guns to protect themselves and their families, or to possess them for other lawful purposes. Nothing in the Constitution requires America's leaders to stand by and do nothing while more people die from gun violence each year than die from military combat overseas. Neither are background checks a violation of the Second Amendment. In fact, the Supreme Court itself has endorsed lifesaving gun safety laws to reduce access to guns by dangerous people, and throughout American history, courts have repeatedly upheld strong firearms regulations.

H.R. 8 will make it harder for dangerous people to get their hands on guns and hurt themselves or others. Since 1994, background checks have stopped over three million gun sales or transfers to convicted felons, abusive partners, and people prohibited for mental health and other reasons. This bill would expand the use of this system, ensuring that the laws prohibiting these people from possessing guns are enforced.

Law-abiding citizens can pass background checks. The background checks system is designed to identify and deny gun sales to only individuals prohibited from possessing firearms. The FBI's quality control evaluations indicate that background checks are accurate approximately 99.3 percent to 99.8 percent of the time.⁴ And in about 90 percent of cases, firearm background checks processed through NICS are processed within 90 seconds.⁵

Sometimes, however, the FBI cannot immediately obtain a clear yes or no answer on a NICS check. As I mentioned 12 years ago, federal law allows gun dealers to transfer guns after three business days, even if the FBI is still processing the background check.⁶ This loophole allowed the shooter who horrifically, hatefully killed nine people in a church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015 to obtain his gun, even though he wasn't legally entitled to buy it, because his background check was still in progress. Approximately 3,000 to 4,000 guns per year are transferred this way and then later have to be reacquired when the FBI determines after the three-day window has closed that the person should not have passed the background check.⁷ The Charleston loophole threatens local communities by enabling guns to fall into the hands of dangerous people. In the last Congress, Congressman James Clyburn introduced legislation to fix this problem. Congress should pass this legislation.

While closing the loopholes in our federal background system is a critical first step, we must also do more to strengthen the laws that cover people at a high risk of committing violence who are not currently prohibited from possessing firearms, including domestic abusers.

²Matthew Miller, Lisa Hepburn, and Deborah Azrael, "Firearm Acquisition Without Background Checks," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 166, No. 4 (2017): 233–239.

³Katherine A. Vittes, Jon S. Vernick, and Daniel W. Webster, "Legal Status and Source of Offenders' Firearms in States with the Least Stringent Criteria for Gun Ownership," *Injury Prevention* 19, No. 1 (2013): 26–31.

⁴Office of the Inspector General, "Audit of the Handling of Firearms Purchase Denials Through the National Instant Criminal Background Check System," U.S. Department of Justice, September 2016, <https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2016/a1632.pdf>.

⁵Federal Bureau of Investigation, "National Instant Criminal Background Check System Celebrates 20 Years of Service," Criminal Justice Information Services, November 30, 2018, <https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/cjis-link/national-instant-criminal-background-check-system-celebrates-20-years-of-service>.

⁶18 U.S.C. 922(t)(1)(B)(ii).

⁷Criminal Justice Information Services Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, "National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) Operations Reports," available at <https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/nics>.

Nearly 600 women are shot and killed by intimate partners every year—an average of one woman every 16 hours.⁸ More than one in three women in the United States have experienced sexual violence, physical violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner in their lifetimes, making it critical that policymakers take steps to remove firearms from domestic violence situations. The gun homicide rate for women in the United States is 16 times higher than in other high-income countries,⁹ fueled in large part by elevated rates of intimate partner gun violence. Guns and domestic violence are a deadly mix: The presence of a gun in a domestic violence situation makes it five times more likely the victim will die,¹⁰ while domestic violence assaults involving a gun are 12 times more likely to end in death than assaults with other weapons or physical harm.¹¹ And even when they aren't used to commit murder, guns are often used by abusers to threaten and coerce their victims—approximately 4.5 million women in the United States have been threatened with a gun by an intimate partner.¹²

As was the case when I last testified here, current federal law does not prohibit gun possession by people who have assaulted dating partners they haven't lived with. This deadly gap leaves a significant number of abusers able to legally purchase and possess guns—and use them against their partners—despite a documented history of violence. As more couples wait until later in life to marry, this exception becomes deadlier: Today, dating partners, not spouses, commit nearly half of all intimate partner homicides.¹³ A study in one city showed that over 80 percent of intimate partner violence calls to law enforcement involve unmarried dating partners who aren't covered by our gun laws.¹⁴ Congress must address this deadly threat to women by making clear that people convicted of misdemeanors for abusing or stalking dating partners aren't entitled to have guns just because they weren't married to their victims. That's why I am grateful to Congresswoman Debbie Dingell for introducing H.R. 569, the Zero Tolerance for Domestic Abusers Act of 2019, in the 116th Congress. This bipartisan bill would follow the lead of states that have closed this loophole and subsequently experienced a 16 percent drop in intimate partner homicides committed with guns.¹⁵

H.R. 569 would also close the stalking loophole. Current federal law prohibits stalkers convicted of felonies from purchasing or possessing guns, but lets those convicted of misdemeanor crimes to legally access them. But because felony stalking charges are often pled down to misdemeanors, this leaves victims at significant risk. Nearly one in six women in the United States is the victim of stalking in their lifetimes,¹⁶ and stalking is a strong indicator of future violence. One study of female murder victims in 10 cities found that 76 percent of women who were murdered and 85 percent who survived a murder attempt by a current or former intimate partner had previously been stalked.¹⁷

People convicted of abusing dating partners and stalking clearly should not have access to guns. Neither should those convicted of hate crimes.

Violent extremists and hate groups often use firearms as tools of violence and intimidation. Between 2010 and 2014, roughly 43,000 hate crimes involving the use

⁸ Jennifer Mascia, "Once Every 16 Hours, an American Woman Is Fatally Shot by a Current or Former Romantic Partner," *The Trace*, Feb. 9, 2016, <https://www.thetrace.org/2016/02/women-domestic-violence-death-statistics/>.

⁹ Erin Grinshteyn and David Hemenway, "Violent Death Rates: The US Compared with Other High-income OECD Countries, 2010," *American Journal of Medicine* 129, No. 3 (2016): 266–273.

¹⁰ Jacquelyn C. Campbell, *et al.*, "Risk Factors for Femicide in Abusive Relationships: Results from a Multisite Case Control Study," 93 *Am. J. Pub. Health* (July 2003): 1089, 1092.

¹¹ Linda E. Saltzman, *et al.*, "Weapon Involvement and Injury Outcomes in Family and Intimate Assaults," 267 *JAMA* (1992): 3043–3047.

¹² Susan B. Sorenson, Rebecca A. Schut, "Nonfatal Gun Use in Intimate Partner Violence: A Systematic Review of the Literature," *Trauma Violence Abuse* 19, No. 4 (2018): 431–442.

¹³ Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Dept of Justice, *Homicide Trends in the United States, 1980–2008* (Nov. 2011): 20, <http://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/htus8008.pdf>.

¹⁴ Susan B. Sorenson, Devan Spear, "New Data on Intimate Partner Violence and Intimate Relationships: Implications for Gun Laws and Federal Data Collection," *Preventive Medicine* 107 (2018): 103–108.

¹⁵ April Zeoli, *et al.*, "Analysis of the Strength of Legal Firearms Restrictions for Perpetrators of Domestic Violence and Their Association with Intimate Partner Homicides," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 187, No. 7 (2018): 1449–1455.

¹⁶ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 Data Brief – Updated Release," (2018): 5, <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/2015data-brief508.pdf>.

¹⁷ Judith M. McFarlane, *et al.*, "Stalking and Intimate Partner Femicide," *Homicide Studies* 3, No. 4 (1999): 300–316.

or threatened use of a gun were committed in the United States.¹⁸ Recent mass shootings at a gay nightclub in Orlando, an historic African-American church in Charleston, and a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, were among the deadliest hate crimes ever committed in the United States, and among the deadliest mass shootings in our nation's history. But federal law does not prohibit perpetrators of hate crimes from possessing firearms if they plead down their crimes to misdemeanors. In the last Congress, Congressman David Cicilline introduced legislation to close this loophole. I urge this Congress to take up and pass such a bill.

One more thing Congress should do is to pass extreme risk legislation of the kind that has been enacted in red states and blue states across the country, especially since the tragic shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. Law enforcement officers often learn that certain individuals in their communities pose a real risk of harming themselves or others—and shouldn't be permitted to possess guns while they're at risk. Family Members, too, often are alarmed that a loved one is engaging in dangerous behavior, and a common thread in many mass shootings is that a family member of the shooter saw these warning signs even before any violence occurred.¹⁹ Extreme risk laws give families and law enforcement a way to intervene when someone demonstrates signs of a serious crisis, but in too many states, families and law enforcement lack this tool.

Extreme risk protection order laws empower families and law enforcement by creating a mechanism to temporarily remove guns and prevent the purchase of new guns if a court finds that someone poses a real risk to themselves or others. These laws now exist in some form in 13 states and save lives while ensuring due process for those who pose serious dangers: researchers have determined that in Connecticut, for every 10 to 20 orders issued, one life was saved.²⁰

Laws authorizing extreme risk protection orders are a critical tool in helping to prevent gun suicides, which represent 60 percent of gun deaths. Guns are used in only five percent of suicide attempts, but are responsible for over 50 percent of all suicide deaths. This is because suicides attempted with guns are fatal 85 percent of the time—far more often than suicides attempted by other means.²¹ Put simply, people are more likely to die by suicide if they have easy access to firearms, and far less likely to die by suicide if they do not. For many individuals, this may mean the difference between life and death: nine out of 10 people who survive a suicide attempt do not die by suicide at a later date.

Congress can and must do more to support State extreme risk laws. These laws have been enacted in states with broad bipartisan support, and in the last two Congresses, there has been bipartisan support for legislation that would provide grants to states that have enacted such legislation or would provide a procedure to seek an extreme risk order from a federal court. I urge this Congress to prioritize similar legislation.

Congress should also Act to address gun violence in the communities where its costs are felt most acutely. Gun homicides disproportionately and unjustly impact young African American and Latino men in urban areas. In 2017, over 65 percent of gun homicide victims were men of color. Those who survive gun violence are likely to experience it again: In studies of urban hospitals, researchers found that up to 45 percent of patients treated for injuries like gunshots were violently reinjured within five years.²² Yet, if implemented properly, violence intervention programs, like focused deterrence, street outreach, and hospital-based interventions, have a proven record of success at reducing this violence.²³ These programs are capable of saving both lives and money, but require reliable, consistent funding to be successful. Currently, programs like these have been implemented in just a handful of cit-

¹⁸Center for American Progress, *Hate and Guns: A Terrifying Combination*, Feb. 2016, <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/23104301/HateCrimes-report.pdf>.

¹⁹See Federal Bureau of Investigation, "A Study of the Pre-Attack Behaviors of Active Shooters in the United States," June 2018, <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/pre-attack-behaviors-of-active-shooters-in-us-2000-2013.pdf/view>.

²⁰Jeffrey W. Swanson *et al.*, "Implementation and Effectiveness of Connecticut's Risk-Based Gun Removal Law: Does it Prevent Suicides?," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 80 (2017): 179–208.

²¹Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, *Confronting the Inevitability Myth: How Data-Driven Gun Policies Save Lives from Suicide*, (2018) 8, 25, https://lawcenter.giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Giffords-Law-Center-Confronting-The-Inevitability-Myth_9.3.18.pdf.

²²J. Purtle *et al.*, "Hospital-based Violence Intervention Programs Save Lives and Money," *J. Trauma Acute Care Surg.* 75, No. 2 (2013): 331–333.

²³See Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, *Healing Communities in Crisis: Life-saving Solutions to the Urban Gun Violence Epidemic* (2016), <https://lawcenter.giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Healing-Communities-in-Crisis.pdf>.

ies and funded through a patchwork of discretionary grant programs. The Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services should dramatically increase funding for these programs. Over the long term, this would pay off in a literal sense: Every year, gun violence costs the American economy \$229 billion. Congress needs to invest in reducing gun violence.

This investment must include a commitment to fully understand the American gun violence epidemic. This requires research. But in 1996, Congress took away dedicated federal funding for gun violence research from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). For more than 20 years, federal investment in gun violence research has remained virtually nonexistent at the nation's primary health protection agency, despite gun deaths increasing for the past three years in a row to levels not seen in decades. Researchers estimate that gun violence receives less than two percent of the funding it would be expected to receive based on the scope and toll of the problem: the Federal Government spends only \$57 in research monies per gun death, while lung disease, cancer, and heart disease receive \$6,556, \$2,996, and \$1,740 per death, respectively.²⁴ Congress must correct this inequity and immediately dedicate the appropriate funding to tackle this public health crisis.

Congress must also do more to address gun trafficking. Notably, no clear and effective federal law prohibits gun trafficking. This blatant omission means that law enforcement agencies rarely focus their efforts on those individuals who put guns into the wrong hands. Closing the background check loophole would begin to address this problem, but the law must directly address gun trafficking. Current law does require federally licensed firearms dealers to provide a report to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) any time a person buys more than one pistol within five consecutive business days, which can indicate a trafficker at work.²⁵ This provision should be expanded to all firearms to provide law enforcement with the opportunity to investigate individuals with potentially dangerous intent.

It is of paramount importance that we give law enforcement all the information they need to keep communities safe. When felons and other prohibited people lie on Form 4473 when buying a gun, not only are they violating federal gun laws, but they may also be planning violent crimes. But current law does not require reporting these so-called "lie and try" attempts to State or local law enforcement. Bipartisan legislation was introduced in both chambers in the 115th Congress to ensure that when prohibited individuals lie on a background check form and try to buy a gun, law enforcement gets a heads up. This prompt notification of law enforcement allows agents to investigate and make sure that a prohibited purchaser doesn't obtain a gun some other way and use it to commit a crime.

Congress should also ensure that ATF is empowered and adequately funded to enforce our nation's gun laws. While most gun dealers operate responsibly, a small number of irresponsible gun dealers supply an overwhelming number of guns used in crimes. Gun dealers need a license from ATF to operate, but ATF lacks the resources and authority to effectively oversee dealers and shut them down when they behave irresponsibly.

ATF is prohibited from conducting more than one unannounced inspection of each dealer per year²⁶—but even without this restriction, ATF would still lack the resources to conduct sufficient inspections. In fact, a 2013 report by the Office of the Inspector General found that 58 percent of dealers had not been inspected within the past five years due, in part, to a lack of resources.²⁷ This problem has not been solved in the years since: In 2017, ATF inspected only about eight percent of federal firearm licensees. Fewer than half of the businesses inspected were found to be in full compliance with federal firearms laws.²⁸

ATF is only authorized to revoke the license of a dealer who has "willfully" violated the law,²⁹ and ATF's authority to temporarily suspend a gun dealer's license is strictly limited. In 2017, ATF took administrative action against 3,548 firearms

²⁴ David E. Stark and Nigam H. Shah, "Funding and Publication of Research on Gun Violence and Other Leading Causes of Death," *JAMA* 317, No. 1 (2017): 84–86.

²⁵ 18 U.S.C. 923(g)(3)(A).

²⁶ 18 U.S.C. 923(g)(1)(B).

²⁷ Office of the Inspector General, Evaluation and Inspections Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Review of ATF's Federal Firearms Licensee Inspection Program (Apr. 2013): ii, <http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/2013/e1305.pdf>.

²⁸ Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives, Fact Sheet—Facts and Figures for Fiscal Year 2017 (May 2018), <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/fact-sheet/fact-sheet-facts-and-figures-fiscal-year-2017>.

²⁹ 18 U.S.C. 923(e).

licensees, but only revoked or denied the renewal of 40 licenses.³⁰ This means that dealers are often allowed to stay in business despite careless or reckless business practices that have allowed criminals access to guns—even after law enforcement learns about those dangerous business practices.

ATF is also specifically prohibited from requiring firearm dealers to conduct inventories of their businesses.³¹ The bureau's lack of authority to ensure that firearms dealers utilize this common business practice means that, absent State or local regulation, dealers are not required to confirm whether firearms have gone missing. Gun stores are also under no legal obligation to use basic security measures to safeguard their inventories. Over 12,000 guns were either lost or stolen from federal firearms licensees in 2017 alone.³²

To keep American communities safe, gun stores whose irresponsible business practices put guns in the hands of criminals should not be allowed to stay in business, and ATF should have the resources and authority necessary to provide proper oversight and revoke licenses from bad actors. In past Congresses, bills have been introduced in both the House and the Senate that would strengthen ATF's authority and reduce these problems.

Just as ATF desperately needs modernization, so too does the gun industry. Gun safety technology includes personalized guns and accessories such as gun safes, trigger locks, and retrofit kits that prevent firearms from being fired by unauthorized users.³³ These innovations have the potential to reduce gun suicides and unintentional shootings, especially among children, as well as gun thefts. Nearly 7,000 children in the United States receive medical treatment for gun-related injuries each year. Personalized guns and accessories let owners' control who can access their gun. The technology that gives owners this control includes biometric security methods, like fingerprint sensors, and radio-frequency identification (RFID) technology, which uses radio waves to identify objects. Personalized accessories, like a fingerprint trigger lock, add an extra layer of security to gun safes or locks. When used with traditional guns, they offer a similar level of security to personalized guns. Congress can encourage the development of these potentially lifesaving technologies by providing research and development tax credits and grants for gun safety technology through supporting the SAFETY Act introduced by Congressman Jim Himes.

In addition to encouraging the gun industry to pursue more responsible and safer business practices, Congress should ensure that irresponsible and dangerous industry actors can be held accountable. But gun dealers, importers, and manufacturers also enjoy an immunity from civil liability that doesn't apply to any other industry. After a series of lawsuits in the 1990s began to hold particularly reckless gun businesses liable, the gun lobby convinced Congress to pass and President Bush to sign the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act in 2005.³⁴ This law gives gun manufacturers and sellers unprecedented nationwide immunity from lawsuits and as a result, the industry can ignore the incentive that civil litigation normally provides for private businesses to avoid causing harm to the public. PLCAA has slammed the courthouse doors shut for the thousands of gun violence victims whose deaths and injuries could have been prevented if the gun industry behaved in a more responsible manner. This Congress has the chance to right this wrong by passing legislation to repeal PLCAA.

While the gun industry should be treated equally in court to all other industries, it is clear that all guns are not created equal. Semi-automatic assault rifles offer a lethal combination: rifle ammunition capable of penetrating bullet-proof vests, coupled with the capability to accept detachable magazines that can hold as many as 100 rounds. This lethality has made semi-automatic assault weapons with large-capacity magazines the weapons of choice for shooters who carry out horrific public attacks. Because shooters with large-capacity magazines can fire at large numbers of people without taking the time to reload, those in the line of fire do not have a chance to escape, law enforcement does not have the chance to intervene, and the number of lives shattered by senseless acts of gun violence increases dramatically.

³⁰ Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives, Fact Sheet - Facts and Figures for Fiscal Year 2017 (May 2018), <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/fact-sheet/fact-sheet-facts-and-figures-fiscal-year-2017>.

³¹ Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act 2013, 113 P.L. 6, 127 Stat. 198 (2013).

³² Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives, Federal Firearms Licensee (FFL) Theft/Loss Report (2018), <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/docs/report/theftdatausa2017pdf/download>.

³³ Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, Securing a Safer Future: How Incentives for Gun Safety Technology Can Stop Shootings (2018), <https://lawcenter.giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Securing-a-Safer-Future-Giffords-Law-Center-6.13.18.pdf>.

³⁴ Pub. L. No. 109-92, 119 Stat. 2095 (2004).

In Tucson, when Gabby was shot, the moment when the shooter stopped firing to reload was the moment when a courageous bystander intervened and stop his rampage.

Congress must do more to restrict access to these deadly devices, which includes ensuring that a teenager cannot easily purchase these exceptionally lethal firearms. Congress set the minimum age to buy a handgun at 21, but allows an 18-year-old to buy an AR-15. That is how the teenage shooter in Parkland, Florida, was able to legally buy a semi-automatic assault rifle and use it to kill 17 people. Since that tragic day, four states have closed this gap and ensured that residents cannot buy an AR-15 or AK-47 before they are old enough to buy a handgun—or even a beer. Elected officials on both sides of the aisle in State legislatures, Congress, and the White House agree we must raise the minimum age to purchase these weapons of war. Bipartisan legislation has already been introduced this Congress to do just that, and I call on Congress to take this commonsense step forward.

Finally, Congress should Act to ban bump stocks. In the terrifying attack in Las Vegas, a shooter used semi-automatic assault rifles modified with bump stocks to shoot more people more quickly. As we are all too aware, attaching a bump stock allows a gun to fire like a machine gun. It was this modification that allowed the shooter to kill 58 people and injure hundreds in a matter of minutes. While a new federal regulation was finalized to ban bump stocks, it was immediately challenged in court, and there is a real risk that it will be tied up in the courts for months or years, leaving these dangerous accessories available to the public. Congress can ensure this threat is dealt with once and for all by acknowledging bipartisan support for banning bump stocks and passing legislation that does so.

As this testimony makes clear, there are countless ways that Congress can, and should, strengthen our gun laws to make our country safer and save lives from gun violence. The final point I want to make is that all of the legislation I have endorsed stands on firm constitutional ground. None of the proposals I've urged Congress to pass violate the Second Amendment.

In *District of Columbia v. Heller*, the landmark case from 2008, the Supreme Court held that the Second amendment protects an individual right of law-abiding citizens, unconnected to militia service, to own guns for self-defense. But in writing for the Court's majority, the late Justice Antonin Scalia also made crystal clear that the right is not absolute or unlimited, and that it does not override basic public safety concerns.³⁵ Heller explicitly said that the Second amendment was not a "right to keep and carry any weapons whatsoever in any manner whatsoever and for whatever purpose," and stated directly that a range of laws are fully consistent with the Second Amendment, including those prohibiting gun possession by felons and the mentally ill, prohibiting guns in sensitive places like schools and government buildings, and placing conditions on gun sales—conditions like background checks. The Court noted that nothing in the Second amendment prohibits government from regulating firearm storage to prevent accidents and made clear that Congress and the states can prohibit civilian possession of dangerous weapons of war like the M16 and other weapons most adapted to military use.

Heller's explicit recognition that a broad range of gun laws are fully consistent with the Second amendment is in keeping with more than 200 years of American history. Since the founding of our country, gun rights have always coexisted with gun regulations, and the need to protect public safety has always gone hand-in-hand with Americans' right to own guns. Indeed, early American gun laws were, in many cases, much more restrictive than 21st century laws, and went much further than any of the actions I have urged Congress to take today. That is why, for more than 200 years before Heller and in the decade that followed that decision, federal and State courts across the country have, again and again, upheld strong gun laws that keep our communities safe.

Let me be clear: there is no constitutional impediment to passing lifesaving gun laws. The Second amendment does not stand in the way of passing stronger gun laws. The only thing standing in the way is the lack of political will. All we need to strengthen our federal gun laws is a Congress with the courage to do so. I urge Congress to find that courage, to show leadership on this life-and-death issue, and to act, now.

Our gun violence crisis is a uniquely American problem. It's a problem that plagues our country in countless different ways and exacts a devastating toll on our communities. But it's a problem with solutions. While one single law will never stop all gun violence, we know strong gun laws save lives. We know that allowing children to grow up safe from violence is not a partisan issue, or at least it shouldn't be.

³⁵ 554 U.S. 570 (2008).

We have seen progress in recent years. That progress must be the expectation, not the exception. So today, I ask all Members of this Committee and Congress as a whole to recommit themselves to making progress and taking action to reduce gun violence in this country. Thank you again, Mr. Chair, and I look forward to taking your questions.

Chair NADLER. I thank all the witnesses for their testimony. We will now proceed under the 5-minute Rule with questions. I will begin by recognizing myself for 5 minutes.

My first question is for Dr. Sakran. Dr. Sakran, we have heard today, and we hear repeatedly during this extended debate, that the real problem or one real problem is mental health, and we have got to deal better with mental health. Now I am sure no one objects to dealing better with mental health problems. My question is the following.

As I noted in my opening statement, gun deaths in most other countries are in the double or single digits—at double or triple digits, 300, 200, 100. In our country, it is 35,000 to 40,000 a year. Is there any evidence, number one, that mental health differences—that our people are 10,000 times more mentally ill on average than people in other industrialized countries, that this provides an explanation and that dealing with mental health alone will go any distance toward solving this problem?

Dr. SAKRAN. Well, thank you, Mr. Chair, for that question.

The disparity that exists between our country and other comparable countries is dramatic, as you suggest. Even when folks factor in for the rates of mental health disease and other issues, we still exceed all those other countries by a significant proportion. So, it is not that we are completely dissimilar.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. I will ask you one other question.

Firearms emergency protective orders empower family and law enforcement who recognize signs of danger to petition for a court order to temporarily remove a person's access to guns if they are likely to use them to harm themselves or others. Briefly, please, what can Congress do to ensure that every American has access to an extreme risk protection order in appropriate circumstances when someone they love is experiencing such a crisis?

Dr. SAKRAN. Yes, I mean, this is such an important issue because when you look at the majority of deaths from firearms, those come from suicide, two-thirds. The reality is when you look at the time that it takes from when the person decides to commit suicide until they actually make that first attempt, 50 percent happen within the first 10 minutes.

So being able to have—

Chair NADLER. So, what can Congress do to ensure—

Dr. SAKRAN. Yes. So being able to have extreme risk protection orders where you can empower family Members and you can empower law enforcement to temporarily actually seize weapons so that they are not a harm to themselves, or others is critical.

Chair NADLER. Thank you.

Ms. Thomas, the NRA and others have argued that enacting universal background checks would penalize law-abiding gun owners and prevent such transfers as a father giving a gun to his son. Yet the plain language of H.R. 8, the Bipartisan Background Checks Act, is narrowly written and clearly allows for this kind of transfer.

Can you walk us briefly through H.R. 8 and how it explicitly protects these kinds of common transfers?

Ms. THOMAS. So, basically, what H.R. 8 does is it takes our existing law, which prohibits this variety of individuals that we deem to be at highest risk from purchasing firearms, now these individuals can buy firearms easily without a background check through an unlicensed sale. This law would mean that all transfers of firearms have to take place through a gun dealer, including a background check, so that that background check would apply to all individuals.

There are exceptions in the law for a number of instances, including self-defense, including loans for hunting and other lawful purposes, and also for transfers within immediate family Members—grandparents, parents, aunts, and uncles.

Chair NADLER. So, within immediate family wouldn't be subject to this?

Ms. THOMAS. Excuse me?

Chair NADLER. Would not be subject to this requirement, immediate family transfer, right?

Ms. THOMAS. Exactly. There is an exception for immediate family Members being—

Chair NADLER. Thank you.

Ms. Thomas, the only Federal agency with jurisdiction to regulate the gun industry has had its hands tied for decades through a combination of restrictive policy writers and a shrinking budget. Can you talk about the challenges facing the ATF and its efforts to effectively regulate the gun industry and what Congress needs to do to ensure better regulatory oversight of this agency?

Ms. THOMAS. Well, I think there is two main issues that you are referring to. One is the funding question and the size of ATF. ATF, the entirety of ATF is the size of the Las Vegas Police Department. So, it is a rather small group of people looking to look after 55,000 gun dealers across the United States. Approximately 8 percent of those gun dealers were able to be even inspected last year, based on the number of agents that ATF had. So better funding is an absolute necessity for Federal law enforcement to be able to properly do their job.

Secondarily, I think you are referring to the Tiahrt restrictions, which—

Chair NADLER. What restrictions?

Ms. THOMAS. The Tiahrt restrictions, which are an appropriations rider, which prevents ATF from aggregating trace data and using that information to properly do their job to find the source of gun trafficking. They are also prevented from modernizing their records, which is helpful to also doing their job properly as law enforcement, as well as encouraging or forcing gun dealers to keep better track of their inventory so they can better understand the source of guns.

Chair NADLER. So, we should repeal those restrictions?

Ms. THOMAS. Absolutely.

Chair NADLER. Thank you very much.

My time has expired, and I recognize the Ranking Member, Mr. Collins, for 5 minutes.

Mr. COLLINS. Thank you, Mr. Chair. That was an interesting line of questions, but it hit on some things that I want to discuss.

Ms. Thomas, since you are up, we will just continue here. On your website, it says that your organization supports national firearms registration that includes name, address, other identifying information about the owner of a firearm, names of the manufacturer, importer, model, type of action, and caliber gauge. You get the picture.

You would also like renewals of registrations annually, including submitting to a background check. Is this correct? This is off your website.

Ms. THOMAS. One of the many policy solutions that we think would go a long way to helping reduce gun violence would be registration.

Mr. COLLINS. Okay. So that is a yes? I am just asking for a yes or no here.

Ms. THOMAS. It is one of the many comprehensive laws that we think needs to be in place if we are going to make progress in reducing gun violence in America.

Mr. COLLINS. Okay. Your organization, as you have already stated, is a very active supporter of H.R. 8. Do you realize that H.R. 8 explicitly states that nothing in this Act or any amendment made by this Act shall be construed to authorize the establishment, directly or indirectly, of a national firearms registry?

In fact, it goes out of its way to say it doesn't create a firearms registry. How do you square this position calling for a registry with a bill explicitly saying it doesn't?

Ms. THOMAS. That is absolutely what H.R. 8 says, and we firmly support everything included in H.R. 8. When you go to our website, our website includes the most comprehensive source of analysis of every gun law in every State and at the Federal level, both in existence and what is possible in a world where we might want to regulate guns very comprehensively, as they do in many other countries.

So, what is on our website refers to all the possible policy options that this body and State governments can consider when they are looking at opportunities to regulate guns and reduce gun violence.

Mr. COLLINS. It is really interesting because it has been reported, even under the previous Department of Justice, the Obama Administration, that there is no way to actually regulate private sales. Let us talk about what we are actually talking about here. This is private sales, okay? Not when you go to a federally licensed firearm dealer. This private sale is going to be regulated.

It needs a registry because you can't keep up with it without a registry. This goes back to my opening statement when I said I am not sure which is crueler—to actually tell people who come to this hearing to say we are fixing your problem and then offer something that it doesn't fix the question here, because it guts itself in the inside of the bill.

You also mention red flag off, which I share a concern here. The interesting thing is on the red flag, H.R. 8 itself, actually prohibits. If I was this morning to get up and I have had a bad night, let us say, and I just said I don't want to live anymore. H.R. 8 actually would criminalize if I went across the street to my neighbor and

said I am having a bad day. I want to make sure I don't have anything to hurt myself or my family and give those guns to my neighbor, that would actually be criminalize.

It is not in the listed exceptions, and I know there is a lot in there. If you read the bill, it is not there. So, again, what we have to do is look at what is honestly being discussed here.

I want to switch to Chief Acevedo. Chief, it is good to see you again. We had a great time in Houston.

You are doing something now, and you brought that up. I think it is interesting. You know my father is in law enforcement, and I think doing something now is a commendable thing if it actually works, if it actually fits. How can you explain, going off this last conversation, how H.R. 8 can operate effectively without a firearms registry, and do you see implementation problems in this?

Chief ACEVEDO. Well, I think that the recommendations that H.R. 8 has in there, the legislation will not solve, will not eliminate gun violence, but it will certainly—I don't think anyone on this panel would say that it wouldn't prevent at least one death. The question I would have, if that one death was your child, mother, or father, is a little inconvenience too much to save that life?

If the answer is no, then there is nothing I can say that is going to change your mind on H.R. 8. I believe that the legislation will save at least one life, and if it is my child who dies, I want him to know and I want God to know that I was here today speaking on that life.

Mr. COLLINS. The interesting thing is, how many, in a law that you passed, that you give people comfort in saying it would actually pass, can they simply say the transfer was made before this without a registry? I think this is an interesting thing to actually explore here. We are going to explore this more when I am sure it is marked up.

I am not questioning by any means the decision or the desire to find a solution to this. This is it. I am still in the military, and I was in Iraq. I had the trauma surgeons in Iraq, and we talked about this experience. This is not an issue.

Let us also look at this holistically because every time we are going to go to fix this, we go to the population that is the legal gun owners buying or selling in the legal format. We go to BOP, the Bureau of Prisons, when they put out their statistics, most criminals do not get their guns from legal sources. They don't.

The question is interesting, curious, because this has come up a little bit. My time is running out. An interesting discussion here is what would be the penalty for robbing a federally licensed dealer? What should it be, and how should it be enforced? Because that is becoming more and more of an issue.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentleman is expired. The witness may answer the question.

Chief ACEVEDO. I believe that this has to be a two-prong approach. We need to take folks that would commit gun violence, steal firearms, we need to have a zero tolerance and a real tough approach on that.

The other thing that we need to look at is if these gun dealers actually have to secure, lock their firearms every night. The number-one targets of gang Members and other criminals is pawn

shops and gun shops where they come in and burglarize those places. So, I think there is a way to do it, and I think the other thing we need to do is we have Congress actually authorize and fund studying, a comprehensive study on this matter, once and for all, and let the experts come up with the policy decisions on an evidence-based, which is really interesting because you are from George Mason University.

Pardon me? Actually, in the evidence-based hall of fame there. So, I really believe that we need to study it. We need to fund it.

Lastly, we need to get ATF some help. They are a great partner, but they truly are because of lack of funding and support of the Congress, operate with one hand behind their backs, one arm behind their backs, and we need to give them both arms.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Ms. Lofgren?

Ms. LOFGREN. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I am so pleased that we are having this hearing today. You know, we have experienced an epidemic of gun violence in this country, deaths from mass shootings, suicides, and for years, we have failed to have any attention, any hearings, any legislation to deal with this epidemic and this tragedy. So, I am pleased that we now have the opportunity to begin work on this public health crisis.

It is our turn to set the agenda and to listen to the American people. So, I appreciate all the witnesses who are here and especially the young people who are in the audience who have spoken up across the country with passion and eloquence, and it is your energy that has helped us be here today.

I do have a question, Ms. Thomas, about a study that was done by Everytown for Gun Safety. They reviewed an online firearms marketplace, and according to their report, they found that almost one in nine prospective gun buyers from this website would not have passed a background check.

They gave one example of a customer in Georgia who was looking to buy a handgun immediately. He said within 24 hours. A public records request showed he had multiple felony convictions, including one for child molestation. He was currently under indictment.

This was someone who shouldn't have a gun. He wouldn't have passed a background check, and yet he was able to obtain it through this unlicensed seller on the Internet. That apparently is happening at a rate of seven to one of the users of this website. People know they can avoid the background check.

What can be done to make sure the people online and looking for guns are not able to avoid a background check?

Ms. THOMAS. That is exactly why we need to pass H.R. 8. Because the reference to private sales doesn't acknowledge that private sales now, unlicensed sellers include online sales, include many sellers at gun shows, and include sales that are happening on the street. H.R. 8 would address this gaping loophole in our background check laws and ensure that all gun sales, including sales online are run through a licensed gun dealer with a background check.

Ms. LOFGREN. Thank you very much.

Dr. Sakran, in the early 1970s, Congress passed legislation spurred by a call to action surrounding a public health crisis, and shortly after Congress acted, President Richard Nixon signed the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act, which banned cigarette ads from airing on television and radio in response to evidence highlighting the causal link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer.

Now gun violence in this country is a public health crisis that claims the lives of 100 Americans every day and injures hundreds more every day, resulting in a Nation of gun violence survivors, with the trauma that that leaves them with. Gun violence in any form can have a lasting impact on individuals not only emotionally, but also physically and financially.

Now do you agree that gun violence is a public health crisis in America, and how could we address the public health implications of gun violence similar as was done with smoking?

Dr. SAKRAN. Yes, thank you for that question. That is such an important question because one of the things that we haven't done when it comes to gun violence is treated it like a disease, treated it like the public health crisis that it is. The tobacco analogy is great, but also you can talk about obesity and so many other things.

As clinicians, we have a responsibility to be talking to our patients about things like safe storage and other aspects. What can we do? One of the biggest gaps, and we heard about this, is the lack of funding. There has been essentially a moratorium on Federal funding when it comes to firearms to do prevention research.

When you talk to folks like Dr. Redfield, who is the CDC Director, he will say I am happy to study it as long as Congress appropriates those dollars. So, I think that is one thing that is so critical.

Ms. LOFGREN. Thank you, and my time is just about up. I would be remiss if I did not thank my colleague from California Mike Thompson for the years that he has spent leading our gun violence task force. He is here in the audience today, and thank you, Mike, for your hard work.

Chair NADLER. Thank you.

Mr. Gohmert?

Mr. GOHMERT. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

We do appreciate all the witnesses being here today, and I am thrilled there is so much interest in this issue. As has been said, we know everybody here wants to stop the gun violence. As a former prosecutor and defense attorney and a judge, felony judge for over a decade, I have tried to remember any case—I can't remember any significant case I had out of the thousands where somebody went through the process of getting a gun legally to inflict the violence.

We all want to stop the gun violence. I haven't heard anybody talk about the breakdown of the home, the breakdown in moral teachings. Those certainly have had an effect. I know one of the most quoted numbers that we often hear, and we have heard again today, is that background checks have stopped over 3 million people from getting guns that shouldn't have them. That is the initial stop.

It is difficult to get through all the data, but it appears the best estimate is somewhere over 96 percent of those 3 million end up

being able to get guns. That is just the initial stop. In fact, a good indication is 2010 numbers, and these are sometimes difficult to get the exact figures. From 2010, we know there were 76,000 denials, and the Obama Administration only found 44 that actually were committing a crime by trying to get a gun illegally.

So, we want to all get to the same place. Here in DC, where they have incredibly strict gun laws, it costs \$125 to privately transfer a gun. People that are law abiding, they will pay the \$125. Criminals will not. It will not stop the transfers among criminals, and that is really where we get.

In Baltimore, we have heard about it is \$250. Heck, in Illinois, apparently it is \$450 to get qualified to have a concealed carry. If H.R. 8 became law and somebody called me or anybody and said I am scared to death, my former spouse or live-in or whomever, has threatened me, and I think he is going to be coming sometime this week, well, the law under H.R. 8 requires before you can do a private transfer, before you could take a gun to try to help them protect themselves, there has to be an imminent threat.

So, for someone to take a gun to somebody they love so they can protect themselves that week, they have committed a crime because you can't have an imminent threat for a week.

So, there are issues here. We all want to get to an end of gun violence, but I would like to ask Doctor—and by the way, for victims, my heart goes out to whether it is a shooting, it is sexual assault. There were so many times that as a judge I had to stoically do my job, but I would go back to my office with a broken heart for the victims.

We know who does the real suffering, and we want to stop it. I am thrilled that we have so many people that care so deeply. Dr. Malcolm, in your information, you indicated 2018, the FBI reported some 26,181,000 requests for background checks to purchase a gun. Has that increase in the number of requests led to an increase in violence?

Dr. MALCOLM. No, it hasn't. In fact, for more than 20 years, the rate of gun homicides has gone down. It has gone up slightly the last couple of years mostly because of the suicides. While the number has gone up, the rate hasn't.

So far, more people are now allowed to conceal carry across the country, get a certificate to have a gun, but that hasn't resulted in what it was supposed to do for those people who are against it. They thought there would be shootouts on OK corral on every corner. People are very responsible. Law-abiding citizens are extremely responsible with that right and are using it to protect themselves.

Mr. GOHMERT. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair. I yield back.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Ms. Jackson Lee?

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank Chair. Let me likewise add my appreciation for all the witnesses, and victims are in all our hearts. We are reminded that you are seeking action. Let me thank March for Our Lives and the Members who have encountered these horrific tragedies.

I also want to acknowledge Chair Thompson for the years of work. I have had the privilege of working with him, and that we have come to this point is very much attributable to his persistence. I thank him.

I thank Ms. Kelly as well. Having visited her district, Ms. Latiker, as you well know, I have been at the memorial, and I will never forget. We owe you a great deal of gratitude. I thank you so very much.

Ms. Thomas, I might not get to ask you a question, but I do want to indicate that the Giffords Center has been the mainstay of data collection. So, I want to remind everyone the numbers that we have cited have come from this great work. A hundred Americans dying every day. So that means as we sit here today, there are Americans being killed by guns.

I believe your statistics of 3 million people effectively being stopped through gun checks, and the universal background check bill is a bill of common sense. That is all we have asked for.

I want to ask, Professor Thomas, let me do this. In the Second amendment the language, in particular, allow me just to read from the Constitution. It indicates "a well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

A simple process of background check—and I don't have a lot of time. Professor Malcolm, I am going to direct the question to you. What in the Second amendment is impacted through a simple, straightforward background check? How are you stopped from getting a gun? Would you be stopped from getting a gun through a background check?

Dr. MALCOLM. I would not be stopped, but the people who are likely to misuse a gun would not go through a background check. The background check is really affecting those people who are law-abiding citizens, for the most part, and not those people on the street.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. The law-abiding citizens would not be blocked from getting a gun through a background check. Is that correct?

Dr. MALCOLM. If you make the background check cumbersome enough, like this new bill will, then I think it will.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. You have not answered the question. The question is what in the Second amendment is infringed upon by a background check? We are not asking about the process and cumbersome. That has to be tested. This is a bill that indicates universal background check.

Dr. MALCOLM. The process does interfere with people being able to get it. We have heard that there are—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. We have no data to prove that. So, I think you are not connecting it. I would like to hear you say just the existence of a universal background check, not process, would violate the Second Amendment. Is that a yes, or no?

Dr. MALCOLM. A background check is a process, really. You can make it cumbersome.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Does it violate the Second Amendment?

Dr. MALCOLM. You can make—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Does it stop people from getting guns? It is not the point of who will not go through the process. Will it stop people from getting guns that you say are law-abiding citizens?

Dr. MALCOLM. One of the Republican Members of your Committee has pointed out that there are expenses in the States that have universal background checks—

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I don't think you are actually answering the question.

Dr. MALCOLM. —that poor people cannot afford. So, it does.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Let me go to Chief Acevedo. Thank you very much, Professor. I don't think you are answering the question. It does not infringe upon the Second Amendment.

Chief Acevedo and Dr. Sakran, two questions, and I really want to question all the witnesses, but let me be very clear. Chief Acevedo, you are on the streets with your law enforcement. You believe in relational policing. How much guns impacting your officers, but also, as you walk the beat, impacting neighborhoods, mothers, fathers, and children? That is my question to you.

I just want to get the question for Dr. Sakran. Dr. Sakran, years ago I introduced a bill where the chief trauma surgeon from Texas Children's Hospital said at that time it cost them \$67,000 to treat a gun victim, a child. That was 20 years plus ago.

Would you be able to answer monetarily, just maybe not specifically, but the depth of cost in human tragedy and dollars that we lose by not responding to gun violence in America?

Chief, would you answer the question, please? I ask the indulgence of the chair. Yes, Chief?

Chief ACEVEDO. Thank you for the question.

The gun violence impacts all big cities across the country and suburban America as well. If you think about domestic violence. In the City of Houston last year, we had, tragically, 279 homicides. It went up by 10. The driver, the greatest driver, 38 percent increase in domestic violence homicides, domestic violence murders where we don't have enough tools across our country for police officers in those situations to temporarily remove firearms to keep women safe and families safe and children safe.

So, it is a significant problem. I think all you must turn on your television, listen to the radio and scanners, and go to emergency rooms, and you will see that it is a significant problem.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Dr. Sakran?

Dr. SAKRAN. Yes, thank you so much for that question because—

Chair NADLER. The time of the Member has expired. The witness is permitted to answer after the time of the Member has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Chair NADLER. You are welcome. Chief Acevedo spoke after the time had expired.

Our next witness, questioner is Mr. Gaetz. Oh, before Mr. Gaetz, I want to announce that the Committee will recess at 12:30 p.m. for one half hour for lunch. We will resume at 1:00 p.m., and we will continue until there will be votes, which we expect on the floor sometime after 2:00 p.m. If necessary, we will reconvene right after those votes.

Mr. Gaetz?

Mr. GAETZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Ronald da Silva was standing with a friend in his driveway when he was shot and killed by an illegal alien who had been previously deported. Agnes Gibboney, who was da Silva's mother, said the guy who killed my son has a determinate sentence in prison, but I have a lifetime sentence of grief and pain.

Apolinar Altamirano is an illegal alien from Mexico. He murdered Grant Ronnebeck with a gun on January 22, 2015, in Mesa, Arizona. ICE was working to determine whether he should be deported when he had the opportunity to commit this crime.

Gustavo Garcia, a 36-year-old illegal alien, shot and killed a 51-year-old Rocky Paul Jones on December 17th at a gas station. Garcia had previously been deported by ICE. Before his deportation, he had a criminal record going back all the way back to 2002, where he had illegally possessed a firearm. In addition to murdering Jones, Garcia also shot a farm worker in the chest who was picking fruit, committed armed robbery, and shot and attempted to kill a woman after he followed her to a Motel 6.

On January 2, 2019, an illegal alien shot and murdered California officer Ronil Singh, a story that captivated the attention of the country. On November 13, 2018, an illegal alien shot and killed three people in Missouri after he was released on domestic violence charges. This was Luis Perez, age 23, was the recipient of the DACA program in 2012 and 2014.

So, time and again, Mr. Chair, we see circumstances where people illegally come into the possession of firearms. Each of these illegal aliens did not acquire these guns lawfully. Matter of fact, title 18 of the Federal Code says that it is always unlawful for an illegal alien to have a firearm.

So, while I appreciate folks from my State of Florida coming and sharing their advice and their counsel to the Judiciary Committee, I think that the stories of other people who have been impacted by gun violence are relevant to our discourse because they speak to the fact that there are dangerous people who do illegal things who will have access to firearms. The question is what will ensure that that does not cause the massive amount of violence that we have seen in the country?

So, I am encouraged by elements of legislation passed in my home State of Florida that focus on red flag circumstances, mental health, that look at people who go through our jails and do everything we can to ensure that when their time in incarceration is concluded, they don't go back to arsenals where they can do harm to themselves or others.

As I review H.R. 8, it seems to me that there is nothing in the bill that would have stopped many of the instances that we have been discussed. Moreover, if we are really looking for solutions, maybe we ought to allow States to do what Florida did and analyze the impacts on our mental health system, recognizing that those systems are different across the 50 States.

So, I hope that we will not adopt this federalization of deprivation of constitutional rights. I hope that we will allow our States to continue to innovate and find ways to keep communities safer. As we hear the stories and circumstances for those here, I hope we do not forget the pain and anguish and sense of loss felt by those

all over the country who have been the victims of violence at the hands of illegal aliens.

H.R. 8 would not have stopped many of the circumstances I raised, but a wall, a barrier on the southern border may have, and that is what we are fighting for.

[Disturbance in the hearing room.]

Chair NADLER. The gentleman will suspend.

Everyone here is here as a guest of the committee, and no matter what you think of what any member of the Committee may say, or any witness, for that matter, you must not comment or otherwise demonstrate.

Mr. GAETZ. Mr. Chair, may I have my time restored?

Chair NADLER. Your time will be restored.

Mr. GAETZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Appreciate that.

So, again, I think that was a rather instructive moment for the committee, Mr. Chair, because as we gather here in Washington, there are a divergent series of views and inputs and thoughts. My concern is that by adopting H.R. 8, we actually stifle the innovation that could lead to better public safety outcomes if we allowed States and local communities to deal with the challenges my great State of Florida has.

So, again, I hope that we will deal with all the drivers of violence. The greatest driver of violence in the circumstances that I indicated was not the firearm. It was the fact that we have an immigration system that allows people to come here violently. We engage—

[Disturbance in the hearing room.]

Chair NADLER. There will be no comments or demonstrations, please.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Chair, point of order.

Chair NADLER. Who is that? The gentleman from Rhode Island?

Mr. CICILLINE. Is there any Committee Rule or point of parliamentary inquiry? Is there any Committee Rule that prevents a Member of Congress from reciting false statements in a Committee hearing that are unsupported by the evidence?

[Applause.]

Mr. CICILLINE. That are unsupported by the evidence or are Members of Congress entitled to just make things up in support of specious arguments. It is a parliamentary inquiry.

Chair NADLER. I am not aware—off the top of my head, since I haven't researched this question, I am not aware of any such rule. I would also observe that the factuality of any statement is always subject to contest by someone who disagrees with it. At a hearing such as this, if a Member makes a statement that is not borne out by the facts, it is the prerogative of another Member, when his turn comes, to comment on that or to point out his opinion or her opinion as to its truth or falsity.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Mr. GAETZ. Mr. Chair, I believe I still control the time. Mr. Chair?

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chair?

Chair NADLER. One moment. It is never permissible for Members of the audience to comment or vociferously to object. This is a hearing for Members of Congress and for the witnesses. Everyone else

is here as an observer and must not participate in any way, other than by observing.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chair?

Chair NADLER. The gentleman from—

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chair, I make a point of order against the gentleman from Rhode—

Chair NADLER. You make what?

Mr. COLLINS. I make a point of order that the gentleman's words were unparliamentary because they implied the lying or the falsehood of a Member. Now, if he wants to go there, we will take the words down.

Chair NADLER. I would Rule the gentleman's point of order not well taken because it was not an accusation.

Mr. COLLINS. Didn't he say—

Chair NADLER. Excuse me. Let me finish. It was not an accusation of falsity by another Member. There was simply an inquiry as to rules regarding that subject.

Mr. COLLINS. Did he not make the statement that he was asking if the Member was making—or how to stop a Member from false statements? Did he, or did he not?

Chair NADLER. My recollection—we could have it read back, but I don't think that is necessary—is that he simply asked about the rules that we use when a Member, if a Member makes a false statement, which is an inquiry. It is not a direct accusation that a Member made a false statement.

Mr. COLLINS. Well, Mr. Chair, I would just recommend that that line got so buckled up that there was no way to see if it were crossed.

Chair NADLER. I am sorry. I didn't understand—

Mr. COLLINS. That he got so close to that line that he couldn't tell if he was over it or not. So, I think we need to continue to watch. We will let the gentleman continue, but this needs to happen in an orderly way.

We have differences of opinion. Those differences of opinion need to be expressed. When those differences are messed up, we need to stay in a parliamentary procedure. This is not going to result in just complete yelling and accusing of each other. That is what your time is for.

Chair NADLER. Well, the yelling is out of—

Mr. COLLINS. He has got 5 minutes coming up. He can say whatever he wants to say.

Chair NADLER. The yelling is out of order, obviously, yelling by Members of the audience. The inquiry by a Member did not violate the rules because it was not a direct accusation against another Member.

How much time does the Member have left?

Mr. COLLINS. I do have one secondary parliamentary question.

Chair NADLER. The gentleman will State his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. COLLINS. As has been stated in the past, Mr. Chair, when Members of the audience disrupt this, they are typically escorted out. Is that going to be the position of this chair, or are we going to continue to allow it?

Chair NADLER. Clause (2)(k)(4) of Rule XI provides that “The chair may punish breaches of order and decorum by censure and exclusion from the hearings. This Rule has been construed to afford the chair the discretion to enforce decorum in the Committee room, including to remove disruptive Members of the public.”

My preference is not to invoke this response at this time, but please consider this a warning.

Mr. COLLINS. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Mr. GAETZ. Mr. Chair, I have a point of parliamentary inquiry.

Chair NADLER. The gentleman will State his point of parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GAETZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Mr. Chair, is there a process in the Committee whereby if the very same people are repeatedly interrupting the time of the Members, that those people will be asked to depart the committee, or is there—

[Disturbance in the hearing room.]

Chair NADLER. I will—excuse me. If the gentleman repeats that or any other comment, I will direct to be removed. I will direct to be removed if he repeats it.

Mr. GAETZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I would observe that is three interruptions of my time by the same individual and that the chair is not utilizing his discretion to remove that individual. I believe I have about a minute of time remaining, and I wanted to take the time—

Mr. DEUTCH. Will the gentleman yield for a—will my friend yield for a question?

Mr. GAETZ. I typically do, my friend from Florida. Since my time has been so interrupted by Members of the other side, perhaps you could have one of your colleagues yield time to you.

Mr. Chair, may I inquire as to the time I have remaining because I believe it was about a minute and 12 seconds.

Chair NADLER. The gentleman has 1 minute, and 37 seconds left.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. You need to clear the clock.

Mr. GAETZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I appreciate that.

Chair NADLER. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. GAETZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

We all are entitled to our own opinions and views on how to address gun violence, but I don’t believe that we are entitled to our own facts. While I have great personal affection for the gentleman from Rhode Island, it is deeply troubling to me and hurtful that as I share the experiences of people who have lost sons and daughters, who have lost friends and neighbors at the hands of violent illegal aliens who have illegally acquired firearms, then my colleague would indicate that is somehow lying or making misrepresentations to the committee.

So, if my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have solutions for gun violence or to secure our border and to make sure that illegal aliens don’t come into possession of firearms, I am eager to hear those. In your debate with me, please don’t demean or diminish the pain and suffering, the humanitarian consequences, the violence, the bloodshed that has occurred because we allow illegal aliens to come into our country, receive the veils of protection, benefit from policies of catch and release that my friends on the other

side of the aisle have supported, and then come here and Act like that is the great challenge of our day to deal with gun violence.

If we really cared about safer streets, we would build a wall and secure the border, and we would do it post haste.

I thank Chair for his indulgence, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chair?

Chair NADLER. The gentlelady will State her parliamentary inquiry.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I will direct it not at any particular Member. I do think in this Committee that we should—the parliamentary inquiry is the caution of making sure that we do not have broad labels of immigrants, African Americans, women, as we debate. We have a right to a disagreement but is there any rules that confine us to not labeling individuals, such as the term “illegal immigrants,” which is a vast term of individuals, including women and children.

Chair NADLER. I don't think that is a proper parliamentary inquiry.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank Chair. I will pursue it in another manner.

Thank you.

Chair NADLER. Thank you.

The next witness is—no, no. Mr. Cohen?

Mr. COHEN. Thank you, sir. Quite a while to get to me. Exciting moments here.

Ms. Thomas, let me ask you a few questions. You are familiar with most of the mass killings in this country of recent history?

Ms. THOMAS. A fair number, yes.

Mr. COHEN. Of the ones that are some noted here. I might be missing some. At Thousand Oaks, there were 12 people killed. There were 17 at Parkland; 25 in Sutherland Springs, Texas; Mandalay Bay, 58; Orlando, 49; San Bernardino, Charleston, Aurora, Sandy Hook, and Virginia Tech.

How many of those people came across our southern border and they committed those crimes?

Ms. THOMAS. To my knowledge, none of those.

Mr. COHEN. None of those people were illegal aliens?

Ms. THOMAS. Not to my knowledge, no.

Mr. COHEN. I got the impression. I got confused. I thought illegal aliens, when they got in, they went straight to a taco shop, got a gun, and started killing people. That doesn't happen?

Ms. THOMAS. Not that I am aware of.

Mr. COHEN. What do you think is the best way to help reduce gun violence in this country?

Ms. THOMAS. I think that H.R. 8 is absolutely the right first step to closing this gaping loophole in background checks. I think once H.R. 8 is passed, there is a number of steps that this Congress can take to adequately address and reduce gun violence in America. We know for sure that States that have comprehensive regulation of guns have far lower rates of gun violence than States that have very lax gun regulations.

We can look at a wide range. Today, we have been talking about regulation through extreme risk protective orders. We have been

talking about age limits on guns. We are talking about very dangerous lethal weapons. We are talking about proper funding of research and CDC. I can go on. My testimony includes a wide range of possible angles that this Congress can consider to reduce gun violence in this country, almost all of which have research showing that positive impact.

Mr. COHEN. You are familiar with Everytown for Gun Safety that grew out of the shootings and up East?

Ms. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. They made this their top priority, that we should be passing H.R. 8. This legislation will require background checks on all gun sales. Do background checks on gun sales also relate to less domestic shootings and domestic disturbances?

Ms. THOMAS. Yes, absolutely. H.R. 8 would not only keep guns out of the hands of individuals who shouldn't have them that are already prohibited, including domestic abusers, it also creates the appropriate floor so that if we expand categories of domestic violence, as was suggested by other witnesses, that we can continue to reduce domestic violence incidents and force all gun sales to include a background check to keep those guns out of those dangerous hands of domestic abusers.

Mr. COHEN. In Memphis, Tennessee, there were 176 deaths because of homicide in 2018. Two hundred and—90 percent of those were result of gunfire. Do you think the people of Memphis could expect a reduction in that rate if we pass H.R. 8?

Ms. THOMAS. It is hard to say that one law alone is going to have a specific impact in one place. We know that starting with closing this loophole and passing universal background checks and then looking to the specific opportunities to expand upon that absolutely will reduce gun violence.

I think urban centers have particular issues that we can look at. We have been looking very closely at intervention and prevention strategies that particularly address the problems of urban centers and are shown to be incredibly effective, reducing gun violence of up to 70 percent. So, I think looking at the specific issues that face a city is a very important way to proceed, but this is the right way to start.

Mr. COHEN. Charleston, South Carolina, had the horrific church shooting. Did the perpetrator of that mayhem and murders, did that person pass a proper background check, do you know?

Ms. THOMAS. No, he did not. There was something that happened in that case called the default proceed, where individuals who don't have the background check completed within 3 days, the dealer has the opportunity to transfer that weapon even without completion of the background check. In this instance, that individual would not and should not have passed a background check.

Mr. COHEN. So, indeed, if H.R. 8 were the law, there is a goodly chance or a chance that an individual would not have gotten a gun, and those church people would still be alive?

Ms. THOMAS. That is the hope. We also need to look at closing that default proceeds loophole and expanding the time available to complete background checks in instances where it is unclear whether that person should be entitled to have a gun.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you for your work. Thank you for all the people that have testified.

Mr. Thompson, it is just astonishing to me that background checks is something I think over 90-some odd percent of the public is supportive, that almost every organization concerned about this thinks it will help. We need to reduce this and not have more moments of silence and deep thoughts and prayers. We have had enough of that. We need action.

Thank you, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chair NADLER. I thank the gentleman.

I now yield 5 minutes to Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I just want to say on this side, thank you to all the witnesses, all of you. It takes real courage and courage of conviction to do what you are doing here today. There is a lot of passion in the room, and it is understandable. We get that.

I think it is important for us to say here that every single person in this room wants to end the tragedy of gun violence in our country. We just have policy differences on what is the best means to achieve that end, and that is what this is. So, it is a healthy debate, and that is what our constitutional republic is founded upon is healthy debate. So, I am glad you respect that.

Look, we just think that this particular bill is not an effective step to achieving that desired end. That is what it boils down to. In fact, we think it is going to be counterproductive. We are trying to explain that in some of our questions, and we will do it during the markup as well.

My questions are for Professor Malcolm. Thanks for being here.

At first, I have just a couple of questions regarding the foundational principles of the Second amendment because I am afraid we are losing some of that. Then, second, I want to ask you about effective application of the Second Amendment. Let me get to the foundational principles.

It is important for us to note what the Second amendment is based upon, and you have written extensively about the Second amendment and about how it is based upon and protects our pre-existing right. The Second amendment doesn't say, for example, that people shall be permitted to be armed for their defense. It doesn't confer rights. The Second amendment presupposes the right and clarifies that it shall not be infringed.

The question is why is that? Well, you have written that Sir William Blackstone, for example, noted that gun rights are rooted in the natural right, the natural right of resistance and self-preservation. Indeed, your scholarship notes the right of self-defense was generally understood in the 18th century by everyone as the first law of nature. Of course, our Founders listed it first in the Declaration of Independence's triumvirate of our inalienable rights.

So, the question is Professor, when you discuss this with your constitutional law students or when you talk to lay people about it, how do you convey and emphasize the importance of the underlying principle of the Second Amendment?

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes, the underlying principle was that this was your most fundamental right, your right to protect yourself. It is something that the law could not take away. Blackstone, who was

the great jurist that our Founders were so influenced by, said that no country could take away, no government could take away the right to self-defense.

It is not much comfort for the law to come later and pick up the pieces, and that is what has happened in a lot of the cases that we have heard about. I mean, there are people that deserve to have some means of protecting themselves, and that really is the core of the Second Amendment. That it is the right to your individual self-defense.

As I mentioned before that the police, however much they might want to protect us, can't possibly protect everybody. So, the best way for anyone who is in danger to be able to protect themselves is through some means of protecting themselves, having a weapon. I think that is what the Second amendment was all about and what the Founders understood it to be and what still needs to have happen.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. It is fundamental, and it is foundational. Indeed, when we apply that right, it can be very effective. In your written testimony, you noted that there has been an overall decline in firearm homicide since 1991, which correlates with the the current number of 39 States that have granted concealed carry permits, for example, on a shall issue basis. My home State of Louisiana is one, and I have one of those.

Do you believe that when States allow trusted, law-abiding citizens to exercise their constitutional rights through "shall issue" provisions and others like it that gun violence can, indeed, be prevented?

Dr. MALCOLM. Well, it certainly has worked in those States. There has been more gun violence because more people have guns. They have been able to protect themselves, and people who want to harm someone else don't know who is armed and who isn't. So, it really is a help that they are in the dark about it. It is a help that some people are prepared to protect themselves. It has not resulted in more gun violence.

In fact, we have heard today that some of the increase in homicides from guns has been from suicide. So, it not law-abiding citizens who need to protect themselves that are causing any problem. It is people who are getting illegal guns, and that seems to be what the real issue is.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Last question because I am running out of time. The Heller court made clear that this is an individual right and that this right is fundamental and sacrosanct. Do you believe Heller provides us with enough protection against ill-conceived legislation that may be well intended, but that may run afoul in that Second amendment right.

Dr. MALCOLM. Well, Heller really does. But there are some of the lower courts have really not been respecting Heller and have been really ignoring what the Supreme Court was very explicit about. So, I am really glad now that the Supreme Court seems to be willing to take a case on cert and get back into it because, otherwise, the Second amendment just becomes what Justice Thomas called a "constitutional orphan."

We have this Second amendment right. It is important for all. You can't just obliterate and ignore the Supreme Court without doing damage generally to all of our rights.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. I am out of time. I yield back. Thank you.

Thank you all.

Ms. SCANLON. [Presiding] We will recognize the gentleman from Georgia next.

Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I would like to begin by thanking all the panelists who are here today. To Aalayah and the men and women in the room who have been personally touched by gun violence, I thank you for your bravery. Bearing witness to senseless acts of violence, you are helping to make our world a safer place. Thank you.

The failure of Congress to pass universal background check legislation has eroded our sense of safety on our streets, in our schools, and even in our places of worship. Because background checks are not requested for sales by unlicensed gun dealers, guns end up in the hands of dangerous people who are barred by law from owning a gun.

In 2018, on the online site *armslist.com*, there were 97 online posts by unlicensed firearms dealers from Gwinnett County, Georgia, which is part of my district. They were advertising guns for sale. That represents potentially at least 97 guns being sold to 97 violent criminals or certified mentally ill individuals, those guns ending up in other locations throughout the country.

Mr. Chair, we can do better than this—or Madam Chair, we can do better than this. I want to thank you for making—I want to thank Chair Nadler for making gun violence a subject of his very first Committee meeting as chair, thus sending the message to the people of America that we are serious about common-sense gun reform.

Now, I am going to yield the balance of my time to a woman who has been personally aggrieved by the destructive effects of the gun violence epidemic that plagues America. I yield the balance of my time to my friend and colleague and original cosponsor of H.R. 8, Congresswoman Lucy McBath.

I do want to recognize the efforts of the sponsor of H.R. 8, Mike Thompson, who sat through this hearing. Thank you for being here. Also, Congresswoman Robin Kelly, who is a cosponsor, original cosponsor on H.R. 8. Thank you both for being here.

Congresswoman McBath, I yield my time to you.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you so much, Congressman Johnson and Chair Nadler and to all the witnesses that are here today.

Many of you know, gun violence is an issue that is deeply personal for me. In 2010—excuse me, 2012, my son Jordan Davis was shot and killed by a man who opened fire on a car of unarmed teenagers at a gas station in Jacksonville, Florida, and Jordan was only 17 years old. Jordan would be turning 24 this week, February 16th.

After my son's death, I dedicated my life to advocating for common-sense gun safety solutions, but it was the shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, that year that finally motivated me to run for Congress. Yesterday, I brought

Jeff and Margaret Binkley to the State of the Union as my guests. Just 3 months ago, the Binkleys experienced a tragedy that no parent should ever have to endure.

Their daughter, Maura Binkley, was killed when a man entered a yoga studio in Tallahassee, Florida, and shot six people, killing two, before taking his own life. Maura had a bright future ahead of her and was eager to do good work in the world. Her dreams were cut short by a hateful man with a firearm, and she was only 21.

Far too many families experience tragedies like ours every single day. The pain of losing a child to gun violence never ends, and it is in that pain that drives me to do this work to prevent gun violence. These stories are vitally important as we work to pass common-sense safety legislation to keep families like ours from experiencing the horror and heartbreak brought on by gun violence.

The Binkleys believe that a policy solution could prevent killings like the death of their daughter. They have become advocates for extreme risk laws called—often called red flag laws. That these laws can prevent both murders and suicides by temporarily removing weapons from those who are a danger to themselves and to others.

Our community and our Nation cannot wait any longer for common-sense gun safety solutions like extreme risk laws and universal background checks. I look forward to discussing this issue further during my time for questions.

Thank you.

Ms. SCANLON. The chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. BIGGS. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Thank all the panelists for being here today and the Members of the audience for being here.

My question is for Savannah. Savannah, I am sorry for the violence that you experienced in your life, and I want to just ask a couple of questions regarding your experience with the guns. You indicated in your testimony that you were an owner of guns. When did you first get a gun, and what did you do to learn how to use it, et cetera?

Ms. LINDQUIST. Yes. So, my grandfather, I called him Pop Pop, he was always really into like firearms, target training, all that kind of stuff. So, it is something I grew up around, and I always thought it was really interesting. When I was probably like 8 or 9, I went to him and was like, "I want to do this." He said, okay, well, you are a child. So, you have to prove that you are responsible enough for this.

He gave me—you have probably purchased a handgun. It comes with an instruction manual, basically. He made me read that cover to cover, and he quizzed me on it. It was only after that, he let me even pick up a BB gun.

Then, after safety training, I had to be able to take it apart, put it back together, all that kind of stuff. That is when he said okay, now I will teach you how to shoot a handgun at our local range. So, hit is something, that was probably when I was 10, and I am 24 now. So, it has been about 14 years.

Mr. BIGGS. So, before you went away to college, you had been using and been trained in using a gun for many years?

Ms. LINDQUIST. Yes, sir.

Mr. BIGGS. When you went to college, you left home?

Ms. LINDQUIST. I did. I moved to Philadelphia from Norfolk, Virginia.

Mr. BIGGS. Okay. Did you take any guns with you?

Ms. LINDQUIST. I did not. It would have been illegal for me to have it on my college campus. Even transporting it could have been an issue because I couldn't obviously drive it through Maryland, given their firearm laws. But no, I didn't want to break the law. So, I left it at home.

Mr. BIGGS. So, you made a statement in your written testimony that you said, "I obeyed the law as a responsible gun owner, and it ended with me being raped. I am just one of countless examples of gun control benefitting assailants and making victims sitting ducks."

I wonder if you would expand on that and tell us what you mean by that?

Ms. LINDQUIST. Sure. So, in my situation personally, I was left defenseless. There was nothing I could have done. He snuck up behind me, and he attacked me, I am just a young woman, and at the time I weighed 100 pounds less than I do now. So, there was no fighting him off.

So, that is what I mean in terms of my situation, but there are a lot of examples. Like one of the top ones that comes to my mind is Nikki Goesser, who there was a law at the time where you couldn't bring a firearm into a restaurant, and so she, as a law-abiding citizen, left it in the car, and her husband was shot and murdered in the restaurant, and she couldn't defend him.

Mr. BIGGS. Well, thank you for being here today, and I appreciate your willingness to come out and testify on a very emotional issue, and I am grateful for that.

Ms. LINDQUIST. I appreciate that. Thank you.

Mr. BIGGS. I am going to Dr. Malcolm.

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes?

Mr. BIGGS. In conjunction with the testimony we just heard, in your written testimony, you said the FBI does not record defensive uses of guns?

Dr. MALCOLM. That is right.

Mr. BIGGS. Tell me why that is so.

Dr. MALCOLM. I am not sure why they don't do it. I think that even if they did record it, there are probably defensive uses of guns that are not reported to them because people are uncertain whether they would be somehow charged or not. But they don't record it. So, the only way we have a sense of the defensive uses of guns is through some surveys and sort of anecdotal evidence.

Mr. BIGGS. So, the national surveys that you cited—well, you don't cite them, you refer to, I should say.

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes.

Mr. BIGGS. You indicate what I would call a large range between 700,000 to 3.6 million defensive uses annually. Can you elaborate on that, please?

Dr. MALCOLM. As I say, it is very difficult to get these kinds of statistics. When the government tries to do that, people are even more cautious about not saying anything for fear that that they

will in some way, run afoul of the law. Those defensive uses of guns are much, much greater than the number of people who are actually shot. Most of the people who defend themselves with guns, as I said, don't have to use it in any way. They just have to show they have it.

There was an instance. You are going to run out of time.

Mr. BIGGS. Yes. So let me just—before you get there, let me ask this last question. You said since the high gun homicide deaths in 1991, there has been a steep decline.

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes.

Mr. BIGGS. Firearm homicides dropped by nearly half, but there is a slight uptick in the last couple of years. Expand, explain on that. My time is done. If she may answer the question?

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes. It has really been extraordinary as there was a peak in gun homicides in 1991 and over the last 20 years, it had gone down by nearly half, despite the fact that there were more people who were able to have and carry guns in their States, as more and more States began to have these special “shall issue” concealed carry weapons.

So, I think it shows that, first of all, the guns are not causing the violence and, in fact, are probably helping to stop it and also allowing people to exercise their right to protect themselves. People are very—ordinary people are very responsible. It is not the people who are likely to commit a crime who are going to go through all these background checks or go through whatever process their State has.

Ms. SCANLON. The gentleman's time has expired. Thank you.

The chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. DEUTCH. I thank the chairwoman. I thank our witnesses for being here. I thank Robin Kelly for your leadership.

I want to start this morning by recognizing my constituents from Parkland who are in the hearing room today. Tony and Jennifer Montalto, Gina's parents; April Schentrup and Robert Schentrup, Carmen's mother and brother; Debbie Hixon, Chris Hixon's wife; Tom and Gina Hoyer, Luke Hoyer's parents; Mitch Dworet, Nicholas Dworet's father; Manual Oliver, father of Joaquin; and Fred Guttenberg, Jaime's father.

I also want to recognize the families of Alyssa Alhadeff, Scott Beigel, Martin Duque, Aaron Feis, Cara Loughran, Alaina Petty, Meadow Pollack, Helena Ramsay, Alex Schachter, and Peter Wang. They are the surviving families of the 14 students and 3 adults who were killed at Marjory Stoneman Douglas nearly 1 year ago on February 14, 2018. Their pain and their loss are real, and it is immeasurable because their loved ones were gunned down, and it does not matter where that shooter was born.

I want to recognize them today because in the year since that awful day, they have done everything that they can to make American communities safer from gun violence. Each family in its own way. To improve law enforcement response to warning signs, to get weapons of war off our streets, to expand access to mental health, to develop safer schools, demand background checks on all gun purchases.

Stand up to gun corporations that control State legislatures and Washington to protect their profits and not protect American lives.

The Parkland families have done all of this in response to their grief. They never signed up for this. They would do anything to change this.

They don't owe us their service and advocacy. They don't owe us anything. Congress failed them. We didn't do our job. Today, the House Judiciary Committee is finally holding a hearing on gun violence, a crisis that kills 40,000 Americans every year. What I want to ask my Republican colleagues, is it still too soon? Is it too soon to talk about taking action to stop gun violence? Because that is what I heard after Marjory Stoneman Douglas, but it was already too late.

As we start this important work, Madam Chair, I ask unanimous consent to enter statements into the record from Fred Guttenberg; Tony Montalto, and Stand with Parkland; Patricia Oliver and Change the Ref and March for Our Lives.

Ms. SCANLON. Without objection, so entered.

[The information follows:]

MR. DEUTCH FOR THE RECORD

February 6, 2019

The Honorable Jerrold Nadler
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Doug Collins
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Nadler and Ranking Member Collins,

My name is Fred Guttenberg and I am the father of Jaime Guttenberg who was 14 and Jesse Guttenberg who is 17. Unfortunately, Jaime is dead. She was murdered in her Parkland, Florida High School on February 14, 2018 along with 16 other innocent children and adults.

I sent both of my kids to school that day as I would any other day and only one of them came home.

Towards the end of the day, I received the phone call that will be with me for the rest of my life. My son called to say there was an active shooter at the school and he was running. He was panicking as he heard the bullets in the 1200 building where my daughter was murdered. He heard the bullets that killed his sister. Thankfully, he made it to safety.

My wife and I tried for hours to find our daughter. At about 6pm, one of my best friends, who is a Coral Springs SWAT officer, was on the scene. He loved my daughter like she was part of his family. He found my daughter and called me as I was driving back from the hospital on my search for her.

My wife and I were in two cars, she was in front of me. She could see in her rearview mirror that something was wrong. She called wanting to know what was happening. I did not want to tell her while we were driving. She demanded and so we pulled over to the side of the highway. It was on the side of the highway that I had to tell my wife that our daughter was murdered at school. She was either the last or second-to-last of the victims to get shot in the school.

She was running and made it to the stairwell on the other side of the hallway. One more second and she makes it. Unfortunately, BOOM a single shot to her side—her spinal cord was severed. Did she die instantly? Did she suffer? I will never know but I spend every second of every day thinking about it. I am tortured by the idea that she was alive and paralyzed by the damage caused by this AR 15 bullet and not able to tell anyone.

I was never part of any movement before this, but I am part of the gun violence prevention movement now. At her funeral, I promised I would be her voice and fight for her. I have heard the delusional lie that any other weapon could have been used. WRONG!!! A car could not drive through the school, and a knife or handgun would never have made it to the third floor—let alone cause the physical damage to the bodies that killed so many including my daughter.

There are many in the hearing room today that I assume are parents. We all have dreams for our children. I dreamt of watching my daughter have her first boyfriend, her first job, graduating high school and college. I should be teaching her to drive now and planning her sweet 16. Instead, I cry when I watch her friends who I love dearly having sweet 16's. Most, I dreamt of walking her down the aisle at her wedding and becoming a grandparent to her children. Those dreams are terminated. My daughter will be 14 forever.

For those of you with children, imagine this happening to one of your kids. It definitely can. I live in Parkland, a beautiful neighborhood. I live in a neighborhood with almost no crime. I live in the neighborhood that makes people say, not in my neighborhood. WRONG!!! It happened in Parkland.

Make no mistake, our schools and other public buildings are not free from potential gun fire. I have visited schools around the country and other public places such as Fountain Square in Cincinnati where mass gun violence has occurred. Unfortunately, it is easy for anyone with the intent of causing mass casualties to walk in with a backpack containing an AR 15 like the one that killed my daughter and to do so. Unfortunately, this can happen in any public building.

To be clear, my new mission for common sense gun safety will succeed. I expect this new Congress to lead. The reason I am certain it will succeed is that there is nothing in it that alienates any Second Amendment rights. The intent is not to remove weapons from lawful and legal gun owners, but rather to remove those who intend to kill from weapons. Hopefully, you all also agree that no single right should overtake another right. My daughter and the other victims of preventable gun violence had all rights terminated. They lost their right to life. They lost their right to be believers in the Second Amendment.

I support law abiding gun owners. To anyone who would suggest common sense gun reforms such as the ones which we passed in Florida alienate the Second Amendment is dishonest. No

Chairman Nadler
Ranking Member Collins

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law-abiding gun owner has had weapons removed or restrictions placed on use. The law simply gives law enforcement the ability to protect others who may become victims of preventable gun violence if nothing is done.

I have been the recipient of some brutal and vulgar and threatening comments from those who do not support this. For me, this is not partisan, but it is about loss and honoring the memory of my daughter and other victims. For those who make the threatening comments, they only reinforce how important it is that we do something. What our suggested reforms will do is lead to enhanced public safety from individuals who intend to use guns to kill others—so that citizens can have greater confidence that they will not be shot—simply for going to school or for being out and enjoying beautiful public parks, shopping malls, movie theaters, places of worship, and other public buildings.

Gun reform is simply intended to keep weapons from those who intend to do harm. It is intended to keep you, your family, your friends, your neighbors and fellow citizens from becoming the next victim of a mass casualty because law enforcement did not have the necessary tools to stop a known threat. You must be strong, you must be honest about what gun reform is, you must continue to support the Second Amendment, and you must ensure that everyone has the right to live a life where they can enjoy all of our constitutionally guaranteed rights.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Fred Guttenberg
Orange Ribbons For Jaime
5944 Coral Ridge Drive #301
Coral Springs, FL 33076



February 6, 2019

The Honorable Jerrold Nadler
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Doug Collins
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Chairman Nadler and other distinguished members of the House Committee on the Judiciary we urge you to come together and pass H.R. 8 - Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 in this 116th Congressional session.

Stand with Parkland – The National Association of Families for Safe Schools was founded by the 17 families who lost loved ones in the Parkland, Florida school massacre nearly one year ago on February 14, 2018. The loss of our beloved spouses and children while at school was devastating to our families. We all realized change needed to happen to avoid another mass shooting in America's schools. Our organization's mission became clear:

Stand with Parkland is a national organization representing American families. We are committed to advocating for practical public safety reforms focused on the safety of our children and staff at school, improved mental health support, and responsible firearms ownership. Personal responsibility and a desire for change are paramount to this effort, and it is the people involved at all levels that will make these goals a reality. Violence in our schools affects everyone. It is an American epidemic, and it is time that we all come together to do something about it.

In the nearly twenty years since Columbine our nation has made little progress in stopping these mass school shootings. This issue affects us all, Democrats and Republicans alike. The effort to solve this complex issue begins when all Americans show a willingness to sit down and have a discussion and respectfully listen to the views of others. Surely there is more that unites us on this issue than divides us. The next step is to find what we agree on and bring that consensus position to Congress and ask that laws be created to keep our nation's students and staff members safe in America's schools.

H.R. 8 - Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 should be an important piece in helping our nation keep students and staff safe at school. We need robust laws on the books and enforcement on the streets of our nation to keep firearms out of the hands of those who should not have them. Mandatory background checks on all sales and transfers of firearms needs to become part of our national effort to stop our children from being murdered at school.

Stand with Parkland – The National Association of Families for Safe Schools advocates for a holistic approach toward improving the safety of all schools by:

1. Securing the campus
2. Improved mental health screening and intervention
3. Responsible firearms ownership

All of these issues listed above need to be addressed, not only one or two. However, since this committee is focusing on the firearms piece of the puzzle we would like to add the two items listed below for your consideration.

Extreme Risk Protection Orders (ERPOs) – These are powerful tools that enable law enforcement officers to protect themselves and others. These also touch on the mental health pillar of our holistic approach to school safety and have been effective in many states. ERPOs allow law enforcement to remove firearms from the home of those considered to be a danger to themselves or others. To balance the rights of the individual in question, there must be a strong provision that allows the return of the firearms after a well-defined review process.

Safe Firearms Storage – Most school shooters get the weapon used in the massacre from a relative. Therefore, it is incumbent on the owner of each firearm to be responsible for its safe storage. Enforcement of current laws and creation of new laws compelling owners of firearms to secure them properly is something for this congress and administration to explore. Securing the firearm from those who should not have access to it will help add to the safety of our nation’s staff members and students at school.

Once again, we ask that the committee as a whole to come together and pass H.R. 8 - Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 on to the House floor. Stand with Parkland – The National Association of Families for Safe Schools also encourages the committee to consider how ERPOs and new Safe Storage laws would help keep America’s staff members and students safe while in school.

Thank you for your time.

Tony Montalto

President

Stand with Parkland – The National Association of Families for Safe Schools

Email: Tony@StandwithParkland.org

Stand with Parkland
The National Association of Families for Safe Schools
 5944 Coral Ridge Drive #273
 Coral Springs, FL 33076
 Email: info@standwithparkland.org
 Website: StandwithParkland.org

The Honorable Ted Deutch
2447 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Deutch,

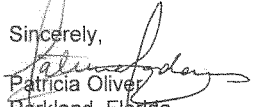
I am writing to you to plead with you to ensure that other mothers and fathers do not have to endure the gut-wrenching pain. The senseless and unnecessary loss of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for my family. My name is Patricia Oliver. My beautiful son, Joaquin, was one of the 17 who lost their life at Marjorie Stoneman Douglass High School last year. Words cannot express the devastation wrought on the families of the victims. The shattering of the worlds of families, friends and those who survived.

After the avoidable mass shooting, many said we were in their thoughts and prayers. How many of you in this chamber uttered just those words? I thank you for your prayers. But are you actually thinking? About your constituents? About those you have sworn an oath to serve. About those you know and love. If you were thinking you would *do* something. It is in your power to enact common sense gun laws. Common sense mental health support. Appropriate support and guidance to law enforcement. If we have the courage to stand up and do this, then never again will thoughts and prayers be needed in the aftermath of a mass shooting.

This country is at a crossroads. We need your leadership. We need your love. Your compassion. We need your serious thought, unmarred by lobbyists. I implore you to think about the kids. Think about how *you* would feel if it was *your* son. Your daughter. Your granddaughter. Your grandson. Because it could be. Had we – had the members of this body - learned the lessons of Columbine, of Sandy Hook, Joaquin would still be here. The lives of hundreds would not have been ripped to pieces. This was preventable.

Something you can do and urge your colleagues to do right this moment is support the recently introduced Universal Background Checks bill.

It is now my mission in life to do whatever I can to ensure that no mother, no father, has to endure the pain I have. That no shining beacon of light and hope and love like my Joaquin is snuffed out too soon in a preventable mass shooting. We know that he didn't have to die. If our leaders had done enough. Other countries have solved this problem. The roadmap exists. Please. Follow it.

Sincerely,

Patricia Oliver
Parkland, Florida

Mr. DEUTCH. Aalayah, thank you for being here. Your classroom was attacked at MSD, but at March for Our Lives on March 24th, you spoke to hundreds of thousands, over a million people in DC, and at other events around the world, and you said, "I am not only here to speak about school shootings, I am here to speak for the urban communities who have been speaking out about this way before February 14th."

Student survivors like yourself and like the March for Our Lives advocates have been some of the strongest voices for change. Over the past year, you have met with young people from around the country. Tell us what you have learned in the meetings and the discussions and the friendships you have developed in places like Miami, Chicago, Baltimore, Los Angeles, and cities that face daily gun violence.

Ms. EASTMOND. I noticed that, it is hard to have these conversations. But, we have to get comfortable with being uncomfortable. I noticed having these conversations, there is always an elephant in the room, and that is the urban communities. Nobody wants to talk about how to combat the issue of gun violence in urban communities when Black and brown youth are the number-one impacted youth by gun violence.

So, that is one thing that I noticed, and I have just been working tirelessly to share my platform that I didn't ask to have with those marginalized communities because their voices are just as important as mine and my colleagues from Parkland.

Mr. DEUTCH. They are, Aalayah, and thank you for using your voice to help lift up the voices of so many.

Madam Chair, after February 14th, the Florida legislature passed bills to increase the minimum age for rifle purchases to 21 and passed extreme risk protection orders. States and local governments all around the country have taken action. Finally, the House of Representatives is about to act.

Aalayah, you said during your testimony, "I ask that you give my generation a chance." The important message today, as I see it from this seat looking out at this crowd, is that you don't need to ask for us to give you a chance. Your leadership and the young people who are here today and who have been energized around the country are providing the leadership that is making this happen.

We are going to pass background checks because it is supported by over 90 percent of the American people, and it can help save a life.

It is true, Chief. If only one life is saved, that is enough for me. It darned well ought to be enough for every single Member of this Congress.

When we finish our work today, what the young people should know—and I will wrap up, Madam Chair, what the people here today in this crowd should know is that just as they are not going anywhere and will remain on this issue, in this fight because it is the fight for their lives, we will not stop either.

Thank you, Madam Chair. I yield back the balance of my time.
[Applause.]

Ms. SCANLON. The chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana. I am sorry. Oh, I am sorry. Reading wrong.

The gentleman from California?

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Thank you, Madam Chair.

This is not a new subject. We now have some 50 years of experience with gun control laws, and as Ms. Lindquist's testimony attests, we have found them extremely effective at disarming law-abiding citizens. We have found them extremely ineffective at disarming criminals, madmen, and terrorists. They end up creating a society where the law-abiding are unarmed and criminals are as well-armed as ever. I think our schools are a microcosm of such a society where the gunman is king.

Fortunately, we have also a lot of experience with laws that do work. Executing murderers works. Locking up other gun predators until they are old and feeble works. Confining the dangerously mentally ill so that they can be treated works. Responsible armed citizens who can return fire works.

These laws protected us well for many, many decades. I think depending on criminals and madmen to obey gun laws is delusional. In case after case, authorities have turned a blind eye to repeated complaints about violent and obviously mentally ill persons. MS-13 is not widely recognized for its meticulousness in obeying our gun laws, only their defenseless victims seem to be.

Several States now forbid local law enforcement from turning dangerous criminal illegal aliens over to ICE for deportation. Instead, they are releasing them back into our communities, and these are the same States that make it tougher for law-abiding citizens to defend themselves. It seems to me no one gives a second thought to an armed guard at a bank. Now that guard is there to protect our money. Whenever anyone suggests armed guards to protect our children at our schools, it is met with hoots of derision. Seems to me that hardening security at schools has got to be backed up by armed force.

Professor Malcolm, why shouldn't school employees who are trained and entrusted by their local sheriffs with concealed weapons permits be allowed to use those permits in our schools to defend our children and stop the next massacre?

Dr. MALCOLM. I think they should be. Not every teacher has to be. Clearly, those people who are willing to be trained or were Members of the military or police force should be there. They will be on the spot.

It wasn't the gun laws or the Congress that let those children down at Parkland. It was the first responders who let them down and who knew that Cruz was dangerous and had gone to his house and been warned about him more than 45 times. They never put him on a background list.

If he had been put on a background list, he could not have gotten a weapon. Even when they knew he had weapons, they did not disarm him. So, I think that background checks are fine so far as they go, but it is really important to have someone on the spot who will protect those children.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. I think we also learned that depending upon law enforcement alone is not sufficient.

Ms. Lindquist, I want to thank you for coming today. I once worked for Ed Davis. He was the legendary chief of the Los Angeles Police Department in the late '60s and '70s. Now that was during the time of the Manson murders, the SLA shootout, campus

riots. He introduced such innovations as Neighborhood Watch and community-based policing that engaged private citizens, and it worked.

During his tenure as chief, violent crime actually declined in Los Angeles while it was skyrocketing nationally. At the core, his philosophy was looking at law-abiding citizens and the police as being partners in upholding the laws that protect us. He fiercely opposed gun control laws because he viewed law-abiding citizens as an integral part of policing, and he saw them as the first line of defense against crime.

How does your experience relate to that view?

Ms. LINDQUIST. I think that I am not sure Neighborhood Watch, to be honest, would have helped me in the situation because it was him—

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. My point is that that underlies a more fundamental philosophy that looks at law-abiding citizens as the first line of defense against crime.

Ms. LINDQUIST. Sure. I certainly agree with that. Like I said in my testimony, I don't really want to get into the details of what happened. But it was him versus I, and it was a battle of strength, and obviously, I lost. So, yes, police are great, and I very much respect what they do. But sometimes seconds count.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Thank you.

Ms. SCANLON. The chair recognizes the gentlewoman from California.

Ms. BASS. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I just want to follow up a word on my colleague over there, Mr. McClintock. Neighborhood Watch, I do think, provides a real opportunity for community Members to get involved. Ed Davis never believed in arming the Neighborhood Watch.

I have a couple of questions for Ms. Latiker, and I want to address what I believe is a common stereotype of inner-city communities, in particular African-American communities, because it has often been said that the only time the community responds is when a police officer kills an African American and that when there is crime that takes place in our communities that we don't do anything.

I know that you are one of those soldiers on the front line. I want to thank you for being here today. I know that you are also supposed to be in Canada. My good colleague Representative Robin Kelly told me about your work. I really wanted to ask you if you could talk about the work that you have done, what role can community-based organizations play in preventing crime and comforting those who have suffered from the impact?

Then also what resources do you need from us? One, I have worked in communities for many years, and I often know that it is never considered newsworthy when we are doing marches, talking about crime, and trying to address the situation. Anyway, I would like for you to respond to what you are doing in the community and what we can do, as Members of Congress, to help you?

Ms. LATIKER. Well, first, thank you so much for that acknowledgment. As I sit here, I listen to the back-and-forth about gun violence, and to me, it leaves out the most important part. That is those who have to deal with it on a daily basis or a mom in my

community who has lost two sons in 1 week because of gun violence. It seems it is always talked around about the people who are living there. Now you can imagine a block with 10 houses on it, and 6 of those houses have lost kids to violence so that there is no block anymore, there isn't any community anymore because all those families are hurting.

Then one on the block steps up and says, "I need to do something, and I want to help." Nobody wants to help because of the color of their skin or where they come from or where they live at or the conditions. So, you are fighting a losing battle, and I am speaking of myself personally here right now. You are fighting a losing battle not only to give hope to the people you are trying to help, but to the community that you live in because they believe that the violence is more prevalent than the hope is.

Ms. BASS. Does your organization have funding?

Ms. LATIKER. No, ma'am. We all—

Ms. BASS. It is all volunteer?

Ms. LATIKER. —for 15 years. Yes, ma'am. We have seven dedicated volunteers. Not that we wouldn't want salaries, and we need it, but—

Ms. BASS. Well, how are you able to do that work with just volunteers?

Ms. LATIKER. Because some very generous people, donors, people who believe in what we do have supported us all these years, and foundations have helped us. We have never had a grant writer or anything like that. It doesn't come from that. I just want people to know before my time is up. It doesn't come from that. It comes from a sense of I am more afraid not to do anything, than I am to do something.

Ms. BASS. Right. But I do think if communities had the resources—

Ms. LATIKER. Oh, without question. Without question.

Ms. BASS. It is not as though the communities are irresponsible and don't want to do anything.

Thank you very much.

Ms. LATIKER. Thank you.

Ms. BASS. Thank you very much for being here today.

Ms. THOMAS, I wanted to ask if you could very briefly, because I need to yield some of my time to my colleague here, Mr. Deutch. In a community like Chicago that has strong gun laws, it is the problem in the surrounding area. State of California, strong gun laws. We have out States that guns come in from.

Could you very briefly respond to what the Federal Government could do to help? Then I am going to yield my time to Mr. Deutch.

Ms. THOMAS. One of the things that the Federal Government could do would be to properly fund ATF so they could do their job to better trace that trafficking of guns that happens across State lines and to pass a trafficking bill. We don't currently have a Federal bill which addresses the problem of gun trafficking.

Ms. BASS. Thank you.

Ms. THOMAS. I think we need one.

Ms. BASS. Thank you very much.

I yield to Representative Deutch.

Mr. DEUTCH. I thank my friend from California.

I just wanted to set the record straight on one discussion. We have gone back and forth. There has been a lot of talk about Justice Scalia and the Heller case and Blackstone, and it is just important, actually, as we have these discussions, to be honest about what we are trying to do.

The fact is that every single proposal that has been made in the gun safety area is entirely constitutional. Don't take it from me. Take it from Justice Scalia, who said, and I quote, "Like most rights, the right secured by the Second amendment is not unlimited."

From Blackstone through the 19th century cases, commentators and courts routinely explained that the right was not a right to keep and carry any weapon whatsoever, in any manner whatsoever, and for whatever purpose. That is the language we need to bear in mind as we have this debate. We cannot be fooled by those who suggest that what we are trying to do is unconstitutional. What we are trying to do is constitutional. It is just, and it will save lives.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay. The gentleman's time has expired.

I ask for the committee's unanimous consent that the following items be added to the hearing record. We have a letter from Prosecutors Against Gun Violence, co-chaired by Michael Feuer, the Los City Attorney, and Cyrus Vance, Jr., Manhattan District Attorney, in support of Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019. We have letters from Massachusetts Seventh Congressional District elected officials, including Boston Mayor Martin J. Walsh, local advocates, and constituents, presented by Representative Ayanna Pressley. We have a 2019 report from Everytown for Gun Safety concerning Internet sales of firearms and the background check loopholes that allow Internet to occur without any background checks.

Without objection, these letters will be added to the hearing record.

[The information follows:]

MS. SCANLON FOR THE RECORD



February 5, 2019

The Honorable Jerrold Nadler
Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary
2132 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Re: Prosecutors' Support for H.R. 8

Dear Congressman Nadler:

We are the co-chairs of Prosecutors Against Gun Violence (PAGV), an independent, non-partisan coalition of prosecutors from across the country that identifies and promotes prosecutorial, legislative, and policy solutions to gun violence. As individuals sworn to uphold the law and ensure the safety of our communities, we write in strong support of the *Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019*. As prosecutors, we understand the importance of commonsense federal legislation that could prevent gun violence and save lives. A majority of our members support universal background checks.

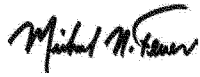
The *Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019* would require a background check on all gun sales and transfers with reasonable, limited exceptions, including guns for hunting and target shooting, guns given as gifts to family members, and guns provided for emergency self-defense. It would close dangerous existing loopholes in federal law that enable people who are prohibited from possessing firearms—including those with felony convictions, domestic violence abusers, fugitives, and people with mental illness—from obtaining them from unlicensed sellers by requiring the unlicensed sellers to meet buyers at a licensed gun dealer, who would perform the background check.

Next week, our organization will be gathering in Houston for its eighth national conference. In 2015 in that very county, a man murdered eight people in their home: his ex-girlfriend, her six children, and the father of five of the children. He used a firearm he obtained from a stranger he met online, in spite of his extensive prior criminal history that should have barred him from obtaining the weapon if a background check had been conducted.

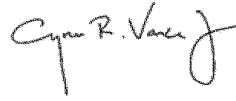
As a country, we need to make it more difficult for dangerous criminals to obtain deadly weapons without a background check. Lives depend upon it, and this legislation could prevent massacres like the one in Harris County, as well as in our diverse

jurisdictions around the country. We join bipartisan voices around the nation in strongly supporting H.R. 8.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael N. Feuer". The script is fluid and cursive.

MICHAEL N. FEUER
Los Angeles City Attorney
Co-Chair

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Cyrus R. Vance, Jr.". The script is fluid and cursive.

CYRUS R. VANCE, JR.
Manhattan District Attorney
Co-Chair

AYANNA PRESSLEY
7TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

1108 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-5111

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-2107

February 6, 2019

Honorable Jerrold Nadler
Chairman
House Committee on the Judiciary
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Honorable Doug Collins
Ranking Member
House Committee on the Judiciary
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman Nadler:

I am writing to commend the House Judiciary Committee for holding the first hearing on gun violence in nearly a decade. The mandate from the 2018 electorate could not have been clearer — this will be the Congress that will move from inaction to action, from thoughts and prayers to policy and change. For the first time in a generation, the House has an opportunity to pass H.R. 8, the Bipartisan Background Checks Act. It's incumbent upon us as policymakers to do all we can to end one of the greatest public health crises of our time.

Every day, 96 people are killed in the United States with guns, largely due to suicide, domestic disputes, and community violence.¹ This deadly epidemic has plagued communities from Parkland, Florida to East Boston, Massachusetts where my own district (the 7th Congressional District of Massachusetts) has been greatly affected. It's critical that as we approach this inflection point, we continue to name those who have lost their lives to senseless and preventable gun violence. From my own district, that includes Christopher Joyce, Ersilia Cataldo Matarazzo, Dwayne Nelson, Alicia Restrepo, and many others. We also acknowledge that the solutions to curb gun violence and trauma in our communities have often been used as political weapons by powerful lobbyists and apathetic politicians. But for the families who have been robbed of loved ones and the students who still mourn their friends, this is not a partisan or political issue — it's a moral one.

¹ Everytown. Gun Violence in America (2019). Available at <https://everytownresearch.org/gun-violence-america/>

Over the last decade, we have borne witness to horrifying and heartbreaking tragedies in Newtown, Aurora, Charleston, Orlando, Las Vegas, and Pittsburgh. Each of these events fueling widespread outrage and mobilization as our country mourns the lives of people gone much too soon. But past the attention-grabbing headlines, there is another crisis happening in neighborhoods across this country. It is the steady drumbeat of gun homicides that occur with far too much regularity in black and brown communities. These are the stories that don't often make the evening news but whose lives matter nonetheless.

Furthermore, there is no hierarchy of hurt when it comes to a life robbed from a family or neighborhood. No matter if it's a shooting in a school, a workplace, a house of worship, or a city block — if we march and mourn for one, we must have equitable outrage for them all. Our response to all forms of gun violence must reflect the value we place in every life, from Parkland to East Boston. Considering the early steps taken with this hearing and the impending passage of HR 8, I am confident that we will make progress in closing dangerous loopholes that put our communities in harm's way. Every child deserves to grow up and feel safe in their community or classroom. After years of stalled legislation and Republican obstruction, the Bipartisan Background Checks represents a foundational step toward passage of common-sense gun safety laws which the American people overwhelming support. I look forward to fighting for comprehensive gun reform today and in the future. Thank you.

Attached please find letters from elected officials, community advocates, and survivors of gun violence across the Massachusetts 7th congressional district disclosing the impact of gun violence in our communities and support for Congress' early efforts to pass long overdue gun reform.

Sincerely,



Ayanna Pressley
Member of Congress



CITY OF BOSTON • MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
MARTIN J. WALSH

February 4, 2019

The Honorable Jerrold Nadler
Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman Nadler,

For far too long, gun violence has remained an issue with its most direct and significant impacts felt at the local, street level. City governments, survivors, and advocates feel the strain of gun violence and are working together around the clock to address what is clearly a public health crisis. Boston is no stranger to gun violence. Too many of our young people have been injured by or fallen victim to gun crime. But, collectively with our partners in the public, private, educational, and faith-based sectors, we are using a collaborative approach to reduce and prevent gun violence across a spectrum of initiatives and programs.

As a national law enforcement leader, the Boston Police Department has been involved in removing firearms from the street and creating innovative policy to help decrease gun violence in the City of Boston. Nationally, the BPD has taken a lead on opposition to Concealed Carry Reciprocity, co-authoring a letter to Congress with IACP, signed by 473 law enforcement agencies from 39 states, imploring them not to pass this law. Understanding policy is critical to education and reduction of guns on the streets of Boston, law enforcement strategies have been crucial as well. In 2018, the City of Boston experienced the lowest volume of shooting victims in the 12 years that the Department has actively tracked shooting incidents by victim. There was also a decrease in shooting incidents, with 34 fewer incidents than 2017. In 2018, we took over 450 crime guns off the streets. In addition to working closely with our regional law enforcement partners to stem the flow of crime guns from our neighboring states, our officers utilize information and technology such as ShotSpotter to know who and where illegals guns are to stop individuals from creating more violence. Our Police Department supports those in our community already affected by gun violence using a holistic approach that engages with partners at every law enforcement and community level.

Boston understands that gun violence is not just a public safety issue, but a public health issue too. The City, through local health departments, like the Boston Public Health Commission, has been critical in addressing the epidemic of violence, including gun violence. We are working to create communities where residents can be healthy and safe, with access to quality education for our kids and good jobs for families. Violence is an equity issue. While violence can occur anywhere, it disproportionately affects communities of color in Boston, where the homicide rate for young black males is more than 32 times the rate for young white males. Boston is fortunate, however, to have a tremendous group of partners that are committed to preventing and addressing the root causes of violence through a public health approach. We know that we cannot merely


arrest our way out of violence. Our healthcare community works together to provide strong trauma support services to victims. Our schools teach children skills that foster social emotional wellness. Community-based organizations contribute to building trust and cohesion in our neighborhoods. And most importantly, our residents are eager to engage in every aspect of building peace in the City of Boston.

Ending the cycle of violence begins with supporting our children and families and working with them to change the social norms associated with violence. To that end, the Boston Public Health Commission has developed a continuum of effective violence prevention strategies that engage different stakeholders within Boston in a way that fosters collaboration. Our trauma-informed approach is grounded in principles that: support parents, reduce children's exposure to violence, teach children about peaceful conflict resolution, create positive opportunities for teens, address domestic and sexual violence and engage residents in violence prevention, and intervening with at-risk youth and families. Boston's nationally-recognized Streetworkers program and our My Brother's Keeper Initiative complement the work that our public safety and public health agencies do, together with our community partners and our residents.

Although we have experienced great success over the years in reducing gun violence, promoting violence prevention and supporting vulnerable populations across the City, we know that we cannot do this work alone. Congress can be an incredible partner in working to reduce and prevent gun violence. Passing a universal background check law, blocking efforts to enact concealed-carry reciprocity, assisting cities and states with cross-jurisdictional law enforcement supports, increasing funding for gun violence research, and increasing victims and survivors supports and protections are all steps that need to be taken to keep our people safe from harm.

On behalf of all the people in the City of Boston that are working to prevent and reduce gun violence, I want to thank you for holding this hearing today.

Sincerely,



Martin J. Walsh
Mayor
City of Boston



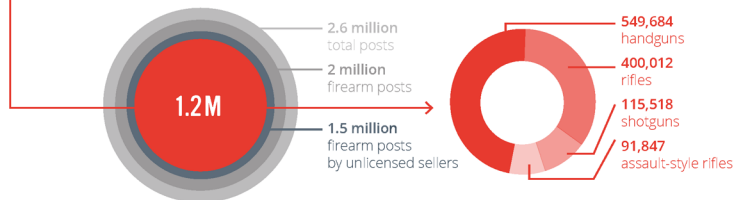
UNCHECKED

OVER 1 MILLION ONLINE FIREARM ADS, NO BACKGROUND CHECKS REQUIRED

Our federal background check law was written 25 years ago, long before the explosion of the internet and well before the establishment of online gun marketplaces like Armslist.com. Federal law only requires a background check when the seller is a licensed gun dealer, leaving all other sales — like unlicensed gun sales negotiated over the internet — unregulated and unchecked. The internet provides on-demand access to exploit this loophole in federal law to people who should not have access to guns.

Everytown has conducted an investigation of the unregulated online gun marketplace and its serious threat to public safety.¹ The investigation reveals a massive marketplace where unchecked gun sales are taking place between complete strangers meeting online, allowing criminals and other prohibited purchasers an easy avenue for access. The investigation covered all ads posted in 2018 on Armslist.com, which claims to be “the largest free gun classifieds on the web” with 7 million visits to the site each month.² Key findings of the investigation include:

In 2018 alone, nearly 1.2 million ads were posted on Armslist.com for firearm sales where no background check was legally required. This vast volume of ads provided criminals and domestic abusers with ready opportunity to get armed without a background check.³



Armslist.com operates similarly to other online classified platforms whereby a seller posts an ad that includes price, description, and a photo. Armslist.com allows firearm ads to be posted by both licensed gun dealers (called “premium vendors”) — who are required to conduct a background check on all gun sales by federal law — and unlicensed sellers (called “private parties”) — who are not covered by the federal requirement. The sales are completed offline after email, phone, text, and in-person communications.

Everytown’s investigators collected over 2.6 million postings from Armslist.com over the course of 2018.⁴ An analysis of the postings revealed that unlicensed sellers offering firearms for sale was the single largest category of posts on Armslist.com.⁵

Of the 2.6 million postings, over 2 million were for firearms,⁶ with 1.5 million for guns offered for sale by unlicensed sellers. 1.2 million of the firearm ads posted by unlicensed sellers did not legally require a background check prior to sale because of the state in which the firearm was being offered for sale.⁷

Of the 1.2 million ads, nearly 50% — 549,684 — offered handguns for sale, 400,012 offered rifles for sale, 115,518 offered shotguns for sale, and 91,847 offered assault-style rifles for sale⁸ — none of the firearm sales would have legally required a background check.

Everytown also analyzed the geographic location of the posts, and created an interactive data platform for further analysis available at www.everytownresearch.org/unchecked.

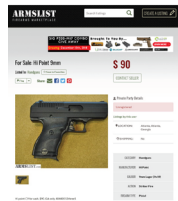
CRIMINALS ARE TRYING TO BUY GUNS ONLINE

**NEARLY 1 IN 9
PROSPECTIVE ONLINE
BUYERS WOULD
NOT HAVE PASSED
A BACKGROUND CHECK.**

An investigation of people looking to purchase firearms on Armslist.com revealed that nearly 1 in 9 prospective buyers had prohibiting histories or status — a rate over 7 times higher than buyers who fail background checks at licensed dealers or in other contexts where background checks are required.⁹ This disproportionate rate, consistent with prior Everytown investigation results, shows that **criminals know that the internet is the place to go to get armed with no questions asked.**

Everytown's investigators placed ads on Armslist.com in 4 states and then ran public records requests on would-be buyers who responded. Investigators reviewed the records of over 430 individuals who expressed an interest in purchasing the firearms. The results of this investigation likely understate the share of prohibited buyers on the online market because investigators' public records searches did not have access to records of some non-criminal prohibiting criteria such as involuntary commitment to a mental institution.

The prohibited individuals looking to buy guns online had criminal histories that are very disturbing, including violent felonies, domestic abuse misdemeanors, drug abuse, and active domestic violence restraining orders.¹⁰ In addition to the people with criminal histories, a number of minors under 18 were illegally attempting to purchase firearms.¹¹



An individual responded by text message to an advertisement for a Hi-Point handgun. He expressed interest in meeting the next day to purchase the firearm. Based on available public records, investigators determined that the individual who responded to the ad had a substantial prohibiting criminal history, including felony convictions for child molestation and threatening to commit aggravated assault (making "terroristic threats"), and use of methamphetamines in 2015 and 2017. He is also currently under indictment for failing to register as a sex offender.

Count	Charge (as indicted or accused)	Disposition (Guilty, Not Guilty, Guilty-Before Trial, Guilty- Lesse-Indict, Nolo, Not Prose, Dead Docket)
1	terroristic threats	guilty

Everytown's findings in this and prior investigations have consistently confirmed the dangerous reality of prohibited buyers looking to purchase guns online.

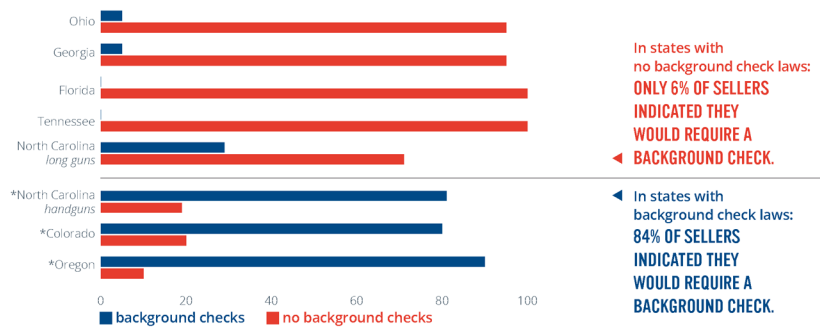
Year of Investigation	State	Rate of Prohibited Purchasers Online
2018	Georgia	1 in 9
2018	Ohio	1 in 12
2018	Tennessee	1 in 8
2018	Florida	1 in 7
2017	New Mexico	1 in 15 ¹²
2016	Nevada	1 in 11 ¹³
2015	Oregon*	1 in 18 ¹⁴
2014	Washington*	1 in 10 ¹⁵

* Oregon and Washington now require background checks on all guns sales.

BACKGROUND CHECK LAWS CAN CHANGE THE ONLINE MARKET

Critics of background check laws claim they will not make a difference in how guns are sold. But our investigation found that the laws matter. Unlicensed sellers in states that have passed background check laws show a high degree of compliance — 84% of the 55 sellers contacted expressly stated the sale would need to be completed at a dealer or with an appropriate permit to purchase. However, where there was no law on unlicensed sales, only 6% of the 95 sellers contacted by investigators indicated they would require a background check on their sales.

Examining 7 states with varied background check laws, our investigators contacted 150 unlicensed sellers on Armslist.com to inquire about the firearms listed for sale and to assess how the sales would be completed.



North Carolina is a state with different laws for different unlicensed sellers — background checks and a permit to purchase are required for all handgun sales, but not for rifle and shotgun sales. Unlicensed sellers know the difference in North Carolina law and followed it.

WHAT UNLICENSED SELLERS ON ARMSLIST.COM SAY ABOUT UNLICENSED SALES AND BACKGROUND CHECKS

✗ GEORGIA

GA Seller: "[A]s far as a private sale, it doesn't matter. That's just between me and you. And *it's just like me selling you a pair of shoes or something.*"

✗ TENNESSEE

Investigator: I own a few guns but I never bought anything from this site before how does this work?

TN Seller: "It's like a newspaper classifieds, without the paper. *Just come up with a time and place to meet. . . . I just take your word that you are eligible.*"

✓ OREGON

OR Seller: "How it goes is we go to a gun store and do a background check and what's it done I give you gun you give me cash."

Investigator: Perfect

OR Seller: "There's one near me prolly have the whole process done in 15 minutes tops."

CONCLUSION

Guns found online can be purchased quickly and without a background check. The investigation found nearly 1.2 million ads on Armslist.com for firearms sales for which no background check was legally required, and that 1 in 9 people looking online to buy guns from unlicensed sellers are prohibited because of criminal history, domestic abuse or because they are minors. Where background checks were required by state law, sellers demonstrated compliance with the law and indicated a background check would be required on the sale. However, where there was no state law requirement, sellers did not indicate they would require a background check for the sale to be completed, offering potential access to people who should not have guns.

There is a clear and present danger in the online firearms marketplace, and the only responsible answer is to require background checks on all gun sales in order to block purchases to people with dangerous histories. Elected officials need to update the federal law and require background checks on all gun sales, closing the deadly online sales loophole.

#UpdateBackgroundChecks



Investigative video of gun purchase at everytownresearch.org/unchecked

Arranged through Armslist.com, investigators purchased two firearms — a handgun and an assault-style rifle — in minutes and with no background checks.

¹⁶ One of the sellers asked, without verifying: *"Assuming you haven't beaten your wife lately, done any drugs, [and] you're an Ohio resident."*

1 Methodology and further analysis can be found online at everytownresearch.org/unchecked.

2 Armslist online advertisements and website, last visited Jan. 24, 2019; <http://www.armslist.com/info/advertise>.

3 See e.g., Durr A. "In 10 days, a husband's violence escalated from a brutal assault to murder in public view." Appleton Post-Crescent. August 13, 2018. <https://bit.ly/2q6U0ab>. (In January of 2018, an abusive husband shot and killed his wife; less than two weeks prior to the incident he was charged with two felonies after brutally assaulting her, and as part of that process he was not allowed to possess any firearms, but he purchased a firearm posted on Armslist.com from an unlicensed seller in a Walmart parking lot with no background check.)

4 Users can create posts for a wide range of products, including firearms, as well as items such as ammunition, firearm accessories, outdoor gear, and fishing equipment.

5 Investigators used a software technique to capture data contained in all of the postings on the website from January 1, 2018 to December 31, 2018. A statistical software program was then used to identify and remove posts that were exact duplicates. If postings

were considered exact duplicates (i.e. all content was exactly the same), then these duplicates were removed — leaving only a single unique posting.

6 Firearms for this report are defined as handguns, rifles, and shotguns. There were three other categories of firearms posted on Armslist.com: 7,507 of the ads were for "NFA firearms," 14,641 of the ads were for "muzzle loaders," and 28,077 of the ads were for "antique firearms." These categories of firearms are excluded from the analysis as these firearms are not generally regulated by the Gun Control Act — federal law requires background checks of all transfers of NFA weapons and no background checks are required for any transfers of muzzle loaders and antique firearms, including by a licensed dealer.

7 In 2018, 13 states and DC required a background check (at the point of sale and/or via purchase permit) for all unlicensed sellers (CA, CO, CT, DE, DC, HI, IL, MA, NJ, NY, OR, RI, VT, and WA), while six additional states required a background check only for handgun sales (IA, MD, MI, NE, NC, PA, MD and PA did require background checks on sales of some high-powered rifles and shotguns; this analysis does not calculate which specific sales were covered by the laws in those states. In

2016, Nevada passed a ballot initiative requiring background checks on all guns sales, however, the former Nevada Attorney General Adam Laxalt argued the law could not be enforced, which meant that, in practice, background checks were not required on unlicensed gun sales in 2018. In addition, VT's law went into effect April 11, 2018; this analysis does not calculate which sales were not covered in that state.

8 Everytown defined "assault-style rifles" to include rifles identified by sellers with terms identical to the terms used to define assault weapons in recent federal legislation. The category excludes firearms identified by their sellers as manual-action firearms.

9 Among all sales nationally where background checks were run from 1994 through 2015 (which includes background checks at dealers and in states where background checks are required on unlicensed sales), only 1.5% were denied. Karberg J.C., Frandsen R.J., Durso J.M., Buskirk T.D., Lee A.D. Background Checks for Firearm Transfers, 2015 - Statistical Tables. Bureau of Justice Statistics. <https://googl/SbaLbt>, November 2017

10 In the course of this investigation, investigators initiated contact with law enforcement in certain instances that

involved a potential imminent threat or other ongoing or recent contact with the criminal justice system.

11 A total of 11% of the sample were prohibited due to criminal history or the federal age prohibitor. An additional 4% of the overall sample were found to be between 18 and 21 and were likely prohibited under state law from purchasing the firearm but not included in the 1 in 9 tabulation.

12 Everytown for Gun Safety. Danger in the land of enchantment: Investigating online gun sales in New Mexico. February 2017. <https://everytown20xxu8E>

13 Everytown for Gun Safety. The wild wild web: Investigating online gun markets in Nevada. January 2016. <https://everytown20pxp9j>

14 Everytown for Gun Safety. No questions asked: How Oregon's meth users and domestic abusers shop online for guns. April 2015. <https://everytown20CC2u8e>

15 Everytown for Gun Safety. Online and off the record. 2014. <https://everytown201jG5LkH>

16 A video of the two sales is available at everytownresearch.org/unchecked.

Ms. SCANLON. Now as was announced previously, the Committee will now recess until 1:00 p.m.

I want to thank our guests in the audience for joining us, for joining us today, and I want to let them know that if they leave during the break, they will not be guaranteed their seats when they return. We have many people outside who would like to come in, and we want to give everyone a chance, an opportunity to watch today's hearing.

So, with that, the Committee will stand in recess until 1:00 p.m.
[Recess.]

Chair NADLER. The Committee will come to order. Next I will recognize the gentlelady from Arizona, Ms. Lesko.

Ms. LESKO. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I want to tell the testifiers and the people that came today, I sincerely appreciate all of you coming here. Especially those of you that are victims of domestic or sexual violence or gun violence and those that have lost people. I mean, I believe, that all of us whether we are Republican or Democrat, I hope you realize that we all care. We want to reduce gun violence. Sometimes there is just a difference in opinion of how we get there.

Mr. Chair, I also want to join with Ranking Member Representative Collins in saying how disappointed I am that you did not allow Congressman Scalise to come testify today and, quite frankly, he was wounded and is still recovering and that is different than the other Members that you said wanted to come testify, and you did not have time for. So, I am still wondering why and what happened. Also, Mr. Chair, I just want to explain to you something that earlier when the gentleman, who I feel very sorry for, he lost someone from gun violence. He repeatedly got up and disrupted. It intimidated me, and it intimidated, I was told, one of the witnesses here. So, that is why I think it is important that we do not let that continue to happen.

I grew up in a family. I did not have guns. My father was in World War II and after he was in World War II, he quit hunting, and we did not have any guns. So, I did not know much about them. I had an irrational fear of guns. So, I have been there. I have been there with some of you that have never shot a gun. Have never experienced it. But, then I started educating myself and realized that when you make all these laws, a lot of them are unenforceable. But also, it is the criminals that do not follow the laws, right. Law-abiding citizens follow the laws. So, if you are trying to stop gun violence, and most of the gun violence is caused by people that do not follow the laws, you are not really getting a solution that you want.

I am a strong supporter of the Second Amendment. I am also a survivor of domestic violence. So, I appreciated the testimony on that and want to share with you that there are people like me out there that have been victims, but we also want to be able to defend ourselves. So, I hope that you go away with realizing that we all want to solve this problem.

I have to share with you that the Department of Justice, in a recent January 2019 report of prison inmates, they were interviewed, and the ones that used guns in their crime, 56 percent of them stated they obtained their gun by stealing it or by underground.

Another 25 percent, so almost all of them, legally obtained it from a family member. So, I guess what I am trying to say to you is that when you have well intentioned laws, and I believe you really believe that the background checks are really going to save peoples' lives, but you will see that most of the people that committed the crimes actually stole the guns. Stole the guns. Got them from family Members. So universal background checks will not help in most of those situations.

I also studied all the major mass shootings quite intensely and realized that not one single one of them would have been prevented from a universal background check. I mean I went through all the details. I asked all the questions. I do think there are many ways that we can reduce gun violence, and we have done it here in a bipartisan fashion. Last year, or in Fiscal Year 2018, we passed legislation that helps prevent violence in our schools, very important. We also wanted to protect in fifths, the National Instant Criminal Background Check, which is the system where these backgrounds are actually, you find out, and we found out through studies that a lot of the states and agencies do not even report the information.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentlelady has expired. Do you have a quick question?

Ms. LESKO. Oh, yes. I do. Thank you very much.

[Laughter.]

Ms. LESKO. Mr. Nadler, I just want to say to Ms. Lindquist, thank you for being here. Can you please explain again, how these well-intentioned laws actually hurt you from allowing you to defend yourself?

Chair NADLER. Witness will answer the question.

Ms. LINDQUIST. So, I do want to say, thank you for speaking publicly about being a survivor of domestic violence. It is terrible that anyone goes through that, but it can feel very alone. So, it is great to see people in positions of power talking about it.

So, the law that specifically disarmed me in the State of Pennsylvania where I was going to school, college was a gun-free zone. So, you could not have firearms of any kind unless, of course, you were the police. Also, like I said, I live in Virginia and originally went to undergrad in Pennsylvania which would require driving through Maryland which would make me immediately a felon. So, it is a combination of those two things.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentlelady is expired. The gentleman from Rhode Island, Mr. Cicilline.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I want to thank our witnesses for being here and for many people who are in the audience. Your testimony is incredibly inspiring and invaluable, and I cannot overstate the importance and urgency of this hearing, and I want to thank Chair for his leadership. This is the first hearing in the U.S. House of Representatives on gun violence prevention in nearly a decade. We have a gun violence epidemic in this country. In some disproportionately impacted communities, persistent instance of gun violence has become a fact of life and are endangering the public health of these communities.

Over the last eight years while Congress was ignoring this problem, the gun death rate has risen by 17 percent, the gun suicide rate by 19 percent, and the gun homicide rate by 14 percent. The

gun rate hit a nearly 20-year high in 2017 and roughly 40,000 deaths, according to the CDC. U.S. is now the world leader in child gun deaths, with death by gunshot being the second highest cause of death among children ages 1 to 19. On average, the number of Americans murdered by a firearm has risen to approximately 100 every day or another nearly 300 are shot.

Mr. Chair, I just noticed that the time was not reset. So, Mr. Chair? I do not think the time was ever corrected from the last person speaking over.

Chair NADLER. It appears to be a mechanical problem there.

Mr. CICILLINE. I will keep going and trust you to be fair. Each of these statistics is another example of this body's shameful failure to protect Americans from gun violence. Behind each number is a real family devastated by this epidemic. Despite our many efforts over the last years imploring Republicans to enact common sense gun safety legislation, all we could ever muster, was 30 seconds of doing nothing and saying nothing in a moment of silence. It was hearing your response to many of the deadliest mass shootings our country has ever seen. Think about what that means. Congress did nothing when children were massacred at Sandy Hook Elementary School. At Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School and Santa Fe High School. When worshippers were gunned down in Charleston, Oak Creek, Southern Springs, and Pittsburgh. When people were hunted down and killed in a nightclub in Orlando, in a movie theatre in Aurora and a country music concert in Las Vegas. In some of these cases, the gunman would have failed a background check but got a gun anyway. In others, the gunman lawfully possessed deadly, military-style assault weapons or high-capacity magazines endangering our communities and belong in the battlefields not in our neighborhoods.

In all of them, Congress could have taken action to try and prevent these tragedies from happening again. It is imperative that we do all that we can to keep guns out of the hands of people who should not have them and give law enforcement the tools they need to protect the public. That is why I have introduced several bills to prevent children, violent persons, and criminals from accessing guns. A bill to ban assault weapons and dangerous bump stop devices. Legislation requiring states to establish reporting systems for mental health professionals when individuals that have committed or communicate a serious threat of violence. Government funding to the CDC to research firearm violence as a public health issue.

The American people are completely fed up with this institution's willful neglect in leaving them to suffer in the face of a clear epidemic. You are demanding that we finally do something before another horrible tragedy happens and before another dangerous weapon ends up in the wrong hands. It is long overdue for Congress to prevent further senseless violence from occurring. We know what the solutions are. It is time to act. The notion that there is not a single bill that, if passed, will eliminate all gun violence that we should do nothing, is an absurd justification for inaction. The truth is there are a whole set of bills that if we pass, will substantially reduce gun violence in this country. This bill, H.R. 8 is the first step, and I want to thank Mr. Thomson, the chair of

the task force, Robyn Kelly, Katherine Clark, many of my colleagues who have been great champions of these issues.

We have a responsibility to make sure that we keep guns out of the hands of people who should not have them. We know background checks work. Three-and-a-half million people have been blocked as prohibited purchases from buying a gun because of background checks. Yet, 22 percent of gun sales happen without a background check. So, imagine how many gun sales happen that prohibited purchases get because of this loophole because there is no background check.

So, H.R. 8 is the beginning, but I want to begin my question to Alayyah Eastmond, and first say, we owe you an apology. We owe your whole generation an apology. The adults have failed you, and I am here to tell you, I was a founding member of Mayors Against Illegal Guns when I was mayor of the City of Providence. I have continued to fight on this issue. We are going to deliver results, and it is because of the voices of young people who have demanded that we do our job and pass common sense laws that will protect you. So, I want to say thank to you and to all the young people who are here. I want to say thank you to the chief. I would like to ask the chief and the doctor to talk a little bit about what your observations are about high-capacity magazines, assault weapons and the injuries that are sustained.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentleman is expired. We will permit one witness to answer the question. Mr. Cicilline, which witness?

Mr. CICILLINE. Oh my, the doctor or the police chief?

[Laughter.]

Mr. CICILLINE. I guess the doctor. My mother always wanted me to be a doctor.

[Laughter.]

Dr. SAKRAN. All right, great. Well thank you for that question, congressman.

It is a really important one, because, we as healthcare professionals are on the frontline of seeing this day in and day out. When you see these patients come in, we are seeing the full spectrum of where there is tissue that is pulverized, where there are flesh wounds, where people are bleeding to death in front of our eyes. Medical technology is great, but the solution is really prevention. So, we owe it to Americans to really think beyond the operating room, to think beyond the hospitals, to implement some common sense change.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. The time of the gentleman is expired. Mr. Reschenthaler?

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Chair, I just have a unanimous consent request.

Chair NADLER. The gentleman will State his unanimous consent request.

Mr. CICILLINE. I ask unanimous consent to introduce into the record, a Washington Post article, entitled "It's Time to Bring Back the Assault Weapons Ban, Gun Violence Experts Say." Another article entitled, "Why Can't the U.S. Treat Gun Violence as a Public Health Problem?" Another article in the—from the New York Times, "Wounds from Military Style Rifles: A Ghastly Thing to

See.” A Vox article “America’s Unique Gun Problem Violence Explained in 17 Maps and Charts,” and finally, “Orders to Seize Guns from Prohibited Buyers at a 10-year High.”

Chair NADLER. Without objection, these documents will be admitted into the record.

[The information follows:]

MR. CICILLINE FOR THE RECORD

The Washington Post

Wonkblog Analysis

It's time to bring back the assault weapons ban, gun violence experts say

By Christopher Ingraham

The perpetrator of Wednesday's horrific school shooting in Parkland, Fla., [purchased his military-style assault weapon legally](#). So did [the man who shot more than 400 people](#) in Las Vegas in October. So did [the man who gunned down 49 people](#) at Orlando's Pulse nightclub in 2016. So did [the man who gunned down 26 worshipers](#) at a church in Texas in November.

Easy-to-obtain assault weapons, [once banned under U.S. law](#), are a common thread connecting many of the deadliest mass shootings that have occurred in the past few years. Many gun violence experts believe that it's time to bring back the federal assault weapons ban — or at least something like it.

"You would see drastic reductions in what I call gun massacres" with the return of the 1994 federal assault weapons ban, said Louis Klarevas of the University of Massachusetts at Boston.

For his 2016 book "[Rampage Nation](#)," Klarevas collected data on every gun massacre — which he defines as six or more people shot and killed — for the 50 years before 2016. His aim was to see whether there was any change in the number of gun massacres while the 10-year federal ban on assault weapons was in place.

He calls the results "staggering." Compared with the 10-year period before the ban, the number of gun massacres during the ban period fell by 37 percent, and the number of people dying from gun massacres fell by 43 percent. But after the ban lapsed in 2004, the numbers shot up again — an astonishing 183 percent increase in massacres and a 239 percent increase in massacre deaths.

Klarevas says that the key provision of the assault weapons bill was a ban on high-capacity magazines capable of holding more than 10 rounds. "We have found that when large capacity mags are regulated, you get drastic drops in both the incidence of gun massacres and the fatality rate of gun massacres."

The opinion is shared among many researchers who study gun violence for a living. In 2016, for instance, [the New York Times asked 32 gun policy experts](#) to rate the effectiveness of a variety of policy changes to prevent mass shootings. The roster of experts included violence prevention researchers like Harvard's David Hemenway, as well as more ideologically driven gun rights advocates like John Lott.

On a scale of effectiveness ranging from 1 (not effective) to 10 (highly effective), the expert panel gave an average score of 6.8 to both an assault weapons ban and a ban on high-capacity magazines, the highest ratings among the nearly 30 policies surveyed.

The killers in recent incidents like [Las Vegas](#), [Orlando](#) and [Sutherland Springs](#) were each able to walk into a gun shop in the days and months before their attacks, and legally purchase their assault weapons and magazines after passing a standard background check. Under an assault weapons ban, that wouldn't be possible.

Gun rights groups like the National Rifle Association oppose such bans. They point out that [most owners of such weapons are law-abiding citizens](#), and that [the millions of the guns and magazines in circulation](#) would make enforcement of any such ban a challenge. They also note, correctly, that the overwhelming majority of gun homicides are committed with handguns, making the impact of an assault weapons ban on the overall crime rate minimal.

Supporters of an assault weapons ban, like Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.), say that the goal of the bans is to prevent horrific mass shooting incidents, not stop the run-of-the-mill gun violence that kills dozens of Americans each day. Feinstein, along with 22 Democratic colleagues, [introduced an assault weapons ban in the Senate](#) after the Sutherland Springs shooting in Texas.

"This bill won't stop every mass shooting, but it will begin removing these weapons of war from our streets," Feinstein said in a statement. "Yes, it will be a long process to reduce the massive supply of these assault weapons in our country, but we've got to start somewhere."

Feinstein's bill would ban 205 specific "military-style assault weapons" by name, and it more broadly bans firearms containing a detachable magazine and one or more "military characteristics," including "a pistol grip, a forward grip, a barrel shroud, a threaded barrel or a folding or telescoping stock." Current owners would be allowed to keep their existing weapons.

Feinstein's bill would also ban high-capacity magazines capable of holding more than 10 rounds of ammunition.

A number of surveys show that bans on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines are popular among the general public. A [2017 Pew Research Center poll](#) found that 68 percent of adults favor banning assault weapons, and 65 percent support a ban on high-capacity magazines.

More strikingly, [substantial numbers of gun owners supported the measures as well](#): 48 percent of gun owners in that poll said they would support a ban on assault style weapons, and 44 percent said they favored a ban on high-capacity magazines. A Quinnipiac poll conducted later in the year [showed similar numbers](#).

While these measures may be popular among the public, Republicans in Congress have effectively stymied the passage of any significant gun control legislation for well over a decade. The last significant gun control measure passed by Congress [was a modest package of improvements to the background check system in 2007](#). It was supported by the NRA.

In recent years congressional Republicans have been more focused on expanding access to guns, rather than limiting it. In December [the House passed a measure](#) that would allow gun owners with concealed carry permits in one state to carry their weapons in every other state.


The experts polled by the New York Times in 2016 rated that as the least effective measure, by far, for dealing with mass shootings.

Corrections: An earlier version of this piece mis-stated the number of rounds held in a "high-capacity" magazine. It is more than 10 rounds, not 10 or more rounds.

Additionally, the percent drop in gun massacre deaths while the 1994 assault weapons ban was in place was 43 percent, not 49 percent.

 0 Comments

Christopher Ingraham

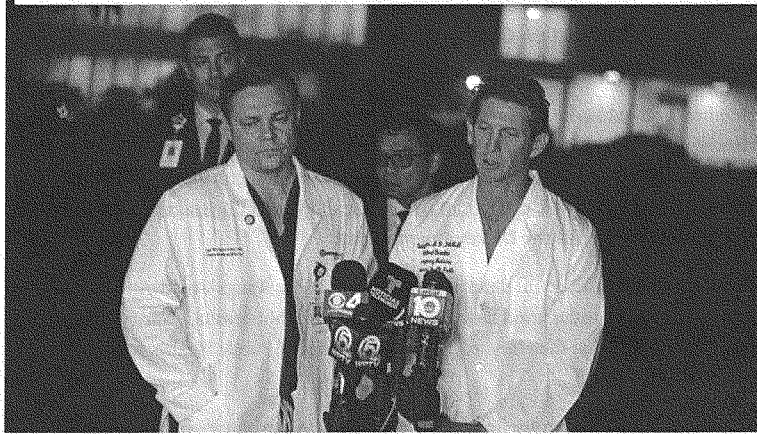
Christopher Ingraham writes about all things data. He previously worked at the Brookings Institution and the Pew Research Center. [Follow](#) 

HEALTH

Why Can't the U.S. Treat Gun Violence as a Public-Health Problem?

A 1996 bill has had a chilling effect on the CDC's ability to research firearms.

SARAH ZHANG FEB 15, 2018



Two doctors who treated victims of the Parkland school shooting at a press conference. (JOE SKIPPER / AP)

After a deadly shooting, the debate always, it seems, breaks down like this: One side argues for gun control, and the other argues there is no research proving those measures work. There is, in fact, little research into gun violence at all—especially compared to other causes of death in the United States.

The modern origins of the impasse can be traced to 1996, when Congress passed an amendment to a spending bill that forbade the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention from using money to “advocate or promote gun control.”

The National Rifle Association had pushed for the amendment, after public-health researchers produced a spate of studies suggesting that, for example, having a gun in the house increased risk of homicide and suicide. It deemed the research politically motivated. Gun-rights advocates zeroed in on statements like that of

Mark Rosenberg, then the director of the CDC's National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. In response to the early '90s crime wave, Rosenberg had said in 1994, "We need to revolutionize the way we look at guns, like what we did with cigarettes ... It used to be that smoking was a glamour symbol—cool, sexy, macho. Now it is dirty, deadly—and banned."

The actual amendment sponsored by Jay Dickey, a congressman from Arkansas, did not explicitly forbid research into gun-related deaths, just advocacy. But the Congress also lowered the CDC's budget by the exact amount it spent on such research. Message received. It's had a chilling effect on the entire field for decades.

Medical and public-health professionals have been pushing back—more and more forcefully in recent years. The American Public Health Association and the American Medical Association have both taken to calling gun violence a public-health problem. In 2016, more than 100 medical organizations signed a letter to Congress asking to lift the Dickey Amendment.

"We in public health count dead people. It's one of the things we do. And we count them in order to understand how to prevent preventable deaths," Nancy Krieger, an epidemiologist at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, told NPR in 2015.

The CDC is best known for fighting diseases—it's in the name—but its public-health purview is indeed wider. The agency studies drownings, accidental falls, traumatic brain injuries, car crashes, suicides, and more. And while mass shootings grab headlines, they account for only a small fraction of the 30,000 gun deaths a year in the United States. More than half are suicides. Yet the 1996 amendment has restricted how much the CDC can focus on gun ownership as the risk factor in suicides.

Researchers who do want to study gun violence have cobbled together funding from a patchwork of sources, often from private foundations. President Obama signed an executive order directing the National Institutes of Health to fund research into gun violence after the Sandy Hook shooting, but the program has since petered out.

The problem, researchers say, is also a lack of data. While motor-vehicle deaths are tracked in minute detail in the Fatality Analysis Reporting System, no such

4/30/2019

Why Can't the U.S. Treat Guns as a Public-Health Problem? - The Atlantic

comparable database exists for gun deaths. Basic questions like exactly how many households own guns are not definitively answered.

Dickey, the congressman responsible for the amendment suppressing the CDC's gun violence research, passed away last April. He had come to regret his role in the episode. In 2012, he coauthored a *Washington Post* op-ed with Rosenberg, the very CDC official he squared off against when passing the amendment. Together, they argued for more gun-violence research.

Dickey told reporters, "I wish I had not been so reactionary."

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Wounds From Military-Style Rifles? 'A Ghastly Thing to See' - The New York Times

The New York Times

Wounds From Military-Style Rifles? 'A Ghastly Thing to See'

Trauma surgeons tell what it is really like to try to repair such devastating injuries. "Bones are exploded, soft tissue is absolutely destroyed," one said.



By Gina Kolata and C. J. Chivers

March 4, 2018



Left, an X-ray of a leg showing a bullet wound delivered by an assault rifle used in combat. Right, an X-ray of a leg that sustained a bullet wound from a low-energy bullet, inflicted by a weapon like a handgun in Philadelphia. via Dr. Jeremy W. Cannon

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/04/health/parkland-shooting-victims-ar15.html>

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Wounds From Military-Style Rifles? 'A Ghastly Thing to See' - The New York Times

Perhaps no one knows the devastating wounds inflicted by assault-style rifles better than the trauma surgeons who struggle to repair them. The doctors say they are haunted by their experiences confronting injuries so dire they struggle to find words to describe them.

At a high school in Parkland, Fla., 17 people were recently killed with just such a weapon — a semiautomatic AR-15. It was legal there for Nikolas Cruz, 19, the suspect in the shooting, to buy a civilian version of the military's standard rifle, while he would have had to be 21 to buy a less powerful and accurate handgun.

Many factors determine the severity of a wound, including a bullet's mass, velocity and composition, and where it strikes. The AR-15, like the M4 and M16 rifles issued to American soldiers, shoots lightweight, high-speed bullets that can cause grievous bone and soft tissue wounds, in part by turning sideways, or "yawing," when they hit a person. Surgeons say the weapons produce the same sort of horrific injuries seen on battlefields.

Civilian owners of military-style weapons can also buy soft-nosed or hollow-point ammunition, often used for hunting, that lacks a full metal jacket and can expand and fragment on impact. Such bullets, which can cause wider wound channels, are proscribed in most military use.

A radiologist at the hospital that treated victims of the Parkland attack wrote in *The Atlantic* about a surgeon there who "opened a young victim in the operating room and found only shreds of the organ that had been hit."

What follows are the recollections of five trauma surgeons. Three of them served in the military, and they emphasized that their opinions are their own and do not represent those of the armed forces. One has treated civilian victims of such weapons in American cities. And a pediatric surgeon treated victims of a Texas church shooting last year.

Dr. Jeremy Cannon, the University of Pennsylvania's Perelman School of Medicine.

He served in Iraq and Afghanistan and is a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve.

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Dr. Jeremy Cannon in the trauma center at Penn Presbyterian Medical Center Advanced Care Pavilion in Philadelphia Mark Makela for The New York Times

“The tissue destruction is almost unimaginable. Bones are exploded, soft tissue is absolutely destroyed. The injuries to the chest or abdomen — it’s like a bomb went off.” If a bullet hits an arm or a leg, he said, the limb often hangs at an unnatural angle. Such victims can need a dozen surgeries over months. “Some eventually decide to undergo an amputation if there is severe pain in the limb and it is dysfunctional,” he said.

“Bystanders are traumatized just seeing the victims. It’s awful, terrible. It’s just a ghastly thing to see.”

Dr. Cannon recalled the aphorism by José Narosky, the Argentine writer: “In war, there are no unwounded soldiers.”

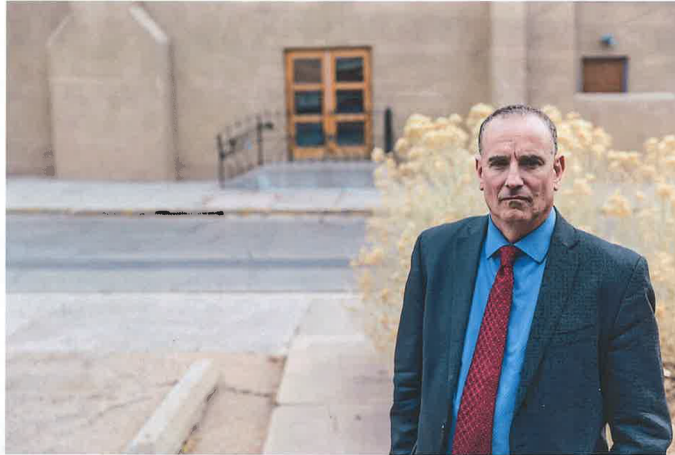
His corollary: “In mass shootings, there are no unwounded victims.”

Dr. Martin Schreiber, Oregon Health & Science University.

He was an Army reservist who served in Iraq in 2005 and in Afghanistan in 2010 and 2014.

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Dr. Martin Schreiber Gabriella Marks for The New York Times

What makes injuries from these rifles so deadly, he said, is that the bullets travel so fast. Those from an M16 or AR-15 can depart the muzzle at a velocity of more than 3,000 feet per second, while bullets from many common handguns move at less than half or a third that speed. The result: "The energy imparted to a human body by a high velocity weapon is exponentially greater" than that from a handgun.

"You will see multiple organs shattered. The exit wounds can be a foot wide."

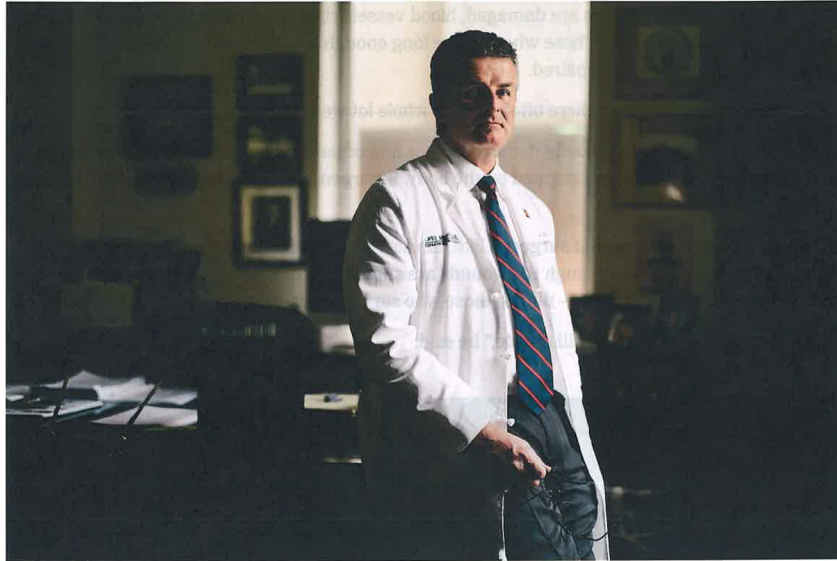
"I've seen people with entire quadrants of their abdomens destroyed."

Dr. Jeffrey Kerby, the University of Alabama at Birmingham.

He was formerly an Air Force surgeon.

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Dr. Jeffrey Kerby Bob Miller for The New York Times

Dr. Kerby will never forget the first victim of a high velocity bullet wound he treated when he was serving in the Southern Philippines 16 years ago. The soldier had been shot in the outer thigh. His first thought was that the wound did not look so bad. There was just a tiny hole where the bullet went in. Then he looked where the bullet had exited. The man's inner thigh, he said, "was completely blown out."

Later he came to expect the telltale pattern. "You will typically see a small penetrating wound. Then you roll the patient over and you see a huge exit wound."

The high energy bullet creates a blast wave around the bullet. And the yaw can contribute to the larger exit wound. Striking bone can also cause bone fragments that radiate outward, cutting tissue in each fragment's path.

"Then the bullet starts tumbling, causing more and more destruction." Even a bullet that misses bone can result in surprising damage; as the blast wave travels through the body, it pushes tissues and organs aside in a temporary cavity larger than the bullet itself. They bounce back

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once the bullet passes. Organs are damaged, blood vessels rip and many victims bleed to death before they reach a hospital. Those who survive long enough are whisked to operating rooms, but often the injuries cannot be repaired.

"If they are shot in the torso, there often is not a whole lot we can do," he said.

With a handgun, the bullets mostly damage tissues and organs in their direct path. Eventually, the bullets may be slowed and stopped by the body. Emergency surgery often can save handgun victims.

Dr. Kerby said it used to be that surgeons like him saw victims of assault rifle shootings only in the military. No more. Now, though the wounds are still rare on the streets of Birmingham, he operates on occasional victims — that is, those who survive long enough to reach the hospital.

"These weapons are meant to kill people," he said.



An X-ray of a rifle bullet wound to an arm. via Dr. Jeremy W. Cannon

Dr. Alok Gupta, Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center in Boston.

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Dr. Gupta never served in the military, but he has treated victims of assault-style weapons in New York and Baltimore. Attacks using AR-15-style weapons are still rare, he emphasized. He sees mostly handgun wounds and some from shotguns.

"A single wound from a handgun follows a narrow path, pretty much the direct path the bullet took," Dr. Gupta said. "It is easier to figure out what is injured." Even a bullet wound to the heart can be repaired, he said, if the patient survives long enough to get to the hospital.

But like other trauma surgeons, Dr. Gupta has been struck by the devastation modern rifle bullets produce. The wide swath of damage makes it difficult to determine the extent of the injuries, and even more difficult to repair them. And if the bullet strikes the heart or other major organ, the victim usually cannot be saved.

"What we hear about in the news are the mass shootings," Dr. Gupta said.

The victims of military-style weapons that Dr. Gupta has treated in American cities are the silent victims.

Dr. Lillian Liao, University Hospital and UT Health in San Antonio

She operated on children shot in Sutherland Springs, Tex., at the First Baptist Church. Twenty-six churchgoers were killed and 20 others were wounded in a mass shooting carried out with an AR-15 rifle.

Nine of the victims made it to her hospital that day. Four were children, one of whom died.

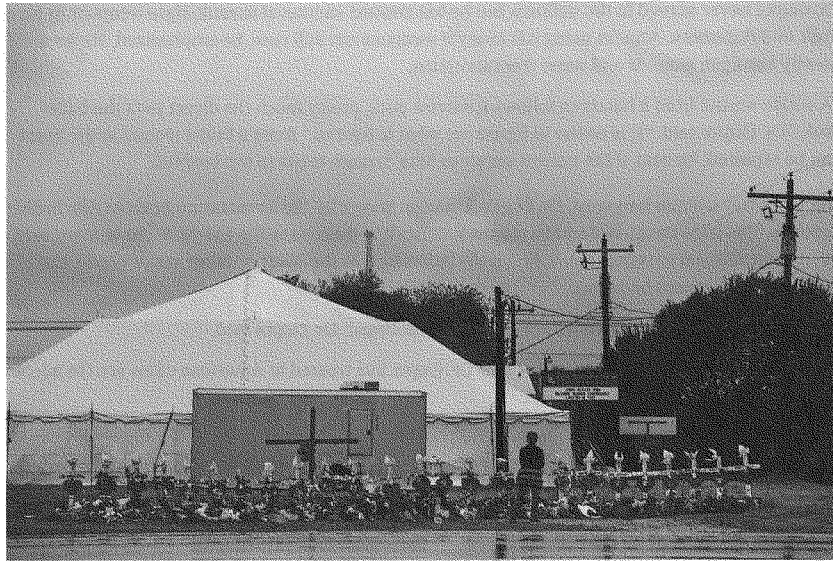
Dr. Liao was initially clinical in describing the wounds during an interview. "Muscles and skin and fat surrounding skin can be sheared off. We saw holes in intestines and bladders."

Asked about the emotional impact of the killings, she said she thought she had moved on. Then came the Parkland shootings, and the horror came flooding back.

Lauren Katzenberg and Thomas Gibbons-Neff contributed to this article.

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A memorial at the First Baptist Church in Sutherland Springs, Tex., in December.

Ruth Fremson/The New York Times

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Correction: March 4, 2018

An earlier version of this article misspelled the given name of the suspect in the Parkland, Fla., school shooting. He is Nikolas Cruz, not Nicolas. The article also misspelled the given name of a doctor at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He is Jeffrey Kerby, not Jeffery.

Gina Kolata writes about science and medicine. She has twice been a Pulitzer Prize finalist and is the author of six books, including "Mercies in Disguise: A Story of Hope, a Family's Genetic Destiny, and The Science That Saved Them." @ginakolata • Facebook

C.J. Chivers is a long-form writer and reporter for the Investigations Desk and The New York Times Magazine. He won the 2017 Pulitzer Prize for Feature Writing, and is also the author of "The Gun," a history of automatic weapons.

A version of this article appears in print on March 6, 2018, on Page A14 of the New York edition with the headline: A Clinical View of Assault Rifles And Their 'Ghastly' Toll



America's unique gun violence problem, explained in 17 maps and charts

In the developed world, these levels of gun violence are a uniquely American problem. Here's why.

By German Lopez | @germanrlopez | german.lopez@vox.com | Updated Nov 8, 2018, 10:41am EST

America is an exceptional country when it comes to guns. It's **one of the few countries** in which the right to bear arms is constitutionally protected. But America's relationship with guns is unique in another crucial way: Among developed nations, the US is far and away the most homicidal — in large part due to the easy access many Americans have to firearms. These maps and charts show what that violence looks like compared with the rest of the world, why it happens, and why it's such a tough problem to fix.

1) America has six times as many firearm homicides as Canada, and nearly 16 times as many as Germany

Homicides by firearm per 1 million people

In advanced countries according to the Human Development Index. Numbers are for 2012.

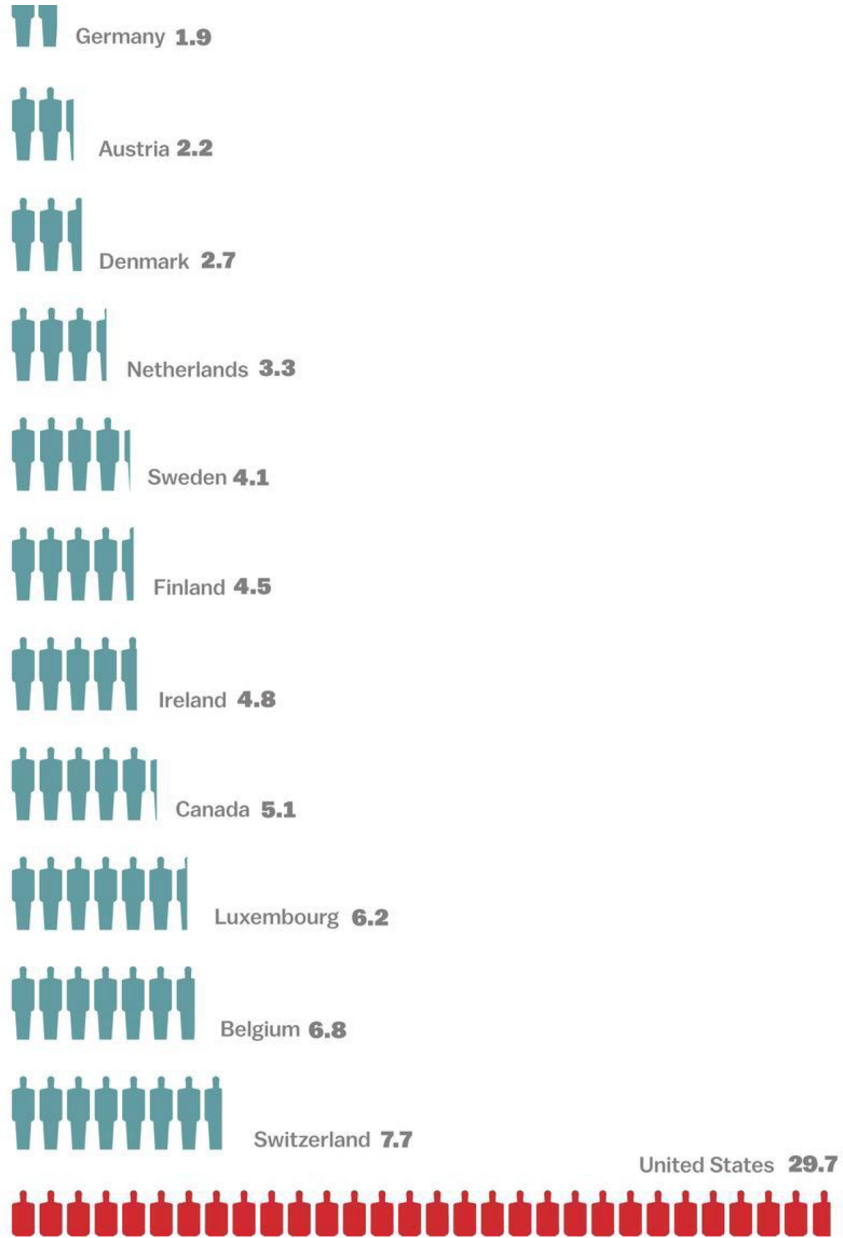


Australia **1.4**



New Zealand **1.6**







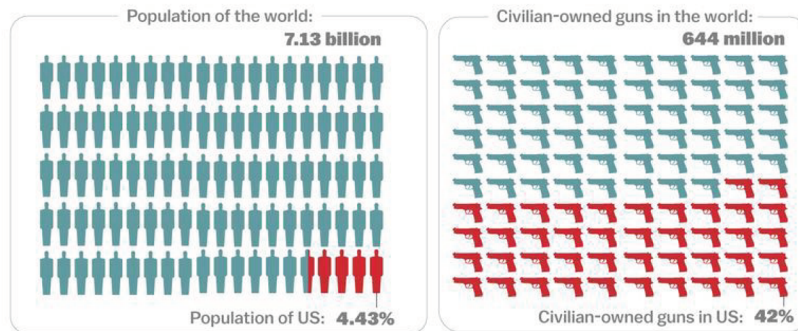
Vox

Javier Zarracina/Vox

This chart, compiled using United Nations data collected by **Simon Rogers for the Guardian**, shows that America far and away leads other developed countries when it comes to gun-related homicides. Why? Extensive reviews of the research, compiled by the **Harvard School of Public Health's Injury Control Research Center**, suggest the answer is pretty simple: The US is an outlier on gun violence because it has way more guns than other developed nations.

2) America has 4.4 percent of the world's population, but almost half of the civilian-owned guns around the world

Americans own a ridiculous number of guns

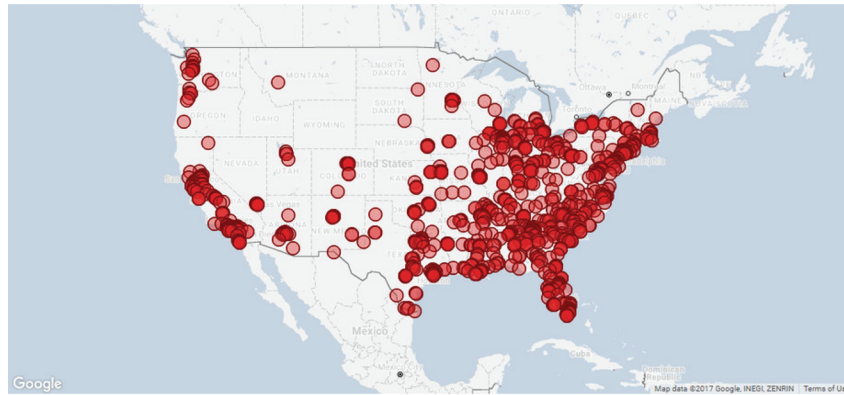


SOURCE: UNODC, Small Arms Survey, via The Guardian.

Vox

Javier Zarracina/Vox

3) There have been more than 1,600 mass shootings since Sandy Hook



Soo Oh/Vox

In December 2012, a gunman walked into Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, and killed 20 children, six adults, and himself. Since then, there have been **more than 1,600 mass shootings**.

The number comes from the **Gun Violence Archive**, which hosts a database that has tracked mass shootings since 2013. But since some shootings go unreported, the database is likely missing some, as well as the details of some of the events.

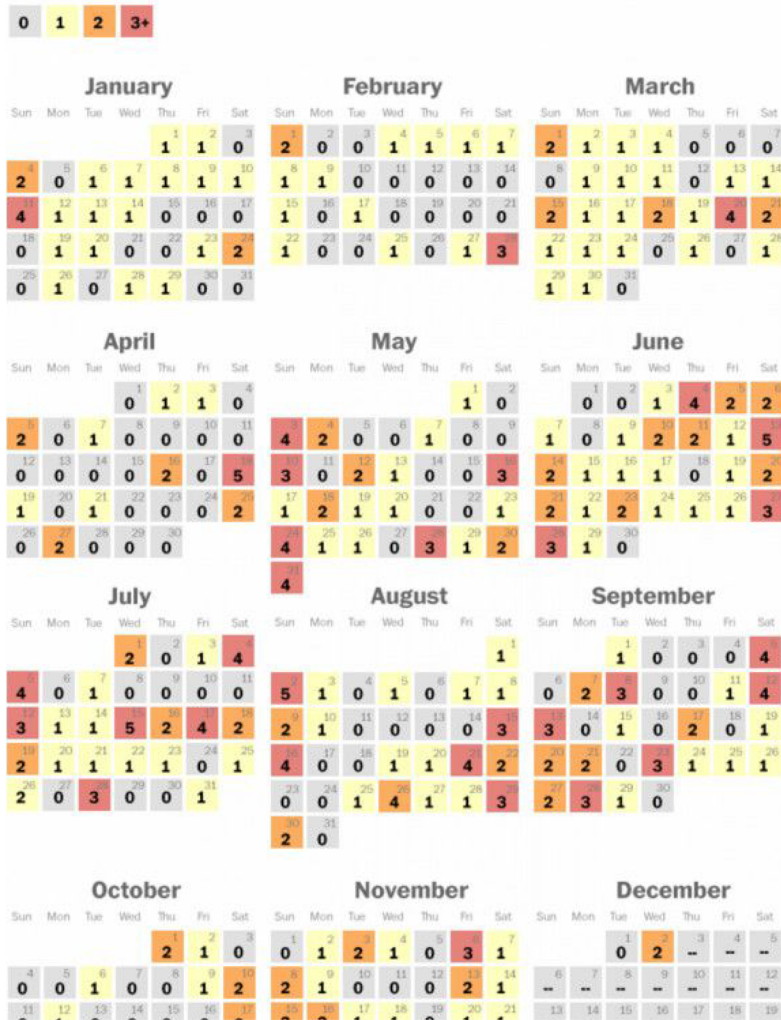
The tracker uses a fairly broad definition of “mass shooting”: It includes not just shootings in which four or more people were murdered, but shootings in which four or more people were shot at all (excluding the shooter).

Even under this broad definition, it’s worth noting that mass shootings make up a tiny portion of America’s firearm deaths, which totaled **nearly 39,000** in 2016 alone.

4) On average, there is around one mass shooting for each day in America

336 days, 355 mass shootings

Number of mass shootings (4+ victims, including shooter) by day of year, 2015



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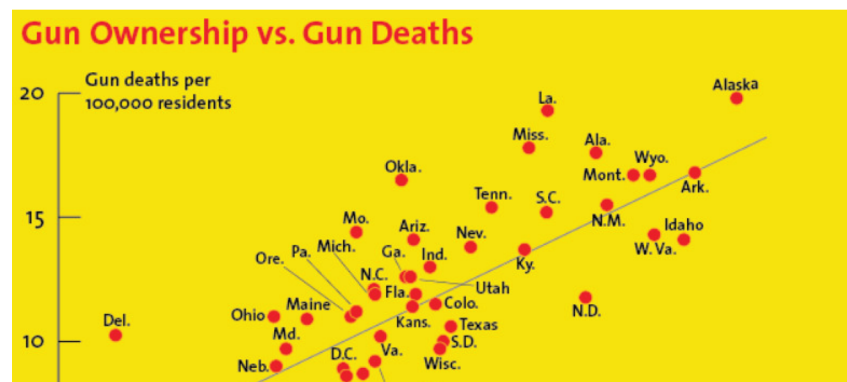
Source: Mass Shooting Tracker

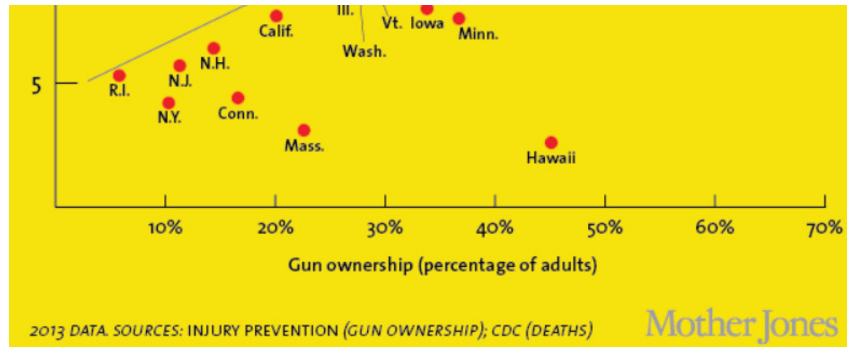
Christopher Ingraham/Washington Post

Whenever a mass shooting occurs, supporters of gun rights often argue that it's inappropriate to bring up political debates about gun control in the aftermath of a tragedy. For example, former Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, a strong supporter of gun rights, **criticized** former President Barack Obama for “trying to score cheap political points” when Obama **mentioned** gun control after a **mass shooting in Charleston, South Carolina**.

But if this argument is followed to its logical end, then it will just about never be the right time to discuss gun control, as **Christopher Ingraham pointed out at the Washington Post**. Under the broader definition of mass shootings, America has around one mass shooting a day. So if lawmakers are forced to wait for a time when there isn't a mass shooting to talk gun control, they could find themselves waiting for a very long time.

5) States with more guns have more gun deaths



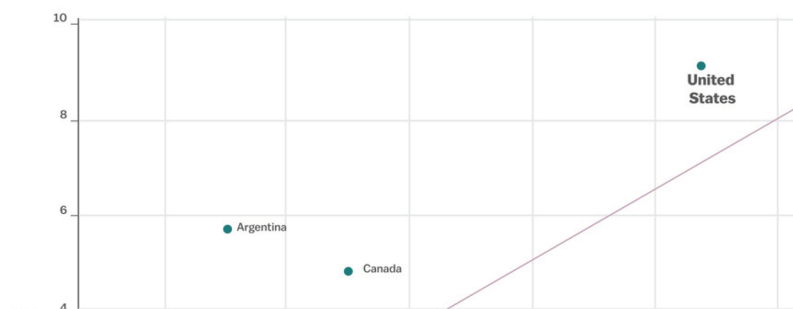


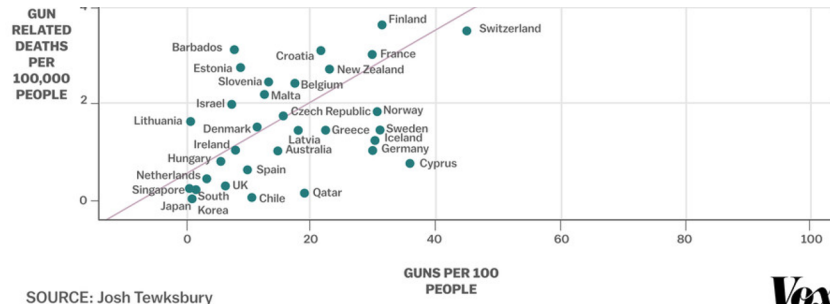
Mother Jones

Using data from a [study](#) in *Injury Prevention* and the [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention](#), [Mother Jones](#) put together the chart above that shows states with more guns tend to have far more gun deaths, including homicides and suicides. This has been found across the empirical research: “Within the United States, a wide array of empirical evidence indicates that more guns in a community leads to more homicide,” David Hemenway, the Harvard Injury Control Research Center’s director, wrote in *Private Guns, Public Health*.

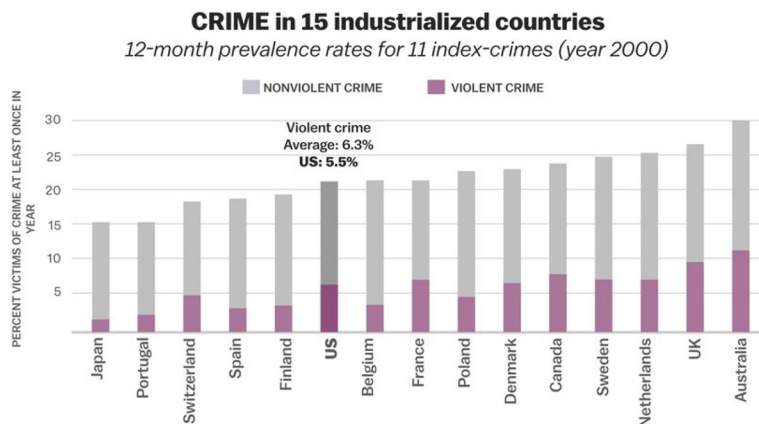
Read more in Mother Jones’s [“10 Pro-Gun Myths, Shot Down.”](#)

6) It’s not just the US: Developed countries with more guns also have more gun deaths





7) America is an outlier when it comes to gun deaths, but not overall crime



SOURCE: Jeffrey Swanson. International Crime Victims Survey. Gallup Europe.

Vox

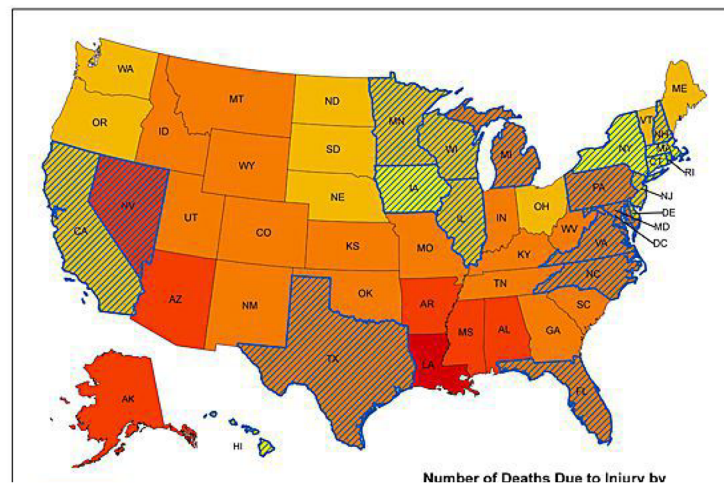
It would be one thing if the US happened to have more crime than other nations, but the existing data shows that not to be the case. America is only an outlier when it comes to homicides and, specifically, gun violence, according to **data** from Jeffrey Swanson at Duke University.

As **Zack Beauchamp explained for Vox**, a breakthrough analysis in the 1990s by UC Berkeley's Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins found that the US does not, contrary to the old conventional wisdom, have more crime in general than other Western industrial nations. Instead, the US appears to have more *lethal* violence — and that's driven in large part by the prevalence of guns.

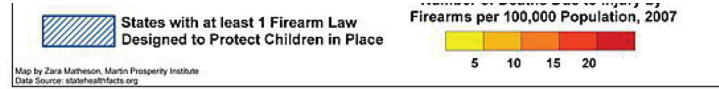
“A series of specific comparisons of the death rates from property crime and assault in New York City and London show how enormous differences in death risk can be explained even while general patterns are similar,” Zimring and Hawkins wrote. “A preference for crimes of personal force and the willingness and ability to use guns in robbery make similar levels of property crime 54 times as deadly in New York City as in London.”

This is in many ways intuitive: People of every country get into arguments and fights with friends, family, and peers. But in the US, it's much more likely that someone will get angry at an argument and be able to pull out a gun and kill someone.

8) States with tighter gun control laws have fewer gun-related deaths



Number of Deaths Due to Injury by



Zara Matheson/Martin Prosperity Institute

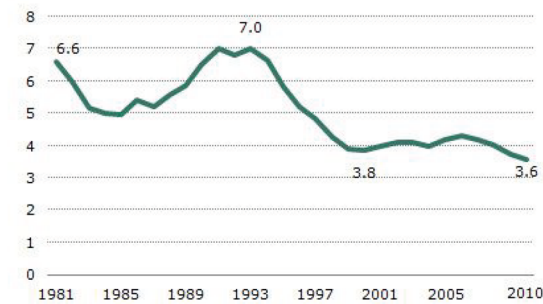
When economist **Richard Florida** took a look at gun deaths and other social indicators, he found that higher populations, more stress, more immigrants, and more mental illness didn't correlate with more gun deaths. But he did find one telling correlation: States with tighter gun control laws have fewer gun-related deaths. (Read more at Florida's "**The Geography of Gun Deaths.**")

This is backed by other research: A 2016 **review** of 130 studies in 10 countries, published in *Epidemiologic Reviews*, **found** that new legal restrictions on owning and purchasing guns tended to be followed by a drop in gun violence — a strong indicator that restricting access to guns can save lives.

9) Still, gun homicides (like all homicides) have declined over the past couple decades

Rate of Firearm Homicide Deaths, 1981-2010

Per 100,000 people



Note: Data labels shown for 1981, 1993, 2000 and 2010.

Source: CDC's National Center for Injury Prevention and Control Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

The good news is that firearm homicides, like **all homicides and crime**, have declined over the past two decades. (Although that may have changed **in 2015 and 2016**, with a recent rise in murders nationwide.)

There's still a lot of debate among criminal justice experts about why this crime drop is occurring. Some of the most credible ideas include mass incarceration, more and better policing, and reduced lead exposure from gasoline. But one theory that researchers have widely debunked is the idea that **more guns have deterred crime** — in fact, the opposite may be true, based on research compiled by the **Harvard School of Public Health's Injury Control Center**.

10) Most gun deaths are suicides

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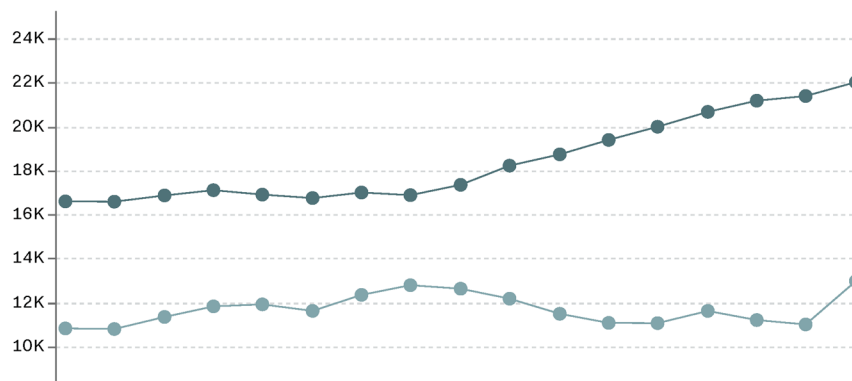
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Firearm suicides versus homicides



Although America's political debate about guns tends to focus on grisly mass shootings and murders, a majority of gun-related deaths in the US are suicides. As **Dylan Matthews explained for Vox**, this is actually one of the most compelling reasons for reducing access to guns: There is a **lot of research** that shows greater access to guns dramatically increases the risk of suicide.

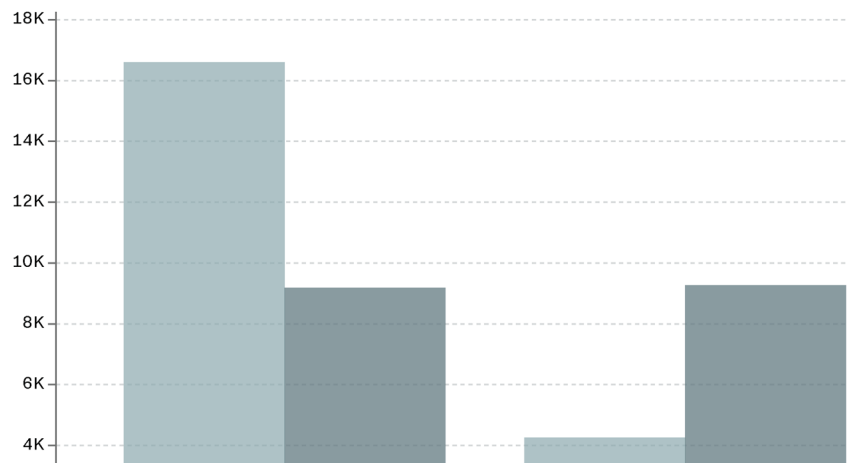
11) The states with the most guns report the most suicides



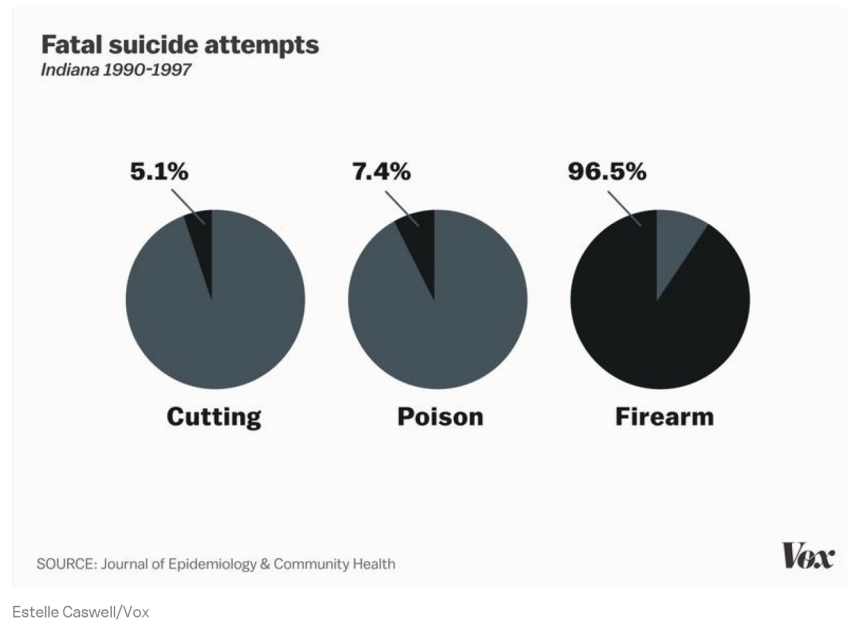
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More guns, more suicides

Reported suicides between 2001 and 2005 in states with the highest and lowest rates of gun ownership



12) Guns allow people to kill themselves much more easily



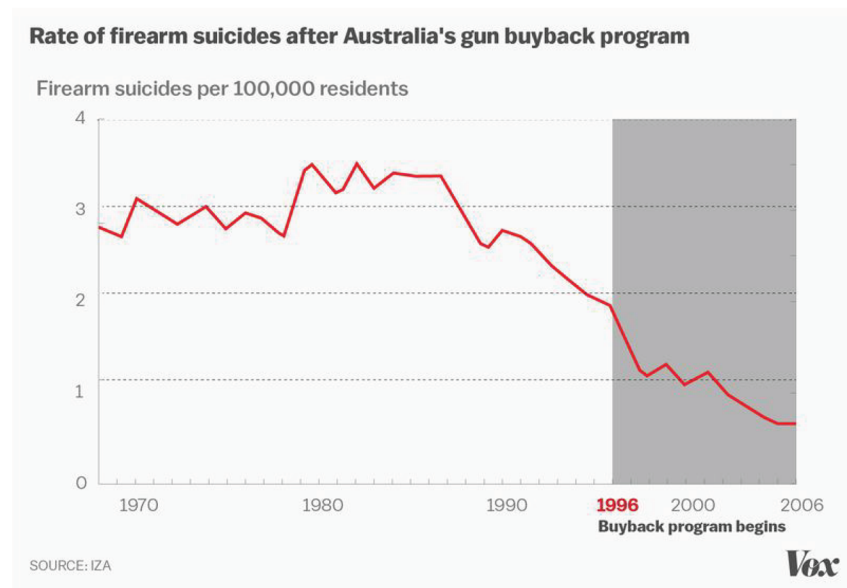
Perhaps *the* reason access to guns so strongly contributes to suicides is that guns are much deadlier than alternatives like cutting and poison.

Jill Harkavy-Friedman, vice president of research for the **American Foundation for Suicide Prevention**, **previously explained** that this is why reducing access to guns can be so important to preventing suicides: Just stalling an attempt or making it less likely to result in death makes a huge difference.

“Time is really key to preventing suicide in a suicidal person,” Harkavy-Friedman said. “First, the crisis won’t last, so it will seem less dire and less hopeless with time. Second, it opens the opportunity for someone to help or for the suicidal person to reach out to someone to help. That’s why limiting access to lethal means is so powerful.”

She added, “[I]f we keep the method of suicide away from a person when they consider it, in that moment they will not switch to another method. It doesn’t mean they never will. But in that moment, their thinking is very inflexible and rigid. So it’s not like they say, ‘Oh, this isn’t going to work. I’m going to try something else.’ They generally can’t adjust their thinking, and they don’t switch methods.”

13) Policies that limit access to guns have decreased suicides



Estelle Caswell/Vox

When countries reduced access to guns, they saw a drop in the number of firearm suicides. The data above, taken from a [study](#) by Australian researchers, shows that suicides dropped dramatically after the Australian government set up a mandatory gun buyback program that reduced the number of firearms in the country by about one-fifth.

The Australian study found that buying back 3,500 guns per 100,000 people correlated with up to a 50 percent drop in firearm homicides and a 74 percent drop in gun suicides. As **Dylan Matthews explained for Vox**, the drop in homicides wasn't statistically significant (in large part because murders in Australia were already so low). But the drop in suicides most definitely was — and the results are striking.

Australia is far from alone in these types of results. A **study** from Israeli researchers found that suicides among Israeli soldiers dropped by 40 percent when the military stopped letting soldiers take their guns home over the weekend. The change was most pronounced during the weekends.

This data and research have a clear message: States and countries can significantly reduce the number of suicides by restricting access to guns.

14) In states with more guns, more police officers are also killed on duty



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Police are more likely to be killed in homicides in states with more guns

Homicides per 10,000 law enforcement officers



Given that states with more guns tend to have more homicides, it isn't too surprising that, as a **study** in the *American Journal of Public Health* found, states with more guns also have more cops die in the line of duty.

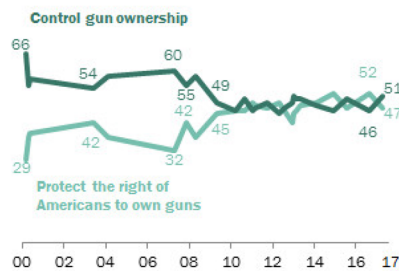
Researchers looked at federal data for firearm ownership and homicides of police officers across the US over 15 years. They found that states with more gun ownership had more cops killed in homicides: Every 10 percent increase in firearm ownership correlated with 10 additional officers killed in homicides over the 15-year study period.

The findings could help explain why US police officers **appear** to kill more people than cops in other developed countries. For US police officers, the higher rates of guns and gun violence — even against them — in America mean that they not only will encounter more guns and violence, but they can *expect* to encounter more guns and deadly violence, making them more likely to anticipate and perceive a threat and use deadly force as a result.

15) Support for gun ownership has sharply increased since the early 2000s

Public remains closely divided on controlling guns and protecting rights

% saying it is more important to ...

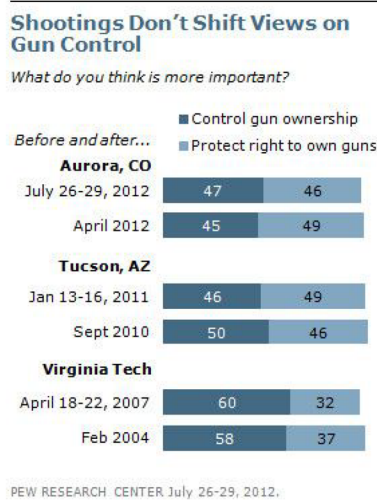


Note: Share of respondents who didn't offer an answer not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 5-11, 2017.
"America's Complex Relationship With Guns"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Over the past two decades, Americans have shifted from mostly supporting the concept of gun control to greater support for protecting “the right of Americans to own guns,” according to **Pew Research Center surveys**. This shift has happened even as major mass shootings, such as the attacks on Columbine High School and Sandy Hook Elementary School, have received more press attention.

16) High-profile shootings don’t appear to lead to more support for gun control in the long term

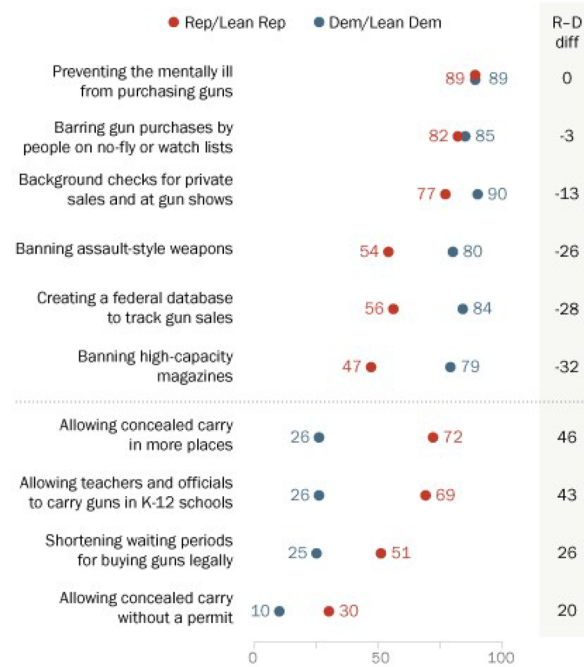


Although mass shootings are often viewed as some of the worst acts of gun violence, they seem to have little effect on public opinion about gun rights, based on **surveys** from the Pew Research Center. That helps explain why Americans’ support for the right to own guns appears to have risen over the past few decades even as more mass shootings made the news.

17) Specific gun control policies are fairly popular

Partisan gap in views of concealed carry is among widest on gun policy proposals

% who strongly or somewhat favor ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 13-27 and April 4-18, 2017.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Although most Americans say they want to protect the right to own firearms, most also back many gun control proposals — such as stronger background checks, a database to track gun sales, and banning assault-style weapons, according to **Pew Research Center** surveys.

This type of contradiction isn't exclusive to gun policy issues. For example, although most Americans in the past said they **don't like Obamacare**, most of them also said they like the **specific policies in the health care law**. Americans just don't like some policy ideas until you get specific.

For people who believe the empirical evidence that more guns mean more violence, this contradiction is the source of a lot of frustration. Americans by and large support policies that reduce access to guns. But once these policies are proposed, they're broadly spun by politicians and pundits into attempts to "take away your guns." So nothing gets done, and preventable deaths keep occurring.



Orders to seize guns from proh buyers at 10-year high: report

BY MALLORY SHELBOURNE - 12/04/17 02:51 PM EST

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Tlaib, Omar become first reps to sign 'Pledge to Impeach' Trump
HOUSE — 7M 28S AGO

The Hill's 12:30 Report: First test for Trump emergency declaration
12:30 REPORT — 7M 53S AGO

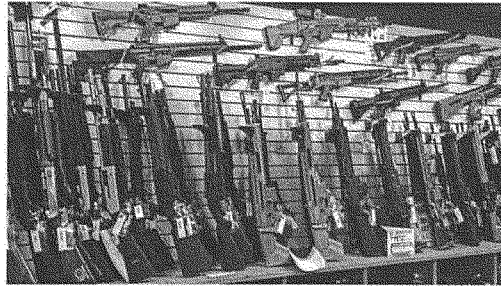
Scarborough: Republicans backing Trump emergency declaration can 'never raise Constitution again'
ADMINISTRATION — 8M 37S AGO

Republicans to introduce House, Senate resolutions declaring debt a national security threat
HOUSE — 10M 3S AGO

Poll shows Biden leads Democrats vying for 2020 nomination
CAMPAIGN — 11M 9S AGO

Chicago reporter says R. Kelly 'for sure' still has a network of support in his hometown
RISING — 11M 58S AGO

US cyber operation blocked Internet for Russian troll farm on Election Day 2018: report
CYBERSECURITY — 12M 43S AGO



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The number of orders issued to the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco Firearms and Explosives (ATF) to take back guns reached a 10-year high last year, according to an investigation published Monday by [USA Today](#).

The FBI provided ATF agents with 4,000 directives to take guns back from individuals who should not have been able to purchase the weapons due to mental health problems, criminal backgrounds or other concerns.

"These are people who shouldn't have weapons in the first place, and it just takes one to do something that could have tragic consequences," former ATF official David Chipman told the newspaper. "You don't want ATF to stand for 'after the fact.'"

USA Today noted that the number of successful seizures last year is unclear and that the number of guns that should not have been purchased may be higher because more than one firearm may be bought in one dealing.

The results of the publication's investigation comes after Attorney General Jeff Sessions last month ordered a review of the federal background check system in response to a mass shooting at a church in Sutherland Springs, Texas.

That shooting left 26 people dead after the Air Force reportedly failed to place information about the alleged gunman's previous court-martial conviction for assaulting his wife and stepson into a database used to vet individuals attempting to buy firearms.

Democrats drill EPA official over decrease in polluter settlements under Trump

ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT
— 14M 20S AGO

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Sessions in his directive provided the FBI and the ATF with 60 days to address the issues laid out in a memorandum.

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Chair NADLER. Mr. Reschenthaler?

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

As a lifelong resident of southwestern Pennsylvania and a gun owner myself, I know that despite what some of the people in this room may want you to believe, the overwhelming majority of American gun owners are hardworking, law-abiding citizens. These law-abiding citizens are simply looking to protect their families, hunt with their kids, or just put food on the table. That is why I am strongly opposed to H.R. 8 and other legislation that does nothing to address the root causes of gun violence like mental health. Instead, focus on limiting law-abiding citizens' ability to exercise their Second amendment rights.

More gun bans are not going to solve this problem. The tragic shootings, in both San Bernardino and New Town, occurred in states that already had an assault weapons ban in place. I was in high school when Columbine occurred. The Columbine High School shooting took place during the Federal Assault Weapons Ban. More gun bans are not going to solve this problem. Instead, I would urge my colleagues across the aisle to focus on enforcing the laws we already have on the books to keep guns out of the hands of criminals, gang Members, and others who wish to do us harm.

The Trump Administration has already made this a top priority. In the first nine months of 2017, Federal prosecutions for possession of an illegal firearm increased by 15 percent. The number of people charged with using a firearm in a crime also improved. Now compare that with the Obama Administration, which in 2010 prosecuted only 44 of nearly 50,000 fugitives and felons who attempted to illegally purchase firearms. Think about that. Only 44 out of 50,000. At the end of the day, the Constitution declares that gun ownership is not a privilege that is just for a select, reserve few. A protected and fundamental freedom guaranteed for all law-abiding citizens.

With that in mind, I am very concerned about H.R. 8 which Democrats taut as Universal Background Checks Bill, but it is actually the first step toward creating a national gun registry. I know my friends from across the aisle will point to the fact that lines in the bill explicitly prohibit the creation of a national gun registry. However, the U.S. Department of Justice has said that universal background checks would only be enforceable, only be enforceable, if there is a mandatory national registration of firearms. So, with said, Professor Malcom, do you think the American people should be concerned that H.R. 8 would ultimately lead to a national gun registry?

Dr. MALCOLM. I think they do and should be concerned. Great Britain had a national registry for firearms, and at one point in 1999 they banned personal possession of a handgun. Because there was a registry, they were able to get all of the handguns that people owned, the law-abiding people who had actually registered them. Within 10 years, the crimes with handguns had actually doubled. So, it really did not take the guns away from the people who were going to misuse it. All it did was disarmed the law-abiding people.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. So, Professor Malcom, in your opinion, is H.R. 8 an effective way to address gun violence?

Dr. MALCOLM. I do not think so. This Committee obviously wants to do something that is going to make a difference and that law is not going to make a difference. It is just going to make it harder for people, criminalized people, who had innocently let someone else use their gun or must pay an extra fee to be able to get a gun legally transferred.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Thank you, Professor Malcolm. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chair NADLER. The gentleman's time is expired. The gentleman from California, Mr. Swalwell.

Mr. SWALWELL. Thank you to Chair, and I want to thank the students and parents who are here today. My congressional orientation was going on when Sandy Hook happened. As awful as that was, I thought it was an opportunity for us to finally do something about gun violence in America. After six years, from Sandy Hook to Pulse to Charleston and all the cities we have come to learn, we saw moments of silence followed by moments of inaction. Then Parkland happened.

I do not know why Parkland changed the way that our country started to look at this. Maybe it is because the students at Marjory Stoneman Douglas could articulate what the beautiful babies at Sandy Hook could not, just the sense of loss, but their belief that you should have the right to learn, the right to go home, and the right to live in your classrooms. You have given us a renewed sense of hope. Even though last night at the State of the Union, you did not hear one single word from the President about gun violence. Despite all the people on the Gallery who had lost loved ones. Even the people he had brought were the common tool of their loss was a firearm. Not one word. That did not bother me, though, because I knew we would be here today. The first historic hearing in eight years on reducing gun violence.

So, thank you for giving us hope. Thank you to Mike Thompson, my colleague, who has continued to believe that we can do better and that we can start with background checks, and I just want to first address an argument that my colleagues keep making, which is, this will not reduce every gun violence death in America. That is absolutely true. If that is your standard, then we should just all go home and never strive to do anything to make us safer in our communities. If we work together on background checks and mental health illness, which I believe is correctly identified as another issue. If we work together to study gun violence through research. If we make sure that in our cities, we are investing in gang prevention. If we reduce to take the most dangerous weapons, like assault rifles out of the hands of the most dangerous people, we can seriously reduce, in our lifetime, the number of families who would have to sit in the Gallery and experience that loss.

So, thank you for being here. Thank you for giving us this renewed sense of hope. I want to also thank our law enforcement officers for what you do every day. My brother is a cop. My dad was a cop. I fear every day as they are out on the beat, that they are out gunned, and I know why you are here is to protect the men and women sworn in your departments.

Dr. Sakran, you were at the State of the Union last night, and I was hoping you could talk about an issue that I am very pas-

sionate about, which is, having a ban on assault weapons. I learned as a prosecutor that when a round flies out of an assault weapon, oftentimes, because of the pistol grip you can indiscriminately spray a crowd and you do not have to be an expert shot. You are firing a much more powerful round than many of the other weapons that are out there. You have seen on your trauma room table, the difference from what damage this does to the body. Could you just describe why an assault weapon, if someone is hit with it, is different? Just why we should treat those differently than perhaps other weapons?

Dr. SAKRAN. Sure, thank you for the question, Congressman. Thanks for your leadership.

When someone is hit with a bullet from an assault weapon, in addition to causing damage to the structures that are actually being hit, there is also a blast effect that occurs. So, there is damage to the surrounding tissue. That damage is a lot more significant than you would see with a handgun, for example. We do everything we can to try to control hemorrhage and fix the damage to save lives, but that is not always possible.

Mr. SWALWELL. Thank you, doctor. I will never forget a trauma surgeon and a pathologist telling me when a victim that I had worked on his case, he was shot in the back of the thigh. 40 rounds fired at him just hit once in the back of the thigh and he passed away, and the pathologist and ballistics expert said it was just because of the sheer energy from the round. Also, I want to ask Ms. Thomas, thank you as well, Ms. Thomas for testifying. Australia enacted a comprehensive buyback on assault weapons. It was about 650,000 assault weapons. Are you familiar with the effects after that buy back in their country? When there were 35 people killed and 28 we wounded in 1996?

Ms. THOMAS. Yeah, in the Port Arthur Massacre. Following that legislation being passed, there has not been a single mass shooting that has occurred in Australia since that time.

Mr. SWALWELL. Thank you. I yield back.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. Dr. Sakran, just yes or no, is the extra energy and the difference between being hit by an assault weapon, the assault rifle, and something else, is that because of the much greater velocity of the round from the assault weapon, from the assault rifle, than from a normal gun?

Dr. SAKRAN. The kinetic energy that is being transmitted to the body—

Chair NADLER. That extra kinetic energy is because of greater velocity?

Dr. SAKRAN. —velocity does have to do with kinetic energy, correct.

Chair NADLER. Thank you very much. Mr. Cline is recognized.

Mr. CLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I have been up here a month and during the campaign, I have been in the legislature at the State level for 16 years, so I had pretty good idea of what the role of the State legislature was. At the Federal level during the campaign, I carried around what I call the instruction manual, the Constitution. I know that a lot of people like to talk about how, well, it is not that it would not have affected any of these mass shootings, but it is that if we can take steps to

prevent one more shooting or one more criminal from illegally purchasing a firearm, then it is worth, essentially, doing what this document tells us we should not do, which is infringe on the rights of the people to keep and bear arms. So, it is important to remember that this is the instruction manual, and we need to keep it in mind as we talk about whether we are going to, essentially, violate it.

So, what I would ask Professor, in your remarks, you mentioned that the Second Amendment, the framers bequeath to us as individuals, the right to keep and bear weapons and common use for self-defense and other lawful purposes. I would disagree with that the framers did not bequeath to us that right. God has given us that right, and "We hold these Truths to be self-evident that all Men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." These rights are to be secured by Government. That is what this Constitution is for. So, to my question, do you think that criminals who have committed crimes and ignored the law are going to suddenly, miraculously follow new laws put in place that are going to prevent them from purchasing firearms without a background check?

Dr. MALCOLM. No, clearly they are not going to be bothered by it. If they are not going to obey the laws against harming people and shooting people, they are not going to be worried about trying to get a gun through a legitimate source or filing a background check. I mean, it is a shame, because I think this Committee could do really good work, but this particular law is not going to really help solve this problem.

Mr. CLINE. Thank you and to Ms. Thomas, I am reading your testimony and would ask you a similar question, do you believe that criminals who have ignored the laws—I mean you talk about 96 percent of inmates who were prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time they committed the crime—obtained a gun in violation of that prohibition. Do you believe that they are suddenly, miraculously going to follow a law to violate another law?

Ms. THOMAS. I believe that we need to pass H.R. 8 because it will actually enable the existing Federal law that is on the books to be properly enforced. We currently prohibit those individuals from acquiring firearms and they can very easily go online, go to a gun show, go to a parking lot, and buy a gun from an unlicensed seller. That seller is not breaking any law when they transfer the gun without a background check. So, we are not just talking about the buyer of the gun breaking the law. We are also creating a system where the sellers of firearms understand that part of that transfer must entail a background check as well. So, we are basically taking a law that exists, and we are making it actually applicable to all sales as it should be.

Mr. CLINE. Do you believe that a registry is necessary as part of that system?

Ms. THOMAS. This law, H.R. 8 prohibits a registry.

Mr. CLINE. Do you believe that a registry is necessary as part of that system?

Ms. THOMAS. I do not. I believe that H.R. 8 being passed is very important first step to reducing gun violence in America, and it prohibits a registry from being created.

Mr. CLINE. Do you believe that Heller was correctly decided?

Ms. THOMAS. I support the decisions of our Supreme Court.

Mr. CLINE. So, you think it was correctly decided?

Ms. THOMAS. I think that it overturned previous precedent, and we agree that there are some issues with the decision based upon its interpretation of the Second Amendment, but we support the decisions of our Supreme Court.

Mr. CLINE. Thank you. Mr. Chair, I yield back.

Chair NADLER. Mr. Jeffries?

Mr. JEFFRIES. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I thank all the witnesses for your presence here today. Let me begin with Professor Malcolm. The National Rifle Association opposes expanding background checks to cover firearm purchases at gun shows, true?

Dr. MALCOLM. The right to life—I did not get the first part of the, your—

Mr. JEFFRIES. The NRA.

Dr. MALCOLM. Oh, the NRA.

Mr. JEFFRIES. You are familiar with that organization, correct?

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes. I did not—yes.

Mr. JEFFRIES. They oppose a background check to cover the gun show loophole, true?

Dr. MALCOLM. There is almost no gun show loophole.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay.

Dr. MALCOLM. Virtually, but they do not want a registry and they do not want—this would make it more cumbersome for people who would like to be able to get a—

Mr. JEFFRIES. You're claiming my time. I did not say anything about a registry. You oppose expanding the background check requirement for the gun show purchases, true?

Dr. MALCOLM. We are not just talking about gun shows. We are talking about making people in private sales to go through background checks and making the whole system much more cumbersome.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I am asking you specifically about gun shows. Do you support expanding background checks to cover gun shows or not?

Dr. MALCOLM. There is almost no need for that.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, I take that as a no, thank you. In terms of expanding background checks for gun sales on the internet, the NRA opposes expanding background checks to cover such sales, true?

Dr. MALCOLM. I am really not privy to all of their decisions on these things.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, you oppose background checks as it relates to internet gun show sales, true?

Dr. MALCOLM. I would like to see the background check that we now have used properly. Now that is not because too many people are not put on that background check who ought to be.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, now you are the Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law and the Second amendment at George Mason University. Is that right?

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Is it fair to say that this position is bought and paid for by the NRA?

Dr. MALCOLM. I do not know.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, this position was created in 2003, true?

Dr. MALCOLM. I do not know what the background is, but I will say that George Mason University has been very conscious of being sure that any contributions to the law school for any particular positions do not have any strings attached, and you can check with what the procedures are for that.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, now when the position was created, it was a direct result of a \$1 million endowment from the National Rifle Association Foundation, correct?

Dr. MALCOLM. I was not at George Mason University in 2002. So, I really do not know the answer to that.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay.

Dr. MALCOLM. You seem to have more information about it than I do.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, the NRA Foundation has continued to give money to the law school. Is that right?

Dr. MALCOLM. I assume so if that what's—if that was an endowment.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, I ask unanimous consent to enter—

Dr. MALCOLM. You think that is funny. I really do not now.

Mr. JEFFRIES. No, I did not laugh. I ask you—this is not a laughing matter. This is a gun violence epidemic that we have in America.

Now, let me ask unanimous consent to enter into the record, the 990 forms from the NRA Foundation for the years 2012, '13, '14, '15, and '16.

Chair NADLER. Without objection, the documents will be entered into the record.

[The information follows:]

MR. JEFFRIES FOR THE RECORD



Antonin Scalia Law School

Hazel Hall
3301 Fairfax Drive, MS 1G3, Arlington, Virginia 22201
Phone: 703-993-8000; Fax: 703-993-8088

February 11, 2019

To the Chairman
The House Judiciary Committee

RE: Hearing "Preventing Gun Violence"
February 6, 2019

There are two statements of fact made during the "Preventing Gun Violence" hearing I would like to correct.

First, Ms. Robyn Thomas of the Giffords Law Center, when asked whether states that had universal background checks that included private transfers had a lower level of gun injuries, replied that they did. However data from 2000 to 2015 in *The War on Guns* by John Lott found that states with such background checks had a 15 percent higher per capita rate of mass public shooting deaths and a 38 percent higher rate of injuries. (see p. 172) Since some states only had these background check laws for a short time, however, there was a limited period to consider. The study states while "There was no clear, year-to-year pattern. In about half the years, states with background checks on private transfers had higher per capita rates of death and injury" than previously.

Secondly, a Democrat member of the committee claimed that had the proposed bill for universal background checks including private transfers been in effect before Cruz massacred students at Stoneman Douglas High School in Florida he would not have been able to obtain a firearm. In fact since the local sheriff never listed Cruz as an individual prohibited from having a gun Cruz would have been able to obtain one even if the proposed bill had been law.

Respectfully,

Joyce Lee Malcolm
Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law
and the Second Amendment
Antonin Scalia Law School
George Mason University



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B Check if applicable: <input type="checkbox"/> Address change <input type="checkbox"/> Name change <input type="checkbox"/> Initial return <input type="checkbox"/> Terminated <input type="checkbox"/> Amended return <input type="checkbox"/> Application pending	C Name of organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		D Employer identification number 52-1710886																										
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Activities & Governance	1 Briefly describe the organization's mission or most significant activities Awarded over 2,400 grants during 2012 in support of firearm-related public interest activities of various constituencies throughout the United States including youth, women, men, physically challenged individuals, gun collectors, law enforcement officers, hunters and competitive shooters																												
	2 Check this box <input type="checkbox"/> if the organization discontinued its operations or disposed of more than 25% of its net assets																												
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Paid Preparer Use Only	Print/Type preparer's name JAMES P SWEENEY	Preparer's signature	Date 2013-10-04																										
	Firm's name ▶ MCGILDRAY LLP	Check <input type="checkbox"/> if self-employed PTIN																											
	Firm's address ▶ 8000 TOWERS CRESCENT DR STE 500 VIENNA, VA 22184	Firm's EIN ▶ Phone no (703) 336-6400																											
	May the IRS discuss this return with the preparer shown above? (see instructions) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No																												

Form 990 (2012)

Page **2****Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments**Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part III ☐ Yes ☒ No**1** Briefly describe the organization's mission:

Support firearm-related public interest activities to defend and foster the Second Amendment rights of law-abiding Americans. Promote firearms and hunting safety, enhance marksmanship skills of shooting sports participants, and educate the general public about firearms in their historic, technological and artistic context.

2 Did the organization undertake any significant program services during the year which were not listed on the prior Form 990 or 990-EZ? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If "Yes," describe these new services on Schedule O.

3 Did the organization cease conducting, or make significant changes in how it conducts, any program services? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If "Yes," describe these changes on Schedule O.

4 Describe the organization's program service accomplishments for each of its three largest program services, as measured by expenses. Section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations are required to report the amount of grants and allocations to others, the total expenses, and revenue, if any, for each program service reported.

4a	(Code)	(Expenses \$ 24,139,240	including grants of \$ 23,162,338)	(Revenue \$)
The NRA Foundation financially supports programs that provide direct community support, including Eddie Eagle GunSafe program for children. Partners in Shooting, working with individuals with physical disabilities in the shooting sports. Refuse to be a victim program training women on how to avoid being the victim of crime. Wildlife and natural resource conservation goals, such as Hunters for the Hungry Environment Conservation and Hunting Outreach. ECHO Youth Hunter Education Challenge. YHEC basic firearms training and safety courses. Marksmanship qualification programs. Instructor and range safety officer certifications and law enforcement training. Boy Scouts and 4-H groups are among the most frequent recipients of funding - for merit badge, hunter education and safety training. Numerous programs benefit men, women and youth across the country.				

4b	(Code)	(Expenses \$ 42,700	including grants of \$)	(Revenue \$ 30,890)
The NRA Foundation's National Firearms Law Seminar is conducted annually and is an opportunity for attorneys who represent firearms owners and firearms-related businesses to meet and discuss legal issues and theories relevant to this expanding area of the law. A nationally-renowned faculty is always on hand to address a broad range of firearms-related issues.				

4c	(Code)	(Expenses \$	including grants of \$	(Revenue \$)

4d	Other program services (Describe in Schedule O)			
	(Expenses \$	including grants of \$	(Revenue \$)

4e	Total program service expenses	24,181,940		
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Part IV Checklist of Required Schedules

	Yes	No
1 Is the organization described in section 501(c)(3) or 4947(a)(1) (other than a private foundation)? If "Yes," complete Schedule A	Yes	
2 Is the organization required to complete Schedule B, Schedule of Contributors (see instructions)?	Yes	
3 Did the organization engage in direct or indirect political campaign activities on behalf of or in opposition to candidates for public office? If "Yes," complete Schedule C, Part I		No
4 Section 501(c)(3) organizations. Did the organization engage in lobbying activities, or have a section 501(h) election in effect during the tax year? If "Yes," complete Schedule C, Part II		No
5 Is the organization a section 501(c)(4), 501(c)(5), or 501(c)(6) organization that receives membership dues, assessments, or similar amounts as defined in Revenue Procedure 98-19? If "Yes," complete Schedule C, Part III		
6 Did the organization maintain any donor advised funds or any similar funds or accounts for which donors have the right to provide advice on the distribution or investment of amounts in such funds or accounts? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part I		No
7 Did the organization receive or hold a conservation easement, including easements to preserve open space, the environment, historic land areas, or historic structures? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part II		No
8 Did the organization maintain collections of works of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part III	Yes	
9 Did the organization report an amount in Part X, line 21 for escrow or custodial account liability, serve as a custodian for amounts not listed in Part X, or provide credit counseling, debt management, credit repair, or debt negotiation services? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part IV		No
10 Did the organization, directly or through a related organization, hold assets in temporarily restricted endowments, permanent endowments, or quasi-endowments? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part V	Yes	
11 If the organization's answer to any of the following questions is "Yes," then complete Schedule D, Parts VI, VII, VIII, IX, or X as applicable		
a Did the organization report an amount for land, buildings, and equipment in Part X, line 10? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part VI	Yes	
b Did the organization report an amount for investments—other securities in Part X, line 12 that is 5% or more of its total assets reported in Part X, line 16? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part VII		No
c Did the organization report an amount for investments—program related in Part X, line 13 that is 5% or more of its total assets reported in Part X, line 16? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part VIII		No
d Did the organization report an amount for other assets in Part X, line 15 that is 5% or more of its total assets reported in Part X, line 16? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part IX	Yes	
e Did the organization report an amount for other liabilities in Part X, line 25? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part X	Yes	
f Did the organization's separate or consolidated financial statements for the tax year include a footnote that addresses the organization's liability for uncertain tax positions under FIN 48 (ASC 740)? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Part X	Yes	
12a Did the organization obtain separate, independent audited financial statements for the tax year? If "Yes," complete Schedule D, Parts XI and XII	Yes	
b Was the organization included in consolidated, independent audited financial statements for the tax year? If "Yes," and if the organization answered "No" to line 12a, then completing Schedule D, Parts XI and XII is optional	Yes	
13 Is the organization a school described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii)? If "Yes," complete Schedule E		No
14a Did the organization maintain an office, employees, or agents outside of the United States?		No
b Did the organization have aggregate revenues or expenses of more than \$10,000 from grantmaking, fundraising, business, investment, and program service activities outside the United States, or aggregate foreign investments valued at \$100,000 or more? If "Yes," complete Schedule F, Parts I and IV		No
15 Did the organization report on Part IX, column (A), line 3, more than \$5,000 of grants or assistance to any organization or entity located outside the United States? If "Yes," complete Schedule F, Parts II and IV		No
16 Did the organization report on Part IX, column (A), line 3, more than \$5,000 of aggregate grants or assistance to individuals located outside the United States? If "Yes," complete Schedule F, Parts III and IV		No
17 Did the organization report a total of more than \$15,000 of expenses for professional fundraising services on Part IX, column (A), lines 6 and 11e? If "Yes," complete Schedule G, Part I (see instructions)		No
18 Did the organization report more than \$15,000 total of fundraising event gross income and contributions on Part VIII, lines 1c and 8a? If "Yes," complete Schedule G, Part II	Yes	
19 Did the organization report more than \$15,000 of gross income from gaming activities on Part VIII, line 9a? If "Yes," complete Schedule G, Part III	Yes	
20a Did the organization operate one or more hospital facilities? If "Yes," complete Schedule H		No
b If "Yes" to line 20a, did the organization attach a copy of its audited financial statements to this return?		

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Part IV Checklist of Required Schedules (continued)		
21	Did the organization report more than \$5,000 of grants and other assistance to any government or organization in the United States on Part IX, column (A), line 1? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule I, Parts I and II</i>	21 Yes
22	Did the organization report more than \$5,000 of grants and other assistance to individuals in the United States on Part IX, column (A), line 2? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule I, Parts I and III</i>	22 Yes
23	Did the organization answer "Yes" to Part VII, Section A, line 3, 4, or 5 about compensation of the organization's current and former officers, directors, trustees, key employees, and highest compensated employees? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule J</i>	23 Yes
24a	Did the organization have a tax-exempt bond issue with an outstanding principal amount of more than \$100,000 as of the last day of the year, that was issued after December 31, 2002? <i>If "Yes," answer lines 24b through 24d and complete Schedule K. If "No," go to line 25</i>	24a No
24b	Did the organization invest any proceeds of tax-exempt bonds beyond a temporary period exception?	24b
24c	Did the organization maintain an escrow account other than a refunding escrow at any time during the year to defease any tax-exempt bonds?	24c
24d	Did the organization act as an "on behalf of" issuer for bonds outstanding at any time during the year?	24d
25a	Section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations. Did the organization engage in an excess benefit transaction with a disqualified person during the year? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part I</i>	25a No
25b	Is the organization aware that it engaged in an excess benefit transaction with a disqualified person in a prior year, and that the transaction has not been reported on any of the organization's prior Forms 990 or 990-EZ? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part I</i>	25b No
26	Was a loan to or by a current or former officer, director, trustee, key employee, highest compensated employee, or disqualified person outstanding as of the end of the organization's tax year? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part II</i>	26 No
27	Did the organization provide a grant or other assistance to an officer, director, trustee, key employee, substantial contributor or employee thereof, a grant selection committee member, or to a 35% controlled entity or family member of any of these persons? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part III</i>	27 No
28	Was the organization a party to a business transaction with one of the following parties (see Schedule L, Part IV instructions for applicable filing thresholds, conditions, and exceptions)	
a	A current or former officer, director, trustee, or key employee? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part IV</i>	28a No
b	A family member of a current or former officer, director, trustee, or key employee? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part IV</i>	28b No
c	An entity of which a current or former officer, director, trustee, or key employee (or a family member thereof) was an officer, director, trustee, or direct or indirect owner? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule L, Part IV</i>	28c No
29	Did the organization receive more than \$25,000 in non-cash contributions? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule M</i>	29 Yes
30	Did the organization receive contributions of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets, or qualified conservation contributions? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule M</i>	30 No
31	Did the organization liquidate, terminate, or dissolve and cease operations? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule N, Part I</i>	31 No
32	Did the organization sell, exchange, dispose of, or transfer more than 25% of its net assets? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule N, Part II</i>	32 No
33	Did the organization own 100% of an entity disregarded as separate from the organization under Regulations sections 301.7701-2 and 301.7701-3? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule R, Part I</i>	33 Yes
34	Was the organization related to any tax-exempt or taxable entity? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule R, Part II, III, or IV, and Part V, line 1</i>	34 Yes
35a	Did the organization have a controlled entity within the meaning of section 512(b)(13)?	35a No
b	If "Yes" to line 35a, did the organization receive any payment from or engage in any transaction with a controlled entity within the meaning of section 512(b)(13)? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule R, Part V, line 2</i>	35b
36	Section 501(c)(3) organizations. Did the organization make any transfers to an exempt non-charitable related organization? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule R, Part V, line 2</i>	36 Yes
37	Did the organization conduct more than 5% of its activities through an entity that is not a related organization and that is treated as a partnership for federal income tax purposes? <i>If "Yes," complete Schedule R, Part VI</i>	37 No
38	Did the organization complete Schedule O and provide explanations in Schedule O for Part VI, lines 11b and 19? Note. All Form 990 filers are required to complete Schedule O	38 Yes

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Part V Statements Regarding Other IRS Filings and Tax ComplianceCheck if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part V ☒

1a	Enter the number reported in Box 3 of Form 1096. Enter -0- if not applicable.	1a	175		Yes	No
1b	Enter the number of Forms W-2G included in line 1a. Enter -0- if not applicable.	1b	13			
1c	Did the organization comply with backup withholding rules for reportable payments to vendors and reportable gaming (gambling) winnings to prize winners?	1c		Yes		
2a	Enter the number of employees reported on Form W-3, Transmittal of Wage and Tax Statements, filed for the calendar year ending with or within the year covered by this return.	2a	0			
2b	If at least one is reported on line 2a, did the organization file all required federal employment tax returns? Note. If the sum of lines 1a and 2a is greater than 250, you may be required to e-file (see instructions).	2b				
3a	Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year?	3a		Yes		
3b	If "Yes," has it filed a Form 990-T for this year? If "No," provide an explanation in Schedule O.	3b		Yes		
4a	At any time during the calendar year, did the organization have an interest in, or a signature or other authority over, a financial account in a foreign country (such as a bank account, securities account, or other financial account)?	4a			No	
4b	If "Yes," enter the name of the foreign country: See instructions for filing requirements for Form TD F 90-22.1, Report of Foreign Bank and Financial Accounts.					
5a	Was the organization a party to a prohibited tax shelter transaction at any time during the tax year?	5a			No	
5b	Did any taxable party notify the organization that it was or is a party to a prohibited tax shelter transaction?	5b			No	
5c	If "Yes," to line 5a or 5b, did the organization file Form 8886-T?	5c				
6a	Does the organization have annual gross receipts that are normally greater than \$100,000, and did the organization solicit any contributions that were not tax deductible as charitable contributions?	6a			No	
6b	If "Yes," did the organization include with every solicitation an express statement that such contributions or gifts were not tax deductible?	6b				
7	Organizations that may receive deductible contributions under section 170(c).					
7a	Did the organization receive a payment in excess of \$75 made partly as a contribution and partly for goods and services provided to the payor?	7a		Yes		
7b	If "Yes," did the organization notify the donor of the value of the goods or services provided?	7b		Yes		
7c	Did the organization sell, exchange, or otherwise dispose of tangible personal property for which it was required to file Form 8282?	7c			No	
7d	If "Yes," indicate the number of Forms 8282 filed during the year.	7d				
7e	Did the organization receive any funds, directly or indirectly, to pay premiums on a personal benefit contract?	7e			No	
7f	Did the organization, during the year, pay premiums, directly or indirectly, on a personal benefit contract?	7f			No	
7g	If the organization received a contribution of qualified intellectual property, did the organization file Form 8899 as required?	7g				
7h	If the organization received a contribution of cars, boats, airplanes, or other vehicles, did the organization file a Form 1098-C?	7h				
8	Sponsoring organizations maintaining donor advised funds and section 509(a)(3) supporting organizations. Did the supporting organization, or a donor advised fund maintained by a sponsoring organization, have excess business holdings at any time during the year?	8				
9	Sponsoring organizations maintaining donor advised funds.					
9a	Did the organization make any taxable distributions under section 4966?	9a				
9b	Did the organization make a distribution to a donor, donor advisor, or related person?	9b				
10	Section 501(c)(7) organizations. Enter					
10a	Initiation fees and capital contributions included on Part VIII, line 12.	10a				
10b	Gross receipts, included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 12, for public use of club facilities.	10b				
11	Section 501(c)(12) organizations. Enter					
11a	Gross income from members or shareholders.	11a				
11b	Gross income from other sources (Do not net amounts due or paid to other sources against amounts due or received from them).	11b				
12a	Section 4947(a)(1) non-exempt charitable trusts. Is the organization filing Form 990 in lieu of Form 1041?	12a				
12b	If "Yes," enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the year.	12b				
13	Section 501(c)(29) qualified nonprofit health insurance issuers.					
13a	Is the organization licensed to issue qualified health plans in more than one state? Note. See the instructions for additional information the organization must report on Schedule O.	13a				
13b	Enter the amount of reserves the organization is required to maintain by the states in which the organization is licensed to issue qualified health plans.	13b				
13c	Enter the amount of reserves on hand.	13c				
14a	Did the organization receive any payments for indoor tanning services during the tax year?	14a			No	
14b	If "Yes," has it filed a Form 720 to report these payments? If "No," provide an explanation in Schedule O.	14b				

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Part VI Governance, Management, and Disclosure For each "Yes" response to lines 2 through 7b below, and for a "No" response to lines 8a, 8b, or 10b below, describe the circumstances, processes, or changes in Schedule O. See instructions.

Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part VI ☒

Section A. Governing Body and Management

	Yes	No
1a Enter the number of voting members of the governing body at the end of the tax year	1a	15
If there are material differences in voting rights among members of the governing body, or if the governing body delegated broad authority to an executive committee or similar committee, explain in Schedule O		
b Enter the number of voting members included in line 1a, above, who are independent	1b	14
2 Did any officer, director, trustee, or key employee have a family relationship with any other officer, director, trustee, or key employee?	2	No
3 Did the organization delegate control over management duties customarily performed by or under the direct supervision of officers, directors or trustees, or key employees to a management company or other person?	3	No
4 Did the organization make any significant changes to its governing documents since the prior Form 990 was filed?	4	No
5 Did the organization become aware during the year of a significant diversion of the organization's assets?	5	No
6 Did the organization have members or stockholders?	6	No
7a Did the organization have members, stockholders, or other persons who had the power to elect or appoint one or more members of the governing body?	7a	No
b Are any governance decisions of the organization reserved to (or subject to approval by) members, stockholders, or persons other than the governing body?	7b	No
8 Did the organization contemporaneously document the meetings held or written actions undertaken during the year by the following		
a The governing body?	8a	Yes
b Each committee with authority to act on behalf of the governing body?	8b	Yes
9 Is there any officer, director, trustee, or key employee listed in Part VII, Section A, who cannot be reached at the organization's mailing address? If "Yes," provide the names and addresses in Schedule O	9	No

Section B. Policies (This Section B requests information about policies not required by the Internal Revenue Code.)

	Yes	No
10a Did the organization have local chapters, branches, or affiliates?	10a	No
b If "Yes," did the organization have written policies and procedures governing the activities of such chapters, affiliates, and branches to ensure their operations are consistent with the organization's exempt purposes?	10b	
11a Has the organization provided a complete copy of this Form 990 to all members of its governing body before filing the form?	11a	Yes
b Describe in Schedule O the process, if any, used by the organization to review this Form 990		
12a Did the organization have a written conflict of interest policy? If "No," go to line 13	12a	Yes
b Were officers, directors, or trustees, and key employees required to disclose annually interests that could give rise to conflicts?	12b	Yes
c Did the organization regularly and consistently monitor and enforce compliance with the policy? If "Yes," describe in Schedule O how this was done	12c	Yes
13 Did the organization have a written whistleblower policy?	13	Yes
14 Did the organization have a written document retention and destruction policy?	14	Yes
15 Did the process for determining compensation of the following persons include a review and approval by independent persons, comparability data, and contemporaneous substantiation of the deliberation and decision?		
a The organization's CEO, Executive Director, or top management official	15a	No
b Other officers or key employees of the organization	15b	No
If "Yes" to line 15a or 15b, describe the process in Schedule O (see instructions)		
16a Did the organization invest in, contribute assets to, or participate in a joint venture or similar arrangement with a taxable entity during the year?	16a	No
b If "Yes," did the organization follow a written policy or procedure requiring the organization to evaluate its participation in joint venture arrangements under applicable federal tax law, and take steps to safeguard the organization's exempt status with respect to such arrangements?	16b	

Section C. Disclosure

17 List the States with which a copy of this Form 990 is required to be filed: WV, WI, WA, VA, UT, TN, SC, RI, PA, OR, OK, OH, NY, NM, NJ, NH, ND, NC, MS, MN, MI, ME, MD, MA, KY, KS, IL, HI, GA, FL, DC, CT, CA, AZ, AR, AL, AK

18 Section 6104 requires an organization to make its Form 1023 (or 1024 if applicable), 990, and 990-T (501(c)(3)s only) available for public inspection. Indicate how you made these available. Check all that apply.
☐ Own website ☐ Another's website ☒ Upon request ☐ Other (explain in Schedule O)

19 Describe in Schedule O whether (and if so, how), the organization made its governing documents, conflict of interest policy, and financial statements available to the public during the tax year

20 State the name, physical address, and telephone number of the person who possesses the books and records of the organization
 THE NRA FOUNDATION INC. 11250 WAPLES MILL ROAD FAIRFAX, VA (703) 267-1000

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Page **7****Part VII Compensation of Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, Highest Compensated Employees, and Independent Contractors**Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part VII ☐**Section A. Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees****1a** Complete this table for all persons required to be listed. Report compensation for the calendar year ending with or within the organization's tax year.

- List all of the organization's **current** officers, directors, trustees (whether individuals or organizations), regardless of amount of compensation. Enter -0- in columns (D), (E), and (F) if no compensation was paid.
 - List all of the organization's **current** key employees, if any. See instructions for definition of "key employee."
 - List the organization's five **current** highest compensated employees (other than an officer, director, trustee or key employee) who received reportable compensation (Box 5 of Form W-2 and/or Box 7 of Form 1099-MISC) of more than \$100,000 from the organization and any related organizations.
 - List all of the organization's **former** officers, key employees, or highest compensated employees who received more than \$100,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations.
 - List all of the organization's **former directors or trustees** that received, in the capacity as a former director or trustee of the organization, more than \$10,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations.
- List persons in the following order: individual trustees or directors; institutional trustees; officers; key employees; highest compensated employees; and former such persons.
- ☐ Check this box if the organization nor any related organization compensated any current officer, director, or trustee

(A) Name and Title	(B) Average hours per week (list any hours for related organizations below dotted line)	(C) Position (do not check more than one box, unless person is both an officer and a director/trustee)					(D) Reportable compensation from the organization (W-2/1099-MISC)	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations (W-2/1099-MISC)	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations
		Individual trustee or director	Institutional Trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee			
(1) Frank R Brownell III President	1.00	X		X			0	0	0
(2) Bill K Brewster Vice President	1.00	X		X			0	0	0
(3) Joe M Allbaugh Trustee	1.00 1.00	X					0	0	0
(4) Allan D Cors Trustee	1.00 10.00	X					0	0	0
(5) Sandra S Froman Trustee	1.00 1.00	X					0	45,180	0
(6) Steve Hornady Trustee	1.00	X					0	0	0
(7) Eric Johanson Trustee	1.00	X					0	0	0
(8) David A Keene Trustee	1.00 20.00	X					0	0	0
(9) P X Kelley Trustee	1.00	X					0	0	0
(10) George K Kollitades II Trustee	1.00	X					0	0	0
(11) Carolyn D Meadows Trustee	1.00 1.00	X					0	0	0
(12) Owen P Mills Trustee	1.00 1.00	X					0	0	0
(13) James W Porter II Trustee	1.00 10.00	X					0	0	0
(14) Dennis Reese Trustee	1.00	X					0	0	0
(15) John C Sigler Trustee	1.00 1.00	X					0	0	0
(16) Wayne L LaPierre Ex Officer	1.00 58.00	X					0	833,312	141,555
(17) Wilson H Phillips Jr Treasurer	1.00 52.00			X			0	515,260	136,332

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Part VII Section A. Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees (continued)

		Yes	No
3	Did the organization list any former officer, director or trustee, key employee, or highest compensated employee on line 1a? If "Yes," complete Schedule J for such individual	3	No
4	For any individual listed on line 1a, is the sum of reportable compensation and other compensation from the organization and related organizations greater than \$150,000? If "Yes," complete Schedule J for such individual	4	Yes
5	Did any person listed on line 1a receive or accrue compensation from any unrelated organization or individual for services rendered to the organization? If "Yes," complete Schedule J for such person	5	No

Section B. Independent Contractors

1 Complete this table for your five highest compensated independent contractors that received more than \$100,000 of compensation from the organization. Report compensation for the calendar year ending with or within the organization's tax year.			
(A)	(B)	(C)	
Name and business address	Description of services	Compensation	
United Parcel Service 55 Glenlake Parkway NE Atlanta GA 30328	Shipping	824,551	
Outdoor Marketing Group LLC 55 West Newsom Avenue Denton NC 27239	Fulfillment services	297,917	
Emerging Spring Productions 235 N 1st W 2nd Floor Mesquite UT 84602	Production services	491,056	
Charles Jira dba MDB LLC 7655 Sugar Creek Columbia MO 65203	Warehouse lease	186,150	
Outdoor Channel, PO Box 809280 Chicago IL 606809280	TV airtime	185,900	
2 Total number of independent contractors (including but not limited to those listed above) who received more than \$100,000 of compensation from the organization ▶ 5			

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Part VIII Statement of RevenueCheck if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part VIII ☐

		(A) Total revenue	(B) Related or exempt function revenue	(C) Unrelated business revenue	(D) Revenue excluded from tax under sections 512, 513, or 514
Contributions, Gifts, Grants and Other Similar Amounts	1a Federated campaigns 1a 322,080				
	b Membership dues 1b				
	c Fundraising events 1c 12,554,411				
	d Related organizations 1d				
	e Government grants (contributions) 1e				
	f All other contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts not included above 1f 18,998,100				
	g Noncash contributions included in lines 1a-1f \$ 4,458,059				
	h Total. Add lines 1a-1f	31,874,591			
Program Service Revenue	2a Firearms Law Seminar registration fees	Business Code 611710	30,890	30,890	
	b				
	c				
	d				
	e				
	f All other program service revenue				
	g Total. Add lines 2a-2f	30,890			
	Other Revenue	3 Investment income (including dividends, interest, and other similar amounts)		1,253,801	
4 Income from investment of tax-exempt bond proceeds					
5 Royalties					
6a Gross rents (i) Real (ii) Personal					
b Less rental expenses					
c Rental income or (loss)					
d Net rental income or (loss)					
7a Gross amount from sales of assets other than inventory (i) Securities (ii) Other					
b Less cost or other basis and sales expenses					
c Gain or (loss)					
d Net gain or (loss)			190,781		190,781
8a Gross income from fundraising events (not including \$ 12,554,411 of contributions reported on line 1c) See Part IV, line 18					
b Less direct expenses					
c Net income or (loss) from fundraising events			-1,841,661		-1,841,661
9a Gross income from gaming activities See Part IV, line 19					
b Less direct expenses					
c Net income or (loss) from gaming activities			11,474,983		11,474,983
10a Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances					
b Less cost of goods sold					
c Net income or (loss) from sales of inventory			-238		-238
Miscellaneous Revenue Business Code					
11a Miscellaneous 900099		51,815		47,030	4,785
b					
c					
d All other revenue					
e Total. Add lines 11a-11d	51,815				
12 Total revenue. See Instructions	43,034,962	30,890	47,030	11,082,451	

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Page **10****Part IX Statement of Functional Expenses**

Section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations must complete all columns. All other organizations must complete column (A).

Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part IX ☐

	(A) Total expenses	(B) Program service expenses	(C) Management and general expenses	(D) Fundraising expenses
Do not include amounts reported on lines 6b, 7b, 8b, 9b, and 10b of Part VIII.				
1 Grants and other assistance to governments and organizations in the United States. See Part IV, line 21.	23,147,338	23,147,338		
2 Grants and other assistance to individuals in the United States. See Part IV, line 22.	15,000	15,000		
3 Grants and other assistance to governments, organizations, and individuals outside the United States. See Part IV, lines 15 and 16.	0			
4 Benefits paid to or for members.	0			
5 Compensation of current officers, directors, trustees, and key employees.	0			
6 Compensation not included above, to disqualified persons (as defined under section 4958(f)(1)) and persons described in section 4958(c)(3)(B).	0			
7 Other salaries and wages.	0			
8 Pension plan accruals and contributions (include section 401(k) and 403(b) employer contributions).	0			
9 Other employee benefits.	0			
10 Payroll taxes.	0			
11 Fees for services (non-employees):				
a Management.	0			
b Legal.	40,000	32,004	7,996	
c Accounting.	44,300		44,300	
d Lobbying.	0			
e Professional fundraising services. See Part IV, line 17.				
f Investment management fees.	157,391		157,391	
g Other (if line 11g amount exceeds 10% of line 25, column (A) amount, list line 11g expenses on Schedule O).	112,434	99,585	12,849	
12 Advertising and promotion.	1,754,918	251,291	443,378	1,060,249
13 Office expenses.	140,514	112,639	26,206	1,669
14 Information technology.	65,418	57,766	7,003	649
15 Royalties.	0			
16 Occupancy.	0			
17 Travel.	3,977		3,977	
18 Payments of travel or entertainment expenses for any federal, state, or local public officials.	0			
19 Conferences, conventions, and meetings.	56,841	47,038	9,803	
20 Interest.	4,116		4,116	
21 Payments to affiliates.	0			
22 Depreciation, depletion, and amortization.	7,414	7,414		
23 Insurance.	0			
24 Other expenses. Itemize expenses not covered above (List miscellaneous expenses in line 24e. If line 24e amount exceeds 10% of line 25, column (A) amount, list line 24e expenses on Schedule O.)				
a Management fees.	3,302,970	359,918	902,530	2,040,522
b Printing and publications.	175,983	18,953	106,534	50,496
c Insurance.	30,811			30,811
d				
e All other expenses.	73,477	32,994	40,483	
25 Total functional expenses. Add lines 1 through 24e.	29,132,902	24,181,940	1,766,566	3,184,396
26 Joint costs. Complete this line only if the organization reported in column (B) joint costs from a combined educational campaign and fundraising solicitation. Check here <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> if following SOP 98-2 (ASC 958-720).	113,292	18,630	77,779	16,883

Form **990** (2012)

Form 990 (2012)

Page **11****Part X Balance Sheet**Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part X ☐

		(A) Beginning of year	(B) End of year
Assets	1 Cash—non-interest-bearing	1	
	2 Savings and temporary cash investments	2 2,484,846	13,298,247
	3 Pledges and grants receivable, net	3 3,896,455	2,464,700
	4 Accounts receivable, net	4 863,675	917,265
	5 Loans and other receivables from current and former officers, directors, trustees, key employees, and highest compensated employees. Complete Part II of Schedule L	5	
	6 Loans and other receivables from other disqualified persons (as defined under section 4958(f)(1)), persons described in section 4958(c)(3)(B), and contributing employers and sponsoring organizations of section 501(c)(9) voluntary employees' beneficiary organizations (see instructions) Complete Part II of Schedule L	6	
	7 Notes and loans receivable, net	7 6,988	6,353
	8 Inventories for sale or use	8 8,804,727	8,123,656
	9 Prepaid expenses and deferred charges	9 258,541	238,734
	10a Land, buildings, and equipment: cost or other basis. Complete Part VI of Schedule D	10a 857,230	
	b Less: accumulated depreciation	10b 104,682	
	10c	686,158	752,548
	11 Investments—publicly traded securities	11 42,855,705	48,178,533
	12 Investments—other securities. See Part IV, line 11	12	
	13 Investments—program-related. See Part IV, line 11	13	
	14 Intangible assets	14	
15 Other assets. See Part IV, line 11	15 21,183,483	24,236,511	
16 Total assets. Add lines 1 through 15 (must equal line 34)	16 81,140,578	98,214,547	
Liabilities	17 Accounts payable and accrued expenses	17 1,125,614	1,614,048
	18 Grants payable	18 312,402	141,974
	19 Deferred revenue	19 52,807	37,054
	20 Tax-exempt bond liabilities	20	
	21 Escrow or custodial account liability. Complete Part IV of Schedule D	21	
	22 Loans and other payables to current and former officers, directors, trustees, key employees, highest compensated employees, and disqualified persons. Complete Part II of Schedule L	22	
	23 Secured mortgages and notes payable to unrelated third parties	23	
	24 Unsecured notes and loans payable to unrelated third parties	24	
	25 Other liabilities (including federal income tax, payables to related third parties, and other liabilities not included on lines 17–24). Complete Part X of Schedule D	25 6,394,771	5,963,671
	26 Total liabilities. Add lines 17 through 25	26 7,885,594	7,756,747
Net Assets or Fund Balances	27 Organizations that follow SFAS 117 (ASC 958), check here <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> and complete lines 27 through 29, and lines 33 and 34.		
	27 Unrestricted net assets	27 2,400,249	11,002,931
	28 Temporarily restricted net assets	28 20,763,894	24,165,803
	29 Permanently restricted net assets	29 50,090,841	55,289,066
	30 Organizations that do not follow SFAS 117 (ASC 958), check here <input type="checkbox"/> and complete lines 30 through 34.		
	30 Capital stock or trust principal, or current funds	30	
	31 Paid-in or capital surplus, or land, building or equipment fund	31	
	32 Retained earnings, endowment, accumulated income, or other funds	32	
33 Total net assets or fund balances	33 73,254,984	90,457,800	
34 Total liabilities and net assets/fund balances	34 81,140,578	98,214,547	

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Page **12****Part XI Reconciliation of Net Assets**Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part XI ☐

1	Total revenue (must equal Part VIII, column (A), line 12)	1	43,034,962
2	Total expenses (must equal Part IX, column (A), line 25)	2	29,132,902
3	Revenue less expenses Subtract line 2 from line 1	3	13,902,060
4	Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (must equal Part X, line 33, column (A))	4	73,254,984
5	Net unrealized gains (losses) on investments	5	3,300,756
6	Donated services and use of facilities	6	
7	Investment expenses	7	
8	Prior period adjustments	8	
9	Other changes in net assets or fund balances (explain in Schedule O)	9	
10	Net assets or fund balances at end of year Combine lines 3 through 9 (must equal Part X, line 33, column (B))	10	90,457,800

Part XII Financial Statements and ReportingCheck if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part XII ☐

	Yes	No
1 Accounting method used to prepare the Form 990 <input type="checkbox"/> Cash <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Accrual <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ If the organization changed its method of accounting from a prior year or checked "Other," explain in Schedule O		
2a Were the organization's financial statements compiled or reviewed by an independent accountant? If "Yes," check a box below to indicate whether the financial statements for the year were compiled or reviewed on a separate basis, consolidated basis, or both <input type="checkbox"/> Separate basis <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidated basis <input type="checkbox"/> Both consolidated and separate basis		No
b Were the organization's financial statements audited by an independent accountant? If "Yes," check a box below to indicate whether the financial statements for the year were audited on a separate basis, consolidated basis, or both <input type="checkbox"/> Separate basis <input type="checkbox"/> Consolidated basis <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Both consolidated and separate basis	Yes	
c If "Yes," to line 2a or 2b, does the organization have a committee that assumes responsibility for oversight of the audit, review, or compilation of its financial statements and selection of an independent accountant? If the organization changed either its oversight process or selection process during the tax year, explain in Schedule O	Yes	
3a As a result of a federal award, was the organization required to undergo an audit or audits as set forth in the Single Audit Act and OMB Circular A-133?		
b If "Yes," did the organization undergo the required audit or audits? If the organization did not undergo the required audit or audits, explain why in Schedule O and describe any steps taken to undergo such audits		

Form **990** (2012)

efile GRAPHIC print - DO NOT PROCESS As Filed Data -		DLN: 93493280001073							
SCHEDULE A (Form 990 or 990EZ)		Public Charity Status and Public Support							
Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service		2012 Open to Public Inspection							
Complete if the organization is a section 501(c)(3) organization or a section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust.		Attach to Form 990 or Form 990-EZ. See separate instructions.							
Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		Employer identification number 52-1710886							
Part I Reason for Public Charity Status (All organizations must complete this part.) See instructions.									
The organization is not a private foundation because it is: (For lines 1 through 11, check only one box.)									
1 <input type="checkbox"/> A church, convention of churches, or association of churches described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(i) .									
2 <input type="checkbox"/> A school described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii) . (Attach Schedule E.)									
3 <input type="checkbox"/> A hospital or a cooperative hospital service organization described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii) .									
4 <input type="checkbox"/> A medical research organization operated in conjunction with a hospital described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii) . Enter the hospital's name, city, and state: _____									
5 <input type="checkbox"/> An organization operated for the benefit of a college or university owned or operated by a governmental unit described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(iv) . (Complete Part II.)									
6 <input type="checkbox"/> A federal, state, or local government or governmental unit described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(v) .									
7 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> An organization that normally receives a substantial part of its support from a governmental unit or from the general public described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) . (Complete Part II.)									
8 <input type="checkbox"/> A community trust described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(vii) . (Complete Part II.)									
9 <input type="checkbox"/> An organization that normally receives (1) more than 33 1/3% of its support from contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts from activities related to its exempt functions—subject to certain exceptions, and (2) no more than 33 1/3% of its support from gross investment income and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 tax) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975. See section 509(a)(2) . (Complete Part III.)									
10 <input type="checkbox"/> An organization organized and operated exclusively to test for public safety. See section 509(a)(4) .									
11 <input type="checkbox"/> An organization organized and operated exclusively for the benefit of, to perform the functions of, or to carry out the purposes of one or more publicly supported organizations described in section 509(a)(1) or section 509(a)(2). See section 509(a)(3) . Check the box that describes the type of supporting organization and complete lines 11e through 11h.									
a <input type="checkbox"/> Type I b <input type="checkbox"/> Type II c <input type="checkbox"/> Type III - Functionally integrated d <input type="checkbox"/> Type III - Non-functionally integrated									
e <input type="checkbox"/> By checking this box, I certify that the organization is not controlled directly or indirectly by one or more disqualified persons other than foundation managers and other than one or more publicly supported organizations described in section 509(a)(1) or section 509(a)(2).									
f <input type="checkbox"/> If the organization received a written determination from the IRS that it is a Type I, Type II, or Type III supporting organization, check this box.									
g Since August 17, 2006, has the organization accepted any gift or contribution from any of the following persons?									
(i) A person who directly or indirectly controls, either alone or together with persons described in (ii) and (iii) below, the governing body of the supported organization?									
(ii) A family member of a person described in (i) above?									
(iii) A 35% controlled entity of a person described in (i) or (ii) above?									
h Provide the following information about the supported organization(s):									
(i) Name of supported organization	(ii) EIN	(iii) Type of organization (described on lines 1 - 9 above or IRC section (see instructions))	(iv) Is the organization in col (i) listed in your governing document?		(v) Did you notify the organization in col (i) of your support?		(vi) Is the organization in col (i) organized in the U.S.?		(vii) Amount of monetary support
			Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Total									

Part II Support Schedule for Organizations Described in Sections 170(b)(1)(A)(iv) and 170(b)(1)(A)(vi)
(Complete only if you checked the box on line 5, 7, or 8 of Part I or if the organization failed to qualify under Part III. If the organization fails to qualify under the tests listed below, please complete Part III.)

Section A. Public Support

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ▶	(a) 2008	(b) 2009	(c) 2010	(d) 2011	(e) 2012	(f) Total
1 Gifts, grants, contributions, and membership fees received (Do not include any "unusual grants.")	21,410,780	27,492,758	16,074,571	20,486,708	31,874,591	117,339,408
2 Tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to or expended on its behalf						
3 The value of services or facilities furnished by a governmental unit to the organization without charge						
4 Total. Add lines 1 through 3	21,410,780	27,492,758	16,074,571	20,486,708	31,874,591	117,339,408
5 The portion of total contributions by each person (other than a governmental unit or publicly supported organization) included on line 1 that exceeds 2% of the amount shown on line 11, column (f)						19,218,502
6 Public support. Subtract line 5 from line 4						98,120,906

Section B. Total Support

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ▶	(a) 2008	(b) 2009	(c) 2010	(d) 2011	(e) 2012	(f) Total
7 Amounts from line 4	21,410,780	27,492,758	16,074,571	20,486,708	31,874,591	117,339,408
8 Gross income from interest, dividends, payments received on securities loans, rents, royalties and income from similar sources	1,299,222	959,747	1,006,198	1,416,300	1,253,801	5,935,268
9 Net income from unrelated business activities, whether or not the business is regularly carried on						
10 Other income. Do not include gain or loss from the sale of capital assets (Explain in Part IV.)	5,902	9,386	7,666	5,158	4,785	32,897
11 Total support. (Add lines 7 through 10)						123,307,573
12 Gross receipts from related activities, etc. (see instructions)					12	181,528
13 First five years. If the Form 990 is for the organization's first, second, third, fourth, or fifth tax year as a 501(c)(3) organization, check this box and stop here. ▶						

Section C. Computation of Public Support Percentage

14 Public support percentage for 2012 (line 6, column (f) divided by line 11, column (f))	14	79.570 %
15 Public support percentage for 2011 Schedule A, Part II, line 14	15	84.380 %
16a 33 1/3% support test—2012. If the organization did not check the box on line 13, and line 14 is 33 1/3% or more, check this box and stop here. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization. ▶		
b 33 1/3% support test—2011. If the organization did not check a box on line 13 or 16a, and line 15 is 33 1/3% or more, check this box and stop here. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization. ▶		
17a 10%-facts-and-circumstances test—2012. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, 16a, or 16b, and line 14 is 10% or more, and if the organization meets the "facts-and-circumstances" test, check this box and stop here. Explain in Part IV how the organization meets the "facts-and-circumstances" test. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization. ▶		
b 10%-facts-and-circumstances test—2011. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, 16a, 16b, or 17a, and line 15 is 10% or more, and if the organization meets the "facts-and-circumstances" test, check this box and stop here. Explain in Part IV how the organization meets the "facts-and-circumstances" test. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization. ▶		
18 Private foundation. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, 16a, 16b, 17a, or 17b, check this box and see instructions. ▶		

Part III Support Schedule for Organizations Described in Section 509(a)(2)

(Complete only if you checked the box on line 9 of Part I or if the organization failed to qualify under Part II. If the organization fails to qualify under the tests listed below, please complete Part II.)

Section A. Public Support

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ►	(a) 2008	(b) 2009	(c) 2010	(d) 2011	(e) 2012	(f) Total
1 Gifts, grants, contributions, and membership fees received (Do not include any "unusual grants.")						
2 Gross receipts from admissions, merchandise sold or services performed, or facilities furnished in any activity that is related to the organization's tax-exempt purpose						
3 Gross receipts from activities that are not an unrelated trade or business under section 513						
4 Tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to or expended on its behalf						
5 The value of services or facilities furnished by a governmental unit to the organization without charge						
6 Total. Add lines 1 through 5						
7a Amounts included on lines 1, 2, and 3 received from disqualified persons						
b Amounts included on lines 2 and 3 received from other than disqualified persons that exceed the greater of \$5,000 or 1% of the amount on line 13 for the year						
c Add lines 7a and 7b						
8 Public support. (Subtract line 7c from line 6.)						

Section B. Total Support

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ►	(a) 2008	(b) 2009	(c) 2010	(d) 2011	(e) 2012	(f) Total
9 Amounts from line 6						
10a Gross income from interest, dividends, payments received on securities loans, rents, royalties and income from similar sources						
b Unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 taxes) from businesses acquired after June 30, 1975						
c Add lines 10a and 10b						
11 Net income from unrelated business activities not included in line 10b, whether or not the business is regularly carried on						
12 Other income. Do not include gain or loss from the sale of capital assets (Explain in Part IV.)						
13 Total support. (Add lines 9, 10c, 11, and 12.)						
14 First five years. If the Form 990 is for the organization's first, second, third, fourth, or fifth tax year as a 501(c)(3) organization, check this box and stop here ►						

Section C. Computation of Public Support Percentage

15 Public support percentage for 2012 (line 8, column (f) divided by line 13, column (f))	15	0 %
16 Public support percentage from 2011 Schedule A, Part III, line 15	16	

Section D. Computation of Investment Income Percentage

17 Investment income percentage for 2012 (line 10c, column (f) divided by line 13, column (f))	17	0 %
18 Investment income percentage from 2011 Schedule A, Part III, line 17	18	

- 19a 33 1/3% support tests—2012.** If the organization did not check the box on line 14, and line 15 is more than 33 1/3%, and line 17 is not more than 33 1/3%, check this box and **stop here**. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization. ►
- b 33 1/3% support tests—2011.** If the organization did not check a box on line 14 or line 19a, and line 16 is more than 33 1/3% and line 18 is not more than 33 1/3%, check this box and **stop here**. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization. ►
- 20 Private foundation.** If the organization did not check a box on line 14, 19a, or 19b, check this box and see instructions. ►

Part IV **Supplemental Information.** Complete this part to provide the explanations required by Part II, line 10; Part II, line 17a or 17b; and Part III, line 12. Also complete this part for any additional information. (See instructions).

Facts And Circumstances Test
Part II Line 10 Includes sales tax discounts and other miscellaneous receipts received in the normal course of business operations

Explanation
Part II Line 10 Includes sales tax discounts and other miscellaneous receipts received in the normal course of business operations

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SCHEDULE D (Form 990)	Supplemental Financial Statements ▶ Complete if the organization answered "Yes," to Form 990, Part IV, line 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 11e, 11f, 12a, or 12b ▶ Attach to Form 990. ▶ See separate instructions.	OMB No 1545-0047 <div style="border: 2px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; font-size: 24pt; font-weight: bold;">2012</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">Open to Public Inspection</div>					
Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service							
Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		Employer identification number 52-1710886					
Part I Organizations Maintaining Donor Advised Funds or Other Similar Funds or Accounts. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 6.							
	(a) Donor advised funds	(b) Funds and other accounts					
1 Total number at end of year							
2 Aggregate contributions to (during year)							
3 Aggregate grants from (during year)							
4 Aggregate value at end of year							
5 Did the organization inform all donors and donor advisors in writing that the assets held in donor advised funds are the organization's property, subject to the organization's exclusive legal control? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No							
6 Did the organization inform all grantees, donors, and donor advisors in writing that grant funds can be used only for charitable purposes and not for the benefit of the donor or donor advisor, or for any other purpose conferring impermissible private benefit? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No							
Part II Conservation Easements. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 7.							
1 Purpose(s) of conservation easements held by the organization (check all that apply): <input type="checkbox"/> Preservation of land for public use (e.g., recreation or education) <input type="checkbox"/> Preservation of an historically important land area <input type="checkbox"/> Protection of natural habitat <input type="checkbox"/> Preservation of a certified historic structure <input type="checkbox"/> Preservation of open space							
2 Complete lines 2a through 2d if the organization held a qualified conservation contribution in the form of a conservation easement on the last day of the tax year:							
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th style="padding: 2px;">Held at the End of the Year</th> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">2a</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">2b</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">2c</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">2d</td> </tr> </table>		Held at the End of the Year	2a	2b	2c	2d
Held at the End of the Year							
2a							
2b							
2c							
2d							
a Total number of conservation easements							
b Total acreage restricted by conservation easements							
c Number of conservation easements on a certified historic structure included in (a)							
d Number of conservation easements included in (c) acquired after 8/17/06, and not on a historic structure listed in the National Register							
3 Number of conservation easements modified, transferred, released, extinguished, or terminated by the organization during the tax year ▶ _____							
4 Number of states where property subject to conservation easement is located ▶ _____							
5 Does the organization have a written policy regarding the periodic monitoring, inspection, handling of violations, and enforcement of the conservation easements it holds? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No							
6 Staff and volunteer hours devoted to monitoring, inspecting, and enforcing conservation easements during the year ▶ _____							
7 Amount of expenses incurred in monitoring, inspecting, and enforcing conservation easements during the year ▶ \$ _____							
8 Does each conservation easement reported on line 2(d) above satisfy the requirements of section 170(h)(4)(B)(i) and section 170(h)(4)(B)(ii)? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No							
9 In Part XIII, describe how the organization reports conservation easements in its revenue and expense statement, and balance sheet, and include, if applicable, the text of the footnote to the organization's financial statements that describes the organization's accounting for conservation easements.							
Part III Organizations Maintaining Collections of Art, Historical Treasures, or Other Similar Assets. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 8.							
1a If the organization elected, as permitted under SFAS 116 (ASC 958), not to report in its revenue statement and balance sheet works of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets held for public exhibition, education, or research in furtherance of public service, provide, in Part XIII, the text of the footnote to its financial statements that describes these items							
b If the organization elected, as permitted under SFAS 116 (ASC 958), to report in its revenue statement and balance sheet works of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets held for public exhibition, education, or research in furtherance of public service, provide the following amounts relating to these items:							
(i) Revenues included in Form 990, Part VIII, line 1	▶ \$ 4,353,350						
(ii) Assets included in Form 990, Part X	▶ \$ 22,848,186						
2 If the organization received or held works of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets for financial gain, provide the following amounts required to be reported under SFAS 116 (ASC 958) relating to these items:							
a Revenues included in Form 990, Part VIII, line 1	▶ \$ _____						
b Assets included in Form 990, Part X	▶ \$ _____						

3 Using the organization's acquisition, accession, and other records, check any of the following that are a significant use of its collection items (check all that apply)

- a ☒ Public exhibition
- b ☒ Scholarly research
- c ☒ Preservation for future generations
- d ☐ Loan or exchange programs
- e ☐ Other

4 Provide a description of the organization's collections and explain how they further the organization's exempt purpose in Part XIII

5 During the year, did the organization solicit or receive donations of art, historical treasures or other similar assets to be sold to raise funds rather than to be maintained as part of the organization's collection? ☐ Yes ☒ No

1a Is the organization an agent, trustee, custodian or other intermediary for contributions or other assets not included on Form 990, Part X?

b If "Yes," explain the arrangement in Part XIII and complete the following table

	Amount
1c	
1d	
1e	
1f	

2a Did the organization include an amount on Form 990, Part X, line 21? ☐ Yes ☐ No

b If "Yes," explain the arrangement in Part XIII. Check here if the explanation has been provided in Part XIII.

	(a) Current year	(b) Prior year	(c) Two years back	(d) Three years back	(e) Four years back
1a Beginning of year balance	36,923,048	38,114,638	33,460,631	24,940,191	33,107,925
b Contributions	1,192,764	1,115,900	1,283,835	3,956,819	1,818,601
c Net investment earnings, gains, and losses	4,069,945	-959,446	3,917,617	4,673,873	-8,549,043
d Grants or scholarships	607,992	1,220,111	475,628	110,252	1,437,292
e Other expenditures for facilities and programs	110,434	112,234	62,295		
f Administrative expenses	6,923	15,699	9,522		
g End of year balance	41,460,408	36,923,048	38,114,638	33,460,631	24,940,191

2 Provide the estimated percentage of the current year end balance (line 1g, column (a)) held as:

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|----------|
| a | Board designated or quasi-endowment ▶ | 4 000 % |
| b | Permanent endowment ▶ | 85 000 % |
| c | Temporarily restricted endowment ▶ | 11 000 % |
- The percentages in lines 2a, 2b, and 2c should equal 100%

3a Are there endowment funds not in the possession of the organization that are held and administered for the organization by

	Yes	No
3a(i)		No
3a(ii)		No
3b		

4 Describe in Part XIII the intended uses of the organization's endowment funds

Description of property	(a) Cost or other basis (investment)	(b) Cost or other basis (other)	(c) Accumulated depreciation	(d) Book value
1a Land	625,243			625,243
b Buildings				
c Leasehold improvements				
d Equipment		231,987	104,682	127,305
e Other				
Total. Add lines 1a through 1e. (Column (d) must equal Form 990, Part X, column (B), line 10(c).)				752,548

(a) Description of security or category (including name of security)	(b) Book value	(c) Method of valuation Cost or end-of-year market value
(1) Financial derivatives		
(2) Closely-held equity interests		
(3) Other		
(A) Financial derivatives and other financial products		
(B) Closely-held equity interests		
Total. (Column (b) must equal Form 990, Part X, col. (B), line 13.) ▶		

[illegible]

Part IX Other Assets. See Form 990, Part X, line 13.		(a) Description	(b) Book value
(1)	Contributions receivable from trusts		966,731
(2)	Cash surrender value of life insurance		114,479
(3)	Collections - Firearms and accessories		22,200,236
(4)	Collections - Other		647,950
(5)	Operating artwork and copyrights		299,906
(6)	Security deposits		6,474
(7)	Miscellaneous advances		735
Total. (Column (b) must equal Form 990, Part X, col.(B) line 15.)			24,236,511

Other liabilities. See Form 990, Part X, line 23.	
(a) Description of liability	(b) Book value
Federal income taxes	
Federal income taxes	
Due to NRA	540,849
Due to affiliates	2,464,215
Annuities payable	2,958,607
Total. (Column (b) must equal Form 990, Part X, col (B) line 25.)	5,963,671

2. Fin 48 (ASC 740) Footnote In Part XIII, provide the text of the footnote to the organization's financial statements that reports the organization's liability for uncertain tax positions under FIN 48 (ASC 740). Check here if the text of the footnote has been provided in Part XIII ☐

Schedule D (Form 990) 2012

Page 4

Part XI Reconciliation of Revenue per Audited Financial Statements With Revenue per Return			
1	Total revenue, gains, and other support per audited financial statements	1	46,178,326
2	Amounts included on line 1 but not on Form 990, Part VIII, line 12		
a	Net unrealized gains on investments	2a	3,300,756
b	Donated services and use of facilities	2b	
c	Recoveries of prior year grants	2c	
d	Other (Describe in Part XIII)	2d	
e	Add lines 2a through 2d	2e	3,300,756
3	Subtract line 2e from line 1	3	42,877,570
4	Amounts included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 12, but not on line 1		
a	Investment expenses not included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 7b	4a	157,392
b	Other (Describe in Part XIII)	4b	
c	Add lines 4a and 4b	4c	157,392
5	Total revenue. Add lines 3 and 4c . (This must equal Form 990, Part I, line 12)	5	43,034,962
Part XII Reconciliation of Expenses per Audited Financial Statements With Expenses per Return			
1	Total expenses and losses per audited financial statements	1	28,975,510
2	Amounts included on line 1 but not on Form 990, Part IX, line 25		
a	Donated services and use of facilities	2a	
b	Prior year adjustments	2b	
c	Other losses	2c	
d	Other (Describe in Part XIII)	2d	
e	Add lines 2a through 2d	2e	
3	Subtract line 2e from line 1	3	28,975,510
4	Amounts included on Form 990, Part IX, line 25, but not on line 1:		
a	Investment expenses not included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 7b	4a	157,392
b	Other (Describe in Part XIII)	4b	
c	Add lines 4a and 4b	4c	157,392
5	Total expenses. Add lines 3 and 4c . (This must equal Form 990, Part I, line 18)	5	29,132,902

Part XIII Supplemental Information

Complete this part to provide the descriptions required for Part II, lines 3, 5, and 9; Part III, lines 1a and 4; Part IV, lines 1b and 2b; Part V, line 4; Part X, line 2; Part XI, lines 2d and 4b; and Part XII, lines 2d and 4b. Also complete this part to provide any additional information.

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
III	4	The NRA Foundation maintains a collection of firearms and firearms accessories housed within the National Firearms Museum, where they promote appreciation, understanding, and participation in gun collecting and the preservation of the heritage of firearms through collection, conservation, exhibition and research.
IV	5	Grants are made from endowment funds in support of firearm-related public interest activities of a variety of constituencies throughout the United States, including youth, women, men, physically challenged individuals, gun collectors, law enforcement officers, hunters and competitive shooters.
X	2	Management evaluated the Foundations tax positions and concluded that the Foundation had taken no uncertain tax positions that require adjustment to the financial statements to comply with the provisions of this guidance. Generally, the Foundation is no longer subject to income tax examinations by the U.S. federal, state or local tax authorities for years before 2009, which is the standard statute of limitations look-back period.

Schedule D (Form 990) 2012

efile GRAPHIC print - DO NOT PROCESS		As Filed Data -	DLN: 93493280001073	
SCHEDULE G (Form 990 or 990-EZ) <small>Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service</small>		Supplemental Information Regarding Fundraising or Gaming Activities <small>Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, lines 17, 18, or 19, or if the organization entered more than \$15,000 on Form 990-EZ, line 6a. Form 990-EZ filers are not required to complete this part. ▶ Attach to Form 990 or Form 990-EZ. ▶ See separate instructions.</small>		<small>OMB No 1545-0047</small> 2012 Open to Public Inspection
Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC			Employer identification number 52-1710886	

Part I Fundraising Activities. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 17.

1 Indicate whether the organization raised funds through any of the following activities. Check all that apply.

a <input type="checkbox"/> Mail solicitations b <input type="checkbox"/> Internet and email solicitations c <input type="checkbox"/> Phone solicitations d <input type="checkbox"/> In-person solicitations	e <input type="checkbox"/> Solicitation of non-government grants f <input type="checkbox"/> Solicitation of government grants g <input type="checkbox"/> Special fundraising events
--	--

2a Did the organization have a written or oral agreement with any individual (including officers, directors, trustees or key employees listed in Form 990, Part VII) or entity in connection with professional fundraising services? ☐ Yes ☐ No

b If "Yes," list the ten highest paid individuals or entities (fundraisers) pursuant to agreements under which the fundraiser is to be compensated at least \$5,000 by the organization

(i) Name and address of individual or entity (fundraiser)	(ii) Activity	(iii) Did fundraiser have custody or control of contributions?		(iv) Gross receipts from activity	(v) Amount paid to (or retained by) fundraiser listed in col (i)	(vi) Amount paid to (or retained by) organization
		Yes	No			
Total.						

3 List all states in which the organization is registered or licensed to solicit funds or has been notified it is exempt from registration or licensing

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Schedule G (Form 990 or 990-EZ) 2012

Page **2**

Part II Fundraising Events. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 18, or reported more than \$15,000 of fundraising event contributions and gross income on Form 990-EZ, lines 1 and 6b. List events with gross receipts greater than \$5,000.

		(a) Event #1	(b) Event #2	(c) Other events	(d) Total events
		St. Louis, MO (event type)	Woodward, OK (event type)	(total number)	(add col (a) through col (c))
Revenue	1 Gross receipts	376,891	162,768	27,821,910	28,361,569
	2 Less: Contributions	248,895	115,549	12,189,967	12,554,411
	3 Gross income (line 1 minus line 2)	127,996	47,219	15,631,943	15,807,158
Direct Expenses	4 Cash prizes				
	5 Noncash prizes			424,997	424,997
	6 Rent/facility costs	20,780	1,526	347,932	370,238
	7 Food and beverages	38,993	8,438	4,571,561	4,618,992
	8 Entertainment				
	9 Other direct expenses	134,909	39,568	12,060,115	12,234,592
	10 Direct expense summary Add lines 4 through 9 in column (d)				(17,648,819)
	11 Net income summary Combine line 3, column (d), and line 10				-1,841,661

Part III Gaming. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 19, or reported more than \$15,000 on Form 990-EZ, line 6a.

	(a) Bingo	(b) Pull tabs/Instant bingo/progressive bingo	(c) Other gaming	(d) Total gaming (add col (a) through col (c))
Revenue	1 Gross revenue		23,391,746	23,391,746
	2 Cash prizes			
Direct Expenses	3 Non-cash prizes		10,491,082	10,491,082
	4 Rent/facility costs		305,360	305,360
	5 Other direct expenses		1,120,321	1,120,321
	6 Volunteer labor	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes, 99.500% <input type="checkbox"/> No
	7 Direct expense summary Add lines 2 through 5 in column (d)			11,916,763
	8 Net gaming income summary Combine lines 1 and 7 in column (d)			11,474,983

9 Enter the state(s) in which the organization operates gaming activities. See Additional Data Table.

a Is the organization licensed to operate gaming activities in each of these states? ☐ Yes ☒ No

b If "No," explain

Not all states require licensure

10a Were any of the organization's gaming licenses revoked, suspended or terminated during the tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No

b If "Yes," explain

Does the organization operate gaming activities with nonmembers? ☐ Yes ☒ No

12 Is the organization a grantor, beneficiary or trustee of a trust or a member of a partnership or other entity formed to administer charitable gaming? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13 Indicate the percentage of gaming activity operated in:

a The organization's facility	13a	
b An outside facility	13b	100.000 %

14 Enter the name and address of the person who prepares the organization's gaming/special events books and records:

Name ▶ Sarah Budi

Address ▶ 11250 Waples Mill Rd
Fairfax, VA 22030

15a Does the organization have a contract with a third party from whom the organization receives gaming revenue? ☐ Yes ☒ No

b If "Yes," enter the amount of gaming revenue received by the organization ▶ \$ _____ and the amount of gaming revenue retained by the third party ▶ \$ _____

c If "Yes," enter name and address of the third party:

Name ▶ _____

Address ▶ _____

16 Gaming manager information:

Name ▶ Sarah Budi

Gaming manager compensation ▶ \$ _____

Description of services provided ▶ Oversight of volunteer fundraising program

☐ Director/officer ☒ Employee ☐ Independent contractor

17 Mandatory distributions:

a Is the organization required under state law to make charitable distributions from the gaming proceeds to retain the state gaming license? ☒ Yes ☐ No

b Enter the amount of distributions required under state law distributed to other exempt organizations or spent in the organization's own exempt activities during the tax year ▶ \$ _____

Part IV Supplemental Information. Complete this part to provide the explanations required by Part I, line 2b, columns (iii) and (v), and Part III, lines 9, 9b, 10b, 15b, 15c, 16, and 17b, as applicable. Also complete this part to provide any additional information (see instructions).

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
III	17a	100 of the Foundations net gaming proceeds, as reported in Part III, line 8, were used to directly fund grants in furtherance of the Foundations charitable exempt purposes in 2012
II		and continued on next line
III		The Foundation held 1,104 volunteer-led fundraising events across the United States during 2012. Event activities typically include a banquet, live and silent auction, games and drawings. Due to tax reporting requirements, the net revenue for these events has been broken down and included in 3 separate lines of the Foundations 990. Total fundraising event activity includes 12,554,411 in contributions, including amounts paid by event participants over the fair market value of goods received 990 Part VIII, line 1c, -1,841,661 due to banquet auction costs over banquet ticket/sales proceeds 990 Part VIII, line 8c and 11,474,983 net games and drawings revenue 990 Part VIII, line 9c for a total net of 22,187,733 in Friends of NRA and other fundraising event revenue

Additional Data

Software ID: 12000057
Software Version: 12.18.605.2
EIN: 52-1710886
Name: NRA FOUNDATION INC

Form 990 Schedule G Part III Line 9

Enter the state(s) in which the organization operates gaming activities	AK,AL,AR,AZ,CA,CO,CT,DE,FL,GA,HI,IA,ID,IL,IN,KS,KY,LA,MA,MD,ME,MI,MN,MO,MS,MT,NC,ND,NE,NH,NJ,NM,NV,NY,OH,OK,OR,PA,RI,SC,SD,TN,TX,UT,VA,VT,WA,WI,WV,WY
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Part III **Grants and Other Assistance to Individuals in the United States.** Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 22. Part III can be duplicated if additional space is needed.

[illegible]

Part IV Supplemental Information.

Complete this part to provide the information required in Part I, line 2, Part III, column (b), and any other additional information

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
1	2	All grant recipients file final reports documenting and accounting for the usage of grant funds. Grant funds may only be expended in furtherance of the project documented on the grant application. NRA Foundation reserves the right to demand return of grant funds not spent for the purposes of the grant award. Unused grant funds must be returned to NRA Foundation to become available to other applicants.

Additional Data

Return to Form

Software ID: 12000057
 Software Version: 12.18.605.2
 EIN: 52-1710886
 Name: NRA FOUNDATION INC

Form 990, Schedule I, Part II, Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States

(a) Name and address of organization or government	(b) EIN	(c) IRC Code section if applicable	(d) Amount of cash grant	(e) Amount of non-cash assistance	(f) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(g) Description of non-cash assistance	(h) Purpose of grant or assistance
National Rifle Association 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030	53-0116130	501c4	13,518,518				Youth Education, Range Development
Speedway Children's Charities 5555 Concord Pkwy S Ste 336 Concord, NC 28027	56-1331429	501c3	425,000				Youth Programs
Texas 4H Inc Kimble Co 4-H Shooting Sports 501 Main St Junction, TX 75848	45-3159466	501c3	42,481	149,997	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NRA Freedom Action Foundation 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030	26-1277941	501c3	188,463				Non-partisan voter registration
Oklahoma State University Texas Co 4H241 Ag Hall Stillwater, OK 74078	73-6017987	Oklahoma State Univ	24,476	136,852	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NRA Whittington Center 10 Miles S SW Hwy 64 Raton, NM 87740	23-7367534	501c3	131,726	1,298	Cost	Program materials	Youth Registration Fees/Facilities, Scholarship
George Mason University Law School 3301 N Fairfax Dr MS 1G3 Arlington, VA 22201	54-1603842	501c3	100,000				Second Amendment Study
The Outdoor Heritage Foundation of Alaska PO Box 4752 Palmer, AK 99645	26-0647775	501c3	67,000				Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Monterey Bay Area Council BSA 55 S San Josequin St Salinas, CA 93901	23-7054309	501c3	55,000				Range Devel/Improv
Anchorage Sch Dist 5 Anchorage HS JROTC 13400 Elmora Rd Anchorage, AK 99516	92-6000078	Anchorage School Dis	51,227				Youth Equipment
Arizona Game and Fish Dept Shooting Ring Branch 5000 West Carefree Hwy Phoenix, AZ 85086	86-6004791	Arizona Game Fish De	47,170	3,753	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Bethel Sportsman Club 3600 Tower Rd Bethel, AK 99559	45-4043083		50,002				Range Devel/Improv
NRA Civil Rights Defense Fund 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030	52-1136665	501c3	49,000				Defense of Second Amendment Rights
Martinez Gun Club 900 Waterbird Way Martinez, CA 94553	94-1638007	501c7	47,450				Range Devel/Improv
University of Arkansas Co-Op Ext Svc 2301 S University Ave Little Rock, AR 72204	71-6060767	501c3	42,750	1,921	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
Taft Sportsman's Club PO Box 1245 Taft, CA 93268	77-0220279	501c4	22,835	20,358	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mason Valley Trap Club 470 Pete Henrich Rd Yerington, NV 89447	88-0193417		40,505				Range Devel/Improv
Pennsylvania Rifle and Pistol Assoc 47 Barrens Church Rd Ollensburg, PA 17019	25-1846167		39,593	557	Cost	Program materials	Youth Registration Fees
American Legion Post 217 32739 MN Highway Warsaw, MO 65355	43-6093544	501c1	39,200				Range Devel/Improv
Oklahoma City Gun Club 6701 N Blvdwy Suite 220 Oklahoma City, OK 73116	73-1247608	501c4	4,200	34,446	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety, Youth Equipment
Snowshoe Gun Club Inc Kanai Peninsula 907140230 Victoria Ave Soldotna, AK 99669	26-0612473	501c7	37,932				Training, Ed Safety, Range Devel/Improv
University of Florida 4-H Youth Development 1142 Sheely Dr Gainesville, FL 32611	59-1000186	501c3	1,636	33,762	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
San Luis Obispo Sportsman's Assoc Inc 3270 Gilardi Rd San Luis Obispo, CA 93405	77-0057903	501c3	26,826	6,957	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Battle Born Civil War Reenactors of Nevada PO Box 1865 Carson City, NV 89702	27-3770516		33,164				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Los Banos Scout House and Youth Center 905 E 1st Pacheco Blvd Los Banos, CA 93635	56-2460089		10,580	19,920	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
The Town of Hot Springs 109 Main St Hot Springs, MT 59845	81-6001277	Town of Hot Springs	30,000				Range Devel/Improv
Sequoia Council BSA 6005 N Tamar Ave Fresno, CA 93711	94-1156255	501c3	30,000				Range Devel/Improv
Camp Josepho BSA 16525 Sherman Way Unit C-8 Van Nuys, CA 91406	22-1576300	501c3	8,126	21,403	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
Western Wyoming Rifemans Assoc Inc PO Box 605 Arton, WY 83110	41-2262306	501c7	26,871				Range Devel/Improv
Sage Pistol League Sage Rifle & Pistol Club 312 Locust St Ridgecrest, CA 93555	77-0414921	501c3	6,640	19,263	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip, Youth Field Day

Form 990, Schedule I, Part II, Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States

(a) Name and address of organization or government	(b) EIN	(c) IRC Code section if applicable	(d) Amount of cash grant	(e) Amount of non-cash assistance	(f) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(g) Description of non-cash assistance	(h) Purpose of grant or assistance
Name Sportsman AssocPO Box 1349 Nome, AK 99762	26-3839882	501c4	25,900				Youth Equipment
Gold Country ShootersPO Box 1860 Valley Springs, CA 95252	26-3605589	501c3		25,505	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Rocky Mountain Gun Club6100 North Cole Creek Rd Casper, WY 82636	23-7290799	501c3	25,000				Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Uinta Co Youth Camp225 9th St Evanston, WY 82930	83-6000128	Uinta County	25,000				Youth Equipment
AZ Game and Fish Dept-Shooting Rng Brnch5000 West Carefree Highway Phoenix, AZ 85086	86-6004791	Arizona Game and Fis	24,768				Youth Equipment
Arizona State Rifle & Pistol Assoc635 W Happy Valley Rd Glendale, AZ 85310	86-0212950	501c4	22,762	1,941	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Better Ponca Foundation Ponca State Park8090 Spur 26 E Ponca, NE 68770	47-0757049	501c3	1,310	23,357	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip, Youth Equipment
Eastern Nebraska Gun Club IncPO Box 241612 Omaha, NE 68124	23-7088229		23,803				Range Devel/Improv
Globe Miami Gun Club2675 Bixby Rd Globe, AZ 85501	86-0749221	501c7	21,134	2,176	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
Central Montana Shooting Complex Inc520 Lime Kiln Rd Lewistown, MT 59457	42-1613966	501c4	22,505				Range Devel/Improv
Sage Pistol League Sage Rifle & Pistol Club312 Locust St Ridgecrest, CA 93555	72-0414921	501c3	21,638				Youth Equipment
Mid-Missouri Outdoor Dream 1701 Frog Hollow Rd Owensville, MO 65066	27-1303805		11,225	10,315	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Sonora High Trap Club430 N Washington St Sonora, CA 95370	77-0181953	Sonora Union High Sc		21,407	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Greater Pittsburgh Council BSA1275 Bedford Ave Pittsburgh, PA 15219	25-0965214	501c3	280	21,051	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Illinois State Rifle AssocPO Box 637 Chatsworth, IL 60921	36-6161799	501c4	9,100	11,620	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip, Youth Education, Equipment
Stockton Sportsmen's Club IncPO Box 1364 Stockton, CA 95201	94-2744590	501c3	19,028	1,251	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
PA Scholastic Clay Target Educ Fndn Inc100 Sherrod Hill Rd Edinboro, PA 16412	20-8927945		20,000				Youth Training, Equipment
Alaska Youth Shooting Sports Assoc Inc10271 Hampton Dr Anchorage, AK 99507	56-2613547	501c3	20,000				Youth Equipment
Matanuska Valley Sportsmen Inc2000 S Glenn Highway Palmer, AK 99645	92-0097577	501c3	20,000				Range Devel/Improv
4H Shooting Sports of Sweetwater Co2500 College Dr A-700 Rock Springs, WY 82901	61-1593051	University of Wyoming		19,914	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Golden Spread Council BSA 401 Tascosa Rd Amarillo, TX 79124	75-0800613	501c3		19,716	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
University of Tennessee at Martin44 University St Martin, TN 38238	62-6001636	501c3	3,500	16,109	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wilderness Sportsmen's Club PO Box 507 Sisseton, NE 68968	81-0454859	501c3	19,550				Range Devel/Improv
Powder River Sportsmens Club IncPO Box 162 Baker City, OR 97814	93-0440889	501c7	19,530				Youth Training
Paposa Pathfinders YNEC Shooting Club188 South 7th St Paposa Springs, CO 81147	20-0676669	501c3	3,119	16,198	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Truckee Wolverine Booster Club11725 Donner Pass Rd Truckee, CA 96161	94-3080825	501c3		19,044	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wyoming Game & Fish Dept 5400 Bishop Blvd Cheyenne, WY 82006	83-0208667	Wyoming Game and Fis	19,000				Training, Ed Safety Sponsorship
Woodcreek HS Sportsmen's Club2551 Woodcreek Oaks Blvd Roseville, CA 95747	94-3239441	501c3		18,948	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Roseville HS Boosters Roseville HS Trap Club1 Tiger Way Roseville, CA 95678	94-2578164	501c3		18,948	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
The True Sportsman Club 8250 True Sportsman Dr Lone, CA 95640	68-0438378	501c7		18,628	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

Form 990, Schedule I, Part II, Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States

(a) Name and address of organization or government	(b) EIN	(c) IRC Code section if applicable	(d) Amount of cash grant	(e) Amount of non-cash assistance	(f) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(g) Description of non-cash assistance	(h) Purpose of grant or assistance
AZ Public Safety Fdn Inc Pinal Co Sheriff's Ofc 6499 S Kings Range Rd Ste 6-6 Gold Canyon, AZ 85118	26-0443429	501c3	18,416				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Pennsylvania State Youth Education Summit R3 Box 445 Wilcox Dr Troy, PA 16947	33-1211183		18,200				Youth Training
Cache Valley Public Shooting Range 2851 W 200 N Logan, UT 84321	87-6000545	Utah Division of Wi	5,490	12,673	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Inola Public Schools Inola AFJROTC 801 E C Commercial Inola, OK 74036	63-0297929	Inola Public Schools		18,042	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Lenham Grove Rod & Gun Club 16232 Sequan Truck Trail Alpine, CA 91901	95-6068013	501c7	467	17,503	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
MT 4-H Fdn Gallatin Co Shooting Sports Prg 111 Taylor Hall MSU Bozeman, MT 59717	23-7051460	501c3		17,836	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Pennsylvania YHEC Council 232 Wilcox Rd Troy, PA 16947	26-3786917	501c3	12,778	4,979	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Washakie Co 4H Shooting Sports PO Box 609 Worland, WY 82401	83-0288830	501c3	13,137	4,052	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Big Fork Gun Club PO Box 529 HWY 83 Bigfork, MT 59911	81-0479937	501c7	17,000				Range Devel/Improv
NW Louisiana Youth Hunter Education Club 198 West K- Jon Rd Grand Cane, LA 71032	27-2042493		4,012	12,916	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
University of Wyoming Shotgun Sports Club 1000 E University Ave Laramie, WY 82071	83-0201971	501c3	15,926	912	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Competition
Great Salt Lake Council BSA 525 Football Blvd Salt Lake City, UT 84113	87-0212460	501c3		16,754	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Santa Maria Valley Sportsmen's Assoc PO Box 164 Santa Maria, CA 93456	23-7115691	501c3	13,955	2,724	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Burley Trap Club PO Box 393 Burley, ID 83318	82-0511139	501c7		16,611	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Mendian Optimist Club Youth Training Center PO Box 681 Mendian, ID 83680	20-5773227	501c3	16,357				Youth Training
Comal Co 4H Claybusters 1858 Kitman Rd Spring Branch, TX 78070	74-6260854	501c3	9,072	7,184	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Terrebonne Parish Sheriff Dept Jr Dpty YHEC Club PO Box 1670 Houma, LA 70360	72-6001393	Terrebonne Parish Sh	4,139	12,015	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Redwood Empire Council BSA 1000 Apollo Way Santa Rosa, CA 95407	94-1167394	501c3		16,112	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
ShoShone Co Public Shooting Range 1700 Government Gulch Rd Kelliogg, ID 83837	20-5087123	County of ShoShone	16,104				Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Sage Brush Rifle and Pistol Club 13380 Promise Rd Mobridge, SD 57601	20-3599939		6,411	9,674	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety, Youth Equipment
Rock Co Rifle & Pistol Club Inc 1029 S Jackson Janesville, WI 53547	20-3761054		16,000				Range Devel/Improv
S UT Shooting Sports Park Special Svc Dist 197 East Tabernacle St George, UT 84770	87-6000319		15,986				Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Coon Valley Conservation Club 51005 Knudson Lane Coon Valley, WI 54623	39-1392976	501c3	13,241	2,728	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
East Feliciana 4-H Foundation Inc 4419 Idlewild Rd Clinton, LA 70722	72-1283459	501c3	2,123	13,753	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Albuquerque Public Schools 7801 Candelaria Rd NE Albuquerque, NM 87110	85-6000101	501c3	3,464	12,132	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
Cut Bank Sportsman Assoc PO Box 114 Cut Bank, MT 59427	20-0040622	501c4	10,000	5,505	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety, Range Devel/Improv
Laramie Co 4H Shooting Sports 310 West 19th St 100 Cheyenne, WY 82001	23-7287617	501c3	550	14,892	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Gallia Co Gun Club 300 Buck Ridge Rd Gallipolis, OH 45614	31-6151374		15,237				Range Devel/Improv
Forever Fdn of Texas DBA TX Wildlife Assoc Fdn 2800 NE Loop 410 105 San Antonio, TX 78218	74-2605516	501c3	13,180	1,896	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
High Plains Clay Busters 1017 Meng Dr Ft Morgan, CO 80701	20-1633234	501c3	1,836	13,227	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Eureka HS NJROTJ1915 J St Eureka, CA 95501	94-6002186	501c3		15,025	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Days of 76 Museum IncPO Box 140 Deadwood, SD 57732	20-2270933		15,000				Training, Ed Safety Sponsorship
Western Pennsylvania 30 Caliber League100 Wycliffe Way Butler, PA 16001	25-1627688	501c7	15,000				Range Devel/Improv
Del Monte Gun Club2355 US Hwy 160 Alamosa, CO 81101	64-6038700	501c7	1,229	13,771	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Town of ChinoPO Box 406 Chino Valley, AZ 86323	86-0256634	Town of Chino Valley	15,000				Range Devel/Improv
Springville Junior Rifle Club 550 S 1600 E Spanish Fork, UT 84660	87-0714498	501c3		14,821	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Double M CowboysPO Box 528 Marshfield, MO 65706	36-4717684		14,679				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Great Lakes Council BSA Lost Lake Scout Reservation 1776 W Warren Ave Detroit, MI 48209	38-1359086	501c3		14,551	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Music City Chapter of Quail Unlimited1110 Chickasaw Dr Brentwood, TN 37027	41-1429149	501c3	10,798	3,590	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Education and Training
Whitney Rifle Club & Jr Division20766-c St Martin Rd Albemarle, NC 28001	56-2199051		14,348				Youth Equipment
Missouri 4-H Foundation 4-H Shooting Sports819 Clark Hall Columbia, MO 65211	43-6044367	501c3	14,315				Youth Equipment
Clearfield HS AFJROTC931 South 1000 East Clearfield, UT 84015	87-0386379	501c3		14,292	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Central Jersey Rifle & Pistol Club Inc168 South Slump Tavern Rd Jackson, NJ 08527	22-2443269	501c7	775	13,365	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety Equip
Military Warriors Support Foundation2511 N Loop 1604 201 San Antonio, TX 78258	20-8742203	501c3	3,333	10,612	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Castroville 4-H Club214 Alvina St Castroville, TX 78009	23-7405364	Texas AM AgriLife Ex	3,557	10,253	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Izaak Walton League of America Chapter 6510801 South 134th St Bennet, NE 68317	47-0596980	501c3	13,603				Range Devel/Improv
Alaska State Troopers5700 East Tudor Rd Anchorage, AK 99507	92-6001185	State of Alaska	13,700				Youth Equipment
Snake River Sportsmens Club3443 sw 4th Ave Ontario, OR 97914	93-0836164	501c4	8,595	5,000	Book value	Land	Range Devel/Improv
Rotary Club of Monartty1203 Route 66 Monartty, NM 87035	85-0394316	501c3	8,779	4,522	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Assoc of New Jersey Rifle & Pistol Clubs5 Sicomac Rd PMB 105 North Haledon, NJ 07508	22-1911024	501c7		13,136	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Burleson Co 4H Rifle Team 100 W Buck StSuite 105 Caldwell, TX 77836	74-6490257	Texas AM AgriLife Ex	1,593	11,475	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Regents of the University of CaliforniaUC ANR Building Hopkins Rd Davis, CA 95616	94-6036494	501c3	2,338	10,641	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
J Frank Dobie HS AFJROTC Unit TX-2010410220 Blackhawk Blvd Houston, TX 77089	74-6001850	Pasadena Independent		12,960	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
New Mexico Shooting Sports Assoc Inc THECLDS Sharps Ave Clovis, NM 88101	85-0325118		12,940				Youth Equipment, Training
Oklahoma State University Payne Co 4HDA5NR Sponsored 241 Ag Hall Stillwater, OK 74078	73-6006405	Oklahoma State Univ	700	12,172	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Bull's-Eye 4-H ClubPO Box 611 Manetta, OH 45750	11-3790543	Ohio State Universit	10,296	2,467	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NC State Youth Education Summit ProgramPO Box 441 Fairview, NC 28730	27-0858756	501c3	12,710				Youth Training, Scholarship
Yolo Sportsmens Assoc 24189 Aviation Ave Davis, CA 95816	94-2505003	501c4	9,292	3,366	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
YMCA of Metropolitan Milwaukee Camping Svcs875 Amy Belle Rd Hubertus, WI 53033	39-0806314	501c3	7,750	4,839	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment
Bismarck-Mandan Rifle & Pistol Assoc4667 Skyway Bismarck, ND 58504	34-2052090	501c4		12,586	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Webster 4-H Foundation 1202 Homer Rd. Minden, LA 71055	72-1426708	501c3	11,257	1,301	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Nevada Co Sportsmen Inc 11296 Banner Mountain Trail Nevada City, CA 95959	94-6256647	501c7	500	12,056	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Eisberry FFA Alumni 138 Tomahawk Dr Eisberry, MO 63343	27-3367115		2,500	10,052	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Unified Sportsmens Club 6151 West 3800 South Rexburg, ID 83440	82-0459992		12,500				Range Devel/Improv
Beaver Dam Conservationists W9554 County G Beaver Dam, WI 53916	39-1222554		10,000	2,500	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Development/Improvement
Calcasieu Parish 4H Shooting Sports Club 7101 Gulf Highway Lake Charles, LA 70607	51-0204619	501c3	8,799	3,606	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Morganton Parks and Recreation PO Box 3448 Morganton, NC 28680	56-6000234	City of Morganton	8,614	3,730	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
On Target Inc PO Box 396 Holliston, MA 01933	45-3544322	501c3	12,235				Training, Ed Safety Education/Training
Heritage Shooting Inc PO Box 528 Oconomowoc, WI 53006	39-1847718	501c3	12,225				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Carbox Co Shooting Club 99th West 2nd South Soda Springs, ID 83276	68-0572295		12,048				Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Vermont Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs Inc 14 Strafford Ave Morrisville, VT 05661	23-7398926		12,000				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Effingham Co Sportsman's Club PO Box 444 Effingham, IL 62401	37-0797379		12,000				Range Devel/Improv
Montgomery Co Community College 1011 Page St Troy, NC 27371	56-0895349	501c3	12,000				Youth Scholarship
Summit Co Summit Co Public Shooting Range PO Box 68 Breckenridge, CO 80424	84-6000808	Summit County Govt	12,000				Range Devel/Improv
Jefferson State Shooting Assoc PO Box 7178 Klamath Falls, OR 97602	93-0858359	501c4	12,000				Range Devel/Improv
Maniposa Co Fish and Game Protective Assoc Inc PO Box 1042 Maniposa, CA 95338	51-0172444	501c3	1,998	9,961	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Gunnison Sportsmens Assoc PO Box 454 Gunnison, CO 81230	84-1015362	501c7	11,889				Range Devel/Improv
Tri Co Gun Club 3441 S Brookville Rd Polo, IL 61064	36-6142756			11,860	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Calcasieu Parish School System 3400 Louisiana Ave Lake Charles, LA 70605	72-6000235	Calcasieu Parish Sch		11,812	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Flagstaff Unified Sch Dist Coconino HS Army JROTC 2801 N Isabel St Flagstaff, AZ 86004	86-0593041	Flagstaff Unified Sc	742	11,067	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wilderness Unlimited Foundation 2433 Heekland Ave Hayward, CA 94541	86-1164319	501c3	2,104	9,694	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Coronado Area Council BSA 644 S Ohio St Salina, KS 67402	48-0545921	501c3		11,786	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Putnam Co Gun Club PO Box 334 Elkton, WV 25070	55-0760755		5,180	6,551	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NJROTC Foy H Moody HS 1818 Trojan Dr Corpus Christi, TX 78416	74-6000581	501c3		11,728	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Greater NY Councils 640 Venture Crew 2700412 Oakdale St Staten Island, NY 10312	13-1624015	501c3	5,445	6,223	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Missouri Youth Hunter Education Challenge PO Box 189 Fair Grove, MO 65648	90-0119454		11,640				Youth Equipment
Butte Co 4-H Shooting Sports 49 5th Ave Belle Fourche, SD 57717	26-4367348	501c3	2,260	9,365	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Los Padres Council BSA 4000 Madoc Rd Santa Barbara, CA 93110	95-1696725	501c3	5,223	6,308	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Galena HS JROTC 3600 Butch Cassidy Way Reno, NV 89511	88-6000919	Washoe County School	4,290	7,125	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Heavy Cu Youth Shooting Program 315 Anderson Dr Paris, TN 38242	26-0274526	501c3		11,322	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Central Illinois Precision Shooting9151 Pelans Dr Bloomington, IL 61705	20-5293674	501c3	9,640	1,617	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
Flowing Wells JROTC3725 N Flowing Wells Rd Tucson, AZ 85705	26-2023239	501c3	1,809	9,353	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Apple Valley Gun Club16699 Sordard Wells Rd Victorville, CA 92393	36-9003540	501c7		11,064	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Chico Rod and Gun Club Wildwood Ave Chico, CA 95926	94-6106802		4,056	6,970	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fairbanks Trap Club IncOld Steese Highway Fairbanks, AK 99707	92-0007453	501c7	11,000				Range Devel/Improv
Douglas Trap ClubPO Box 1075 Douglas, WY 82633	94-3276760	501c7	10,975				Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Pickaway Shooting Sports 4H Club325 Nutmeg Court Circleville, OH 43113	30-0047031	501c3	7,981	2,989	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Hondo 4-H Clubs Shooting Sports1506 Ave M Hondo, TX 78861	74-3016086	Texas AM AgnLife Ex	1,800	9,159	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
4-H Davis Co318 E State St Farmington, UT 84025	87-6000528	Utah State Universit		10,910	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Vancouver Rifle & Pistol Club 12111 NE 76th St Vancouver, WA 98682	91-6056345	501c7	8,665	2,229	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Training, Ed Safety
Tonah - Warrens Sportsmen's Alliance26143 BRdway Ave Warrens, WI 54656	39-1375399	501c4	9,200	1,678	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
Manzano Mountain Gun Club PO Box 93 Mountainair, NM 87036	26-4295194	501c7	9,000	1,863	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth equipment
Multi-Lakes Conservation Assoc3860 Newton Rd Commerce Twp, MI 48382	38-1396998	501c4		10,855	Cost	Program materials	Youth Education/Training, Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Southern Michigan Gun Club 809 East Crossstem Parkway Kalamazoo, MI 49001	38-6091139	501c3	5,520	5,324	Cost	Program materials	Youth Education and Training
Camp Emerald Bay16525 Sherman Way Unit C-8 Van Nuys, CA 91406	95-2788856	501c3	440	10,394	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Eagleview JROTC Rifle Team 500 Hwy 99 Eagleview, TN 37060	62-6000820	Rutherford County Sc		10,660	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Texas State Rifle Assoc314 E Highland Mall Blvd Ste 300 Austin, TX 78752	23-7361568	501c4	438	10,143	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Glendale Union HS Dist Cortez HS NJROTC8828 N 31st Ave Phoenix, AZ 85051	86-6000529	Glendale Union High		10,576	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Scarborough Fish & Game Club21 Fish and Game Way Scarborough, ME 04024	01-0458955	501c7	10,500				Range Devel/Improv
Ridgeway Rifle Club Junior Rifle TeamGrant Rd Ridgway, PA 15853	25-6040623		10,500				Youth Range/Facilities
La Grande Gun ClubGun Club Rd Hwy 203 La Grande, OR 97850	93-0548981	501c7	10,500				Range Devel/Improv
Tulare Co Trap Club7394 Ave 228 Visalia, CA 93292	77-0469513		10,440				Range Devel/Improv
California Junior Claybreakers21080 Centre Point Parkway 101 Santa Clara, CA 91350	20-5666832	501c3	157	10,214	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Tri City Gun Club450 Jerry Black Lane Goldsby, OK 73093	73-1132566	501c4	2,270	8,100	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety
California Inland Empire Council BSA1230 Indiana Court Redlands, CA 92375	95-1744350	501c3	441	9,919	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Tusco Rifle ClubPO Box 631 New Philadelphia, OH 44663	34-1371208	501c4	4,366	5,987	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Shilwater Firearms AssocPO Box 665 Fallon, NV 89407	01-0815981		10,340				Range Devel/Improv
Youth Outdoor Adventures Inc449 SE Dacotah St Madras, OR 97741	61-1546599	501c3	1,660	8,641	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Houston Community College Foundation3100 Main St MC 1148 Houston, TX 77002	74-1885205	501c3	251	10,028	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Education/Training
Eugene Shooting Sports Cole Co R-V Sch Dist14803 Highway 17 Eugene, MO 65032	44-6004976		4,300	5,825	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Gold Country Sea Cadets - US Naval Sea Cadets 9362 Washford Court Sacramento, CA 95829	27-3773793	501c3	1,878	8,139	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Clatsop Co Claybusters 4-H Club 89869 Highway 202 Astoria, OR 97102	93-0874434	501c3		10,002	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Louisiana Purchase Council BSA 2405 Oliver Rd Monroe, LA 71201	72-0423632	501c3	3,774	6,227	Cost	Program materials	Youth Range/Facilities
Wisconsin Outdoor Alliance Foundation 5308 Valley Ridge Plaza Middleton, WI 53562	03-0545102	501c3	10,000				Training, Ed Safety Sponsorship
Boreal's Bullseyes 4-H Shooting Club 4010 Winchester Loop Anchorage, AK 99507	05-0542148	501c3	10,000				Youth Equipment
Harrisburg Area Community College Foundation One HACC Dr Harrisburg, PA 17110	23-2353614	501c3	10,000				Range Devel/Improv Range New Construction
Wasatch Action Shooting Range Inc 828 Keel Dr Sandy, UT 84092	41-2071334		10,000				Range Devel/Improv
Williston Police Dept 223 East Broadway Suite 201 Williston, ND 58801	45-6002186	City of Williston	10,000				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Denton Rod & Gun Club 12842 Mt HWY 81 Denton, MT 59410	76-0740149	501c3	10,000				Range Devel/Improv
West Yellowstone Ski Education Foundation PO Box 956 West Yellowstone, MT 59758	81-0508729	501c3	10,000				Youth Equipment
Fort Kearney Shooting Sports Assoc PO Box 581 Kearney, NE 68648	81-0583399	501c3	10,000				Range Devel/Improv
Tucson Trap & Skeet Club Inc 7800 W Old Ajo Hwy Tucson, AZ 85735	86-6050639	501c3	10,000				Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Prescott Trap and Skeet Club PO Box 25708 Prescott Valley, AZ 86312	86-6053839	501c4	10,000				Range Devel/Improv
Fairbanks Trap Club Inc Old Steese Highway Fairbanks, AK 99707	92-0087453	501c7	10,000				Youth Equipment
Eel River Trap & Gun Club 1479 Eel River Dr Fortuna, CA 95540	94-1686938		10,000				Range Devel/Improv
Fresno Co Gun Club 1450 E Front St Selma, CA 93662	94-6093950	501c7	10,000				Range Devel/Improv
Louisiana Hunter Education Instructors Assoc Inc 303 Eureka Dr Gray, LA 70359	58-1854373		8,500	1,496	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Herman Rod & Gun Club PO Box 1949 Post Falls, ID 83877	94-3119468	501c4	9,973				Range Devel/Improv
Ross Shooting Sports 4H Program - FD1349 Blackwater Rd Chillicothe, OH 45601	32-0009555	501c3	7,245	2,694	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Chapman HS AFJRTC 1420 Compton Bridge Rd Inman, SC 29349	63-0297929	Holm Center, US Air		9,853	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Gulf Coast Council BSA 700 Everhart Bldg A Corpus Christi, TX 78411	74-1143068	501c3	466	9,361	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Tacoma Sportsmans Club 16408 Canyon Rd East Puyallup, WA 98375	91-0435648	501c4		9,774	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Grant Co 4H Shooting Sports 2610 N Silver St Silver City, NM 88061	52-1057382	Regents of New Mexic	3,461	6,288	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mohave SCTP Inc Mohave Top Guns 3155 W Oatman Rd Golden Valley, AZ 86413	26-2844332	501c3		9,731	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois 1901 S First St Champaign, IL 61820	37-6000511	501c3	2,289	7,403	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mitchell Gun Club 406th Ave Mitchell, SD 57301	46-0425062	501c4	9,680				Range Devel/Improv
Boulder Co Sharpshooters 8062 Boatswain Ln Longmont, CO 80504	26-0100193	501c3		9,667	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NWTF Women in the Outdoors Bakersfield Chapter 4204 Southern Breeze Dr Bakersfield, CA 93313	57-0564993	501c3	9,610				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Erie Shores Council Boy Scouts of America 5600 W Sylvania Ave Toledo, OH 43623	34-4427945	501c3	751	8,829	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Deerhoofs Youth Sports 9020 S Hwy 97 Redmond, OR 97756	45-0932100		436	9,136	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Ohio Rifle & Pistol Assoc175 West Main New London, OH 44851	31-0929183	501c4	9,090	473	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Sponsorship
Adair Co R-1 FFA600 Rombauer Ave Nowinger, MO 63559	43-6004145	Adair County R-1 Sch		9,543	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Beauregard 4-H Shooting Sports Program209 W 3rd St DeRidder, LA 70634	72-1095125	501c3	454	9,078	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Snake River Council BSA 2988 Falls Ave East Twin Falls, ID 83301	82-0200745	501c3	5,244	4,223	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fort Hays State University Shooting Sports Club600 Park St Hays, KS 67601	48-1210777	Fort Hays State Univ		9,459	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Missouri Conservation Heritage Foundation Missouri Dept of ConservationPO Box 180 Jefferson City, MO 65102	43-1797156	501c3		9,449	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
So Cal Top Guns Inc1521 E Heritage Pl Orange, CA 92866	41-2099224	501c3	440	9,002	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Franklin Co FFA Foundation 1015 High School Dr St Clair, MO 63077	43-1702919	501c3	5,500	3,893	Cost	Program materials	Youth Range/Facilities
Dixon Game Conservatn Club Inc250 West Mayes Winters, CA 95620	94-6095620	501c3	6,000	3,367	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Minot Area Youth Sportsmen Club IncPO Box 615 Minot, ND 58702	20-3952665	501c3	1,390	7,974	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mother Lode Gun Club Inc 19185 Jamestown Rd Jamestown, CA 95327	51-0178546	501c4	1,865	7,495	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Red River Regional Marksmanship Center640 16th St NE West Fargo, ND 58078	20-3510474	501c4	6,390	2,965	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Chippewa Valley Council BSA 710 S Hastings Way Eau Claire, WI 54701	39-0807227	501c3		9,338	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Rapides Parish 4-H Shooting Sports100 Grady Brth Dr Alexandria, LA 71302	72-0954686	501c3	907	8,427	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
WA Univ in St Louis Gateway Battalion ROTC700 Rosedale Ave St Louis, MO 63110	43-0653611	501c3		9,332	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wilton Christian School Trap Team697 Dillard Rd Wilton, CA 95693	94-2489711	501c3		9,305	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Granite Bay HS Trap Team1 Grizzly Way Granite Bay, CA 95746	68-0371114	501c3		9,278	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Chaffee Co 4H Shooting Sports10165 County Rd 120 Salda, CO 81201	20-1169326	501c3	2,000	7,277	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Carbon Co 4-H Shooting Sports Club129 S Main St Joliet, MT 59041	86-1164063	501c3	1,238	7,993	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Loma Alta Trap & Skeeet Inc 134 S Shore Suite B Port Isabel, TX 78578	84-1655319	501c4	9,215				Range Devel/Improv
Last Frontier Council BSA 3031 NW 64th Street Oklahoma City, OK 73116	73-0560263	501c3	700	8,513	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Connecticut River Council Camp Mattatuck BSA 221 Mount Toke Rd Plymouth, CT 06782	06-0662110	501c3	4,500	4,711	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Quay Co 4-H CouncilPO Drawer B Tucuman, NM 88401	51-0202441	501c3	3,794	5,397	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
East HS JROTC840 S 1300 E Salt Lake City, UT 84012	87-6000515	Salt Lake City Schoo		9,179	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Custer Sportsmens Club 3000 Lynden-Birch Bay Rd Custer, WA 98240	91-6054547	501c7	9,121				Range Devel/Improv
Bay Area Council - Boy Scouts of America3020 53rd St Galveston, TX 77551	74-1109651	501c3	3,777	5,322	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mississippi 4H Field Mississippi 4H Club Fdn109 N Boat Extension Center Mississippi State, MS 39762	64-6023591	501c3	1,500	7,548	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Rim Valley Livestock Club 12955 Linda Vista Dr Longmont, CO 80504	84-1214011	501c3	4,883	4,128	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Gallup Shooters88 Mentmore Rd Gallup, NM 87301	20-8629141		871	8,137	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
WV Division of Natural Resources324 Fourth Ave Room 309 South Charleston, WV 25303	55-6000763	West Virginia Divisi	9,000				Training, Ed Safety Equip

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Myrtle Point Sportsmen's Club 5414 Sibbum Ln Myrtle Point, OR 97458	93-6031141	501c7	8,956				Range Devel/Improv
Rocky Mountain Rifle Club 337 Hwy 431 Fairfield, MT 59436	81-0498870		8,947				Range Devel/Improv
Ketchikan Rod & Gun Club P.O. Box 6391 Ketchikan, AK 99901	92-0086401	501c4	8,900				Range Devel/Improv
Greene Co Dept of Recreation 107 Fairgrounds Rd Waynesburg, PA 15370	25-6001034	Greene County Dept of	2,016	6,854	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip, Youth Equipment
Mason-Dixon Clay Busters Inc 213 Pine St Glen Rock, PA 17327	26-4439244	501c3	3,595	5,272	Cost	Program materials	Youth Training
Lucerne Valley Lion's Club 30200 Del Oro Rd Lucerne Valley, CA 92356	27-1860235	501c3		8,850	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety
Lewis and Clark 4-H Shooting Sports 100 W Custer Helena, MT 59602	81-0522802	501c3	1,300	7,491	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Colorado School of Mines Shooting Sports Fdn 1600 Elm St Golden, CO 80401	84-0509664	501c3	5,290	3,497	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Hofrat Co 4-H Shooting Sports 110 County Rd 212 Craig, CO 81625	65-0796693	501c3	803	7,915	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Winston-Salem Forsyth Co Schis Walkertown HS 3175 Ruxton Dr Walkertown, NC 27051	56-0795164	Winston-Salem Forsyth	2,222	6,485	Cost	Program materials	Youth Hunter Safety Program, Equipment
Midsouth Marksmen 1245 Latimer Lane Hendersonville, TN 37075	45-4245235			8,649	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Kansas State University Trapshooting Club Seaton Hall Room 249 Manhattan, KS 66502	56-2497735	501c3	4,600	4,131	Cost	Program materials	Youth Competition Support
Casa Grande Trap & Skeet Assoc 9015 S Isom Rd Casa Grande, AZ 85193	45-1446911		1,561	7,055	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Durant Schools Durant FFA Sporting Clays 950 Gerlach Dr Durant, OK 74701	73-6021019	Durant Independent S	700	7,904	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Southern Tulare Co Sportsman's Assoc P.O. Box 89 Porterville, CA 93257	23-7165119	501c7	8,600				Youth Equipment
Cal-Diego Paralyzed Veterans Assoc 3350 La Jolla Village Dr 1A-118 San Diego, CA 92161	95-3691162	501c3	900	7,690	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Quincy HS 3322 Maine St Quincy, IL 62305	37-6002416	Quincy Public School	2,500	6,059	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Illinois Women's Shooting Assoc 125 E 117th Rd Bloomington, IL 61705	37-1392003		8,510				Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
San Miguel Lions Club 256 13th St San Miguel, CA 92451	95-6133588	501c4	6,687	1,802	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
American Legion Post 119 Jr Shooters 4561 Greenstone Rd Placerville, CA 95667	94-6132607			8,482	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
LOX Shooting Sports 9066 W Goldenrod Gardendale, TX 75758	26-1285780	501c3	7,578	894	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Black Warrior Council BSA 2700 Jack Warner Parkway NE Tuscaloosa, AL 35404	63-0288916	501c3	6,050	2,298	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment
Fort Concho Foundation 630 S Oakes San Angelo, TX 76903	75-1605975	501c3	8,238				Training, Ed Safety Education/Training
Andrews Co 4-H Shooting Sports 451 E Bldg Hwy Andrews, TX 79714	75-2141767	501c3		8,215	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wheatland Co 4-H Shooting Sports Club 201 A Ave Northwest Harlowton, MT 59036	20-5802003		731	7,410	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Upton Gun Club Box 322 Upton, WV 26730	83-0283265		3,316	4,808	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Shelton HS Rifle Team 3737 N Shelton Springs Rd Shelton, WA 98584	91-1124683	Shelton School Distr		8,107	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Texarkana Arkansas Razorback Trap Team 2118 East 35th St Texarkana, AR 71854	71-6020729		8,090				Youth Equipment
Kalibus Rod & Gun Club Inc 2178 Chapman Dam Rd Clarendon, PA 16813	25-1313732		5,500	2,578	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mason Co Sportsman's Assoc Inc 511 W Business Park Dr Shelton, WA 98584	91-6036650	501c3	3,360	4,703	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment

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Midwest Outdoors Unlimited 28791 325 Ave Methuen, MA 01832	26-2540208	501c3	580	7,464	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Deleavan Sportsman Club Inc N4825 County Rd P Deleavan, WI 53115	39-1363008	501c7	1,361	6,666	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Pratt Community College Shooting Sports Club348 NE SR 61 Pratt, KS 67124	48-0699112	Pratt Community Coll	8,000				Youth Competition Support
Bernalillo Co 4-H Shooting Sports1510 Menaul Ext Blvd NE Albuquerque, NM 87107	85-6000401	501c3	1,344	6,656	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Missoula Co 4-H Shooting Sports Committee2825 Santa Fe Ct Missoula, MT 59808	26-0106868	501c3	1,220	6,778	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Oak Creek 4-H Trap Club 404 North Madison Brainard, NE 68626	13-4346581		7,887				Youth Equipment
Newcastle Public Schools Newcastle FFA101 N Main Newcastle, OK 73065	73-0983395	Newcastle Public Sch	1,400	6,552	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Monticello Sportsman Club 7959 State Hwy 25 NE Monticello, MN 55362	41-1551430		347	7,555	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Chinook Valley Gun Club370 Chinook Valley Rd Chinook, WA 98614	91-1527256	501c3	5,302	2,587	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment
Natrona Co HS A JROTC Mustang Rifles930 South Elm St Casper, WY 82601	83-6000543	Natrona County Schoo	3,300	4,587	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Sandy Ford Sportsman Club 1301 E Brower St Streator, IL 61364	36-3966288	501c7	1,000	6,810	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Volusia Co Skeet & Trap Club Inc4031 Pioneer Trail New Smyrna Beach, FL 32168	02-0799351	501c3	7,800				Range Devel/Improv
Carroll Co 4-H Hotshots700 Agriculture Dr Westminster, MD 21157	52-1321014	501c3		7,789	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Grace Lutheran Church BSA Troop 848502 North Norma St Ridgecrest, CA 93555	95-2476513		1,733	6,045	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Jackson FFA315 S Missouri St Jackson, MO 63755	43-6011976			7,775	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Harrisville District Sportsmen's AssocPO Box 347 Harrisville, PA 15668	25-1295274	501c7	3,500	4,241	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Crocker FFA601 N Commercial Dr Crocker, MO 65452	43-6014751		7,700				Youth Equipment
Leona Valley Improvement AssocPO Box 783 Leona Valley, CA 93551	77-0117640		558	7,097	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Waller HS AFJROTC20950 Field Store Rd Waller, TX 77484	74-6002539	Waller Independent S		7,643	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Polk Education Fnds Lake Gibson HS JROTC7007 N Secum Loop Rd Lakeland, FL 33809	59-2956529	501c3	3,575	4,064	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Indiana Natural Resources Foundation402 W Washington St W256 Indianapolis, IN 46204	32-0249179	Indiana Dept of Natu		7,636	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Travis Co 4-H Shooting SportsPO Box 2741 Pflugerville, TX 78691	74-2777452	501c3	1,490	6,129	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Colonel Allison Junior Rifle ClubPO Box 4719 Salem, OR 97302	14-1968585	501c3	4,660	2,941	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Webster Co Schi Marshfield Schs Phys Ed Dept370 State Hwy DD Marshfield, MO 65706	44-6006015	Marshfield R-J Schoo	1,260	6,332	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
American Military Family Freedom Hunters PrgPO Box 1101 Brighton, CO 80601	20-2123864	501c3	3,310	4,269	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Delta Sportsmen's Assoc Inc PO Box 1309 Delta Junction, AK 99737	92-0106368		7,568				Youth Equipment
Bokoshe Public Schools Bokoshe FFA101 Chickasaw Str Bokoshe, OK 74930	73-0753746	501c3	700	6,866	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Liberty Police Dept1914 Lakeland Dr Liberty, TX 77575	74-6001602	City of Liberty	7,568				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Beaverhead Co 4-H Organization2 S Pacific 11 Dillon, MT 59725	81-0390501	501c3	2,688	4,639	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Cedar Hill Jr League 4-H Shooting Program583 West Sexton St Blackfoot, ID 83221	27-1150676	501c3	7,500				Youth Equipment

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FOP Shelby Lodge 84 Venture CrewPO Box 202 Shelbyville, TN 46176	23-7585993	501c8		7,487	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
South Plains Council BSA30 Briercroft Office Park Lubbock, TX 79412	75-0871721	501c3		7,469	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Long Beach Area Council BSA401 East 37th St Long Beach, CA 90807	95-1643981	501c3	450	7,012	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Lenawee Co Conservation League1404 Sutton Rd Adrian, MI 49221	38-6095965	501c4	2,500	4,927	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NJROTC Unit Covington HS 73030 Lion Dr Covington, LA 70433	72-6001305	Covington High School		7,384	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Buffalo Trail Council BSA 1105 West Texas Ave Midland, TX 79701	75-0806616	501c3		7,378	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Vista Ridge Navy JROTC Unit200 S Vista Ridge Blvd Cedar Park, TX 78613	74-6014573	Leander Independent		7,370	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
United Sportsman Club Youth Committee YHEC4750 Henrick Lane Jefferson City, MO 65102	43-1319528	501c7		7,354	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
North Las Vegas Roadrunner 4-H Club5520 Ghost Rider Ct Las Vegas, NV 89131	26-1449283	University of Nevada	1,672	5,637	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Seventy-Niners Rifleer's Jr Shooting Sports Club5229 Legion Place New Port Richey, FL 34652	59-6200329	501c19		7,301	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Stringtown Public Schools Stringtown FFA103 Tiger Dr Stringtown, OK 74559	73-1311207		700	6,540	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Child and Adult Safety Education Svcs Inc Shoot Right127 S Priest Dr Tempe, AZ 85282	20-3748692	501c3		7,220	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fayette Co 4-H Shooting Sports219 Park Dr La Grange, TX 78945	74-3131607	University of Georgia		7,212	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Venturing Crew 477600 Whaling Rd Mt Prospect, IL 60056	27-2142906	501c3		7,193	Cost	Program materials	Youth Education and Training
Western Wayne Co Conservation Assoc6700 Napier Plymouth, MI 48170	38-1967343	501c4		7,186	Cost	Program materials	Youth Education/Training
Cimarron Council BSAPO Box 2146 Enid, OK 73702	73-0579250	501c3		7,164	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Southeast Louisiana Council BSA4200 S I Service Rd W Metairie, LA 70001	72-0408954	501c3	3,441	3,718	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Ranahughes Youth Clay BustersPO Box 408 Dunnigan, CA 95937	36-4710765			7,137	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Lake Eldorado Sportsmens LeagueBox 45 Edinboro, PA 16412	25-1633576	501c7		7,103	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety Equip
Hondo Police Dept1101 16th St Hondo, TX 78861	74-6001104	City of Hondo	7,100				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Navarro FFA booster Club 6450 N State Hwy 123 Seguin, TX 78155	20-3877150	501c3	1,581	5,478	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Dixie Wranglers 4-H Club 429 NE 244 St Cross City, FL 32628	36-4641369	501c3	1,171	5,887	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wester Public Schools Wester FFA201 Logan St Wester, OK 74965	73-1068085	501c3	700	6,357	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fayette Academy15090 Hwy 64 Somerville, TN 38068	62-0726245	501c3		7,044	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
New Mexico Outdoor Education Academy Inc7600 Rio Guadalupe Pl NE Albuquerque, NM 87122	20-8494323		5,527	1,510	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Northern Kentucky Scholastic Trapshooting Team331 Maddox Rd Alexandria, KY 41001	20-5124230	501c3		7,030	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Woodrow Wilson HS JROTC Marine Corps League5717 So Tyler St Tacoma, WA 98409	91-1824633	Tacoma Public School		7,029	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Three Fires Council BSA415 N 2nd St St Charles, IL 60174	36-3831877	501c3	3,083	3,934	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
Roseburg Rod & Gun Club 428 Oak Rio Rd Roseburg, OR 97470	93-0664038		4,691	2,318	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Summerville HS Sporting Club17555 Tuolumne Rd Tuolumne, CA 95379	94-6050189	Summerville Union Hi	1,000	6,007	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Recreational Mounds Shooting Club Inc422 B Ave Abbe, IA 52531	90-0777976		7,000				Range Devel/Improv
Folsom Shooting Club IncPO Box 1407 Sloughhouse, CA 95683	94-6079105	501c4	7,000				Range Devel/Improv
Hot Springs Co 4-H Shooting Sports328 Annapolis St Thermopolis, WY 82443	26-2477901	501c3		6,929	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Cornhusker Council of BSA 600 S 120th St Valton, NE 68461	47-0278985	501c3		6,899	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Lee Sportsmen's Assoc Fairview St Box 175 Lee, MA 01238	26-2691563	501c3	6,890				Range Devel/Improv
The Spokane Rifle ClubPO Box 18887 Spokane, WA 99228	91-6058415	501c7	3,143	3,733	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Henderson Co Schls Flat Rock MS Hunter Safety Team 191 Preston Lane East Flat Rock, NC 28726	56-1821543	Henderson County Pub	2,465	4,409	Cost	Program materials	Youth Hunter Safety Program, Equipment
Kids Outdoor Sports Camp PO Box 9435 Red Bluff, CA 96080	20-3849992		6,814				Youth Equipment
4-H Sharp Shooters11314 Ore St NE Cumberland, MD 21502	26-3032758	501c3		6,813	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Breasmasters IncPO Box 2641 Buckhannon, WV 26201	45-3079972		6,733				Range Devel/Improv
Cordeva Trap and Gun Club PO Box 1749 Cordeva, AK 99574	92-0095290		6,700				Youth Equipment
Archuleta Co Colorado Sheriff's Office449 San Juan St Pagosa Springs, CO 81147	84-6000743	Archuleta County	6,700				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Tipton Co Claybustern99 Doctors Dr Suite 300 Murfreesboro, TN 38054	27-4112845	501c3		6,698	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
American Legion Post 2 Young Guns701 West 8th St Pueblo, CO 81003	84-0297556	501c1	925	5,749	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Milan Rifle Club N HS MCJROTC Rifle Team9221 51st St West Milan, IL 61264	33-3399009	Davenport Community	3,800	2,773	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
Lake Havasu City Sportsman's Club IncPO Box 1303 Lake Havasu City, AZ 86405	86-0649721	501c7		6,666	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Las Cruces Public Schools Onate NJROTC5700 Mesa Grande Dr Las Cruces, NM 88011	85-6002449	Las Cruces Public Sc	1,155	5,496	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Upton YHEC Shooting Club 1101 Second St Upton, NY 82730	26-2722577			6,640	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Sentland Rifle Club Inc3938 Bowser Rd New Freedom, PA 17349	26-0470852		2,500	4,124	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Teller Co 4-H112 N A St Cripple Creek, CO 80813	20-5701989	501c3		6,598	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Weiser Trap Club Inc690 Highway 95 Weiser, ID 83672	82-0530761		4,071	2,486	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
Escondido Fish & Game Assoc Jr Marksmanship Prog 16525 Guejito Rd Escondido, CA 92027	33-0009317	501c4		6,556	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Monroe Co 4H208 N Main Paris, MO 65275	43-6013341	University of Missou		6,517	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Burnet Co Sheriff's Office220 S Pierce St Burnet, TX 78611	74-6000454	Burnet County	6,517				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Dallastown Area Sch Dist Dallastown Mtns JROTC 700 New School Lane Dallastown, PA 17313	23-1671700	Dallastown Area Scho	1,500	5,009	Cost	Program materials	Youth Training, Equipment
Cherokee Co Sch Dist Murphy MS Hunters Safety Shooting Tm65 Middle School Dr Murphy, NC 28906	56-6000211	Cherokee County Scho	1,153	5,351	Cost	Program materials	Youth Hunter Safety Program
United Sportsmen Assoc of RocklandPO Box 826 Nanuet, NY 10954	52-2270586	501c3	4,775	1,729	Cost	Program materials	Youth Field Day, Equipment
Sunset Mountain Fish & Game Club Inc117 West Rd Canterbury, NH 03224	02-0456680	501c7	3,000	3,501	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
New Mexico 4-H3080 S Espina Las Cruces, NM 88003	85-6000401	501c3	6,500				Youth Equipment
Valdez Junior Rifle Club319 Robe River Dr Valdez, AK 99686	01-0564895	501c3	6,500				Youth Equipment

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KY State 4-H Shooting Education79 McNameara Lane Brooksville, KY 41004	20-3203222	501c3	6,500				Youth Equipment
Gerald R Ford Council BSA 3213 Walker Ave NW Grand Rapids, MI 49544	38-1359240	501c3		6,432	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
National Muzzleloading Rifle AssocPO Box 67 Friendship, IN 47021	35-1046434	501c3	3,465	2,947	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Star Shooters 4-H ClubPO Box 516 Thayne, WY 83127	80-0538118	University of Wyoming	6,409				Youth Equipment
Buffalo Gun Club1754 Hwy 55 E Buffalo, MN 55313	26-3997409	501c7	580	5,828	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mifflin Co 4-H Shooting Sports152 East Market St Suite 100 Lewistown, PA 17044	26-4439731	501c3	1,530	4,874	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Spring Hill FFA Alumni Future Farmers of America1 Rader Lane Columbia, TN 38401	62-1479241			6,403	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
San Patricio Rifle Club219 N Vineyard Sinton, TX 78387	74-6149438		251	6,149	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
North Platte Valley Sportsmans Club17703 Hwy 26 Oshkosh, NE 69154	45-4398008		4,850	1,536	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
Corry Rod and Gun Club Inc 181 E Main St Columbus, PA 16405	25-1139669	501c7		6,327	Cost	Program materials	Youth Field Day, Equipment
Ascension Parish 4H Shooting Sports9039 St Landry Rd Gonzales, LA 70737	72-1513756	501c3	466	5,845	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Purdue University Rifle and Pistol Club271 Leatherwood Way West Lafayette, IN 47906	35-6002041	501c3	1,900	4,403	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Colony HS Rifle Team9550 E Colony Schools Dr Palmer, AK 99645	92-6000034	Matanuska-Susitna Bo	6,300				Youth Equipment
Lehman HS Navy JROTC 1700 Lehman Rd Kyle, TX 78640	74-1587518	Hays Consolidated In		6,290	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Oklahoma Youth Shooting Sports Assoc3021 W 173rd St North Skiatook, OK 74070	65-1273946	501c3	2,100	4,182	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mason-Dixon Council BSA 1800 Crestwood Dr Hagerstown, MD 21742	52-0591680	501c3	871	5,407	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Daveess Co 4H MarksmanPO Box 102 Utica, KY 42376	27-0494087	501c3	3,575	2,701	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Dawson Co 4H Shooting Sports207 W Bell Glendrie, MT 59330	81-0367165	501c3	1,505	4,787	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Sir Walter Gun Club IncPO Box 585 Creedmoor, NC 27522	58-1151044	501c4	172	6,097	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Alta Mesa Gun Club10100 Reagle Rd Wilton, CA 95693	94-2906177	501c3		6,263	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Blue Dragon Competitive Shooting9000 Emory Rd NE Conroy, TN 37721	20-5509197			6,263	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Tumwater HS Rifle Club700 Israel Rd SW Tumwater, WA 98501	91-0936197	Tumwater School Dist		6,238	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Taloga Schools Taloga FFA 501 West Ruble Taloga, OK 73667	73-6021073	Taloga Public School		6,236	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
High Rock Shooting Assoc35 Summerfield St Naugatuck, CT 06770	27-5510392		265	5,946	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Ed Safety
Alliance Rifle Club IncBehind 6005 Alliance Rd NW Malvern, OR 44644	30-0443087	501c7	6,213				Range Devel/Improv
Minot Rifle and Pistol Club IncPO Box 1053 Minot, ND 58702	23-7226160			6,203	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Orange Co Council BSA1211 East Dyer Rd Santa Ana, CA 92705	95-1727660	501c3		6,201	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Yucca Council Inc BSA7601 Lockheed Dr El Paso, TX 79925	74-1109834	501c3		6,185	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Frement Co 4-H Council#15 Macon Ave LL10 Canon City, CO 81212	84-1080161	501c3	4,250	1,913	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Jeff Davis 4-H Shooting Sports Club1066 South Lake Arthur Ave Jennings, LA 70546	72-1284246	501c3	685	5,472	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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North Macomb Sportsmen's Club3231 Inwood Rd Washington, MI 48095	38-6091415	501c4		6,155	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety
American Legion Post 15 37745 Church St Dade City, FL 33525	36-4712901	501c3	3,575	2,559	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Craven Co Schools New Bern HS NJROTC4200 Academic Dr New Bern, NC 28562	56-1286861	New Bern High School		6,129	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fairfield Sportsmen's Assoc Inc7270 North Mango Lane Cincinnati, OH 45243	31-0741929	501c7		6,114	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Acadiana Youth Hunter Education Club Inc10873 Hwy 87 Jenatette, LA 70544	20-1773401	501c3		6,102	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
South Cuyahoga Sportsmens Assoc1950 Ridge Rd North Kovalton, OH 44133	34-6664854	501c7	6,095				Youth Equipment
Park Co 4-H Council414 East Callender St Livingston, MT 59047	30-0446345	501c3	824	5,269	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Mancopa HS NJROTC45012 W Woneycutt Ave Mancopa, AZ 85139	52-1671314	Mancopa High School		6,091	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Cedar Rtn Youth's Inc Rt 15 Culpeper, VA 22701	32-0247221	501c3	4,088	1,994	Cost	Program materials	Youth Range/Facilities, Equipment
Fryeburg Fish and Game AssocPO Box 525 Fryeburg, ME 04037	51-0197155	501c7	4,000	2,067	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety, Range Devel/Improv
East Buchanan FFA Chapter 100 Smith St Gower, MO 64454	43-0893695	East Buchanan C-1 Sc		6,065	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Henderson Co 4H Shotgun Sports8473 County Rd 1213 Athens, TX 75751	38-3785195	501c3	3,339	2,723	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Univ of IL Ext Christian Co Shooting Stars 4-H Club 1120 North Webster St Taylorville, IL 62568	37-6000511	501c3		6,049	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Butner Public Schools Butner FFA201 Dodson Cromwell, OK 74837	73-0771804	Butner Public School	700	5,345	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
East End Shooters8301 Broadway Rd Richmond, VA 23231	20-4608595			6,039	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
St Lucie Co Sch'l Bd FT Pierce Central JROTC1401 S 25th St Ft Pierce, FL 34981	59-6000832	St Lucie County Scho		6,033	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
School Bd of Brevard Co Titusville HS NJROTC150 Turner Trail South Titusville, FL 32780	59-6000522	Titusville High Scho	1,298	4,729	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
PA Institute for Conservation Education197 Montour Rd Elysburg, PA 17824	75-3081017	501c3	6,020				Youth Training, Equipment
Schuyler Co ShootersRR1 Box 71 Rushville, IL 62681	45-3757724	501c7	2,266	3,735	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Greater New Orleans Hunter Ed Challenge Org3129 Roosevelt Blvd Kenner, LA 70055	72-1481609	501c3	1,043	4,957	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Davness Co 4H Marksmen 931 Pleasure Point W Macedo, KY 42355	27-0494087	501c3		6,000	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Hunt of a Lifetime - Oregon Chapter829 Southgate Dr Klamath Falls, OR 97603	25-1856277	501c3	6,000				Youth Sponsorship
La Joya Independent Sch Dist201 East Expressway 83 La Joya, TX 78560	74-6001550	La Joya Independent	6,000				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Kane Co Trap and Skeet Club 1201 South Kaibab Trail Kanab, UT 84741	20-0203423	501c7	6,000				Range Devel/Improv
Wendic Sking Assoc of Anchorage203 W 15th Suite 204 Anchorage, AK 99501	23-7232617	501c3	6,000				Youth Equipment
West Virginia Junior Marksmanship ProgramRte 3 Box 181 Buckhannon, WV 26201	27-1739339		6,000				Youth Equipment
WV 781st AFJROTC Booster Club Marksmanship Team 1511 Blizzard Dr Parkersburg, WV 26101	27-5098401		3,140	2,860	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Zanesville Rifle Club Inc 1056 Chatham Lane - West Delaware, OH 43015	31-1742807		6,000				Youth Sponsorship
Hawai HS Athletic AssocPO Box 62029 Honolulu, HI 96839	99-0330769	501c3	6,000				Youth Equipment
Union Co NC Second Amendment Scholarship Fund 3223 Haugler Rd Monroe, NC 28110	27-3551903		6,000				Youth Scholarship

Form 990, Schedule I, Part II, Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States

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Mason City HS 1700 4th St SE Mason City, IA 50401	77-0596769	Mason City High School		5,999	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Golden Eagle Youth Scholastic Shooting Team HC82 Box 125 Brossels, IL 62012	82-0544408			5,999	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Elko Co 4-H Shooting Sports 701 Walnut St Elko, NV 89801	88-6006973	University of Nevada		5,986	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Crow River Sportsmans Club 12801 40th St NE St Michael, MN 55376	41-1417387	501c4		5,984	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
West Virginia University Rifle Team 3450 Jerry West Blvd Martinsburg, WV 26006	55-6000842	State of West Virginia		5,976	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NRA Members' Council of Greater San Diego 16223 Oak Springs Dr Ramona, CA 92065	20-4461865		394	5,552	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety
Tillamook Co 4-H Leader's Assoc 2204 Fourth St Tillamook, OR 97141	93-0816424	501c3	1,000	4,936	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fayette Sportsmen League YREC Programs 307 Johnson Lane Connellsville, PA 15425	25-1455026		3,266	2,557	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Concho Valley Council BSA 104 West River Dr San Angelo, TX 76903	75-0800617	501c3		5,921	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
River Valley Sharpshooters Junior Rifle 454 S Rte 45 Kankakee, IL 60901	36-4385841		4,898	1,008	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Safety First Shooting Assoc PO Box 1378 Atwater, CA 95301	20-2481080	501c4	1,608	4,298	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Eagletown Public Schools Eagletown FFA PO Box 38 Eagletown, OK 74734	73-0798282	Eagletown Public Sch	700	5,206	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Missouri Military Academy 204 Grand Ave Mexico, MO 65265	43-0415670	501c3	1,850	4,045	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Coalinga Rifle Club 193 Keck Lane Coalinga, CA 93210	77-0325618		5,859				Youth Field Day
Glencoe Public Schools Glencoe FFA 201 E Lone Chimney Rd Glencoe, OK 74032	73-0778793	Glencoe Public School	350	5,498	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Adams Co 4-H Shooting Sports 9755 Henderson Rd Brighton, CO 80601	74-2586594	501c3	2	5,837	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Ninnekah FFA Chapter 904 E Dell St Ninnekah, OK 73067	73-1080375	Ninnekah Public School	700	5,139	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Oklahoma State University Grady Co 4H241 Ag Hall Stillwater, OK 74078	73-6017987	Oklahoma University	700	5,081	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Lehigh Valley Scholastic Shooting Team 6150 Kuasse Rd Germansville, PA 18053	75-3245945		3,000	2,753	Cost	Program materials	Youth Competition Support, Equipment
Exeter Sportsman's Assoc PO Box 1052 Exeter, CA 93221	68-0630461		3,825	1,925	Cost	Program materials	Youth Field Day
Bucksun Council BSA 2829 Kanawha Boulevard East Charleston, WV 25311	55-0357013	501c3		5,746	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fairfield Glade Sportsman Club Inc 750 Shorty Barnes Rd Fairfield Glade, TN 38558	62-1479123	501c7		5,745	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wilson Sch Dist Wilson HS JROTC 2401 Grandview Blvd West Lawn, PA 19609	23-1667988	Wilson School Distr		5,742	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Old Trails Rifle & Pistol Club PO Box 2511 Richmond, IN 47375	35-6061553	501c7	1,943	3,799	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Greene Co 4-H Shotgun Club 167 Bald Hill Mount Morris, PA 15349	61-1621496	501c3	1,600	4,218	Cost	Program materials	Youth Training
Logan Co Fish & Game Assoc Inc PO Box 297 Bellevue, OH 43311	34-1090879			5,715	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
East Texas Rifle & Pistol Club PO Box 2664 Longview, TX 75606	75-1781086	501c4		5,715	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
Rapides Pioneers Youth Shooting Club Inc PO Box 822 Tioga, LA 71477	72-1514022		1,495	4,209	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Arnold Junior Shooters Inc 114 Trevillian St Louis, MO 63122	06-1680781	501c3	5,700				Youth Equipment
AWRSC Youth Shooting Sports Inc 30 Islander Dr Brighton, IL 62012	27-2651938	501c3	5,700				Youth Equipment

Form 990, Schedule I, Part II, Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States

(a) Name and address of organization or government	(b) EIN	(c) IRC Code section if applicable	(d) Amount of cash grant	(e) Amount of non-cash assistance	(f) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(g) Description of non-cash assistance	(h) Purpose of grant or assistance
Newberry Junior Pistol Club 2784 Dixie Dr Newberry, SC 29108	45-2152619		5,694				Youth Equipment
Fort Lane Tree307 County Rd C006 Capitan, NM 88316	85-0285251	501c3		5,691	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip, Youth Equipment
Decatur Gun ClubPO Box 9062 Decatur, IL 62524	37-0621880	501c7	300	5,390	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Kenai Peninsula 4-H Shooting Sports43961 Kallifornsky Beach Rd STE A Soldotna, AK 99669	71-0873154	501c3	5,658				Youth Equipment
Putnam Co Fish & Game AssocPO Box 419 Carmel, NY 12512	14-1642586	501c7	436	5,215	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Henry Co 4-H100 W Franklin Room 16 Clinton, MO 64735	44-6000408	University of Missou	705	4,915	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Arizona Chapter Paralyzed Veterans of America Inc 5015 N 7th Ave Suite2 Phoenix, AZ 85013	23-7174779	501c3		5,580	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Frazer Simplex Rifle Club 3049 Jefferson Ave Washington, PA 15301	83-0403417	501c3	2,500	3,079	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
Grand Forks Gun Club6950 Gateway Dr Grand Forks, ND 58208	45-6013306		2,368	3,204	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Lexfee's Kids Inc850 North Blvd Baton Rouge, LA 70802	27-4504881	501c3	5,569				Youth Equipment
Big Country Friends of NBA for Coleman Co 4H100 Liveoak Suite 202 County Couth Coleman, TX 76834	01-0914546	501c3		5,556	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Waverly Gun Club Inc4464 Desoto Ave SW Waverly, MN 55390	41-1477383		1,336	4,219	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Jackson Co Intermediate Sch Dist Jken Area Career Cntr 6800 Browns Lake Rd Jackson, MI 49201	38-1710261	Jackson County Inter		5,543	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Wayne Co Schools Spring Valley HS JRCTC100 Pioneer Rd Wayne, WV 25570	55-6000409	Wayne County Schools		5,532	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Farmington FFA1 Black Night Dr Farmington, MD 63640	43-6001232	Farmington R-7 Schoo	1,585	3,942	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Salisbury Elk Lck Sch Dist 196 Smith Ave Salisbury, PA 15558	25-1212045	Salisbury - Elk Lck		5,524	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NM State Univ Valencia Co 4-H Shooting Sports Council 404 Courthouse Rd Los Lunas, NM 87031	23-7289364	501c3	873	4,646	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Christian Brothers HS5900 Walnut Grove Rd Memphis, TN 38120	62-0726402	501c3		5,518	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Panola Sch Dist FFA Program 2105 Panola Rd Panola, OK 74559	73-0980781	Panola Public School	700	4,816	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Stigler Public Schools Stigler FFA309 NW E St Stigler, OK 74462	73-0783548	Stigler Public Schoo	350	5,153	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Perry Co 4-H321 N Main STE 1 Perryville, MO 63775	27-2051174	University of Missou	1,724	3,780	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
City of Slidell Police Dept 2112 Sgt Alfred Dr Slidell, LA 70458	72-6001341	City of Slidell	5,502				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Major Waldron Sportsmen's Assoc26 Rt 9 Barrington, NH 03826	02-6013864	501c4	5,500				Training, Ed Safety Equip
Four Corners Rifle and Pistol ClubPO Box 101 Cortez, CO 81321	26-3645762	501c7	5,500				Range Devel/Improv
Red Brush Rifle Range Inc 3299 West Eble Rd Newburgh, IN 47629	35-1613028	501c7	838	4,662	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Carlinville Clay Busters302 South Third St Girard, IL 62640	02-0734262			5,499	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Arizona Outdoor Sports Inc 5932 E Voltaire Ave Scottsdale, AZ 85254	26-2103623	501c3		5,499	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Rockwood Area Sch Dist437 Somerset Ave Rockwood, PA 15557	25-6012591	Rockwood Area School	502	4,981	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fontana HS Marine Corps JRCTC9453 Citrus Ave Fontana, CA 92334	95-6001357	Fontana Unified Scho		5,481	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
University of Nebraska Rifle Club55 Crec 841 N 14th Lincoln, NE 68588	27-2919549	501c3		5,481	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Swain Co Pub Schls Swain Co HS Hunters Safety Shooting Tm135 Arlington Ave Bryson City, NC 28713	56-6001118	Swain County School	1,231	4,250	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Hunter Safety Program
US Naval Sea Cadets El Toro Battalion 2345 Barranca Parkway Irvine, CA 92606	01-0899376	501c3		5,475	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Perch Point Conservation Club 7930 Meisner Rd Casco Township, ME 48064	38-6089741	501c4		5,475	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Riverside Co Schools CA Military Institute HS M5755 North A St Perris, CA 92570	33-0708971	California Military		5,464	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Monroe Co 4-H Shooting Sports Club 30320 Bracken Ridge Rd Lewisville, OH 43793	38-3791619	501c3	5,460				Youth Equipment
Huron Pointe Sportsmen Assoc - SCTP Trap 35800 28 Mile Rd Leno, MI 48044	38-1795075	501c7		5,457	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
N Central Chapter Paralyzed Veterans of America 209 N Garfield Ave Sioux Falls, SD 57104	46-0359947	501c3		5,448	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
American Legion North Harrisburg Post 1001225 Greenwalt Lane Harrisburg, PA 17111	23-1319935	501c19	875	4,569	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip, Youth Field Day
Marlborough Fish & Game Assoc1 Muddy Lane Marlborough, MA 01752	04-2068546	501c7	4,395	1,047	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Colville Valley 4-H Shooting Sports Club 250-C Williams Lake Rd Colville, WA 99114	20-4044689	Washington State Un	3,348	2,096	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Touchet Gun Club 143 Markham Rd Touchet, WA 99360	91-6058300		3,990	1,448	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Lavaca Co 4H Shooting Sports 112 S La Grange St Hallettsville, TX 77964	51-0672015	Texas AM AgriLife Ex	231	5,204	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Crenshaw HS MCJROTC 5010 South 11th Ave Los Angeles, CA 90043	95-6199182	Crenshaw High School		5,431	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Cherokee Area Council BSA 520 SE Quapaw Bartlesville, OK 74003	73-0592381	501c3		5,406	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Newark HS JROTC 314 Granville St Newark, OH 43055	31-6400796	Newark City Schools		5,404	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Northern Westchester Rifle Assoc Westminster Dr Croton an Hudson, NY 10520	13-3240608			5,387	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Louisiana 4-H Foundation 226 Eighth St Jonesboro, LA 71251	72-1367519	501c3	441	4,931	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Southern Arizona Firearms Educators Inc 5170 N Campbell Ave Tucson, AZ 85718	86-0730875	501c3	4,019	1,351	Cost	Program materials	Training, Ed Safety Equip
Big Horn Co CoOp Ext Svc PO Box 601 Basin, WY 82410	83-6000102	University of Wyo min	1,411	3,920	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Blue Ridge Mountains Council BSA 2131 Valley View Blvd Roanoke, VA 24012	54-0912706	501c3		5,316	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
NOAA NWLA Sportsmen Incorporated 31367 Nocks Landing Rd Atlantic, VA 23303	35-2310780	501c7	5,310				Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
Great Outdoors Sports And Firearms Education 3564 N Adrian Hwy Adrian, MI 49221	38-3586648			5,291	Cost	Program materials	Youth Education and Training
MGHS Aces Shooting Team PO Box 85 Mulberry Grove, IL 62262	27-3731607	501c3	2,500	2,778	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Fayette 4-H Shotgun Club- PA18 Highland Lane Fairchance, PA 15436	25-1888119	501c3		5,272	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Bend - La Pine Sch Dist LaPine HS NJROTC 51633 Coach Rd La Pine, OR 97739	93-6000393	Bend-LaPine Schools		5,270	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Bossier Parish 4H Outdoor Skills 204 Burt Blvd Benton, LA 71006	72-1295576	501c3	717	4,534	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Hawaiian Rifle Assoc 1039 Kupau St Kailua, HI 96734	99-0323525	501c7	5,250				Youth Training
Seminole Co School Bd Hagerty HS Army JROTC 2225 Lockwood Blvd Oviedo, FL 32765	49-6000655	Paul J Hagerty High		5,250	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Morgan Co 4-H Leaders Advisory Committee 914 E Rail Rd Fort Morgan, CO 80701	32-0225014	501c3	648	4,600	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Orange Glen HS NJROTC 2200 Glen Ridge Rd Escondido, CA 92027	95-6001096	Escondido Union High		5,247	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Calestreu Area Council BSA 304 Dr Michael DeBailey Dr Lake Charles, LA 70601	72-0423606	501c3	441	4,790	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Jasper Youth Shooting Sports Assoc 940 CR 278 Jasper, TX 75951	45-2669978	501c3	466	4,763	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
IWLA Mt Airy Chapter 642 Woodville Rd Mt Airy, MD 21771	52-2106675	501c3		5,222	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Somerset Area Sch Dist 645 South Columbia Ave Somerset, PA 15501	25-6004139	Somerset Area School		5,220	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Davison Co 4H Club 3200 W Havens Mitchell, SD 57301	43-1975865	South Dakota State U	382	4,833	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Clemson Univ Abbeville Co 4-H Shooting Sports 300 Brackett Hall Box 345702 Clemson, SC 29634	57-6000254	Clemson Cooperative		5,201	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Belle Plaine Public Schools - SD 716220 South Market St Belle Plaine, MN 55020	41-6008375	Belle Plaine Public	1,945	3,246	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Tek Junior Shooters PO Box 453 Tek, AK 99780	92-0155764		5,182				Youth Equipment
Hydro-Eakly FFA Booster Club 35 E 7th St Hydro, OK 73048	73-1225429	Hydro-Eakly Public S		5,167	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Douglas Co Fish & Game League Inc PO Box 101 Superior, WI 54880	20-1386315	501c3	5,141				Range Devel/Improv
Meyersdale Area Sch Dist 509 Industrial Park Rd Meyersdale, PA 15582	25-6004155	Meyersdale Area Publ		5,137	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Comal Ind Sch Dist Canyon Lake HS Army JROTC Hawk Battalion 8555 Ranch Market Rd 32 Fischer, TX 78623	74-6001777	Comal Independent Sc		5,113	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Ashdown Trap Team 171 South Locust Ashdown, AR 71822	71-6021358	Ashdown School Distr		5,105	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
Wythe Co Schools Wythe Co Army JROTC 1505 West Spiller St Wytheville, VA 24382	54-6001693	Wythe County Public		5,098	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Zion-Benton Township HS NJROTC 21st and Kenosha Rd Zion, IL 60099	36-6004902	Zion-Benton Township	2,600	2,489	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Freedom Public Schools Freedom PFA 1138 Eagle Pass Freedom, OK 73842	73-1392974	Freedom Public Schoo	350	4,738	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Jerome Sportsmen Assoc 3220 Jerome Hill Rd Hillsopple, PA 15935	16-1773637	501c4	3,292	1,790	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Sand Springs United Methodist Church BSA Troop 1015335 S Red Bud Place Sand Springs, OK 74063	73-1602637		700	4,377	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Maywood Sportsmen's Club Inc 700 N County Line Rd Elmhurst, IL 60126	36-2131283	501c7	3,212	1,847	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
BPOE 2286 Boy Scout Troop 225433 32nd St Glenwood Springs, CO 81601	84-0525149	501c8	8	5,047	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Alamo Area Friends of 4-H Shooting Sports 9735 Loop 106 San Antonio, TX 78263	27-3488130	501c3		5,054	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Manon Co School Board Vanguard HS NJROTC 7 NW 28th St Ocala, FL 34475	59-6000734	Manon County Public	2,310	2,736	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Redmond HS MCJROTC 675 SW Rimrock Dr Redmond, OR 97756	93-6000392	Redmond School Distr		5,036	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
The Mahave Sportsman Club 2155 Oatman Rd Golden Valley, AZ 86413	94-2791246	501c4	1,326	3,702	Cost	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv Equipment
Shanksville-Stonycreek Sch Dist 1325 Corner Stone Rd Shanksville, PA 15580	23-7036120	Shanksville-Stonycre		5,019	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Gadsden HS 6301 Hwy 28 Anthony, NM 88021	85-6000313	501c3	1,842	3,176	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment
Van Wert Co Outdoorsmen Assoc Inc 9065 Ringwald Rd Van Wert, OH 45891	34-1700782			5,016	Cost	Program materials	Youth Field Day
Vermont Bearhound Assoc 1113 Wheelock Rd Sutton, VT 05867	86-1173346		4,375	628	Cost	Program materials	Youth Equipment

efile GRAPHIC print - DO NOT PROCESS		As Filed Data -	DLN: 93493280001073
Schedule J (Form 990)	Compensation Information For certain Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees ▶ Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, question 23. ▶ Attach to Form 990. ▶ See separate instructions.		OMB No 1545-0047 <div style="font-size: 24pt; font-weight: bold; margin: 5px 0;">2012</div> Open to Public Inspection
Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service	Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		Employer identification number 52-1710886
Part I Questions Regarding Compensation			
1a Check the appropriate box(es) if the organization provided any of the following to or for a person listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a. Complete Part III to provide any relevant information regarding these items.			Yes No
<input type="checkbox"/> First-class or charter travel			
<input type="checkbox"/> Travel for companions			
<input type="checkbox"/> Tax identification and gross-up payments			
<input type="checkbox"/> Discretionary spending account			
<input type="checkbox"/> Housing allowance or residence for personal use			
<input type="checkbox"/> Payments for business use of personal residence			
<input type="checkbox"/> Health or social club dues or initiation fees			
<input type="checkbox"/> Personal services (e.g., maid, chauffeur, chef)			
b If any of the boxes in line 1a are checked, did the organization follow a written policy regarding payment or reimbursement or provision of all of the expenses described above? If "No," complete Part III to explain		1b	
2 Did the organization require substantiation prior to reimbursing or allowing expenses incurred by all officers, directors, trustees, and the CEO/Executive Director, regarding the items checked in line 1a?		2	
3 Indicate which, if any, of the following the filing organization used to establish the compensation of the organization's CEO/Executive Director. Check all that apply. Do not check any boxes for methods used by a related organization to establish compensation of the CEO/Executive Director, but explain in Part III.			
<input type="checkbox"/> Compensation committee			
<input type="checkbox"/> Independent compensation consultant			
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990 of other organizations			
<input type="checkbox"/> Written employment contract			
<input type="checkbox"/> Compensation survey or study			
<input type="checkbox"/> Approval by the board or compensation committee			
4 During the year, did any person listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a with respect to the filing organization or a related organization:			
a Receive a severance payment or change-of-control payment?		4a	No
b Participate in, or receive payment from, a supplemental nonqualified retirement plan?		4b	Yes
c Participate in, or receive payment from, an equity-based compensation arrangement?		4c	No
If "Yes" to any of lines 4a-c, list the persons and provide the applicable amounts for each item in Part III.			
Only 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations only must complete lines 5-9.			
5 For persons listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, did the organization pay or accrue any compensation contingent on the revenues of:			
a The organization?		5a	No
b Any related organization?		5b	No
If "Yes," to line 5a or 5b, describe in Part III.			
6 For persons listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, did the organization pay or accrue any compensation contingent on the net earnings of:			
a The organization?		6a	No
b Any related organization?		6b	No
If "Yes," to line 6a or 6b, describe in Part III.			
7 For persons listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, did the organization provide any non-fixed payments not described in lines 5 and 6? If "Yes," describe in Part III.		7	No
8 Were any amounts reported in Form 990, Part VII, paid or accrued pursuant to a contract that was subject to the initial contract exception described in Regulations section 53.4958-4(a)(3)? If "Yes," describe in Part III.		8	No
9 If "Yes" to line 8, did the organization also follow the rebuttable presumption procedure described in Regulations section 53.4958-6(c)?		9	

Schedule J (Form 990) 2012

Page **2****Part II Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees.** Use duplicate copies if additional space is needed.

For each individual whose compensation must be reported in Schedule J, report compensation from the organization on row (i) and from related organizations, described in the instructions, on row (ii). Do not list any individuals that are not listed on Form 990, Part VII.

Note. The sum of columns (B)(i)-(iii) for each listed individual must equal the total amount of Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, applicable column (D) and (E) amounts for that individual.

(A) Name and Title		(B) Breakdown of W-2 and/or 1099-MISC compensation			(C) Retirement and other deferred compensation	(D) Nontaxable benefits	(E) Total of columns (B)(i)-(D)	(F) Compensation reported as deferred in prior Form 990
		(i) Base compensation	(ii) Bonus & incentive compensation	(iii) Other reportable compensation				
(1) Wilson H. Phillips Jr. Treasurer	(i) (ii)	400,397	89,213	25,650	109,377	26,955	651,592	
(2) Wayne L. LaPierre Ex Officio	(i) (ii)	672,385	129,767	31,160	98,144	43,431	974,867	

Schedule J (Form 990) 2012

Part III Supplemental Information

Complete this part to provide the information, explanation, or descriptions required for Part I, lines 1a, 1b, 3, 4a, 4b, 4c, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7, and 8, and for Part II. Also complete this part for any additional information.

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
I	4b	The 457f service cost included in deferred compensation for Wayne LaPierre was \$4,821 and for Wilson H. Phillips Jr. was \$6,783, as actuarially calculated under ASC 715. The NRA decides the benefit amount and timeframe for vesting for each participant. The 457f plan is also designed to supplement the current defined benefit plan where current benefit law causes low replacement ratios for some participants.
II		Column B: Other reportable compensation in taxable wages includes 457b, auto, and life benefits.
II		Column C: Includes the employer-paid portions of the NRA defined benefit plan, 401k plan, and 457f plan.
II		This organization relied on the processes of a related organization to establish compensation of top management officials, and such processes utilized a compensation committee, independent compensation consultants, compensation surveys and studies, comparability data, and ultimate approval by the board or compensation committee.
II		NRA takes a full transparency posture for executive compensation by disregarding the 10,000 per item exception.

efile GRAPHIC print - DO NOT PROCESS As Filed Data -		DLN: 93493280001073
SCHEDULE M (Form 990) <small>Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service</small>	Noncash Contributions ▶ Complete if the organizations answered "Yes" on Form 990, Part IV, lines 29 or 30. ▶ Attach to Form 990.	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> 2012 <small>OMB No 1545-0047</small> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center; font-weight: bold;"> Open to Public Inspection </div>
Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		Employer identification number 52-1710886

Part I Types of Property				
	(a) Check if applicable	(b) Number of contributions or items contributed	(c) Noncash contribution amounts reported on Form 990, Part VIII, line 1g	(d) Method of determining noncash contribution amounts
1 Art—Works of art				
2 Art—Historical treasures				
3 Art—Fractional interests				
4 Books and publications				
5 Clothing and household goods				
6 Cars and other vehicles				
7 Boats and planes				
8 Intellectual property				
9 Securities—Publicly traded	X	7	29,709	FMV at gift date
10 Securities—Closely held stock				
11 Securities—Partnership, LLC, or trust interests				
12 Securities—Miscellaneous				
13 Qualified conservation contribution—Historic structures				
14 Qualified conservation contribution—Other				
15 Real estate—Residential				
16 Real estate—Commercial				
17 Real estate—Other				
18 Collectibles	X	231	4,353,350	Appraised or FMV at gift date
19 Food inventory				
20 Drugs and medical supplies				
21 Taxidermy				
22 Historical artifacts				
23 Scientific specimens				
24 Archeological artifacts				
25 Other* (Inventory)	X	1	75,000	FMV at gift date
26 Other* ()				
27 Other* ()				
28 Other* ()				
29 Number of Forms 8283 received by the organization during the tax year for contributions for which the organization completed Form 8283, Part IV, Donee Acknowledgement	29			3
30a During the year, did the organization receive by contribution any property reported in Part I, lines 1-28 that it must hold for at least three years from the date of the initial contribution, and which is not required to be used for exempt purposes for the entire holding period?	30a			No
b If "Yes," describe the arrangement in Part II				
31 Does the organization have a gift acceptance policy that requires the review of any non-standard contributions?	31			Yes
32a Does the organization hire or use third parties or related organizations to solicit, process, or sell noncash contributions?	32a			Yes
b If "Yes," describe in Part II				
33 If the organization did not report an amount in column (c) for a type of property for which column (a) is checked, describe in Part II				

Schedule M (Form 990) (2012)

Page **2**

Part II Supplemental Information. Complete this part to provide the information required by Part I, lines 30b, 32b, and 33, and whether the organization is reporting in Part I, column (b), the number of contributions, the number of items received, or a combination of both. Also complete this part for any additional information.

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
I	9	Reflects the number of contributors
I	18	Reflects the number of items received
I	25	Reflects the number of contributors
I	32a	Donations of stocks/investments are sold by the Foundations investment manager within 5 business days of receipt Donations of firearms that will not be held in collections are generally sold by outside auction houses

Schedule M (Form 990) (2012)

efile GRAPHIC print - DO NOT PROCESS As Filed Data -		DLN: 93493280001073
SCHEDULE O (Form 990 or 990-EZ)	Supplemental Information to Form 990 or 990-EZ Complete to provide information for responses to specific questions on Form 990 or to provide any additional information. ► Attach to Form 990 or 990-EZ.	OMB No 1545-0047 <div style="text-align: center; font-size: 24pt; font-weight: bold;">2012</div> <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">Open to Public Inspection</div>
Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		Employer identification number 52-1710886

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
		Form 990 Part V Line 1a b 1099 and/or W-2G forms are sent to non-cash prize winners at Friends of NRA events
		Form 990 Part VI Section B Line 11b The Foundations 990 is reviewed by its external accountants and Board of Trustees before it is filed with the IRS
		Form 990 Part VI Section B Line 12c The NRA Foundation takes conflicts of interest very seriously and utilizes a statement of corporate ethics to monitor and enforce compliance with corporate policies Annual filings must be provided to NRA Office of the Secretary and review ed regularly and consistently
		Form 990 Part VI Section B Line 15 The NRA Foundation relied on a related organizations processes to establish compensation of top management officials Such processes utilize a compensation committee, independent compensation consultants, compensation surveys and studies, comparability data, and ultimate approval by the Board or Compensation Committee
		Form 990 Part VI Section C Line 19 Governing documents, audited financial statements, and annual reports are mailed upon request The NRA Foundation does not make internal operating policies available to the general public

efile GRAPHIC print - DO NOT PROCESS As Filed Data -		DLN: 93493280001073				
SCHEDULE R (Form 990)		Related Organizations and Unrelated Partnerships ▶ Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 33, 34, 35, 36, or 37. ▶ Attach to Form 990. ▶ See separate instructions.				
Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service		OMB No. 1545-0047 <div style="background-color: black; color: white; padding: 5px; font-weight: bold; font-size: 1.2em;">2012</div> Open to Public Inspection				
Name of the organization NRA FOUNDATION INC		Employer identification number 52-1710886				
Part I Identification of Disregarded Entities (Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 33.)						
(a) Name, address, and EIN (if applicable) of disregarded entity	(b) Primary activity	(c) Legal domicile (state or foreign country)	(d) Total income	(e) End-of-year assets	(f) Direct controlling entity	
(1) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 1st LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459250	Raffles	IN	322,125	320	The NRA Foundation Inc	
(2) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 2nd LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459545	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc	
(3) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 3rd LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459565	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc	
(4) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 4th LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459895	Raffles	IN	31,577		The NRA Foundation Inc	
(5) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 5th LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5460091	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc	
(6) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 6th LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5460191	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc	
Part II Identification of Related Tax-Exempt Organizations (Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 34 because it had one or more related tax-exempt organizations during the tax year.)						
(a) Name, address, and EIN of related organization	(b) Primary activity	(c) Legal domicile (state or foreign country)	(d) Exempt Code section	(e) Public charity status (if section 501(c)(3))	(f) Direct controlling entity	(g) Section 512(b)(13) controlled entity?
(1) National Rifle Association of America 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030 53-0116130	Membership	NY	501c4		N/A	Yes No No
(2) NRA Special Contribution Fund PO Box 700 Raton, NM 87740 23-740734	Charitable	NM	501c3	Line 7	NRA	Yes No No
(3) NRA Civil Rights Defense Fund 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030 52-1139665	Charitable	NY	501c3	Line 7	NRA	Yes No No
(4) NRA Freedom Action Foundation 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030 26-1277941	Charitable	VA	501c3	Line 7	NRA	Yes No No

[illegible][illegible]

Part V Transactions With Related Organizations (Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 34, 35b, or 36.)**Note.** Complete line 1 if any entity is listed in Parts II, III, or IV of this schedule.**1** During the tax year, did the organization engage in any of the following transactions with one or more related organizations listed in Parts II-IV?**a** Receipt of **(i)** interest **(ii)** annuities **(iii)** royalties or **(iv)** rent from a controlled entity**b** Gift, grant, or capital contribution to related organization(s)**c** Gift, grant, or capital contribution from related organization(s)**d** Loans or loan guarantees to or for related organization(s)**e** Loans or loan guarantees by related organization(s)**f** Dividends from related organization(s)**g** Sale of assets to related organization(s)**h** Purchase of assets from related organization(s)**i** Exchange of assets with related organization(s)**j** Lease of facilities, equipment, or other assets to related organization(s)**k** Lease of facilities, equipment, or other assets from related organization(s)**l** Performance of services or membership or fundraising solicitations for related organization(s)**m** Performance of services or membership or fundraising solicitations by related organization(s)**n** Sharing of facilities, equipment, mailing lists, or other assets with related organization(s)**o** Sharing of paid employees with related organization(s)**p** Reimbursement paid to related organization(s) for expenses**q** Reimbursement paid by related organization(s) for expenses**r** Other transfer of cash or property to related organization(s)**s** Other transfer of cash or property from related organization(s)

	Yes	No
1a		No
1b	Yes	
1c		No
1d		No
1e		No
1f		No
1g		No
1h		No
1i		No
1j		No
1k		No
1l		No
1m		No
1n	Yes	
1o	Yes	
1p	Yes	
1q		No
1r		No
1s		No

2 If the answer to any of the above is "Yes," see the instructions for information on who must complete this line, including covered relationships and transaction thresholds.

(a) Name of other organization	(b) Transaction type (a-s)	(c) Amount involved	(d) Method of determining amount involved
(1) National Rifle Association of America	a	13,518,518	Cash value
(2) National Rifle Association of America	a	4,715,902	Cash value
(3) National Rifle Association of America	a	4,711,106	Cash value

Schedule R (Form 990) 2012

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Part VII

Supplemental Information

Complete this part to provide additional information for responses to questions on Schedule R (see instructions)

Identifier	Return Reference	Explanation
V	1b	All grants made by the NRA Foundation to National Rifle Association are subject to a stringent review process requiring that they be made and used only for qualified charitable purpose programs

Additional Data

[Return to Form](#)

Software ID: 12000057
 Software Version: 12.18.605.2
 EIN: 52-1710886
 Name: NRA FOUNDATION INC

Form 990, Schedule R, Part I - Identification of Disregarded Entities

(a) Name, address, and EIN of disregarded entity	(b) Primary Activity	(c) Legal Domicile (State or Foreign Country)	(d) Total income	(e) End-of-year assets	(f) Direct Controlling Entity
(1) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 1st LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459256	Raffles	IN	322,125	320	The NRA Foundation Inc
(2) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 2nd LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459545	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc
(3) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 3rd LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459765	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc
(4) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 4th LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5459895	Raffles	IN	31,577		The NRA Foundation Inc
(5) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 5th LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5460091	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc
(6) NRAF Raffle - Indiana's 6th LLC c/o Fleming Stage LLC 310 N Alabama Indianapolis, IN 46204 27-5460191	Raffles	IN			The NRA Foundation Inc

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efile Public Visual Reader ObjectID: 201443099349300914 - Submission: 2014-11-04		TIN: 52-1710886 OMB No. 1545-0047
Schedule I (Form 990)		2014 Open to Public Inspection
Grants and Other Assistance to Organizations, Governments and Individuals in the United States Complete if the organization answered "Yes," to Form 990, Part IV, line 21 or 22. Attach to Form 990. Information about Schedule I (Form 990) and its instructions is at www.irs.gov/form990 .		Employer identification number 52-1710886
Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service Name of the organization		
Part I General Information on Grants and Assistance		
1 Does the organization maintain records to substantiate the amount of the grants or assistance, the grantees' eligibility for the grants or assistance, and the selection criteria used to award the grants or assistance? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
2 Describe in Part IV the organization's procedures for monitoring the use of grant funds in the United States.		
Part II Grants and Other Assistance to Domestic Organizations and Domestic Governments. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 21, for any recipient that received more than \$5,000. Part II can be duplicated if additional space is needed.		
(a) Name and address of organization or government	(b) EIN	(c) IRC section if applicable
(d) Amount of cash grant	(e) Amount of non-cash assistance	(f) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)
(g) Description of non-cash assistance	(h) Purpose of grant or assistance	
(1) 11250 Waples Mill Road Pawfax, VA 22030	53-0116130	501c4
(2) 5555 Concord Pkwy S Ste 336 Concord, NC 28027	56-1331429	501c3
(3) 100 County Road 131 Rising Star, TX 76471	45-3159466	501c3
(4) 727 East 16th Street Denver, CO 80203	04-0990300	501c3
(5) 4 North Main Suite 13 Coalgate, OK 74338	73-6017987	Blackwell Public Sch
(6) 2142 Shealy Drive Gainesville, FL 32611	59-1000186	501c3
(7) 645 Main Street Lander, WY 82520	36-4646269	501c3
(8) 10 Miles S/W Hwy 64 Raton, NM 87740	23-7367534	501c3
(9) 2301 South University Little Rock, AR 72204	62-1712458	University of Arkansas
(10) 3301 N Fairfax Drive MS 103 Arlington, VA 22201	54-1603942	501c3
(11) 755 Roanoke Street Suite 1G Christiansburg, VA 24073	54-0721690	501c3
(12) PO Box 3926 Pohlar Bluff, MD 63901	43-1513894	501c7
(13) PO Box 2614 Los Banos, CA 93625	38-3737734	501c3
(14) 55 E San Joaquin St Salinas, CA 92301	23-7054309	501c3
(15) PO Box 1245 Taft, CA 92368	77-0220279	501c4
(16) PO Box 386 Mariposa, CA 95338	51-0172444	501c3
(17) 900 Weberbird Way Martinez, CA 94553	94-1638007	501c4
(18) 1312 Alvon Drive Town of Rome, WI 54457	26-4006324	501c3
(19) 3270 Gilard Road San Luis Obispo, CA 93405	77-0057903	501c3
(20) 312 Locust Ridgecrest, CA 93555	77-0414921	501c4
(21) PO Box 780 Lewistown, MT 59457	42-1613966	501c4
(22) 2321 Palmer-Wasilla Hwy Wasilla, AK 99554	90-0635354	501c3

(23) PO Box 785 Livermore, CA 94551	27-2937078	501c3	47,990				Range Devel/Improv
(24) 1000 W Windsor Blvd 301 Oklahoma City, OK 73116	73-1247606	501c4	4,918	39,982	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(25) 2417 M Street Bakersfield, CA 93301	95-1642363	501c3	40,000	2,841	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(26) 7125 Fall Creek Road North Indianapolis, IN 46236	35-0967962	501c3	10,600	31,354	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
(27) 3051 12 Ave NE Grand Forks, ND 58201	45-6036621	501c7	30,800	8,623	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(28) ANR Building 225 Hopkins Road Davis, CA 95616	94-6036494	501c3	11,639	27,570	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(29) PO Box 3642 Eureka, CA 95502	94-6103086	501c7	17,302	21,559		Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
(30) 11250 Waples Mill Road Fairfax, VA 22030	52-1136665	501c3	36,527				Defense of Second Amendment Rights
(31) 401 Texaco Rd Amarillo, TX 79124	75-0800613	501c3		36,224	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(32) 2775 Hwy 50 Grand Junction, CO 81502	74-2586994	501c3	13,795	22,316	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(33) PO Box 493 Junction, OR 97846	20-4410727	501c3	33,055				Youth Range/Facilities
(34) PO Box 399 Fayette, CA 96122	68-0024960		24,000	8,685	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(35) PO Box 89 Porterville, CA 93257	23-7165119	501c3	24,470	7,029	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(36) 1 Wildcat Way Taft, CA 93268	77-0124221	501c3	17,079	12,763	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(37) PO Box 151821 Bly, NV 89315	32-0223579		5,331	24,123	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
(38) 8666 Laurelwood Dr Rohnert Park, CA 94928	95-3389286	501c3	29,356				Youth Equipment
(39) PO Box 741 Scotney, MT 59263	01-0432486		29,300				Range Devel/Improv
(40) 73 Rifle Range Road Laramie, WY 82073	03-0279323	501c4	29,193				Range Devel/Improv
(41) PO Box 1349 Nome, AK 99762	26-3839882		29,000				Training, Edu Safety
(42) PO Box 1364 Stockton, CA 95201	94-2744590	501c3	28,000	760	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(43) P O Box 637 Chattsworth, IL 60921	36-6161799	501c4	12,200	16,536	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(44) 7930 2nd Amendment Road Winemucca, NV 89445	45-3504226		28,705				Range Devel/Improv
(45) 1420 Compton Bridge Road Inman, SC 29349	63-0297929	Spartanburg County S		28,503	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(46) PO Box 162 Baker City, OR 97814	93-0440889	501c7	28,000				Youth Equipment
(47) 241 Ag Hall Stillwater, OK 74078	73-6006405	Oklahoma State Univ	700	25,902	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(48) 710 S Hastings Way Eau Claire, WI 54701	39-0807227	501c3	25,000	1,383	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Facilities
(49) 88900 Spur 26 E Foncia, NE 68770	47-0757049	501c3	21,335	4,716	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Training, Edu Safety
(50) PO Box 1860 Valley Springs, CA 95252	26-3605589	501c3		26,032	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(51) 16232 Sequan Truck Trail Alpine, CA 91501	95-6068013	501c7		25,066	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(52) n5684 Lake Park st	39-6006368	Village of Shilonton	25,000				Range Devel/Improv

TY 2013 Form 990 Schedule I

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Shilston, WI 54170							
(33) 1950 Voss Drive Chino Valley, AZ 86323	86-0256634	Town of Chino Valley	25,000				Range Devel/Improv
(54) 5000 W Carefree Highway Phoenix, AZ 85086	86-6004791	State of Arizona	25,000				Range Devel/Improv
(55) 8250 True Sportsman Drive Jone, CA 95640	68-0438378			24,815	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(56) 18600 Vista Park Blvd Weston, FL 33332	59-6000530	School Board of Brow		24,715	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(57) 127 Queensbury Poplar Grove, IL 61065	41-1429149	501c3	5,519	19,013	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(58) 310 W 19th Suite 300 Cheyenne, WY 82001	83-6000111	Laramie County	24,090				Range Devel/Improv
(59) P O Box 1549 Post Falls, ID 83877	94-3119468	501c4	22,672				Range Devel/Improv
(60) 4568 West Pine Blvd St Louis, MO 63108	43-0652676	501c3		22,110	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(61) 52645 South Parka Highway Tahlequah, AK 99676	92-0176997	501c4	22,000				Range Devel/Improv
(62) 2551 Woodcreek Oaks Blvd Riversville, AK 93747	94-3239441	501c3		21,713	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(63) 2011 Fairgrounds Rd Casper, WY 82604	83-0309535	501c3	12,678	8,810	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(64) PO Box 334 Eleanor, WV 25070	55-0760755		8,234	13,043	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(65) Box 728 Caliente, NV 89008	88-0300627	University of Nevada		21,248	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(66) 2511 N Loop 1604 W Suite 201 San Antonio, TX 78258	20-9742203	501c3	20,800				Veteran Advocacy
(67) PO Box 2240 Laramie, WY 82073	83-0207503		20,504				Range Devel/Improv
(68) 1110 S College Ave Columbia, MO 65211	43-6044367	501c3	18,545	1,795	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(69) 1140 N Grape Cosqueville, OR 97423	20-1794552	501c3	20,000				Range Devel/Improv
(70) 232 Wilcox Road Troy, PA 16947	26-3786917	501c3	20,000				Youth Equipment
(71) 2065 US Hwy 278 Socata Circle, GA 30025	58-1130945	Georgia Dept. of Nat	20,000				Youth Equipment
(72) Hwy 95 Adair Park Yuma, AZ 85365	86-0114719	501c4	19,940				Range Devel/Improv
(73) PO Box 713 Worland, WY 82401	83-0303231	501c4	19,889				Range Devel/Improv
(74) 731 C St 110 Rock Springs, WY 82901	83-6000126	Sweetwater County Pa	19,880				Training, Edu Safety
(75) 2908 West 88th Ave Anchorage, AK 99502	92-6000078	Anchorage School Dis	19,802				Youth Equipment
(76) 5140 Sullivantown Rd Walkerboro, NC 27051	56-0795164	Winston-Salem Forsyt	2,700	16,303	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Hunter Safety Program
(77) PO Box 78669 Fairbanks, AK 99707	26-1832485	501c3	19,500				Range Devel/Improv
(78) 119 S 3rd St Livingston, MT 59047	30-0446345	501c3	7,881	11,457	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(79) 1275 Bedford Ave Pittsburgh, PA 15219	25-0965214	501c3	3,045	16,038	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(80) 4010 Winchester Loop Anchorage, AK 99507	05-0542148	501c3	19,000				Youth Competition Support, Equipment
(81) 350 N D Street Porterville, CA 93257	94-6000398	Porterville Police D	19,000				Range Devel/Improv
(82)	35-2380381	501c3	7,002	11,458	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

TY 2013 Form 990 Schedule I

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367 Wild Horse Road Arvada, WY 82831							
(83) 7861 Candelaria Rd NE Albuquerque, NM 87110	85-6000101	Albuquerque Public S	2,250	15,809	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(84) 1101 Second Street Upton, WY 82739	45-4144419		17,300	533	Other	Program materials	Youth Competition Registration
(85) 430 N Washington Street Sonoma, CA 95370	77-0181953	Sonoma Union High Sc		17,824	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(86) 16215 Hwy H Higuesville, MO 65334	43-0820586	Pettis County R-V Sc		17,793	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(87) PO Box 582 Lincoln, CA 95648	94-1641654	501c7	1,600	16,120	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(88) PO Box 1378 Atwater, CA 95301	20-2481080	501c4		17,682	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(89) 972 Granite Road Conrad, MT 59425	26-4097998	501c3	17,590				Range Devel/Improv
(90) 7161 Gulf Highway Lake Charles, LA 70607	51-0204619	501c3	4,408	13,138	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(91) 450 Jerry Black Lane Goldvly, OK 73093	73-1132566	501c4	1,750	15,696	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(92) PO Box 1670 Mouma, LA 70360	72-6001393	Terrebonne Parish Sh	2,384	14,878	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(93) 105 Blarpi Ave Clovis, NM 88101	85-0325118		16,997				Youth Equipment
(94) 107 Fairgrounds Road Waynesburg, PA 15370	25-6001934	Greene County Dept.	2,630	14,265	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety, Range Devel/Improv
(95) 1211 Yellowjacket Way Tombstone, AZ 85638	52-1551307	Tombstone Unified Sc		16,696	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(96) 20150 Bruce B Downs Blvd Tampa, FL 33647	59-6000660	School Board of Hill		16,586	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(97) 9029 W Hwy 33 Rehburg, ID 83440	82-0439992		16,500				Range Devel/Improv
(98) 6901 Parker Avenue West Palm Beach, FL 33405	59-6000783	School District of F		16,340	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(99) PO Box 362 Santa Maria, CA 93456	23-7115691	501c3	12,352	3,644	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(100) 201 S West Main St Marietta, IL 62859	37-6000511	University of Illino	1,400	14,298	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(101) PO Box 585 Creedmoor, NC 27522	56-1151044	501c4		15,628	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(102) 307 W Atherton Road Pine, HI 46507	38-1359086	501c3	300	15,274	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(103) 2679 Bixby Road Cloister, AZ 85501	86-0749221	501c7	11,664	3,841	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(104) 29018 Kind Rd Stoutland, MO 65567	80-0646888	501c3	11,841	3,643	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(105) 5620 Nalder Way Sacramento, CA 95822	27-0399691	501c3	6,058	9,358	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(106) 1209 Mechanic Osgood, IA 50461	42-6081192	501c7	10,061	5,335	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Facilities
(107) PO Box 120 Sanford, NC 27331	56-6061230	501c4		15,382	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(108) 11250 Waples Mill Rd Fairfax, VA 22030	26-1277941	501c3	15,242				Non-partisan voter Registration
(109) 4760 Thornton Ave Fremont, CA 94536	94-1664551	501c3		15,187	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(110) 1090 E University Ave Laramie, WY 82071	83-0261971	501c3	15,025				Youth Equipment
(111) 2945 Elzac Drive Murfreesboro, TN 37138	62-6000820	Rutherford County Sc		15,005	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(112) 61 County Road 7WC Cody, WY 82414	83-0197123		15,000				Range Devel/Improv
(113) 2044 State Street Meeteetse, WY 82433	83-6000079	Town of Meeteetse	15,000				Range Devel/Improv
(114) 12450 Shotgun Rd Bakersfield, CA 93311	95-1866922	501c4		14,926	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(115) PO Box 401 Kingston, ID 83839	20-5087123		14,614				Range Devel/Improv
(116) 10507 N McAllister Road La Grande, OR 97850	93-0590838	501c3		14,540	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(117) 1715 100th Place SE Everett, WA 98208	91-1622046	501c3	12,000	2,511	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
(118) 701 West 8th St Pueblo, CO 81003	84-0297556	501c19	9,000	10,802	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Scholarship, Training, Edu Safety
(119) 18525 Sherman Way Unit C-8 Van Nuys, CA 91406	95-2788856	501c3	25	14,337	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(120) 234 High School Circle Murphy, NC 28906	56-6000211	Cherokee County Scho		14,321	Other	Program materials	Youth Hunter Safety Program
(121) PO Box 66 Breckenridge, CO 80424	84-6000808	Summit County	14,219				Range Devel/Improv
(122) PO Box 677 Haines, AK 99827	23-7189873	501c4	14,200				Range Devel/Improv
(123) 245 Timbercrest Roa West Lafayette, IN 47906	35-6002041	501c3	8,000	6,142	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(124) PO Box 611 Marietta, OH 45750	11-3790543	501c3	6,905	7,230	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(125) 49270 Victoria Ave Soldotna, AK 99669	26-0612473	501c7	14,000				Training, Edu Safety
(126) P O Box 146 Lexington, ID 83501	82-0453884	501c3	14,000				Range Devel/Improv
(127) 5821 W Verde Way Las Vegas, NV 89130	26-1449283	Nevada System of Hig	481	13,499	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(128) Dept 5340 PO BOX 6050 Fargo, ND 58108	80-0558017		11,245	2,705	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(129) 6956 Aloma Avenue Winter Park, FL 32792	27-3722467	501c3	2,800	11,072	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Education
(130) 415 N 2nd Street St Charles, IL 60174	36-3831877	501c3	10,303	3,527	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range/Facilities
(131) 6125 E 1175 North St Bloomington, IL 61705	20-5293674	501c3	12,465	1,309	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment
(132) 188 South Stump Tavern Rd Jackson, NJ 08527	22-2443269	501c7	3,650	10,103	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(133) 849 881 Dacotah Street Madras, OR 97741	61-1546599	501c3		13,692	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(134) 3540 Pleasant Hill Road Kissimmee, FL 34746	45-3631757	501c3		13,657	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(135) 131 North Firehouse Rd Lake Arthur, NM 88253	20-1814971	501c4	850	12,771	Other	Program materials	Youth Education
(136) 748 North 1340 West Orem, UT 84057	87-0212468	501c3		13,593	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(137) 1203 Fay Street Columbia, MO 65201	43-0655866	501c3		13,503	Other	Program materials	Youth Range/Facilities
(138) 1349 Blackwater Rd Chillicothe, OH 45601	32-0009555	501c3	10,300	3,174	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(139) 601 King Street Oviedo, FL 32765	99-6000855	Seminole County Publi		13,450	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(140) 370 Chinook Valley Rd Chinook, WA 98614	91-1527256	501c7	10,000	3,369	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Development
(141) 115928 Rifle Site Rd Mitchell, NE 69357	26-0816361			13,299	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(143) 640 16th ave NE West Fargo, ND 58078	20-3510474	501c4	3,000	10,170	Other	Program materials	Youth Education
(143) PO Box 771 Brigham City, UT 84302	94-2898301	501c3	13,043				Range Devel/Improv
(144) 197 E Tabernacle St St George, UT 84770	87-6060315	Washington County	13,000				Range Devel/Improv
(145) 14651 Horizon Blvd El Paso, TX 79928	74-6029385	Socorro Independent	2,720	10,279	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(146) 351 Washington Ave Grants, NM 87020	85-6000401	New Mexico State Uni	6,500	6,438	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(147) PO Box 12355 College Station, TX 77842	27-1655401	501c3	4,359	8,577	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(148) 11792 N Farm Road 231 Fair Grove, MO 65648	90-0119454		12,804				Youth Competition
(149) 4178 Grimmersburg St Farmville, NC 27828	20-2195002		4,000	8,791	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(150) 1460 Goose Pond Road NE Leland, NC 28451	58-1836946	501c7		12,727	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(151) 2131 Valley View Blvd Roanoke, VA 24012	54-0912706	501c3		12,664	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(152) 3280 Shaftering Oaks Ct Chico, CA 95973	31-1712085	501c3	12,580				Training, Edu Safety
(153) 6315 S PM 1488 219 Magnolia, TX 77354	27-3768198	501c3	2,000	10,512	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(154) 4419 Idlewild Road Clinton, LA 70722	72-1283459	501c3	300	12,187	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(155) Box 33912 Juneau, AK 99801	92-0118964		12,476				Range Devel/Improv
(156) PO Box 1342 Idaho Falls, ID 83402	82-0496396		12,459				Range Devel/Improv
(157) 6700 Napier Road Plymouth, MI 48170	38-1967343	501c4	1,300	11,127	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(158) 1150 Kitty Hawk Cedar City, UT 84720	20-2793128	501c4	12,400				Range Devel/Improv
(159) 801 CR 18 Gunnison, CO 81230	84-1015362	501c7	10,860	1,451	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety, Range Devel/Improv
(160) 427 W Noble Ave Williston, FL 32696	59-6000715	501c3		12,296	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(161) 630 Janet Ave Suite B-114 Lancaster, PA 17601	23-1855082	501c3		12,262	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(162) 10400 Santa Clara Road Atascadero, CA 93422	77-0263875	501c7	12,241				Range Devel/Improv
(163) 19615 E Sprague Ave Greenacres, WA 99018	91-0501149	501c7	5,000	7,186	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety, Range Devel/Improv
(164) PO Box 393 Burley, ID 83218	82-0511139			12,136	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(165) 1545 Brickyard rd Chickley, FL 32828	59-6000898	Washington County Di		12,130	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(166) 1515 Emerald Plaza College Station, TX 77845	74-2808128	501c3	12,096				Range Devel/Improv
(167) 326 Eighth Street Jonesboro, LA 71251	72-1367519	501c3		12,094	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(168) 1220 Commercial St Warsaw, MO 65355	44-6005830	University of Missou		12,078	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(169) 14 Stafford Avenue Morrisville, VT 05661	23-7398926	501c7	12,000				Youth Field Day
(170) 32739 MM Hwy POBox 361 Warsaw, MO 65355	43-6093544	501c19	12,000				Range Devel/Improv
(171) 303 Eureka Dr Gray, LA 70359	58-1854373		12,000				Youth Equipment

(172) 20766-C ST Martin Rd Albemarle, NC 28501	56-2199051		1,200	10,783	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(173) PO Box 4116 Pinehurst, NC 28374	56-1937109	501c4	9,562	2,411	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Scholarship
(174) PO Box 447 Oconomowoc, WI 53006	39-1047718	501c3	11,930				Youth Equipment
(175) 100 Elm Selling, OK 73663	73-6069381	Selling Public Scho	700	11,245	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(176) 700 New School Lane Dallastown, PA 17313	27-1671700	Dallastown Area Scho	2,500	9,407	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(177) 202 Norton Street Orange, VA 22660	54-1692033	501c4	11,900				Youth Education
(178) PO Box 2146 Enid, OK 73702	73-0579250	501c3	1,500	10,395	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(179) 2487 Ranfield Rd Mogadore, OH 44260	31-0929183	501c4	10,799	1,064	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
(180) 7658 Preserve Road Western, IL 60555	36-6143508	501c7	5,000	6,828	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(181) 324 Fourth Ave Room 309 South Charleston, WV 25303	55-6000763	West Virginia Divisi	11,800				Youth, Edu Training
(182) 8015 S Isom Road Casa Grande, AZ 85132	45-1446911		2,246	9,530	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(183) Building 2731 Deer Run Road Layton, UT 84036	87-0212712			11,729	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
(184) P O Box 93 Mountainair, NM 87036	26-4295194	501c7	11,712				Range Devel/Improv
(185) 300 Grady Britt Drive Alexandria, LA 71302	72-0954686	501c3	6,500	5,204	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(186) 11725 Donner Pass Rd Truckee, CA 96161	94-3080825	501c3		11,673	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(187) 2225 Lockwood Blvd Oviedo, FL 32765	49-6000855	Seminole County Pub	185	11,483	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(188) 4204 Southern Breeze Dr Bakersfield, CA 93313	57-0564993	501c3	7,712	3,890	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(189) 8925 E Pine Center Parkway Scottsdale, AZ 85258	86-1026421	501c3	11,600				Youth Education
(190) PO box 45 Edinboro, PA 16412	25-1633576		5,000	6,576	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety, Range Devel/Improv
(191) 11236 Banner Mountain Trail Nevada City, CA 95959	94-6255647	501c7		11,543	Other	Program materials	Youth Range/Facilities
(192) 100 Liveoak Ste 202/County Courthou Coleman, TX 76834	01-0914546	501c3	9,287	2,168	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(193) Box 325 SDSU Brookings, SD 57007	46-6016086	501c3	1,300	10,063	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(194) 310 West 19th Street 100 Cheyenne, WY 82001	23-7287817	501c3	1,850	9,402	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(195) 402 W Washington Street W256 Indianapolis, IN 46204	32-0249179		800	10,531	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(196) RR3 Box 445 Witcox Drive Troy, PA 16947	33-1211183	501c4	11,320				Youth Education
(197) 100 West Beau Street Washington, PA 15301	24-6000376	The Pennsylvania Sta	812	10,451	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(198) 4528 Treacott Drive Orlando, FL 328173160	80-0730260	501c3		11,250	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(199) 17 Reno Rd Ely, NV 89301	45-4968365	501c3		11,216	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(200) 1 Grizzly Way Granite Bay, CA 95746	68-0371114	501c3		11,167	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
						Program materials	

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(201) 6990 Gateway Dr Grand Forks, ND 58208	45-6013306		2,000	9,148	Other		Youth Equipment
(202) 545 S 200 W Wellsville, UT 84339	87-0413991	501c3	8,700	2,438	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(203) 16408 Canyon Road E Puyallup, WA 98375	91-0435648		3,419	7,662	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(204) 12001 Sycamore Station Place Louisville, KY 40259	61-0445939	501c3		11,035	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(205) 395 Flynn Street Sebastopol, CA 95472	68-0218630		11,000				Range Devel/Improv
(206) 30 West Bridge St Blackfoot, ID 83221	27-1150676	501c3	9,692	1,300	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(207) 314 E Highland Mall Blvd Suite 300 Austin, TX 78752	23-7361568	501c4	10,920				Youth Training
(208) 750 Blue Meadow Road Bay St Louis, MS 39520	64-6005995	Bay St Louis-Wavelan		10,895	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(209) 10275 Hampton Dr Avonchorage, AK 99507	56-2613547	501c3	10,884				Youth Camp Registration
(210) 302 County Rd 20 Lugmont, CO 80504	84-1214011	501c3	2,970	7,869	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(211) 6125 E 1175 N Rd Blauvelt, IL 61705	37-1392003			10,862	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(212) 13900 S Hwy 146 South Dayton, TX 77535	27-4251103			10,853	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(213) 2430 Louisiana Ave Lutcher, LA 70071	72-1029249	501c3		10,812	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(214) 572 South E Street Exeter, CA 93221	77-0008419		3,825	6,898	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(215) 2355 US Hwy 160 Alamosa, CO 81101	84-6038700	501c7	10,710				Program Registration
(216) 13300 Promise Road Mebriidge, SD 57601	20-3599939		3,562	7,142	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(217) 4200 Adams Dr Spring, TX 77373	76-0658535		10,634				Youth Equipment
(218) 119 Fox St Leimore, CA 93245	94-6000355		1,179	9,453	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(219) 6518 Cypresswood Green Spring, TX 77373	76-0618691			10,614	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(220) 14800 Ricah Way Bakersfield, CA 93314	77-0309569			10,578	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Education, Field Day
(221) 1899 Rittiman Rd Spring Branch, TX 78570	74-6260854	501c3	10,568				Youth Equipment
(222) PO Box 18987 Spokane, WA 99228	91-6058413	501c7		10,516	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(223) Box 368 Nome, AK 99762	27-1481071	501c3	10,500				Youth Training
(224) 555 W Martin Street Apogka, FL 32712	59-6000771	School Board of Oran	439	10,055	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(225) 1010 Lafayette St Ste 325 Lafayette, LA 70501	72-1296207	501c3	402	10,050	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(226) 2665 Acacia St box 498 Sutter, CA 95982	94-6002768	Sutter Union High Sc	10,432				Youth Equipment
(227) PO Box 681 Meridian, ID 83680	20-5773227	501c3	10,346				Youth Training
(228) 654 Iowa Bench Denton, NY 99430	76-0748149		10,285				Range Devel/Improv
(229) 1202 Horner Road Minden, LA 71055	72-1426708	501c3	5,000	5,280	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(230)	45-0380976		1,960	8,307	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Box 141 Buffalo, ND 58011							
(231) 3360 Church Road Horn Lake, MS 38637	64-6000320	DeBoto County School		10,227	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(232) 205 E Sycamore St Altice, IN 47519	35-1071685	Attica Consolidated	1,890	8,324	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(233) PO Box 615 Mont, ND 58702	20-3952665	501c3	5,100	5,114	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(234) 630 S Oakley San Angelo, TX 76903	75-1605975	501c3	10,204				Youth Equipment
(235) 1879 W Miles Ave Mayfield, ID 83835	82-0449859	501c7	8,995	1,202	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(236) 64144 Hume Lake Rd Hume, CA 93628	94-1251111	501c3	326	9,861	Other	Program materials	Youth Education
(237) 502 North Norma Street Ridgecrest, CA 93555	95-2476513		5,427	4,710	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(238) P O Box 754 North Haven, CT 06473	06-1002416	501c3	8,384	1,748	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(239) 1646 N Jefferson LaGrange, TX 78945	74-6001544	Fayette County	10,125				Training, Edu Safety
(240) 1017 Heng Drive Fort Morgan, CO 80701	20-1633234	501c3		10,112	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(241) 3570 NCo Co Rd 33 Tiffin, OH 44883	52-1382414	501c3	5,000	5,103	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(242) 22432 Meekland Avenue Hayward, CA 94541	86-1164319	501c3	2,106	7,985	Other	Program materials	Youth Education
(243) PO Box 682 Bismarck, ND 58502	34-2052090	501c4		10,085	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(244) P O Box 1 Wahpeton, ND 58075	45-0459960	501c3	10,013				Range Devel/Improv
(245) 2226 NW Military Hwy San Antonio, TX 78213	74-6079583	501c3		10,007	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(246) 100 Warrior Drive Alabaster, AL 35007	63-6001081	Alabaster City School		10,006	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(247) 1112 10th Ave SW Great Falls, MT 594043220	81-0377485		10,003				Youth Equipment
(248) 2436 Tenner Bridge Rd Jefferson City, MO 65101	20-8507208	501c3		10,000	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(249) 2302 Valley Ridge Plaza Middletown, WI 53562	03-0545102	501c3	10,000				Youth Education
(250) 100 Sherrod Hill Rd Edinboro, PA 16412	20-8927945		10,000				Youth Equipment, Training
(251) PO Box 67 Friendship, IN 47021	35-1046434	501c3	10,000				Fund Gun Makers Hall college scholarships
(252) 2212 HWY 59 Box 563 Denton, IA 51442	45-5081196		10,000				Range Devel/Improv
(253) 2201 West Main Street Richmond, VA 23220	54-1413782	501c3	10,000				Public Safety Memorial
(254) PO Box 581 Kearney, NE 688480381	81-0583399	501c3	10,000				Range Devel/Improv
(255) 100 W Buck Street Suite 105 Caldwell, TX 77036	74-2570649		770	9,155	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(256) 1900 NW 13th Street Gainesville, FL 32609	59-6000500	School Board of Alac		9,909	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(257) 315 Anderson Drive Paris, TN 38242	26-0274326	University of Tennes	9,844				Youth Equipment
(258) 700 Colorado Street Springfield, CO 81073	84-6000545	Colorado Dept of Hig	3,843	5,969	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(259) 1413 Whitburn Dr Columbia, MO 65203	23-7445720	501c3	7,720	2,006	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(260) 700 Everhart Terrace Bldg A Corpus Christi, TX 78411	74-1143068	501c3		9,592	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(261) 2643 Acacia Avenue Sutter, CA 95902	68-0276588	Sutter Union High Sc	1,225	8,365	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(262) 3860 Newton Rd Commerce Twp, MI 48382	38-1396998	501c4		9,558	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(263) 1708 Boulder Rd Gallup, NM 87301	20-8629141	501c4	5,000	4,539	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(264) 511 W Business Park Drive Shelton, WA 98584	91-6036650	501c3	4,500	5,000	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(265) 1200 E 5400 S Ogden, UT 84403	87-0212580	501c3	9,500				Youth Range/Facilities
(266) 250 West Mayes Dixon, CA 95620	94-6095620	501c3	5,923	3,510	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(267) 2951 Waterford Road Marietta, OH 45750	27-3207875			9,424	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(268) 6301 N University Street Peoria, IL 61614	37-6001759	Peoria School Dist		9,389	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(269) 900 Hammond Blvd Jacksonville, FL 32221	27-3116187	501c3		9,360	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(270) PO Box 381 Champaign, IL 61824	37-1497991	501c3	6,100	3,253	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Education
(271) PO Box 548 Woodland Park, CO 80863	27-2758867	501c7		9,344			Range Devel/Improv
(272) 555 Highlands Road Westcliffe, CO 81252	74-2498946	501c3	9,343				Youth Sponsorship
(273) 2401 Louanna Midland, MS 39640	20-0338562		1,000	8,330	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety, Youth Equipment
(274) 851 E Broadway Andrews, TX 79714	37-1573987	501c3		9,328	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(275) 19185 Jamestown Road Jamesstown, CA 95327	51-0178546	501c4		9,306	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(276) 300 Brackett Hall Box 345702 Clemson, SC 296345702	57-6000254	Clemson University		9,278	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(277) 4711 County road 1-2 Swanton, OH 43558	27-1866396	Ohio State Universit		9,273	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(278) 5419 Old Stage Rd Fairmont, NC 28740	56-6001104	Public Schools of Ro		9,254	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(279) 1951 S Orange Blossom Trail Apopka, FL 32703	59-0624376	501c3	7,274	1,944	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(280) 11155 Almond Ave Fontana, CA 92337	95-6001257	Fontana Unified Scho		9,177	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(281) PO Box 14652 Albuquerque, NM 87191	89-0223118	501c4	8,556	616	Other	Program materials	Youth Education, Training
(282) 47 St Nicholas Rd Wappingers Falls, NY 12590	14-1625139	501c7		9,129	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(283) 520 Coyote Run Eureka, MT 59917	27-1146889		9,118				Youth Equipment
(284) 400 S Capitol Street Meriy, LA 71449	72-6001178	Law Enforcement Dist	8,569	536	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
(285) 404 Jarvis Plantation Rd Debaon, NC 27017	27-0838756	501c3	9,100				Youth Education
(286) 1002 Vincennes St New Albany, IN 47150	35-6005953	New Albany-Floyd Cou		9,080	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(287) 310 E 2nd Wichita, KS 67202	20-5044499	501c3		9,077	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(288) 1702 HWY 17 S Bartow, FL 33831	59-2481764	501c3	2,994	6,026	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(289) 6450 State Hwy 123 North	20-3877150	501c3	2,815	6,204	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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Seguin, TX 78155							
(290) 2028 Keel Dr Bandy, UT 840923448	26-3626745		9,000				Range Devel/Improv
(291) PO Box 310 Gardiner, MT 59030	82-0530630	501c3		8,959	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(292) 3650 Thousen Oaks Suite 126 San Antonio, TX 78247	74-2605516	501c3	3,775	5,181	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(293) 2093 Jessery Rd S Clarksville, TN 37040	62-0714744	Clarksville-Montgome		8,933	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(294) 316 Fourth Ave Warren, PA 15365	22-1576300	501c3	8,812	78	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment
(295) 3000 Lynden-Birch Bay Rd Custer, WA 98240	91-6054547	501c7	500	8,389	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(296) 216 E Center Street Tusumcori, NM 88401	51-0202441	501c3	3,595	5,237	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(297) 1420 Bohern lane Farme, ID 83608	82-0385233	501c3	8,762				Range Devel/Improv
(298) 386 N 200 W Mendon, UT 84325	27-1677252	501c4	6,213	2,508	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(299) 3049 Jefferson Ave Washington, PA 15301	83-0403417	501c3	4,913	3,776	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(300) 512 California Ave Libby, MT 59923	81-6001387	Lincoln County	8,650				Range Devel/Improv
(301) 29985 Horseshoe Rd N Independence, LA 70443	72-1296847	501c3	820	7,785	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(302) 110 S Main Vega, TX 78092	75-2526526	501c3		8,588	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(303) 3381 Taylor Road Loomis, CA 95650	45-3462917			8,577	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(304) 2921 W Rauch Road Temperance, MI 48152	27-3834885	501c3		8,577	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(305) 1 Spartan Lane Lexington, WV 24901	55-6000321	Greenbrier County Sc	2,000	6,543	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(306) 501 N Gulkana Fairer, AK 99645	92-6000034	Matanuska-Susitna Bo	8,500				Youth Equipment
(307) 34700 Red Gun Club Road Sedalia, MO 65301	43-6071368			8,494			Range Devel/Improv
(308) 1733 Owassippe Rd Twin Lake, MI 49457	45-4003240	501c3		8,467	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(309) 740 Cleveland St Paris, MO 65275	43-6002697	Paris R-II School Di		8,460	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(310) 10873 Hwy 87 Jeanerette, LA 70544	20-1773401	501c3	1,260	7,156	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(311) 227 Park Ave Eaton, CO 80615	42-1741110			8,412			Youth Equipment
(312) 4444 Primrose Lane Juneau, WI 53039	39-1284955	501c7		8,400			Range Devel/Improv
(313) 914 E Railroad Fort Morgan, CO 80701	32-0225014	501c3	1,950	6,436	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(314) 3221 Jerome Hill Road Holtzapple, PA 15935	16-1773637	501c4		8,368			Range Devel/Improv, Youth Equipment, Sponsorship
(315) 325 Nutmeg Court Circleville, OH 43113	30-0047031	Ohio State Universi	2,114	6,254	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(316) 175 FM 2575 Amenillo, TX 79108	75-2237266			8,334	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(317) 6769 W Remuda Dr Peoria, AZ 85383	86-0212950	501c4		8,334	Other	Program materials	Youth Education, Training
(318) 2100 Summerfield Road Winter Park, FL 32792	59-3108692	501c3		8,331	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(319)	91-6054695	501c7	8,323				Range Devel/Improv

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27006 Gun Club Rd Davenport, WA 99122							
(320) 3155 Catman Road Golden Valley, AZ 85413	94-2791246	501c4	5,350	2,967	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(321) 1820 Camp Easter Rd Carthage, NC 28734	56-1396891	501c4	1,390	6,918	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(322) 53 Reese Rd Shicklesmyer, PA 18655	33-1097436			8,296	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(323) 256 US Route 2 West Wilton, ME 04294	01-0360214	501c7	8,293				Range Devel/Improv
(324) PO Box 66132 Scotts Valley, CA 950676132	94-2501375	501c4	100	8,124	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(325) 4200 S-1-10 Service Rd w Metairie, LA 70001	72-0408954	501c3		8,283	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(326) 10801 S 134th St Bennet, NE 68317	47-0596980	501c3	8,250				Range Devel/Improv
(327) 329 Barclay Craig, CO 81625	84-1144201			8,230	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(328) PO Box 26027 San Diego, CA 921960027	95-2119402	501c7	625	7,590	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(329) 876 South State Road S7 Petersburg, IN 47507	35-1787313	501c7	2,319	5,827	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(330) 823 West Hwy 80 Bentley, IL 32425	85-8013923	Holmes District Scho		8,135	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(331) PO Box 2511 Richmond, IN 47375	35-6061553	501c7	2,750	5,378	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(332) 950 Gerlach Dr Durant, OK 74701	73-6021019	Durant Schools, I-72	700	7,420	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(333) 3406 Palm Beach Blvd Fort Myers, FL 33916	83-0500430	501c3		8,078	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(334) 17 Cauldwell Drive Buckhannon, WV 26201	45-3079972		6,734	1,342	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(335) 915 8th Street Suite 127 Marysville, CA 95901	94-6000549	County of Yuba	7,757	298	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(336) 2330 Rt 275 Richburg, NY 14774	52-1480332			8,036	Other	Program materials	Youth Programs
(337) 4521 County Rd 7 Craig, CO 81625	84-1154201		8,000				College Scholarship Program
(338) 1660 Hall's End Greenville, NC 27858	61-1623227		129	7,042	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Hunter Safety Program
(339) 30516 RT 175 New Church, VA 23415	35-2310780	501c7	7,415	536	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(340) 2535 Northern Ave Apollon, WI 54932	39-1184320	501c3		7,970	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(341) 701 West Moseley Street Freeport, IL 61032	36-6005471	Freeport School Dist	2,800	5,160	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(342) 11500 Minuteman Road Marion, IL 62959	37-1257834		7,950				Range Devel/Improv
(343) RR 2 Box 73B Wellston, OK 748819639	73-1550408	Oklahoma State Univ	1,400	6,547	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(344) 3504 Bevis Lane Cincinnati, OH 45251	31-6049329	501c3	7,914				Range Devel/Improv
(345) 35063 Hwy B6 Ladonia, MD 62352	43-6004217	Community R-VI Schoe		7,899	Other	Program materials	Youth Range/Facilities
(346) PO Box 162 Caledonia, MI 49316	20-8074204	501c3		7,882	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(347) 5475 Arline Rd Arlington, TN 38002	42-1682803		3,000	4,839	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(348) 234 Rootthead Avenue Zanesville, OH 43701	31-4421379	501c3		7,834	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(349) 1601 Lomita Way El Dorado Hills, CA 95762	45-0967875	501c3	7,822				Training, Edu Safety
(350) 401 Fairgrounds Rd Alamogordo, NM 88310	85-6075766	501c3	3,386	4,429	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(351) 101 Dr Donnie Jones Blvd Princeton, NC 27569	00-5112834	Johnston County Bear	825	6,926	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(352) 592 Pony Farm Road Kittanning, Pa 16301	25-1484090	501c7	7,750				Range Devel/Improv
(353) 16470 E TS Ave Fulton, MT 49052	45-4100169			7,747	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(354) 523 Foathill Blvd Salt Lake City, UT 84113	87-0212460	501c3		7,745	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(355) 15475 Club Deluxe Road Hammond, LA 70403	72-6001375	Tangipahoe Parish Sh		7,728	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(356) 117 West Road Canterbury, NH 032240202	02-0456680	501c7	2,900	4,825	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
(357) 261 Health Center Drive Union, WV 24983	55-6000842	State of West Virgin		7,720	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(358) 3019 Hanley Road Central Point, OK 73702	93-0383820	501c3		7,709	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(359) 2555 East Highway 126 Powell Butte, OR 97726	93-6031916	501c4	1,972	5,721	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Training, Edu Safety
(360) 3960 N Usary Pass RD Mesa, AZ 85207	23-7226745	501c4	5,140	2,540	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(361) 181 E Main St Columbus, PA 16405	25-1139669	501c4	1,500	6,127	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
(362) 170 Porters Corners Road Greenfield Center, NY 12833	22-2541482			7,605	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(363) 700 Agriculture Center Westminster, MD 21157	52-6056016	501c3		7,603	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(364) 5290 Griggs Rd Houston, TX 77021	76-0454514	Harris County Cansta	7,600				Training, Edu Safety
(365) 218 Main Street Hudson Falls, NY 12839	14-6009635	Village of Hudson Fb	7,599				Youth Education
(366) 2812 Santa Fe Ct Missoula, MT 59808	26-0106860	501c3	460	7,104	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(367) 3321 W Georgia St Louisiana, MO 63353	43-6002089	Louisiana R-2 School		7,564	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(368) 309 Industrial Park Road Meyersdale, PA 15552	25-6004155	Meyersdale Area Scho	5,000	2,560	Other	Program materials	Youth Competition Support, Equipment
(369) 280 Cougar Drive Southport, NC 28461	56-6000993	501c3		7,559	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(370) 311 W Hilgrove Ave La Grange, IL 60525	36-3911066	501c3	7,555				Youth Range/Facilities
(371) 3441 S Brookville Rd Polk, IL 61064	36-6142756			7,553	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(372) 1619 Hwy R Friendship, WI 53934	39-6000586	Adams Friendship Sch		7,544	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(373) 1393 Hwy 943 N Dorchesterville, LA 70346	72-0829037	501c7	7,533				Youth Equipment
(374) 2784 Dixie Dr Newberry, SC 29109	46-2152619		6,460	1,052	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(375) 100 W Custer Avenue Helena, MT 59602	81-0522802	501c3	2,570	4,935	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(376) 28791 325 ave Melrose, MN 56352	26-2540208	501c3	7,500				Training, Edu Safety
(377) 9221 51st St West Milan, IL 61264	33-3399009	501c7	7,500				Range Devel/Improv
(378) 12364 Coon Hunter Road	42-1326476		7,500				Range Devel/Improv

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Blue Grass, IA 52726							
(379) PO Box 7178 Klamath Falls, OR 97602	93-0858159	501c4	7,500				Range Devel/Improv
(380) 207 East Crawford Street Donalsonville, GA 39845	58-1507789	501c3	1,600	5,894	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(381) 343 Louisiana Avenue Elyria, OH 44035	26-1318557			7,467	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(382) 14380 Hwy 231/431 North Neel Green, AL 35755	63-6000974	Madison County Board		7,464	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(383) 4182 North Bank Street Kingman, AZ 86409	86-0815944	Kingman High School	4,500	2,352	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(384) 615 Macon LLLD Canon City, CO 81212	84-1080161	501c3	5,000	2,451	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(385) HC 64 Box 2168 West Plains, MO 65775	27-0150845	501c7	7,450				Training, Edu Safety
(386) 410 W Aldrich Bolivar, MO 65613	71-0882310	501c7	7,450				Training, Edu Safety
(387) 1401 North Highway D Bolivar, MO 65612	44-6001368	Bolivar R-1 School	3,400	4,044	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(388) 1 Court Square Suite 408 Parkersburg, WV 26101	55-6024015	501c3	850	6,367	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(389) 207 County Road CD06 Capitan, NM 88316	85-0285251	501c3		7,369	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Education
(390) 411 West College Street Summertown, TN 38403	62-6000710	Lawrence County Scho		7,365	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(391) 307 Johnson Lane Connellsville, PA 15425	25-1455026		3,510	3,852	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
(392) 22330 Prestonville Rd Edgerton, KS 66021	48-1190481			7,353	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(393) 5100 Pennypack Street Philadelphia, PA 19138	23-7359437	501c7		7,343	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(394) 201 West Madison Suite 300 Begrade, MT 59714	81-0511764	501c3	3,500	3,842	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(395) 5323 Peas Road New Holland, PA 17557	23-0559393			7,269	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(396) 809 E Crostown Parkway Kalamazoo, MI 49001	38-6091139	501c7	2,000	5,383	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(397) 375 South SR 267 Aven, IN 46123	41-2289065	501c3	5	7,254	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(398) 2803 Brewerton Road Syracuse, NY 13211	16-0966978	501c3		7,248	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(399) 607 Upton Schulenburg, TX 78956	74-6002273	City of Schulenburg	7,232				Training, Edu Safety
(400) 101 West College Street Roswell, NM 88201	85-6000408	501c3	6,000	1,206	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(401) 125 Court Street Unit 3 Dayton, TN 37321	62-6001636	University of Tennes		7,205	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(402) Jackson Road White Sulphur Springs, MT 59645	01-0751896	501c7	7,200				Range Devel/Improv
(403) 5650 Hells Gate Road Lewiston, ID 83501	20-0688179	501c3		7,193	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(404) Po Box 1061 Gillette, WY 82717	74-2379877			7,187	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(405) 1061 Railroad Ave Rifle, CO 81650	36-4709234			7,175	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(406) 0500 Macon Creek RD Aspen, CO 81611	84-1238473			7,169	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(407) 85167 winding way Pleasant Hill, OR 97455	45-2997634	501c3		7,163	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(408) 2110 East 35th Street Texarkana, AR 71854	71-6020729	Texarkana Arkansas S		7,113	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(409) 3033 Leisure Road Minerva, OH 44657	34-1712597		3,000	4,108	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
(410) 4750 Henwick Lane Jefferson City, MO 65102	43-1319528	501c7		7,099	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(411) 152 East Market Street Suite 100 Levittown, PA 17044	26-4439731		2,800	4,283	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(412) Railroad Ave Philmont, NY 12565	14-1596902	501c7	683	6,372	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(413) 3355 Old Hwy 11 South Deep Run, NC 28525	56-6001063	501c3		7,040	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(414) Box 222 Updon, WY 82730	83-0283265			7,029	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
(415) 2843 So Bristol Street 284 Santa Ana, CA 92704	56-2464112	501c7	6,100	920	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(416) Post Office Box 368 Centerville, VA 201220366	54-6052591	501c3	7,000				Range Devel/Improv
(417) 10210 Hwy 3 St Maries, ID 83833	80-0169030	501c7	7,000				Range Devel/Improv
(418) 35 Nome Teller Highway Nome, AK 99762	92-6000108	Nome Public Schools	6,995				Youth Equipment
(419) PO Box 218 West Lebanon, IN 47991	35-6045412	501c3	5,000	1,986	Other	Program materials	Youth Education, Range Devel/Improv
(420) 112 Perkins Ave Forsyth, MO 65652	45-3066934	501c3		6,974	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(421) 401 East 37th Street Long Beach, CA 90807	95-1643961	501c3		6,956	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(422) 272 Main Street South Wesener, SC 29164	57-6000300	Aiken County Public		6,955	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(423) 201 Saint Andrew Street Tarboro, NC 27886	56-6000298	Edgecombe County Co		6,953	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(424) 12122 S Tollar Buttes Rd Eloy, AZ 85131	32-0197686	501c3		6,928	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(425) PO Box 32719 Juno, AL 36803	72-1519852		6,900				Youth Instructor Training
(426) 5400 E Broad st Lake Charles, LA 70615	72-6000238	Calcasieu Parish S	6,891				Training, Edu Safety
(427) 10100 Reigl Road Wilson, CA 95693	94-2906177		5,580	1,302	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(428) 1710 Kirby Ave Roseville, CA 95661	69-0071586	501c3		6,878	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(429) 501 County Road 580 Cibola, TX 76437	26-0276473	501c3	1,000	5,851	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(430) 330 South 84th Street Milwaukee, WI 532141468	45-3321626	501c3		6,849	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(431) PO Box 6444 Morgantown, WV 26506	27-5249383	501c3		6,837	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(432) PO Box 9329 Michigan City, IN 46361	35-6043573	501c7		6,826	Other	Program materials	Youth Camp Registration
(433) 1342 Inwood Road Rochester, MI 48306	61-1670953	501c3		6,824	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(434) 1700 4th Street SW Mason City, IA 50401	77-0596769			6,824	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(435) 2829 Kanawha Boulevard East Charleston, WV 25311	55-0357013	501c3		6,822	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(436) 1651 Pinehurst Road Dunedin, FL 34608	59-6000799	School Board of Pine		6,817	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(437) 1592 Old Alba Rd	39-2244802	501c4	444	6,372	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety

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Gaylord, MI 49735							
(438) PO Box 397 Woonsocket, RI 02895	46-0339993		3,560	3,352	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(439) 214 E 4th Street Harrisburg, PA 17101	27-2006622	501c3	1,200	5,391	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(440) 3231 Inwood Road Washington, MI 48095	38-6091415	501c4		6,772	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(441) 101 Chalmers Court Suite B Berryville, VA 22611	46-0618458	501c3		6,748	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(442) 400 North Park Avenue Altus, OK 73521	73-0750817	Altus Independent Sc		6,742	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(443) 18703 FM 2697 Wintersville, TX 79096	75-6005222	Kelton Independent S		6,730	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(444) 160 W Sports Club Drive Hainesville, IL 60030	36-2358215		6,725				Youth Equipment
(445) 1081 County Road 121 Hesperus, CO 81336	84-0422296	501c3		6,676	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(446) 225 Greenwalt Lane Harrisburg, PA 17111	23-1319935	501c19		6,670	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(447) 2644 Amy Ave Glen Ellyn, IL 60137	26-4751149	501c7		6,667	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(448) 1799 Kotary Road West Leyden, NY 13489	16-1449221		110	6,545	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(449) 309 East Park Street Albion, NY 14411	30-0634710	501c3	3,030	3,613	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(450) 1000 N Adams Dr Decatur, IN 46733	35-1086396	North Adams Communit		6,533	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(451) 1089 S 131st Street Gilbert, AZ 85233	86-0899071	501c3		6,513	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(452) PO Box 2301 Victoria, TX 779022301	41-2057081	501c3	6,600				Youth Equipment
(453) PO Box 3062 Decatur, IL 62521	37-0621880	501c7		6,594	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(454) 10200 Old State Road Hampden, OH 44024	34-1084811	501c7	4,028	2,563	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv, Training, Edu Safety
(455) 5787 State Park Road Piquetteville, PA 18947	23-1352048	501c3	4,000	2,588	Other	Program materials	Range Devel/Improv
(456) 1806 SW Goldsboro St Wilson, NC 27893	32-0256106		760	5,800	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(457) 201 E Lone Chimney Rd Glencoe, OK 74032	73-0778793	Glencoe Public Schoo	700	5,844	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(458) 100 Melvin Valley Rd Weare, NH 03281	90-0539948		175	6,337	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(459) 2311 S 108th Street West Allis, WI 53227	39-1393216	501c3		6,496	Other	Program materials	Youth Training, Edu Safety
(460) 12801 40th St NE St Michael, MN 55376	41-1417387	501c4		6,493	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(461) 4280 Village Way League City, TX 77573	74-6001592	Clear Creek Independ		6,489	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(462) PO Box 8591 Boise, ID 83707	82-0385727	501c4		6,488	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(463) 3117 Patterson St Anchorage, AK 99504	92-0016314	501c3	6,457				Youth Equipment
(464) 340 NE SR 61 Pratt, KS 67124	48-0699112	Pratt Community Coll	6,410				Youth Equipment
(465) 3937 NC 102 East Ayden, NC 28513	46-1314144	Pitt County Public S		6,401	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(466) Post Office Box 263 North Norwich, NY 13814	16-1214702	501c7	4,600	1,800	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety, Youth Equipment
(467)	80-0684195			6,366	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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3011 Aberdeen RD Raeeford, NC 28376							
(466) 620 S Meridian Street Tallahassee, FL 32399	59-3277808	501c3		6,361	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(469) 43 Fruitland rd Hendersonville, NC 28792	56-1821543	Henderson County Pub	700	5,644	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Hunter Safety Program
(470) RT 1 Box 24 Lookaba, OK 73053	73-0932356			6,339	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(471) 3213 Peddicott Ct Woodstock, MD 211631134	52-2093558	University of Maryla		6,336	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(472) 103 Stratton Street Lagum, WV 25601	45-4593714	501c7	6,300				Range Devel/Improv
(473) 30200 Del Oro Lucerne Valley, CA 92356	27-1860235	501c3		6,293	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(474) 213 Pine Street Glen Rock, PA 17327	26-4439244	501c3		6,266	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(475) 3608 East I-20 Willow Park, TX 76087	30-0659317	501c3		6,265	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(476) 539 Partridge Street Elmira, NY 14904	80-0413302		2,343	3,918		Program materials	Youth Equipment
(477) State Route 49 Fort Recovery, OH 45846	81-0572132		2,600	3,460	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(478) 203 West 3rd Street De Ridder, LA 70634	26-3646212	501c3		6,249	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(479) 1253 Civic Center Circle San Marcos, TX 78666	20-3650477	501c3		6,225	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(480) 2720 Pepper St Sutter, CA 95982	93-1220467	501c3	6,218				Youth Equipment
(481) 331 Naddox Road Alexandria, KY 41001	20-5124230	501c3		6,204	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(482) 495 Evergreen St Broomfield, CO 80020	26-0100193	501c3		6,204	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(483) 600 Park Street Mays, KS 67601	48-1210777	Fort Hays State Univ		6,204	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(484) 1700 Courthouse Road Stafford, VA 22354	54-6001628	Stafford County Pub		6,190	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(485) 802 South Johnson St Alvin, TX 77511	76-0388461	501c3		6,183	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(486) 655 South Monaco Parkway Denver, CO 80224	84-6001099	Denver Public School	64	6,108	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(487) 110 North 4th Street Edina, MN 55337	83-0492420	501c3		6,165	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(488) PO Box 7432 Hicksville, NY 11802	11-2487989	501c7	6,105				Youth Equipment
(489) Post Office Box 631 New Philadelphia, OH 44663	34-1371208	501c4		6,104	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(490) 115 S Hersey Beckon, KS 67420	38-3886276			6,101	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(491) 1698 SW Cherry Park Rd Troutdale, OR 97060	93-6000836	Multnomah County Sch		6,100	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(492) 11046 Johnson Blvd Seminole, FL 337724715	59-0637815	501c3		6,096	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(493) PO Box 823 Binghamton, NY 13902	16-1273486	501c7	1,302	4,792	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(494) 3808 W County Rd 50 Fort Collins, CO 80521	42-1741109			6,089	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(495) 5530 N 4th Street Coeur d Alene, ID 83815	82-6000811	Coeur dAlene School		6,077	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(496) 950 Bordeaux Dr El Paso, TX 79907	74-6002473	Ysleta Independent B	2,800	3,271	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(497) 16223 Oak Springs Dr Ramona, CA 92065	20-4461865			6,056	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(498) 17278 US Hwy 20-A West Unity, OH 43570	34-1970997	501c3	861	5,174	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(499) 36000 Clearpond Rd Shawnee, OK 74801	73-1611021	501c3		6,016	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(500) 187 NW View Drive Pine City, NY 14871	16-1563798		6,010				Range Devel/Improv, Training, Edu Safety
(501) 2860 East Pershing Blvd Cheyenne, WY 82001	83-6005527	Laramie County Schoo		6,009	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(502) 251 Long Lane Rd Kutztown, PA 19530	23-3066201	501c3		6,002	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(503) 9 Turcotte Lane Litchfield, ME 04350	01-6010623		6,000				Range Devel/Improv
(504) 2426 N 2nd Street Harrisburg, PA 17110	23-7028674	501c3	6,000				Training, Edu Safety
(505) 2179 Chapman Derr Road Clarendon, PA 16313	25-1313732		6,000				Youth Sponsorship
(506) 1501 Nichols Hill Road Elizabeth, PA 15037	25-1306103		6,000				Youth Sponsorship
(507) PO Box 1500 PMB 252 Brookings, OR 97415	27-1183600	501c4	6,000				Youth Education
(508) 50 Ellender Drive Brighton, IL 62012	27-2651938		6,000				Youth Education
(509) 27603 Hwy 5 Woodstock, AL 35188	27-3491226		6,000				Youth Equipment
(510) 1056 Chatham Ln W Delaware, OH 43015	31-1742807		6,000				Program Registration
(511) 11314 Ore St NE Cumberland, MD 21502	26-3032758		45	5,936	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(512) 3960 Fruit Street La Verne, CA 917502951	95-2790028	501c3		5,964	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(513) 4454 S Rte 45 Sankalee, IL 60901	36-4385841		3,000	2,963	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Camp Registration
(514) 110 S Wevoka Wevoka, OK 74884	73-6006414	Oklahoma State Univ	700	5,260	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(515) PO Box 826 Nanuet, NY 10954	52-2270586		4,879	1,079	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Camp Registration
(516) 713 Brevard Dr Albemarle, NC 28001	27-2413253	501c3	2,400	3,551	Other	Program materials	Youth Hunter Safety Program
(517) 642 S Main Street Central Square, NY 13036	15-6002160	Central Square Centr		5,948	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(518) 204 Dr Michael DeBakey Drive Lake Charles, LA 70601	72-0423606	501c3		5,929	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(519) 900 N Johnson Striping Rd Perry, FL 32347	59-6000878	Taylor County Distri	250	5,669	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(520) 801 King Street Oviedo, FL 32765	59-3633990	501c3	1,040	4,870	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(521) 2102 E Hill Ave Valdosta, GA 31601	26-2303446	501c3	695	5,211	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(522) 747 N Anson Rd Wellington, KS 67152	45-4139927			5,096	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(523) 2990 West Fourth Street Williamsport, PA 17701	24-0859746	Williamsport Area Sc		5,893	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(524) 21444 EN railroad Howe, OK 74937	73-0799841	Howe Public Schools	700	5,191	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(525) 41689 SR 800 Woodfield, OH 43792	38-3791619	Ohio State Universi	3,137	2,752	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(526) 500 Torncat Lane Aurora, IL 60505	36-6004752	Aurora East Unit Sch		5,087	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

(527) 9233 Union Street Needville, TX 77461	02-0756425			5,882	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(528) 280 Gillis Road Boyce, LA 71409	72-1514022			5,870	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(529) 1019 Rocky Creek Rd Columbus, TX 78934	34-2024868	501c3		5,865	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(530) 15699 Stockard Wells Rd Victorville, CA 92393	95-2272781	501c7		5,838	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(531) 211 Patterson Road Sike Creek, TN 37373	61-6000638	Hamilton County Dep		5,834	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(532) 3010 S 11th Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90043	95-6199182			5,832	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(533) 913 South Highland Arland, KS 67821	48-0952902		1,386	4,441	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(534) 804 E Shaw Lane East Lansing, MI 48824	38-6003984	501c3		5,819	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(535) 2091 NE 35 St Ocala, FL 34479	20-8896901	501c3		5,806	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(536) 1387 Highland Rd San Marcos, TX 78666	74-6002241	County of Hays		5,805	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(537) 600 West Broadway Spiro, OK 74959	73-0793204	Spiro Public Schools		5,803	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(538) 8824 Back Creek Valley Rd Hedgesville, WV 25427	55-0755502	501c7	5,790				Range Devel/Improv
(539) PO Box 802738 Santa Clarita, CA 91380	91-2112019	501c3		5,782	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(540) 20930 Fields Store Road Waller, TX 77484	74-6002539	Waller Independent S	1,298	4,484	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(541) 3573 Indigo Oxberg, IA 50461	42-6023300	Osage Community Scho		5,769	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(542) 16446 CR 283 San Antonio, TX 78253	80-0843704		1,030	4,728	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(543) 14 E 19th St Higginsville, MO 64037	75-2978887	501c3	5,410	346	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(544) 2700 Jack Warner Parkway NE Tuscaloosa, AL 35404	63-0288816	501c3	5,742				Youth Range/Facilities
(545) 2431 Atlantic Ave Raleigh, NC 27604	56-0529984	501c3		5,735	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(546) PO Box 336 Sand Springs, OK 74063	73-1602637		3,987	1,741	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(547) 4319 Hulmeville Road Bensalem, PA 19020	23-6003525	Bensalem Township Sc	244	5,482	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(548) 701 Church street Moscov, PA 19444	24-6002507	North Pocomo School		5,712	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(549) 300 West Campus Avenue Davidville, PA 15935	25-6004241	Conemaugh Township A	2,816	2,893	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(550) 180 N Dete St Truth or Consequences, NM 87901	85-6000145	Truth or Consequences		5,707	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(551) 1540 Kentucky Street Ferdinand, IN 47532	35-2157445	501c3		5,699	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(552) 609 S Water Sonora, TX 76950	75-6000672	City of Sonora	5,140	559	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(553) 1020 New River Parkway 305 Fallon, NV 89409	88-0481746	501c3	130	5,345	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(554) 492 East Marshall Peak Drive Oro Valley, AZ 85755	86-0598373	501c3		5,681	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(555) 406 Grandview Dr Granbury, TX 76049	75-2480501			5,674	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(556) 39 E St Charles Rd Villa Park, IL 60181	37-1573623		5,669			Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(557) 4031 Technology Drive Modesto, CA 95356	94-1186155	50143		5,658	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(558) 6 Westminster Drive Croton on Hudson, NY 10520	13-3240606			5,655	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(559) 4842 E 1100 S Ladoga, IN 47954	75-3147051			5,645	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(560) 9419 W Van Buren Tolleson, AZ 85353	86-600537	Maricopa County/Toll		5,633	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(561) 3322 Maine Street Quincy, IL 62305	37-6002416	School District 172	545	5,085	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(562) 1501 West Spiller Street Wytheville, VA 24382	54-6001693	Wythe County		5,627	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(563) 7775C Illinois Route 47 Yorkville, IL 60560	74-3232885	50143		5,619	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(564) 101 Chickasaw Str Bokoshe, OK 74930	73-0753746	Bokoshe Public Schoo		5,607	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(565) 756 Gutternut Brook Rd Portville, NY 14770	16-1079557			5,607	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(566) 74 Blackstrap Road Cumberland, ME 04021	64-0962204			5,606	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(567) 410 Fairgrounds Road Castle Rock, CO 80104	23-7432396	50143	5,597			Youth Equipment
(568) 123 Simmons Av Cohoes, NY 12047	38-2346425	50143		5,593	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(569) PO Box 3391 Quincy, CA 95971	68-0437541	50147		5,593	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(570) 200 Knob Crossing Road Madisonville, TN 37354	26-0319731			5,583	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(571) 8559 E Ramsey Rd Sierra Vista, AZ 85650	77-0695811	50143		5,583	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(572) PO Box 1303 Lake Havasu City, AZ 864051303	86-0649721	50147		5,583	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(573) 18954 W Elm St Litchfield Park, AZ 85340	90-0877359	50143		5,583	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(574) 9697illard Road Wilton, CA 95692	94-2489711	50143		5,583	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(575) 204 Burt Blvd Benton, LA 71006	72-1295576	50143	925	4,651	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(576) 2919 NE 136th Ave Vancouver, WA 98662	27-1503972	50143	5,570			Youth Equipment
(577) 3725 N Flowing Wells Rd Tucson, AZ 85705	26-2023239	50143	304	5,247	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(578) P O Box 280 Achille, OK 74741	73-0791236	Achille Public Schoo	900	4,647	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(579) 5242 High Hill Road Cambridge, OH 42725	26-1320469	50143		5,544	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(580) 1167 Upas St San Diego, CA 92103	95-1643983	50143		5,543	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(581) PO Box 391 Boonville, NY 13309	16-1435820	50143	725	4,815	Other	Program materials Training, Edu Safety, Youth Equipment
(582) 35800 East 28 Mile Road Lenox, MI 48050	38-1796675	50147		5,534	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(583) 2129 Roosevelt Boulevard Kenner, LA 70065	72-1481609	50143	3,325	2,193	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(584) 8001 W 52nd Street Indianapolis, IN 46254	35-1914821	50143		5,513	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment
(585) 755 North A Street	33-0708971	Riverside County Sch		5,511	Other	Program materials Youth Equipment

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Peris, CA 92570							
(586) 12231 Academy Rd NE 301-289 Albuquerque, NM 87111	85-0356435	501c7	2,539	2,962	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(587) 6480 Main Street East Carrington, ND 58421	45-0384660	501c3	5,500				Youth Equipment
(588) 1539 Glen Hazel Rd St Marys, PA 15857	25-1469870	501c3		5,495	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(589) 1046 Sardis Rd Batesburg, SC 29006	57-0545272	501c3	1,400	4,094	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(590) 21st Kanosha Road Zion, IL 60099	36-6004902	Zion Benton Township		5,491	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(591) 1230 North Main Street Waynesville, NC 28786	56-1529355	501c3		5,465	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(592) 302 South 3rd St Girard, IL 62540	02-0734262			5,459	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(593) 1025 Pampas Rd SW Deming, NM 88030	32-0260667			5,459	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(594) 209 N Garfield Ave Sioux Falls, SD 57104	46-0359947	501c3		5,459	Other	Program materials	Conservation Equipment
(595) 6642 Woodville Road Mount Airy, MD 21771	52-2106675	501c3		5,459	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(596) Old Stanes Highway Fairbanks, AK 99707	92-0087453		5,452				Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(597) 12 North 10th Avenue Yakima, WA 98908	91-1550528	501c3	3,795	2,054	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(598) 469 Birdie Creek Rd Seymour, TX 76380	46-1153352			5,447	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(599) 289 S Main Ironton, MO 63650	43-6013979			5,445	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(600) 153 Range Road Belton, SC 29627	57-0602957	501c4	1,818	3,595	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(601) PO Box 7837 Gurnee, IL 60031	36-4390814		956	4,449	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(602) 600 E Rancho Blanco Rd Pharr, TX 78577	30-0520524		5,400				Range Devel/Improv
(603) 4200 dike road winter park, FL 32792	20-1242027	501c3		5,382	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(604) 724 Fairfield Ave Jamestown, PA 15906	25-1101811	501c7		5,374	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(605) 4000 Modoc Road Sanite Barbara, CA 93110	95-1696725	501c3	5,365				Youth Equipment
(606) 11256 Myers Road West Salem, OH 44287	01-0955131	501c7	5,346				Range Devel/Improv
(607) 5700 Mesa Grande Dr Las Cruces, NM 88011	85-6002445	Las Cruces Public St		5,344	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(608) 8355 Elm St Fischer, TX 78623	74-6001777	Cornal Independent S		5,340	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(609) 2 Notre Dame Lane Ulaca, NY 13502	13-0617328	501c3		5,337	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(610) 7394 Ave 328 Vidalia, CA 93292	77-0469513		5,325				Range Devel/Improv
(611) 2211 East 10th Street Hobart, IN 46342	35-6002466	School City of Hobart		5,319	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(612) 407 East 7th St Hydro, OK 73048	73-1225429		700	4,614	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(613) 35 Summerfield Street Naugatuck, CT 06470	27-5510392			5,304	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training, Edu Safety
(614) 87979 Red Wing RD Long Pine, NE 69217	36-2894966	501c3	5,300				Youth Equipment
(615)	72-1090235	501c3	1,000	4,283	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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511 Russell Street Hauma, LA 70361							
(616) 100 West 4th Suite 201 Beird, TX 79504	75-3153182	501c3	2,937	2,332	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(617) 1600 S Beacon Blvd 240 Grand Haven, MI 49417	26-0867804	501c3		5,269	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(618) 2200 Glen Ridge Road Escondido, CA 92027	95-6001096	Escondido Union High		5,267	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(619) PO Box 547 Knights Landing, CA 95645	23-7429678	501c7		5,263	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(620) 3299 West Eble Road Newburgh, IN 47629	35-1617028	501c7	1,390	3,865	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(621) 300 Double Eagle Court Reno, NV 89521	88-0059512	501c3		5,244	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(622) PO Box 783 Leona Valley, CA 93551	77-0117648			5,238	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(623) 3377 Logan-Trident Road Three Forks, MT 59752	81-0417852	501c7	369	4,864	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(624) 1138 Eagle Pass Freedom, OK 73842	73-1392974	Freedom Public Schoo	700	4,519	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(625) Box 342 Conneack, NY 11725	11-1631834	501c3		5,215	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(626) 1 Fox Lane McLeansboro, IL 62899	37-0961613	Hamilton County CUSD		5,211	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(627) 350 Buck Ridge Road Bikwell, OH 45614	31-6151374		5,207				Youth Equipment
(628) 43475 Road 779 Oconee, NE 68860	20-8102723		4,000	1,206	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(629) 10220 Blackhawk Blvd Houston, TX 77089	74-6001850	Pasadena Independent		5,206	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(630) 103 Champion Road Port Angeles, WA 98362	43-1982379	501c3	511	4,691	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(631) 8070 South Clay Street Mc Carroll, IL 61053	61-1645969		5,200				Youth Equipment
(632) 758 E Hillside Rd Wappingers Falls, NY 12590	80-0267234	501c7		5,199	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(633) 504 S Concord Road West Chester, PA 19382	23-1365192	501c3		5,197	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(634) 720 PFA PHA Camp Road Covington, GA 30014	58-0914386	501c3		5,189	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(635) 700 Israel Rd SW Turnmaster, WA 98501	91-0936197	Turnwater School Dist		5,188	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(636) 2 Garden Center Drive Greensburg, PA 15601	25-0865266	501c3		5,189	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(637) 1300 Minutemen Causeway Cocoa Beach, FL 32931	59-2895155	501c3		5,180	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(638) 4464 Dasono Ave SW Waverly, MI 55390	41-1477383			5,172	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(639) 33300 S Sherwood Dr Crighton, MD 64739	44-0661740	Cass County School D		5,171	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(640) MCB2 Box 125 Brussels, IL 62013	82-0544408			5,170	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(641) 975 PH 278 Jaspier, TX 75951	45-2669978	501c3	658	4,303	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(642) 208 West Chestnut Street Goldensboro, NC 27530068	56-6001920	County of Wayne		5,160	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(643) 9039 St Landry Rd Gonzales, LA 70737	72-1513756	501c3	3,997	1,160	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(644) 6101 Research Forest Drive The Woodlands, TX 77381	74-6000556		2,990	2,166	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

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(645) 201 South 3rd St Lafayette, LA 71446	72-6000848	501c3	3,470	1,674	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(646) 55 CRec 841 N 14th Lincoln, NE 685880232	27-2919549	501c3	2,600	2,543	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(647) 2060 W Street St Phoenix, AZ 85086	26-3664358	501c4	320	4,818	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(648) 8860 Mentor Avenue Mentor, OH 44060	34-0766165	501c3	150	4,987	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(649) PO Box 363 Fergus Falls, MN 56538	41-6039944	501c4		5,135	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(650) 1203 Route 66 Morristown, TN 37835	85-0794316	501c3	3,626	1,506	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(651) 703 Ginesi Drive Morgantown, NJ 07751	21-0634963	501c3		5,113	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(652) 2013 poindexter road sellersburg, IN 47172	35-6041775	501c3		5,108	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(653) 8761 Richardson Road Walton Lake, MI 48387	39-2462712		1,043	4,065	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(654) 250 Center Highlands Waynesburg, PA 15379	24-6003374	The Pennsylvania Sta	1,500	3,598	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(655) 130 Chestnut Tree Hill Rd Oxford, CT 06478	06-6045487	501c7		5,093	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(656) 815 Madison Ave Mankato, MN 56001	41-6079300	501c3		5,089	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(657) 7270 North Mingo Lane Cincinnati, OH 45243	31-0741929	501c7		5,083	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(658) 309 Letcher Avenue Lexington, VA 24450	54-0505966	501c3		5,083	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(659) 550 S 1600 E Spanish Fork, UT 84660	87-0714498	501c3		5,085	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(660) 1804 Hwy 97 Jourdanton, TX 78026	74-6001467	City of Jourdan		5,085	Other	Program materials	Training, Edu Safety
(661) 601 Tiger Drive Batesville, MS 38606	64-0411465	South Panola School		5,085	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(662) 900 Ellicker Road Pittsburgh, PA 15239	25-6002550	Plum School District	1,875	3,209	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Training
(663) 23 Elm Street Westfield, NY 14787	16-6002528	Village of Westfield	5,072				Range Devel/Improv, Training, Edu Safety
(664) 504 East Anthony Street Celina, OH 45822	34-0940619		1,560	3,513	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(665) 339 Franklin Pierce Highway Barrington, NH 03826	02-6013864	501c4	805	4,256	Other	Program materials	Training Equipment
(666) 2600 Streetsferry rd Vanceboro, NC 28586	56-1286861	Craven County School		5,050	Other	Program materials	Youth Hunter Safety Program
(667) PO Box 92 Hopewell Junction, NY 12533	14-6046290	501c7		5,054	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(668) 1211 2nd Ave Antigo, WI 54409	39-1442886	501c7		5,052	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(669) 1101 Washington Street Merion, AL 36726	26-0546621	501c3		5,045	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment, Range Devel/Improv
(670) 305 S Union Blvd Colorado Springs, CO 80910	84-1439907			5,045	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(671) 145 Bobbie Lynn Harper, TX 78633	01-0710884	501c3	5,044				Youth Equipment
(672) 8473 County Road 1213 Athens, TX 75751	39-3795185	501c3	2,632	2,401	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(673) 5027 Pottsville Pike Reading, PA 19605	23-1352047	501c3		5,029	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
(674) 3645 N Adrian Hwy Adrian, MI 49221	38-3262386		4,529	491	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment

(075) 920 S Elmhurst Road Wheeling, IL 60090	36-4468998	501(c)3	1,703	3,311	Other	Program materials	Youth Equipment
2 Enter total number of section 501(c)(3) and government organizations listed in the line 1 table ▶							417
3 Enter total number of other organizations listed in the line 1 table ▶							239

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the Instructions for Form 990. Cat. No. 50055P Schedule I (Form 990) 2014

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Part III Grants and Other Assistance to Domestic Individuals. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 22. <small>Part III can be duplicated if additional space is needed.</small>					
(a)Type of grant or assistance	(b)Number of recipients	(c)Amount of cash grant	(d)Amount of non-cash assistance	(e)Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(f)Description of non-cash assistance
(i) Scholarship	20	20,500			

Part IV Supplemental Information. Provide the information required in Part I, line 2, Part III, column (b), and any other additional information.	
Return Reference	Explanation
Part I Line 2	All grant recipients file final reports documenting and accounting for the usage of grant funds. Grant funds may only be expended in furtherance of the project documented on the grant application. NRA Foundation reserves the right to demand return of grant funds not spent for the purposes of the grant award. Unused grant funds must be returned to NRA Foundation to become available to other applicants.

Schedule I (Form 990) 2014

Additional Data

[Return to Form](#)

Software ID: 13000230
Software Version: 13.6.0.0

eFile Public Visual Render ObjectID: 201532599349300503 - Submission: 2015-09-16		TIN: 53-0116130					
Schedule I (Form 990) Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service Name of the organization NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA		Grants and Other Assistance to Organizations, Governments and Individuals in the United States Complete if the organization answered "Yes," to Form 990, Part IV, line 21 or 22. Attach to Form 990. Information about Schedule I (Form 990) and its instructions is at www.irs.gov/form990 .					
		OMB No. 1545-0047 2014 Open to Public Inspection					
		Employer identification number 53-0116130					
Part I General Information on Grants and Assistance							
1 Does the organization maintain records to substantiate the amount of the grants or assistance, the grantees' eligibility for the grants or assistance, and the selection criteria used to award the grants or assistance? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No							
2 Describe in Part IV the organization's procedures for monitoring the use of grant funds in the United States.							
Part II Grants and Other Assistance to Domestic Organizations and Domestic Governments. Complete if the organization answered "Yes" on Form 990, Part IV, line 21, for any recipient that received more than \$5,000. Part II can be duplicated if additional space is needed.							
(a) Name and address of organization or government	(b) EIN	(c) IRC section if applicable	(d) Amount of cash grant	(e) Amount of non-cash assistance	(f) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(g) Description of non-cash assistance	(h) Purpose of grant or assistance
(1) NATIONAL FNDN FOR WOMEN LEG 910 16TH ST NW WASHINGTON, DC 20006	52-1480785	501C3	15,888				SCHOLARSHIPS
(2)							
(3)							
(4)							
(5)							
(6)							
(7)							
(8)							
(9)							
(10)							
(11)							
(12)							
2 Enter total number of section 501(c)(3) and government organizations listed in the line 1 table				1			
3 Enter total number of other organizations listed in the line 1 table							

Schedule I (Form 990) 2014

Page 2

Part III **Grants and Other Assistance to Domestic Individuals.** Complete if the organization answered "Yes" to Form 990, Part IV, line 22.

Part III can be duplicated if additional space is needed.

(a) Type of grant or assistance	(b) Number of recipients	(c) Amount of cash grant	(d) Amount of non-cash assistance	(e) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(f) Description of non-cash assistance
(1) NRA JEANNE E. BRAY MEMORIAL UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS	24	78,571			
(2)					
(3)					
(4)					
(5)					
(6)					
(7)					

Part IV **Supplemental Information.** Provide the information required in Part I, line 2, Part III, column (b), and any other additional information.

Return Reference	Explanation
Part I Line 2	The NRA actively assists National Foundation of Women Legislators in the selection and administration of NFWL scholarships.
Part III Line 1	This response explains the NRA Jeanne E. Bray Memorial Scholarship awards program. Named for the late Columbus, Ohio police officer Jeanne E. Bray, a shooting champion and NRA Director, this NRA program offers college scholarships of up to 2,500 per semester, up to 5,000 per year for a maximum of four years, to dependent children of any public law enforcement officer killed in the line of duty who was an NRA member at the time of death, and to dependent children of any current or retired law enforcement officers who are living and have current NRA membership.

Schedule I (Form 990) 2014



Additional Data

Return to Form

Software ID: 14000292
Software Version: 14.4.1.0

Schedule I (Form 990) 2015

Page 2

Part III **Grants and Other Assistance to Domestic Individuals.** Complete if the organization answered "Yes" on Form 990, Part IV, line 22.

Part III can be duplicated if additional space is needed.

(a) Type of grant or assistance	(b) Number of recipients	(c) Amount of cash grant	(d) Amount of non-cash assistance	(e) Method of valuation (book, FMV, appraisal, other)	(f) Description of non-cash assistance
(1) NRA Jeanne E. Bray Memorial Scholarship Awards Program	24	79,500			
(2)					
(3)					
(4)					
(5)					
(6)					
(7)					

Part IV **Supplemental Information.** Provide the information required in Part I, line 2, Part III, column (b), and any other additional information.

Return Reference	Explanation
Part I Line 2	The National Foundation for Women Legislators partners with the National Rifle Association for the annual NFWL/NRA Bill of Rights Essay Scholarship Contest for female high school juniors and seniors. The NRA actively assists National Foundation of Women Legislators in the selection and administration of NFWL scholarships for college. NFWL scholarship applications are assessed on the elements of historical research, insight and perspective, demonstrated understanding of the American Constitution, inspirational quality, and meaningful personal connection.
Part III Line 1	The NRA Jeanne E. Bray Memorial Scholarship Awards Program is named in honor and recognition of the groundbreaking police officer Jeanne E. Bray, a shooting champion and past member of the NRA Board of Directors. Jeanne E. Bray was the first female detective on a burglary squad, which has evolved into today's modern SWAT. She was the first female police officer to earn the NRA Police Marksmanship Distinguished bar, and she won the National Women's Police Pistol Combat Championship five times from 1962 to 1967. The program offers scholarships of up to 2,500 per semester, up to 5,000 per year for a maximum of four years, to dependent children of any public law enforcement officer killed in the line of duty who was an NRA member at the time of death, and to dependent children of any current or retired law enforcement officers who are living and have current NRA membership. The membership restriction is permitted by law because the NRA Jeanne E. Bray Memorial Scholarship Awards Program is a 501(c)(4) program.

Schedule I (Form 990) 2015

Additional Data

[Return to Form](#)

Software ID: 15000290
Software Version: 15.3.0.0

Additional Data

Return to Form

Software ID: 16000333
Software Version: 17.2.1.0

Mr. JEFFRIES. So, in 2012, the NRA Foundation gave \$100,000 to the law school in connection with the position that you hold and for "Second amendment study," correct?

Dr. MALCOLM. Well, I presume that they did, but they did not have anything to do with my particular job.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay you—

Dr. MALCOLM. I do not get a penny more for having that.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, you arrived in 2013. Is that right?

Dr. MALCOLM. Excuse me?

Mr. JEFFRIES. You arrived in 2013?

Dr. MALCOLM. In 2006.

Mr. JEFFRIES. You arrived—

Dr. MALCOLM. I did not, but I did not have a chair until later.

Mr. JEFFRIES. That is correct. In 2013, is that right?

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay now, in 2013, the NRA Foundation gave \$100,000 to the George Mason University Law School for "Second amendment study," true?

Dr. MALCOLM. Presumably, they did.

Mr. JEFFRIES. In 2014, the NRA Foundation gave \$100,000 to the George Mason University Law School for "special grants other studies related to the Second Amendment," true?

Dr. MALCOLM. They have not subsidized anything that I have done. I was hired. I was given this chair, because I had already done serious work on the legal and constitutional background of the Second Amendment.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Okay, what we found is that the NRA has given a million dollars to endow the position that you now hold, hundreds of thousands of dollars over the last several years, and the problem is, we can have a legitimate debate about how to deal with the gun violence epidemic, but it is hard to have that legitimate debate when the NRA functions as holding others who are supposedly participating in this debate like they are holy on subsidiaries. Not saying you are not, but we do know that in connection with the position you hold, it is funded by the National Rifle Association.

I yield back.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. The time of the gentleman has expired. There is a vote on the floor now. There are two votes on the floor. There are six minutes and 46 seconds remaining in the first vote, 363 people not having voted yet.

The Committee will stand in recess until immediately after the second vote in this series, which will probably be in about 15 minutes. Members of the audience with advisors, there is no crowd outside, so you probably will not give up your seat if you walk out.

[Recess.]

Chair NADLER. The Committee will come to order. Continuing with questioning the witnesses.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chair, before we—

Chair NADLER. For what reason does the gentleman seeking recognition?

Mr. COLLINS. I would just like to make some clarification. I know at the end there was some discussion concerning the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness therein by who or who may not maybe receive funds in a certain time, and I think one of the things we got

to be very careful of here is every witness that comes here will come representing who they represent and from the areas that they do. Some of the witnesses here would not have probably been called if they had been participants in the political process for your side of the aisle or possibly my side of the aisle. These are things that happen, and they are disclosed. I think, throwing that out there, especially to witnesses or even other Members, implying that something changes for them, I think we need to be careful of. Otherwise, we can just start admitting the records of donations from groups that are justifying here today on contributions and everything else.

We just need to keep this on level with people from their background, knowing their background, let us all have an honest argument without questioning the motives of or the trajectory of motives from folks that we have. With saying that, I yield back.

Chair NADLER. I will now recognize the gentleman from North Dakota, Mr. Armstrong.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Mr. Chair. In my never-ending quest to educate people about the way we live in North Dakota, earlier this morning in H.R. 1, I was explain that we are the only State in the Nation without voter registration. So, in quest to solve problems in other areas, we actually make it more difficult to do things in my state. I will continue that a little bit here. I am going to talk particularly about the exceptions. It is obvious to someone who has spent his entire life hunting and whether it is bow hunting, up line game hunting a rifle, or big game hunting, that when people write exceptions to laws like this, we do it in a way that actually does not take into account the rural nature of places where I live. North Dakota is a beautiful place. I invite anybody to come there whenever they can. Probably not today.

It is 35 below wind chill, but when we are talking about how we designate exceptions to this H.R. 8 we are talking about exclusively at shooting ranges, shooting galleries, or other designated areas, and in the noble goal of trying to end gun violence in other areas, I just want everybody to be aware that we are creating felons out every ranch—federal felons out of every ranching farm kid in North Dakota. We do not have designated shooting ranges. We do not have shooting galleries. We borrow our buddy a rifle to shoot in a stubble field, be it prior to them going hunting or whether it is pheasant hunting, whether it is deer hunting, whether it is any of those areas. So, when we are dealing with these issues, I want to make it perfectly clear that we are also creating significant burdens on a way of life to the entire Midwest population, not just in North Dakota.

I actually want to thank Congress for a couple of things, and I can do this because I was not here when these passed, so it is not self-gratifying. H.R. 4477, which was the Fix NICS Act of 2017 was passed, and this is how we approach gun law in North Dakota has incredibly pro-Second amendment law, but what we do with our law enforcement and our State policy is absolutely go after prohibited people. We do everything we can to make sure law-abiding citizens can use their Second amendment rights, but we continually work with domestic violence groups, law enforcement to ensure that prohibited people do not have access to the firearms they are supposed to.

The Fix NICS Act was something that we, even as a pro-Second amendment State as North Dakota, we have been utilized. Also, H.R. 4909, which is the Stop School Violence Act is provided programs that are utilized in North Dakota right now. Our rural schools, some of them have been in the 1950s. When we deal with school safety, we oftentimes it is not a matter of whether we have a school resource officer in one school in the community, we often do not have law enforcement that can respond within 45 minutes of some of our rural towns. So, these grants help us provide school safety in divided into these scenarios in which they exist at that point and time. So, I would like to thank Congress for those. I would argue, personally, that the Concealed Reciprocity Act, which has passed the House and has not gotten through the Senate is also way to help deter more gun crime.

Finally, I just say as somebody who has practiced criminal defense in Federal court, I think just as matter of statutory construction, we should be a little careful about the number of adjectives that we use in the criminal code. Adjectives are a petri dish for trial lawyers and purely outside of any partisanship or anything else when we use a lot of ugly words, they tend to be litigated in front of 12 people very extensively.

I do have one question for Ms. Thomas. When you were talking to Congressman Cline earlier, you were talking about this being an important Act and that without a registry, it does not matter. Under President Obama Administration, they received a White paper from Greg Ridgway and essentially the White paper says that these gun laws do not work without a national registry. So, my question is, was the Obama Administration wrong?

Ms. THOMAS. I am not sure exactly what you are asking, but if your question is whether or not it is appropriate to pass H.R. 8 without a registry, my answer would be yes, it is absolutely incumbent on us to pass H.R. 8 even though it prohibits a registry from being formed, because it will encompass a larger majority of background checks on all gun sales than what we have in place now.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Okay and forgive me because my old criminal defense attorney mind is coming in place. Without the registry, how is it enforceable?

Ms. THOMAS. Because every sale and transfer of a gun requires a background check. So, when guns are recovered in crimes, it will be much easier for law enforcement to A, discover if guns had a background check on them and to trace them back to their original source. In that instance, it would be very easy to know if there was no background check conducted.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I would ask for unanimous consent to offer this Summary of "Select Firearm Violence Prevention Strategies" by Greg Ridgway into the record.

Chair NADLER. Without objection the document will be entered into the record.

[The information follows:]

MR. ARMSTRONG FOR THE RECORD

Summary of Select Firearm Violence Prevention Strategies

Greg Ridgeway, Ph.D.
Deputy Director
National Institute of Justice

January 4, 2013

On average there are about 11,000 firearm homicides every year. While there are deaths resulting from accidental discharges and suicides, this document will focus on intentional firearm homicides. Fatalities from mass shootings (those with 4 or more victims in a particular place and time) account on average for 35 fatalities per year. Policies that address the larger firearm homicide issue will have a far greater impact even if they do not address the particular issues of mass shootings.

This document provides a cursory summary of select initiatives to reduce firearm violence and an assessment of the evidence for the initiative.

Gun buybacks

Twitter summary: Buybacks are ineffective unless massive and coupled with a ban

Goal: Reduce access to firearms by incentivizing owners to dispose of their unwanted guns rather than transfer them to a more risky possessor

Evidence: Gun buybacks are ineffective as generally implemented. 1. The buybacks are too small to have an impact. 2. The guns turned in are at low risk of ever being used in a crime. 3. Replacement guns are easily acquired. Unless these three points are overcome, a gun buyback cannot be effective.

The 1997 Australia gun buyback and its associated regulations is an exception to this. 1. It was large, buying back 20% of the firearm stock. 2. It targeted semi-automatic weapons. 3. It coupled the buyback with a ban on certain weapons and a nationwide registration and licensing program. There is strong evidence that it reduced mass killings (before the initiative massacres occurred on average once per year and none have occurred in the 15 years since).

The Australia buyback appears to have had no effect on crime otherwise. One [study](#) (Leigh & Neill 2010) has proven confusing in that its abstract suggests that Australia's gun buyback reduced firearm homicide rates by 80%, but the body of the report finds no effect. [Others](#) (Reuter & Mouzas 2003) have used the same data and also found no effect on crime although they also noted that mass shootings appear to have disappeared in Australia. A third [study](#) (Chapman et al 2006) using Australian data from 1979 to 2003 shows that the firearm homicide rate was already declining prior to the firearm reforms and that

there is no evidence that the new legislation accelerated the declines. This remains true when data through 2007 are added to the analysis (conducted by G. Ridgeway on 1/3/2013 at NIJ).

Large capacity magazines restrictions

Twitter summary: Great potential to reduce lethality; requires a massive reduction in supply

Goal: Reduce the lethality of guns by reducing the number of rounds that can be quickly fired.

Program: Restrictions on the manufacture, sale, transfer, and possession of large capacity magazines (usually defined as holding more than 10 rounds).

Evidence: Mass shootings predominantly involve the use of large capacity magazines. The most lethal ones all involve large capacity magazines. In addition large capacity magazines were used in nearly 25% of all crimes in 1993 just prior to the ban. There is reason to believe that reducing the availability of large capacity magazines could have an effect on the total number of homicides.

In five cities [studied](#) closely found no change in the criminal use of large capacity magazines during the ten year ban. However, a [Washington Post analysis](#) for Virginia continued the analysis where the research team left off. The data indicate that the percentage of crime guns using large capacity magazines declined from 18% in 1999 (when magazine imports were highest) to its lowest level in 2004 (10% of crime guns had large capacity magazines). The percentage doubled between 2004, when the ban expired, and 2010.

The 1994 ban on large capacity magazines had limited effectiveness because 1) Large capacity clips are a durable good 2) There were an estimated 25 million guns with large capacity magazines in 1995 3) The 1994 law exempted magazines manufactured before 1994 so that the importation of large capacity magazines manufactured overseas before 1994 continued through the ban 4) while the price of the clips increased dramatically (80% during the ban) they were not unaffordable. A 2004 [study](#) of the 1994 law found: “because the ban has not yet reduced the use of [large capacity magazines] in crime, we cannot clearly credit the ban with any of the nation’s recent drop in gun violence.” The 1994 ban essentially did little to affect the supply of large capacity magazines.

In order to have an impact, large capacity magazine regulation needs to sharply curtail their availability to include restrictions on importation, manufacture, sale, and possession. An exemption for previously owned magazines would nearly eliminate any impact. The program would need to be coupled with an extensive buyback of existing large capacity magazines. With an exemption the impact of the restrictions would only be felt when the magazines degrade or when they no longer are compatible with guns in circulation. This would take decades to realize.

Ammunition logs

Twitter summary: Increases opportunities to detect illegal firearm possessors

Goal: 1) Reduce flow of ammunition to the illicit market and 2) develop leads for illegal weapons.

Program: Laws that prohibit certain individuals from owning firearms also pertain to ammunition (18 USC 922g&n). Whereas direct retail sales of firearms to criminals are regularly disrupted by instant background checks, sales of ammunition are essentially unchecked. Ammunition purchase logs are a means of checking for illegal purchases and for developing intelligence on illegal firearms.

Alternatively, several states do not record purchases, but rather require the purchaser to show a permit to purchase ammunition and only of the same caliber or gauge as their firearm. While purchasing a firearm is a one-time action, repeated purchases of ammunition create more complications for prohibited firearm possessors.

Evidence: A [study](#) used criminal background checks conducted on individuals purchasing ammunition in Los Angeles in April and May 2004. 2.6% of transactions involved prohibited purchasers. They purchased 5,000 rounds of ammunition per month during this period. Rather than institute instant checks on ammunition purchases, local police began regularly checking the logs for illegal purchases, using it as an intelligence tool to find not only ammunition but also the illegally possessed weapons. Sacramento instituted a similar program and identified 13 illegal purchasers per month in the first year, recovering an average of 7 illegal firearms per month.

There is evidence that the program can be used to identify prohibited purchasers and can aid in the recovery of illegal firearms. The volume of recoveries is not of a scale likely to impact the illegal firearm trade, but could disrupt some criminal activity.

In 2009 California passed AB 962 that would make the ammunition logs statewide. It has since been held up in court due primarily to the use of the phrase "handgun ammunition," which is not a well-defined phrase.

Universal background checks

Twitter summary: *Effectiveness depends on the ability to reduce straw purchasing, requiring gun registration and an easy gun transfer process*

To understand the value of background checks it is essential to understand the source of crime guns. Several sporadic attempts have been made to learn how criminals acquire guns. For example, a 2000 study by the ATF found the following distribution of sources

Source	Percentage
Straw purchase	47%
Stolen	26%
Store	14%
Residence	10%
Common carrier	2%
Unregulated private seller	20%
Gun shows/flea markets	13%
Retail diversion	8%

Note: Percentages do not add up to 100% since some sources fall into multiple categories (e.g. unregulated seller at a flea market)

These figures indicate informal transfers dominate the crime gun market. A *perfect* universal background check system can address the gun shows and might deter many unregulated private sellers. However, this does not address the largest sources (straw purchasers and theft), which would most likely become larger if background checks at gun shows and private sellers were addressed. The secondary market *is* the primary source of crime guns. [Ludwig and Cook \(2000\)](#) compared states that introduced Brady checks to those states that already had background checks and found no effect of the new background checks. They hypothesized that the background checks simply shifted to the secondary market those offenders who normally purchased in the primary market.

Supply sources can vary in different parts of the country. An NIJ funded [study](#) of the Los Angeles illicit gun market noted: “Results showed that many crime guns were first purchased at local—that is, in county—licensed dealers, rather than from out of state. That is, *contrary to the conventional wisdom that crime guns were being trafficked across state borders from places with less stringent regulations, such as Arizona and Nevada, we found that a majority of the guns used in crimes were purchased in Los Angeles County.*” Thus, gun markets can be highly local.

Understanding gun sources requires a sustained and localized surveillance program. For example, the program could interview new arrestees at intake about how they acquired their gun, cost, and general gun availability. This could be conducted in conjunction with BJA’s plans to target local violence prevention programs in 20 cities. This is similar to the ADAM program for monitoring drug markets and could, in fact, complement any restart of ADAM. In the coming years such data could become available through BJS efforts; BJS will include a series of questions in its 2013/2014 national inmate survey.

Target straw purchasers

Straw purchasers are the primary source of crime guns. Importantly, straw purchasers have no record of a prohibiting offense. As a result, they are quite different from those who actually commit crimes. Consistent with criminological theory, because the person conducting the straw purchase does not have a criminal history forbidding him or her from making legal purchases, this population could potentially be deterred from initiating this illegal activity.

Because straw purchasers are the largest source for the illicit market and these purchasers likely can be deterred, effort should be focused here. There is little evidence on what works. The ATF and NSSF sponsored the “Don’t Lie for the Other Guy” public awareness campaign starting in 2000 but there are no evaluation reports of its effectiveness.

A Los Angeles program to target straw purchasers sent new gun buyers a letter, signed by prominent law enforcement officials, indicating that law enforcement had a record of their gun purchase and that the gun buyer should properly record future transfers of the gun. The letters arrived during buyers’ 10-day waiting periods, before they could legally return to the store to collect their new gun. An NIJ-funded [study](#) found that the letter could modify gun owner behaviors. The study found that the rate at which guns are reported stolen for those who received the letter is more than twice the rate for those who did not receive the letter. While this does not show an effect on crime, it does show that a simple letter to those at risk of diverting guns to the illicit market can modify their behavior.

Require all gun transfers to occur at an FFL

Some states, such as California, require all transfers of guns to be properly documented ([since 1923](#)). This usually requires the involvement of a federally licensed dealer in the transaction. Despite this, straw purchasing continues largely unabated. [Wachtel \(1998\)](#) describes some straw purchasing of crime guns for Los Angeles between 1988 and 1995. There are disincentives to following the law in California (\$35 and a waiting period). Such a process can discourage a normally law-abiding citizen to spend the time and money to properly transfer his or her firearm to another. To be effective, requiring all transfers to occur at an FFL needs to be coupled with all the necessary incentives (or at least no disincentives) for unlicensed sellers to follow the law. Sanctions and threats of penalties are insufficient.

Gun shows

Gun shows do provide firearms to the illicit market, but the problem is not uniquely about gun shows but rather secondary transfers of unregulated private sellers. Gun shows simply convene numerous private sellers along with FFLs. Gun shows in states requiring all transfers to be documented have fewer illegal gun sales according to [Wintemute et al 2007](#).

Gun registration and continuous checks for possession eligibility

Universal checks are insufficient for ensuring that firearm owners remain eligible. Convictions, mental health issues, and restraining orders can develop after the background checks.

Recovering guns from those that become ineligible is likely effective. There is evidence from three studies that policies that check domestic violence perpetrators for firearm possession are effective at

reducing intimate partner violence. [Vigdor and Mercy \(2006\)](#) found a 7% reduction in intimate partner homicide in states that allowed guns to be confiscated on site of domestic violence incidents. [Zeoli and Webster \(2010\)](#) found that state statutes restricting those under restraining orders from accessing firearms are associated with reductions of 20%-25% in total and firearm intimate partner homicide. [Bridges et al \(2008\)](#) found that most domestic violence laws do not effect intimate partner homicide *except* those relating to firearms. All three studies use methods that make alternative explanations unlikely.

The challenge to implementing this more broadly is that most states do not have a registry of firearm ownership. Currently NICS background checks are destroyed within 24 hours. Some states maintain registration of all firearms. Gun registration aims to 1) increase owner responsibility by directly connecting an owner with a gun, 2) improve law enforcement's ability to retrieve guns from owners prohibited from possessing firearms.

Gun registration also allows for the monitoring of multiple gun purchases in a short period of time.

Assault weapon ban

Twitter summary: Assault weapons are not a major contributor to gun crime. The existing stock of assault weapons is large, undercutting the effectiveness of bans with exemptions

Goal: Limit access to assault weapons.

Program: Ban the manufacture, sale, transfer, or possession of assault weapons.

Evidence: Guns are durable goods. The 1994 law exempted weapons manufactured before 1994. The exemption of pre-1994 models ensures that a large stock, estimated at 1.5 million, of existing weapons would persist. Prior to the 1994 ban, assault weapons were used in 2-8% of crimes. Therefore **a complete elimination of assault weapons would not have a large impact on gun homicides.**

A National Academy study of firearms and violence concluded that the weaknesses of the ban and the scientific literature suggest that the assault weapon ban did not have an effect on firearm homicides.

There is some evidence that the assault weapons bans can affect the availability of assault weapons. A 2004 [study](#) found that "Following implementation of the ban, the share of gun crimes involving [assault weapons] declined by 17% to 72% across the localities examined for this study (Baltimore, Miami, Milwaukee, Boston, St. Louis, and Anchorage)... This is consistent with patterns found in national data on guns recovered by police and reported to ATF." [Weil and Knox \(1997\)](#) found a sharp reduction in the number of assault weapons recovered by Baltimore police in the six months following Maryland's ban on assault weapons. The federal ban came into effect a few months after Maryland's ban, but Maryland's ban had no provision grandfathering in already owned assault weapons.

Since assault weapons are not a major contributor to US gun homicide and the existing stock of guns is large, an assault weapon ban is unlikely to have an impact on gun violence. If coupled with a gun buyback and no exemptions then it could be effective. The 1997 Australian gun buyback was massive in scale and, while it appears to have had no effect on gun homicide, Australia has had no mass shootings since the ban was put in place.

Smart guns

*Twitter summary: Most appropriate for making guns child safe or preventing police officers from being assaulted with their own firearm. **Unlikely to affect gun crime***

Goal: Prevent gun use by unauthorized users, particular to prevent diversion of legally acquired firearms to the illicit market.

Program: Between 1994 and 2004, the National Institute of Justice conducted a research effort to develop a technology that would preclude anyone but the owner of a gun from using it. If a gun were stolen with this technology installed, it would become inoperable. The focus of this effort was to preclude a law enforcement officer's gun from being used if it were wrested from them during an assault. This technology was commonly referred to as 'smart' gun technology because it enabled the gun to 'recognize' its owner.

In its 2005 assessment of this effort "[Technological Options for User-Authorized Handguns: A Technology-Readiness Assessment](#)" the National Academy of Engineering estimated that it would cost an additional \$30 million and take 5 to 10 additional years to bring a 'smart' gun to market. The most likely approach to achieving this capability would be through use of radio frequency identification (RFID) technology.

Evidence: The development of the technology has focused on making the guns child-proof or providing law enforcement officers with a firearm that could not be used against them. The realization of this technology would not prevent such shootings perpetrated by the owners of the guns involved. In addition this would not eliminate the illicit market, but rather alter it. There would remain an illicit market for guns that did not have this technology installed or for smart guns in which the technology had been neutralized.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I yield back my time, Mr. Chair.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. Now I recognize the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Raskin.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chair, thank you very much. I want to first recognize my wonderful constituent, Andrea Chamblee who is here today. She lost her husband, John McNamara, in the terrible massacre that took place in Annapolis. He was a reporter and a celebrated editor of The Capitol Gazette. Thanks for joining us, Andrea, and that you stand for hundreds of people here today who have lost family Members and friends and hundreds of thousand across the country who are begging us to do something.

Mr. Nadler, thank you for this hearing, which is extraordinary, because it is the first hearing on gun violence in more than 8 years in the House of Representatives. In that time, we have seen, not only the daily mounting, gruesome death toll in every community across America where 96 people die from gun violence every day, and 246 every day are shot and wounded, where eight children or teens die from gun violence every day, and where 39 young people are shot and wounded.

Over the last eight years, we have seen six of the ten worst gun massacres in the history of the United States of America: The Las Vegas massacre with 58 dead; the Pulse Nightclub massacre with 49 dead; Sandy Hook, 20 kids and six grown-ups; Stoneman Douglas, 17 adults, and on and on. To the wonderful people who have assembled here today taking time off from school, off from work to come to bear witness to the people you have lost in your lives, I want to say that you are the repositories of the memories of your loved ones, but we are the repositories of the legislative memories of what have happened, what has happened here. We must never forget.

I have only been here for two years, but I want to tell you, in that time, I saw several of those massacres, including the Vegas massacre and the Stoneman Douglas massacre, and we had not a single hearing on a universal, criminal background check. We had three hearings in this Committee with Diamond and Silk to talk about imaginary offenses online, and they brought us two bills, one the aforementioned bill, the Concealed Carry Reciprocity Act, a complete misnomer. It has nothing to do with reciprocity, it would demolish every state's concealed carry law so that if you can get a gun in the most permissive State in the Union, which I think is still Florida, where a million and a half people have the right to carry a loaded, concealed weapon, then you can go anywhere in the country. That is what they brought us. Oh, and they brought us one other bill which was to legalize silencers in America. That sounds not like a common-sense public safety agenda. That sounds like a mafia agenda to legalize silencers across the country. That is what we have dealt with from this Committee which is why today is such a remarkable breath of fresh air and why Americans across the country are looking at the House of Representatives with hope today.

Now, the universal criminal background check is backed by more than 95 percent of the American people. The vast majority of Democrats, Republicans, Independents, and Gun owners. Everybody thinks that you should not be able to purchase a firearm in

America if you cannot pass a simple criminal and mental background check, so we are screening out felons and fugitives. People who are violently unstable, undocumented aliens—these are the people that we are trying to catch. What do we hear from the other side? We hear, “Well this punishes law-abiding people. You should go after the criminals.” That is precisely what we are trying to do. We are trying to keep them from getting guns in the first place. We are trying to close the loopholes here today.

Now, we are hearing that there is a lot of Second amendment verbiage floating around the room and yet, I have yet to hear a single argument that this legislation in H.R. 8 is unconstitutional. Not one. Now the Distinguished Ranking Member of the Committee was offended by the gentleman from New York’s line of questioning about Professor Malcolm’s background and the character of her professorship at George Mason. Fine, if you are not interested in trying to determine the sources of income for her chairmanship, let us leave that to the side. Let us go to the content of Professor Malcolm’s testimony.

Professor Malcolm, I am fellow professor of constitutional law. So I was all excited for your testimony, because before I was a member of Congress, I loved nothing more than to be able to do a legal analysis and bring it to Congress and say, “Here is my understanding of what the law is,” but I searched in vain, your entire testimony for any legal analysis of the Second amendment constitutionality of H.R. 8, and I am wondering, have you written a separate law review article or separate legal analysis, because I understand this is more of a policy statement?

Dr. MALCOLM. I have not written an analysis of this particular bill, but I would like to say that I deeply resent the assertion that I am holy on subsidiary.

Mr. RASKIN. I did not say anything about that.

Dr. MALCOLM. I know you did not.

Mr. RASKIN. I am sorry. I am going to reclaim my time because we have very little time here. Let me go to this question. Do you have an opinion as the Second amendment Chair holder at the George Mason Antonin Scalia School of Law, do you have a legal opinion that you have formed, even without an analysis that is written, as to the constitutionality of H.R. 8?

Dr. MALCOLM. I have a legal opinion that the constitutional right that is associated with the instant background check as it now stands is constitutional. It just does not work very well.

Mr. RASKIN. Okay so—

Dr. MALCOLM. It does not work.

Mr. RASKIN. Okay well, we’ll go to the ATF for their thoughts on that. You are saying as constitutional matter, the legislation before us is perfectly constitutional today? Dr. Sakran, do you agree with that? That H.R. 8 is perfectly constitutional?

Dr. SAKRAN. Well, I am not a lawyer, and I am here in my capacity as a trauma surgeon. But, we currently have licensing that is actually evaluating people for background checks. So, this is just talking about ensuring we close those loopholes and expand that to the rest of the public, so.

Mr. RASKIN. Okay and it does not deny anybody the right to access a gun who has a Second amendment right to get one? It is

only the people that Justice Scalia enumerated in how their decision as being not eligible because they might be mentally defective or felons or fugitives and so on, right?

Dr. SAKRAN. Correct.

Mr. RASKIN. That is your understanding of it, okay. I yield back, Mr. Chair. Thank you very much.

Chair NADLER. I thank the gentleman. I now recognize the gentlelady from Washington, Ms. Jayapal who is not here. Oh great. The gentleman from California, Mr. Correa.

Mr. CORREA. Thank you, Mr. Chair, first, I want to thank you for holding this most important hearing and of course, I want to also thank all of the young people in the audience today. This is your day. I am glad you are here in force to show that you care about this issue. A lot of you here have also been painfully touched, personally touched by a loss due to gun violence and thank you also for being here. I thank the panelists also for your expert testimony today. Ms. Lindquist, I want to personally thank you as well for bravery for being here to tell us about that horrible experience of yours.

Half dozen years ago, my wife was attacked, mugged. Like in your situation, somebody came up behind her and grabbed her and threw her down and beat her up, and I can tell you for many, many months, I was there helping her nurse back her wounds. Not only the physical but the emotional that she still carries. We do not wish that on anybody. Very, very tough issue here.

Professor Malcolm, you are absolutely right. This is going to make it more expensive for somebody to purchase a weapon. The bureaucratic issues involved are going to slow down the process. As I think about this bill, I think back to my district where I have had to attend many funerals, way too many funerals of young people. Very young teenagers being the victims of gang violence. As I think about your testimony here, is this bill going to stop somebody from buying a gun illegally?

Dr. MALCOLM. I cannot see how it will.

Mr. CORREA. I do not think it does. I do not think it does. Yet, as I think about society today, what goes on in our streets, I am going to come back to something that Mr.—that Chief Acevedo said, which is, a question in my mind is, will this legislation save a life? Will it save one life? Because when I have constituents that have been touched, that have been hurt by gun violence, my question is, Chief Acevedo, is this bill going to save one life or many lives? Or none at all?

Chief ACEVEDO. No, thank you for the question. This bill will definitely save lives. There is no doubt about it. What this bill does is not keep guns out of the hands of law-abiding Americans of sound mind, which I do not know if—

Mr. CORREA. What was that? What did you just—

Chief ACEVEDO. It will not keep firearms out of the hands of law-abiding Americans of sound mind.

What it will do is make it more difficult for those that use these loopholes at gun shows, on the internet, straw purchasers, that are driven by greed that then go out and purchase these firearms and then sell them to those crooks. That is going to make it more difficult for the bad guys. If we are going to support the good guys

with guns, if we are going to talk about other good guys with guns, we also need to talk about what do we do to keep guns out of the bad guys with guns? This is exactly what this bill will do. That is why the Major City Chiefs has been very vocal. The mayors have been very vocal. Our prosecutor has been very vocal, and I would like to tell you to the folks that are in our emergency rooms, that thanks to the medicine, the quality of the medicine we have today, the discourage of gun violence and the deaths from it would be quite more horrifying than we experience. I want to say to the trauma docs, you are in your lane. Stay in the lane, which is saving lives, not selling guns.

Mr. CORREA. Thank you very much. Same question to Major TAPP-HARPER. Both of you have been on the beat. You are where the rubber meets the road. You have seen that violence. Will this bill, will this legislation, H.R. 8, save lives?

Major TAPP-HARPER. Thank you for your question, sir, and our primary responsibility as preservation of life, and I stand arm in arm with the Chief. Yes, I believe that we will save lives.

Mr. CORREA. So this legislation is really a major step forward in keeping guns away from those that are really not qualified to own a gun. Mr. Chair, I yield.

Chair NADLER. Thank you, gentleman. Mr. Richmond is recognized.

Mr. RICHMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Dr. Malcolm, I believe two people earlier said that none of these bills would do anything to save a life. If we look at the Charleston loophole, would that not have prevented the perpetrator from purchasing that gun?

Dr. MALCOLM. Excuse me, what—

Mr. RICHMOND. The Charleston loophole. The loophole that says if your background does not come back in 72 hours, then you automatically can purchase the firearm. In his case, his background check came back after four days and what came back would have prevented him from being able to buy the gun, which in my mind, therefore would have prevented the Emanuel Nine Massacre in Mother Emanuel Church in the loss of nine lives. So, my question is, closing that loophole would have saved nine lives?

Dr. MALCOLM. In that one case, it probably would, but there are very few people like that man who actually go through the whole process knowing that they are planning to misuse a firearm.

Mr. RICHMOND. Well maybe and may not be, because I think he had a bad address. So, logic would tell me that if you go in and you give a little bit of bad information like an incorrect address that may delay the background check from coming back, the goal is for the background check to come back after 72 hours, and you can purchase your gun.

Also, people like to point out the Assault Weapons Ban and what effect that had. Let me tell you what effect it had because I was young in those days. I lived in the hot streets during the 90s. That Assault Weapons Ban made the price of an Uzi go up from \$400 in the store to \$1,500. Therefore, that mad person may have had \$400 in his pocket but not \$1,500. It delayed the time in which he could get his hands on a gun legally or illegally, which allowed for a cooling period to happen. I hear many people say that this may put a burden on lawful gun owners, which I am one. When I went

to purchase my gun, I did not need it immediately. If I had to wait two days, that was okay. The person who needs a gun right then and there is probably the person we do not want with a gun, right then and there.

Let me just remind this Committee of what I believe was a missed opportunity back in 1990. The same time when the streets were hot because of crack cocaine. This body, this committee, this Congress decided that it would treat the crack cocaine epidemic in a different way. That it would find the cure to it in mass incarceration. What we did not do is treat it as the substance abuse problem that it was. Had we declared it a health epidemic back in 1990, guess what would have happened? We would have substance abuse clinics and infrastructure across this country. The opioid victims that we see today would have a place to go, because we would have responded correctly back in 1990.

Now the question is, why am I saying that? Because we have an opioid epidemic, and the President just declared it a public health crisis. Last year, opioids, we lost 14,000 individuals. Synthetic opioids, 28,000. Heroin, 15,000. It is a health epidemic. Last year, we lost 39,773 people to gun violence which is a health epidemic, and the question becomes, let us assume I am wrong, Dr. Malcolm. Let us assume it is not. What harm is there in trying to figure out the link between guns and the violence and letting CDC and NIH, smart people who are doctors, who are smarter than me, what is wrong with letting them study it to come back to us with recommendations, because that is what we are doing with the opioid epidemic.

I do not want us to come here in 20 years like I am doing now, and somebody is saying, they had a chance to remove the Dickey Amendment, allow NIH, CDC and experts to study it, but they did not do it during that time, because the pressure was too hot. Now 20 years later, we have done a road and we are losing so many kids. So please tell me what is the harm in studying it?

Dr. MALCOLM. Guns are not a disease. They should be studied by people who are law enforcement who know more about crime on the streets, all other kinds of possibilities. Also, there is a right, a constitutional right for ordinary people to protect themselves with firearms. There is no right to have an opioid, and that is a good idea that there is not, because you are right. It is a terrible epidemic. Doctors are not the best ones to be studying the best solutions for gun control. What I would like to see, and this committee—or at least the Congress has taken it up in the past—is something more done to help people who are dangerously mentally ill. I think that would be a tremendous help, because most of the people who have committed these mass murders are people who really need some kind of help, and we have dismantled our health establishment and not really put anything very good in its place. While it is not a very sexy subject, I think it would be a tremendous help to try to help.

Mr. RICHMOND. Mr. Chair, can I ask unanimous consent to enter into the record, it is an annotation from Dr. Sakran's testimony where it says, "Firearm injury and death in America is not only a disease," and it references what I would like to enter into the

record is, by Lerner, Hargarden, "Gun Violence, A Biopsychosocial Disease."

Chair NADLER. Without objection, the material will be entered into the record. Ms. Jayapal is recognized.

[The information follows:]

MR. RICHMOND FOR THE RECORD

Gun Violence: A Biopsychosocial Disease

[Stephen W. Hargarten](#), MD, MPH,[¶] [E. Brooke Lerner](#), PhD,[¶] [Marc Gorelick](#), MD, MSCE,[†] [Karen Brasel](#), MD, MPH,[‡] [Terri deRoos-Cassini](#), PhD,[§] and [Sara Kohlbeck](#), MPH^{¶¶}

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Abstract

Gun violence is a pervasive public health burden in the United States. Annually, over 36,000 Americans die from firearm-related events; tens of thousands are injured.¹ The medical community has periodically called for framing gun violence as a public health/medical issue.^{2–}² Given the impact of gun violence on health and longevity,¹⁰ others have suggested that physicians have a moral obligation to address gun violence.^{11,12} More recently, others have called upon physicians to integrate firearm-related education about safety with their patients.¹³

Calls for engagement have increased with multiple physician organizations calling for action.^{2,14} In much the same way that human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) rates grew unchecked until we began to acknowledge that it was a biopsychosocial disease that could be prevented and controlled, and scientifically we moved past the social stigmas of a disease first recognized as largely affecting homosexual men, gun violence will continue unchecked until we invest in research to discover effective means to reduce it. To fully engage physicians and other sectors of the healthcare community, we need to frame gun violence as a biopsychosocial disease.¹² We know that gun violence follows predictable patterns just like infectious diseases and other illnesses.¹⁵ For example, young African-American males are at increased risk of firearm-related homicide, while older White males are at increased risk for firearm-related suicide. Through an understanding of the risk factors for a disease, we can identify means of control and prevention.

The disease model approach was first advanced in the 19th century and continues today. With a science driven understanding of disease etiology, physicians and other civic leaders were positioned to discover vaccines, thus changing the environments that breed the vectors of illnesses, while identifying high-risk groups for preventative interventions— all driven by the science of discovery. We are seeing this unfold today with the Zika virus,¹⁶ and the prevention strategies of other communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and HIV that continue to benefit from the rigorous application of the disease model. By identifying and understanding the disease agent, its vector of transmission, and the high-risk hosts and environments, all sectors of civil society – healthcare, public health, businesses, schools, fire and police agencies— can work in concert to institute interventions that reduce morbidity and mortality. These interventions may prevent exposure to the agent that causes disease, reduce the chance of becoming ill if exposed, or limit the damage after the disease is contracted.

Scientific investigations have advanced the disease model to include other causes of cellular/organ damage from a variety of etiologic agents.¹² For decades, clinicians and public health professionals have been trained to understand the definition of disease as having four components: etiology, pathogenesis, morphologic changes, and clinical significance.¹² We have learned that the etiologic agents of diseases are categorized into biologic and physical agents that interact with cells and organs, resulting in disruptions of cell walls and the release of substances that cause additional destruction.¹³ For example, with the Ebola virus disease, the pathogenesis occurs over days and can manifest up to 21 days after exposure. The virus begins to replicate and results in morphologic changes in cells/organs that manifest as a constellation of symptoms, resulting in nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea, leading to dehydration, organ failure and death.

Analogously, the kinetic energy from a bullet is the physical agent of gun violence. The kinetic energy imparted by the speeding mass of the bullet results in the tearing of cellular membranes, leading to edema, fractures, and bleeding, resulting in organ failure, shock, and death. The energy ($KE=1/2MV^2$), is transmitted to the host/patient from the bullet – penetrating the skin, entering the body, and transmitting the energy, leading to temporary and permanent cavity formation, and a sterile injury to the patient.^{13,14} The pathophysiology of this disease has received limited examination because the agent (kinetic energy) causes destruction so quickly (less than 0.1 sec).²⁰ The high-speed video camera is the “microscope” for this rapidly occurring disease. It is through this “lens” that we can document the temporary and permanent cavity formation that is the hallmark of the biology of this disease.¹³⁻²¹ This dramatically brief pathophysiology limits acute interventions during the release of kinetic energy and is distinctive since diseases from other agents, such as viruses and bacteria, clinically develop over days or weeks.

By framing gun violence as a biopsychosocial disease,²² it engages the healthcare community of physicians and nurses, complements the necessary multidisciplinary approach to advance our scientific understanding, and informs host, agent/vector, and environmentally-focused interventions beyond the immediate biology of fractures, bleeding, and edema. This is critically important since preventing and controlling gun violence will not occur to any significant degree until we begin to approach it in a manner similar to controlling other biopsychosocial diseases such as HIV. One immediate benefit of framing gun violence as a disease is the opportunity to address misleading/limiting statements as scientifically inaccurate, yet repeated over and over again. One of the most common of these is: “Guns don’t kill people, people kill people.”

The disease model provides us with accuracy: the bullet and its kinetic energy shreds, tears and destroys cells, and damages organs, leading to death and disability. While the behavioral health issues that result in a person pulling a trigger and releasing the energy need to be better understood, first and foremost we need scientifically accurate statements that advance the necessary, challenging discussions. By recognizing that bullets kill people, the gun, which carries the bullets, becomes a necessary focus of intervention. One such strategy would be to limit the rate of the release of bullets by, for example, banning bump stocks or automatic weapons, or by reducing the amount of potential energy the gun can carry (magazine capacity). Without this framing we will be limited to education of our patients¹³ or continue to be stuck, mired in debates that do not advance scientific understanding, but only entrench positions. We limit progress related to gun violence by not addressing the environment and the social context and psychological antecedents and outcomes of this disease that affect patients, families and communities.^{23,24}

In addition to the injury caused by a bullet, the body's own biologic stress response is activated and involves a cascade of bodily systems, including stress hormones. While this biological response is adaptive, sustained activation of the acute stress response degrades healthy adaptation following a life-threatening situation. This is even further exacerbated when an individual experiences psychological stress after trauma, particularly post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The social context of gunshot-wound patients is paramount, including the community/neighborhood the survivor is coming from, the location of the wounding event, and the environment to which they have no choice but to return. Unfortunately, issues such as familial retaliation and the maintenance of perceived strength within communities with high levels of violence can perpetuate the cycle of gun violence, "spreading" the risk of the disease. Social, environmental, physical, and psychological pre-, peri-, and post-injury factors influence the course of gun violence as a disease and therefore should be treated from this biopsychosocial perspective.

There are many opportunities for medical communities to treat gun violence as a biopsychosocial disease. Increasingly, trauma centers²⁵ are recruiting clinical psychologists to provide behavioral health interventions that complement the surgical team's emphasis on the biology. While the integration of behavioral health specialists is occurring within centers where the disease is most likely to be treated, the majority of centers are not yet advancing care with this integrated approach. Behavioral/social interventions include hospital-based, violence-prevention programs, where the focus is to address the social and behavioral issues of gun violence and to prevent recidivism. In some instances, primary care physicians are²⁶ trained in assessing exposure to trauma to understand the social context of the patient's health. They can provide recommendations for psychological care if distress is evident. While these examples exist within healthcare, unfortunately they are not the norm. To move disease prevention forward, significant development of integrated multidisciplinary programs is needed. Additionally, more research is needed in the inpatient setting of trauma centers to better understand the psychosocial elements of this disease to maximize outcomes and reduce recidivism.

The importance of this framing distinction can be more easily seen when we consider prior and ongoing work to reduce the burden of acute injury from car crashes. We have achieved considerable success in the application of the disease model, which has resulted in significant reductions in death and disability over the past 50 years.

Evidence-based policies such as seatbelt laws and significantly improved car and road designs that attenuate and control the energy exchange with passengers and drivers – all components of the disease model – have been systematically investigated and advanced.²²

In the first 10 years of the 21st century there were substantial declines in morbidity and mortality from other public health burdens such as vaccine-preventable diseases, childhood lead poisoning, cardiovascular disease, workplace-associated injuries, and cancer, while improvements were made in areas such as maternal and fetal health.²² However, similar improvements have not been made in firearm deaths during this time; in fact, deaths from firearms continue to rise. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the relative paucity of funding for firearm-violence research, due in part to the 1996 Dickey amendment, which states that, "None of the funds made available for injury prevention and control at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention may be used to advocate or promote gun control."²⁸

As a society, we have achieved success in controlling infectious diseases with a focused, disease-model approach, and we have successfully expanded the use of the disease model to prevent and control non-communicable diseases such as cancer and heart disease. We have used this approach for other challenging biopsychosocial disease burdens such as smoking and alcohol abuse.³⁰ Further, it was only once we blunted the political stigma stunting our progress in combating HIV that the most significant discoveries took place and lives were saved. Yet we have not taken the next step in using the disease model to prevent and control gun violence, in part due to the relative lack of funding, and therefore the relative lack of investigation. Framing gun violence as a disease places it firmly within medical and public health practice. Interventions across multiple sectors, informed by comprehensive, linked data and rigorous, adequately-funded research, can be used to prevent injuries, improve acute care and rehabilitation, and inform and evaluate program and policy interventions. These can ultimately reduce morbidity and mortality.

This framing opens up important areas of research and prevention strategies that can and must be organized to address all aspects of the disease: high-risk youth; adults and elderly; the gun and the bullets; and the environment.³⁰ Specific examination of the gun and its design/safety characteristics open up areas of potential interventions. Much like reducing a child's access to the energy contained in a medicine container resulted in decreases in unintentional chemical injury from aspirin and Tylenol,³¹ banning bump stocks would reduce the rate of energy release that was so tragically seen in the Las Vegas shooting of October 2017. Designing a "smart" gun, which leverages new technologies to identify a gun's owner and prevent its use by others, could also have the potential to reduce the number of accidental (unintentional) deaths and suicides.^{33, 34} In this environment, requiring background checks on all gun sales has the potential to further reduce unauthorized access.³⁵

Recent calls to engage the physician and public health communities in addressing gun violence^{6,11,36} must be answered by the medical community. Kaiser Permanente, one of largest health systems in the U.S., has recently approved a \$2 million expenditure to study gun violence prevention.³⁷ By framing gun violence as a biopsychosocial disease we can move beyond acrimony and fear, use the tools that have been honed over centuries to advance science, and prevent and control this disease burden that adversely impacts our patients, families, and communities across the U.S. and the world

Ms. JAYAPAL. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I want to start by saying thank you to all of you. I know this has been a long day, but I especially want to thank those of you in the audience who are survivors of gun violence, who are family Members. I want to thank you, Aalayah for your excellent testimony. The reality is you all are putting this issue on the map, and I am so deeply grateful for that. I just have to—before I get into my question—say to Professor Malcom with all due respect, seatbelts were not considered a public health crisis initially. Cigarettes were not either, but we took on smoking. We took on seatbelts, as Dr. Sakran said, and that is what we need to do with gun violence. Every day we know 109 people are killed by gun violence. Hundreds more are injured, and I wanted to call attention to the fact that every 16 hours a woman is killed by an abuser with a firearm.

In the United States today, 4.5 million women have been threatened by an abuser with a firearm. I am proud to be from Washington State where we have consistently passed some of the most sweeping gun reform pieces of legislation and initiatives, including comprehensive background checks in 2014. In 2016, allowing courts to issue extreme risk protection orders as many of you have spoken about and then most recently, in 2018, raising the legal age to purchase a semi-automatic rifle to 21 and requiring safe storage.

In 2014, we passed a law allowing courts to ask domestic violence perpetrators to surrender their firearms when judges determine that they are a credible threat. Seattle and King County established a regional domestic violence firearms enforcement unit that in 2018 collected over 466 firearms potentially saving the lives of countless survivors of domestic violence and others. I read, Professor Malcolm, that you have said some things that imply or perhaps outright say, that repossession of firearms could lead to the Government repossessing other things such as fire extinguishers. That so-called slippery slope argument is really a tremendous disservice. So, I just wanted to give you a chance to tell me if you believe that repossessing firearms from people under court order, to surrender their firearms, is going to result in the police repossessing fire extinguishers?

Dr. MALCOLM. I never wrote that.

Ms. JAYAPAL. So, you do not believe in that slippery-slope argument?

Dr. MALCOLM. No.

Ms. JAYAPAL. So, you have also asserted that women should carry guns for their own protection because, and I believe this is your quote, “Government can’t protect everybody. People have to be able to protect themselves.” Is that correct? Again, a yes or no, answer.

Dr. MALCOLM. Yes.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Yes, okay. So let me turn to you, Major Tapp-Harper as the Commander of the Domestic Violence Unit for the Baltimore City Sheriff’s Office. Do you agree with Professor Malcolm’s position, that victims of domestic violence will be safer if they have guns?

Major TAPP-HARPER. I would like to point to what the national statistics say on this, and specifically what Dr. Jacquelyn Campbell says, and what she says, “And what about the notion that if women

were armed, they'd be safer? In a survey of women in a shelter, fewer than 1 in 20 abused women who had access to a gun reported having ever used it in self-defense against their abuser."

In another national study, owning a handgun neither increased nor decreased abused women's risk of being killed by a partner. A third study showed that among California purchasers of handguns, women who purchased handguns had a 50 percent increase in risk of homicide, all of which could be attributed to homicide by an intimate partner. While this study cannot—

Ms. JAYAPAL. Let me just stop you right there. I am sorry. I am running out of time, but that was just what I was looking for. So let me just ask a question of Dr. Sakron or Sakran?

Dr. SAKRAN. Sakran.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Sakran. Okay. Great. Last year when we became the first State in the country to pass a bill allowing people at high risk of suicide to voluntarily register themselves to temporarily suspend their ability to purchase a firearm, I want to go to that. In your experience as director of emergency general surgery at Johns Hopkins, do you think there is more that we should be doing to prevent suicide by firearm?

Dr. SAKRAN. Yeah, thank you for that question. So, this is such an important piece because I think it has been glossed over during the discussion this afternoon. Actually, most firearm deaths are from suicide, and people keep dismissing that. Suicide is actually a violent death that we or people commit to themselves. When you look at the healthcare community, we actually often don't see a lot of these victims because they are going straight to the morgue. Why is that? Because there is such a high case fatality rate that exists when you try to commit suicide using a firearm versus if you are taking pills and trying to overdose. It is completely disparate.

So absolutely we should be doing more. Our families, community needs to be involved in that process, which is why, different pieces of legislation like you have done in Washington is useful.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Thank you so much. Mr. Chair, I yield back, and I am looking forward to much more work on this topic.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. It has been 8 years and hundreds of thousands of lives lost to gun violence since the last time Congress held a hearing on this issue. While Congress has shirked its responsibility to address the epidemic of gun violence, the grassroots demand for action has taken root and been so well represented here today.

We are at a critical moment where we can save the lives of thousands of Americans, and if we can I think we must. This isn't a Second amendment issue. This is a public health crisis. As the gentleman from Maryland and Florida pointed out, the commonsense measures that Congress is considering all pass constitutional muster even under the restrictive reading of the Constitution espoused by the late Justice Scalia.

I grew up in a family where responsible gun ownership was common, a family of veterans and hunters who understood the value of safe gun policies. Those aren't the individuals we are talking about here today. We are talking about the background checks. We need to keep firearms out of the hands of criminals and gun traffickers, keeping weapons of war off the street, and keeping illegal

guns out of our community. As several people have suggested, how we can help keep guns out of the hands of those who represent a danger to themselves or others.

We need a multifaceted approach to address a multipronged public health program, one that in the terms of the breadth and depth of its impact on Americans could legitimately be declared a national emergency. It is a problem that demands a research-based and data-driven response, as suggested by the law enforcement and medical professionals who have testified here today.

I want to take a moment to address two of my constituents attending today's hearing who have turned their personal tragedies into advocacy. Beverly Wright lost her son to random gun violence when he was just 23 years old. She has since started support groups for families in my district who have been impacted by gun violence. I was struck last night and again this morning when Beverly and other families of gun violence victims greeted each other with hugs as though they were close associates, but then I realized that is exactly what they are. They are Members of an ever-growing club that no one wants to be a member of. I want to thank them for their tireless advocacy to make sure that their club does not keep growing.

My other guest is Malcolm Yates, who was just 7 years old when he survived a shooting at a Philadelphia candy store that claimed the life of his 5-year-old brother. He has since started a foundation and a community center in his brother's name and has become a community activist. I was proud to have Malcolm and Beverly as my guests at the State of the Union last night, and I am even prouder that they are here today at this historic hearing. They know what some still refuse to acknowledge, that thoughts and prayers after shootings are not enough, that gun violence has become a constant in too many of our communities, invading our streets, our offices, our places of worship, and our schools. It is time for our collective outrage to drive commonsense gun legislation and for that legislation to become law.

Before I get to my questions, I want to echo my colleagues in thanking Chair for having this important hearing and thanking our witnesses for being here and sharing their stories and expertise. To that end, Major Tapp-Harper, my district is in southeastern Pennsylvania, and as such, we are impacted by what some call the iron pipeline: Seeing guns from southern States with weak gun safety laws travel to our city streets in Pennsylvania. Can you speak to how better tracking of lost or stolen guns can help prevent this phenomenon and decrease gun violence?

Major TAPP-HARPER. I think universal laws that I talked about earlier and strengthening those Federal laws is the way. I think that is the way to keep everybody safe as I mentioned earlier.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay. Chief Acevedo, how can the Federal government, including the ATF, be more involved and active in stemming the problem of gun trafficking? How can we help local law enforcement?

Chair NADLER. Can you move that other mike over there perhaps? No, or that one.

Chief ACEVEDO. Sorry about that. I will fix it here in a second. Oh, you fixed it? Thank you. You get an assist.

[Laughter.]

Chief ACEVEDO. First, we need to get ATF up and running. It is an open secret amongst law enforcement circles that Congress has handcuffed the ATF. So, if Congress is interested in fighting gun violence, we need to properly fund the ATF, increase the number of agents on the ground in ATF, and actually go after all the illegal guns. They are a phenomenal partner. I think they are underappreciated, but sadly I don't think the American people know what a great asset that organization is and how much it is being underutilized as a result of the lack of funding and support from Congress.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. I yield back.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. Ms. Garcia of Texas?

Ms. GARCIA. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I too, want to thank the audience. I know we started out at 10:00 a.m., and here we are—we did the math real quickly—4 or 5 hours later. So, thanks for hanging with us. To Ms. Eastwood and Ms. Lindquist, thank you so much for sharing. I know it takes a lot of courage to come before us and share your stories. Please know that that we all were genuinely touched, and we certainly stand with you in trying to make changes in both of the areas that you both talked about.

Chief, I wanted to start with you. I know this is not an immigration hearing, although it began to sound like one earlier. There was a comment made about criminal aliens, which, of course, is a word, as my colleague from Houston, that I find very offensive. There was a question that there be may be implied that every unauthorized immigrant that comes to this country quickly goes to get a gun and starts committing some heinous crime. I know you track a lot of this because I have heard your statistics in Houston. Could you tell us, comparatively speaking, in terms of the crimes committed by an authorized immigrants versus non-immigrants?

Chief ACEVEDO. Well, thank you. First, I really started to think it was an immigration hearing when Mr. Gaetz started speaking earlier. Then I thought I was being forgotten like the children that have been taken from their mothers for seeking asylum in the United States we cannot seem to find or account for.

Let me just be real clear. Every study that we have seen will show that undocumented immigrants are underrepresented in terms of their commission of crimes. Most of those individuals are here to seek a better way of live like everyone of our of ancestors. Mr. Gaetz gave us of handful and attributed them to undocumented immigrants. Yet my testimony included mass shooting events in the United States occurring between June 2015 to January 2019.

Ms. GARCIA. You had the whole list.

Chief ACEVEDO. Yes, and that included 41 mass shootings with 251 Americans killed, 1,095 injured. To my knowledge, I don't believe a single one of those shooters were undocumented immigrants. I think we need to keep that in mind.

Having said that, undocumented immigrants should not be able to possess or actually purchase guns. By not supporting this legislation, we are not only making it easier for those undocumented immigrants that are actually criminal immigrants, who actually prey on other immigrants and others, and terrorists from getting

firearms. So, if we really want to keep firearms out of the hands of undocumented immigrants, we know that whether we build a wall or not, they are going to go under the wall, through the wall, over the wall. We know that you are not going to keep them all out.

So, we need to do everything we can to keep firearms in the hands of law-abiding Americans of sound mind, and that is what this legislation helps to do.

Ms. GARCIA. Thank you, Chief. Now to the doctor. I read in your written testimony that you suggest that there's about 221 billion, and that is "billion" with a "B," in economic costs to the medical healthcare system in dealing with the violence and the trauma care that you must provide. I must tell you that I signed up for a Doctor for a Day Program with Ben Taub Hospital in Houston. I am sure, you know it. It is a world-known trauma center. I got to be in the surgery room when a gunshot victim came in, and I watched the whole surgery. I think they were surprised because a lot of people see a lot of blood for the first time, and they faint. I did not faint. I got through it.

What is the economic impact? Is that the latest figure for when? About how much is it per victim that comes in?

Dr. SAKRAN. Well, thank you for that question, and I am glad that you had the opportunity to experience what we are seeing every day when it comes to these gunshot wound victims. If the human impact is not enough, there is an economic impact as you allude to.

Ms. GARCIA. Right.

Dr. SAKRAN. The economic impact actually is very difficult to narrow down. So, we did a study just published last year in Health Affairs that essentially found that the cost is about \$2.8 billion, and this is just the cost of patients that are coming to the hospital after having been shot.

When you look at the societal cost, that is even more tremendous, and there are figures over \$220 billion that is out there in the literature that is stated. So it is hard to really narrow that down because there are lot of things that you have to take into factor, can they go back to work and other societal aspects. It is a significant economic impact to our healthcare system and our country.

Ms. GARCIA. So, not only is it a public health issue, it is an economic issue.

Dr. SAKRAN. Absolutely. Some of those figures, they are more than some our departments and Administrations are actually spending when you look at the Department of Education and so forth. So, just think about that for a second and think about all the essentially economic funds that are going to waste, not to mention people not being able to get back and integrate into society.

Ms. GARCIA. Well, thank you, and thank you so much for staying in your lane.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

Ms. GARCIA. Thank you.

Chair NADLER. Mr. Negues is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. NEGUES. Thank you, Mr. Chair, for hosting this important hearing, and thank you to the witnesses, the survivors, the many

folks who are gathered here today, and particularly the young folks, the activists with Moms Demand Action, so many people that have been highlighting this issue. We appreciate your activism and your service.

I also want to make sure I recognize a constituent of mine back home, the founder Moms Demand Action, Shannon Watts, who happens to live in Boulder, Colorado where I represent and hail from, and who has led on this issue for so many years. I am proud to represent her and so many others in Colorado that have been touched by this issue.

As I mentioned, have the great honor of representing the State of Colorado, and we have had multiple countless tragedies of gun violence in our State. Some folks earlier mentioned Columbine High School in 1999, which killed 15, to the shooting in a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado in 2012 in which 12 people perished, along with countless others every day, incidents of gun violence.

At the time of the shooting at Columbine, I was 14 years old. I lived 10 minutes away and 10 miles away from that high school. It is not my story that I want to share today. There are many survivors who have waited quite some time to have their experiences heard and acknowledged and true recognition given to this issue. So, I want to share one of their stories before I jump into my questions.

A young man, Daniel Mauser, was killed in the Columbine shooting. He was roughly my age, 15 years old, at the time. This April 20th, in just 2 months, will mark the 20th anniversary of the tragedy at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. I spoke to Daniel's father yesterday, Tom Mauser, and he recounted the story to me, that just 2 weeks before the tragedy, 15-year-old Daniel asked his father a question at the dinner table. Reflecting on a conversation in his debate class, he said, "Dad, did you know there are loopholes in the Brady Bill?" Two weeks later, Daniel was killed at Columbine High School with a gun purchased through one of those loopholes.

Daniel's father, Tom, remains haunted by that question today and by the hole in our gun laws that allowed his son to be killed. He has committed his life to championing this issue ever since his son's death. When Tom first began sharing his story, he wore his son's shoes to speak with people, telling people that he had taken his son's place in the great debate about gun violence. Months after the Columbine tragedy, Colorado voters overwhelmingly voted to close the background check loophole, and many other States have since followed suit.

The American people understand that we need to keep firearms out of the wrong hands, and yet it is 20 years later and we at the Federal level have shamefully done nothing about this issue. That is why I am so excited to support H.R. 8, and so grateful to the sponsors, to Representative Thompson and the folks on the Gun Violence Prevention Task Force, for leading on this issue.

With that, I want to ask a question around extreme risk protection orders and red flag orders. I know it has been discussed at some length by the committee. As some folks may know, my home State of Colorado will soon take up similar legislation, and I support that legislation. I am hoping we can work on that issue in this

committee. My question is for Major TAPP-HARPER. You know, as a State that has enacted similar legislation, if you could just speak to some of the impacts that the legislation has had in your State.

Major TAPP-HARPER. Right. So, this past year, Maryland just got the extreme risk protective order, and the importance of getting that, it now gives law enforcement officers and other individuals the option of getting protective orders where in the past it was limited to certain family Members and individuals who were married to a person. Otherwise, it would have to be a piece order. So that was very important.

The other thing is if law enforcement officers see certain behaviors distributed, they can then go and get a protective order for that individual, and they can get the weapons from the home. So that is really important for us.

Mr. NEGUES. Thank you, Major TAPP-HARPER. With that, Mr. Chair, I would like to yield the rest of my time, with your approval to my colleague, Ms. McBath, as I believe her story is certainly one that we need to hear and want to make sure she has ample time to do so.

Mr. RASKIN. [Presiding.] The gentlelady is recognized.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you very much to my colleague. During testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee just a couple of weeks ago, attorney general nominee, William Barr, said these words. He said, "We need to push along extreme risk protection orders," ERPOs, "so that we have these red flag laws to supplement the use of background checks to find out if someone has a mental disturbance. This is the single most important thing that we can do in the gun control area to stop these mass shootings from happening in the first place." I would also to say that Senator Graham and Senator Blumenthal introduced a bipartisan Federal extreme risk law in the Senate last year that I also plan to develop for introduction in the House with my colleagues hopefully very soon.

Mr. RASKIN. Ms. McBath, the gentleman's time has expired, but I will go ahead and recognize you for your time. The gentlelady is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you very much. Major Tapp-Harper, do you agree with the attorney general nominee that extreme risk law should be the top priority for gun violence prevention?

Major TAPP-HARPER. I do agree that extreme risk protective order laws are very important. There are several States that already have them, and the ones that, just as I mentioned earlier, with those Federal laws, we need to become consistent as a country, and we need to get those laws in effect across the Nation. So, yes, I do think it is very important.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you. Mr. Chair? Do you want me to go ahead? Okay. All right. Thank you. The Binkleys know that Florida already has an extreme risk law in place when their daughter was murdered. These were the couple that I spent time with last night with the State of the Union Address. They were my guests. They still believe in the potential of the extreme risk orders. They still believe in the potential alongside better officer training and more research into authentic makers of the dangerousness of these laws.

Dr. Sakran, how could Congress support the implementation of extreme risk laws?

Dr. SAKRAN. Well, I think that one thing is important to recognize is passing the legislation is one piece but, also, raising education and awareness that actually is present is another. Thousand Oaks is another example where that could have potentially been enforced. California has the ERPO laws, and these laws have been used in the past to prevent suicide and other forms of gun violence. We have other States where we have seen this, like Vermont where 2 months after the Parkland massacre, when it was implemented they actually stopped an 18-year-old kid from proceeding with a mass shooting that was going to happen at a high school, and that was all documented.

So, I think passing the legislation is important, but also ensuring that we are raising awareness about it and people understand it, and they know how to proceed and then Act is very critical.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you. Ms. Eastmond, I am so sorry. I was out of the room earlier when you gave your testimony, and I do apologize for not having been here. Would just like to thank you so much for your bravery. I cannot tell you how important your being here and all these students and gun violence survivors, and I applaud you for being here.

I just wanted to give you another chance to speak if you had anything else that you wanted to say because your voice is extremely critical, and we need to hear more from you.

Ms. EASTMOND. Thank you. I do believe that it is important that we continue to have hearings like this, and I strongly urge you guys to have a hearing again, but particularly to address gun violence in urban communities because that hasn't been touched upon nearly enough during this hearing today. Again, Black and brown are disproportionately impacted by gun violence, and they are the number one people impacted by gun violence, and we cannot continue to have hearings and not address those issues. So, I do urge you guys to have another one particularly for gun violence in marginalized communities. Thank you.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you. Mr. Chair, I yield back my time.

Mr. RASKIN. The gentlelady yields back. Thank you very much. I recognize the gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Stanton, for 5 minutes.

Mr. STANTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chair. Thank you for holding this hearing today. It has been a great hearing with outstanding testimony. It is my honor to serve on this Committee and do sit next to Congresswoman McBath. When this Congress finally does pass H.R. 8, and I think we will, it will honor you. It will honor Congresswoman Giffords. It will honor survivors of gun violence. It will honor the family and friends of victims of gun violence. It will be the right thing to do.

Before I joined this distinguished body, I spent 6 years as a big city mayor, mayor of Phoenix, Arizona. There are a lot of big challenges in that job and a few fears, but there is nothing that I feared more than if I get a call of a mass shooting in my city. We were lucky in Phoenix. Many other communities were not: Aurora, Newtown, Charleston, San Bernardino, Orlando, Las Vegas, Sutherland Springs, Parkland, Pittsburgh, and Thousand Oaks. The list

goes on and on. It pains me, Mr. Chair, that between the time when the first shot rang out at Newtown to today, this body has not held a single hearing, not a single hearing on what we can do to reduce gun violence until today. The American people deserve better.

My community, like every American community, is not immune from gun violence. I can tell you that my darkest and hardest days as mayor were delivered at the hand of gun violence. Police officers were murdered by those who shouldn't have had a gun. Women and children were gunned down in acts of domestic violence by someone who should not have had a gun. I have mourned with family Members who have lost loved ones to gun violence. I have worked alongside survivors and advocates whose lives have been torn apart and stitched back together again after encountering their worst fears.

Our Nation stops when there is a mass shooting, but here is the cold reality: Gun violence happens every single day in America. It takes lives every single day, but has become so commonplace that it doesn't make headlines. We are here today to examine a public health crisis in our Nation. Throughout my public service, I have met with people from all walks of life, people from both sides of the aisle, and they all agree that we must do something to stop this violence, to stop innocent people from dying.

Democrats and Republicans alike respect gun rights and are in favor of commonsense gun laws. These are not competing values. Ninety percent of Americans support background checks for every gun sale. Ninety-seven percent. That means gun owners, Republicans, they all support background checks, and that support is overwhelming. Background checks on all gun sales are the backbone of any comprehensive gun violence prevention plan, and for me, this is where we come together to make a difference.

As difficult as it has been to hear the powerful testimony from our witnesses here today, we have a responsibility to listen and to not look away. There is a thread that we use these experiences together. Too many guns are being used against innocent people, and too many ill-gotten guns are being used against innocent people, and we must put an end to it. That is why this hearing is important and the action that this Committee is going to take in the next few days and weeks is very important.

I do have time for maybe one or two questions. Ms. Thomas, I am going to ask you about the NICS Act and the attempt to sort of fix the NICS Act. There are some loopholes remaining in that that H.R. 8 would fill in. I wanted to inform this Committee and maybe the public as to how H.R. 8 will help fix some of those loopholes.

Ms. THOMAS. Well, part of the problem that we are dealing with background checks is that while you go to a licensed gun dealer and the dealer conducts a background check, there are so many places where unlicensed dealers, and it is often called private sales, but the truth is it is not really just private sales. It is any sale by someone who is not choosing to be a licensed dealer, and those sales have really spread to the point where you don't even really know exactly where they are happening.

We certainly know that they are happening through online sales, like Arms List, which was referenced earlier. We certainly know they are happening at gun shows. Anyone who has been to a gun show knows that there are tables that say “no background check required” where unlicensed dealers sell their guns, and you don’t need to take a background check. They can be sold legally out of the trunk of a car on a corner without background checks in most States.

So, what this law does is it requires that whether you are a private seller, selling online, at a gun show, or a licensed dealer, all those transfers happen through a licensed dealer and include a background check. They will help us keep guns out of the hands of dangerous people, and then enable us to look at next steps.

Enforcing something like an extreme risk protective order also requires universal background checks because without that in place, it is very difficult to keep individuals from acquiring new guns. So, it is basically the floor that allows us to then look at all the other ways that we need to regulate guns in order to keep our communities safer.

Mr. STANTON. Thank you so much.

Chair NADLER. [Presiding.] Thank you. The time of the gentleman has expired. Ms. Dean of Pennsylvania.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I want to join my colleagues in saying that today is a day of action, and it is a day of extraordinary hope. I want to thank all of you for being here. For those who don’t know, there is an overflow room of other Members who came—activists, family Members, and victims who came. They wanted to be a part of this, so I thank you, those in the anteroom, for being here and for remaining all these hours.

I think about it, and I think about the time of our work in this day. From the time we got up this morning until the time we will go to bed tonight, another 300 people in this country will be shot, wounded, or killed. One hundred people today will die of gun violence as we do our work or as we fail to do our work. Two hundred more will be wounded, literally caught in the crossfire. That is not just today. That is yesterday. That is tomorrow.

Yet, last night, we listened to a State of the Union address by the leader of the free world, the leader of this great democracy, that mentioned nothing about gun violence, about the scourge of gun violence that wounds or kills a total of 120,000 people a year. It is stunning. For somebody to have testified that there has just been a small uptick in violence and in gun deaths when 2 years ago there were 33,000 people who died of gun violence. Last year it was 40,000 people died, more than half to suicide. I don’t call that a small uptick. If it is one more, it is not a small uptick if it is my family member.

I want to thank, in particular, my guest who came with me last night, Ms. Jami Amo. Jami is a survivor of Columbine. She was a freshman that fateful day, and she described to me the fear, the sounds, the haunting hiding and trying to figure out where was a safe haven. She is now a young mother of three and an advocate, and I am so proud of you, Jami. Here is why I am proud of you: Because as Abraham Lincoln said, “Public sentiment is everything.

With public sentiment, nothing can fail. Without it nothing can succeed.”

Public sentiment is on our side, Mr. Chair, and I thank you for holding this hearing. I thank the champion, Chair Thompson, and I want to thank Ms. Eastman for saying this is probably—no, you did say—not probably. You said this is the most important issue facing our generation. May this body hear you, pass this legislation, get it to the Senate, send it to the President, and begin to save lives.

Ms. Latiker, we must show that we care. We must Act as though we care. I am mystified that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, instead of approaching this hearing today by saying, you are right, we have a problem, what can we do about it, instead their step immediately out of the box was, this isn’t a good move. You are not going to save any lives this way. Let me tell you how background checks save lives, and as I end my statement, I want to pivot to Ms. Thomas, to the chief, and to the major to talk about the efficacy of background checks.

Let me tell you about the numbers in my State, Pennsylvania. As we know, nearly 40,000 people were killed by gun violence in 2017. Over 1,600 took place in my State of Pennsylvania. 90-one of those lives were lost in my single district. We in Pennsylvania have not only the NICS system, but we have a robust overlay, the Pennsylvania Instant Check System. I will ask at the end of my time, Mr. Chair, for unanimous consent to put in a report of the 2017 PICS annual showing the efficacy of the PICS and NICS systems.

Here are some of the numbers. Between its inception in 1998, and this is run by the Pennsylvania State Police, heroically, frankly, with such duty and care. Since its inception until 2017, PICS referred more than 26,000 investigations, were responsible for more than 7,000 arrests, almost 4,000 convictions as a result of prohibited purchasers attempting to purchase and failing background checks. Of those, PICS has been responsible for the apprehension of more than 2,200 individuals with active arrest warrants.

So, for those who would have you believe, oh, that the bad guys are never going to try to go buy a gun, nonsense. Utter nonsense. The good news about the PICS system also is it does not suffer the Charleston loophole. Instead of a default when we can’t get an answer of yes or no, a default to, okay, yeah, we will sell you the gun, as in Charleston, there is no default. The default is to no, and the purchaser must appeal and find clarity in that background check.

Having said those things and just being so proud that this Committee is going to do something about this, that this Congress is going to do something about this, and it is because of all of you. I wanted to ask you, please, can you comment also on the efficacy of robust and complete background check systems?

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentlelady has expired. The witness may answer the question.

Ms. THOMAS. I would simply say that in States where we have robust regulation States, like Pennsylvania, that have moved to fill some of the loopholes in Federal law, States like California, Connecticut, New York, we are seeing a far greater reduction in gun violence and gun injuries. When you look at States with strong

laws, you see much lower gun death rates. States with weak laws have much higher gun death rates.

So, we know that when States, like Pennsylvania and others, take action to fill those loopholes, gun violence and gun death in that State is reduced. It is not enough. We need a Federal system that does not create a patchwork of laws. Something like H.R. 8 actually fills the gap that led to trafficking—the iron pipeline was mentioned before—up to States with stronger gun laws. So, we need that Federal law. In the meantime, without it, States are taking action and they are seeing positive results from it.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you. Mr. Chair?

Chair NADLER. Yes?

Ms. DEAN. I seek unanimous consent to enter into the record the Pennsylvania Instant Check System report.

Chair NADLER. Without objection, the report will be entered into the record.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you.

[The information follows:]

MS. DEAN FOR THE RECORD

Pennsylvania State Police

Firearms Annual Report
2018



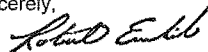
I am pleased to present the 2018 Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) Firearms Annual Report. The Pennsylvania Instant Check System (PICS) processed over one million firearms and License to Carry background check requests, making 2018 the fifth highest volume year for the PSP Firearms Division.

Recently a touch signature enhancement was added to the web-based PICS system to allow touch signing on wireless devices. This fosters more efficient and timely submission of statutorily mandated information by allowing Pennsylvania's Federal Firearms License (FFL) dealers to file Record of Sale (ROS) documents electronically. Additionally, FFL dealers now have the option to query if a firearm they are considering taking into inventory has been reported stolen.

PSP has contributed over 450,000 criminal history records into the federal firearms index known as the NICS Indices. In 2018 alone, these submissions have resulted in 144 denials of persons trying to obtain a firearm in other states. The PSP Firearms Division, in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association and the Philadelphia Police Department, is currently in the midst of a project that will allow for more complete reporting of misdemeanor crimes of domestic violence. Once in place, the enhancement will capture the Relationship to Victim data for applicable violent offenses. As conviction data for misdemeanor crimes of domestic violence is updated to the Pennsylvania criminal history record, that data would be reported to the NICS Indices via an automated process.

As these efforts indicate, PSP continues to make strides in providing a comprehensive background check program with a strong focus on public safety. I thank you for taking the time to read the 2018 PSP Firearms Annual Report.

Sincerely,



Lieutenant Colonel Robert Evanchick
Acting Commissioner

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides statistics and information on the activities of the Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) Firearms Division for calendar year 2018, in compliance with 18 Pa.C.S. § 6111.1(i) of the Pennsylvania Uniform Firearms Act (PUFA).

The PSP conducts the instantaneous records check, known as the Pennsylvania Instant Check System (PICS), promulgated by the PUFA. The PICS utilizes an Interactive Voice Response (IVR) component and a web-based application designed to handle 1.2 million queries per year. It allows users to initiate firearm and license to carry background check requests and, when applicable, issues approvals without operator intervention.

Since July 1, 1998, Pennsylvania has served as a Point-of-Contact State for the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) operated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The PSP is required to comply with both state and federal laws in determining an individual's eligibility to acquire, transfer, and/or carry firearms.

In 2018, the PICS handled 1,016,286 IVR and web-based background checks for licensed firearm dealers, sheriffs, and law enforcement throughout the Commonwealth. Of these requests, 62 percent were approved within minutes by the system, while an additional 35 percent were approved during the initial check with operator assistance. Background checks transferred for operator assistance generally include those for out-of-state residents, database hits or time outs, alien requests, and calls made from a rotary phone. In addition, 11,971 files that were placed in a research status were subsequently approved. Therefore, the overall approval rate of background checks that were initiated in 2018 is 98 percent.

There were 13,981 background checks initially denied through prohibitions indicated on the individual's record. The PSP received 4,038 challenges to these denials. After further review of information provided by the individual or through official court documentation, 1,239 or 31 percent of the challenges were reversed.

Last year the instantaneous background check process yielded warrant information that led to the arrest of 168 individuals while they were attempting to purchase a firearm. Since the PICS was established in July 1998, the coordinated efforts of the PICS staff and law enforcement agencies who respond to these notifications have resulted in the arrest of 2,437 fugitives.

The PSP continues its efforts to investigate and prosecute individuals who attempt to illegally obtain a firearm. In 2018, 5,363 files were referred to PSP Troops, municipal police departments, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) for investigation; a one percent decrease from 2017. Investigation referrals resulted in 557 arrests, 257 reported convictions, and 1,555 cases in which prosecution was declined. The PSP networks with local law enforcement agencies and the ATF in these investigative efforts.

The PICS Operations Section continues to receive requests from law enforcement agencies for the return of confiscated and stolen firearms and Protection from Abuse-related third-party safekeeping checks. In 2018, there were 8,089 background checks conducted for these transactions; a seven percent increase over 2017.

A total of 756,550 firearms were reported purchased or privately transferred in Pennsylvania in 2018. This represents a four percent decrease from 2017. Licensed firearm dealers reported 413,756 handgun transactions; 323,585 long gun transactions; and 19,209 frame/receiver transactions for the year.

The *Pennsylvania Uniform Crime Report* for 2018 reported 9,357 violent crimes committed involving the use of a firearm.

BACKGROUND

On June 13, 1995, Act 17 was signed into law, which amended the PUFA. The law included provisions for the PSP to conduct firearm background checks, to collect a \$2 fee from firearm dealers for each background check processed, and to collect a \$3 fee for the sale or transfer of each taxable firearm. These fees augment the general State Police budget, covering approximately 50 percent of the cost to operate and maintain the PICS.

The PUFA, and its subsequent amendments, afford the PSP the opportunity and ability to take an aggressive and technologically advanced approach to the firearm background check responsibility through the creation of the PICS. Since its inception, the PICS has provided instantaneous records access through a toll-free telephone number and an IVR System. In 2014, a website was established which offers an additional means by which to initiate a PICS background check.

The system is designed for use by county sheriffs, chiefs of police of cities of the first class, and licensed firearm dealers to ascertain an individual's eligibility to acquire a license to carry firearms or obtain a firearm through a purchase or transfer. Additionally, local law enforcement agencies may utilize the secure website to request background checks before returning confiscated firearms to the lawful owner, or before returning relinquished weapons when a Protection from Abuse Order is vacated or expires.

The development of the PICS required coordination with the FBI through its NICS. Pennsylvania was established as a Point-of-Contact State, giving the PICS Operations Section the responsibility to conduct background checks for all federal firearm licensees within the Commonwealth.

In addition to checks for firearms, the PUFA mandates that sheriffs or chiefs of police of cities of the first class conduct a PICS check before issuing a license to carry (LTC) a firearm. An LTC is for the purpose of carrying a firearm concealed on or about one's person or in a vehicle throughout the Commonwealth.

The PICS is a database and communications network-dependent system, which was designed to handle over one million calls per year. It relies on access to a number of databases at both the state and federal levels to complete background checks. Problems completing the background check may be encountered when databases fail to communicate or outages occur. Federal level database issues or problems are outside the control of the PSP.

BACKGROUND CHECK DATABASES

The PICS background check process involves accessing both state and federal databases to determine an individual's eligibility to acquire a firearm or LTC a firearm.

State databases searched:

- Pennsylvania Criminal History Records.
- Juvenile Records, contained within the criminal history record file.

- Mental Health File, containing involuntary commitment information and adjudications of incompetence.
- Pennsylvania Protection from Abuse File.
- Pennsylvania Wanted/Missing Persons File.

As an agency organizational segment within a Point-of-Contact state, the PICS conducts the check of the federal databases through the NICS.

Federal databases searched:

- Interstate Identification Index (III), which contains criminal history records submitted by states throughout the country, federal, and military records.
- National Crime Information Center (NCIC), which includes information on persons subject to civil protection orders, arrest warrants, and immigration violations.
- NICS Indices, which include the following:
 - Illegal/Unlawful Alien Records.
 - Renounced Citizenship.
 - Mental Defectives/Involuntary Commitments.
 - Dishonorable Discharges from the U.S. Armed Services.
 - Unlawful Users of Controlled Substances.
 - State Prohibition Index.
 - Federally disqualifying information that is not otherwise in III or NCIC.

COMPREHENSIVE STATISTICS

Each PICS background check involves the comprehensive search of many databases, including the following: 2,955,629 Pennsylvania criminal history and juvenile records; 868,423 mental health records; 120,693 wanted persons; and federal files containing 78,104,822 criminal history records and 25,931,761 records on other prohibited persons. The majority of applicants instantly clears this initial database search and is approved within minutes.

When a matching record is identified during the initial background check process, the PICS is allowed up to 15 days to conduct further research as needed to determine prohibited status. In 2018, on average, background checks that were put into research, as needed, and subsequently approved took approximately 3.99 days to complete. Researched denials took an average of 9.44 days to complete.

PICS STATISTICS

There were 1,016,286 PICS transactions initiated in 2018.

- 631,524 checks were automatically approved through the IVR or website.
- 384,762 checks were forwarded to a PICS operator for assistance.
- Of the checks forwarded to PICS operators, 355,922 were subsequently approved during the initial review.
- A total of 987,446 incoming checks were approved on the initial review by PICS. The remaining checks were denied or placed into research, and determinations were provided within 15 days. Please see Appendix A for additional information.

AVERAGE PICS BACKGROUND CHECK TIME

The PICS Flexcheck System statistical reporting was used to determine the average length of time taken to complete a background check in 2018.

- Calls approved by the automated IVR phone system averaged 0.80 minutes.
- Operator assisted IVR approvals averaged 11.38 minutes.
- Automated approvals issued by the website averaged 0.83 minutes.
- Operator assisted website approvals averaged 12.63 minutes.

CHALLENGES TO DENIALS

Upon receipt of a challenge to a denial, the transaction file is reviewed by the PICS Challenge Section. The initial response to a challenge is mailed within five business days to the individual and includes the name and phone number of the legal assistant assigned to the case. The assigned legal assistant works to obtain information that may lead to a final decision to reverse the denial, or provides the challenger with specific information explaining the reason for denial.

- 13,981 denials were issued by PICS operators in 2018.
- 4,038 challenges to these denials were received.
- 2,437 final denials were issued.
- 1,239 denials were reversed.

The remaining 362 challenges primarily include those which were returned to the challenger unprocessed for a variety of reasons, such as untimely filing, incompleteness, or because the file being appealed was not a PICS denial.

DENIAL APPEAL STATUS

A total of 61 appeals were filed with the Office of Attorney General in 2018. The following chart reflects the status of the cases:

OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL (2018)	
PSP DENIALS UPHELD	1
PSP DENIALS OVERTURNED	0
APPEALS WITHDRAWN/CANCELLED	10
APPEALS PENDING	45
APPEALS HEARD	5

The first appeals to reach the Commonwealth Court were in the year 2000. Statistics listed below reflect cumulative totals. There was one appeal filed in the Commonwealth Court in 2018.

COMMONWEALTH COURT (2000-2018)	
PSP DENIALS UPHELD	25
PSP DENIALS OVERTURNED*	17
APPEALS REFUSED/WITHDRAWN/CANCELLED/REMANDED	9
APPEALS PENDING	1

*Seven of these cases resulted from a single court decision stemming from the same issue.

The first appeals to reach the Supreme Court were in the year 2001. Statistics listed below reflect cumulative totals. There was one appeal filed with the Supreme Court in 2018.

PA SUPREME COURT (2001-2018)	
PSP DENIALS UPHELD*	5
PSP DENIALS OVERTURNED	0
APPEALS REFUSED/WITHDRAWN/CANCELLED/REMANDED	12
APPEALS PENDING	1

*All five cases resulted from a single court decision stemming from the same issue.

COURT RELIEF FROM FIREARM DISABILITY

The PUFA, Sections 6105(d) through (f), provides for court ordered relief from the state firearm disability for qualified offenses, involuntary civil commitments, and court adjudications of

incompetency. The PSP has standing to appear at these hearings on behalf of the Commonwealth.

In 2018, the PSP Firearms Division staff, in conjunction with the PSP Office of Chief Counsel, responded to 58 such petitions for relief; a 7% increase from 2017. There were 40 petitions for relief or expungement of mental health commitments, and 18 petitions for criminal offenses.

It is important to note that even if the petitioner is granted firearm relief from a state court, they may also need to obtain relief for a federal firearm disability, if the offense or criteria is also prohibited under the Gun Control Act, Title 18, Chapter 44, Section 922(g). For example, even if a petitioner obtains a court order of relief provided for in 18 Pa.C.S. §6105(f), for an involuntary mental health commitment or adjudication, the person is still federally prohibited from having firearms since the relief process outlined in the PUFA does not meet the federal standard to qualify as relief from federal firearm disabilities.

FIREARM SALES AND TRANSFERS FOR 2018

There were 2,670 active Pennsylvania licensed firearm dealers in 2018. Please refer to Appendix B for a breakdown by county. Pursuant to the PUFA, licensed firearm dealers are required to conduct a PICS background check on individuals attempting to acquire a handgun, long gun or frame/receiver.

For sales and transfers of handguns, dealers are also required to complete and submit the Application/Record of Sale form promulgated by the PSP. Although the form is not required for the sale of long guns, a background check is still necessary, unless the long gun transfer is between two individuals who are both Pennsylvania residents. The Application/Record of Sale forms are submitted by the dealers with the Surcharge Remittance form to the PSP within 14 days of the transaction, as mandated by the PUFA.

A total of 756,550 firearms were reported purchased/transferred in Pennsylvania in 2018.

- 413,756 handguns were reported purchased/transferred.
- 323,585 long guns were reported purchased/transferred.
- 19,209 frames/receivers were reported purchased/transferred.

Please refer to Appendix C for more information on reported sales by county.

CRIMES COMMITTED WITH FIREARMS IN 2018

The *Pennsylvania Uniform Crime Report* is prepared each year by the PSP. Excerpts of current summary data from the 2018 report, regarding crimes involving firearms, are provided in the table below.

(Reported as of 3/18/2019)

TYPE OF CRIME	TOTAL	FIREARMS	PERCENT
Homicide	884	595	67.3%
Robbery	9,994	3,930	39.3%
Aggravated Assault	24,290	4,832	19.9%

LICENSE TO CARRY FIREARMS/SPORTSMAN'S FIREARM PERMITS

There were a total of 280,407 LTC issued, as reported by county sheriffs' offices and the city of Philadelphia, in 2018. This is a 3.6 percent decrease from the number of permits issued in 2017. Background checks are conducted through the PICS to determine an individual's eligibility to carry an LTC.

LTC checks, initiated through the web-based system accounted for 92 percent of the total license to carry check requests for the year.

Section 6109(k) of the PUFA gives the Attorney General the authority to enter into reciprocity agreements with other states. These agreements provide for mutual recognition of a LTC issued by both states.

This information can change frequently because of new legislation that is passed in other states, or updates that are made to the original agreements. A current list of states' firearm reciprocity standings can be found on the Pennsylvania Office of Attorney General's website at www.attorneygeneral.gov, under Resources; Concealed Carry Agreements.

Sportsman's Firearm Permits are issued by the County Treasurer's Office and do not require a background check. In 2018, there were a total of 1,725 permits issued.

Please see Appendix D for individual county totals regarding LTC and Sportsman's Firearm Permits.

PENNSYLVANIA UNIFORM FIREARMS ACT - ENFORCEMENT

As provided in 18 Pa.C.S. § 6111(g)(4) of the PUFA, "Any person, purchaser or transferee commits a felony of the third degree if, in connection with the purchase, delivery or transfer of a firearm under this chapter, he knowingly and intentionally: (i) makes any materially false oral statement; (ii) makes any materially false written statement, including a statement on any form promulgated by Federal or State agencies; or (iii) willfully furnishes or exhibits any false identification intended or likely to deceive the seller, licensed dealer or licensed manufacturer."

Before initiating investigations under this section, the following information is taken into consideration:

- Initial PICS denial determinations are not always final denials, and the denial determination, exclusively, is not the determining factor for criminal intent.
- Initial denials may be a result of individuals and records with similar names and numeric identifiers.

- Individuals denied through the PICS may challenge a denial response if they believe they have been denied in error.

In 2018, the following investigations were initiated by the PSP Firearms Division and referred to PSP Troops, municipal police departments, and the ATF.

TOTAL INVESTIGATIONS INITIATED IN 2018	5,363
Total Referred to PSP Troops	1,920
Total Referred to Municipal PDs	3,371
Total Referred to ATF	72

Listed below are the investigation results that were reported in 2018. They include referrals that were initiated in previous years.

TOTAL INVESTIGATION OUTCOMES IN 2018	
Arrests Reported	557
Convictions Reported	257
Prosecutions Declined	1,555

The table below lists the cumulative totals for investigation referrals and the various outcomes. The miscellaneous disposed cases mainly include investigations which were closed without an arrest.

INVESTIGATION GRAND TOTALS (1999-2018)	
Total Referred	31,564
Arrests Reported	8,046
Convictions Reported	4,170
Prosecutions Declined	7,027
Pending Investigations	14,042
Miscellaneous Disposed Cases	2,449

WANTED PERSONS ARRESTS

In 2018, a total of 168 individuals with active warrants were identified by the PICS and apprehended while attempting to acquire a firearm. Since its inception on July 1, 1998, the PICS is responsible for the apprehension of 2,437 individuals.

SYSTEM OUTAGES

In 2018, the PICS was operational 365 days, from 8:00 a.m. until 10:00 p.m., for a total of 5,110 hours. The PICS experienced 49.46 hours, or 0.97 percent, of the total operational hours out of service due to technical problems. This includes periods for which the PICS was partially out of service, but still accepting background check calls, and those for which it was completely out of service.

Additionally, there are times when the IVR phone system is offline, but the PICS web interface is still processing background checks, or vice versa depending on the nature of the problem. Please see Appendix E for additional information on outages.

- 20 percent of outages were caused by technical difficulties with federal databases.
- 42 percent of outages were caused by PSP system problems.
- 38 percent of outages were caused by non-system related issues such as problems with phone lines, power outages, etc.

CONCLUSION

The PICS was developed in accordance with the provisions of the PUFA to provide a means by which law-abiding citizens may acquire firearms without undue or unnecessary restrictions. The PICS identifies individuals who are precluded by state or federal law from purchasing a firearm; and thus, will not authorize the transfer of a firearm by a licensed dealer to a known prohibited person. The data presented in this report indicates that the PICS is functioning as intended.

PICS 2018 IVR AND WEB-BASED CHECKS STATISTICS

YEAR 2018	IVR*	WEB-BASED	TOTALS
Purchase/Transfer Checks	290,196	411,569	701,765
License to Carry Checks	22,642	283,790	306,432
Firearm Evidence Returns	**1,981 (Fax, not IVR)	6,108	8,089
Automatic Approvals	184,086	447,438	631,524
Transfer to Operator	130,733	254,029	384,762
Average %-System Approvals	59%	64%	62%

Total PICS checks in 2018: 1,016,286
Total System-Immediate Approvals: 631,524
Average %-System Approvals: 62%

(Reported as of 3/27/2019)

NUMBER OF LICENSED FIREARM DEALERS BY COUNTY FOR 2018			
COUNTY	NO. DEALERS	COUNTY	NO. DEALERS
ADAMS	45	LACKAWANNA	48
ALLEGHENY	128	LANCASTER	60
ARMSTRONG	27	LAWRENCE	23
BEAVER	44	LEBANON	26
BEDFORD	27	LEHIGH	49
BERKS	89	LUZERNE	66
BLAIR	49	LYCOMING	52
BRADFORD	38	MCKEAN	21
BUCKS	111	MERCER	40
BUTLER	65	MIFFLIN	18
CAMBRIA	38	MONROE	42
CAMERON	3	MONTGOMERY	87
CARBON	12	MONTOUR	9
CENTRE	39	NORTHAMPTON	53
CHESTER	89	NORTHUMBERLAND	28
CLARION	19	PERRY	35
CLEARFIELD	22	PHILADELPHIA	11
CLINTON	12	PIKE	35
COLUMBIA	31	POTTER	14
CRAWFORD	32	SCHUYLKILL	43
CUMBERLAND	50	SNYDER	16
DAUPHIN	56	SOMERSET	34
DELAWARE	49	SULLIVAN	7
ELK	13	SUSQUEHANNA	35
ERIE	47	TIOGA	35
FAYETTE	38	UNION	11
FOREST	4	VENANGO	22
FRANKLIN	61	WARREN	24
FULTON	9	WASHINGTON	64
GREENE	19	WAYNE	29
HUNTINGDON	28	WESTMORELAND	120
INDIANA	43	WYOMING	14
JEFFERSON	24	YORK	125
JUNIATA	13		
TOTAL LICENSED FIREARM DEALERS FOR 2018:			2,670

(Reported as of 3/27/2019)

2018 FIREARM SALES/TRANSFERS REPORTED BY COUNTY									
COUNTY	HAND GUN TAXED	HAND GUN NO TAX	LONG GUN TAXED	LONG GUN NO TAX	COUNTY	HAND GUN TAXED	HAND GUN NO TAX	LONG GUN TAXED	LONG GUN NO TAX
ADAMS	4929	1236	6360	683	LACKAWANNA	7234	1533	4517	627
ALLEGHENY	21405	9826	10608	4619	LANCASTER	18176	4467	14966	2956
ARMSTRONG	1618	687	1429	390	LAWRENCE	2685	1177	1912	666
BEAVER	4463	1475	3013	695	LEBANON	4946	1023	4332	701
BEDFORD	2195	753	3601	878	LEHIGH	7679	3067	4846	1606
BERKS	14071	2628	12631	1333	LUZERNE	11018	3010	8125	1772
BLAIR	4278	1485	4239	849	LYCOMING	6040	1193	5928	860
BRADFORD	2387	457	3731	415	MCKEAN	1118	243	1423	134
BUCKS	20721	5477	10944	3014	MERCER	5988	1340	5369	640
BUTLER	9637	1910	7592	1355	MIFFLIN	1607	405	1811	241
CAMBRIA	5293	1322	4664	623	MONROE	5621	1782	4187	754
CAMERON	11	45	20	20	MONTGOMERY	7078	4342	4497	2411
CARBON	519	360	799	211	MONTGOMERY	35	104	30	60
CENTRE	3402	1211	3366	1026	NORTHAMPTON	5950	2432	3901	1319
CHESTER	6886	2513	4350	1567	NORTHUMBERLAND	1487	561	1763	371
CLARION	2329	347	3102	161	PERRY	823	516	1192	586
CLEARFIELD	11330	690	12484	476	PHILADELPHIA	7772	2614	1752	627
CLINTON	1006	283	1357	302	PIKE	1336	687	1162	690
COLUMBIA	4052	803	3670	289	POTTER	315	193	532	223
CRAWFORD	1703	669	1777	450	SCHUYLKILL	5230	1488	5455	737
CUMBERLAND	8029	2697	6667	2051	SNYDER	2383	1091	2458	874
DAUPHIN	5434	1457	4153	1051	SOMERSET	1938	484	3104	306
DELAWARE	7002	3679	2806	1571	SULLIVAN	70	3	111	5
ELK	1737	181	2417	67	SUSQUEHANNA	1076	472	1487	484
ERIE	6419	2434	7110	1954	TIOGA	1591	410	3534	536
FAYETTE	6928	1052	4732	493	UNION	193	127	579	76
FOREST	165	54	181	33	VENANGO	1530	591	1656	459
FRANKLIN	3386	1847	4445	1351	WARREN	1508	386	2652	448
FULTON	341	276	466	407	WASHINGTON	10869	2435	7360	1226
GREENE	739	387	1234	251	WAYNE	3865	1263	4124	1042
HUNTINGDON	547	412	1145	292	WESTMORELAND	9926	4944	8581	2805
INDIANA	1870	919	2092	716	WYOMING	1374	485	2082	749
JEFFERSON	2199	474	2524	657	YORK	8631	4366	7362	3042
JUNIATA	231	122	547	256		314,354	99,402	263,046	60,539
TOTAL HANDGUN SALES/TRANSFERS:						413,756			
TOTAL LONG GUN SALES/TRANSFERS:						323,585			
TOTAL FRAMES/RECEIVERS:						19,209			
GRAND TOTAL SALES/TRANSFERS REPORTED:						756,550			

Totals include taxed and non-taxed sales/transfers of handguns, long guns and frames/receivers, reported for year 2018. Long gun totals may also include frames/receivers.

(Reported as of 2/27/2019)

COUNTY STATISTICS FOR LICENSE TO CARRY FIREARMS AND SPORTSMAN'S FIREARM PERMITS ISSUED IN 2018					
COUNTY	LTC	SFP	COUNTY	LTC	SFP
ADAMS	3165	14	LACKAWANNA	5159	11
ALLEGHENY	23837	48	LANCASTER	10819	58
ARMSTRONG	3396	10	LAWRENCE	2937	45
BEAVER	5184	27	LEBANON	3695	14
BEDFORD	2058	42	LEHIGH	5839	1
BERKS	9693	3	LUZERNE	6971	21
BLAIR	3927	9	LYCOMING	3781	9
BRADFORD	1971	35	MCKEAN	2831	9
BUCKS	10473	55	MERCER	3125	65
BUTLER	7073	17	MIFFLIN	1506	17
CAMBRIA	4657	31	MONROE	3824	61
CAMERON	270	5	MONTGOMERY	8899	30
CARBON	2067	16	MONTOUR	546	6
CENTRE	3511	10	NORTHAMPTON	5787	28
CHESTER	6515	3	NORTHUMBERLAND	2897	6
CLARION	1742	33	PERRY	1887	12
CLEARFIELD	3305	19	PHILADELPHIA	9154	0
CLINTON	1421	11	PIKE	1971	58
COLUMBIA	2400	25	POTTER	1318	19
CRAWFORD	2733	73	SCHUYLKILL	4469	14
CUMBERLAND	5766	18	SNYDER	1230	7
DAUPHIN	5394	14	SOMERSET	2822	27
DELAWARE	7803	29	SULLIVAN	274	9
ELK	1343	18	SUSQUEHANNA	1917	32
ERIE	6929	110	TIOGA	1590	20
FAYETTE	5428	34	UNION	1150	3
FOREST	289	23	VENANGO	2044	21
FRANKLIN	3673	25	WARREN	2464	19
FULTON	708	9	WASHINGTON	6688	49
GREENE	1377	55	WAYNE	1912	50
HUNTINGDON	1527	36	WESTMORELAND	12993	65
INDIANA	2982	42	WYOMING	1168	6
JEFFERSON	2189	22	YORK	11183	12
JUNIATA	751	0			
GRAND TOTAL LTC FOR 2018				280,407	
GRAND TOTAL SFP FOR 2018				1,725	

LTC – License To Carry
SFP – Sportsman's Firearm Permit

Appendix D

PENNSYLVANIA INSTANT CHECK SYSTEM OUTAGES - 2018													
Month	Total Hours Down	NICS Hours		PSP Hours		Both Hours		Other Hours		No. Days Affected	Partial System Out of Service	System Out of Service	
		Partial	Full	Partial	Full	Partial	Full	Partial	Full				
January	2.45	0	0	0	1.75	0	0	0	0.70	3	0		0.56%
February	1.36	0	0	0	0.78	0	0	0	0.58	3	0		0.35%
March	7.12	0	0.90	1.45	4.40	0	0	0.37	0	8	0.42%		1.22%
April	11.10	0.33	5.45	2.20	0	0	0	0	3.12	5	0.60%		2.04%
May	6.78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.78	1	0		1.56%
June	6.77	0	0	0	0.17	0	0	0	6.60	3	0		1.61%
July	5.01	0	0	4.78	0	0	0.23	0	0	2	1.15%		0
August	1.33	0	1.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0.31%
September	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
October	2.81	0	1.88	0	0.38	0	0	0.55	0	3	0.13%		0.52%
November	0.43	0	0	0	0.43	0	0	0	0	1	0		0.10%
December	4.30	0	0	3.75	0.55	0	0	0	0	3	0.86%		0.13%
TOTALS	49.46	0.33	9.56	12.18	8.46	0	0	1.15	17.78	33	0.27%		0.70%
Other: Problems with phone lines, power outages, or any non-system related issue.													
OUTAGE TIME AS PERCENT OF OPERATIONAL HOURS: 0.97%													

Partial – Indicates the PICS was not taken out of service, but the background check could not be completed due to unavailable database information.

Full – Indicates the PICS was taken out of service and not accepting background check calls.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentlelady has expired. Ms. Mucarsel-Powell of Florida.

Ms. MUCARSEL-POWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you especially for holding such a critical hearing. I think it has been long overdue, the first hearing discussing the effects of gun violence in over a decade. Thank you to all the witnesses for being here with us this afternoon.

As some of you may already know, the issue of gun violence is deeply personal to me, and unfortunately it is very personal for too many Americans now. Gun violence is the leading cause of death in American children, and I want all of us to think about that just for one moment. Far more children die in this country because of a bullet than because of cancer.

My father was a victim of gun violence. When I was 24 years old, I received a phone call—I was getting my master's degree—to be told that my father had been shot and killed by a criminal with a gun. The pain that I feel when we discuss this issue here today, when I hear the news of the mass shootings in Parkland, Orlando, Vegas, is there. My father never had the chance to walk me down the aisle. He never met my children. I want all of you to know that when I took the oath of office, I made a promise that I would not stop until we finally passed commonsense gun reform because I owe it to my father, sisters, and to so many parents that have lost their children in my community. I owe it to all of you here today.

Sometimes people say that this tragedy happened in Ecuador and that this is America, so why should that matter in the context of gun violence here in the United States, and I can tell you why. The trauma inflicted upon families is always the same, no matter where you are in the world. We are united not by the place where we were born, but by our own personal experiences. My family was devastated in Ecuador, and so, too, are many family Members in my community.

I want to remind all of you and tell you a little bit about someone that lost his life in my community. Carnell Williams-Thomas was only 2 years old when he was playing outside of his apartment complex building. He was shot and killed by a stray bullet. I met his parents, who every day mourn the loss of their toddler, the mother knowing that every year that passes, she will never be able to see him going through elementary school, graduating from middle school, high school.

There are so many steps that we can take to address the source of gun violence across this country. Universal background checks will not prevent all deaths, but they are a very important step. I know that somehow it is changing because when I see all of you here today, I know that finally we are going to be able to pass commonsense gun reforms.

I wanted to also just briefly answer just some of the comments that I have heard today. They are extremely offensive and insulting. I know that some people believe that the criminals that are killing and committing all these murders are immigrants. I am an immigrant, and the research is clear that immigrants are significantly less likely to commit crimes than U.S.-born citizens, whether documented or undocumented. I also want to remind that we need to be respectful of those who have lost their lives to gun violence.

We have two people in Parkland who are immigrants, Martin Duque Anguiano and Joaquin Oliver.

With that, I would like to ask Ms. Thomas if you could just elaborate on—I know that you have done research on this topic—on the increase of mass shootings with assault weapons after the ban was lifted. If you can just talk to me a little bit about that research.

Ms. THOMAS. I will just very briefly say that if you look at high-fatality mass shootings, which are mass shooting of 6 people or more, in the years after the expiration of the assault weapon ban in 2004, high-fatality mass shooting injuries went up by more than 200 percent. If you look at high-fatality mass shootings during the time of the ban, those were down by almost 40 percent.

So, while it is difficult to measure the impact on a one-by-one basis, if you look at those mass shootings that really are the most impactful, there is a significant difference during the ban and since the ban took effect. Those numbers have continued to rise year after year after year. So, we are seeing more and more of these types of shootings as these types of very lethal weapons proliferate more.

Chair NADLER. The time of the gentlelady has expired.

Ms. MUCARSEL-POWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Chair NADLER. Does the gentleman have a unanimous consent request?

Mr. BIGGS. Yes, Mr. Chair. I ask that this UC—Davis health study entitled, “The Study Does Not Find Population-Level Changes in Firearm Homicide or Suicide Rates in California 10 Years After Comprehensive Background Check and Violent Misdemeanor Policies Enacted,” be admitted into record.

Chair NADLER. Without objection, the document will be admitted into the record.

[The information follows:]

MR. BIGGS FOR THE RECORD



NEWS | November 19, 2018

Study does not find population-level changes in firearm homicide or suicide rates in California 10 years after comprehensive background check and violent misdemeanor policies enacted

Incomplete background-check records, absence of permit-to-purchase provision, and compliance among possible explanations for findings

(SACRAMENTO) — A study (<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annepidem.2018.10.001>) of firearm homicide and suicide rates in the 10 years after California simultaneously mandated comprehensive background checks for nearly all firearm sales and a prohibition on gun purchase and possession for persons convicted of most violent misdemeanor crimes found no change in the rates of either cause of death from firearms through 2000.

The study, which posted online Oct. 12 as in press at the journal *Annals of Epidemiology*, was conducted by the Violence Prevention Research Program (<https://www.ucdmc.ucdavis.edu/vprp/>) (VPRP) at UC Davis and the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health (<https://www.jhsph.edu/research/centers-and-institutes/johns-hopkins-center-for-gun-policy-and-research/index.html>). It compared observed annual firearm homicide and suicide rates in California over 10 years following enactment of comprehensive background check and misdemeanor violence prohibition policies in 1991 with expected rates based on data from 32 control states that did not have these policies and did not implement other major firearm policies during the same time.

"In the 10 years after policy implementation, firearm suicide rates were, on average, 10.9 percent lower in California than expected, but we observed a similar decrease in non-firearm suicide," said Garen Wintemute, professor of emergency medicine and director of the Violence Prevention Research Program at UC Davis, senior author on the study.

"This suggests that the policies' estimated impact on firearm suicide may be part of broader changes in suicide risk around the time that the California policies were implemented," he said.

The study found no net difference between firearm-related homicide rates before and during the 10 years after policy implementation.

and Kagawa were supported by the Robertson Fellowship in Violence Prevention Research. Castillo-Carniglia was also supported by Becas Chile as part of the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICYT).

The UC Davis Violence Prevention Research Program (VPRP) is a multi-disciplinary program of research and policy development focused on the causes, consequences and prevention of violence. Studies assess firearm violence and the connections between violence, substance abuse and mental illness. VPRP is home to the University of California Firearm Violence Research Center, which launched in 2017 with a \$5 million appropriation from the state of California to fund and conduct leading-edge research on firearm violence and its prevention.

Release updated 2:30 p.m. Nov. 19 to clarify permit-to-purchase laws and comprehensive background check laws in paragraph six.

Chair NADLER. Mr. Lieu of California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LIEU. Thank you, Mr. Chair. According to the Center for Disease Control's latest figures, 109 people die from gun violence every day. That comes out to 9 people every 2 hours. So, since this hearing has started, over 23 people in America have been shot and killed by guns. No community is immune from gun violence. In my hometown of Torrance 1 month ago, 3 people were killed at a bowling alley. In 2017 in Las Vegas, that mass shooting, a number of my constituents were killed.

It does not have to be this way, and all of us are entitled to our opinions. I thank many of you here in this room for your advocacy and for the witnesses for being here. When we legislate, we should do it on facts. So, I am just going to talk about some studies, and then put them into the record.

First Study. In 2018, researchers at Johns Hopkins University and UC—Davis published a study called "Association Between Firearm Laws and Homicide in Urban Counties," where they found that right to carry and stand your ground laws are associated with increases in firearm homicide, while permit-to-purchase laws and those prohibiting individuals convicted of violent misdemeanors have been associated with decreases in firearm homicide.

Second Study. In 2014, researchers at Johns Hopkins University published "Effects of the Repeal of Missouri's Purchaser Licensing Law on Homicides." They found that a repeal of Missouri's permit-to-purchase law was associated with a 25 percent increase in firearm homicides.

Third Study. In 2018, researchers at New York Presbyterian Weill Cornell Medical Center published a study where they found that strong State firearm policies were associated with lower homicide rates, and strong interstate policies were also associated with lower homicide rates. They also found that strong firearm policies were associated with lower suicide rates as well.

Forth Study. Then in 2017, researchers at Duke University did a study where they analyzed Connecticut's extreme risk law and found that for every 10 or 20 risk warrants issued, one suicide was prevented. I would like to enter these into the record with unanimous consent.

Chair NADLER. Without objection, the documents will be entered into the record.

[The information follows:]

MR. LIEU FOR THE RECORD



J Urban Health. 2018 Oct; 95(5): 773–776.

PMCID: PMC6181823

Published online 2018 Aug 16. doi: [10.1007/s11524-018-0306-y](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-018-0306-y)

PMID: [30117057](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/30117057/)

Correction to: Association between Firearm Laws and Homicide in Urban Counties

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Correction to: Journal of Urban Health (2018) 95(3):383–90. DOI 10.1007/s11524-018-0273-3

The authors would like to publish this erratum to correct estimates generated from regression analyses due to errors discovered in the coding of some state laws. The following corrections to the laws in Table 1 are warranted: 1) Michigan no longer requires a permit-to-purchase for handgun sales by licensed dealers effective December 18, 2012 (permits are still necessary for private transfers); 2) Connecticut enacted a law prohibiting firearm purchases for violent misdemeanants effective October 1, 1994; and 3) the implementation dates for violent misdemeanor prohibition laws are January 1, 1996 for Illinois, October 1, 1996 for Maryland, and August 1, 2003 for Minnesota. We regret that we did not identify the errors prior to publication. The data presented below reflect the study's findings after these corrections were made. Changes to the point estimates for the laws' association with homicide rates were minor, and the direction and significance level of the estimates for the effects of the laws studied on firearm homicide did not change. The largest change was to the IRR for laws prohibiting firearms for violent misdemeanants' association with firearm homicide rates, which went from 1.14 to 1.24.

Table 1

Firearm Laws and Effective Dates by State.

4/26/2019

Correction to: Association between Firearm Laws and Homicide in Urban Counties

State (# of Counties)	Permit to Purchase	Comprehensive Background Check Only	Right to Carry	Stand Your Ground	Violent Misdemeanor Restriction
Kentucky (2)			10/1/96	7/1/00	
Louisiana (2)			4/1/96	8/1/00	
Maryland (5)	10/1/13	10/1/96–10/1/13			10/1/96
Massachusetts (6)	pre-1984				
Michigan (4)	pre-1984–12/18/12		7/1/01	10/1/06	
Minnesota (4)			5/28/03		8/1/03
Missouri (3)	pre-1984–8/28/07		2/26/04	8/28/07	
Nevada (1)			10/1/95	10/1/11	
New Hampshire (1)			pre-1984	11/13/11	
New Jersey (13)	pre-1984				
New York (14)	pre-1984				pre-1984
North Carolina (2)	pre-1984		12/1/95	12/1/11	
Ohio (6)			4/8/04		
Oklahoma (1)			1/1/96	11/1/06	
Oregon (3)		8/9/2015	1/1/90		
Pennsylvania (8)		10/11/95	6/17/89	8/29/11	
Rhode Island (1)		pre-1984	pre-1984		
Tennessee (2)		5/10/94–11/1/98	10/1/96	5/22/07	
Texas (6)			1/1/96	9/1/07	
Utah (1)			5/1/95	3/1/94	
Virginia (3)			5/5/95		
Washington (4)		12/4/14	pre-		

[Open in a separate window](#)**ABSTRACT.**

1. The sentencing beginning “PTP laws were associated with...” should be replaced with a sentence that reads “PTP laws were associated with an 11% reduction in firearm homicide in large, urban counties (IRR = 0.89, 95% CI 0.85–0.93).”

RESULTS.

1. Table 1 should be deleted and replaced with the corrected Table 1 below.
2. Table 2 should be deleted and replaced with the corrected Table 2 below.

Table 2

Effects of Firearm Laws on Firearm Homicide in Large, Urban U.S. Counties, 1984–2015.

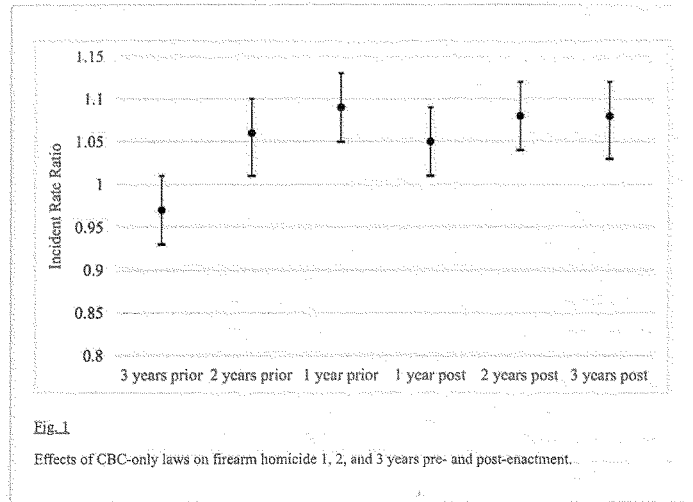
	IRR ^a	95% CI ^b
Permit to Purchase	0.89	0.85–0.93
Comprehensive Background Check only	1.10	1.08–1.13
Right to Carry	1.07	1.05–1.09
Stand Your Ground	1.08	1.05–1.10
Violent Misdemeanor prohibitions	1.24	1.21–1.27
County-level % Population African American Male Youth	1.55	1.51–1.60
County-level Poverty Rate	1.00	1.00–1.00
County-level Unemployment Rate	1.00	1.00–1.01
State-level Incarceration Rate	1.00	1.00–1.00
State-level Law Enforcement Expenditures	0.99	0.99–0.99
^a Incidence Rate Ratio		
^b 95% Confidence Interval		
Note: The model also included year fixed effects		

3. The second paragraph (describing the regression results in Table 2) should be deleted and replaced with the following: "Table 2 presents the effects of the firearm policies we examined on firearm homicide in large, urban counties after controlling for identified covariates. PTP laws were associated with an 11% reduction in firearm homicide (IRR = 0.89, 95% CI 0.85–0.93). CBC-only laws were associated with a 10% increase in firearm homicide (IRR = 1.10, 95% CI 1.08–1.13). RTC laws were associated with a 7% increase in firearm homicide (IRR = 1.07, 95% CI 1.05–1.09). SYG laws were associated with an 8% increase in firearm homicide (IRR = 1.08, 95% CI 1.05–1.10). VM laws were associated with a 24% increase in firearm homicide (IRR = 1.24, 95% CI 1.21–1.27). When we included the proxy for county-level firearm ownership, there were negligible differences in the point estimates; however, the firearm ownership proxy itself was associated with a 40% increase in firearm homicide (IRR = 1.40, 95% CI 1.29–1.53)."

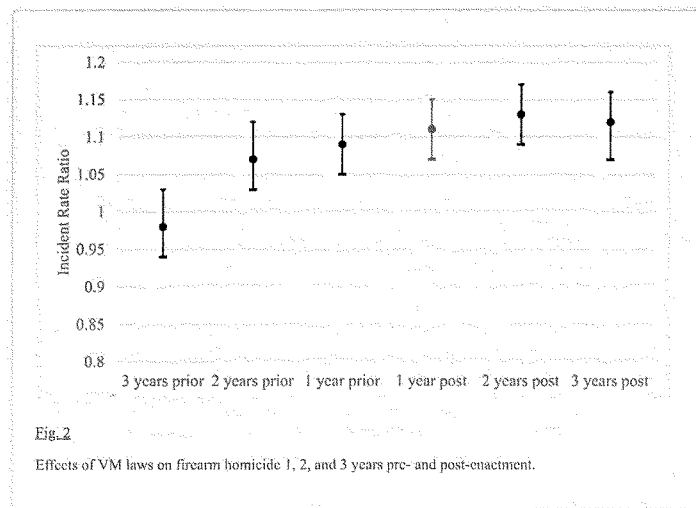
4. Figure 1 should be deleted and replaced with the corrected Fig. 1 below.

4/26/2019

Correction to: Association between Firearm Laws and Homicide in Urban Counties



5. Figure 2 should be deleted and replaced with the corrected Fig. 2 below.



6. Table 3 should be deleted and replaced with the corrected Table 3 below.

Table 3		
Effects of Firearm Laws on Non-Firearm Homicide in Large, Urban U.S. Counties, 1984–2015.		
	IRR ^a	95% CI ^b
Permit to Purchase	1.02	0.95–1.09
Comprehensive Background Check only	0.94	0.91–0.99
Right to Carry law	1.04	1.01–1.07
Stand Your Ground	1.01	0.98–1.05
Violent Misdemeanor prohibitions	1.04	1.00–1.08
County-level % Population African American Male Youth	1.53	1.48–1.59
County-level Poverty Rate	1.01	1.00–1.02
County-level Unemployment Rate	0.99	0.99–1.00
State-level Incarceration Rate	1.00	1.00–1.00
State-level Law Enforcement Expenditures	1.00	1.00–1.00

^aIncidence Rate Ratio

^b95% Confidence Interval

Note: The model also included year fixed effects

7. The last paragraph (presenting results of Table 3) should be deleted and replaced with the following: "Table 3 presents the effects of the same set of firearm policies on non-firearm homicide rates. PTP and SYG were not associated with statistically significant changes in non-firearm homicide. CBC-only laws were associated with a 6% decrease in non-firearm homicide (IRR = 0.94, 95% CI 0.91–0.98). RTC laws were associated with a 4% increase in non-firearm homicide (IRR = 1.04, 95% CI 1.01–1.07). When we included the proxy for county-level firearm ownership, there were negligible differences in the point estimates; however, the firearm ownership proxy itself was associated with a 17% reduction in non-firearm homicide (IRR = 0.83, 95% CI 0.73–0.93)."

DISCUSSION.

1. The second sentence of the third paragraph should be deleted and replaced with the following: "Counties in states with RTC laws experienced a 7% increase in firearm homicide relative to counties in states with more restrictions on the issuance of concealed carry weapons permits."
2. The second sentence of the fourth paragraph should be deleted and replaced with the following: "Counties in states with SYG laws experienced an 8% increase in firearm homicide."

Footnotes

The online version of the original article can be found at 10.1007/s11524-018-0273-3

4/26/2019

Correction to: Association between Firearm Laws and Homicide in Urban Counties

Articles from Journal of Urban Health : Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine are provided here
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Effects of the Repeal of Missouri's Handgun Purchaser Licensing Law on Homicides

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Abstract

In the USA, homicide is a leading cause of death for young males and a major cause of racial disparities in life expectancy for men. There are intense debate and little rigorous research on the effects of firearm sales regulation on homicides. This study estimates the impact of Missouri's 2007 repeal of its permit-to-purchase (PTP) handgun law on states' homicide rates and controls for changes in poverty, unemployment, crime, incarceration, policing levels, and other policies that could potentially affect homicides. Using death certificate data available through 2010, the repeal of Missouri's PTP law was associated with an increase in annual firearm homicides rates of 1.09 per 100,000 (+23 %) but was unrelated to changes in non-firearm homicide rates. Using Uniform Crime Reporting data from police through 2012, the law's repeal was associated with increased annual murders rates of 0.93 per 100,000 (+16 %). These estimated effects translate to increases of between 55 and 63 homicides per year in Missouri.

Electronic supplementary material

The online version of this article (doi:10.1007/s11524-014-9865-8) contains supplementary material, which is available to authorized users.

Keywords: firearm policy, firearm violence, gun policy, gun violence

Introduction

Homicide is the second leading cause of death for people aged 15–34 years in the USA and the leading cause of death for black males in this age group.¹ Homicide also accounts for 5 % of the Years of Potential Life Lost (YPLL) in the USA² and is the second leading cause of the racial disparity in life expectancy between black and white males.³ Two-thirds of all homicides in the USA are committed with firearms,¹ and the firearm homicide rate in the USA is 19.5 times higher than the average firearm homicide rate in other high-income countries.⁴

It has been argued that weaknesses in federal and state firearms laws contribute to the unusually high homicide rate in the USA, especially the lack of background checks or record-keeping requirements for private, unlicensed sellers of firearms.² Many perpetrators of homicide have backgrounds that would prohibit them from possessing firearms as a result of prior convictions for felony crimes⁶ or for misdemeanors involving domestic violence, being under a restraining order for domestic violence, young age, or other disqualifications.⁷ Federal law requires background checks and record keeping for sales by federally licensed firearms dealers but exempts these regulations when the firearm seller is unlicensed. Fifteen states require individuals purchasing handguns from unlicensed sellers to pass background checks, and eleven of these states require all handgun purchasers to acquire a permit-to-purchase (PTP) license.

PTP systems require prospective handgun purchasers to obtain a license verifying that they have passed a background check. All handgun sellers, both licensed dealers and private sellers, may only sell to those with a current PTP license. Most states with PTP handgun licensing require applicants to apply for the license directly at a law enforcement agency. In all other states, individuals wishing to purchase a handgun from a licensed dealer must complete a purchase application form. The dealer or dealer's employee submits the form to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) National Instant Check System (NICS) or, in some cases, to state police, to determine whether the applicant is prohibited from possessing firearms.

Prior research has shown that cities and states that require background checks and record keeping for handgun sales by unlicensed sellers and stricter PTP handgun licensing laws have lower levels of guns being diverted to criminals within a year of retail sale⁸ and fewer guns exported to criminals across state borders.⁹ A recent study found a cross-sectional association between states having PTP handgun licensing or other forms of universal background check requirements for gun sales and lower homicide rates.¹⁰

Missouri repealed its PTP handgun licensing law effective August 28, 2007. Missouri's law had been in place since 1921 and required all handgun purchasers to have a valid PTP license (good for 30 days) in order to lawfully purchase a handgun from any seller, licensed or unlicensed. Applicants applied in person at their local sheriff's office which facilitated the background check. Webster and colleagues⁸ reported that immediately following the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun law, there was a twofold increase in the percentage of guns that had unusually short intervals between the retail sale and the recovery by police, an indicator of firearm diversion or trafficking.^{11,12} The repeal also coincided with a sharp increase in the percentage of crime guns recovered by police in Missouri that had been originally sold by in-state retailers, from 56.4 % in 2006 to 71.8 % in 2012.¹³

This study examines the effects of the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun licensing law on homicide rates. Because this change eliminated mandatory background checks for handguns sold by unlicensed sellers, it is of particular relevance for debates in the US Congress and in several states about proposals to extend background check requirements to all firearm sales.

Methods

Design

The association between the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun licensing law on homicide rates was estimated using a quasi-experimental research design with annual, state-level homicide rates. Homicide rates were age adjusted and stratified by those committed with a firearm versus all other methods to discern the specificity of the effects of the policy change on firearm versus non-firearm homicides.

Data and Measures

We hypothesized that the policy change would affect homicide rates but only those committed with firearms. Thus, the primary outcome measure was state-level annual firearm homicide rates, derived from death certificate and census data, age adjusted (reference year 2000) in Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's (CDC) Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS) Fatal Injury Reports.¹⁴ Seven states (HI, ME, NH, ND, SD, VT, and WY) were dropped from the analyses because WISQARS suppressed the data for states and years for which there were very few firearm homicides to protect the anonymity of the data. Missouri's mean baseline rate of firearm homicides during the pre-repeal study years was approximately four to five times higher than was experienced in the seven dropped states, and none of the dropped states were geographically close to Missouri. Within Missouri, we also used county-level cause-of-death mortality data from CDC's Wide-ranging Online Data for Epidemiologic Research (WONDER) system¹⁵ to assess the degree to which state-wide changes in age-adjusted homicide rates differed across counties.

These data from CDC's WISQARS and WONDER systems have the advantage of complete, mandatory reporting of death certificate data and the ability to easily isolate homicides committed with firearms versus other methods. The disadvantage of these data is that they were only available through the end of 2010 at the time of this study. We also collected and analyzed state-level data on annual rates of murder and non-negligent manslaughter (which will capture virtually all homicides) from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) system. UCR data provided two additional years of post-PTP-law-repeal data; however, the FBI has to interpolate some data for states and years, when there is incomplete reporting from local law enforcement agencies, and rates are not age adjusted.

Although data from prior years are available, we chose 1999 as the beginning of our study period because the period 1999–2012 has been the most stable period for homicide trends in many decades. Periods of dramatic change, especially if the underlying causes for those changes cannot be easily modeled, are vulnerable to omitted variable bias in estimates of policy impact.¹⁶

Regression analyses are used to estimate policy change effects and controlled for changes in rates of unemployment, poverty, incarceration, burglary, law enforcement officers per capita, and the presence of four other types of state laws potentially most directly relevant to lethal violence for which there was significant change during the study period. These laws included so-called Stand Your Ground (SYG) laws, which give individuals an expanded right to use deadly force in potentially dangerous encounters with no duty to retreat, right-to-carry (RTC) laws which require law enforcement agencies to issue permits to carry concealed firearms to all legally qualified applicants, bans of unsafe handguns including so-called Saturday Night Specials, and firearm prohibitions for young adults resulting from convictions for serious crimes adjudicated in juvenile courts. SYG laws have been enacted in many states in recent years, including in Missouri in 2007. Prior research indicated that these laws may increase homicides.¹⁷ Early research suggested that RTC laws may reduce homicides,¹⁸ but the most rigorous studies show no evidence that RTC laws affect homicide rates.^{19,20} Maryland's adoption of a SNS ban was associated with a reduction in firearm homicide rates,²¹ but this policy has not been rigorously studied in other states nor has firearm prohibitions stemming from serious juvenile offenses.

Average annual unemployment rates (per 100 population 16 years of age and older) were obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.²² Poverty rates (per 100 population) were obtained from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey.²³ Burglary rates (per 100,000 population)—an indicator of crime rates that should not be directly affected by gun laws—and the rates of law enforcement officers (per 100,000 population) were drawn from the FBI's UCR program.²⁴ Incarceration rates (per 100,000 population) are from the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics.²⁵ The repeal of Missouri's PTP

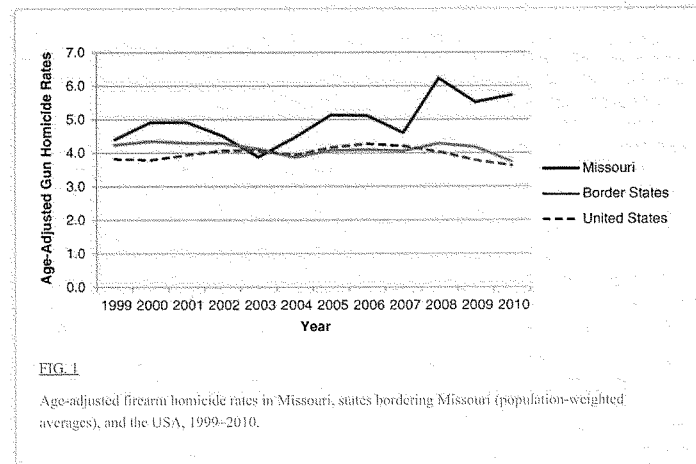
handgun licensing law was measured as the proportion of days in a year when the state had no PTP handgun law, i.e., 0 for the years the PTP law was in place (1999–2006), 0.263 in 2007, and 1 for 2008–2012.

Analytic Methods

Pre-repeal versus post-repeal differences in mean age-adjusted homicide rates were tested for statistical significance using t-tests. To estimate the independent association between the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun licensing law and age-adjusted homicide rates, we used generalized least squares regression models. The models included state- and year-fixed effects to control for baseline differences in states' homicide rates and yearly fluctuations that occurred nationally as well as changes in the covariates described above. Standard errors for model coefficients were adjusted to account for clustering by state and for heteroskedasticity using the Eikert–Huber–White adjustment.²⁶ Analyses were conducted using Stata IC v 11.0.²⁷

Results

From 1999 to 2007, Missouri's firearm homicide rate was relatively stable, fluctuating around a mean of 4.66 per 100,000 population per year (Fig. 1). In 2008, at the first full year after the permit-to-purchase licensing law was repealed, the firearm homicide rate in Missouri increased sharply to 6.23 per 100,000, a 34 % increase from the baseline mean. For the post-repeal period of 2008–2010, the mean annual firearm homicide rate was 5.82, 24.9 % higher than the pre-repeal mean ($t = 4.38$, $df = 10$, $p = .001$). Within Missouri, firearm homicide rates per 100,000 increased sharply between the pre- and post-repeal periods in each of the three large central metro counties/jurisdictions—by 30 % in Jackson County (11.2 to 14.7), 47 % in St. Louis County (5.0 to 7.4), 27 % in St. Louis City (21.7 to 27.5), and 34 % overall in the nine Missouri counties designated as large metropolitan fringe counties (3.1 to 4.2).



This sharp increase in firearm homicide rates in Missouri beginning in 2008 was out of sync with changes during that period nationally and in states bordering Missouri (Table 1). The mean age-adjusted firearm homicide rate in the USA declined 5.5 % from 4.03 per 100,000 during 1999–2007 to 3.81 for 2008–2010. The population-weighted mean firearm homicide rates across the eight states bordering Missouri changed little between these two time periods (4.15 to 4.06, –2.2 %; $p = .480$, Fig. 1), and there were no statistically significant changes in any specific state that bordered Missouri.

TABLE 1

Mean firearm homicide rates before (1999–2007) and after Missouri repealed its permit-to-purchase handgun licensing requirement for handgun sales by licensed and unlicensed sellers (2008–2010)

	Mean before Missouri's PTP handgun law repealed 1999–2007	Mean after Missouri's PTP handgun law repealed 2008–2010	% Change	Probability 2 means are equal
Missouri	4.67	5.82	+24.9	.001
Population-weighted mean for states bordering Missouri	4.15	4.06	–2.2	.480
Arkansas	5.12	5.23	+2.1	.691
Illinois	5.10	4.77	–6.6	.335
Iowa	0.93	1.00	+7.8	.627
Kansas	3.95	3.85	–3.4	.757
Kentucky	3.26	3.29	+1.0	.898
Nebraska	1.75	2.28	+30.0	.096
Oklahoma	3.80	3.93	+3.5	.618
Tennessee	5.42	5.23	–3.5	.553

Controlling only for baseline differences across states and year effects nationally (model 1, Table 2), the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun licensing law was associated with an increase in firearm homicide rates of 1.32 per 100,000 ($p < .001$), a 29.4 % increase above rates projected without the repeal. After controlling for changes in rates of unemployment, poverty, burglary, incarceration, and law enforcement officers along with other state laws, the estimated increase in annual firearm homicide rates associated with the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun law was 1.09 per 100,000 population per year ($p < .001$; 95 % confidence interval (CI) 0.81 to 1.38), a 23 % increase.

TABLE 2

Estimates of effect of the repeal of Missouri's permit-to-purchase handgun law from generalized least squares regression models on states' age-adjusted firearm, non-firearm, and all-cause homicide rates, 1999–2010, and murder and non-negligent manslaughter rates, 1999–2012

Outcome variable	β	Robust S.E.	P value	95 % CI for β
Firearm homicide rates, 1999–2010 R^2 within = .208, R^2 overall = .948	1.09	0.14	<.001	0.81 to 1.38
Non-firearm homicide rates, 1999–2010 R^2 within = .162, R^2 overall = .583	−0.08	0.10	.446	−0.28 to 0.12
Total homicide rates, 1999–2010 R^2 within = .177, R^2 overall = .943	1.00	0.18	<.001	0.66 to 1.35
Murder and non-negligent manslaughter rates, 1999–2012 R^2 within = .183, R^2 overall = .908	0.93	0.23	<.001	0.48 to 1.38

All models controlled for rates of unemployment, poverty, burglary, incarceration, law enforcement officers, "Stand Your Ground" laws, right-to-carry laws, bans of Saturday night special (junk) handguns, and firearm prohibitions of young adults with prior serious criminal offenses adjudicated in juvenile courts. Estimates for each of these covariates can be found in the [Supplemental Tables](#).

The increase in homicide rates following the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun licensing law occurred only for homicides committed with firearms. Following similar trends nationally, Missouri's age-adjusted rate of non-firearm homicides declined from a pre-repeal (1999 to 2007) mean of 2.19 to a post-repeal (2008 to 2010) mean of 1.88 (−14 %). Regression analyses indicated that Missouri's repeal of its PTP handgun law was associated with no change in the age-adjusted non-firearm homicide rate ($\beta = -0.077$, $p = .446$) and an increase in annual homicide rates for all methods of 1.00 per 100,000 (Table 2, $p < .001$, 95 % CI 0.66 to 1.35).

Using UCR data from police reports for 1999–2012, the difference in the annual murder rate in Missouri minus that of the U.S. as a whole grew from 0.60 per 100,000 population during the pre-PTP-repeal period to 1.82 during the 5 years after the repeal of the PTP law (data not shown, $t=4.12$, $df=12$, $p<.001$). A model which only controlled for state- and year-fixed effects estimated a 1.34 increase in annual murder rates associated with the repeal of the PTP handgun law ($\beta = 1.34$, $p = .001$, 95 % CI 0.58 to 2.11); however, the estimated effect of the policy change was reduced to an increase of 0.93 murders per 100,000 population per year after all covariates were included in the model (Table 2, $\beta = 0.93$, $p < .001$, 95 % CI 0.48 to 1.38), a 16 % increase relative to the counterfactual.

Firearm homicide, total homicide, and murder rates were positively associated with burglary rates and negatively associated with poverty rates. New unsafe handgun bans adopted in California and Massachusetts were associated with an increase in total homicide rates ($\beta = 0.46$, $p = .008$, 95 % CI 0.12 to 0.80). No other covariate reached statistical significance at the .05 level ([Supplemental Tables](#)).

Discussion

This study provides compelling evidence that the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun licensing law, which required all handgun purchasers to pass a background check even for purchases from private sellers, contributed to a sharp increase in Missouri's homicide rate. Our estimates suggest that the law was associated with an additional 55 to 63 murders per year in Missouri between 2008 and 2012 than would have been forecasted had the PTP handgun law not been repealed.

Our analyses ruled out several alternative hypotheses to explain the relatively large and highly statistically significant increase in firearm homicides in Missouri following the repeal of its PTP handgun licensing law. We controlled for changes in unemployment, poverty, policing levels, incarceration rates, trends in crime reflected in burglary rates, national trends in homicide rates, and several kinds of other laws that could affect homicides. That Missouri's sharp increase in firearm homicides was unique within the region, specific to firearms, and was observed in metropolitan jurisdictions across Missouri suggests that unmeasured unique local circumstances (e.g., gang activity and changes in social norms) are unlikely to have biased our estimates of the impact of the policy change. Estimates of the effects of the repeal of Missouri's PTP handgun law were similar for firearm homicides and total homicides using death certificate data for 43 states through 2010, and for murders and non-negligent manslaughters using police reports for all 50 states through 2012. This suggests that the data source and time period studied are unlikely to have biased the findings.

Causal inferences from quasi-experimental studies can be strengthened with empirical evidence supporting the proposed causal chain between the intervention, mediators, and the outcomes under study. Handgun purchaser licensing and universal background checks are hypothesized to affect homicide rates by reducing gun diversions to criminals and other prohibited groups. The evidence that Missouri's increase in firearm homicides was fueled by the state's repeal of its PTP law is bolstered by data indicating that the repeal was immediately followed by a twofold increase in the percentage of crime guns that were recovered by police soon after the guns' retail sales and an unusually large increase in the percentage of Missouri's crime guns that had been purchased from Missouri gun dealers.² These findings are consistent with prior research showing that states that regulated handgun sales by unlicensed sellers had fewer guns diverted to criminals shortly after in-state retail sales,⁸ and that states with the most comprehensive handgun sales laws including PTP licensing requiring direct interface with law enforcement have proportionately fewer guns used in crime that were originally sold by in-state retailers.^{28,29} Having a large percentage of crime guns that originate from out-of-state sales, as was the case in Missouri prior to the repeal of its PTP law, is indicative of a restricted supply of guns available to criminals from in-state sources. Restrictions from local suppliers increase prices in the underground gun market and attract suppliers from states with fewer legal impediments to gun diversion.^{30,31}

The weakening of Missouri's gun laws may have also contributed to gun trafficking to border states that regulate handgun sales by all sellers via PTP licensing. The number of guns sold in Missouri and later recovered by police in Illinois and Iowa, two border states with handgun purchaser licensing laws, increased 37 % (from 133 to 182) from 2006 (just before Missouri's PTP law was repealed) to 2012 when the overall number of crime guns recovered by police in those states actually declined by 6 %.¹²

A potential threat to the validity of our estimate of the impact of the repeal of Missouri's PTP law is confounding by the simultaneous adoption of a Stand Your Ground law in Missouri. Controlling for the effects of SYG laws across all states, our estimate of the effect of the repeal of Missouri's PTP law on homicide rates declined slightly but was still substantial and statistically significant at $p < .001$. A separate analysis of justifiable homicide data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports revealed that there were approximately three additional justifiable homicides per year in Missouri following the adoption of the state's Stand Your Ground law above pre-SYG-law levels—less than 1 % of the total number of gun homicides during 2008–2010.

Critics could question the use of a relatively short pre-repeal baseline period used for this study. Using more longitudinal observations can potentially produce more accurate forecasts of the counterfactual in interrupted time-series impact studies. However, the period from 1985 to 1998 included dramatic increases and decreases in US homicide rates. Experts believe that these changes were driven by factors that could not be directly measured (e.g., dynamics of the crack cocaine market, and changes in social norms)²² and thus controlled statistically and that these unmeasured forces appear to have been uneven across states.¹⁹ Such conditions pose considerable challenges for deriving unbiased estimates of policy impacts. By limiting the analyses to the relatively stable period of 1999–2012, we minimized the potential for omitted variable bias that would have likely been introduced by including data from this earlier time period.

The generalizability of our findings to other states with PTP handgun laws is unknown. Data from a recent cross-sectional study indicated that PTP licensing laws and universal background check requirements were associated with lower homicide rates after controlling for other population risk factors;² however, the lack of longitudinal data weakens causal inference from that study. We caution, however, that passage of a PTP handgun licensing law with mandatory background checks and record keeping for all handgun sales may not result in as immediate and large a reduction in firearm homicides as occurred in reverse when Missouri's law was repealed. Although our findings indicate that Missouri benefited from the protective effects of its PTP law before the law's repeal, the beneficial effects of new laws of this type may be more gradual as enforcement practices are put in place, awareness of the law increases, and the stock of guns available in the underground market is depleted. Additional methodologically rigorous research of the impact of other laws of this type is warranted.

Electronic supplementary material

[ESM 1](#) (15K, docx)

(DOCX 15 kb)

[ESM 2](#) (17K, docx)

(DOCX 17 kb)

Acknowledgments

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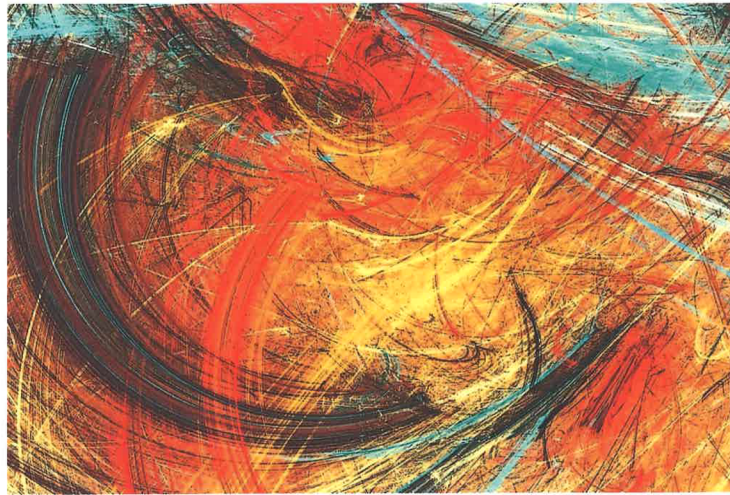
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Restrictive State Firearm Laws Correlate to Fewer Firearm Homicides, Suicides

 news.weill.cornell.edu/news/2018/03/restrictive-state-firearm-laws-correlate-to-fewer-firearm-homicides-suicides



Strengthening state laws regulating firearms could help reduce the rates of both suicide and homicide, and the benefits could extend across state lines, a new study from an investigator at NewYork-Presbyterian/Weill Cornell Medical Center and Weill Cornell Medicine suggests.

For the study, published March 5 in *JAMA Internal Medicine*, the investigators analyzed county-level data to determine whether state firearm laws have interstate spillover effects on firearm-related homicides and suicides. They found that counties located in states with restrictive firearm laws had lower rates of homicide and suicide caused by firearms, as well as lower rates of overall suicide, regardless of neighboring states' laws. Counties located in states with lenient policies had higher firearm death rates, with rates declining if those counties were located in close proximity to states with tougher laws.

"We know that most firearm policies in the United States are made at the state level, but states do not exist in a vacuum," said lead author Dr. Elinore Kaufman, a resident in the Department of Surgery at NewYork-Presbyterian/Weill Cornell and Weill Cornell Medicine, who collaborated with investigators from the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University on the study. "It's easy

for firearms, as with any good, to move across state lines. We wanted to explore the relationship between firearm laws and firearm deaths, and what we found was that counties in states that had weak laws might actually be protected by surrounding states with strong laws. It's really encouraging that a policy in one state could have beneficial effects on neighboring states."

Investigators examined U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention data on firearm deaths that occurred in 3,108 U.S. counties in the contiguous 48 states from January 2010 to December 2014. They gave each county two scores: a state policy score based on the strength of its firearm laws and an interstate policy score, in which a higher score indicated stricter laws in nearby states. They then divided counties into groups based upon scores in both categories, comparing them against the state's rates of homicides and suicides caused by firearms, as well as those caused by other means.

They found a correlation between the strength of a state's firearm laws and the rates of homicides and suicides caused by guns. Importantly, states with restrictive policies had fewer suicides caused by guns and fewer suicides overall.

"Suicides account for two-thirds of firearm deaths but don't get enough attention," Dr. Kaufman said. "The public health importance of firearm injuries and death cannot be overstated."

RICHARD J. BONNIE AND JEFFREY W. SWANSON

Editor's Note:

Richard Bonnie is Harrison Foundation Professor of Medicine and Law and director of the Institute of Law, Psychiatry and Public Policy at the University of Virginia; [Jeffrey Swanson](#) is a Professor in Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at Duke.

In the outrage over yet another tragic school shooting, most lawmakers continue to offer divisive policy choices: either curtail access to firearms or allow more guns in more places. We believe a new policy called “risk warrants” could help break through this political paralysis.

Nearly everyone, including President Donald Trump and the NRA, seems to agree that people at genuine risk of harming themselves or others should not have guns. Background checks alone will never fix this problem, because background checks catch only a fraction of the people who truly pose a risk. That’s why bipartisan support is growing for laws authorizing judges to issue “risk warrants” — also called “gun violence restraining orders” or “extreme risk protective orders” — that temporarily remove firearms from those at risk of harming someone.

In gun policy debates, risky people who should not possess guns are often called “the mentally ill.” This phrase — used by all sides -- is highly misleading, however. Forty million Americans have diagnosable mental health conditions yet pose no danger to anyone. Disqualifying all those people from gun ownership would be ineffective, unfair and stigmatizing. It would also exclude large numbers of people who are not mentally ill, but who do pose a danger.

“A recent study evaluating Connecticut’s law analyzed suicide mortality between 1999 and 2013. The researchers estimated that for every 10 to 20 risk warrants issued, one life was saved by averting a suicide.”

Most mass shooters have no histories of treatment for mental illness. However, many have exhibited extreme anger, loss of control and other behaviors that worried their families, co-workers, teachers or neighbors. We need laws allowing citizens to bring concerns about a person’s dangerous behaviors to the attention of law enforcement, who can then seek a judicial order temporarily restricting the person’s access to firearms. Such laws allow orders to be issued when evidence shows a person is suicidal or has exhibited alarming behavior, signaling they are likely to hurt someone else.

Five states — Connecticut, Indiana, California, Washington and Oregon — have enacted laws authorizing such pre-emptive, risk-based, time-limited gun removal orders. These civil orders neither require, nor produce, a criminal record. They simply give police officers clear legal authority to search for and remove firearms when the officer has probable cause to believe someone poses

an imminent risk of injuring someone. Typically, a judge issues a risk warrant for immediate gun removal in such cases. Then, within two weeks, a court hearing takes place at which the state must show clear and convincing evidence that the person continues to pose a significant public safety risk. If the state meets this burden, it may retain the firearms for up to one year. These procedures fully respect the Second Amendment and the requirements of “due process.”

A recent [study](#) evaluating Connecticut’s law analyzed suicide mortality between 1999 and 2013. The researchers estimated that for every 10 to 20 risk warrants issued, one life was saved by averting a suicide. Risk protection order laws can be fairly administered and will save lives. Recent national polling shows these types of laws are supported by about two out of three gun owners and three out of four non-gun-owners. And national and state lawmakers increasingly appear ready to sign on to risk-based, time-limited gun removal as a concept. It is heartening that this approach has finally become part of the national conversation.

States are best suited to enact and carry out such laws, using state courts to issue risk warrants and local police to serve them. Congress should create incentives for more states to do so, however. The federal government should also bar people who are subject to risk protection orders from purchasing guns under the national instant background check system.

With about 100 people dying from gunfire in the United States every day, finding common ground on gun policy has become a moral imperative. Risk warrant laws are an important piece in the puzzle of gun violence prevention.

This article originally appeared in the [Richmond Times-Dispatch](#), and the [Charleston Post-Dispatch](#)

Mr. LIEU. I do note that some of these studies do mention suicide. If you look at the overwhelming number of gun deaths, they occur because of suicide. Three in 5 gun deaths are a result of suicide. My first question is to Dr. Sakran. I want to see if you had any ideas or solutions how we can better address the number of people killed by suicide by gun.

Dr. SAKRAN. Yeah, so thank you for that question. When you look at suicides, and it is important when we are looking at deaths in general to really break up these different populations because actually suicide deaths are primarily an older White male. In this population specifically, there is an association from a mental health perspective.

So, some of the stuff that we are hearing about access to mental health is absolutely correct and it is true. The way we must approach this and think about this is from a systems perspective, and we can't just have one necessary solution. So, another aspect is the extreme risk protection order policies that we have been talking about, enabling families and law enforcement to actually be proactive in preventing these from happening.

Mr. LIEU. Thank you. Ms. Thomas, do you think extreme risk laws would help prevent suicides?

Ms. THOMAS. Absolutely. Extreme risk protective orders are intended to be used by law enforcement and family Members. Very often family Members have warning signs and indicators that a loved one is showing signs of distress or crisis, and they know often when their loved ones have guns. So being able to utilize that process to protect their loved ones from causing harm to themselves is an incredibly valuable tool for preventing suicides along with things like safe storage laws.

Mr. LIEU. Thank you. Let me conclude by noting that earlier in testimony, one of the Republican witnesses, Professor Malcolm, had stated that had shooter Cruz in Parkland been put on a background list, he would not have passed the background check and would not have gotten a gun. So, please, you acknowledge that the background system could have prevented him from getting a gun. I know that it wasn't quite accurate because Cruz could have walked into a gun show and gotten a gun.

That is what H.R. 8 will do. It will prevent people from doing that, so I look forward to your support of H.R. 8. With that, I yield back.

Chair NADLER. I thank the gentleman. Ms. Demmings of Florida is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. DEMMINGS. Thank you so much, Mr. Chair. To all of our witnesses, thank you so much for being here with us. I know it has been a long, long day. To the advocates and survivors and supporters in the audience, too, we appreciate you being here to hold us accountable.

This is a tough subject for, well, most people in the room. I spent 27 years as a law enforcement officer, and I served as the chief of police in Orlando. I have got to tell you, I am sick and tired of watching sons and daughters, and husbands and wives, and mothers and fathers die through gun violence by someone with a gun who should have never had a gun in their possession in the first place.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle can't tell me a dog-gone thing about rights because, you know what? I can't help but think about the rights of the victims who died at the hands of someone with a gun who should have never had a gun in the first place. My goodness, in a country that we say is the greatest country in the world, we are 25 times more likely to be killed through gun violence. In a country that we say is the greatest country in the world, my God, you ought to be able to go to a school, church, synagogue, concert, movie theater, and nightclub, not just in Orlando, but in any city in this country, and not have to worry about somebody walking in with a gun.

Ronald Reagan, Republican President, said, "Legislation would be worth passing if it meant even small reductions in gun violence." Which life, tell me which life, if it saves one life. Which life is not worth saving? Which life? So, I am sick and tired of sitting here. I thank God that we are at least having a hearing because we haven't had one in 8 years, and there has been a lot of talk about national emergencies, crises, and national health emergencies. Well, doggone it, when mass numbers of people die in this country, I would consider that, doggonit, a national emergency.

It is time. In Congress, we sit here with the ability and the power to do something, and history will not be kind to us if we continue to allow the gun lobby to buy us and sell us. Now is the time for change. If you don't have the guts or the courage to do something about this issue and send a message to the American people, who desperately turn to us, then it is time for you to leave.

[Disturbance in the hearing room.]

Ms. DEMMINGS. It is really time for you to leave. I want to talk to my law enforcement colleagues—I still consider you colleagues—and to the emergency room doctor. You deal with this every day. You have not only had to break bad news to families whose loved ones weren't out doing the wrong thing. They were in the right place, a place they had the right to be, doing the right thing. Not only have you had to break that bad news, but you have also had to bury your own because they died as a result of someone who shouldn't have had a gun in the first place.

I talked to an emergency room doctor after Pulse who shared to me the difference in the persons, the victims who were shot with an assault rifle versus those with a handgun. Chances of survival are almost zero when you are shot with an assault rifle. So, please, in the little time we have left, Major and Chief, if you would please just talk about gun violence in your community and why this issue is so important to you, and then we will end with the doctor.

Chief ACEVEDO. Thank you for those comments. They are just really well taken. I just wanted to say really quickly, it is a scourge. It is ongoing. It is daily. In our city, one of the problems we are having now is the Department of Justice legal team decided that fugitives can't be in the system. So, we have 500,000 people that we know are wanted for a serious crime that would make them prohibited purchasers, and let me give you the example of how that can get women killed.

My people go to a house. They find a woman that has been abused. The perpetrator of the crime is not there. We go out. We get a warrant, and if we can't enter that person into the system,

that individual can go out, buy a firearm, come back, and finish the job. So, there are a lot of loopholes that you are addressing. I just want to tell you all, thank you for courage and thank you for speaking out. Again, I love prayers. I welcome prayers. Like I have said before, my mayor has me in my job to fight crime, and I think the American people have elected you not to just pray, but to actually lead and pass legislation that will save lives.

Ms. DEMMINGS. Thank you.

Major TAPP-HARPER. Yes, ma'am, thank you. I just wanted to mention really quick, I have 13 deputies in my unit. In 2015, they recovered 65 guns; 2016, 67 guns; 2017, 51 guns; and 2018, 81 guns. So, I find that these numbers continue to increase, and I just try to keep them encouraged, 13 people serving protective orders.

Ms. DEMMINGS. Thank you.

Chair NADLER. Thank you. This concludes today's hearing. I want to thank our distinguished witnesses for attending. I want to thank the Members of the audience for, for the most part, observing the decorum of the Committee on a very emotional issue.

Without objection, all Members will have 5 legislative days to submit additional written questions for the witnesses or additional materials for the record.

Chair NADLER. With that, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:38 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

FOR THE RECORD

STATEMENT OF WHIP STEVE SCALISE

My name is Steve Scalise. I am the Congressman for Louisiana's 1st District. I am the Republican Whip. I am also a target of gun violence.

Many of you may be familiar with the events of June 14, 2017. Around 7:00 a.m., at the last morning practice before the annual Congressional Baseball Game for Charity, an Illinois man named James Hodgkinson opened fire on myself and a group of Republican legislators and volunteers on an Alexandria, VA baseball field. Fortunately, as a member of House leadership, I was accompanied by my Capitol Police security detail who were able to return fire and engage the shooter until additional law enforcement officers arrived and ultimately took down the shooter. I was shot and nearly fatally wounded, and both of my detail agents were shot as well. I am alive today thanks to the bravery of U.S. Capitol Police and the Alexandria Police, heroes like Congressman Brad Wenstrup and the first responders who rushed to the scene, the incredible medical team at Washington MedStar Hospital Center, and most importantly the grace of God.

I applaud the intentions behind this hearing and believe we are all pursuing the same goal of reducing gun violence. As someone who experienced gun violence, I do not want anyone else to go through that trauma. However, it is also important to me that we be honest with ourselves and the American people about what will—or won't—actually prevent these tragedies. The shooter who targeted me that morning was aimed with an SKS rifle and a 9mm Smith & Wesson handgun, both of which were purchased in compliance with Illinois gun laws.

The new gun control restrictions currently being considered by the Democratic majority in H.R. 8 would not have prevented my shooting.

In fact, these new gun control measures being proposed in H.R. 8 would not have prevented any number of recent mass violence events. Several perpetrators of recent multi-victim shootings also purchased their guns legally. In some instances, the background check system failed, and lack of intervention from law enforcement failed to intercept potential threats.

I want to stress that the man who shot me was issued a permit to purchase firearms by the State of Illinois, and had acquired them legally. At Virginia Tech, Charleston, and Sutherland Springs failures in the background check system allowed individuals to illegally obtain the firearms they used to commit their crimes. The alleged loopholes that H.R. 8 claims to fix would not have prevented these tragedies either.

Instead, whether intentionally or not, the gun control proposals in H.R. 8 could turn law-abiding citizens into criminals while also failing to achieve the stated purpose of reducing gun violence.

A recent study by the Violence Prevention Research Program at UC-Davis and Johns Hopkins University into California's effort to implement "comprehensive background checks" found that, "The simultaneous implementation of [the Comprehensive Background Check policy] and [prohibitions on firearm purchase and possession for persons convicted within the past 10 years of certain violent crimes classified as misdemeanors] was not associated with a net change in the firearm homicide rate over the ensuing 10 years in California." Even though California implemented more stringent background checks, this study shows that these measures did not reduce gun violence.

In fact, most criminals obtain firearms through unlawful means—whether through theft, straw purchases, or lying on the required paperwork. A DOJ study of federal inmates found that only 7% who possessed a firearm while committing the crime they were serving time for purchased it legally from a firearms dealer under their own name. Based on similar gun control measures in states like California, H.R. 8 would not deter a criminal from engaging in criminal activity, and it won't decrease gun crime. Instead, it only succeeds in limiting the ways that law-abiding citizens could exercise their Second amendment rights.

Every single month in America, law-abiding citizens with concealed carry permits defend themselves and others against criminals who have guns. For example, on January 8th, a man approached a 25-year old woman in Chicago, displayed a weapon, and attempted to rob her at a bus stop. The woman had a concealed carry permit. She drew her own weapon and fired a shot, killing the armed robber. The owner of a nearby pharmacy said such violence happens "all over" Chicago. However, in this case, the intended victim was able to defend herself with her own gun.

On January 2nd a Good Samaritan in California with a concealed carry permit used his firearm to stop an attempted stabbing of a security guard and held the perpetrator until law enforcement could arrive at the scene.

On January 17th, a man at an IHOP in Alabama opened fire on employees, killing one before another employee pulled his handgun and killed the shooter in self-defense.

On January 29th, an armed robber held up a Family Dollar Store in Georgia. A customer was able to use a personal firearm to shoot and kill the robber before the criminal could hurt any of the many employees or customers in the store.

These are just some examples from the last month alone. There are hundreds of stories like these every single year from law-abiding Americans all over the country.

I am alive due to the effective and immediate response of my Capitol Police detail, and the Alexandria Police Department. Most victims of gun violence do not have law enforcement already on the scene to respond to a violent gunman. Instead of making it harder for citizens to defend themselves until law enforcement arrives, Congress should consider legislation like H.R. 38, the Concealed Carry Reciprocity Act, a bill that would help law-abiding citizens have the same tools to defend themselves as a criminal has of trying to inflict harm, regardless of where they travel.

I firmly believe we must never forget, nor minimize, the importance of the Second amendment to our Constitution.

H.R. 8, as well as other new gun control legislation currently being considered by the House Democrat majority do not accomplish the goal of reducing gun violence.

If our goal is to reduce gun violence, then we should focus on penalizing criminals, not law-abiding citizens.

Thank you.

Congresswoman Demings,

I would first like to thank you, genuinely, for your service as Orlando Police Chief. Law enforcement can be a thankless job, and I hope you know I truly appreciate the sacrifices you and your family have made. You made history in Orlando, and I admire your bravery.

I also want to talk to you about a comment you made during the gun violence hearing I testified at on February 6, 2019.

I told you my story. You know that I am a sexual assault survivor and a gun owner.

I agree completely that I shouldn't have to carry a gun. I can assure you as a 24-year-old college student there are many things I'd rather spend my money on than ammunition and trips to the local range for target practice. I'd rather spend that money on textbooks, the ridiculous cost of college tuition, or the occasional trip to the nail salon, but here I am.

As I sit here and write you this letter, my firearm sits next to me on my nightstand. Yes, it's loaded, but I take extensive precautions to ensure my firearms will never be used to harm another individual, unless it's in self-defense.

Ms. Demings, during the hearing you said it's time for those without the "guts or the courage to do something" to leave.

I was taken aback by your comments. It hurts me to know you think that because I don't come to the same conclusion as you, I have no courage. However, if you feel the need to minimize the trauma I've experienced I certainly can't stop you. As I'm sure you can imagine, telling the entire world about the worst thing that's ever happened to you can be emotionally draining. Especially when testifying in a room compiled of people who wholeheartedly disagree with everything you say. And I know it took courage to testify because I was drawing on every ounce I had in the hearing.

You say that those who will not "do something" (which I take to mean support H.R. 8) have no courage. My friend, Shayna Lopez-Rivas, was [raped at knife-point](#) while a student at Florida State University. Her assault shifted her entire view of guns and the right to self-defense. She now passionately and articulately [advocates against](#) gun-control measures like H.R. 8. Would you say she lacks "guts" or "courage"?

I would hope you find her assault as horrific as I do and that you value the bravery she shows when publicly discussing what was the worst thing that's ever happened to her. Sure, Shayna, like myself, came to conclusions you dislike after we were raped, but I would like to think basic human decency would allow you to see past politics to our common humanity. But then again, you said your colleagues on the "other side of the aisle" can't "tell [you] a dang gone thing about rights."

Violence is an issue in this country but the only way we are going to solve it is by getting down to its' root causes. We need to look at the "whys" of violence, not the means in which violence is enacted (gun, knife, bomb, etc.) otherwise we are always going to face this issue.

I want children to be able to go to school without the fear that someone will hurt them and their classmates. I want young women to be able to attend college without fear that they will be part of the [23.1% of females undergraduates](#) statistic that become victims of sexual assault.

You asked which life isn't worth saving and I'd have to ask you the same thing. Should I be left defenseless? Is my well-being not worthy of defense? Should I not be able to choose how I empower and protect myself?

What about the life of Ben Goesser? Ben was killed in a restaurant by his wife's stalker. Nikki Goesser, his wife, got her concealed carry permit exactly a year before her husband was murdered. But she left her gun in the car the night of the assault because Nikki was, and still is, a law-abiding citizen and firearms were banned in restaurants that served alcohol, even if you weren't drinking. She had to watch helplessly as her stalker murdered her husband, knowing her only means of defense was locked outside. The disgusting truth is, Nikki obeyed the law and it ended in the [death of her soulmate](#).

I don't know if you ever come down to the Hampton Roads, Virginia area, but if you're ever in town I'd like to meet you and have an open, honest discussion on guns and violence.

I'd also like to take you to my local gun range - the same range my beloved Poppop took me to when I was 10 years old, if you're comfortable with that. I'd like to teach you basic gun safety and would love for you to meet my liberal grandma who disagrees with me on all kinds of things, but wholeheartedly supports my advocacy.

I want you to see that there are real people on the "other side of the aisle". I'm not advocating for gun rights because I lack guts or courage. I'm doing this because I believe with my entire being that carrying a gun is the most reliable means of self-defense for me. We both want the same thing--safety--we just disagree on what will get us to the desired end goal of less violence.

And I'll be frank with you, Mrs. Demings--I don't want to be a victim again.

Sincerely,

Savannah Lindquist



**Statement for the Record from Amnesty International USA
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Preventing Gun Violence: A Call to Action**

February 12, 2019

The Honorable Jerry Nadler
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
2138 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Doug Collins
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary
2138 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Nadler, Ranking Member Collins and Members of the Committee:

Amnesty International USA ("AIUSA") respectfully submits this statement for the record in connection with the above-referenced hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary. We respectfully request that this statement be included as part of the official hearing record.

On behalf of AIUSA's more than one million members and supporters nationwide, we strongly urge you and your Members to take action to address gun violence in the United States and to **support** the Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 (H.R. 8). If passed, this bill would require background checks prior to the purchase of all firearms in the U.S. The proposed legislation would be the first step in preventing guns from ending up in the hands of individuals likely to misuse them.

Even if we can't stop all gun violence, there are basic steps we can take to make a difference. Universal background checks would close deadly loopholes, preventing threats to public safety and ensuring that guns do not fall into dangerous hands. Safeguards intended to shield the public against potential harm or deadly force by private individuals are critical to protecting universally recognized human rights—including the right to life, the right to security of person, and the right to be free from discrimination—all of which fall within the United States' obligations under international law.

I. Gun Violence in the U.S.: Facts and Figures

Gun violence in the United States is a human rights crisis. In 2016, an average of 106 individuals died *per day* from firearm related deaths. Per capita, this is significantly higher than in other industrialized countries. In fact, the U.S. has both the highest absolute and highest per capita rates of gun ownership in the world, yet the U.S. does not sufficiently restrict access to firearms for those most at risk of abusing them. There is no uniform system to track firearm owners. The U.S. has not taken effective steps to implement violence reduction, prevention or protection measures where gun violence persists and has not adequately addressed firearm violence as a



public health issue, failing to invest in research on the impact of firearms in the U.S. to inform effective policy solutions. The right to live free from violence, discrimination and fear has been superseded by a sense of entitlement to own a practically unlimited array of deadly weapons, without sufficient regulations on their acquisition, possession and use. In the face of clear evidence of persistent firearm violence, high rates of gun ownership, and ease of access to firearms by individuals likely to misuse them, the United States is failing to meet its obligation to respect, protect and fulfill human rights pursuant to international law.

The sheer volume of people killed or injured each year in the U.S. by gun violence is staggering. In 2016, 38,658 people died by gun violence. More than 116,000 additional people suffered non-fatal firearm injuries. Gun violence in the United States affects people nationwide whether they live in a city, suburb, or rural community, but often in dissimilar and disparate ways. Firearm homicides disproportionately impact communities of color and data suggests that the rate of gun homicides has increased in recent years. Moreover, the failure of the U.S. to implement laws and/or address existing gaps in protection in current policies leave marginalized groups such as children and those impacted by domestic violence (largely women) at risk of exposure to firearm violence. The use of firearms by private individuals to inflict injury or death on others often dominates the discussion on gun violence. However, access to firearms for individuals who may present a risk of harm to themselves or others and the lack of restrictions on personal possession of firearms by those at recognizable risk of self-harm needs to be acknowledged and is critical to addressing the full spectrum of firearm-related deaths. The impact of firearm violence extends far beyond the numbers of those injured and killed. While mass shootings garner public attention and international concern, the relentless reality of gunfire in homes, schools, businesses and on the streets of the U.S., and the long-lasting trauma and impact of gun violence on victims, survivors, families and communities, rarely does.

II. Gun Violence is a Human Rights Issue

“Given the potential harm and devastating impact of the misuse of firearms on the enjoyment of human rights, public policies with respect to civilian access to firearms should be reviewed and formulated through a human rights lens.”

- The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Human rights and the regulation of civilian acquisition, possession and use of firearms (A/HRC/32/21), 15 April 2016

The impact of firearms violence on individuals and families all across the United States is profound and enduring. Persistent gun violence is denying people their civil and political rights including the right to life, the right to security of person and the right to be free from discrimination. It also undermines the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to health and the right to education.

A. Civil and Political Rights:



The right to life is fundamental to every major international human rights instrument and is the cornerstone of the international human rights system. The right to personal security places an obligation on states to protect individuals from foreseeable threats to life or bodily integrity from private actors under international human rights law. A state's obligation with respect to the right to life is both a positive and negative obligation. States have an obligation to act with "due diligence" to take reasonable action to prevent human rights abuses before they occur, and to effectively respond when they do occur, including when those abuses are carried out by private individuals.

In the context of firearms, this "due diligence" obligation also includes an emphasis on reducing and preventing violent acts against individuals and communities, addressing discriminatory violence, gender-based violence, the use of firearms in suicides and accidental deaths. States must also exercise due diligence to prevent, punish, investigate and redress harm caused by private individuals and they should pay particular attention to those most at risk, be they individuals or marginalized communities.

B. Economic Social and Cultural Rights:

Gun violence and firearm-related injury and death also have a strong impact on economic, social and cultural rights of those living in the United States. Gun violence and firearm-related injury and death are prevalent in low-income urban neighborhoods with high levels of community violence, lack of access to public services and poor police practices. Easy access to and proliferation of firearms in these circumstances can have an impact on the community as a whole, across the full range of human rights. Patterns of persistent firearm violence can both inhibit access to basic services, such as health and education, and entrench deprivation which degrades those services over time. It can also impose significant economic costs on already struggling individuals and deprived communities, including loss of livelihood/income and costs of medical/psychological care, impairment, and long-term disability.

At the community level, complex interventions mobilizing a range of state and non-state actors for violence prevention may be necessary. The full enjoyment of all human rights requires a holistic approach which looks not just at individual violations, but patterns of violations embedded in specific socio-economic realities. Therefore states, including the U.S., also have a duty to actively prioritize marginalized and highly-impacted communities who face the biggest obstacles to realizing the full spectrum of their rights. Tackling entrenched firearm violence in the community is a multi-faceted problem involving active engagement and partnership with all relevant stakeholders – local authorities, law enforcement, and society and community leaders. Initiatives should be focused on those at most risk of perpetrating and being victims of firearms violence – often young males growing up in deprived urban neighborhoods. Only through long-term, adequately-funded, evidence-based projects, tailored towards specific social, economic and cultural contexts, and working in partnership with the affected communities, can authorities achieve sustained reductions in firearms violence and compliance with human rights obligations.



III. Gun Violence in the U.S.: Failure to Enact Adequate Policies

Under international human rights law, if a state does not exercise adequate control over the purchase, possession and use of arms by private actors in the face of clear evidence of persistent firearms violence, they could be considered to have breached their due diligence obligations. The United States has failed to implement a comprehensive, uniform and coordinated system of gun safety laws and regulations particularly in light of the large number of firearms in circulation, which perpetuates unrelenting and potentially avoidable violence, leaving individuals susceptible to injury and death from firearms.

A. Background Checks

Federal law does not currently require universal comprehensive background checks with each and every transfer or purchase of a firearm in the U.S. As a result, studies have shown that 22% of all firearm sales are conducted without any background check. Even when a background check is required, it may not be adequately comprehensive or accurate because relevant records are often not properly and/or rapidly submitted for inclusion in state and federal databases.

B. Training, Licensing and Registration of Firearms

The U.S. has a patchwork of inconsistent and inadequate federal and state laws governing training, licensing, and registration of firearms. A common feature of the licensing process in most countries around the world is a requirement to have a credible justification for owning a weapon, effectively introducing need-based ownership criteria. The U.S. has failed to take all measures necessary to prevent and protect against firearms being owned or accessed by individuals who do not have a credible justification for their ownership, possession or use. Federal law does not require the training, licensing, or registration of individuals who possess or use a firearm. In fact, U.S. law expressly prohibits the creation of a national registry of most firearms. Two states require registration of all firearms, but eight states explicitly prohibit firearm registration within their borders. Only six states (California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey) and Washington, D.C. require a license or permit to purchase all types of firearms, and nationwide, only six states (California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Mass, and Maryland and Rhode Island but only for handguns) and Washington, D.C. mandate some form of firearm training prior to purchasing a firearm.

C. Carrying Firearms in Public

Individuals can lawfully carry concealed firearms in public in every state in the United States and can lawfully openly carry firearms in public in most states. However, there is no nationwide uniformity in laws governing the carrying of firearms in public and in some states, there are no laws at all: 12 states allow individuals to carry concealed weapons in public without any license or permit and 31 states allow the carrying of a handgun in public without any license or permit. Open carrying of firearms in public, in some form, is currently allowed in 45 states. In only seven states are you required to provide a credible justification or demonstrated need to carry a



concealed firearm. All 50 states and Washington, D.C. allow for some form of concealed carrying of firearms in public. Worryingly, in some states, permit systems are ineffective, resulting in permits being issued to individuals who are legally prohibited from possessing firearms, including people convicted of felonies, with outstanding criminal warrants, with domestic violence injunctions and others at risk of misusing a firearm.

Of further concern are recent efforts to enact federal legislation which would override existing state laws where safeguards and processes are in place to curtail misuse related to concealed carrying of firearms.

D. Lost & Stolen Firearms

Lost and stolen guns fuel the underground illicit gun market, allowing prohibited purchasers and others to obtain guns used to carry out violent crimes. They not only facilitate human rights violations, but also hamper the ability to hold those responsible to account; a stolen firearm is difficult to trace, preventing law enforcement from promptly identifying potential suspects and thus impeding their investigation.

Reporting of lost or stolen firearms by private individuals and unlicensed dealers is not mandatory under federal law and therefore there is no precise data for the number of firearms lost or stolen in the United States. However, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), an estimated 1.2 million firearms were stolen from private individuals between 2005 and 2010. More recent data estimates that approximately 300,000 firearms are stolen annually from private individuals. The FBI reported that approximately 22,000 firearms were stolen from gun stores between 2012 and 2015. These numbers are significant and do not include the substantial number of firearms lost or stolen each year that are not reported.

There are no laws requiring gun owners to report lost or stolen firearms to law enforcement in 39 states, and only four states in the U.S. require gun owners to secure their weapons to prevent potential theft or loss of their firearms.

E. Semi-Automatic Assault Weapons, Large Capacity Magazines and Dangerous Accessories

Mass shooting incidents around the country have demonstrated that shooters armed with semi-automatic weapons with large-capacity magazines can kill many people in a matter of minutes and pose a significant threat to public safety. Firearms and ammunition which represent a high level of risk to public safety and are likely to cause excessive or unintended injury must be prohibited for use by private individuals. These would include at a minimum: assault weapon and semi-automatic weapons, including accessories/modifications for semi-automatic weapons which allow rapid firing functions akin to those of fully automatic firearms; and large-capacity magazines. The federal government does not regulate assault weapons, large-capacity magazines and dangerous accessories which increase the lethality of firearms



and they are regulated by only a handful of states. As such, there remains no universal or uniform national framework governing the possession, use or inventory of these weapons.

F. Failure to Invest in Research to Identify Strategies to Reduce Gun Violence

The significant impact of firearms on those living in the United States is irrefutable and yet, for more than 20 years, federal legislation known as the Dickey Amendment has worked to restrict federal funding for firearm research through publicly-funded entities. These restrictions have had a substantial negative effect on gun violence research and, for over two decades, researchers, policy makers, and experts have been inadequately resourced to fill huge gaps in knowledge about the causes, consequences, and prevention of gun violence in the U.S. The U.S. has also failed to fund research and development of all potential mechanisms of firearms safety to inform evidence-based policy-making aimed at reducing firearms violence, and/or to allow the release of identifying information regarding firearm acquisition, possession and use, for purposes of conducting further firearm research on gun violence prevention policies.

Due to the sheer volume of firearms in circulation and lack of adequate regulation, Amnesty International recommends that the United States adopt measures to address: licensing, registration, restriction of certain weapon types, security of stocks, research and public policy development in furtherance of its duty to promote and protect human rights.

IV. Gun Violence in the U.S. and its Impact on Individuals and Communities

No part of U.S. society is unaffected by gun violence, and yet some individuals and groups are disproportionately at risk of being impacted. Failure to implement adequate policies and measures to address access to firearms by private individuals has far-reaching consequences, particularly for those living in urban minority communities, children, those suffering from domestic abuse, individuals who may be at risk of self-harm, and survivors of gun violence.

A. Urban Gun Violence

Urban firearm violence, and specifically firearm homicide, disproportionately impacts minority communities and particularly young black men. For example, while African Americans represented approximately 13% of the U.S. population in 2016, they made up 58.5% of gun homicides nationwide and a black male aged 15-34 was more than 10 times more likely to die from firearm homicide than a white male of the same age group.

The disparate impact of gun violence on urban communities of color raises serious concerns about the protection of human rights including the right to life, to security of the person, to freedom from discrimination and to equal protection of the law. The UN Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent has expressed concern over the lack of firearm regulations in the United States and its impact on black communities. Additionally, the UN Human Rights Committee and the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination both highlighted the issue of gun violence in their most recent reports on U.S. human rights



compliance. They remain troubled by the increasing number of gun-related deaths and injuries in the U.S., and the disparate impact on racial and ethnic minorities. Both committees noted that the U.S. government's failure to curb gun violence constitutes a violation of the right to life and the right to non-discrimination under international law.

The causes of gun violence in communities of color are multi-faceted and there are deep-seated issues around poverty, discrimination, and economic, social and cultural rights that require further research and analysis in order to inform additional recommendations. Much of the gun violence in urban communities is attributed to gang activity. However, the relationship between "gangs" and gun violence in the U.S. is complex. The term "gang" tends to be misused broadly to categorize all gun-related activity amongst communities of color and in urban areas. For this, and other reasons, the actual scope and impact of gang violence, including gun violence, around the country remains unclear. However, what is clear is that gang members are likely to own guns with many claiming to own more than one, and that armed gang members exert control over the streets in their self-designated territories, retaliate against rival gangs in other territories, and often endanger the lives of uninvolved people who are caught in the crossfire. Firearms used in violent crimes across the U.S., including those used in communities of color have often been trafficked, or deviated out of the legal commerce stream and into the illegal market. Most gang killings remain unsolved and unprosecuted, resulting in impunity for the perpetrators, and feeding the cycle of gun violence. Reducing access to firearms is a key element in reducing gun violence in these communities.

Where patterns of firearms possession and use lead to chronic insecurity, States' obligations are to protect life and ensure security for all through human rights-compliant law enforcement; community interventions and tightening regulations on firearms possession and use.

The solutions to urban firearm violence in the United States are varied. They include legislation which works to undermine the illegal firearm market thereby restricting access to trafficked firearms and the prompt investigation of all firearm-related deaths so that those responsible are held accountable. The U.S. should also work to reduce these high levels of firearm violence in low-income and minority communities and to address the long-term socio-economic impact of gun violence. Research indicates that long-term, adequately-funded, evidence-based projects tailored towards specific social, economic and cultural contexts, and working in partnership with the affected communities, can achieve sustained reductions in firearm violence. In fact, several federal and state-funded and supported evidence-based violence intervention and reduction strategies have proven effective in decreasing gun violence. Most importantly, they have been able to combat and reduce gun violence while simultaneously offering life-altering opportunities for individuals living in high-crime neighborhoods. Unfortunately, despite the success and numerous available models for these programs, lack of funding and lack of political will have prevented sustained and adequate implementation of these initiatives.

B. Children



In 2016, 1,637 children died from firearm-related violence in the United States. Gun violence impacts children across the USA whether through unintentional or intentional violence, or as a mechanism for self-harm. This is due, at least in part, to the fact that an estimated 4.6 million children live in households with loaded and unlocked firearms. Children all over the country are also at risk of gun violence in their schools.

In 1995, the U.S. signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), a comprehensive international human rights agreement on children's rights. This means that in addition to its obligations under the ICCPR, the U.S. should recognize the particular vulnerabilities of children, defined as those who are 17 and younger, and provide "special safeguards and care" in order to protect children from gun violence, including by preventing access to firearms, and supporting violence interruption and diversion programs.

High rates of gun ownership, weak gun violence prevention laws and readily available (often unsupervised) firearms, make children in the U.S. much more vulnerable to death through gun violence than children in other high-income countries. To this end, U.S. states with the highest rates of gun ownership also have the highest rates of gun death, including among children. The United States should adopt measures to reduce the impact of firearm violence on children. At a minimum, safe storage and Child Access Prevention laws ("CAP laws") which work to protect children from injuring themselves and others, by requiring gun owners to keep guns locked up and unloaded, with ammunition stored in a locked location separate from the firearm, are necessary. Despite evidence that CAP laws reduce the number of unintentional or self-inflicted gunshot deaths among children, 23 U.S. states have failed to enact such laws.

C. Domestic Violence

Those suffering from domestic abuse and stalking, most of whom are women, are also highly susceptible to gun violence. Between 2003 and 2014, more than half of all women murdered in the United States were killed by current or former intimate partners. And over half of these women were murdered by an intimate partner with a gun.

In 1980, the United States signed the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which monitors implementation of the rights enshrined in the CEDAW, has recognized gender-based violence against women as a form of discrimination. The U.S. is also a party to the ICCPR, which guarantees the rights to life and security of the person. It has a due diligence duty to protect the right to life, and to prevent, investigate, and punish any act that would undermine that right, whether committed by its own agents or by private persons. The UN Human Rights Council has recognized that the right to life and security of the person has been significantly undermined by firearms misuse, and that inter-partner violence accounts for a significant number of such attacks. In a 2006 report, *Prevention of Human Rights Violations Committed with Small Arms and Light Weapons*, it noted that: "the State has particularly acute obligations when it comes to protecting the rights of vulnerable groups, including victims of



domestic violence, who are most at risk from misuse of a gun in the home. The presence of a gun in the home can easily turn domestic violence into domestic homicide.”

The current federal framework of firearms regulation addressing firearm possession in the domestic violence context does not extend protections to individuals who are not “the spouse of the person, a former spouse of the person, an individual who is a parent of a child of the person, and an individual who cohabitates or has cohabited with the person.” Loopholes in this framework permit dating partners, those convicted of misdemeanor stalking, and those subject to temporary or permanent restraining orders to purchase and possess firearms, without offering any protection to individuals who may be at risk of gun violence from a domestic abuser or stalker, including women and those in the LGBTI community.

Unfortunately, even where protections and firearm-related safeguards exist to protect those experiencing domestic abuse, they are often not enforced or even enforceable. For example, the current federal framework does not provide any procedure or mechanism for the removal or surrender of firearms when a permanent restraining/protective order is issued. Similarly, 35 states and Washington D.C. prohibit firearm possession by persons subject to a domestic violence related restraining order, but only 27 of those states and Washington, D.C. also explicitly require or authorize relinquishment of firearms. The United States should close these loopholes and establish regulations to ensure that domestic abusers cannot purchase or possess firearms.

D. Access to Firearms for Individuals Who May Present a Risk of Harm to Themselves or Others

In 2016, 22,938 people in the U.S. died from suicide by firearm – more than 62 a day. It is critical to examine access to firearms by those individuals who may present a recognizable risk of harm to themselves or others. Numerous mechanisms exist through which a state could take steps to reduce the likelihood that an individual at risk of harm could be prevented from accessing a firearm. These include instituting waiting periods for all individuals prior to firearm acquisition, counseling by health care and other professionals who offer guidance to individuals in crisis, and implementation of procedures through which firearms may be temporarily removed from the possession of these at-risk individuals.

Problematic correlations are often drawn between gun violence and mental health in public debates, wrongly implying that persons with psychosocial disabilities and those with mental health conditions are automatically prone to violence. These correlations and assertions ignore the range of possible mental health diagnoses and how mental health conditions might manifest differently for different individuals, depending on their particular circumstances. Furthermore, such assertions are unsupported by facts. A better framework for evaluating access to firearms is to take into account the broad range of factors that might contribute to an individual being at recognizable risk of self-harm or harming others.



The United States should consider implementing measures that reduce access to firearms for individuals who may present a risk of harm to themselves or others, including instituting adequate waiting periods for all firearms and ammunition purchases. Authorities in the U.S. should take steps to ensure that health workers are able to discuss all factors impacting their patients' health, well-being and safety, including the possession, use and storage of firearms where relevant and should consider adopting procedures such as Extreme Risk Protection Orders (ERPOs) which provide for the temporary removal of access to firearms for individuals who may present a risk of harm to themselves or others. Such procedures should be implemented in a manner consistent with international human rights protections.

E. Gunshot Survivors

Gun violence is often characterized by those who have died from firearm-related injuries, but far more people are shot and survive, and for many, the cost of survival is high. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, some 116,000 people were shot and injured by firearms in 2016. This means that around 300 people were shot every day and survived – at least long enough to get to the hospital. For many gunshot survivors, the mental, physical, emotional, familial, and financial consequences of their injuries shape their lives, irrevocably. The toll that gun violence exacts on victims, family members and the medical services is a public health crisis of astonishing proportion – with remarkably little government response, given the life-long effects on many survivors.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in 1948, member states including the United States pledged to achieve “the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” Included among those rights are health and medical care. Although it is not constitutionally protected, the U.S. does have international obligations regarding the right to health under the ICCPR, ICERD, and ICESCR. In 2016, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, when evaluating human rights and the regulation of civilian acquisition, possession and use of firearms, noted that: “Alongside preventive measures, states must provide victims of firearms violence with effective measures of protection and reparation, including access to adequate health care to ensure that they have the best possible chances of survival and rehabilitation.”

The United States should guarantee the right to health and access to healthcare services for gunshot survivors. Access to affordable and quality health care services should include necessary long-term health interventions, rehabilitation services, mental health care, and long-term pain management. The U.S. should also ensure that health-related costs, including payments for medicines and health services, do not act as a deterrent for survivors of gun-related violence to access necessary care, and do not cause undue or catastrophic financial burdens to gunshot survivors and their families. Finally, services should be provided to support independent living for those disabled by gunshot injuries.



These are just some of the ways that gun violence has permeated the lives of those living in the United States and has undermined international human rights guarantees. Amnesty International recommends that the U.S. adopt measures to protect individuals and communities most at risk of gun violence in accordance with its obligations under international human rights law.

V. Amnesty International's Key Recommendations to Address Gun Violence in the U.S.

1. Federal, state, and tribal governments should introduce and strengthen gun laws and policies nationwide. Therefore, at a minimum:
 - The U.S. Congress should enact legislation requiring background checks on all firearm purchases and transfers, prior to carrying out any sale or other transfer. These background checks should be conducted indicating the absence of known risk factors for misuse;
 - The U.S. Congress should ensure that federal, state and local agencies are reporting records accurately, completely, and as soon as possible to the FBI for inclusion in the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS); and
 - The U.S. Congress should enact legislation mandating that firearms may only be obtained for purchase or transfer with a valid firearms license and a credible justification for ownership and use;
 - Firearm licenses should not be authorized unless the following minimum conditions are met:
 - credible justification prior to purchase;
 - in general, a minimum age of 21; and
 - a background check has been conducted indicating the absence of known risk factors for misuse. Risk factors for consideration should include, at a minimum:
 - prior criminal record, particularly for violent offences
 - being under indictment for a felony offence
 - history of gender-based, sexual or domestic violence;
 - medical unfitness including history of drug/alcohol abuse or mental health issues which might lead to the harm of self or others. Each application should be reviewed on a case-by-case basis by competent authorities drawing on all available relevant evidence.
 - Dishonorable discharge from military service;
 - The U.S. Congress should enact legislation requiring the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) to register all firearms in a central national gun registry, which is digitized and searchable, and should provide appropriate funding through the legislation to support ATF's ability to implement these systems;
 - The U.S. Congress should enact legislation prohibiting the carrying of firearms in



public, whether open or concealed, unless there is a credible justification for doing so and should reject federal legislation which would override existing state laws where safeguards and processes are in place to curtail misuse related to concealed carrying of firearms;

- The U.S. Congress should enact legislation requiring all lost and stolen firearms be immediately reported to local law enforcement officials;
 - The U.S. Congress must pass legislation banning the sale, transfer, and possession of semi-automatic assault weapons, large capacity magazines, bump stocks, and other dangerous devices;
 - The U.S. Congress should acknowledge that firearm violence is a public health crisis, repeal the Dickey Amendment, and enact legislation allocating adequate funding to conduct evidence-based research on the causes and effects of gun violence, and to research and develop viable strategies for gun violence prevention to inform policy making aimed at reducing firearm related deaths and injuries.
2. Federal, state, and tribal governments should introduce comprehensive and targeted gun safety measures to address the gun violence crisis in the United States by adopting measures to protect individuals and communities most at risk of gun violence in accordance with its obligation under international human rights law. Therefore:
- The U.S. Congress should pass legislation which supports the implementation and sustained funding of evidence-based violence reduction and prevention programs;
 - The U.S. Congress should pass legislation requiring the safe and secure storage of all guns and ammunition, and state legislatures should pass stringent and comprehensive safe storage and Child Access Prevention ("CAP") laws that mandate all individuals to store all firearms unloaded under the protection of a gun lock or safety device;
 - The U.S. Congress should amend the current federal framework of firearms regulation addressing firearm possession in the domestic violence context by closing all loopholes related to dating partners and adding misdemeanor and other stalking offenses as triggers prohibiting firearms possession and use; and state legislatures should pass and implement laws establishing a clear process for the immediate surrender by and removal of firearms from prohibited abusers;
 - State legislatures should consider passing legislation to implement procedures, such as ERPOs, providing for the temporary removal of access to firearms for individuals who may present a risk of harm to themselves or others. Such procedures should be implemented in a manner consistent with international human rights protections.



- Federal and state authorities should ensure that survivors of gun-related violence have access to affordable and quality health care, which includes necessary, long-term health interventions, rehabilitation services, mental health care, and long-term pain management.

VI. The Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 (H.R. 8) Mandates Background Checks Prior to the Purchase of Any Firearm- an Essential Safeguard to Meet Human Rights Obligations

The United States has failed to implement a comprehensive, uniform and coordinated system of gun safety laws and regulations particularly in light of the large number of firearms in circulation, which perpetuates unrelenting and potentially avoidable violence, leaving individuals susceptible to injury and death from firearms, in violation of due diligence obligations under international human rights law.

Background checks prior to firearm purchases provide a critical safeguard to ensure that guns do not end up in the hands of those likely to misuse them. Under federal law, specifically the Brady Act of 1993, all federal firearms licensees (FFLs) must conduct comprehensive background checks prior to the sale of a gun. FFLs can use the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS), through the FBI, to search three separate national databases to check on potential purchasers' mental health and criminal histories and any relevant civil orders. Since 1998, when the NICS system became operational, the FBI has processed more than 257 million online background checks and, as a result, almost 3 million people have been stopped from obtaining a firearm through an FFL.

There are four main ways an individual purchasing a firearm may circumvent a legally required background check: (1) by arranging a purchase through a private seller rather than an FFL; (2) if the background check takes more than three working days; (3) if they have a firearm permit from a state where such a permit overrides the federal requirement to pass a background check; or (4) by presenting false or forged identification documents which are not required to be verified at the point of sale. Purchasers may also avoid background checks in numerous other ways, including by using a straw purchaser (someone who buys a gun for someone else), purchasing from a "dirty dealer" (dealers who intentionally violate or fail to comply with the law) or by purchasing firearm parts separately and building a "ghost gun" (self-manufactured firearm without a serial number).

States differ significantly in the ways they address these gaps, but 31 states still do not require background checks on firearm sales between private parties. As a result, studies have shown that 22% of all firearm acquisitions are conducted without any background check. While data is relatively limited, one study found that all states with universal handgun background checks experienced rises in the number of homicides between 2009 and 2016, yet the overall average for those states decreased in terms of homicides caused by firearm. These states also had lower levels of gun violence across the board than states that deferred to the federal standard, with



47% fewer women killed in firearm-related violence by an intimate partner and 53% fewer police officers killed on duty.

There is broad public support for universal background checks on all firearm sales. Up to 97% of all Americans and up to 85% of all gun owners surveyed have supported universal background checks. Support for universal background checks also extends to organizations representing public health researchers, mental health professionals, doctors, pediatricians, law enforcement, and educators. Despite evidence that these background checks are effective in reducing firearm violence, the United States has yet to modify requirements on background checks and address the dangerous gaps in security and screening for those attempting to acquire guns.

If passed, H.R. 8, the Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 would be the first step in addressing significant and potentially deadly loopholes in the current background check system in the U.S.

Killing more than 38,000 men, women and children across the U.S. every year, gun violence is a human rights crisis that demands immediate attention. We ask that you take into consideration the human rights implications of gun violence and create domestic mechanisms that will allow the U.S. to meet its human rights obligations to prevent the loss of life, whether it be when a person is walking down the street, in their home, at school, attending a concert, or worshipping with their faith community. Every person has the right to live, to safety and security, and the right to be free from discrimination. These human rights must not be compromised.

In summary, AIUSA strongly urges you to support H.R. 8, universal background check legislation, a policy that 97% of Americans support. Public safety is not a partisan issue; it is a human rights issue. Passage of the Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2019 will close dangerous loopholes in policy governing the acquisition, possession and use of firearms by private individuals in the United States and is the first step in the U.S.'s meeting its obligations under international human rights law. Additionally, AIUSA requests that further action be taken to enact laws and policies that address the myriad of challenges posed by gun violence in the United States, and to protect human rights.

For more information, including all references and sources, please see Amnesty International's report *In the Line of Fire: Human Rights and the U.S. Gun Violence Crisis*,¹ or contact Jasmeet Sidhu at jsidhu@aiusa.org or (202) 509-8160.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jasmeet Sidhu".

Jasmeet Sidhu
Senior Researcher
Amnesty International USA



¹ Amnesty International, *In the Line of Fire: Human Rights and the U.S. Gun Violence Crisis* (September 2018), available at https://www.amnestyusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Gun-Report-Full_16.pdf.

ANSWERS OF QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORDR

Re: ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM REPRESENTATIVE ROBY
 From: Professor Joyce Lee Malcolm

1. The historical record and the Supreme Court decisions in *District of Columbia v. Heller* and *McDonald v. Chicago* make it clear that the Second Amendment was included in the Bill of Rights to preserve the right of the American people to keep and bear arms for the defense of themselves and others. Self defense was regarded as our most basic right, the primary law of nature, a right no government could take away. The historical evidence also pointed to the additional purpose that should the government ever attempt to deprive the people of their other rights this right would enable them to preserve their liberty. As Justice Alito wrote in the *McDonald* opinion incorporating it, the Second Amendment is "fundamental to our scheme of ordered liberty and system of justice."

2. The Second Amendment is definitely relevant today. Individuals need to protect themselves just as much as in the past. However large a police force we may have, the police are unable to protect all of us all of the time, or indeed any one of us all the time. It is no comfort when law enforcement officers appear after a violent act is concluded and terrible harm done. Armed individuals seldom need to do more than brandish a weapon to scare off a would-be assailant. The best way to prevent gun violence is deterrence.

3. In 1996-1997 Australia passed a gun buy-back scheme forcibly confiscating almost 1 million firearms in private hands. Since 1997 gun ownership in Australia has grown over three times faster than the population. Confiscation, disarming law-abiding citizens, is not an example of "commonsense gun reform" and could only happen here, where the people have a constitutional right to keep and bear arms by repealing the Second Amendment. In a country where 44 states include a right to keep and bear arms in their state constitutions and 39 state have "shall issue" concealed carry laws allowing lawful gun owners who complete various basic requirements to carry a concealed weapon, repeal is not going to happen.

Response to Ms. Jackson Lee:

Yes, thank you so much for that question because if the human toll of gun violence in America is not enough there is also an economic cost. We recently published a study in Health Affairs that looked at Emergency Department (ED) visits for Firearm-Related Injuries. In that study we found that the mean per person ED and inpatient charges were \$5,254 and \$95,887, respectively, resulting in an annual financial burden of approximately \$2.8 billion in ED and inpatient charges. These estimates do not include the societal costs and in fact there are conservative estimates that gun violence costs the American economy at least \$229 Billion every year.

