

REQUEST FOR IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION OF H. RES. 209, PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1501, CONSEQUENCES FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS ACT OF 1999, AND H.R. 2122, MANDATORY GUN SHOW BACKGROUND CHECK ACT

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I was just wondering if the Republicans are ready, finished writing the rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOLBE). The Chair is waiting for the chairman of the Committee on Rules to call up the rule.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up the rule, House Resolution 209.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is not eligible to do that and is not recognized.

Mr. GEKAS. May I ask why?

Mr. MOAKLEY. The gentleman is not a member of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. GEKAS. I am just trying to accommodate.

Mr. MOAKLEY. The gentleman is not a member of the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER).

Mr. GEKAS. The gentleman is not a member of the Committee on the Judiciary. I would not object to his starting a Committee on the Judiciary hearing.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is out of order.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1501, CONSEQUENCES FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS ACT OF 1999, AND H.R. 2122, MANDATORY GUN SHOW BACKGROUND CHECK ACT

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 209 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 209

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1501) to provide grants to ensure increased accountability for juvenile offenders. The first reading of the bill shall be dispersed with. General debate shall be confined to the bill and the amendments made in order by this resolution and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. The bill shall be considered as read. No amendment to the bill shall be in order except those printed in part A of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution. Except as otherwise specified in this resolution, each amendment may be offered only in the order printed in part A of the report. Each amendment may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall

be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment except as specified in the report, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question in the House or in the Committee of the Whole. All points of order against the amendments printed in the report are waived. The chairman of the Committee of the Whole may recognize for consideration of any amendment printed in part A of the report out of the order printed, but not sooner than one hour after the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary or a designee announces from the floor a request to that effect. The chairman of the Committee of the Whole may: (1) postpone until a time during further consideration in the Committee of the Whole a request for a recorded vote on any amendment; and (2) reduce to five minutes the minimum time for electronic voting on any postponed question that follows another electronic vote without intervening business, provided that the minimum time for electronic voting on the first in any series of questions shall be 15 minutes. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

SEC. 2. At any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2122) to require background checks at gun shows, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. General debate shall be confined to the bill and the amendments made in order by this resolution and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. The bill shall be considered as read. No amendment to the bill shall be in order except those printed in part B of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution. Each amendment may be offered only in the order printed in part B of the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question in the House or in the Committee of the Whole. All points of order against the amendments printed in the report are waived. The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole may: (1) postpone until a time during further consideration in the Committee of the Whole a request for a recorded vote on any amendment; and (2) reduce to five minutes the minimum time for electronic voting on any postponed question that follows another electronic vote without intervening business, provided that the minimum time for electronic voting on the first in any series of questions shall be 15 minutes. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

SEC. 3. (a) In the engrossment of H.R. 1501, the Clerk shall—

(1) await the disposition of H.R. 2122;

(2) add the text of H.R. 2122, as passed by the House, as new matter at the end of H.R. 1501;

(3) conform the title of H.R. 1501 to reflect the addition of the text of H.R. 2122 to the engrossment;

(4) assign appropriate designations to provisions within the engrossment; and

(5) conform provisions for short titles within the engrossment.

(b) Upon the addition of the text of H.R. 2122 to the engrossment of H.R. 1501, H.R. 2122 shall be laid on the table.

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Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Boston, Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY), my very good friend, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. Mr. Speaker, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

(Mr. DREIER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.)

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, this rule makes in order two separate bills, each under a structured amendment process. They are H. R. 1501, the Consequences for Juvenile Offenders Act of 1999, and H. R. 2122, the Mandatory Gun Show Background Check of 1999. Let me state at the outset, the rule does not specify the order of consideration of the two bills. That is left to the discretion of the Speaker.

The rule provides for 1 hour of general debate for each bill divided equally between the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Judiciary. The rule provides for consideration of 44 amendments to H.R. 1501 printed in part A of the Committee on Rules report and 11 amendments printed in part B of the report.

Except as otherwise specified, the amendments to each bill will be considered only in the order specified in each part of the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to a demand for the division of the question.

Except for certain amendments to H.R. 1501 specified in part A of the report, the amendments printed in the report shall not be subject to amendment, and all points of order against the amendments are waived.

The rule permits the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole to recognize for consideration of any amendment to H.R. 1501, which are printed in part A of the report, out of the order in which it is printed, but not sooner than 1 hour after the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary or a designee announces from the floor a request to that effect. This authority applies only to amendments offered to H.R. 1501, not to amendments offered to H.R. 2122.

The rule allows the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole to postpone

votes on questions during the consideration of both bills and to reduce voting time to 5 minutes on a postponed question if the vote follows a 15-minute vote. With respect to each bill, the rule provides one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Finally, the rule provides that in the engrossment of H.R. 1501, the Clerk shall add the text of H.R. 2122, as passed by the House, as a new matter at the end of H.R. 1501, and then lay H.R. 2122 on the table.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, if both bills are passed by the House, the Clerk of the House is simply instructed to combine or engross the two bills into one bill before being transmitted to the Senate.

This is not, I say again, this is not an unprecedented rule. There are a number of instances in recent years where the House has adopted single rules making in order multiple bills, which were then combined into one bill upon their passage. Examples include H. Res. 159 in the 10th Congress, and H. Res. 440 in the 104th Congress. Again this is done so we can have a full airing of a wide range of issues.

Mr. Speaker, as we take stock of the national community that is preparing to enter the 21st century, the issue of youth crime is both troubling and confounding. The statisticians tell us that juvenile crime and violence are at 30-year lows. Let me say that again. We get the reports that juvenile crime and violence are at 30-year lows. At the same time, several tragedies have struck a chord that resonates across the United States.

The fact is, when kids kill classmates and teachers over problems that have always confronted teenagers, people recognize that something is wrong.

I believe that while we will debate and vote on dozens of different ideas of good faith and sound intentions to address this national concern, we all agree on one essential truth: Each and every one of us is fully committed to keeping children safe.

In fact, all Americans need to look inside themselves for answers to the troubling societal questions raised by these violent incidents. While in most cases those questions must be answered outside the halls of government, today we begin to do our part to tackle this problem.

While we are united in our goals, make no mistake about the variety of the opinions and proposals to reach those ends. Over 175 amendments submitted to the Committee on Rules can attest to that.

This rule attempts to provide the House with a full, fair, and focused debate that allows votes in a large number of these varied proposals. Of course, the amendments come from both sides of the political divide, Democrats and Republicans.

Although the issue of youth violence has led people to search for answers in many places, one issue, legal restrictions on the possession of firearms, has

taken a particularly prominent place in the rhetorical debate.

The rule will ensure the opportunity to vote up or down on a number of firearms restrictions and safety measures, including mandatory trigger locks, banning youth possession of so-called assault weapons, and background checks at gun shows.

When the House works its will on guns, whatever that might be, the outcome will be included in the final version of the juvenile justice legislation. That is both fair and clear.

Of course, serious people agree that this problem goes beyond guns, and this rule will permit the House to deal with a range of measures dealing with prevention, law enforcement, and popular culture.

While we must search for answers in the wake of Columbine and Conyers and other tragedies, we cannot lose faith in America's families. Our children are not reflected in the twisted rage of Columbine's killers, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, but rather in the diverse, energetic, and religious lives of victims such as Cassie Bernall, whose faith in God was stronger than the fear of death.

Again, the statisticians give us good news. Young people are more religious and do more volunteer work than earlier generations. Just a few weeks ago, I was honored to present local Youth Volunteer Awards to high school students in southern California who spend time volunteering in hospitals, police departments, at homeless shelters, and a wide range of other community projects. They are the types of kids we find if we walk through any school library or flip through the pages of any high school yearbook.

As we move forward on these bills, let us not forget that young people, their parents, and all Americans expect to find appropriate, firm, and targeted measures that address youth violence and child safety. The most troubling questions we face, Mr. Speaker, arise from the reality that our society was able to give rise to such different kids, and that we do not really know why. However, I am confident that this rule will give us a fair and orderly process to begin to answer those questions and to help make our children safer.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), my very dear friend, my chairman, for yielding me the customary 30 minutes. I was afraid that something may have befallen him when he did not show up on time.

Mr. Speaker, all eyes are on the House of Representatives today just to see what we are going to do with the long-awaited juvenile justice bill.

After the horrible massacre at Columbine High School, the entire country cried out for Congress to pass legislation to stop the scourge of violence

in our schools. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, all they are getting this morning from the Republican leadership is a skewed process which will please only some people. It will certainly please the right wing militia groups. It will certainly please the National Rifle Association, which today's Post states that this bill addresses all of their concerns.

But, Mr. Speaker, in the end, it will virtually do nothing for the safety of American school children and the anxieties plaguing their parents. Because, despite the nearly 2 months that have passed since the Columbine massacre, despite the country's clamoring for action, despite the Senate's passage of a bipartisan safety bill, the House Republican leadership has decided that bill is not good enough, and a better approach is to divide and conquer.

So this rule, Mr. Speaker, cuts in half the bipartisan juvenile justice bill for which nearly everyone would have voted. It separates gun safety legislation from the rest of the bill in order to expose it to the full onslaught of the NRA's lobbying fusillade. It prohibits democratic ideas on school safety, and it also introduces a horrifying attack on the first amendment under the guise of stopping violence.

So instead of allowing a vote on the Senate school safety bill, the Republican leadership has decided to carve it up so that the various parts of it are easier to kill, especially the Democratic parts.

Mr. Speaker, American children deserve better. American children deserve after-school programs. American children deserve more police officers protecting them in school. American children deserve crisis prevention counselors who raise an alarm about potential dangers before any lives are lost. But because Democrats started those solutions, they will not be part of the answer. They will not be part of the answer, Mr. Speaker, because they might pass.

Mr. Speaker, I for one think 13 American children killed by guns every single solitary day is 13 American children too many. I for one think schools should be havens for learning, not places of fear. I for one think the well-being of our children should be put before partisan politics. But that is not going to happen today, Mr. Speaker. No, that will not happen, Mr. Speaker, because partisan politics won out over common sense. The only people to suffer will be the American children and their parents.

The Republican leadership had a great chance to move this country toward the days when schools were safe and children were innocent. Because no matter what the NRA says, Mr. Speaker, that is the way it should be. I am sorry they decided not to take that chance.

I will read just the first paragraph from the New York Times editorial entitled, "Republican Mischief on Gun Control."

House Republican leaders have already forgotten Speaker DENNIS HASTERT's pledge last month to support "common-sense" gun control. Instead of moving to strengthen and expand upon the handful of gun control initiatives heading for votes on the House floor this week, G.O.P. leaders have worked out a scheme to make it easier for lawmakers who take their cue from the National Rifle Association to vote against meaningful reform.

Mr. Speaker, today's rule reminds me of a line in Genesis 27 when Isaac says: "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Sanibel, Florida (Mr. GOSS), Vice Chairman on the Committee on Rules.

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from California (Chairman DREIER) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this comprehensive, complex, but very fair rule. It makes in order over 50 amendments from both sides of the aisle, including one very important bipartisan amendment that I will offer later today.

The Goss amendment mirrors language in the Senate bill to create 4 new Federal judgeships in the Middle District of Florida, 3 in Arizona, and 2 in Nevada. These States have hit critical caseload level, and I encourage colleagues to support these emergency amendments.

However, today we have the opportunity to take a balanced approach to curbing juvenile crime and closing the loopholes in our gun laws. I want to commend the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) for not taking the politically expedient route, but, instead, crafting a thoughtful, deliberative approach to vexing social problems.

□ 1100

It is an approach that recognizes that the symptoms of teenage violence, involving firearms or not, speak to a larger and more difficult issue of far greater import, the coarsening, permissiveness the self-indulgence of our culture.

Several years ago, I supported the Brady Act in hopes of keeping guns out of the hands of violent convicted felons. There is evidence the implementation of an instant background check has been successful, but it did inadvertently leave a loophole that has been exploited.

It is time to close that loophole by requiring instant background checks at gun shows. The majority of the folks who attend gun shows are law abiding citizens who do not need to be overburdened with regulation. However, we cannot allow gun shows to become a magnet for criminals who know that they can easily obtain weapons.

More importantly, though, we must ensure that the gun laws on the books

right now are being enforced. It is simply not fair to ask millions of legitimate American gun owners to submit to further restrictions without vigorously enforcing existing law. Too often, gun laws are ignored, like the incident in Littleton, Colorado, a tragic incident, where more than 22 Federal and State laws were broken. We must get serious about punishing criminals and realize that stump speeches and partisan vitriol are very poor substitutes for responsible law enforcement.

Society must demand strict and swift justice when our laws are broken. But society has become too complacent. It is tragic that it takes an unspeakable crime, like the one at Columbine before the public feels a sense of outrage. This is not just about law enforcement or public officials, this is about each one of us, like Pogo, taking responsibility every day for making sure that the laws we have on the books are, in fact, upheld.

Then we can look for ways to make our laws more effective. It makes sense to implement tough sanctions for juvenile offenders. This legislation will provide States with greater resources to come down hard, fair but hard, on youth that break the law, especially repeat offenders. Our kids need to know and see that bad choices and bad actions have bad consequences. But, of course, this problem is more complex than that. Just look at Littleton again. There it was clear that the two young people involved, tragically, were prepared to accept the consequences of their actions: Violent death. Society has become so bent that some kids just will not respond to the threat of punishment.

The folks in my district know that the problem of teen violence will never ultimately be solved in Washington, D.C. What we can do is provide our communities with the resources to do their job better and empower the people that can best respond to this problem. We have to take a hard look at ourselves, our leadership, our celebrity role models, and our way of life to determine why it is that some of our young people choose the wrong course with such tragic results.

This is a big challenge. I believe this rule provides for that debate. I encourage a "yes" vote on the rule.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

MAKING IN ORDER CONYERS AMENDMENT TO H.R. 1501, CONSEQUENCES FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS ACT OF 1999

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding any other provisions of the pending resolution, the Conyers amendment that I have placed at the desk shall be deemed to have been included as the last amendment printed in part B of House Report 106-186, may be offered only by Representative CONYERS of Michigan or his designee, and shall be debatable for 30 minutes.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOLBE). The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 2122

OFFERED BY MR. CONYERS OF MICHIGAN

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

TITLE I—GENERAL FIREARM PROVISIONS
SECTION. 101. EXTENSION OF BRADY BACKGROUND CHECKS TO GUN SHOWS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) more than 4,400 traditional gun shows are held annually across the United States, attracting thousands of attendees per show and hundreds of Federal firearms licensees and nonlicensed firearms sellers;

(2) traditional gun shows, as well as flea markets and other organized events, at which a large number of firearms are offered for sale by Federal firearms licensees and nonlicensed firearms sellers, form a significant part of the national firearms market;

(3) firearms and ammunition that are exhibited or offered for sale or exchange at gun shows, flea markets, and other organized events move easily in and substantially affect interstate commerce;

(4) in fact, even before a firearm is exhibited or offered for sale or exchange at a gun show, flea market, or other organized event, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which it is manufactured have moved in interstate commerce;

(5) gun shows, flea markets, and other organized events at which firearms are exhibited or offered for sale or exchange, provide a convenient and centralized commercial location at which firearms may be bought and sold anonymously, often without background checks and without records that enable gun tracing;

(6) at gun shows, flea markets, and other organized events at which guns are exhibited or offered for sale or exchange, criminals and other prohibited persons obtain guns without background checks and frequently use guns that cannot be traced to later commit crimes;

(7) many persons who buy and sell firearms at gun shows, flea markets, and other organized events cross State lines to attend these events and engage in the interstate transportation of firearms obtained at these events;

(8) gun violence is a pervasive, national problem that is exacerbated by the availability of guns at gun shows, flea markets, and other organized events;

(9) firearms associated with gun shows have been transferred illegally to residents of another State by Federal firearms licensees and nonlicensed firearms sellers, and have been involved in subsequent crimes including drug offenses, crimes of violence, property crimes, and illegal possession of firearms by felons and other prohibited persons; and

(10) Congress has the power, under the interstate commerce clause and other provisions of the Constitution of the United States, to ensure, by enactment of this Act, that criminals and other prohibited persons do not obtain firearms at gun shows, flea markets, and other organized events.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(35) GUN SHOW.—The term 'gun show' means any event—

"(A) at which 50 or more firearms are offered or exhibited for sale, transfer, or exchange, if 1 or more of the firearms has been

shipped or transported in, or otherwise affects, interstate or foreign commerce; and

“(B) at which—

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

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

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

“(36) GUN SHOW PROMOTER.—The term ‘gun show promoter’ means any person who organizes, plans, promotes, or operates a gun show.

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

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

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

“§931. Regulation of firearms transfers at gun shows

“(a) REGISTRATION OF GUN SHOW PROMOTERS.—It shall be unlawful for any person to organize, plan, promote, or operate a gun show unless that person—

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

“(2) pays a registration fee, in an amount determined by the Secretary.

“(b) RESPONSIBILITIES OF GUN SHOW PROMOTERS.—It shall be unlawful for any person to organize, plan, promote, or operate a gun show unless that person—

“(1) before commencement of the gun show, verifies the identity of each gun show vendor participating in the gun show by examining a valid identification document (as defined in section 1028(d)(1)) of the vendor containing a photograph of the vendor;

“(2) before commencement of the gun show, requires each gun show vendor to sign—

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

“(B) a notice advising the vendor of the obligations of the vendor under this chapter; and

“(3) notifies each person who attends the gun show of the requirements of this chapter, in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary shall prescribe; and

“(4) maintains a copy of the records described in paragraphs (1) and (2) at the permanent place of business of the gun show promoter for such period of time and in such form as the Secretary shall require by regulation.

“(c) RESPONSIBILITIES OF TRANSFERORS OTHER THAN LICENSEES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If any part of a firearm transaction takes place at a gun show, it shall be unlawful for any person who is not licensed under this chapter to transfer a firearm to another person who is not licensed under this chapter, unless the firearm is transferred through a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer in accordance with subsection (e).

“(2) CRIMINAL BACKGROUND CHECKS.—A person who is subject to the requirement of paragraph (1)—

“(A) shall not transfer the firearm to the transferee until the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer through which the transfer is made under subsection (e) makes the notification described in subsection (e)(3)(A); and

“(B) notwithstanding subparagraph (A), shall not transfer the firearm to the trans-

feree if the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer through which the transfer is made under subsection (e) makes the notification described in subsection (e)(3)(B).

“(3) ABSENCE OF RECORDKEEPING REQUIREMENTS.—Nothing in this section shall permit or authorize the Secretary to impose recordkeeping requirements on any nonlicensed vendor.

“(d) RESPONSIBILITIES OF TRANSFEREES OTHER THAN LICENSEES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If any part of a firearm transaction takes place at a gun show, it shall be unlawful for any person who is not licensed under this chapter to receive a firearm from another person who is not licensed under this chapter, unless the firearm is transferred through a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer in accordance with subsection (e).

“(2) CRIMINAL BACKGROUND CHECKS.—A person who is subject to the requirement of paragraph (1)—

“(A) shall not receive the firearm from the transferor until the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer through which the transfer is made under subsection (e) makes the notification described in subsection (e)(3)(A); and

“(B) notwithstanding subparagraph (A), shall not receive the firearm from the transferor if the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer through which the transfer is made under subsection (e) makes the notification described in subsection (e)(3)(B).

“(e) RESPONSIBILITIES OF LICENSEES.—A licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer who agrees to assist a person who is not licensed under this chapter in carrying out the responsibilities of that person under subsection (c) or (d) with respect to the transfer of a firearm shall—

“(1) enter such information about the firearm as the Secretary may require by regulation into a separate bound record;

“(2) record the transfer on a form specified by the Secretary;

“(3) comply with section 922(t) as if transferring the firearm from the inventory of the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer to the designated transferee (although a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer complying with this subsection shall not be required to comply again with the requirements of section 922(t) in delivering the firearm to the nonlicensed transferor), and notify the nonlicensed transferor and the nonlicensed transferee—

“(A) of such compliance; and

“(B) if the transfer is subject to the requirements of section 922(t)(1), of any receipt by the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer of a notification from the national instant criminal background check system that the transfer would violate section 922 or would violate State law;

“(4) not later than 10 days after the date on which the transfer occurs, submit to the Secretary a report of the transfer, which report—

“(A) shall be on a form specified by the Secretary by regulation; and

“(B) shall not include the name of or other identifying information relating to any person involved in the transfer who is not licensed under this chapter;

“(5) if the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer assists a person other than a licensee in transferring, at 1 time or during any 5 consecutive business days, 2 or more pistols or revolvers, or any combination of pistols and revolvers totaling 2 or more, to the same nonlicensed person, in addition to the reports required under para-

graph (4), prepare a report of the multiple transfers, which report shall be—

“(A) prepared on a form specified by the Secretary; and

“(B) not later than the close of business on the date on which the transfer occurs, forwarded to—

“(i) the office specified on the form described in subparagraph (A); and

“(ii) the appropriate State law enforcement agency of the jurisdiction in which the transfer occurs; and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“(2) does not include the mere exhibition of a firearm.”.

(2) PENALTIES.—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(7)(A) Whoever knowingly violates section 931(a) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

“(B) Whoever knowingly violates subsection (b) or (c) of section 931, shall be—

“(i) fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both; and

“(ii) in the case of a second or subsequent conviction, such person shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

“(C) Whoever willfully violates section 931(d), shall be—

“(i) fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both; and

“(ii) in the case of a second or subsequent conviction, such person shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

“(D) Whoever knowingly violates subsection (e) or (f) of section 931 shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

“(E) In addition to any other penalties imposed under this paragraph, the Secretary may, with respect to any person who knowingly violates any provision of section 931—

“(i) if the person is registered pursuant to section 931(a), after notice and opportunity for a hearing, suspend for not more than 6 months or revoke the registration of that person under section 931(a); and

“(ii) impose a civil fine in an amount equal to not more than \$10,000.”.

(3) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the chapter analysis, by adding at the end the following:

“931. Regulation of firearms transfers at gun shows.”;

and

(B) in the first sentence of section 923(j), by striking “a gun show or event” and inserting “an event”; and

(d) INSPECTION AUTHORITY.—Section 923(g)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(E) Notwithstanding subparagraph (B), the Secretary may enter during business hours the place of business of any gun show promoter and any place where a gun show is held for the purposes of examining the records required by sections 923 and 931 and the inventory of licensees conducting business at the gun show. Such entry and examination shall be conducted for the purposes of determining compliance with this chapter by gun show promoters and licensees conducting business at the gun show and shall not require a showing of reasonable cause or a warrant.”

(e) INCREASED PENALTIES FOR SERIOUS RECORDKEEPING VIOLATIONS BY LICENSEES.—Section 924(a)(3) of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“(3)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), any licensed dealer, licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed collector who knowingly makes any false statement or representation with respect to the information required by this chapter to be kept in the records of a person licensed under this chapter, or violates section 922(m) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

“(B) If the violation described in subparagraph (A) is in relation to an offense—

“(i) under paragraph (1) or (3) of section 922(b), such person shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both; or

“(ii) under subsection (a)(6) or (d) of section 922, such person shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.”

(f) INCREASED PENALTIES FOR VIOLATIONS OF CRIMINAL BACKGROUND CHECK REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) PENALTIES.—Section 924 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “subsection (s) or (t) of section 922” and inserting “section 922(s)”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(8) Whoever knowingly violates section 922(t) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.”

(2) ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF OFFENSE.—Section 922(t)(5) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “and, at the time” and all that follows through “State law”.

(g) GUN OWNER PRIVACY AND PREVENTION OF FRAUD AND ABUSE OF SYSTEM INFORMATION.—Section 922(t)(2)(C) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, as soon as possible, consistent with the responsibility of the Attorney General under section 103(h) of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act to ensure the privacy and security of the system and to prevent system fraud and abuse, but in no event later than 90 days after the date on which the licensee first contacts the system with respect to the transfer”.

(h) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section and the amendments made by this section shall take effect 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE II—RESTRICTING JUVENILE ACCESS TO CERTAIN FIREARMS

SEC. 201. PROHIBITION ON FIREARMS POSSESSION BY VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

(a) DEFINITION.—Section 921(a)(20) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by inserting “(A)” after “(20)”;

(2) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) and (B) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively;

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (A) the following:

“(B) For purposes of subsections (d) and (g) of section 922, the term ‘act of violent juvenile delinquency’ means an adjudication of delinquency in Federal or State court, based on a finding of the commission of an act by a person prior to his or her eighteenth birthday that, if committed by an adult, would be a serious or violent felony, as defined in section 3559(c)(2)(F)(i) had Federal jurisdiction existed and been exercised (except that section 3559(c)(3)(A) shall not apply to this subparagraph).”; and

(4) in the undesignated paragraph following subparagraph (B) (as added by paragraph (3) of this subsection), by striking “What constitutes” and all that follows through “this chapter,” and inserting the following:

“(C) What constitutes a conviction of such a crime or an adjudication of an act of violent juvenile delinquency shall be determined in accordance with the law of the jurisdiction in which the proceedings were held. Any State conviction or adjudication of an act of violent juvenile delinquency that has been expunged or set aside, or for which a person has been pardoned or has had civil rights restored, by the jurisdiction in which the conviction or adjudication of an act of violent juvenile delinquency occurred shall not be considered to be a conviction or adjudication of an act of violent juvenile delinquency for purposes of this chapter.”

(b) PROHIBITION.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (8), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (9), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (9) the following:

“(10) has committed an act of violent juvenile delinquency.”; and

(2) in subsection (g)—

(A) in paragraph (8), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (9), by striking the comma at the end and inserting “; or”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (9) the following:

“(10) who has committed an act of violent juvenile delinquency.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE OF ADJUDICATION PROVISIONS.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply to an adjudication of an act of violent juvenile delinquency that occurs after the date that is 30 days after the date on which the Attorney General certifies to Congress and separately notifies Federal firearms licensees, through publication in the Federal Register by the Secretary of the Treasury, that the records of such adjudications are routinely available in the national instant criminal background check system established under section 103(b) of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act.

SEC. 202. PENALTIES FOR UNLAWFUL ACTS BY JUVENILES.

(a) JUVENILE WEAPONS PENALTIES.—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (4) by striking “Whoever” at the beginning of the first sentence, and inserting in lieu thereof, “Except as provided in paragraph (6) of this subsection, whoever”; and

(2) in paragraph (6), by amending it to read as follows:

“(6)(A) A juvenile who violates section 922(x) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except—

“(i) a juvenile shall be sentenced to probation on appropriate conditions and shall not be incarcerated unless the juvenile fails to comply with a condition of probation, if—

“(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon in violation of section 922(x)(2); and

“(II) the juvenile has not been convicted in any court of an offense (including an offense under section 922(x) or a similar State law, but not including any other offense consisting of conduct that if engaged in by an adult would not constitute an offense) or adjudicated as a juvenile delinquent for conduct that if engaged in by an adult would constitute an offense; or

“(ii) a juvenile shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 20 years, or both, if—

“(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon in violation of section 922(x)(2); and

“(II) during the same course of conduct in violating section 922(x)(2), the juvenile violated section 922(q), with the intent to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon in the commission of a violent felony.

“(B) A person other than a juvenile who knowingly violates section 922(x)—

“(i) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both; and

“(ii) if the person sold, delivered, or otherwise transferred a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon to a juvenile knowing or having reasonable cause to know that the juvenile intended to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or semiautomatic assault weapon in the commission of a violent felony, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 20 years, or both.

“(C) For purposes of this paragraph a ‘violent felony’ means conduct as described in section 924(e)(2)(B) of this title.

“(D) Except as otherwise provided in this chapter, in any case in which a juvenile is prosecuted in a district court of the United States, and the juvenile is subject to the penalties under clause (ii) of paragraph (A), the juvenile shall be subject to the same laws, rules, and proceedings regarding sentencing (including the availability of probation, restitution, fines, forfeiture, imprisonment, and supervised release) that would be applicable in the case of an adult. No juvenile sentenced to a term of imprisonment shall be released from custody simply because the juvenile reaches the age of 18 years.”

(b) UNLAWFUL WEAPONS TRANSFERS TO JUVENILES.—Section 922(x) of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“(x)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, deliver, or otherwise transfer to a person who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe is a juvenile—

“(A) a handgun;

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun;

“(C) a semiautomatic assault weapon; or

“(D) a large capacity ammunition feeding device.

“(2) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a juvenile to knowingly possess—

“(A) a handgun;

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun;

“(C) a semiautomatic assault weapon; or

“(D) a large capacity ammunition feeding device.

“(3) This subsection does not apply to—

“(A) a temporary transfer of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon to a juvenile or to the possession or

use of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon by a juvenile—

“(i) if the handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or semiautomatic assault weapon are possessed and used by the juvenile—

“(I) in the course of employment,

“(II) in the course of ranching or farming related to activities at the residence of the juvenile (or on property used for ranching or farming at which the juvenile, with the permission of the property owner or lessee, is performing activities related to the operation of the farm or ranch),

“(III) for target practice,

“(IV) for hunting, or

“(V) for a course of instruction in the safe and lawful use of a firearm;

“(ii) clause (i) shall apply only if the juvenile's possession and use of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon under this subparagraph are in accordance with State and local law, and the following conditions are met—

“(I) except when a parent or guardian of the juvenile is in the immediate and supervisory presence of the juvenile, the juvenile shall have in the juvenile's possession at all times when a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or semiautomatic assault weapon is in the possession of the juvenile, the prior written consent of the juvenile's parent or guardian who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm or ammunition; and

“(II) during transportation by the juvenile directly from the place of transfer to a place at which an activity described in clause (i) is to take place the firearm shall be unloaded and in a locked container or case, and during the transportation by the juvenile of that firearm, directly from the place at which such an activity took place to the transferor, the firearm shall also be unloaded and in a locked container or case; or

“(III) with respect to employment, ranching or farming activities as described in clause (i), a juvenile may possess and use a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault rifle with the prior written approval of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian, if such approval is on file with the adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm or ammunition and that person is directing the ranching or farming activities of the juvenile;

“(B) a juvenile who is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States or the National Guard who possesses or is armed with a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or semiautomatic assault weapon in the line of duty;

“(C) a transfer by inheritance of title (but not possession) of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon to a juvenile; or

“(D) the possession of a handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon taken in lawful defense of the juvenile or other persons in the residence of the juvenile or a residence in which the juvenile is an invited guest.

“(4) A handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or a semiautomatic assault weapon, the possession of which is transferred to a juvenile in circumstances in which the transferor is not in violation of this subsection, shall not be subject to permanent confiscation by the Government if its possession by the juvenile subsequently becomes unlawful because of the conduct of the juvenile, but shall be returned

to the lawful owner when such handgun, ammunition, large capacity ammunition feeding device or semiautomatic assault weapon is no longer required by the Government for the purposes of investigation or prosecution.

“(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘juvenile’ means a person who is less than 18 years of age.

“(6)(A) In a prosecution of a violation of this subsection, the court shall require the presence of a juvenile defendant's parent or legal guardian at all proceedings.

“(B) The court may use the contempt power to enforce subparagraph (A).

“(C) The court may excuse attendance of a parent or legal guardian of a juvenile defendant at a proceeding in a prosecution of a violation of this subsection for good cause shown.

“(7) For purposes of this subsection only, the term ‘large capacity ammunition feeding device’ has the same meaning as in section 921(a)(31) of title 18 and includes similar devices manufactured before the effective date of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section and the amendments made by this section shall take effect 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE III—ASSAULT WEAPONS

SEC. 301. SHORT TITLE.

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

SEC. 302. BAN ON IMPORTING LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION FEEDING DEVICES.

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

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

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “(2) Paragraph (1)” and inserting “(B) Subparagraph (A)”;

(3) by inserting before paragraph (3) the following new paragraph (2):

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

(4) in paragraph (4)—

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

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

SEC. 303. DEFINITION OF LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION FEEDING DEVICE.

Section 921(a)(31) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “manufactured after the date of enactment of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994”.

TITLE IV—CHILD HANDGUN SAFETY

SEC. 401. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the “Safe Handgun Storage and Child Handgun Safety Act of 1999”.

SEC. 402. PURPOSES.

The purposes of this title are as follows:

(1) To promote the safe storage and use of handguns by consumers.

(2) To prevent unauthorized persons from gaining access to or use of a handgun, including children who may not be in possession of a handgun, unless it is under one of the circumstances provided for in the Safe Handgun Storage and Child Handgun Safety Act of 1999.

(3) To avoid hindering industry from supplying law abiding citizens firearms for all lawful purposes, including hunting, self-defense, collecting and competitive or recreational shooting.

SEC. 403. FIREARMS SAFETY.

(a) UNLAWFUL ACTS.—

(1) MANDATORY TRANSFER OF SECURE GUN STORAGE OR SAFETY DEVICE.—Section 922 of

title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after subsection (y) the following:

“(z) SECURE GUN STORAGE OR SAFETY DEVICE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), it shall be unlawful for any licensed manufacturer, licensed importer, or licensed dealer to sell, deliver, or transfer any handgun to any person who is not licensed under section 923, unless the licensee provides the transferee with a secure gun storage or safety device for the handgun.

“(2) EXCEPTIONS.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the—

“(A)(i) manufacture for, transfer to, or possession by, the United States or a department or agency of the United States, or a State or a department, agency, or political subdivision of a State, of a handgun; or

“(ii) transfer to, or possession by, a law enforcement officer employed by an entity referred to in clause (i) of a handgun for law enforcement purposes (whether on or off duty); or

“(B) transfer to, or possession by, a rail police officer employed by a rail carrier and certified or commissioned as a police officer under the laws of a State of a handgun for purposes of law enforcement (whether on or off duty);

“(C) transfer to any person of a handgun listed as a curio or relic by the Secretary pursuant to section 921(a)(13); or

“(D) transfer to any person of a handgun for which a secure gun storage or safety device is temporarily unavailable for the reasons described in the exceptions stated in section 923(e): *Provided*, That the licensed manufacturer, licensed importer, or licensed dealer delivers to the transferee within 10 calendar days from the date of the delivery of the handgun to the transferee a secure gun storage or safety device for the handgun.

“(3) LIABILITY FOR USE.—(A) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a person who has lawful possession and control of a handgun, and who uses a secure gun storage or safety device with the handgun, shall be entitled to immunity from a civil liability action as described in this paragraph.

“(B) PROSPECTIVE ACTIONS.—A qualified civil liability action may not be brought in any Federal or State court. The term ‘qualified civil liability action’ means a civil action brought by any person against a person described in subparagraph (A) for damages resulting from the unlawful misuse of the handgun by a third party, if—

“(i) the handgun was accessed by another person without authorization of the person so described; and

“(ii) when the handgun was so accessed, the handgun had been made inoperable by use of a secure gun storage or safety device.

A ‘qualified civil liability action’ shall not include an action brought against the person having lawful possession and control of the handgun for negligent entrustment or negligence per se.”

(b) CIVIL PENALTIES.—Section 924 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by inserting “, or (p)” before “this section”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(p) PENALTIES RELATING TO SECURE GUN STORAGE OR SAFETY DEVICE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—

“(A) SUSPENSION OR REVOCATION OF LICENSE; CIVIL PENALTIES.—With respect to each violation of section 922(z)(1) by a licensed manufacturer, licensed importer, or licensed dealer, the Secretary may, after notice and opportunity for hearing—

“(i) suspend for up to six months, or revoke, the license issued to the licensee under this chapter that was used to conduct the firearms transfer; or

"(ii) subject the licensee to a civil penalty in an amount equal to not more than \$2,500.

"(B) REVIEW.—An action of the Secretary under this paragraph may be reviewed only as provided in section 923(f).

"(2) ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDIES.—The suspension or revocation of a license or the imposition of a civil penalty under paragraph (1) does not preclude any administrative remedy that is otherwise available to the Secretary."

(c) LIABILITY; EVIDENCE.—

(1) LIABILITY.—Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to—

(A) create a cause of action against any Federal firearms licensee or any other person for any civil liability; or

(B) establish any standard of care.

(2) EVIDENCE.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, evidence regarding compliance or noncompliance with the amendments made by this chapter shall not be admissible as evidence in any proceeding of any court, agency, board, or other entity, except with respect to an action to enforce paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 922(z), or to give effect to paragraph (3) of section 922(z).

(3) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to bar a governmental action to impose a penalty under section 924(p) of title 18, United States Code, for a failure to comply with section 922(z) of that title.

SEC. 404. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This title and the amendments made by this title shall take effect 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) reserves the right to object and is recognized under his reservation.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of my chairman, my friend the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), if this is the same amendment that I proposed last night that was voted down 8 to 4.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of my colleague, let me say this is the exact same amendment, and I want to congratulate my friend for his vision and his encouragement. I think it is important that we do what we can to accommodate some of those concerns.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, evidently my chairman was visited by some great thoughts while he was sleeping last night. Does he have any other amendments that were voted against that I proposed.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, at this juncture we plan to move ahead with what is a very fair, balanced and focused rule, and we will be, as I said, making in order the Conyers amendment.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I think we should congratulate the chairman of the Committee on Rules for his progress in counting. Clearly, what happened was they voted my colleague down last night by a

party majority. They then counted and found they did not have enough votes for the rule. And having lost a couple of rules already, they did not want to complete that.

So I congratulate the gentleman from California who managed to count enough votes for the rule before this time, reverse himself and then take the amendment only because they have to, and that is why we have this.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I would simply like to correct my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK) and say that we have not lost a single rule in the 106th Congress.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. I hope the standard of completion is better. It is true there was never a vote to reject the rule. That is because prudence being the rule on the rules, they have withdrawn rules before they were voted on.

Now, we remember what happened on the Armed Services rule. It came forward, there was some discussion, and it disappeared. So the gentleman is correct, it was not actually defeated. The gentleman ran away before it was defeated.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, if we are adding amendments to the rule, as a member of the Committee on Rules in, I assume, good standing, I would very much like to inquire whether my amendment can be made in order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) has the time under his reservation of objection.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I need to inquire of the gentleman from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to respond and say that we believe that we are going to have a very clear and focused debate on a wide range of issues, and inclusion of this Conyers amendment will allow us to do that further, and that is the reason I propounded the unanimous consent request, in the hope that my friends would not object to our offering the Conyers amendment.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, if I may say, we are getting accustomed to rewriting the rules on the floor, and I just thought if there was an opportunity to add another amendment, I would very much like it to be mine because it does address the problem of violence.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for her message.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I am very glad my chairman has had a restful night and had a chance to really assess this. It is probably his best hours of thinking. And after spending two evenings, two late nights going over the rules, I am glad we have this addendum.

And, actually, if the gentleman wants to go home and take another nap, he may come back with something else that might be pleasant, too.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The amendment to the resolution is adopted.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST).

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise in opposition to this rule.

With this rule, the Republican majority has demonstrated it is more interested in keeping order in the Republican Conference than in keeping American schools safe for our children. Incredibly, this rule sets up a process that ignores prevention in the schools themselves. This rule sets up a process that does little or nothing to help make schools safer or head off trouble before it starts. This is Alice in Wonderland at its worst.

With my colleagues, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR), I submitted four substantive amendments to the Committee on Rules. These amendments deal squarely and directly with what we in the Congress can do to prevent school violence. But, Mr. Speaker, they were rejected by the Republican majority on the Committee on Rules, although parts of them were lumped into a larger Democratic substitute that the Republicans intend to defeat.

For example, the Republican majority has rejected an amendment which would provide grants to local school districts to help put 50,000 new counselors in our schools to help students who are troubled or who have been threatened by violence. These grants would also help pay for training for these counselors in conflict resolution and could also be used to enhance school safety programs.

Mr. Speaker, school administrators in my district have told me providing more counselors is the single most important thing we can do for school safety. Yet the Republican majority refused to make this common sense amendment in order.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority also refused to make in order an amendment which would have provided up to 10,000 new uniformed school safety officers as well as 10,000 additional

police officers to be hired by local communities through the COPS program. In my district, uniformed public safety officers have proven to be an effective way of heading off trouble before it starts. Yet the Republican majority refused to allow the House the opportunity to debate that proposal.

My colleagues and I also proposed an amendment which would fund local after-school programs which would provide a safe haven for children in the hours when most juvenile crime takes place, between 3 and 6 p.m. The committee refused to make this amendment in order, an amendment which might prevent crime and which might keep kids out of trouble.

There is a huge demand for these kind of programs, programs which are cost effective and which can keep juveniles out of a jail cell and in a classroom. But the Republican majority refused to allow this amendment to be heard.

Finally, we offered an amendment that would direct the Department of Education and the Department of Justice to develop a model violence prevention program for the use of school districts around the country and to create an information clearinghouse within the Education Department.

Mr. Speaker, our amendments are just plain common sense. We have a national crisis in our schools, and when they reopen in the fall, all of us would feel better knowing that we have done something to make those schools centers of learning, not havens of fear. The programs that would be created by these four amendments would go a long way toward making that a reality.

There are many things wrong with this rule, Mr. Speaker, not the least of which is the failure to include these amendments.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS), an able member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I offered an amendment for the consideration of the Committee on Rules which was rejected. It would have made abundantly clear the important relationship between the Federal law enforcement agencies, in the person of the U.S. Attorney, and the local law enforcement, in the person of the district attorney, police chief, and other officers of the local law enforcement community.

It is not clear yet whether the current language of the bill that will be considered by the House makes that relationship one that is as strong as we would like to see it become. But it may be that in future hearings that will be conducted in our committee, the Subcommittee on Commercial and Administrative Law of the Committee on the Judiciary, that that voice of the U.S. Attorney, consistent with the voice of the district attorney and local law enforcement, will be even stronger than it now is and must be.

What we are concerned about is that if there is an interpretation placed on

the current language that mandates the U.S. attorneys to handle all gun charges, without regard to whether or not law enforcement has a stake in the pursuit or investigation and prosecution of a gun-wielding criminal, it might damage that relationship. But, worse, it might damage a case that has been put together by a local law enforcement agency that the Federal involvement would only seek to, by its involvement, destroy.

So these relationships are so important that we intend to have further hearings on these questions, and suffice it to say that when this bill passes, if it should, we will reexamine it to see how the U.S. Attorney's Office may be adversely impacted, if at all; and, if so, we will then hone in on remedies that can be applied to this law.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would like to clarify its statement of a few moments ago about the amendment to the resolution, and would clarify that the order by unanimous consent that was entered into at that time was just that and not stated as itself an amendment to the resolution. It was a unanimous consent agreement.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER).

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, the recent school tragedies in Colorado and Georgia were a cry for help, and my friends on the other side have answered with an NRA wish list and a near-to-far-Right agenda.

The bill is full of solutions in search of a problem, while the real challenges go unmet. I offered an amendment to reach out to those children who are living in the shadows, to give them a chance to learn that someone does care about them, by using the school facilities that we have all paid for in our communities that sit idle during after-school hours. We even had a way to pay for it from the juvenile justice budget, but I was not allowed to offer that amendment.

Instead, this rule says, put the Ten Commandments on the wall and hush.

□ 1115

The people of America want to control gun violence, and the leadership on the other side offers us two amendments to put more guns on the streets of the national capital of Washington, D.C. Talk about offering a drowning man a glass of water.

We ask for more police in the schools. No, says today's amendment, just pray more in school. Well, I believe that God helps those that help themselves, Mr. Speaker, and we are obligated to do what only we in Congress can do.

Mr. Speaker, our children are praying. They are praying for relief from the terror of violence bursting through their school doors. Please defeat this rule and this bill and let them know

and their families know that we support their prayers.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 4 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of the rule. I believe 2 days of debate on this very important issue is about as fair as we can get. I know a lot of people are not satisfied with the rule. But I think under the circumstances it is fair, and I will support the rule.

However, I am not optimistic that much good will come out of the next 2 days of debate. I think there is a lot of mischief going on here. I see that one-half of this Congress is quite capable and anxious to defend the First Amendment, and I think that is good. I see the other half of the Congress is quite anxious and capable of defending the second amendment, and I think that is good. But it seems strange because I see these two groups coming together in a coalition to pass a bill that will undermine the first amendment and undermine the second amendment.

That does not make a whole lot of sense to me because I think that we are obligated here in the Congress to defend both the first and the second amendment and were not here for the purpose of undermining both amendments.

We should be reminded, though, that traditionally, up until the middle part of this century, crime control was always considered a local issue. That is the way the Constitution designed it. That is the way it should be. But every day we write more laws here in the Congress building a national police force. We now have more than 80,000 bureaucrats in this country carrying guns. We are an armed society, but it is the Federal Government that is armed.

So I think we should think seriously before we pass more laws whether they undermine the first amendment or whether we pass more laws undermining the second amendment. We do not need more Federal laws.

Recently there was a bipartisan study put out and chaired by Ed Meese, and he is not considered a radical libertarian. He was quoted in an editorial in the Washington Post as to what we here in the Congress are doing with nationalizing our police force. The editorial states: "The basic contention of the report, which was produced by a bipartisan group headed by former Attorney General Edward Meese, is that Congress' tendency in recent decades to make Federal crimes out of offenses that have historically been State matters has dangerous implications both for the fair administration of justice and for the principle that States are something more than mere administrative districts of a national government."

Along with this, we have also heard Supreme Court Justice Rehnquist say the same thing. "The trend to federalize crimes that traditionally have been handled in State courts threatens to change entirely the nature of our Federal system."

We are unfortunately bound and determined to continue this trend. It looks like we are going to do so today. We are going to place a lot more rules and regulations restricting both the first and second amendment.

We are bound and determined to write more rules and regulations dealing with the first and the second amendment, and I do not see this as a good trend. It is said today that those who want to undermine the first amendment, that it is already established that pornography is not protected under the first amendment. And today the goal is to make sure that the depiction of violence is not protected under the first amendment. But do my colleagues know that the major cause of violence in the world throughout history have been abuse of religion and the abuse of philosophy?

So, therefore, the next step will be, if we can limit the depiction of pornography and then violence, be the limitation of the depiction of a philosophy that deals with religion or political systems such as Communism or other fascism.

I say, today we should move carefully and not undermine either the first or the second amendment.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Worcester, Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN).

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this rule.

Congratulations are in order to the National Rifle Association. They are attempting to destroy vital and sensible gun safety legislation with the help of a disorganized Republican leadership.

This is not a game, Mr. Speaker. We are talking about protecting the lives of our kids. This should not be an opportunity for Congress to bring up legislation that appeases the gun lobby but does very little to seriously address the problem of gun violence in this country. We need meaningful legislation. The rhetoric is not going to cut it. Walking away, this is not going to cut it. We owe it to our communities and to our country to do the right thing.

There is a lot about this rule that is offensive, from keeping out good amendments to allowing amendments designed to obliterate the first amendment. But regardless of where my colleagues stand on these issues or on the issue of gun control, the least we should be able to expect from the Republican leadership is fairness.

This rule is many things, but it is certainly not fair. We should reject this rule, go back to the drawing board, and start over, keeping our children's best interests in mind, not the gun lobby's best interests.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Yorkville, Illinois (Mr. HASTERT) the very distinguished and hard-working Speaker of the House.

(Mr. HASTERT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule; and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support it.

When this rule came before the committee, there were well over 100, almost 150, amendments that were requested. There were 55 amendments, I believe, made in order from all points of belief and perspective. This rule gives the House the most open debate possible regarding the issues surrounding violence in our schools and violence with our children.

As a former public school teacher, I worked almost my whole career to make sure that there is good education both as a practitioner, then in the State legislature, and here in the Congress. What makes too many of our students do these things to their classmates, their teachers, and their friends? How can we stop it? Those are the questions.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. WATTS) put it well when he said, we should explore not only these things and how they happen but also why these things happen.

Earlier this year, legislation authored by my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GREENWOOD), would start the process of answering the questions of why. This legislation assembles experts from around the country who will investigate the common reasons why so many children act so violently.

In this debate we attempt to provide some answers to both of these questions. But let us not kid ourselves. Congress cannot quickly and easily provide complete answers that will solve the complex problems of juvenile violence. So we can only try to highlight some of those issues that we as a society should work to solve. We will debate options regarding guns in our society.

I believe that there are common-sense steps that we can take to keep guns out of the hands of unsupervised children. This rule sets up a fair process that lets the House speak on gun legislation. We should look at the disparity between gun shops and gun shows. It makes no sense to put restrictions on the gun shops if a juvenile or a criminal can easily purchase a gun at a gun show.

The gun debate helps us to partially answer the "how" question. The juvenile justice debate will help us answer the "why" question. Why have our children lost sense of the value for human life? Why do they not know the difference between right and wrong? What in our culture promotes this kind

of reprehensible conduct from our very children?

This debate will help to address these questions. We will have a debate about our justice system and how it deals with young people. We will have a debate on prayer in the schools and how that might help children understand the difference between right and wrong. We will have a debate on obscenity in our culture. And if sexual obscenity is left unprotected by the Constitution, why should violent obscenity be protected when studies already show the damage it does to our young people?

This will be a long debate, but it will be a good debate that reflects the many opinions of this great Nation.

Many have asked why this rule allows for two different debates on two different bills. The answer is simple. This strategy allows the House to work its will on two separate issues joined by one common tragedy. The House will work its will on the issue of gun restrictions. We cannot and should not hide from this issue that occupies the attention of the American people. And the House will work its will on the wider issues surrounding our culture and our society and its impact on our children.

I urge my colleagues to support this rule and to join with me in starting the process of finding solutions to the problems surrounding the violence of youth in our schools.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. BLAGOJEVICH).

Mr. BLAGOJEVICH. Mr. Speaker, if one is a child in the United States, they are 12 times more likely to die from gun violence than a child in any other industrialized country in the world. Each day in America, Mr. Speaker, 14 children die because of gun violence. And every year in America, 38,000 Americans lose their lives because of gun violence.

The Committee on Rules has allowed 14 of 70 amendments offered by Democrats relating to gun control to see the light of day on the House floor. And the Committee on Rules has only allowed 4 hours to debate these very important issues.

Among those amendments on the cutting room floor is a bill that would increase the age of possession for handguns from 18 to 21. In the United States 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds are the most likely to commit murders with guns. Eighteen-year-olds rank first. Nineteen-year-olds rank second. Twenty-year-olds rank third among those who commit homicides with firearms in our society. Yet the Committee on Rules will not allow that amendment to see the light of day on this House floor for a full debate.

Mr. Speaker, we need a better rule. We need an open debate. And we should have a full and free debate on all the issues of amendments relating to this important issue.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER) the very distinguished chairman of Subcommittee on Rules and Organization of the House.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I represent Conyers, Georgia, where the last school shooting occurred. And over the next several hours, every major TV network invited me to be on their morning talk shows to discuss the problem, and I politely declined in each instance. Because I think it is unseemly for political leaders to get on TV that surround personal tragedies to further a personal political agenda.

The agenda here is the action the President said is to register all guns. We will have to pass more gun laws, we are told, so kids cannot shoot each other in school yards. And yet we have 20,000 gun laws on the books in this country.

In Littleton, they broke 17 gun laws, Federal gun laws, and 7 State gun laws. And one more is supposed to help? Why do we not enforce the gun laws we have? Over the last many months, 6,000 young people were caught illegally bringing guns into schools and 9 have been prosecuted. What good does it do to have more laws on the books if we refuse to prosecute the ones that we have?

Let me tell my colleagues something that is not being addressed here. I read on two occasions in the last 2 weeks that of the last 8 kids shooting up school yards, 7 were on drugs, either Ritalin or Prozac or mind-altering drugs, legally on drugs, prescribed drugs. This is a very high percentage, 7 out of 8. There might be some connection here.

But nobody wants to talk about that. They want to talk about guns.

Well, in Conyers, I stayed off the television and stayed out of people's lives. Because the local officials, the sheriff, the school board chairman, the school superintendent, did just fine. They quelled the anger and the fear, and they did not do it with school psychologists and they did not do it with more school cops. They did it in the churches. They took the kids to the churches and they talked about values and trust and the value of life, all life.

I am happy to report that Conyers is doing just fine without my help. We need to focus on other things than guns, and we need to enforce the gun laws that are on the books, and we need not to continue to take advantage of personal tragedy to further political agendas.

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Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I come here this morning disappointed, deeply disappointed.

The tragedy at Littleton followed a year of school shootings, and it hammered home a terrible truth, and that truth is that all across our Nation our schools are suffering through an epidemic of violence and alienation. The threats continue. They continue in Conyers, Georgia; they continued in my own home of Port Huron, Michigan; and to address this crisis, we needed to come together as a community of people who were elected to represent our constituents and face a crisis in a cooperative manner. The country is looking for real leadership here, but the majority in this House is failing to provide that leadership.

Mr. Speaker, the proposals that are brought to the floor under this rule today are confusing, they are divisive, and they do not address the real issues. There was a bipartisan agreement out of the committee on a good bill that was put together by both sides. That has been thrown out the window. Instead of embracing that and building on that, we now are in combat at three or four different levels.

This rule loads down this bill with controversial amendments and divisive amendments that are sponsored and advocated by special interest groups, and it disallows measures that enjoy broad public support. My colleagues, the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER), myself, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), we have offered in the committee an opportunity to deal with this question of school violence. I used to be a probation officer. I worked with juvenile delinquents. I know when the problems occur. They occur when no one is at home, between 3 and 7.

So we put together a proposal that would have allowed a number of things, that we would have after-school programs so there would be a safe haven for children, they would not be out on the streets, so they could mesh with seniors and other adults and be mentored in the school. Schools should be opened. They should be a citadel of protection where values are cherished and learned like the home, like the church, through synagogue, the mosque. The school is a place where kids spend most of their time. It ought to be a place where they can get these values inculcated into them and have adult leadership and have people there who care and love them and will show them the way.

We asked that that be in order; it was not made in order. We asked for school resource officers to be in school to stop the violence. It was not made in order. We asked for a number of things that deal with this question. Guidance counselors. We do not have guidance counselors any more in America. That was not made in order. We have put these things in our substitute, but let me tell my colleagues. These issues deserve to be debated on their own, and they deserve an opportunity to be heard in this country.

So I say to my colleagues vote against this rule, vote against this rule, send it back to the Committee on Rules so we can have a more open, a more cooperative debate on this fundamental issue.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT).

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to start off with a discussion of how this process started. It started with two bipartisan bills, one in the Committee on Education, one on the Committee on the Judiciary that were based on deliberation and research, both were reported from subcommittee without opposition. That process has now degenerated into a political charade with dozens of amendments, many of which have severe constitutional implications and none of which have gone through the committee process.

If we are serious about crime, we should reject that rule and send all of these amendments back to the Committee on the Judiciary where they may receive appropriate consideration. Otherwise we are going to spend the next two days slinging sound bites at each other without any serious attempt in reducing juvenile crime.

Mr. Speaker, that is a sorry response to the events in Littleton, Colorado and Conyers, Georgia. I would hope that we would reject the rule and go back to a deliberative process where we can do something about juvenile crime.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN).

(Mr. CARDIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, there is something terribly wrong going on in this House today. We will spend more time today discussing why a child should not even see a handgun on TV rather than debating how we prevent a handgun from getting into his hands in the first place.

The other body did its part, and it did it quickly. It passed reasonable legislation to protect our children including background checks at gun shows and safety locks on handguns to protect our children. It turned to this body to finish the work. The country turned to this body to finish the work. And then suddenly something went wrong. Republican leadership said we could not use an expedited process, we had to go through the normal committee process, and then they abrogate the committee process by this rule and do not even listen to what has happened within our body. They do not even allow an up or down vote on what the other body passed. That is wrong. We should be able to vote on what the Senate passed.

This is a wrong way, Mr. Speaker. The process insults the Columbine victims, it insults the American public, and insults the Members of this body who will have to explain to their constituents why this body chose politics

over debate on a reasonable gun safety and juvenile justice measure.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LATHAM), who is an author of one of the 55 amendments that have been made in order as we proceed with what will be clearly a very fair and open debate.

(Mr. LATHAM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank very much the Speaker and the chairman, number one, for allowing my amendment to be made in order today, but also I think it very important to understand that today we are going to focus on what is the real issue, and that is what is happening in our society as far as our families, the control that we have at the local level in our schools, and we have got to have legislation that allows families, empowers them, empowers the local school district, the teachers, gives them the resources to solve this very, very difficult situation that we are in.

I just had the opportunity to visit with 48 students from Carroll, Iowa, seventh and eighth graders or middle school, and to see those young people, the kind of quality people that we have that want to do well in the future, who want to have a bright, safe, secure future. That is what this legislation is all about, and I am just very, very pleased that we are moving ahead today with legislation that is going to be very positive for these young folks from Carroll, Iowa, and all young folks in our schools.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me and rise in opposition to the bill.

Mr. Speaker, today the House will take action on legislation which is supposed to reduce violence in our country. Instead the Republican majority has chosen to do violence to the gun issue by its tactics of delay and process manipulation. Today we are here to make legislation. Instead the Republican majority is here to make mischief on this issue.

The American people expect and our children deserve a timely and open debate. Instead we have a delayed debate camouflaged by a convoluted legislative mischief. It is amazing to see how far the Republican majority will go to do the bidding of the NRA.

Just so we know what is happening, here today the House bypassed its traditional order, and debate takes place without the benefit of authorizing committee action. Last month the Republican leadership promised committee action, and today's floor action breaks that promise. The House leadership denied the Committee on the Judiciary members the opportunity to debate these issues and instead has allowed the National Rifle Association the time to mobilize and deflect America's pro

gun control sentiment with a multi million-dollar lobbying campaign and recently drafted legislative maneuvers.

If we were serious about this, we would have allowed the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) to come up. I urge my colleagues to vote no.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson debated the issues of church State separation and religious liberty for 10 years in the Virginia legislature. Our Founding Fathers dedicated the first 16 words of the Bill of Rights to the principle of religious freedom. But the Republican leadership in this House through this rule will limit amendment, debate on issues that go directly to the core principle of religious freedom to 10 minutes a side. Ten years for Madison and Jefferson, 10 minutes per side in this House today.

That is an insult to this House, it is an insult to the Bill of Rights, and it shows disrespect to the principle, the important principle of religious liberty. If the school prayer, Ten Commandments and religious funding amendments in this bill are serious, I would ask my Republican colleagues to say why they limited the debate to 10 minutes a side. If they are not serious, why do they show disrespect to the principles of the first amendment to the Constitution by letting them be debated on such a superficial basis on the floor of this House. The Republican leadership that is not listening now owes this House an answer why they are denying us the right to debate these important issues.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas, Ms. JACKSON-LEE.

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this morning I want to say to the American people that I am deeply saddened. Going to the Committee on Rules as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary and Subcommittee on Crime, led to believe that there would be a fair assessment of our amendments, acknowledged as a person who is deliberative in thinking along with my colleagues, I guess I was just sent down a primrose path, and I am disappointed in the Committee on Rules and its leadership because I believe truly that this was a serious opportunity for all of us to engage in a real discussion for America's children.

I had an amendment to address the question of unaccompanied minors into gun shows, traveling circuses around this country; 10-year-olds, 12-year-olds, and 6-year-olds can go into these shows, and yet we were not allowed a debate.

I answered the question about assisting children with their troubles, with a mental health amendment that would

provide school counselors and nurses and guidance counselors to address the needs of our children, and yet we were rejected. I am sorry today, Mr. Speaker, that this will be a circus, frivolous, wrong, misdirected and controlled by the National Rifle Association. I wish I could have been here applauding the Committee on Rules and its leadership. I guess I will get no amendments for the rest of the 2 years I am here, but I am standing for principle. I do not care. They did not do what they were supposed to do.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this rule, which frames the debate on the issue of juvenile justice and gun control. I rise in opposition to this rule because it represents the near completion of a process which held great promise in the beginning, but that has been mired in partisan politics ever since.

Just over a month ago, H.R. 1501, the Consequences for Juvenile Offenders Act of 1999 was introduced with the support of both the Chairmen and the Ranking Members of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Subcommittee on Crime. It was a bill that was a bipartisan effort to address some of our nation's most serious juvenile delinquency problems—a bill that was cosponsored by all the Members of the Subcommittee, Republicans and Democrats alike.

The bill passed through the Subcommittee on Crime unanimously and unscathed. It has provisions that aim to improve enforcement, but at the same time prevent juveniles from entering the juvenile justice system. Part of that prevention effort includes mental health services for children, something that I have been a strong proponent of in my capacity as the Chair and Founder of the Congressional Children's Caucus.

Just a short time after the passage of H.R. 1501 in the Subcommittee, the bill was scheduled to be marked up by the Full Committee. In the meantime, however, we heard of the tragic events in Littleton, Colorado—and the American public demanded that this Congress do something about children's access to guns.

But the markup for H.R. 1501 was continually delayed in the face of progressive and constructive gun amendments by the Democratic Members of the Judiciary Committee. Finally, the week before the Memorial Day Recess, the Chairman of the Committee issued a letter which stated that we would have to undergo a substantive and thorough process in Committee so that we can fully work through the issues presented by juvenile justice reform—including a debate on guns.

During the following week's district work period, the Republican plan changed. Instead of "give and take" with the Democrats in the Committee, we had "hide the ball." It was not until the following week that we understood that the intent of the Majority, in spite of the Hyde letter, was to bring this bill free-form to the floor of the House this week! Even then, we had no idea what bill we were amending because it was unclear whether H.R. 1501 would be the actual vehicle that would be used to debate the issues of juvenile justice and gun control.

With that understanding, or shall I say misunderstanding, we entered our debate in Rules. At least partially the result of not having undergone the markup process, over 170

amendments were filed in the Rules Committee—four of them by me. We strongly encouraged the Rules Committee to allow a full and robust debate on each of the issues of juvenile justice and gun control, including the use of trigger locks, closing the loopholes for gun shows, and banning the importation of high-capacity gun magazines.

It seems that only some of those issues are to be willingly and fully discussed today. And when they are discussed, they will be only done so with a partisan tenor. Of the 44 amendments to be debated on the floor, only 11 of them are Democratic. This flies in the face of the fact that we Democrats are only six seats short of having a majority in this House. And the American public knows this—they can do the math: we have approximately 48% of the seats, yet we only have 25% of the amendments.

I submitted an amendment, along with Congresswomen JULIA CARSON and JUANITA MILLENDER-MCDONALD that would have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to develop regulations governing the manufacture of child safety locks for firearms. It also would have promoted the safe storage and use of handguns by consumers by providing for a gun safety education program to be conducted by local law enforcement agencies.

The statistics on injuries and fatalities for children by firearms are startling. In the 10 years from 1987 to 1996, nearly 2,200 children in the United States ages 14 and under died from unintentional shootings. The U.S. leads the world in the rates of children killed by firearms.

Our amendment would have required minimum safety standards to govern the design, manufacture and performance for trigger locks. These standards would be used to ensure that no firearms that are unsafe would be sold in the United States.

The amendment also would have authorized the Attorney General to provide grants to local law enforcement agencies to sponsor gun safety classes for parents and their children. This provision encourages parents and their children to develop a responsible attitude toward firearms. I firmly believe that if parents choose to own firearms, then every member of the household should be taught gun safety.

I also offered a more modest amendment jointly with my colleague Congresswoman ROSA DELAURO, also on the issue of safety locks. The amendment is similar to the amendment that was offered by Senator KOHL to S. 254, and which passed with over 70 votes.

The amendment would have promoted the safe storage and use of handguns by consumers by requiring that each gun transferred or sold in this country by a licensed dealer should include secure gun storage or safety device. This requirement is minimal to promote gun safety. It protects the gun owner from any accidental or unintentional shootings that might occur without safety devices or storage included.

I also offered an amendment which would have increased our ability to control the sale of illicit firearms. The amendment would have increased the number of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearm (ATF) agents by 1000 over the next five years. These are the agents whose primary focus is to keep illegal firearms off our streets.

We hear from all sides of this gun control issue that we have gun laws that are not ade-

quately enforced, and by increasing the number of ATF agents this amendment would have provided a solution.

Currently there are about 1,800 ATF agents that work to enforce the current gun laws. This is wholly inadequate to deal with the illegal gun sales and transfers. For example, here are a few cases:

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a retired security officer for the U.S. Army purchased a handgun and a semiautomatic pistol which had been recovered from a gang member. ATF traced the weapon through its illegal tracking information system.

In El Paso, Texas, an individual bought and sold numerous firearms at gun shows throughout Texas, Arizona, Nevada and New Mexico. He was a straw purchaser for over 800 guns and had supplied over 1200 firearms to a narcotics trafficking organization in Mexico.

In Rhode Island, a gun dealer directed a purchaser to falsify the required paperwork and on another occasion, the dealer sold two long guns without requiring the purchaser to complete any paperwork at all.

If we are serious about enforcing the gun laws to prevent illegal transfers of guns, then we need to properly equip the ATF with the manpower to carry out these responsibilities.

I also offered a constructive amendment would require that no child under 18 would be admitted to a gun show without being accompanied by a parent or legal guardian. Just as we prevent our children from attending R-rated movies without being accompanied by an adult, this amendment would have kept unsupervised children away from gun shows where they have unlimited access to guns.

For the past few weeks, we have discussed the impact that the depiction of violence in the media has had on desensitizing children to violence. I believe there are several amendments being offered today that address this issue. But are conceding that being at a gun show does not have a similar affect?

It is obvious that if our children are unsupervised at gun shows there may be an implicit message that it is okay for children to possess or play with guns. We do not want our children to view guns in a flippant way, but to understand that it is a serious weapon. Supervision by a parent is crucial to ensure that children understand that concept.

I see that amendment as extending some of the same protections we already have in place for restricting children from places like night clubs and bars. It does not take away the right of a parent to take a child to one of these shows, but it does protect the child who may wander alone into such an event out of curiosity. It is a simple and unassuming amendment that I believed, would receive bipartisan support—yet we will not have the time to debate this amendment on the floor.

Finally, I also sought to amend this bill to include comprehensive mental health for our children in schools. It would assist to bring staff, like school counselors, social workers and psychologists, that can help detect children who will have problems before they get into trouble. The amendment would have made grants available for schools with an enrollment of more than 400 students, so that they can each afford to bring in this necessary staff. At the same time, the measure would require that those counselors hired would have the credentials required for them to be able to do their task successfully. It is the quintessen-

tial preventive approach to the problem of youth crime and youth violence. One that we should have the opportunity to debate today.

I urged the Committee on the Rules to give this House the opportunity to pass a juvenile justice bill, with my amendments, which will balance punishment and prevention of youth crime and that will also address one symptom of the problem, guns in the hands of children. We will not have that opportunity today. By accepting this rule, we will continue the tradition of short-circuiting this debate, and short-changing the American people. I urge all of my colleagues to vote against the rule, and give our families a chance to better protect our children from harm.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER).

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, this is a place in America where debate is supposed to be the freest and the most open. This is the place where the first amendment protects all speech made on the floor of the Congress, and yet we find each and every time that we come next to it, to an important issue that confronts our country, in this case, the safety and the future of our children, the role of violence in our society and the future, the future of this country, and the increased violence in our society, we see the Republicans once again want to close down debate, want to limit free and open debate, want to limit the amendments, not make in order amendments that they are afraid might pass.

That should not be the hallmark of the Congress of the United States, but unfortunately the Republicans have decided that they will let the NRA, the National Rifle Association, design this debate, design the amendments, say what amendments will be in order and what amendments will not be in order. They have chosen to side with the NRA against free and open debate.

As my colleagues know, this is the House of Congress which this year has mastered working 2 and 3 days a week, 1 and 2 hours a day, but now we are told that all of this has to happen in a very brief period of time without free and open debate. It is a travesty again the first amendment, and it is a travesty against the Members of this House.

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Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds simply to respond to my very good friend from Martinez, California. There were 178 amendments submitted to the Committee on Rules for consideration of this bill. We have made in order 55 amendments. We have considered basically every conceivable option that was out there, and we have broken this bill up. Why? So that we can have a full and fair debate.

So we have not closed this rule down. This is a structured rule. It is put into place so that virtually every Member who had an idea will have a chance to have that heard, and I believe that it is a rule that is very worthy of our support.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT).

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I have been in this House for 7 years now, and this is the most outrageous process I have seen in the 7 years I have been here.

Just before the Memorial Day break, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) and I, in the Judiciary Committee, sided with the Republicans to go through a deliberative process for this bill. Two weeks later, the same people who sat in the committee and argued that the bill should go through the deliberative judiciary process pulled the rug from under us, took it to the Committee on Rules, and are bringing the bill directly to the floor.

My colleagues heard the gentleman: 178 amendments offered in the Committee on Rules, amendments that should have been debated in the deliberative process in the Committee on the Judiciary. And of the 178 amendments offered in the committee, 14 Democratic amendments made in order to be debated on the floor of the House. How can we have a deliberative process about such an important issue without deliberation?

We should reject this rule and reject these bills.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, at this time, because my speakers are being used up much more than my Chairman's, I would like to inquire as to the time remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOLBE). The gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, has 3¼ minutes remaining; the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) has 8½ minutes remaining.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my very good friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH).

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Committee on Rules for yielding me this time and for doing such a great job on providing this rule that gives us the opportunity of a full and open debate.

One of my colleagues just raised the issue that the Committee on Rules did not provide the Democratic minority with enough amendments. It has come to my attention that, in fact, a Democratic Member of the Committee on Rules tried to deny one of those Democratic amendments. Two of them, rather; I stand corrected.

So I think we have done a good job giving everybody the opportunity to present their amendments. We have to move this debate along. I think we are giving the opportunity for a thoughtful, thorough debate on issues that go far deeper than just guns; that go right to the heart of our society, of our culture, of the direction that this country is headed in, and it is a far more complex issue than just violence. Violence in the schools is the tip of the iceberg. But we are trying to deal with this in

an honest and fair way and I think this rule provides us with the parameters to do that.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY).

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this restricted rule.

In the weeks after the terrible tragedy at Columbine High School, the American people cried out for leadership from this House. They demanded that we do something to stop the violence that has invaded our schools and is killing our children. The response from the Republican leadership was to delay. We were told we could not move forward quickly. We were told that we needed to address this issue in regular order, starting with the subcommittee, and then the committee, then the House floor.

But what has happened to that regular order? The Committee on the Judiciary was not allowed to consider this bill, and the closed rule we are debating right now locks dozens of amendments to address the crisis of gun violence in this country. It does not even allow a sensible vote on these proposals.

Mr. Speaker, this rule is a sham. This day was supposed to be about Members of the House coming together across the aisle to pass common-sense gun safety measures. It was supposed to demonstrate nonpartisan courage and leadership in the face of a crisis. Instead, sadly, the Republican leadership in this House has turned its back on the American people and embraced the NRA instead.

I urge my colleagues to vote against this terrible rule.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN).

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak against the rule and against the procedure that has governed the debate of this juvenile justice legislation.

I am a cosponsor of H.R. 1501, the underlying juvenile justice bill. In fact, every member of the Subcommittee on Crime is a cosponsor of the underlying 1501 legislation.

From time to time, people across America say, why can Democrats and Republicans not work together on major pieces of legislation? This was an opportunity where the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MCCOLLUM) got together and worked for months on a compromise juvenile justice bill. We urged within the subcommittee, within the committee, to get this bill debated on the floor right away, with bipartisan consensus.

But why did we not do it? We did not do it because the Republican leadership had to figure out a way to deal with the tricky issue of guns and violence in schools. They capitulated and delayed and played games because they did not have the courage to just report this bill

to the floor and allow an open discussion about guns.

The next time people in America are looking for an opportunity to vote on bipartisan legislation, they will look to the crime bill and what the Republican leadership did with this bill. This bill should have been passed before Memorial Day.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER).

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Speaker, 192 million guns flood our streets. The Littleton tragedy galvanized Americans to action. And what is this Congress doing? Instead of gun control, we are doing remote control. Instead of worrying about kids and gun shows, we are worried about TV shows. Every parent in America understands that kids are exposed to too much violence. But to only condemn the entertainment industry and not the gun industry is deadly.

So let us get this straight, America. Instead of going after the NRA, Congress is going after NBC. Mr. Speaker, 10,000 people were murdered by handguns in America in 1996. Only 30 in Great Britain, 15 in Japan. Those countries have violent entertainment too, but they have something we do not: real gun control.

So wake up, Congress. It is not just the entertainment. It is the guns.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

While some of the people at the microphone say we have to study the causes and the whys, and that is true, but when firemen arrive at the scene of a fire, they do not sit down and say, I wonder how this started; they put out the fire first and then they decide what started the fire. Well, what we have to do is get rid of the guns and then talk about some of the other social programs.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this rule. We are dealing with what is obviously a very, very troubling and complex issue. It is clear to me that there are problems that exist in our society. They are at the edges. Basically, our society is good. We have young people who are out there who are volunteering, who work hard, who study hard, and I think are going to lead this country into the 21st century. I am very proud of what it is that they have done. But, we also do have some problems, as I said, at the edges.

It is not easy for us to tackle those questions, but I believe that the rule that we are about to vote on is going to provide us with the opportunity to address virtually every concern that is there.

There were 178 amendments submitted to the Committee on Rules, and we have made in order 55 of those amendments. My good friend from south Boston just talked about the

issue of guns. And when we look at the gun bill that we will be considering, one-half of the amendments that we made in order have Democrats as sponsors of those amendments. So the Democrats are clearly going to have their opportunity to be heard.

I listened to what quite frankly was at a very, very high volume, a lot of stuff come from the other side of the aisle over the past hour, and it came from people who have amendments made in order, and yet they talked about how outrageous this rule is. We are going to have a clear and focused debate to try and help the greatest deliberative body known to man do our part in dealing with this societal challenge that we face as a Nation.

So I urge my colleagues to support this rule. It is very fair; it is very balanced, and then let us move ahead with what will be 2 full days, not a closed-down debate, 2 full days of debate. Hours and hours and hours we will be considering these questions, and I hope my colleagues will allow us to move ahead with it.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the rule on H.R. 1501 and H.R. 2122. On May 25, the Speaker stated that we should consider this bill in a "timely yet responsible way" and that "rushing it to the floor . . . will not result in a better product in the long run." The actions of the Rules Committee late last night has been anything but timely and responsible. After the majority pledged to work together to draft a bipartisan bill that contained the reasonable gun-safety legislation in the Senate, the Judiciary Committee canceled the scheduled mark-up and took the juvenile justice and gun violence proposals directly to the floor.

Now, just twelve hours after passing the rule, we are debating two bills that Members and staffs have had inadequate time to prepare for.

Mr. Speaker, after the events of the past two months, this should not become a partisan debate. We must take as many steps as we can to eliminate the environment of violence and reduce risk to our children, families and neighbors. The culture of violence is magnified every day by rapidly expanding communication technology. Television, movies, the internet, violent video games all conspire to make violence a part of the lives of each of us every day.

The Senate has done its part to provide sensible legislation, and it is now up to us to adopt a package of legislation that addresses the violence that has frightened families and communities across the Nation. No legislation alone is potent enough to stop youth violence, but it is truly unfortunate that we could not come up with one bill that addresses both the need for juvenile justice programs and sensible gun safety provisions.

As the Ranking Member on the Appropriations Treasury-Postal Subcommittee, I was prepared to introduce an amendment in the Treasury Postal Appropriations Bill that would close the gun-show loophole just as the Senate bill did. But a last minute decision by the Republican leadership that gun violence would be addressed in a timely and substantive manner kept me from offering my amendment. We were reassured that this issue would be addressed swiftly and cooperatively.

But here we are today debating a pair of bills that never made it through Committee debate and were brought to the floor in a haphazard and truly partisan fashion.

I urge members to vote against this rule.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Rule providing for consideration of H.R. 1501, the Consequences for Juvenile Offenders Act of 1999, and amendments thereto.

As many of my colleagues know, we have been trying for several years to pass legislation addressing the growing problem of juvenile crime in the United States. It is time that we take definitive action.

The Committee on Education and the Workforce has responsibility for programs directed at preventing juvenile crime. I will be offering an amendment to modify the current Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act to provide States and local communities with the resources they need to operate effective delinquency prevention programs.

This amendment is based on legislation authored by Congressman JIM GREENWOOD, H.R. 1501, the Juvenile Crime Control and Delinquency Prevention Act. A similar version of this legislation, H.R. 1818 passed the House twice during the 105th Congress. Changes made to H.R. 1150 and included in the amendment have been worked out in a bipartisan basis with Minority Members on the Committee.

MIKE CASTLE, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families, Congressman GREENWOOD, Ranking Minority member BILL CLAY, Congressmen DALE KILDEE and BOBBY SCOTT deserve a great deal of credit for all of the time they have devoted to crafting this legislation. I would also be remiss if I did not thank Congresswoman ROUKEMA, and Congressmen SCHAFER, TANCREDO, SOUDER, FORD and MILLER for their efforts to work with us in putting together a bipartisan bill. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Congressman MARTINEZ, who helped craft the original version of H.R. 1818, which passed the House twice last Congress.

I note that a number of these amendments supported by Members of the House address issues that have already been taken care of in our bill. For example, our bill allows the use of funds in both the formula grant program and the Prevention Block Grant Program for after-school programs. There is also a study on after-school programs. Congressman CASTLE, who is a strong supporter of after-school programs, crafted these provisions. Funds may also be used for programs directed at preventing school violence. In addition, the Prevention Block Grant includes language allowing local grantees to use funds for a toll-free school violence hotline. Congressman TANCREDO, who represents Littleton, Colorado, is the author of this provision.

The amendment I am offering also includes several provisions dealing with the delivery of mental health services to youth in the juvenile justice system. These provisions include: allowing the use of funds in the formula and block grant programs for mental health services, training and technical assistance for service providers, and a study on the provision of mental health services to juveniles. Congresswoman ROUKEMA has provided the Committee with vital information on the importance of mental health services for at-risk juveniles and juvenile offenders and should be commended for her work in this area.

I have also noticed that a number of proposed amendments attempt to direct that a portion of funding under the Prevention Block Grant Program be used for specific purposes. The Committee created the block grant by combining a number of existing discretionary programs. We did this to provide States and local communities with broad flexibility in designing programs to meet their local needs. Putting any restrictions on the use of these funds would tie the hands of local communities who are in the best position to know how to address their unique problems with juvenile crime.

Mr. Speaker, there are few programs at the federal level which provide services directed at preventing juvenile crime, particularly programs to provide assistance to juvenile offenders.

It is my hope that we can keep the focus of my amendment on providing assistance to this high-risk population and other juveniles at risk of involvement in delinquent activities.

I urge my Colleagues to support my amendment when it is offered and to support the Rule under which this legislation is being considered.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 240, nays 189, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 210]

YEAS—240

Aderholt	Campbell	Everett
Archer	Canady	Ewing
Armey	Cannon	Fletcher
Bachus	Castle	Foley
Baker	Chabot	Forbes
Ballenger	Chambliss	Fossella
Barcia	Chenoweth	Fowler
Barr	Coble	Franks (NJ)
Barrett (NE)	Coburn	Frelinghuysen
Bartlett	Collins	Gallely
Barton	Combest	Ganske
Bass	Cook	Gekas
Bateman	Cooksey	Gibbons
Bereuter	Cox	Gilchrest
Biggert	Crane	Gillmor
Bilbray	Cubin	Gilman
Bilirakis	Cunningham	Goode
Bishop	Danner	Goodlatte
Bliley	Davis (VA)	Goodling
Blunt	Deal	Goss
Boehlert	DeLay	Graham
Boehner	DeMint	Granger
Bonilla	Diaz-Balart	Green (WI)
Bono	Dickey	Greenwood
Boucher	Dingell	Gutknecht
Brady (TX)	Doolittle	Hall (TX)
Bryant	Dreier	Hansen
Burr	Duncan	Hastert
Burton	Dunn	Hastings (WA)
Buyer	Ehlers	Hayes
Callahan	Ehrlich	Hayworth
Calvert	Emerson	Hefley
Camp	English	Herger

Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hilliard
Hobson
Hoekstra
Horn
Hostettler
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Isakson
Istook
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Kasich
Kelly
King (NY)
Kingston
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
Kuykendall
LaHood
Largent
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Manzullo
McCollum
McCrery
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McKeon
Metcalf
Mica

NAYS—189

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Allen
Andrews
Baird
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Bentsen
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Bonior
Borski
Boswell
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Condit
Conyers
Costello
Coyne
Cramer
Crowley
Cummings
Davis (FL)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Deutsch
Dicks
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doyle
Edwards
Engel

Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Moran (KS)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Ose
Oxley
Packard
Paul
Pease
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Pombo
Porter
Portman
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Regula
Reynolds
Riley
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Roukema
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Salmon
Sanford
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaffer
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg

Shaw
Shays
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Skeen
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Spence
Stearns
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Sweeney
Talent
Tancredo
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thornberry
Thune
Tiahrt
Toomey
Traficant
Upton
Vitter
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watts (OK)
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wise
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

Sabo
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schakowsky
Scott
Serrano
Sherman
Sisisky
Skeltton
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder

Brown (CA)
Davis (IL)

Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stenholm
Strickland
Tanner
Tauscher
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thurman
Tierney
Towns
Turner
Udall (CO)

NOT VOTING—6

Gordon
Houghton

Udall (NM)
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Weiner
Wexler
Weygand
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn

□ 1218

Mr. ROEMER changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to insert extraneous material into the RECORD on H.R. 1501 and H.R. 2122, the legislation we are about to consider.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

CONSEQUENCES FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS ACT OF 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOLBE). Pursuant to House Resolution 209 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 1501.

□ 1218

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1501) to provide grants to ensure increased accountability for juvenile offenders, with Mr. THORNBERRY in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MCCOLLUM) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MCCOLLUM).

Mr. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise this morning in strong support of H.R. 1501, the Consequences of Juvenile Offenders Act of 1999. On a day when there may be more than occasional partisanship, I think it is important to note that the base text

for our deliberations today and the base text for what we will probably be considering tomorrow and maybe even the next day is truly bipartisan.

Indeed, all the members of the Subcommittee on Crime, Republican and Democrat alike, are original cosponsors of this bill, as are the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS), the chairman and the ranking member of the full Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation is the outcome of years of field hearings, committee hearings and earlier legislative efforts. It reflects the input of countless men and women who are daily in the trenches of juvenile justice around the country; the juvenile court judges, probation officers, prosecutors, police officers and educators who have the tremendous challenge of trying to make juvenile justice a reality by redirecting the lives of troubled youngsters into productive paths.

Perhaps most importantly, this legislation responds directly and in a positive common sense way to the central question that we are all grappling with today. What can we do about youth and violence? How can we, as legislators, contribute to safer, healthier communities for our kids and our families?

Our youth are America's finest resource. We have an obligation to protect this valuable national treasure. As a Congress, we may disagree on how to accomplish this objective. However, we are all focused on one thing. We must protect our young people.

Mr. Chairman, the tragic events at Columbine High School on April 20 have left us all asking tough questions, looking for real answers. The senseless suicidal rampage by those two teenagers leading to the brutal deaths of 12 of their classmates and one teacher cast a fearful shadow over our country.

As a father of three sons, one of them a high school graduate only three weeks ago, my wife and I have known the weighty concerns of school violence and, sadly, I think we all know that the determined acts of individuals on a massacre and suicide mission are rarely preventable through even the best of laws.

We have now learned that these two teenagers felt rejection by their peers, were filled with hatred and had been planning their violent massacre and suicide for a year. It seems to me that the key to preventing such tragedies is to foster and strengthen those values and convictions that make even contemplating such madness inconceivable.

Yes, our Nation's laws do play a part in fostering such values, but I think the role our laws play in all of this pales in comparison to the combined roles of family, churches, civic institutions and the media. These are what truly shape the character of our youth.

This very important point was eloquently made at the Subcommittee on Crime hearing last month by Darrell Scott, whose daughter Rachel was