

licensing reform was enacted in December 1993, the number of dealers in the United States has dropped from 283,000 to 239,000 in December 1994. For the first time in years, according to the Violence Policy Center, there are now more gas stations than gun dealers in this country.

Opponents of gun control legislation say that measures such as these make no difference in crime and the flow of illegal weapons. Even supporters of gun control legislation often dismiss these type of reforms as too small, too narrow, and insufficient to address such overwhelming problems.

Clearly, these reforms do not solve our problems with violence and crime. But there should no longer be any doubt that small steps make a big difference. The struggle to free our communities from rampant gun violence will only be won with commitment, determination and measures just like these. I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

CONFESSIONS OF A GUN RUNNER; HOW  
SUBURBANITE SUPPLIED CHICAGO GANG  
(By Alex Rodriguez)

Easy money, James L. Bush thought to himself. Buy a gun for \$100, sell it for \$250 on the streets. And in the bullet-scarred neighborhoods of the West Side, customers weren't hard to find.

So several times last winter Bush—suburbanite, homeowner and father of two—drove to the city and sold boxes of guns to the Vice Lords street gang. He drove away with a wallet stuffed with cash.

Getting the guns wasn't a problem. Bush owned a federal firearms dealer license, about as easy to get as a library card.

"It was very easy to abuse the system," Bush, 39, said during a recent interview at his home in Bolingbrook. A federal judge will sentence him this summer on a conviction of illegal delivery of firearms.

"There are probably people out there doing it right now," he continued, "but they just haven't gotten caught."

Just how significant a role crooked federal firearms dealers play in the availability of guns to criminals is hard to measure, federal officials say. Most federal firearms dealers don't break the law, and law enforcement agencies don't keep statistics on those who do.

Still, the access to volume that comes with the license means that just one crooked firearms dealer can become a street gang's conduit for hundreds, even thousands of guns, federal law enforcement officials say. Bush supplied gang members and drug dealers with more than 350 guns before federal agents arrested him in February. In 1992, federal agents arrested James Board of Highland, Ind., who police say sold more than 1,000 guns to Chicago street gangs.

At least 50 of those guns have been recovered from crime scenes, said Jerry Singer, spokesman for the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Board pleaded guilty to one count of illegal firearms delivery and was sentenced to 21 months in jail.

The federal government has responded by tightening regulations governing the issuance of federal firearms licenses.

Before the changes, anyone could obtain a federal firearms license by paying \$30 and filling out a one-page application.

With that license, they could buy and sell large numbers of guns across state lines—from home if they wanted. They could buy in volume because they bought wholesale.

License holders can still do all that, but now applicants must pay \$200 for a license, submit fingerprints and live in a town without laws prohibiting gun dealerships.

Gun proponents have decried the new regulations as unnecessary and misguided.

"We see (ATF) as committed to driving down the number of federal firearms license holders as a ploy to drive down lawful gun ownership," said Mary Sue Faulkner, spokeswoman for the National Rifle Association. "It's like gun control. There are already plenty of laws on the books to enforce."

ATF officials, however, say the new regulations are needed to pare down the universe of license holders. One reason the agency struggles to ferret out crooked firearms dealers is that it isn't armed with enough inspectors to monitor them.

In Illinois, 15 inspectors must cover 6,529 federally licensed firearms dealers along with countless other duties, including making sure distilleries, breweries and wineries pay federal liquor taxes.

"It's a very difficult job, when you have that few inspectors for that many federal firearms licenses," Singer said. "There's only so much resources to go around."

If the goal is fewer dealers, the new regulations are working. Before December, 1993, when the federal government raised the application fee from \$30 to \$200, ATF had to oversee some 284,000 license holders nationwide. Nine months later, the number of licensed dealers dropped to around 255,000.

Then in September, Congress enacted new rules that required applicants to submit fingerprints, notify their local police chief of their application and certify that their dealership isn't prohibited by local law.

Since then, the number of licensed dealers has dropped to 223,476. By 1997, ATF officials predict the number of licensed dealers will dwindle to 80,000.

"Maybe by 1997 we'll have a more manageable universe," said ATF spokesman Michael Fitzgerald.

Bush only heard once from the ATF after getting his federal firearms license in January, 1990. An agent visited him February, 1993, to review his records. Later that month, the agency renewed his license.

At the time, Bush was a Chicago Transit Authority purchasing clerk living with his family in a \$180,000 house in Bolingbrook, but struggling to erase a \$40,000 debt from a failed laundromat business, according to Bush and court documents.

In September, 1994, an acquaintance of Bush—not named in court documents—offered to find Bush gang members and drug dealers in the market for guns, court records showed. The two agreed to split the profits.

According to court records, Bush sold 350 guns to criminals, at first with the help of his friend—a driver with United Parcel Service—and later on his own. The two used a grinding stone attached to a cordless drill to erase the guns' serial numbers.

Bush was arrested Feb. 2 after selling 47 guns to an undercover ATF agent. He pleaded guilty April 4 and faces sentencing in July.

Bush, who is black, says he wrestles daily with the knowledge that he sold guns in mostly black neighborhoods under siege from gangs for decades.

"I know it wasn't right," Bush said. "They were going in the hands of gang-bangers, and it was mostly black-on-black crime. Maybe by me getting busted, that was God's way to tell me to stop."

As a federally licensed firearms dealer, James L. Bush supplied West Side gang members with more than 350 guns before U.S. agents arrested him in February, seizing dozens of weapons. The Bolingbrook resi-

dent was convicted in April of illegal firearms delivery.♦

CHELSEA NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSING SERVICES, INC., AND CITIZENS BANK OF MASSACHUSETTS

♦ Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I rise to commend Chelsea Neighborhood Housing Services, Inc. [CNHS], and Citizens Bank of Massachusetts [Citizens], which were nationally recognized for their exceptional partnership achievements by the Social Compact in its 1995 Outstanding Community Investment Awards Program Tuesday night. Together, CNHS and Citizens have developed a unique pilot program that helps former low-income renters become homeowners and building managers. The two organizations have designed this successful program specifically to meet the needs of low-income residents in Chelsea, MA.

Chelsea, historically a city of immigrants, has a population that often is the last hired and the first fired. Consequently, when the State of Massachusetts experienced a severe economic downturn in the early 1990's, Chelsea's residents were greatly affected. This population, with a per capita income of less than \$8,600, is unable to accumulate savings for downpayments or closing costs for home purchases, even when working overtime or holding two jobs. Nevertheless, despite the problems, many residents are determined to stay in Chelsea and buy their own homes.

Citizens—formerly known as Boston Five—originally approached CNHS to discuss a collaboration because it wanted to increase loans in Chelsea and create a successful program that could be replicated in other cities. When CNHS and Citizens designed rent-to-own, they carefully considered the needs of Chelsea residents. They recognized that additional financial assistance would be needed for first-time homebuyers in order for them to have downpayments and meet closing cost requirements. Triple-decker properties, three-story buildings with a two-bedroom apartment on the ground floor and two three-bedroom apartments upstairs, provided part of the answer. The income from rental units helps decrease the barrier to homeownership. To qualify for the program, the potential managers/buyers must commit to a 3-year program that requires them to attend monthly training sessions and learn how to be good landlords. In return for their work and training, they receive 100 points a month and are docked if absent from training or if they do not fulfill management responsibilities. At the end of each year, the points earned are converted to a maximum of \$1,200 and deposited to an escrow account at Citizens Bank. After 2 years, the account's balance—potentially \$2,400—is considered the manager/buyer's cash downpayment toward the average purchase price of \$120,000 for his or her home.



CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE, UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES FOR TRAVEL FROM JAN. 1 TO MAR. 31, 1995—Continued

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Germany	Mark	426.45	281.20					426.45	281.20
Senator Sam Nunn.									
Haiti	Gourde	1,218	87.00					1,218	87.00
Richard D. DeBobes.									
Haiti	Gourde	2,436	174.00					2,436	174.00
	Dollar					25.00			25.00
Total			3,624.15				25.00		3,649.15

STROM THURMOND,  
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services, May 8, 1995.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE, UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON FINANCE FOR TRAVEL FROM JAN. 1 TO MAR. 31, 1995

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator John D. Rockefeller IV.									
Japan	Yen		1,534.00						1,534.00
Taiwan	Dollar		648.00						648.00
United States	Dollar				5,359.95				5,359.95
Lane Bailey.									
Japan	Yen		1,534.00						1,534.00
Taiwan	Dollar		648.00						648.00
United States	Dollar				2,994.95				2,994.95
Total			4,364.00		8,354.90				12,718.90

BOB PACKWOOD,  
Chairman, Committee on Finance, Apr. 28, 1995.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE, UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS FOR TRAVEL FROM JAN. 1 TO MAR. 31, 1995

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Elizabeth De Moss.									
Costa Rica	Colon	71,514	415.18					71,514	415.18
	Dollar		30.36						30.36
United States	Dollar				605.00				605.00
Michael Haltzel.									
France	Dollar		1,500.00						1,500.00
United States	Dollar				647.05				647.05
Total			1,945.54		1,252.05				3,197.59

JESSE HELMS,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, Apr. 25, 1995.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE, UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZED BY THE MAJORITY LEADER FROM JAN. 1 TO MAR. 31, 1995

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator William V. Roth, Jr.									
Germany	Mark	666.35	439.25					666.35	439.25
Senator Connie Mack.									
Germany	Mark	380	250.49					380	250.49
Total			689.74						689.74

ROBERT J. DOLE,  
Majority Leader, Apr. 26, 1995.

ADDENDUM—CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE, UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZED BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADER FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1994

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator John Warner.									
United Kingdom	Dollar				1,763.95				1,763.95
Total	Dollar				1,763.95				1,763.95

ROBERT J. DOLE,  
Republican Leader, Apr. 26, 1995.