

in America right now, corporate America is using the Trump tax cut to give itself a raise.

At Morgan Stanley—hardly a left-wing company—the analysts surveyed a bunch of companies, and the companies surveyed said that they would pass only 13 percent of the Trump tax cut savings on to workers, compared to the 43 percent that go to share buybacks. For manufacturers—we all care about manufacturing—it is even worse. They expect 9 percent to go to workers and 47 percent to go to share buybacks.

Republicans made a conscious decision to give corporations and the wealthiest Americans the lion's share of the tax cuts and promised it would trickle down to everybody else. Unfortunately, trickle-down never works. Corporate America is doing what is best for corporate America, and working America is getting left behind.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The assistant Democratic leader.

#### GUN SAFETY

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, a few years ago, an author named Malcolm Gladwell wrote a book titled "The Tipping Point." He spelled out that in the course of history, when something occurs that changes people's thinking and actions, it is a precipitous moment where what has been done for so long stops, is reevaluated, and a different course is followed. The clear question we have in America today is whether we have reached a tipping point when it comes to gun violence.

It has only been 13 days since the tragedy in Parkland, FL. Look at what has happened since. Of course there is outrage, sadness, and mourning for the families who lost these wonderful students, teachers, and administrators, but beyond that, these high school students—17, 18 years old, some even younger—have become a national voice, a powerful voice on the issue of gun safety in schools.

I often wondered when this moment might occur or whether it would occur. There has been such a long litany and string of mass shootings and massacres. It is sad to say that there was a numbness setting in. When terrible things occurred in places like Las Vegas, Texas, and other States, you wondered, is that the event? Will the killing of those innocent children in Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut be the tipping point? Will America finally say "enough"? It appears that on this day, 13 days after the tragedy in Florida, we are near or at a tipping point when it comes to gun safety.

Some of it is very personal. Two weeks ago, after this occurred, my 6-year-old granddaughter said to her mother that she had been warned in her first grade classroom that if a shooter should turn up at school firing a gun, first, she should stay away from the windows, and second, she should lie down on the floor. I can't tell you what a profound impact that had on me as a

grandfather to think that my little first grader, this beautiful little girl, was worried about the moment when somebody would walk in her classroom and wantonly try to kill the students and teachers who are there.

I cannot believe that any sane person believes that the Second Amendment to the Constitution—the right to bear arms—envisioned that possibility. I am sure it didn't. I am sure our Founding Fathers—and we can debate for the rest of the day what their words actually meant—never envisioned that an American citizen's right to bear arms could somehow translate into violence against so many innocent people, as it has over and over again.

Last week, I was in Chicago. I was joined at a press conference by gun safety advocates at the Martin Luther King Jr. Community Center on the South Side. We stood together, victims of gun violence and I, at a press conference. With me were advocates from Hadiya's Promise and the Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence, who have been working together for years to combat the scourge gun violence in Illinois. I also stood with Patrick Korellis, who was wounded on February 14 10 years ago at a mass school shooting at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, IL.

A new voice came to join us, a graduate from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, FL, named Francyn Brown. She graduated from Stoneman Douglas in 2009. She is currently a law student at the Chicago-Kent College of Law. She is one of dozens of Stoneman Douglas graduates in the Chicago area—which include, incidentally, the first baseman for the Chicago Cubs, Anthony Rizzo—and hundreds, if not thousands, nationwide who joined together in the aftermath of the February 14 mass shooting that killed 14 Stoneman Douglas students and 3 staff. These young men and women have come together to speak up and urge their lawmakers to do something about the Nation's epidemic of gun violence. The message is starting to resonate.

When Francyn Brown was speaking last Wednesday, students at schools across the Chicagoland area were walking out of class in solidarity with Stoneman Douglas students. They are all calling for commonsense gun reform. These students don't have time or patience for political games in Washington or Springfield. They have seen their friends, kids just like themselves, get shot in their classrooms and neighborhoods. They have had enough.

Francyn Brown said:

It's not supposed to matter what side of the aisle a politician sits. We are supposed to all protect the future of our children.

I couldn't agree more.

These students and young people across the country are changing the debate about gun violence. They are making it clear how absurd it is for lawmakers in this Chamber, across the rotunda, or in State capitals to do

nothing when Americans get shot every day in their homes, their neighborhoods, their churches, nightclubs, concerts, and schools. They are fed up with politicians in Washington who ignore the overwhelming majority of Americans who want commonsense gun safety and listen instead to paranoid, bullying gun sales lobbyists.

Remember, the National Rifle Association and its allies oppose virtually anything that hurts gun sales. They fight against proposals that might reduce gun sales, and they try to roll back laws on the books that limit them. That is their agenda. But it is not America's agenda. Corporate America is starting to walk away from the NRA. It is no longer a source of pride that they are doing business with the National Rifle Association—just the opposite. We are seeing company after company end relationships with the NRA because of its increasingly unhinged and hysterical rhetoric on the issue of gun safety. Corporate America—some of the biggest corporations in our Nation—realize that the NRA no longer speaks for responsible gun owners. When will Congress realize this?

We know we need to act to keep our children safe. There is no single reform that can stop every shooting, but we know there are gaps in our gun laws that make it easy for criminals, abusers, troubled children, and mentally unstable people to get guns, even military assault weapons with bump stocks and high-capacity magazines.

We need to close these gaps, and that requires the Republicans who control Congress to stand up to the NRA and do something that the NRA might not like. For starters, my Republican colleagues could take up legislation that the leader of their party, President Trump, proposed last Thursday. Here is one of the President's infamous tweets:

I will be strongly pushing Comprehensive Background Checks with an emphasis on Mental Health. Raise age to 21 and end sale of Bump Stocks! Congress is in a mood to finally do something on this issue—I hope!

And I hope as well.

There are proposals that Americans broadly support. Let's do something. Of course, the NRA is opposed to most of these. We expected that. These proposals might have some negative impact on gun sales, but is the gun sales lobby now in charge of writing bills for the Senate and the House? Deferring to the NRA is the reason we have reached this moment in history.

Remember, the Senate has held one gun vote since President Trump came to office, and it was a vote to prevent mental health records from the Social Security Administration from going into the FBI's gun background check system. That is the only vote since the Trump administration took office. It is the only thing we have done here—roll back a law on the books on mental health and background checks. That was a giveaway to the gun lobby, which claims to support enforcing the laws on the books but actually tries to roll

back those laws if it means helping to lift their sales.

Let's show the students at Stoneman Douglas and across the country that we hear them. I hope we show that reducing gun violence is a priority.

I call on my Republican colleagues to join the Democrats in a bipartisan effort to treat the issue of gun safety with the sense of urgency that the American people believe is necessary. If Republicans gave a fraction of the effort to gun safety that they have to other issues, we could get this done—and done quickly. There are plenty of reforms we could pass that are completely consistent with the Second Amendment and would save lives. Even President Trump, for the time being, has said that he supports them.

So let's get started. Not on a give-away to the gun lobby—let's work on closing loopholes. Let's have universal background checks. Over 90 percent of the American people believe we should keep guns out of the hands of convicted felons and mentally unstable people. I also believe that those who are subject to protective orders for domestic violence should be disqualified from buying a gun. I would say that those who are on the terrorist watch list, whom we do not allow to fly on airplanes because of fear that they could do harm to others, shouldn't be allowed to buy guns in the United States. I want to add a provision that straw purchasers—the girlfriends with no criminal record who buy the weapons to give to the boyfriends with a long criminal record—ought to have the book thrown at them. Let's get to work.

I want to thank the victims and advocates who have worked for many years to help reduce the epidemic of gun violence. I want them to know we stand with them, and I hope we can all stand with them on a bipartisan basis. I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority whip.

FIX NICS BILL

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I heard the remarks of my colleague from Illinois, and I, too, hope that we can get past the rhetoric and the talking points of the past and actually do something meaningful when it comes to public safety and address the terrible tragedies like the one that occurred at Stoneman Douglas High School in Florida just 2 weeks ago. But we are not going to do it by trotting out our laundry lists of requests and saying that it has to be all of this or nothing because when you say here in Washington—and particularly in Congress—"I want everything on my list or I want nothing," one thing is for sure. You will end up with nothing, and that simply is an unacceptable outcome, particularly when it comes to the public safety crisis manifested here most recently at Stoneman Douglas High School in Florida.

We know that there were many, many failures; you might even call this a systemic failure when it comes to the

children at Stoneman Douglas High School. First and foremost, why didn't Federal and local law enforcement follow up on threats and warnings? This young man, the shooter who took the lives of 17 people, telegraphed in very clear, unmistakable language what he intended to do, but the very people whom we trust and entrust with public safety at the Federal and State levels did not respond.

We know that the alleged shooter was expelled from school for disciplinary reasons. We know that deputies in Broward County received at least 18 calls warning them over the course of several years—18 calls. We know about the disturbing YouTube posts, where the shooter basically said what he intended to do and did, in fact, do later. We know that the FBI received many disturbing tips from citizens about the imminent danger posed by the shooter.

Another question is whether mental health officials could have done more. We know that this young man had a long history of violent outbursts. We are told that in 2016 he reportedly attempted suicide by drinking gasoline. He had been accused of verbal slurs against racial and religious minorities.

We know that Florida has a State law, as some have advocated at the Federal level, that permits forced hospitalization of people in mental health crises, but it seems that in this particular case, mental health workers concluded that this individual was stable at the time they examined him. Why and how was that determination made, and why does that stand in such stark contrast to the picture that we have been able to draw as a result of all the information that we received since this terrible shooting? If law enforcement, public health workers, and school officials were communicating and coordinating effectively, would they have made the same decisions in this case? Could they have made a difference in the outcome? Well, I think we need the answers to those questions.

There are two other questions we need to answer as well. One is why and how did the shooter have access to firearms in the first place? Another is why didn't the school's armed resource officer intervene once the shooting began?

All of us are angry at the fact that this shooting happened, but that shouldn't tempt us into easy solutions that at the end of the day wouldn't make any difference in the outcome and wouldn't do any good. That is what we tend to get here in Congress when we have hard issues like this—easy solution talking points that lead to no effective action. We can't let that happen here. As one columnist put it last week, we can't fall victim to "the politics of false hope."

The most frequent refrain I hear in Washington after some tragedy like this occurs is "We need to do something." Well, we need to do something effective, something that would change the likely outcome. We may not be

able to protect every citizen against terrible tragedies like this, but there are things we can do that will make things better and that will be effective in changing the outcome and, I believe, in saving lives.

Real solutions require us to look at why the FBI and local law enforcement failed to respond to multiple warnings. I asked one police officer about this, and he said: Well, in America we can't arrest somebody for precrimes. In other words, we can't arrest somebody for an offense that they haven't committed yet. It is perhaps a flaw that is exposed in our system when, unfortunately, we can't anticipate who might commit these terrible offenses and stop them before they commit the act. That is a feature of our law enforcement system, but this isn't just another job for law enforcement. There are a lot more people who could contribute to a solution here and prevent these incidents from happening beyond law enforcement, who are, by our very Constitution, structured to investigate and prosecute crimes that have already occurred, not to stop them in the first place.

I think a fair question to ask is, What is the role of social media in preventing mass violence? When you have people basically telling us what they are getting ready to do and posting those on social media and nothing seems to happen as a consequence, it strikes me that something is terribly wrong there. What is the responsibility of these platforms? Well, we know that Congress has said, for example, that you have a responsibility to police your platform for things like child pornography. In other words, they can't be totally oblivious to the things that are being posted on these social media platforms. They have a responsibility to intervene in some cases, and maybe it ought to be in more cases.

What options currently exist to reporting disturbing content online? I believe in the YouTube video case, it was someone who actually saw it, was disturbed by it, and then reported it to the FBI. It was not even YouTube itself that identified it. Of course, they would be in the best position to identify it immediately. It was some third party who happened to see it, was disturbed by it, and contacted the FBI. Tragically, it was never followed up on. How often are these popular platforms reporting to police or Federal authorities when people actually threaten to commit acts of violence? If there are holes in the reporting protocol, we should close them.

That is why I think this is a systemic failure. When you look at mental health providers, when you look at law enforcement officials, when you look at the schools, when you look at the social media platforms, when you look at all of this together, I think it begins to give us some ideas about things we can do that may end up saving lives, and we should do them.

Members are discussing many ideas, which always happens after a tragedy