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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1984

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FOR:

EDWIN MEESE III

JOHN A. SVAHN

FROM:

MICHAEL MUCHLMANN

SUBJECT:

Latest News from the Gun Front

Firearms legislation

Tom Korologos called a few minutes ago to report on a conversation he had last night with Jim McClure. McClure, he says, is testy and self-righteous on the issue and would rather kill legislation than to see a bill pass for which someone other than McClure gets the credit. Tom believes that McClure has locked himself into a permanent embrace with Neal Knox and that, indeed, the more extreme he is on this issue, the easier it will be to raise funds and his vote tally in Idaho this fall.

The Senator will claim that he had a "deal" with the Administration and the NRA on modifying language back in '81 and '82. In truth, there was no "deal", as everyone other than Knox and McClure will attest. You will recall that some progress had been made in various negotiating sessions, but that negotiations were suspended (a) because Treasury and Justice were starting to get nervous about possible adverse effects upon law enforcement and (b) because you decided to link the idea of further concessions on our part to concessions on their part regarding BATF reorganization.

Tom believes that it is vitally important to the President's interests as well as to those of the incumbent leadership of the NRA that the Administration remain firm in its support of its proposed modifications. Any softening on our part at this point will play into Knox's hands, and undermine all the good work we have done with NRA.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 24, 1984

FOR:

EDWIN MEESE III

JOHN A. SVAHN

FROM:

MICHAEL M. UMIMANN

SUBJECT:

Meeting with Senators McClure, Thurmond, and Hatch on

Firearms Legislation

The principal purpose of the meeting is to convince McClure to support the Administration's proposed amendments to S.914, the "Firearms Owners' Protection Act" (otherwise known as the McClure-Volkmer bill.

You will recall that we tried unsuccessfully to get a meeting set up toward the end of the Congressional session. Since then, things have gone from bad to worse, as indicated in my memo of January 12th. The situation, in a nutshell, is that all other sponsors of S. 914 (which include Thurmond, Hatch, Laxalt, Grassley, etc.) are on board with our amendments -- except McClure.

It is widely believed by the folks at Treasury, NRA, and Justice that McClure is being wound up by his staff, who in turn are working hand-in-glove with institutional competitors of the NRA. The staffers are, respectively, (a) the wife of a former NRA official who was sacked within the past year or so by the new leadership at NRA, and (b) a disgruntled, long-time Senate staffer who has been shot down for numerous Executive branch positions and bears a grudge against the Administration. These two have joined forces with Neal Knox who, as you know, was himself a casualty of the leadership-takeover at NRA and is bound and determined to show that he (rather than the NRA) is the key to protecting the legitimate rights of gunowners.

To anyone not familiar with the ins and outs of the metaphysical disputes which dominate discourse among the gun owning croud, the dispute between McClure and more or less everybody else would appear to be much ado about nothing. But to those whose livelihood consists in playing Paul Revere to the gunowners, even the smallest change in law can be made to appear like the work of the devil himself.

So it is with our proposed amendments to S. 914. Measured by any objective standard, they do not depart from the general

principles embodied in McClure's unalloyed bill. Indeed, his principal House co-sponsor, Harold Volkmer, supports our amendments. Nevertheless, if McClure, Knox & Co. persist in their assaults, a very delicately balanced set of compromises which were laboriously worked out among Treasury, Justice, and the NRA could come undone -- to the embarrassment of the President, Senators Hatch and Thurmond, and the current leadership at NRA, which has in good faith sought to accommodate the legitimate law enforcement interests of the Administration.

I attach at Tab A a set of talking points for the meeting.

At Tab B is an article summarizing Neal Knox's complaints against our amendments and Treasury's comments on his allegations.

At Tab C is a side-by-side comparison of current law, the original McClure bill, and our proposed amendments.

Talking Points

- o You are distressed by reports that McClure is opposed to our proposed amendments to S. 914. Would like to convince him that the proposed changes are not inconsistent with his goals.
- O Contrary to some of the reports being circulated by outsiders, the amendments are not the product of a bureaucracy run amok against the President's wishes. Rather they represent the considered judgment of our own appointees who are trying to carry out the mandate of the President -- namely, to protect the interests of legitimate gunowners while at the same time protecting legitimate law enforcement interests.
 - -- N.B.: The proposed amendments were very quietly worked out between Bob Powis's technical people and the NRA during the summer and early fall of 1983. After they had worked out mutually agreeable language, Lowell Jensen and his people reviewed it and gave their approval. Both Powis and Jensen feel that our proposed amendments are just about as far as we can go, and that any further concessions would open the Administration to severe criticism from the law enforcement community.
- o All of the proposed amendments are for the purpose of enhancing legitimate law enforcement and specifically gun tracing.
- o The amendments do nothing to centralize record-keeping, as alleged. They merely codify existing regulations on tracing.
- Not only do the Administration's amendments <u>not</u> establish a national registry, but they take positive steps in the direction long sought by gunowners. Specifically, they greatly simplify current restrictions on interstate sales and for the first time will permit gun dealers to sell weapons at gun shows.

O Virtually everyone else is on board, including McClure's original co-sponsor Harold Volkmer. For the President's sake, the Party's sake, and the sake of Hatch and Thurmond who are carrying the water for the Administration on these amendments, you would like McClure to reconsider his apparent opposition.

COMMENTS ON GUN WEEK ARTICLE CONTAINING NEAL KNOX'S SYNOPSIS ON S. 914

- 1. Submission of Licensee Records--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would "cancel" S. 914's prohibition against gathering registration information and incorporate into law existing registration regulations.
- S. 914 would eliminate the authority in the Gun Control Act to require licensees to report sales information to the Government and would prohibit dealer records from being used for a firearms registration system. While this provision is apparently aimed at "firearms registration," it would also prohibit the Government from maintaining the records of out-of-business licensees. This, of course, would have an adverse impact on gun tracing. Therefore, the proposed Administration's amendment would continue existing law which requires licensees to submit out-of-business records, reports of multiple handgun sales and reports of particular firearms transactions such as for gun tracing.
- 2. Interstate Sales--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would limit interstate sales of firearms to transactions between unlicensed individuals and dealers only.
- S. 914 would permit unrecorded sales of firearms between unlicensed individuals located in separate States where the transaction is legal. The Administration's amendment would also permit unlicensed individuals to acquire firearms outside their State of residence provided that the firearms are obtained in person from a Federal firearms licensee and the transaction is lawful where the transferee lives and where the transaction occurs. Under the proposal, the channelling of firearms through licensees, who must keep records of their firearms transactions, will enable such firearms to be more easily traced. Further, the prohibition against licensees' sales of firearms to felons and other prohibited categories of persons, together with the records licensees must keep of the firearms transactions, would discourage prohibited persons from travelling interstate to purchase firearms.

In addition, this amendment is necessary to enable the States to exercise more effective control over firearms traffic within their own jurisdictions and to prevent the circumvention and contravention of State and local laws governing the sale and acquisition of firearms.

Moreover, under the bill, as the Administration would amend it, law-abiding citizens who are eligible to purchase and possess firearms under Federal, State and local laws would no longer be confined to their own States of residence in acquiring firearms.

- 3. Ammunition Recordkeeping--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would continue to require ammunition recordkeeping by a licensed dealer. This statement is erroneous. The bill, together with the Administration's amendments, would eliminate all ammunition recordkeeping currently imposed upon dealers. Dealers in ammunition would not be required to obtain a Federal license and recordkeeping requirements are only imposed upon licensees.
- 4. <u>Criminal Penalties</u>--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendments would lessen the standard for conviction to a "knowing" violation of certain provisions and "willful" violations of remainder.
- S. 914 would require proof of the element of willfulness in establishing any violation of the Act. This new element will make it more difficult to successfully prosecute cases under the Act. For example, in the absence of evidence that the defendant had specific knowledge that his conduct violated Federal law, he would not violate the Act by receiving or possessing a firearm as a felon; transporting or receiving a firearm in interstate commerce with the intent to commit a felony therewith; transporting or receiving stolen firearms in interstate commerce knowing the firearms to have been stolen; or using or carrying a firearm in the commission of a Federal crime. The proposed Administration amendment would require proof of a lesser element, i.e., knowledge, for these more serious crimes. The use of "knowingly" as an element of intent necessary to prove a criminal violation would maintain the integrity of the criminal provisions of the Act and ensure that legitimate prosecutions can be maintained. Its use will not result in the prosecution of "technical" or "inadvertent" violations, but will ensure that law violators may be prosecuted without the additional unnecessary burden of proving that the defendant knew his acts violated the law.
- 5. Forfeitures -- Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment broadens the Government's authority to seize firearms.

Under S. 914 only firearms involved in or used in violation of any Federal crime is subject to forfeiture. The Administration's amendment also provides that firearms

"intended to be used" may be forfeited if there is clear and convincing evidence. Without this amendment, law enforcement officers having information that particular firearms and ammunition are about to be used in the commission of a Federal crime could not search for and seize such property until the crime is actually committed.

- 6. Engaged in the Business--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would allow prosecution for "unlicensed dealing" if a collector realized "pecuniary gain" from sales.
- S. 914 defines the term "engaged in the business," to mean "a person who devotes time, attention, and labor to dealing in firearms as a regular course of trade or business with the principal objective of livelihood and profit through the repetitive purchase and resale of firearms." This definition can be interpreted to exclude part-time businesses from the licensing requirement. In order to ensure that such businesses are not excluded, the Administration has proposed a definition for the term "with the principal objective of livelihood and profit." The proposed definition states that the term means that the intent underlying the sale or disposition of firearms is predominantly one of obtaining livelihood and necessary gain, as opposed to other intentions such as improving or liquidating a personal firearms collection. It does not require that the sale or disposition of firearms is, or be intended as, a principal source of income or a principal business activity. This provision would make it clear that the licensing requirement does not exclude part-time firearms businesses as well as those firearms collectors or hobbyists who also engage in a firearms dealing business. The establishment of such a definition will enlighten those individuals who are involved in a firearms transaction but are not sure whether their activities require them to obtain a Federal license.
- 7. <u>Inspection of Licensee Records--Mr.</u> Knox states that the Administration's amendment would allow the prosecution of willful violations of the recordkeeping requirement uncovered during an annual compliance inspection.
- S. 914 would restrict inspections to instances where the Government had a warrant based upon reasonable cause to believe evidence of a violation of law may be found on the premises. It provides for warrantless inspections under three narrow circumstances: (1) during a criminal investigation of a person other than the licensee; (2) an annual

compliance inspection; and (3) firearms tracing. Moreover, it bars criminal charges based upon violations discovered during annual inspections except for firearms sales to prohibited persons.

The Administration's amendment provides that willful violations of recordkeeping requirements uncovered during annual inspections may be prosecuted. There is no legitimate reason why criminal prosecution involving serious violations should be forbidden where the evidence has been legally obtained during a lawful inspection. S. 914 would encourage license noncompliance with the Act and regulations. If the licensee has maintained false records or has failed to record firearms transactions, sales to prohibited persons may be impossible to establish. The addition of the word "willful" will assure that technical and inadvertent recordkeeping violations do not give rise to criminal prosecutions.

8. Inspections of Licensed Collectors' Records--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would allow for annual compliance inspections of a licensed collector without a warrant.

Under S. 914 no inspection could be made with respect to the records and firearms of a licensed collector without a warrant or consent. The Administration's amendment provides for one warrantless annual compliance inspection of licensed collectors. Without warrantless inspections of licensed collectors, some collectors may seek to mask an unlicensed and unlawful firearms dealing business and immunize it from detection by securing only a collector's license. Also, the absence of warrantless inspections would encourage licensed collectors' failure or neglect to keep appropriate records of their receipt and disposition of firearms.

9. Licensed Dealers' Personal Firearms--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would prohibit unrecorded private sales of firearms by a dealer obtained within a year from any source.

Under S. 914 firearms licensees would not be required to keep records of personal firearms transferred from "business inventory" if held for longer than 1 year. The Administration's amendment provides that any firearm obtained by a licensee, either from business inventory or "otherwise received" would be subject to the 1-year time period. Without this language, the recordkeeping requirements of the Gun Control Act may be easily circumvented. In other words, S. 914 may be interpreted to allow licensees to dispose of firearms designated

as "personal" firearms without recording the transaction if the firearms were obtained from a source other than their business inventory. It would be difficult for the Government to disprove a contention that firearms were received by the licensee as personal rather than business property.

Based upon the recommendation of the NRA, the entire provision concerning the recordkeeping of personal firearms was deleted from the bill.

10. Mandatory Minimum Sentencing--Mr. Knox states that the Administration's amendment would limit the bill's mandatory penalty provision for using or carrying a firearm in the commission of a Federal crime to violent offenses.

The Administration's amendment conforms to a similar provision in the Administration's Comprehensive Crime Control Act and has several advantages to the version contained in S. 914. In the first place, it would apply a mandatory prison term of 5 years (10 years for a second or subsequent violation) for the use or carrying of a firearm during the commission of a Federal crime of violence. S. 914 would impose only a minimum 1-year sentence (5 years for a second or subsequent offense), and would not apply this minimum penalty to situations in which the firearm is carried as opposed to actually used. Moreover, in contrast to the proposal in S. 914, the amendment's provision strengthens the current law by making it expressly applicable even where the underlying statute has its own provision for enhanced punishment if committed by the use of a deadly or dangerous weapon, as for example, the bank robbery statute. Finally, the proposed amendment unlike S. 914, would remove the inappropriate limitation in the present law that requires that a firearm be carried "unlawfully" during a Federal offense, meaning that the section may not now be applied to a person who is licensed to carry a firearm but who misuses such authority to carry the firearm during his commission of a violent crime. In sum, the proposed amendment represents a preferable formulation of the offense of using or carrying a firearm during the commission of a Federal crime that would more effectively punish and deter the criminal misuse of firearms by violent offenders in our society.

GUN WEEK,

Gunowners Oppose McC

by Joseph P. Tartaro **Executive Editor**

Opposition to the Treasury Department amendments to the McClure-Volkmer Firearm Owners Protection Act (S-914) has been growing among national and state pro-gun organizations and it is clear that President Reagan himself might have to intercede to quell the rising concern among some of his staunchest 1980 supporters.

The McClure Volkmer reform effort had the support of Ronald Reagan when he was a candidate for the presidency. On several occasions during his presidency. Reagan or one of his close association has clearly restated his support for the reform act.

At his historic appearance at the National Rifle Association convention in Phoenix in May, the President was unequivocating in his continued support for a bill which had been filed again, with language previously agreed upon in Administration conferences. Now, in the last year of his first term, he may have to straighten out people within his own administration if a real reform bill is to pass either house of Congress. That is because people cloaked in the autl Administration have gone beyond the previously reached to add new amendm seriously threaten the value of the bill if ing it to one that is inimical to the gunowners.

McClure Opposition

Sen. James A. McClure (R-Idaho). author of the Firearms Owners' Protection and previous Congresses, has himself ob amendments which were offered in the I Administration by Asst. Treasury Secre Powis at an Oct. 4 hearing of the Senat Committee. Powis, who prefaced his remain ceting that Pres. Reagan supported the t bill, offered a package of amendments w seriously change the reform act.

Sen. McClure made no bones about his tions to these changes, telling Gun Weel Treasury Department taking "another bi

legislative apple."

Gunowners Oppose McClure Amendments

(Cont'd. from Page 1)

Gunowners of America, through Larry Pratt, its execudirector, is urging its members to contact their sena-tors and the President urgently" requesting support for the McClure-Volkmer bill when it comes before the Senate. GOA also wants the Senate to vote against any amendments. including a waiting period (which could still be proposed) or those from the B.A.T.F. which would kill the bill."

Pratt told Gun Week, "The original purpose of the bill was to eliminate ambiguous lan-guage which had led to abuses by over-zealous BATF agents in the past. Even if the amendments are more benign than we interpret them (as their supporters claim), they re-insert more ambiguities which will only make matters worse in future.

"If we can't get a clean McClure bill, we're better off without it."

Offers Opposed

GOA is not the only pro-gun group opposing the B.A.T.F. amendments. The Citizens amendments. The Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear arms is also opposed to the Treasury package as contained in the Hatch substitute and is scheduled to inform its members and act accordingly. Associated Gun Clubs of Baltimore, Inc., through its legislative director, Weldon Clark, has sent out a letter to other pro-gun groups in the nation telling them that the Treasury Amendments "would gut" the McClure

We know of no plans by the " National Rifle Association to oppose the amendments. In October, J. Warren Cassidy, executive director of the NRA-ILA, told Sen. Thurmond:

"...NRA would, of course, prefer that our bill, Senator McClure and Congressman Volkmer's bill, become law as we present it. However, in the interest of breaking up the logjam that has existed for so long, and recognizing that a loaf on the table is better than a bakery full of molding bread, we will accept the amendments as presented with the full understanding — and it is my under-standing — that they do not take the core of our arguments out from under our bill.

Cassidy then specifically endorsed the changes involving dealer, and BATF, participation in gun shows and the proposed BATF definition of "engaged"

in the business.

But Neal Knox, former executive director of NRA-ILA, now a columnist for several firearms publications, has claimed that the "Hatch Substitute is a piece of Halloween candy with most of the filling carved out and an implanted razor blade.

Knox, who has devoted many weeks of his time to personally lobby in favor of the original McClure language and studying the BATF and Hatch changes, has prepared a useful synopsis for gunowners. We reprint its key comparisons below for the information of our readers.

Knox Synopsis

(Major provisions of the McClure Bill, S. 914, are in bold face; Treasury/Justice Amendments in light. Sen. Hatch's substitute contains same provisions

as Treasury Amendments, except as noted.)

1. S. 914 eliminates authority in Gun Control Act to require licensees to report sales information to BATF; prohibits dealer records from being used for firearms registration system.

Treasury amendments cancel S. 914's prohibition against gathering registration informa-tion and incorporate into law existing registration regulations: Sec. 178.126, to allow Treasury to impose firearms registration requirements upon demand; Sec. 178.126a, requir-ing dealers to immediately report name, address and age of buyers of more than one handgun; and Sec. 178.127, requiring out-of-business delaers to send all firearms disposition records to Treasury, creating a central file of firearms owners and all guns purchased from dealers. Hatch Substitute adds: regulations shall not...authorize the establishment of any centralized or regional system of registration of firearms or fire-arms owners," which only pre8. 8. 914 ends ammunition-only dealer licensing and ammo sales recordkeeping by dealers.

Treasury amendment would require dealers to continue registering ammunition sales. Hatch Substitute restores elimination of ammunition record-

keeping.

4. S. 914 requires viola-tions of Gun Control Act to be proved as "willful". (Violation without criminal intent is now adequate for conviction).

Treasury amendment would lower S. 914's conviction stand-ard to "knowing violations" of

certain provisions, "willful vio-lations" of remainder.

5. S. 914 limits firearms
seized during arrest (subject to forfeiture) to those identi-fied as involved in an alleged violation; provides that seized guns shall be promptly returned upon acquittal.

Treasury amendment broadens seizure powers; nullifies prompt return of firearms" provision by allowing a separate forfeiture trial under lower "knowing" standard.

Key Figures in Final Push for S-914



Sen. James McClure



cludes Sec. 178.126 from being used to establish any additional registration system. Revision would not affect the centralized registration of gun owners already established by Sec. 178.126a, or the centralized registration of guns and owners already established by Sec.

2. S. 914 allows interstate sales and transfers of fire-arms between individuals, or purchases from out-of-state dealers, provided neither state nor local laws of buyer or seller prohibits. (Does not authorize mail order sales.) (P.6-8)

Treasury amendment would limit non-residents to purchases from licensed dealers only effective after the legislature of that state has met, giving the states time (according to Treasury's analysis) to "bar interstate transfers" of guns.



Pres. Ronald Reagan



Sen. Orrin Hatch

6. S. 914 defines "engaging in the business" so gun collecting as a hobby would not require a license.

Treasury amendment would substantially nullify definition by allowing prosecution for "unlicensed dealing" if a collector realized "pecuniary gain" from sales.

7. S. 914 limits dealer inspections; routine inspections to be solely for inspection, with no criminal charges to be brought except for sales to prohibited persons.

Treasury amendment also would allow record-keeping prosecutions discovered in routine inspections.

8. S. 914 prohibits BATF entry into licensed collector's homes without a warrant issued by a magistrate.

Treasury amendment would allow annual inspections in collectors' homes with notice.

9. S. 914 allows a licensed dealer to buy or sell from his private collection without records, except for sales of guns transferred to himself from his business inventory within a year.

Treasury amendment would prohibit unrecorded private sale of any gun obtained within a year from any source. Hatch Substitute eliminates private

collections by dealers.

10. S. 914 makes the mandatory sentence for use of a firearm in a Federal crime apply also to destructive devices; limits mandatory sentence to use in violent crimes; increases minimum penalty for second offense; provides safeguards for use in self-defense.

Hatch Substitute requires mandatory sentence for using or carrying firearms during violent crimes; strikes self-defense safeguard and eliminates minimum sentence for crimes with

destructive devices.

11. S. 914 allows "safe transit" of unloaded, cased firearms during interstate travel through areas where possession is prohibited. (No change by Treasury or Hatch Substitute.)

12. S. 914 prohibits denial of a license on the same grounds for which a licensee had been tried and acquit-

ted. (No change.)

SUMMATION — The unamended S. 914 would make major improvements in the Gun Control Act, both by loosening the Federal gun laws and providing safeguards against previous BATF abuses. The Hatch Substitute would nullify most of the bill's major provisions by adopting the proposed Treasury amendments, which ignore the prior Administration agreement to support S. 914. The Hatch bill improves Treasury amendments by eliminating

ammunition sales records and including a partial limitation on their gun registration provisions.

Net Gains With Hatch Bill
—Interstate sales alightly broadened; ammo records eliminated; some prosecutions made easier to defend; mandatory sentence limited to violent crimes; allows safe interstate transit.

Net Losses with Hatch Bill
— Gun registration regulations
would be given Congressional
approval; invites states to pass
interstate transfer bans; allows
BATF to charge "unlicensed
engaging in business" if
"pecuniary gain" realized on
gun sales.

After reading this report, and others which appeared earlier in Gun Week, if you want the McClure bill without the amendments already offered by BATF and Sen. Hatch, or any that may yet be offered in Committee or on the floor of the Senate, write to President Reagan, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC 20500, and your senator, c/o Senate Office Buildings, Washington, DC 20510. You may also write to your Congressman at the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. However, the bill will not be considered by the House until after the Senate acts.

A key figure in the whole dispute will be Pres. Reagan himself, because while he supported the original McClure proposal, second and third level bureaucrats in his Administration seem to be working to undermine both him and the bill.

COMPARISON OF MAJOR PROVISIONS OF S.914. 98th CONGRESS (McCLURE BILL). October 3, 1983, DRAFT BILL AND EXISTING LAW

Existing Law

S.914

October 3 Draft of Amendments to S. 914

Unlawful for any person to sell or deliver firearms to any person not residing within transferor's State and (b)(3).) Nonlicensees may not State. (18 U.S.C. \$ 922(a)(3).) Exception for licensee sales of longguns to nonlicensed residents

of residence. (18 U.S.C. \$ 922(a)(5) lawfully receive in their State of residence a firearm from outside that of contiguous States enacting enabling legislation.

18 U.S.C. § 922(c) requires no waiting period for intrastate over-the-counter sales of firearms. Requires a 7-day waiting period for non-over-the-counter intrastate sales of firearms and contiguous State sales of longguns by licensees.

I. Interstate Sales

Nonlicensees may acquire firearms from other nonlicensees outside the transferee's State of residence if the sale is made in person and if lawful where the transferee resides and the transaction occurs. Licensees may sell firearms over-the-counter to nonlicensees residing out-of-State under same conditions.

II. Waiting Periods

Same as existing law.

Nonlicensees may acquire firearms outside their State of residence if obtained in person from a licensee and the transaction is lawful where the transferee resides and the transaction occurs. Interstate transactions between nonlicensees prohibited. (p.8)

States are allowed 1 year or 1 legislative session (whichever occurs last) to bar interstate transactions. (p.21)

Same as existing law.

October 3 Draft of Amendments to S. 914

Applicant must be "engaged in the business" of manufacturing, importing, or dealing in firearms and ammo. Term not defined by statute. (18 U.S.C. §§ 922(a)(1) and 923(a).)

III. Licensing

Eliminates ammo dealers. Defines as importers, manufacturers and dealers in firearms those who regularly import, manufacture and deal with the principal objective of livelihood and profit.

Same as S.914. In addition, defines the term "principal objective of livelihood and profit." (pp.2,3,4)

IV. Gun Shows

Same as existing law.

Licensees could conduct business at temporary locations other than that shown on the license but only in the same State as the licensed premises. (p.15)

Licensees may not engage in a firearms business on other than their licensed premises and licenses are not issued for temporary locations, e.g., gun shows. (18 U.S.C. § 923.)

V. Records of Firearms Transactions
(a) Business Inventory

Same as existing law except no regulation issued after effective date may require centralizing licensee records. Licensed collectors not required to maintain Firearms Transaction Record, Form 4473.

Same as S.914. In addition, specific authority for gun tracing. (p.20)

Under 18 U.S.C. § 923(g), licensees are required to maintain records of all firearms transactions indefinitely. ATF maintains licensee out-of-business records.

Licensees must keep records of disposition of personal firearms. (18 U.S.C. § 923(g).)

Secretary authorized to inspect licensees' firearms inventory and requisite records at all reasonable times. (18 U.S.C. § 923(g).)

(b) Personal Firearms

Licensees not required to keep records of personal firearms transferred from "business inventory" if held for longer than 1 year.

VI. Inspection of Licensees Records

Restricts inspections to instances where Government has a warrant based upon reasonable cause to believe evidence of a violation of law may be found on the premises, except (1) in the course of a criminal investigation of a person other than the licensee, (2) I annual inspection, or (3) in firearms tracing.

No warrantless inspections of licensed collectors. Bars criminal charges based upon violations discovered during annual inspection except for firearms sales to prohibited persons.

Same as S.914. In addition, licensees not required to keep records of personal firearms transferred from business inventory or received as personal firearms if held for longer than 1 year. (p.12)

Same as S.914, except that willful violations of recordkeeping requirements uncovered during annual inspection may be prosecuted and 1 annual inspection of licensed collector without warrant allowed. (p.14)

Licensees must report to Secretary information with respect to required records as prescribed by regulations. (18 U.S.C. § 923(g).) Regulations require submission of out-of-business records, reports of multiple handgun sales, manufacturers' quarterly statistical reports, and specific information from required records upon demand.

Denial of an application for a license or renewal of a license for failure to meet statutory criteria. (18 U.S.C. § 923(d).) License revocation for a willful violation of 18 U.S.C. Chapter 44 or regulations. (18 U.S.C. § 923(e).) Criminal prosecutions for violations of Chapter 44.

VII. Reports to the Government

No regulation promulgated after effective date may require consolidating or centralizing licensee records. Submission of out-of-business records and other information by licensees could not be required in view of the deletion from 18 U.S.C. § 923(g) of the specific language requiring licensees to submit information to the Government.

VIII. Sanctions Against Licensees

No license could be denied or revoked upon charges in a criminal case if the licensee is acquitted or the criminal case is terminated other than upon Government's motion prior to trial. No revocation action could commence more than 1 year after the filing of indictment or information.

No regulation promulgated after effective date may require consolidating or centralizing licensee records. In addition, does not restrict or expand Secretary's authority to inquire into the disposition of firearms. (p.20) Regulations requiring submission of out-of-business records, reports of multiple handgun sales would be retained. (p.21)

Same as S.914. (p.13)

IX. Importation

Prohibits the importation of firearms without a permit. (18 U.S.C. § 925(d).) Generally, only licensees may obtain a permit and import firearms since nonlicensees are prohibited by interstate controls from receiving in their State of residence a firearm obtained outside that State. (18 U.S.C. § 922(a)(3).) Nonlicensees could lawfully acquire and receive firearms outside their State of residence. Thus, importation of firearms, pursuant to a permit, would be lawful.

Same as existing law. (pp.6,7)

X. Mandatory Penalties for Carrying or Using Firearms in the Commission of Federal Crimes

Increases penalty for second offenders to 5-25 years and eliminates mandatory sentence for carrying offense.

Same as S.914. (p.16)

18 U.S.C. § 924(c) prohibits carrying or using firearms during commission of a Federal crime. Penalty for first offense is 1-10 years. For subsequent offenses, penalty is a mandatory 2-25 years and sentence is not concurrent with that for underlying Federal felony.

XI. Firearms Transactions Involving Prohibited Persons

(a) Possession of Firearms by Prohibited Persons

Substantially the same as existing law. Would repeal 18 U.S.C. App. §§ 1202-1203 and incorporate its provisions into Chapter 44.

Same as S.914. (pp.9-11,22)

Licensees may not lawfully dispose of firearms to felons and other prohibited categories of persons. (18 U.S.C. § 922(d).)

ment for a term of 2 years or less, unless the misdemeanor involved a

18 U.S.C. Chapter 44 (18 U.S.C.

§ 922(g) and (h)) and 18 U.S.C.

App. \$\$ 1202-1203 prohibit these

persons from shipping or transporting firearms in interstate or foreign commerce and from receiving or possessing firearms which previously moved in interstate or foreign commerce or

which affect commerce.

(b) Sales to Prohibited Persons

Unlawful for any person, whether licensed or not, to make such sales.

Same as S.914. (p.8)

(c) Definition of Crime Punishable by Imprisonment for More than One Year

Conviction of such a crime is

deemed to have occurred upon a plea
of guilty or finding of guilt by the
court, regardless of whether the
person is considered to have been
convicted under State law. Definition
of disabling felony excludes State
misdemeanors punishable by imprison
That which constitutes a conviction deter—
Samined by the law of the jurisdiction in which
the proceedings were held. State misdemeanor
punishable by imprisonment for 2 years or less,
including those involving a firearm or explosive,
excluded from the definition.

firearm or explosive. (18 U.S.C. § 922(a)(20.)

Same as S.914. (p.5)

Relief of disabilities of convictions may be granted by the Secretary if satisfied that relief would not be contrary to public interest and safety. Not eligible for relief if convicted of using a firearm or GCA violation. (18 U.S.C. § 925(c).) State expunction proceedings do not erase Federal disabilities.

Any firearms or ammo involved in, used or intended to be used in violation of any Federal crime is subject to forfeiture.
(18 U.S.C. § 924(d).)

(d) Relief from Disabilities and Expunction of Convictions

Allows relief for all categories of persons having firearms disabilities and removes bar to relief for felons whose crimes involved using a firearm or GCA violation. Provides for judicial review of denial of relief. Recognizes State expunction procedures setting aside conviction as removing Federal disabilities, unless the person is expressly denied the right to possess or receive firearms.

XII. Forfeiture of Firearms and Ammo

Grounds for forfeiture substantially the same except "intended to be used" standard omitted. Also, a violation of the firearms law must be "willful" before forfeiture allowed. Forfeiture proceeding must be commenced within 120 days of seizure and the court shall award the owner or possessor attorney's fees if he prevails. If owner or possessor is acquitted of criminal charges upon which the seizure is based, property must be returned unless he would be placed in violation of law.

Same as S.914. (p.5)

Substantially the same as S.914. except, firearms "intended to to used" may be forfeited if there is clear and convincing evidence. Also, two-tiered standard for forfeiture depending upon particular violation. Certain crimes require a willful element, others only a knowledge element. (p.17)

Existing Law

5 924(a).)

S.914

October 3 Draft of Amendments to S. 914

XIII. Criminal Intent

Willfulness, i.e., knowledge of the requirements of law, not an element of proof for violation of 18 U.S.C. Chapter 44. (18 U.S.C.

Would require proof of "willful" violation in any prosecution under Chapter 44.

Would require proof of "willful" violation for certain prosecutions and proof of "knowing" violations for remainder of prosecutions. (p.16)

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON



202705 P.D. 1220 CM010 LE FG006-07 JL003

February 24, 1984

FOR:

EDWIN MEESE IIL

FROM:

MICHAEL M. / WHLMANN

SUBJECT: Gun Bill Meeting

I will be meeting today at 2 o'clock with McClure, Hatch, and possibly Thurmond, along with Lowell Jensen and John Walker to see if we can come any closer together on the gun bill. Frankly, I doubt it. The view is pretty widely shared among Justice, Treasury, Hatch, and Thurmond that McClure is not interested in reaching an agreement and that further talking only increases his appetite for more unreasonable concessions.

I attach a draft response to McClure's letter to you of a couple of weeks ago in which he summarizes the then status of negotiations. Like virtually all previous correspondence from McClure on the subject, the letter takes an exceedingly generous view of what actually happened. McClure's letter is not an accurate description of what transpired at the meeting and seems designed more for outside consumption than for any serious negotiating purposes.

Lowell Jensen and John Walker feel very strongly at this point that any further concessions on thair part would be irresponsible. I indicated to McClure when I spoke to him on Thursday morning that I felt there were some remaining differences that would be very hard to reconcile, but that, as members of the same political family, we should do everything we can to give it one more try.

Thurmond is anxious to hold the mark-up on next Tuesday and wrote to McClure yesterday, in effect saying that he plans to go ahead whether McClure is ready or not. Unless you let me know otherwise, I plan to indicate at the meeting that the White House sympathizes with the Treasury and Justice position.



Dear Senator McClure:

Ed Meese has asked me to respond to your letter dated February 6, 1984, relative to discussions which have been held in an effort to resolve issues you have raised regarding the Hatch amendments to S. 914. Our recollection of what was agreed to differs somewhat from yours, and I want to take this opportunity both to document my recollection and to discuss some of the issues that remain unresolved.

We agreed in principle that out-of-business records should be stored in a facility of a disinterested agency within the Federal Government. Lowell Jensen suggested that GSA be the depository and Treasury stated that the retention period for records be reduced to 20 years. We agree that GSA should be the depository for the out-of-business records provided that the legislation makes clear that ATF would have immediate access to these records and be able at any time to examine them without prior notice for maintenance and gun tracing purposes and that no regulation or rule of practice by GSA to the contrary be promulgated or required by law. In order to ensure that the authenticity of the records can be legally established in court proceedings, ATF must be designated as the official custodian of the records from the time of their receipt by the government, although such custody may be jointly held with GSA. It is also necessary that the 20-year retention period be retained. It was carefully considered and represents a major departure from the present law which sets no time limit.

On the question of scienter, the Administration is not able to accept the language you have proposed which would define the terms "willful" and "knowing." I have discussed this matter with John Walker at Treasury, Lowell Jensen at Justice and Deborah Owen of the Senate Judiciary Committee. They share my view that it would be inadvisable to depart from the interpretations placed upon these terms by the courts by adopting statutory definitions which could adversely affect the interpretation of these terms in other contexts. We do agree, however, that section 922 (f) should be elevated from the "knowing" standard to a "willful" standard. (The Hatch amendment already provides that Section 922 (a)(1) should be "willful".)

After discussion with Lowell Jensen and Deborah Owen, the Administration is not in a position to agree with the proposed changes on the issue of mandatory penalties which establishes a self-defense standard independently of the common law of self-defense which would apply to the underlying violent felony. An individual convicted of a violent felony presumably after the jury has rejected his claim of self-defense should not be able to avail himself of a second defense of self-defense for the firearms offense committed during the felony. Our position is consistent with the stated purpose of the bill: to protect honest, legitimate gun owners and dealers and not felons. Hence, I believe that legislation involving the terms "honestly perceived" or "the good faith position of becomes moot in connection with an individual committing a violent felony.



Lowell Jensen and John Walker have advised me that they will agree to a list of certain violent felonies and predicate offenses to mandatory sentences in connection with the case of an individual who is "carrying" a firearm during the commission of a violent felony. Lowell intends to submit a list of these offenses for your review.

The Administration is unable to agree with your position relating to the seizure of firearms. While we can accept the government's burden of establishing the right to forfeiture by "clear and convincing evidence", limiting such evidence to crimes referenced in the RICO statute would enable the gun dealer planning with full criminal intent to sell firearms to a felon, to avoid the seizure of those firearms, unless he is also a member of the subsequent conspiracy to commit a RICO offense.

On reviewing closely your annotated copy of the bill containing the Hatch amendments, we have found a number of additions and deletions to the amendments which we feel constrained to comment on in some detail. They are listed as follows:

Page 4, lines 11 through 18

We cannot agree on the deletion of the stricken portion. We do not recall any agreement to delete the definition of the term "principal objective of livelihood and profit."

Page 8, lines 16-21

We could agree with your amendment relating to sales by licensees of their personal firearms, provided that it is amended further to include firearms transferred from business inventories or otherwise received into their personal collections and held there for at least one year.

Page 9, lines 17 through 22

While we agree with the storage of out-of-business records with GSA, we are not able to agree to any provision which calls for GSA to issue regulations either as to out-of-business records or multiple sales reports. We do not recall that we had any understanding on multiple sales records other than that they would be handled by ATF in the same manner as at present. It is, of course, necessary for ATF to have immediate access to out-of-business records for gun tracing purposes and to continue to receive multiple-sales records persuant to existing regulations.

Moreover, we cannot agree with your amendment because it would eliminate our existing authority to obtain information from licensees to trace firearms. Similarly, reference to



gun tracing authority has been deleted on page 18 lines 11-15 and it is therefore unacceptable.

Page 9, lines 30 through 34

We do not agree with the deletions or additions which appear in this area relative to licensed collectors. Similarly, we are not able to agree with the changes which you have proposed on page 10 at lines 3, 4, 12, 13, 14 22, 23, and 24.

Page 11, lines 13 through 19

As I have indicated above, while we agree that these records should be maintained by GSA, we do not agree to any language which might restrict the ability of ATF to conduct prompt tracing inquiries.

Page 12, line 11

We can agree with the addition on this line regarding the ability to display firearms and ammunition at gun shows.

Page 13, lines 1 through 29

As discussed above, the Administration is not able to agree with the deletion of this provision of the amendments and the substitution which you have proposed in connection with mandatory sentences and the so-called self-defense provision.

Page 13, lines 32 and 33 and the addition on page 14

As discussed, we are not able to agree on your proposed forfeiture provision.

Page 15

We are not able to agree with the deletion on lines two and three and the addition at line five regarding the application of the term "clear and convincing evidence."

Page 16, line 32

We do agree with your deletion of the word "centralized."

Page 17, lines 26 through 34

We can agree with a change which provides that all provisions of this Act shall become effective 180 days after the date of enactment.

The foregoing sets forth our collective recollection of the agreements reached and the Administration's position regarding those areas which had not been resolved. We all share with you the sincere desire to arrive at an equitable and workable resolution of these issues which stand in the way of producing firearms legislation reform as advocated by the Administration.

We look forward to further discussion on this matter at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Michael M. Uhlmann Special Assistant to the President

The Honorable James A. McClure United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

cc: The Honorable Edwin Meese, III

The Honorable Lowell Jensen

The Honorable John M. Walker, Jr.

The Honorable
Strom Thurmond
Chairman, Committee
on the Judiciary
(Attention: Deborah Owen)

Miniled States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 2010

February 6, 1984

The Honorable Ed Meese The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

ID AHO

Pursuant to your instructions, I met with representatives of the Department of Justice, Department of the Treasury, Office of Policy Development, and Senator Thurmond's office last Wednesday at the White House.

At the end of that meeting, we had resolved all except three major issues and two minor issues. The attached proposal is an effort to resolve what I believe to be all outstanding controversies with respect to those issues.

All of the participants at the meeting agreed in principle to the notion of requiring that out of business records be forwarded to a disinterested agency within the federal government. BATF had suggested the General Services Administration and had proposed that the records be destroyed at the end of 20 years. I had proposed that the national archivist be given responsibility for the records and that they be destroyed at the end of 10 years. I am prepared to accept the Administration's position with the respect to the General Services Administration and would propose that we split the difference on time.

On the question of scienter I had proposed that violations of Section 922 (a) (l), (a) (6), (f), (i), (j), and (k), be elevated from a "knowing" standard to a "willful" standard. Mr. Uhlman suggested instead that instead the terms "knowing" and "willful" merely be statutorily defined in order to avoid some of the more objectionable case law, notably United States v. Thomas, United States v. Graves, and United States v. Werner. I am prepared to accept the Administration's position, and have submitted language which would accomplish this.

On the question of manditory penalties, Justice Department raised two issues at last Wednesday's meeting. The first was the question of whether simple carrying would be exempted from the non-probation, non-parole, non-concurrent sentencing provisions of the section. The second was the issue of whether the self-defense language would insulate a felon being pursued by police from 924 (c) presecution. In addition, in response to a proposed draft I circulated last Friday to deal with these two issues, Treasury raised an objection to the use of the word

The Honorable Ed Meese February 6, 1984 Page 2

"honestly" in the self-defense proviso. I have actively solicited an all-inclusive list of the Administration's objections to my proposed 924 (c) compromise: and these three issues are, to the best of my knowledge, the only outstanding controversies.

The language which I have enclosed would, I believe, resolve all outstanding controversies surrounding Section 924 (c). It would make the non-probation, non-parole, non-concurrent sentencing provisions equally applicable to "use" and "carrying," but would require that the "carrying" be done for the purpose of committing the offense. It would add a provision making the self-defense language inapplicable to a person who was in danger as result of his commission of a felony. And, finally, it would replace the word "honestly" with "in good faith," which would carry with it some element of rudimentary reasonableness. I believe these three changes fairly and adequately deal with all the objections raised by the parties to Wednesday's meeting.

The final outstanding question is one of whether "clear and convincing evidence" can be sufficient grounds for the seizure of firearms. I had originally taken the position that only an actual violation of law should be sufficient for such a drastic remedy. As a compromise, I proposed that clear and convincing evidence of intent to commit certain very serious crimes (homicide, arson, and assisting insurgency movements abroad) could be sufficient grounds for seizure. As a further compromise, I am now willing to propose that the full panoply of crimes referenced into the RICO statute by 18 U.S.C. 1961 be added to the grounds for seizure, in exchange for language insuring that seized weapons will not be mistreated.

This compromise represents a broad range of concessions on my part. But I felt that such flexibility was appropriate in view of the dire necessity of reaching an agreement on this package and moving it immediately. I would ask that the Administration respond in kind by endorsing this compromise proposal, so we can move forward without delay.

Ed, I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

James A. McClure United States Senator

McC:mhn

5.1.C.

175812.488

AKENDMENT NO. ___

Calendar No. ___

Purpose: To make certain amendments requested by the administration, technical amendments, and other improvements.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES -- 98th Cong., 1st Sess.

S. 914

To protect firearms owners' constitutional rights, civil liberties, and rights to privacy.

Referred to the Committee on _____and ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Amendment In the Nature of a Substitute intended to be proposed

by Mr. HATCH

Viz:

- 1 Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert, in
- 2 lieu thereof the following:
- 3 That the Congress finds that the rights of citizens to keep
- 4 and bear arms under the second amendment to the United States
- 5 Constitution; their rights to security against illegal and
- 6 unreasonable searches and seizures under the fourth
- 7 amendment; their protections against uncompensated taking of
- 8 property, double jeopardy, and assurance of due process of
- 9 law under the fifth amendment; and their rights against
- 10 unconstitutional exercise of authority under the ninth and
- 11 tenth amendments; require additional legislation to correct
- 12 existing firearms statutes and enforcement policies. The
- 13 Congress further finds that additional legislation is
- 14 required to reaffirm its intent, as expressed in section 121
- 15 of title I of the Gun Control Act of 1968, that "It is not
- 16 the purpose of this title to place any undue or unnecessary
- 17 Federal restrictions or burdens on law-abiding citizens with
- 18 respect to the acquisition, possession, or use of firearms
- 19 appropriate to the purpose of hunting, trapshooting, target
- 28 shooting, personal protection, or any other lawful activity,
- 21 . . . " or "to discourage or eliminate the private ownership
- 22 or use of firearms by law-abiding citizens for lawful

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1 purposes".
        TITLE I--AMENDMENTS TO TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE (18
  2
                            U.S.C. 921-922)
  3
                       AMENDRENTS TO SECTION 921
  4
         Sec. 181. Section 921 of title 18, United States Code, is
  5
     amended --
             (1) in subsection (a) (10) by deleting the words
  7
       . "manufacture of" and inserting in lieu thereof the.
  8
         words "business of manufacturing";
  9
             (2) in subsection (a)(11)(A) by deleting the words
 10
         "or ammunition";
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             (3) in subsection (a)(12) by deleting the words "or
 12
         anmunition";
 13
             (4) in subsection (a)(13) by deleting the words the
 14
         ammunition";
 15
             (5) by amending subsection (a)(22) to read as
 16
         follows:
 17
         ''(20) The term 'crime punishable by imprisonment for a
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     term exceeding one year' shaff not include (A) any Federal or
 19
     State offenses pertaining to antitrust violations, unfair
 20
     trade practices, restraints of trade, or other similar
 21
     offenses relating to the regulation of business practices, or
 22
     (B) any State offense classified by the laws of the State as
 23
     a misdemeanor and punishable by a term of imprisonment of two
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     years or less: Provided, however, That what constitutes a
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     conviction shall be determined in accordance with the law of
 26
     the jurisdiction in which the proceedings were held: Provided
 27
     further, That any conviction which has been expunded, or set
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 29
     aside or for which a person has been pardoned or has had his
     or her civil rights restored shall not be considered a
 30
     conviction under the provisions of this Act, unless such
. 31
     pardon, expungement, or restoration of civil rights expressly
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 33
     provides that the person may not ship, transport, possess, or
 34
     receive firearms."; and
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5.1.3.

X

(21) and (22) after paragraph (28), to read at follows:

'(21) The term 'engaged in the business' means--

- person who devotes time, attention, and labor to manufacturing firearms as a regular course of trade or business with the principal objective of livelihood and profit through the sale or distribution of the firearms manufactured.
- rerson who devotes time, attention, and later to manufacturing ammunition as a regular course of trade or business with the principal objective of livelihood and profit through the sale or distribution of the ammunition manufactured.
- "(C) As applied to a dealer in firearms, as defined in section 921(a)(11)(A), a person who devotes time, attention, and labor to dealing in firearms as a regular course of trade or business with the principal objective of livelihood and profit through the repetitive purchase and resale of firearms. The term shall not include a person who makes occasional sales, exchanges, or purchases of firearms for the enhancement of a personal collection or hobby, or who sells all or part of his personal collection of firearms.
- ''(D) As applied to a dealer in firearms, as defined in section 921(a)(11)(B), a person who devotes time, attention, and labor to engaging in such activity as a regular course of trade or business with the principal objective of livelihood and profit. The term shall not include a person who makes occasional repairs of firearms or who occasionally fits special barrels, stocks, or trigger mechanisms to firearms.
 - "(E) As applied to an importer of firearms, a person .

S.1.C.

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the principal objective of livelihood and profit through

the sale or distribution of the firearms imported.

person who devotes time, attention, and labor to importing ammunition as a regular course of trade or business with the principal objective of livelihood and profit through the sale or distribution of the ammunition imported.

(22) The term 'with the principal objective of

12 livelihood and profit means that the intent waterlying the

13 sale or disposition of firearms is predominantly one of

14 obtaining livelihood and pesuniary gain, as opposed to other

15 intents, such as improving or liquidating a personal firearms

16 collection. It does not require that the sale or disposition

17 of fireacus be, or be intended as, a principal source of

18 income or a principal business activity.

AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 922

Sec. 102. Section 922 of title 18. United States Code, is amended--

''(1) for any person (A) except a licensed importer,
licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer to engage in

(1) by amending subsection (a)(1) to read as follows:

the business of importing, manufacturing, or dealing in

26 firearms, or in the course of such business to snip,

transport, or receive any firearm in interstate or

28 foreign commerce; and (B) except a licensed importer or

licensed manufacturer to engage in the business of

importing or manufacturing ammunition, or in the course

of such business, to ship, transport, or receive any

ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce; ";

(2) in subsection (a)(2)--

(A) by deleting the words 'or ammunition'; and

(B) by deleting the words "or licensed dealer for the sole purpose of repair or customizing," and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "licensed dealer, or licensed collector.";

(3) by amending clause (B) of subsection (a) (3) to

(3) by amending clause (8) of subsection (a) (3) to read as follows: "(F) shall not apply to the transportation or receipt of a firearm obtained in this section.";

(4) in subsection (b)--

- (A) by deleting in paragraph (2) 'or
 ammunition' each place it appears;
- (B) by deleting from paragraph (3) (1) 'a rifle or shotgun to a resident' and all that follows through 'business premises,' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'any firearm to a resident of a State other than a State in which the licensee's place of business is located if the sale, delivery and receipt fully comply with the legal conditions of sale in both such States: Provided,

 however, that any licensed manufacturer, importer or dealer shall be presumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to have had actual knowledge of the State laws and published_ordinances of both States,'; and
 - (C) by deleting from paragraph (5) 'or ammunition except .22 rimfire ammunition'; (5) in subsection (d)--
 - (A) by deleting 'licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector' the first time they appear and inserting in lieu thereof 'any person';
- (B) by deleting in paragraph (3) the word "or" following the semicolon:

S.L.C.

	1	(C) by replacing the period in paragraph (4) with
	2	a semicolon; and
	3	(D) by inserting after paragraph (4) the
	4	following:
	5	"(5) who, being an alien, is illegally or unlawfully
	6	in the United States;
	7	"(6) who has been discharged from the Armed Forces
	.8	under dishonorable conditions; or
	9	"(7) who, having been a citizen of the United
	18	States, has renounced his citizenship.":
	11	(6) in subsection (g)
	12	(A) by deleting the words "is under indictment
	13	for, or who'' in paragraph (1);
	14	(P) by deleting in paragraph (3) the word "or"
	15	following the semicolon;
	16	(C) by inserting after paragraph (4) the
	17	following:
	18	''(5) who, being an alien, is illegally or unlawfully
	19	in the United States;
	20	"(E) who has been discharged from the Armed Forces
	21	under dishonorable conditions; or
	22	"(7) who, having been a citizen of the United
	23	States, has renounced his citizenship; "; and
	24	(D) by deleting the words "to ship or transport
	25	any firearm or ammunition in interstate or foreign
	26	commerce" and inserting in lieu thereof the words
	27	"to ship or transport in interstate or foreign
ĺ	28	commerce, or possess in or affecting commerce, any
	29	firearm or ammunition; or to receive any firearm or
	30	ammunition which has been shipped or transported in
	31	interstate or foreign commerce. ":
	32	(7) in subsection (h)
	33	(A) by inserting after the word "any" and
	34	before the word "person" the words "individual who

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to his knowledge and while being employed by any";
                (B) by deleting the words "is under indictment
 2
           for, or who' in paragraph (1);
 3
                (C) by deleting in paragraph (3) the word "or"
           following the semicolon;
5
                (D) by insecting after paragraph (4) the
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           following:
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            ''(5) who, being an alien, is illegally or unlawfully
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        in the United States:
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            "(6) who has been discharged from the Armed Forces
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        under dishonorable conditions; or
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            "(7) who having been a citizen of the United States,
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        has renounced his citizenship; "; and
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                (E) by deleting the words "to receive any -
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           firearm or ammunition which has been shipped or
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           transported in interstate or foreign commerce" and
16
           inserting in lieu thereof the words "in the course
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           of such employment to ship or transport in interstate
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           or foreign commerce, for possess in or affecting
19
            commerce, any firearm or ammunition; or to receive
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           any firearm or ammunition which has been shipped or
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            transported in interstate or foreign commerce. "; and
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            (8) by inserting after subsection (m) a new
23
        subsection to read as follows:
24
        "'(n) It shall be unlawful for any person who is under
25
    indictment for a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term
26
    exceeding one year to ship or transport in interstate or
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28
    foreign commerce any firearm or ammunition or receive any
    firearm or ammunition which has been shipped or transported
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    in interstate or foreign commerce. ....
30
                      AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 923
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        Sec. 103. Section 923 of title 18, United States Code, is
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    amended --
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(1) (A) in subsection (a)--

1	(1) by deleting the rolds No halaou apall
2	engage in business as a firearms or amounition
. 3	importer, manufacturer, or dealer until he has filed
4	an application with, and received a license to do to
5	from the Secretary. " and inserting in lieu thereof
6	the words "No person shall engage in the business of
7	importing, manufacturing, or dealing in firearms, or
8	importing or manufacturing ammunition, until he has
9	filed an application with and received a license to
12	do so from the Secretary."; and
11	(11) by deleting the words "and contain such .
12	information", and inserting in lieu thereof the .
13	words "and contain only that information necessary
14	to determine eligibility for licensing.";
15	(B) in subsection (a)(3)(P) by deleting the words
16	or ammunition for firearms other than destructive only to such restrictions as apply in this
17	devices. ': chapter to dispositions by a person othe
18	the fords "and contain such information". Cealer. Provided further, That if any fire
19	cense shall shall by regulation prescribe.". ventory into his personal collection or i
20	the words: "Provided, however, That noth willfully evading the restrictions placed ing in this chapter shall be construed to woon light the restrictions placed
21	or dealer from maintaining and disposing of inventor "
22	
23	violated the word 'willfully';
24	(4) in subsection (f)
25	(A) by inserting the words 'de novo' before the
26	word ''judicial'' in paragraph (3);
27	(B) by adding the words "whether or not such
28	evidence was considered at the hearing held under
29	paragraph (2)." after the words "to the
30	proceeding" in paragraph (3); and
31	(C) by inserting at the end thereof the following
32	new paragraph:
33	"(4) If criminal proceedings are instituted against a
34	licensee alleging violations of this chapter or regulations

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promulgated thereunder, and the licensee is acquitted of such
    charges, or such proceedings are terminated, other than upon
    motion of the Government prior to trial upon such charges,
 3
    the Secretary shall be absolutely barred from denying or
    revoking any license granted under the provisions of this
    chapter where such denial or revocation is based in whole or
 6
    in part on the facts which form the hasis of such criminal
 7
    charges. No proceedings for the revocation of a license shall
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    be instituted by the Secretary more than one year after the
 9
    filing of the indictment or information.";
10
            (5) by amending subsection (0) to read as follows:
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        "(c)(1) Each licensed importer, licensed manufacturer,
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    and licenses dealer, shall maintain such records of
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    importation, production, shipment, receipt, sale, or other
14
    disposition, of firearms at his place of business for such
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    period, and in such form, as the Secretary may by regulations
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    prescribe South importers, manufacturers and dealers shall
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      be required to submit to the Secretary reports and
                with respect to such records and the contents with respect to such records and the contents
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                                                                      Administra.
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     hereof; provided, however, that the Antionst of
                     es required by regulations
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     omulgate regulations p
                           of the records of multiple soler of file
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                 ceasing to engage in the business
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                be deposited with the strains sens dem.
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                      The Secretary, when he has reasonable
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    cause to believe a violation of this law has occurred, and
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    that evidence thereof may be found on such premises may, upon
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    demonstrating such cause before a Federal magistrate, and
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    securing from him a warrant authorizing entry, enter during
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    business hours the premises (including places of storage) of
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    any licensed firearms importer, licensed manufacturer,
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    licensed dealer, <del>licensed sollector</del> or any licensed importer
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    or manufacturer of ammunition, for the purposes of inspecting
31
    or examining (1) any records or documents required to be kept
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by such licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed

dealer, or licensed collector under the provisions of this

- 1 chapter or regulations issued under this chapter, and (2) any
 2 firearms or ammunition kept or stored by such libensed
 3 importer, licensed manufacturer, Nilcensed dealer, or Planated
- 4 collector, at such premises. The Secretary may inaperi the
- 5 inventory and records of a licensed importer, licensed
- 6 manufacturer, or licensed dealer without such cause or
- 7 warrant, (A) for a reasonable inquiry during the course of a
- 8 criminal investigation of a person or persons other than the
- 9 licensee; or (B) no more than once in any twelve consecutive
- 10 months, upon reasonable notice, but no criminal charges shall 7, 14
- 11 be brought against the licensee based upon such inspection
- 12 except for willful wiolations of the recordvasping
- 13 requirements of this chapter or sales or other dispositions
- 14 of firearms to prohibited persons; or (C) when such
- 15 inspections or inquiries may be required for determining the
- 16 disposition of one or more particular firearms in the course
- 17 of a bona fide criminal investigation. The Secretary may
- 18 inspect the inventory and records of a licensed collector
- 19 without such reasonable cause or warrant no more than once in
- 20 any twelve consecutive month period, upon reasonable notica,
- 21 but no criminal charges shall be brought against such
- 22 licensee based upon such inspection except for willful
- 23 violations of the recordancing caquirements of this chapter
- 24 or sales or other dispositions of fireces to prohibited
- 25 persons. Such procedure shall not be construed as authorizing
- 26 the Secretary to selze any records or other documents other
- 27 than those records or documents constituting material
- 28 evidence of a violation of law. If the Secretary seizes such
- 29 records or documents, copies shall be provided the licensee
- 30 within a reasonable time. The Secretary may make available to
- 31 any Federal, State, or local law enforcement agency any
- 32 information which he may obtain by reason of the provisions
- 33 of this chapter with respect to the identification of persons
- 34 prohibited from purchasing or receiving firearms or

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- 11 ammunition who have purchased or received firearms or ammunition, together with a description of such firearms or 2 ammunition and he may provide information to the extent such information may be contained in the records required to be maintained by the provisions of this charter, when so requested by any Federal, State, or local law enforcement 7 agency. "(2) Each licensed collector shall maintain in a bound 8 volume the nature of which the Secretary may by regulations 9 prescribe, records of the receipt, sale, or other 10 disposition, of firearms. Such records shall include the name 11 and addresses of any person to whom the collector sells or 12 collector shall otherwise disposes of a firearm. 13 14 records and the contents 15 nothing in this paragraph 16 17 and regulations purs 18 19 (6) by amending subsection (j) to read as follows: 20 ''(j) A licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or 21 licensed dealer may, under regulations prescribed by the 22 Secretary, conduct business temporarily at a location other 23 than the location specified on the license if such other 24 location is in the State which is specified on the license. 25 Records of receipt and disposition of firearms transactions 26 conducted at such temporary location shall include the 27 location of the sale or other disposition and shall be 28
- 31 subsection shall authorize any licensee to conduct business 32 in or from any motorized or towed vehicle. Notwithstanding

on the location specified on the license. Nothing in this

entered in the permanent records of the licensee and retained

- 33 the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, a separate
- 34 fee shall not be required of a licensee with respect to

- 1 business conducted under this subsection. Except for records
- 2 directly related to receipts, sales, or other dispositions of
- 3 firearms made at the temporary premises within the period of
- 4 time the licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or
- 5 licensed dealer conducted the business of which such
- 6 receipts, sales, or other dispositions were a part, nothing
- 7 in this subsection shall be construed to authorize the
- 8 Secretary to inspect or examine the inventory or records of a
- 9 licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer
- 10 at any location other than the location specified on the
- 11 license din this subsection, shall be construed in this subsection, shall be construed in this subsection, shall be construed in any man any right to display

Sec. 184. Section 924 of title 18, United States Code, is amended--

- (1) by amending subsection (a) to read as follows:
 ''(a) Whoever--
- "(1) knowingly makes any false statement or representation with respect to the information required by the provisions of this chapter to be kept in the records of a person licensed under this chapter, or in applying for any license or exemption or relief from disability under the provisions of this chapter;
- ''(2) knowingly violates subsections (a) (4), (a)
- (6), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), or (k) of section 922;
- "(3) knowingly imports or brings into the United States or any possession thereof any firearm or ammunition in violation of section (927,(1);)
 - "(4) knowingly violates any provision of this section; or
- ''(5) willfully violates any other provision of this chapter,

shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and shall become eligible for parole as the Board of Parole shall determine.".

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(2) by amending subsection (c) to read as follows:
         Y(c) (1) Whoever, during and in relation to any crime of
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    violence, including a crime of violence which provides for an
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    enhanced punishment if committed by the use of a deadly or
    dangerous weapon or device, for which he may be prosecuted in
    a court of the United States, uses or carries a firearm,
    shall, in addition to the punishment provided for such crime
    of violence, be sentenced to imprysonment for a term of five
    years. In the case of his second subsequent conviction
    under this subsection, such pageon shall be sentenced to
                                    ears. Notwithstanding any
    imprisonment for a term of ten
11
                            the court shall not place on
    other provision of
                        Yaw.
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                        the sentence of any person convert
    probation or suspen
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                           tion, nor shap the t
    a violation of this st
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                 Mosed under this guesection run concurrently
    imprisonment
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    with any other term of taprison ant include that imposed
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    for the crime of tolende in which the firearm was used or
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    carried No person entended under this subsection shall be
    eligibi
             for parole during the term of imprisonment imposed
19
    herein
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        ''(2) For/purposes of this subsection the term 'crime of
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    violence' means an offense that is a felony and
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            " (A) has as an element the use, attempted use, or
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       threatened use of physical force against the person or
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       property of another, or
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           .. (B) that by its nature, involves a substantial risk
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      that physical force against the person or property of
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        nother may be used in the course of committing the
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       offense.".
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           (3) by amending subsection (d) to read as follows:
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       "(d)(1) Any firearm or ammunition involved in or used
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   of where there is clear and convincing evidence that it is
32
33 intended to be in any knowing violation of subsections
    (a) (4), (a) (6), (f), (q), (h), (1), (j), or (k) of section
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Variation of

(C) (1) Whoever (A) uses any firearm or destructive device against the person of another to commit a crime of violence, including a crime of violence which provides for an enhanced punishment if committed by the use of a deadly or dangerous weapon or device, for which he may be prosecuted in a court of the United States, or (B) carries a firearm or destructive device unlawfully to commit a crime of violence, including a crime of violence which provides for an enhanced punishment if committed by the use of a deadly or dangerous weapon or device, for which he may be prosecuted in a court of the United States, shall, in addition to the punishment provided for the commission of such a crime of violence, as enhanced, be sentenced to a term of imprisonment of five years. In the case of his second or subsequent conviction under this subsection, such person shall be sentenced to imprisonment for ten years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person convicted of a violation of this subsection, nor shall the term of imprisonment imposed under this subsection run concurrently with any other term of imprisonment imposed for the crime of violence in

which the firearm was used or carried. No person sentenced under this subsection shall be eligible for parole during the term of imprisonment imposed herein; Provided, that no person shall be sentenced under this subsection if he established to the satisfaction of the court that the use of the firearm or destructive device was to protect his person or the person of another from an perceived immediate danger other than danger which was the direct result of the commission of or attempt to commit a felony by either such person, or was honestly perceived in defense of his person, or the person of another or the property of either from conduct constituting a felony, or was honestly effecting the arrest of a person in immediate flight from said felony.

- (2) For the purpose of this subsection the term "crime of violence" (A) has as an element the use, attempted use, or threatened use of physical force against the person
 - (B) by its nature involves a substantial risk that physical force against the person or property of another may be used in the course of committing the offense.

or property of another, or

ADD AT END OF 924 (9)

"For purposes of this section, "knowingly" means with actual cognizance of each fact necessary to establish an element of the offense. For purposes of this section, "willfully" means with actual cognizance of the existence and nature of the law and of each fact necessary to establish an element of the offense."

Provided, That such firearm or ammunition shall be seized and raintained during the period of seizure in such a manner as to preserve it in the condition and value which existed at the time of the seizure; and Provided, further, That upon acquittal of the owner or possessor, or dismissal of the charges against him other than upon motion of the Government prior to trial, the seized firearms or ammunition shall be returned forthwith in the same condition in which they were seized to the owner or possessor or to a person delegated by the owner or possessor unless the return of the firearms or ammunition would place the owner or possessor or his delegate in violation of law. Any action or proceeding for the forfeiture of firearms or ammunition shall be commenced within one hundred and twenty days after such seizure.

1 922, or knowing importation or bringing into the United

2 States or any possession thereof any firearm or ammunition in

3 violation of section 922 (1), or knowing violation of section

4 924, or willful violation of any other provision of this

5 chapter or any rule or regulation promulçated thereunder, or

6 any violation of any other criminal law of the United States,

7 shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture, and all

8 provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to

9 the selzure, forfeiture, and disposition of firearms, as

10 defined in section 5845(a) of that Code, shall, so far as

11 applicable, extend to seizures and forfeitures under the

12 provisions of this chapter: Provided, That upon acquittal of

13 the owner or possessor, or dismissal of the charges against

14 him other than upon motion of the Government prior to trial,

15 the seized firearms or ammunition shall be returned forthwith

16 to the owner or possessor or to a person delegated by the

17 owner or possessor unless the return of the firearms or

18 ammunition would place the owner or possessor or his delegate

19 in violation of law. Any action or proceeding for the

20 forfeiture of firearms or ammunition shall be commenced

21 within one hundred and twenty days after such seizure.

22 ''(2)(A) In any action or proceeding for the return of

firearms or ammunition seized under the provisions of this

24 chapter, the court shall allow the prevailing party, other

25 than the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee, and the

26 United States shall be liable therefor.

27 ''(B) In any other action or proceeding under the

provisions of this chapter, the court, when it finds that

29 such action was without foundation, or was initiated

30 vexatiously, frivolously, or in bad faith, shall allow the

31 prevailing party, other than the United States, a reasonable

32 attorney's fee, and the United States shall be liable

33 therefor.

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"(C) Only those firearms or quantities of ammunition

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and

particularly named and individually identified as involved in or used by where there is old and convincing evidence the they are intended to be used, in any violation of the 3 provisions of this chapter or any rule or regulation issued thereunder, or any other criminal law of the United States, 5 shall be subject to selzure, forfeiture, and disposition. 6 AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 925 7 Sec. 185. Section 925 of title 18, United States Code, is 8 amended--9 (1) in subsection (c)--10 (A) by deleting the words "has been convicted of 11 a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term 12 exceeding one year (other than a crime involving t 13 ic ncitalciy, a no other weapon or a wiplation of 14 this chapter or of the National Firearms Act) " and 15 inserting in lieu thereof the words "is prohibited 16 from possessing, shipping, transporting, or receiving 17 firearms or ammunition"; 18 (2) by inserting the word "transportation" 19 after the word "shipment"; 20 (C) by deleting the words "and incurred by 21 reason of such conviction, "; and 22 (D) by adding after the words "the public 23 (Interest. " the words "kny person whose application 24 for relief from disabilities is denied by the 25 Secretary may file a petition with the United States 26 district court for the district in which he resides 27 for a judicial review of such denial. In a proceeding 28 conducted under this subsection, the scope of 29 30 judicial review shall be governed by section 786 of 31 title 5, United States Code. The court may in its 32 discretion admit additional evidence where failure to

do so would result in a miscarriage of justice.";

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(2)	in	subsect	ion	(d)
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- 2 (A) by deleting the words "may authorize" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "shall authorize";
 - (B) by deleting the words "the person importing or tringing in the firearm or ammunition establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that"; and
 - (C) by deleting in paragraph (3) the words :
 "generally recognized as particularly"; and
- 10 (D) by deleting the words "may permit" and

 11 inserting in lieu thereof the words "shall permit".

 12 AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 925
- Sec. 106. Section 926 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by--
- 15 (1) inserting ''(a)'' before 'The Secretary'' the >
 16 first place it appears;
- 17 (2) inserting the word 'only' after the word

 18 'prescribe';
 - inserting in lieu thereof the words 'as are';
- (4) deleting the words "The Secretary shall give 21 reasonable public notice, and afford interested parties 22 opportunity for hearing, prior to prescribing such rules 23 and regulations" and inserting in lieu thereof the 24 words: "Provided, That no such rule or regulation .. 25 promulgated after the effective date of this Act may 26 27 require that records required to be maintained under this chapter or any portion of the contents of such records, 28 be recorded at or transferred to a facility owned, 29 30 managed, or controlled by the United States or any State 31 or any political subdivision thereof, nor that any system or registration of firearms, firearms 32 owners, or firearms transactions or dispositions be 33

established: Provided further, That nothing in this

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17 section shall be deemed to expand or restrict the 1 Secretary's authority to inquire into the disposition of 2 one or more firearms pursuant to a criminal 3 investigation. "; and (5) inserting at the end thereof the following: 5 ''(b) The Secretary shall give not less than ninety days public notice, and shall afford interested parties 7 opportunity for hearing, prior to prescribing such rules and R Q regulations. "'(c) The Secretary shall not prescribe regulations that 10 require purchasers of black powder under the exemption 11 provided in section 845(a)(5) of title 18, United States 12 Code, to complete affidavits or forms attesting to that 13 exemption. ". 14 AKENDMENTS TO SECTION 927 15 TECHNICAL Sec. 127. Section 927 of title 18, United States Code, is 16 U.K amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the 17 following: ": Provided, however, That any provision of any 18 legislation enacted, or of any rule or regulation 19 promulgated, by any State or a political subdivision which 20 prohibits or has the effect of prohibiting the transportation 21 of a firearm or ammunition in interstate commerce through 22 such State, when such firearm is unloaded and not readily 23 accessible, shall be null and void. ". 24 EFFECTIVE DATE 25 26 188. (a) The amendment made by section 182 (b) of this Act shall become effective in the respective States 27 one year after the effective date of this act or upon the 2B SEC. 108. The amendments (including any 29 expiration repeals) maye by this Act shall become eflegislature in fective one hundred and eighty days after that State, the date of the enactment of this Act. 30 ever event P.F. last occurs. At that time the Socretary shall publish and 31 provide to all licenses a compilation of the State laws and 32

published ordinances of which licensees are presumed to have knowledge of pursuant to this chapter. All adendments to such

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1 State laws and published ordinances as contained in the
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- 2 aforementioned compilation shall be published in the reducat
- 3 Perister revised annually, and furnished to each person
- 4 licensed under this chapter. All other amendments (including
- 5 any repeals) made by this Act shall become effective one
- 6 hundred and eighty days after the date of enactment of this
- 7 . ACL .
- 8 (b) The provisions of sections 193 (4) (C), 184 (2), 185
- 9 and 107 of this Act thall be applicable to any action, con
- 10 petition, or appellate proceeding pending on the effective
- 11 date of this Act. The amendments (including repeals)
- 12 contained in sections 103 (5) and 126 of this Act shall not
- 13 affect regulations contained in 27 CFR 178.125, 178.125a and
- 14 178.127 as of the effective date of this Act except that such
- 15 regulations shall not be deemed to authorize the
- 16 establishment of any centralized or regional system of
- 17 registration of firearm or firearms owners. In considering
- 18 any petitions/for Presidential pardons submitted by persons
- 19 convicted of violations of chapter 44 of title 18, United
- 20 States Code, prior to the effective date of this Act, the 5000
- 21 Congress recommends that consideration be given to whether
- 22 the violation would have been punishable under this Act, and
- 23 to the purposes and findings contained in the preamble
- 24 thereto.
- 25 TITLE II -- AKENDMENTS TO TITLE VII OF THE OMNIBUS CRIME
- 26 CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968
- 27 . Sec. 201. Title VII of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe
- 28 Streets Act of 1968 (sections 1221, 1202, and 1233 of the
- 29 appendix to title 18, United States Code) is hereby repealed.
- 30 REPEALER
- 31 Sec. 202. Section 922 (b) (3) of title 18, United States
- 32 Code, is amended by--
- 33 (1) Inserting "and" before "(B)";
- 34 (2) striking out ", and" in clause (B) and

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- inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and
- 2 (3) repealing clause (C).