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Speaker Manley: "The House will be in order. Members will be in their chairs. We shall be led in prayer today by Wayne Padget, the Assistant Doorkeeper. Members and guests are asked to refrain from starting their laptops, turn off all cell phones, and rise for the invocation and the Pledge of Allegiance. Mr. Padget."

Wayne Padget: "Let us pray. Eternal and almighty God, we thank you for this occasion to gather as your people and to contemplate the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead for this great state. In the midst of diversity, God, give us the gift of unity, make us worthy of the mission in which you have called us as citizens of this great state and of this august Body. God, grant us to live in harmony with one another in mutual respect and love. May you bless and grant to our Governor and all of its leaders the spirit of courage, the spirit of justice, prudence, and discernment. Keep them in safety and health. May they lead your people to victories over injustice, poverty, and everything that is harmful to the dignity and sanctity of all human life. May your sovereign hand be upon this state and may it prosper in abundance from north to south. This we pray, Amen."

Speaker Manley: "We will be led in the Pledge of Allegiance today by Representative Lewis."

Lewis - et al: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

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Speaker Manley: "Roll Call for Attendance. The Chair recognizes Chairman Rita... is recognized to report any excused absences on the Democratic side of the aisle."

Rita: "Madam Speaker, let the record show that Representative Evans, Jones, Kifowit, Mason, Guzzardi are all excused today."

Speaker Manley: "Leader Welter is recognized to report any excused absences on the Republican side of the aisle."

Welter: "Madam Speaker, let the record reflect that Representatives Hauter, Mazzochi, and Stephens are excused for the day."

Speaker Manley: "Have all recorded themselves who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. There being 106 Members answering the roll call, a quorum is present. Mr. Clerk, Committee Reports."

Clerk Bolin: "Committee Reports. Representative Rita, Chairperson from the Committee on Executive reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: do pass Short Debate is Senate Bill 1001, Senate Bill 2801; recommends be adopted is the Motion to Concur with Senate Amendment(s) 1 to House Bill 4285, Motion to Concur with Senate Amendment(s) 2 to House Bill 4285. Representative Zalewski, Chairperson from the Committee on Revenue & Finance reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: recommends be adopted, Motion to Concur with Senate Amendment(s) 3 to House Bill 4228."

Speaker Manley: "On page 2 of the Calendar, under Concurrences, Representative Burke on House Bill 1859."

Burke: "Thank you, Madam Chair. I move to concur in Senate Amendment #1 to House Bill 1859. This was a Bill that we

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passed last year by an overwhelming majority. It just got stuck in the House. And in the meantime, the... this is a forest preserve pension shoring up Bill. And so, what the forest preserve has done is a moved its effect... effective date into the 2023 tax levy year because the 2022 tax levy year has already occurred. And then there was a very successful referendum that the forest preserve ran which allows it to fund this immediately in 2023 and not have to use this alternative four-year ramp. So, it does not change the effect of the Bill, just takes out... just makes two technical changes. It's still a wonderful Bill, and I'd appreciate your support."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Leader Batinick."

Batinick: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. Two things. We'd like to excuse Norine Hammond and Chris Miller for the remainder of the day. And will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Manley: "She indicates she will."

Batinick: "Representative, I was going to use the excuse that my computer was working slow so as to give my Members time to find out which 22 Members voted 'no' last time. But legitimately my computer was off. We are kind of blown away by the speed of the action today. Not used to that. What were the big changes again? So, we could buy some time here for myself and my Members to look up."

Burke: "Sure. So, as you recall, this was a Bill that had wide bipartisan support in the House and also in the Senate. It's a good, commonsense pension legislation that you yourself, as a good, commonsense pension advocate, have supported. And it did two things. Because of the delay in passing it, the time to implement it for the 2022 tax levy has passed. So, it'll

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go into effect... it'll go into practice in the 2023 tax levy, which'll be next year. And then the original Bill had kind of an either/or financing mechanism. And it was either this referendum passed that would provide more funding to go into the pensions and they could fund it immediately or, if the referendum had not passed, they would've needed a four-year ramp to get up there. Luckily, the referendum passed by an overwhelming major... margin in Cook County. And the public is very much in support of the referendum and... so that they can go to immediate funding for the 2023 tax levy year."

Batinick: "Okay. So, your... you're correct on a lot... everything you said there was correct, especially the part about some pension stuff. No significant changes. So, there's probably nothing in the Bill that would make Representative Bennett, Bourne, Caulkins, Chesney, Davidsmeyer go from a 'no' to a 'yes'? Or maybe even Jackie Haas, Rep Brad Halbrook, Sandy Hamilton, Norine Hammond, who else is missing here? McCombie, McLaughlin. Pretty much those people like Niemerg, they're going to vote the same way as they did before. Dave Severin, Sommer, Sosnowski. If I missed you, I'm sorry. But it's pretty much the 82 people. Windhorst, I think, voted 'no'. Those people probably are going to stay the 'no'. And the rest of us are going to stay the 'yes'. Or maybe our debate here has persuaded those people I just listed to go from a 'no' to a 'yes'. Right?"

Burke: "Well, it is good, commonsense pension funding Bill. So, anyone who voted 'yes', all those folks you mentioned, love to have them continue to vote 'yes'. And anyone who voted

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'no' and wants to rethink their 'no' and vote for commonsense pension funding, I'd love to have them join it."

Batinick: "Okay. Thank you for indulging me, Representative."

Burke: "Thank you, Mr. Batinick."

Speaker Manley: "Representative Burke to close."

Burke: "I'd appreciate an 'aye' vote on the Motion to Concur."

Speaker Manley: "The question is, 'Shall the House concur with Senate Amendment 1 to House Bill 1859?' This is final action. All those in favor signify by voting 'aye'; those opposed signify by voting 'nay'. And the voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On this question, there are 85 voting in 'favor', 20 voting 'opposed', 0 voting 'present'. And the House does concur with Senate Amendment 1 to House Bill 1859. Speaker Welch in the Chair."

Speaker Welch: "Members of the General Assembly, welcome back to Springfield and Happy New Year to you all. I really hope everyone had a safe and healthy holiday spent with loved ones. I know I enjoyed the time back home. But really excited to be here with all of you once again. I join you in the chamber today, though, to introduce a special guest who was brought to our attention by Representative Denyse Wang Stoneback. The Consul General of Pakistan, Mr. Tariq Karim. Consul General Karim ascended to his roll in May of 2021. He is a career diplomat with a wide range of experience that includes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Pakistan's Missions abroad. He was previously the Director General for Economic Diplomacy and Organization for Islamic Cooperation. And he has also served as Pakistan's Commissioner for D-8 Organization for

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Economic Cooperation. He's worked in roles in Dushanbe, Moscow, and New Delhi, India. He is here today, and we are looking forward to hearing more from him. And I know that you are too. So, with that, please put your hands together and welcome to the dais the Consul General Tariq Karim. Mr. Consul."

Consul General Karim: "Honorable Speaker, esteemed Representatives of this great State of Illinois, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is indeed a great honor and privilege for me to visit here and address this august forum. As the Consul General of Pakistan in Chicago, this is my prime responsibility to promote friendship and mutually beneficial partnership between Pakistan, Illinois, and the Midwestern states. I'm delighted to share with you that Pakistan's partnership with Illinois and other Midwestern states is growing, with rise in trade and investment and people-to-people interactions. Illinois is an important partner, trade partner of Pakistan. In 2021, Pakistan's trade with the Midwestern states almost doubled. Strong and vibrant Pakistani-American community in Illinois is playing an important role. A large number of Pakistani students are studying in the universities in Illinois. Ladies and Gentlemen, recently we have celebrated the 75th anniversary of Pakistan's independence. Despite various challenges and odds, Pakistan has achieved many milestones in the last 75 years. Pakistan is the 5th largest nation on the planet, with 230 million people. It's 24th world's largest economy in terms of Purchasing Power Parity. And it is a vibrant democracy with independent judiciary and free media. The government has

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taker concerted steps to empower women and minorities. And our fight against terrorism and handling of the COVID-19 are also success stories. Pakistan is an emerging economy with rapidly developing infrastructure, industry, and tech ecosystem. The government has taken concerted steps to pursue a peaceful livelihood with cordial relations with all it's neighbors. Pakistan believes that a just and lasting solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of this area will open an opportunity for regional cooperation and development. Pakistan is also emerging as a startup in technical system hub in the region. Pakistan is also known as the fourth largest English-speaking nation, with fourth largest zoomers and millennials and 120 million broadband subscribers, with hundreds of thousands of students and tech professionals graduating every year. Its geographical locations, market size, demographic (unintelligible), as you know, this a young nation, with 130 million below age of 30. And its liberal investment policies makes Pakistan an important business destination as well. The World Bank report Pakistan at 100 as (unintelligible) Pakistan says an inclusive society, innovation driven economy, and trade and investment (unintelligible). You would be aware that Pakistan has been hit by unprecedented climate-induced recent floods in Pakistan that has affected 33 million people. And they also caused crippling infrastructure and a lot of other crisis, from foods to education to housing and others. The estimated loss are to the tune of \$40 billion U.S. dollar. It is the stark reality that Pakistan contributes just zero point four percent of the greenhouse gasses yet it

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is the eighth most vulnerable country in the... in terms of climate change. With the help of international community, we believe that we would be able to rebuild. It's a daunting task, but we will succeed. And it can also be a opportunity to build back better. Ladies and Gentlemen, the foundation of Pakistan-United States economic and strategic partnerships were laid shortly after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Recently we have celebrated the 75th anniversary of the diplomatic ties. The people of Pakistan and the United States share the common values of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. The broad-based relationship between the two countries has served the interests of two countries, and together they collaborated during the Cold War and made the world safer through their collaboration during the Cold War, against international terrorism, and participating in peace-keeping operations, among others. Pakistan has supported the United States' massive evacuations from Afghanistan and continues to do so. The United States has become the... the biggest donor of COVID-19 vaccines. It also extended humanitarian support during our flood crisis. The two countries are also at advancing their common objective to fight against international terrorism, and to foster regional stability. The trade is also rising. The last year it increased from 8.4 billion to 12 billion. And United States is the largest export market for Pakistan, and the major enterprises, U.S. enterprises, like the Proctor and Gamble, Abbot, Cargill, McDonalds, Coca-Cola, and others. They are successfully doing businesses in Pakistan. And I believe that there... Pakistan-United States partnership will grow in future



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and their ties are (unintelligible) to grow. So, when we talk about Pakistan-United States relationship, we must not forget the strong Pakistani-American community that is about 1 million in the U.S. and their bridge-building role. One hundred and... more than one hundred thousand Pakistani-American living in Illinois are actively contributing in the socio-economic development of the states. They are... they are among the most successful entrepreneurs, innovators, professionals, and managers. And in addition to contributing in the different sectors of this state, they... some of them have established education institutions and hospitals for the welfare of the communities in Illinois. And you can see Devon Streets and maybe many other places, Pakistani foods and dresses. And we have two sister-city arrangements, one, Chicago-Lahore and Bolingbrook-Sialkot. And we are working on others. And I would like to also propose the sister-state relationship between Illinois and a province in Pakistan. At the end, I would like to emphasize that Pakistan and Illinois have a tremendous potential to strengthen their relationship, particularly trade and economy, tech, education, health, agriculture, and culture... arts and culture. I look forward to work with you all to strengthen the friendship and mutually beneficial partnership between Pakistan and this great State of Illinois. Thank you very much. This is a great honor that I'm speaking with you. Thank you so much. Thank you, Speaker. Thank you, Rep Stoneback, and all of you. Thank you so much."

Speaker Welch: "How about one more round of applause before you all sit down? The honorable Consul General from Pakistan has agreed that he will take a few moments for any Members who

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wish to take a photograph. He'll be down in the well. Leader Manley is back in the Chair."

Speaker Manley: "Mr. Clerk, Rules Report."

Clerk Hollman: "Rules Report. Representative Harris, Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: approved for consideration, referred to Second Reading is Senate Bill 208, Senate Bill 1015, and Senate Bill 2226."

Speaker Manley: "Representative Cassidy, for what reason do you seek recognition?"

Cassidy: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. I rise to introduce my Pages for the day. I am joined by Rowen Cates and Carson Rowe, who are eighth graders at King Arts School in Evanston. They're here with the fine folks of Restore Justice Illinois, working on expanding parole opportunities for emerging adults. And I would just like you to welcome to our Capitol."

Speaker Manley: "Welcome to Springfield. Representative West, for what reason do you seek recognition?"

West: "Point of personal privilege, Madam Speaker."

Speaker Manley: "Please proceed."

West: "Thank you. I want direct the General Assembly to the people on my left. If they will stand, the members of Live Free Illinois. We have Live Free Illinois here, which is a very effective organization that is working on true restorative justice throughout the State of Illinois. But they also brought faith-based leaders who are working within Live Free Illinois, and I want to acknowledge them. We have the Reverend Lawrence Blackful from Chicago Heights. We have the Reverend Damian Mitchell from Springfield. We have the Reverend...

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Pastor Allen Taylor from Austin/Oak Park. We have my good friend Pastor Wayne Fritz from the City of Rockford. And my good friend Reverend Ciera Bates-Chamberlain, along with her husband who runs Live Free. I just wanted to acknowledge them and thank them for all that they do. And I ask for the Body to give them a round of applause and welcome them to Springfield."

Speaker Manley: "Welcome to Springfield. Continuing on, on page 2. Under Concurrences is House Bill 4285, Representative Stuart."

Stuart: "Thank you. I move to concur with Amendments 1 and 2 on House Bill 4285."

Speaker Manley: "Can you give us a little something?"

Stuart: "Yeah. Yeah."

Speaker Manley: "Thank you."

Stuart: "So, this is... it has to do with our Procurement Code. It makes just a few changes, very small, kind of what we would call low-hanging fruit. I want to remind the Body that there is a Procurement Task Force that is still going on that is looking at a lot of larger, bigger picture issues. But these were some very small changes that we could make right now to open things up, to make things a little better for our universities. One of the things that we've done is set diversity goals for our universities to be able to get into contracts with diverse suppliers. And... so, some of these changes are going to help them meet those goals that we have set for them. I want to make sure the Body is aware there was some opposition. There's been an agreement made with a follow-

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up Bill that will remove the language that was controversial and had opposition. So, the opposition has been removed."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Leader Wheeler."

Wheeler: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Manley: "She indicates she will."

Wheeler: "Representative Stuart, we had a good discussion on this Bill in Executive Committee this morning. I kind of want to walk through some of the high points for people who had gotten fact sheets from different organizations concerned about the... the Bill we're actually... we're going to concur with now on the floor because we have a path forward to remedy some of the concerns. Right? And that concern primarily was around changing a threshold. Right?"

Stuart: "Correct."

Wheeler: "A no bid situation threshold moving it from 100 thousand up to 250 thousand. Is that right?"

Stuart: "That's correct."

Wheeler: "Okay. So, the goal now is going to have a trailer Bill within this lame duck Session before the 103rd takes effect to remove that before it can really take effect. This is an immediate effective date, wasn't it?"

Stuart: "Right."

Wheeler: "Then it's done. Right?"

Stuart: "Right. Right."

Wheeler: "So, to put everyone at ease, those who are concerned about small contractors, some of our union friends, there's a path forward, a deal has been struck, and it's going to be done in two pieces. This Bill and then a trailer Bill to it."

Stuart: "Correct."

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Wheeler: "Thank you very much. I wanted to make sure that was all clear for everybody."

Stuart: "Thank you for clarifying. I appreciate that."

Wheeler: "Yeah. No, it's... well... and we've all got emails and text messages over the last 24 hours saying, 'Wait, look at this for us, please.' And I want to make sure we let everybody know we actually have achieved something here that's going to be good for, I think, everybody."

Stuart: "I would agree. Yes."

Wheeler: "All right. I appreciate it. I plan to support your Bill. Thank you."

Stuart: "Thank you."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Representative Walker."

Walker: "Thank you. I have one question. So, I understand there's going to be a trailer Bill in the lame duck Session so that we can have the same effective date to clarify this."

Stuart: "Yes."

Walker: "So, just a perhaps weird question. Why don't we just do the trailer Bill? Why are we spending time on this?"

Stuart: "We... I mean, this, you know, late in lame duck we're... we're on the Order of Concurrence. We have the language worked out, except for that small piece, you know. So, you know, that's just a couple different ways to go through the process and this is the way that we chose to go through the process."

Walker: "Thanks."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Representative Davis."

Davis: "Thank you, Miss... Madam Speaker. I'm sorry. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Manley: "She indicates she will."

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Davis: "Representative, obviously we talked about this in Exec a little bit. I think there's some broad concern about this design-build concept. So, does design-build give more or less authority to the prime contractor?"

Stuart: "I think it could depend on the, like, the specific situation of the... the project and the contract."

Davis: "I don't disagree with you. So, again, I'm just reading here, when it says the use of single prime design-build. So, in past it suggested that design-build selects one contractor and then it divides up the work. And so, that one contractor kind of handles the responsibility of bonding and things of that nature. My concern is always... well not always, but my concern in this space is that, that means that the state is kind of abdicating any oversight, any responsibility that they have or whoever is initiating a contract to the contractor. So, that contractor now has that authority of minority contracting, picking the contractors to do the different work, even picking the subsequent prime contractors as the project is broken up into its various components. And not that I think that universities do it well just themselves, but now we're giving that prime contractor. And because of the nature of some of the contracts, which are probably large in nature, chances are that prime contractor is not going to be minority. It's going to be a white male or female contractor, who is then going to have a lot of responsibility to make those choices. So, again, this Bill, as I kind of said earlier in... in Exec, has some stuff in it. And it would be nice to be able to wait since we've agreed that we're going to run a trailer Bill in the next GA to change that threshold

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provision. Why not take the time to really walk through all the provisions of this, what they want, allow for appropriate conversation? Now, again, I'm not... I'm generally not the one to tell you to pull the Bill and all that... you know, you want to move your Bill. I understand. But I think it would be nice if we took that kind of time, since we know we have to make a change to it, be able to take that time and be able to walk through it so that we're clear on who's going to do what, what they're going to do, and the responsibility that they have to adhere to provisions, of goal setting, goal contracting. I just recently learned about how a goal can be put out there, and then if somebody thinks that that goal is too high, it can be walked back, the numbers can be tweaked. And then it put forward with a lower goal even. And I said, 'Well, how can that happen?' But it can happen. And all I'm simply saying is that in this procurement space, because it's being driven in a lot cases by people that don't look like me, and I'm going to pick on myself, because that doesn't happen a lot of people are making decisions about this that are having a desperate impact on minority contractors. It's having a desperate impact on them. We're not getting where we need to go in this minority contractor space. We aren't doing it right now. You and I serve on a task force."

Stuart: "Right."

Davis: "And you may remember that I said in one of our earlier meetings on that task force that this is truly not a sprint, it is a marathon because there is so much to this, so many nuances to it. But everybody wants to rush because they want to get that money. And as much as we haven't put all of things

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in place necessary to ensure, dare I say guarantee, even though you can't guarantee it like that, but to at least make sure that we've got strong, good participation amongst minority contractors. It's way too much. Even the projects that taking place in this building right now only has 18 percent. Eighteen percent participation goal. I mean, even the caucus, in one of our pillars we said the state should be at a 30 percent goal for minorities. But we're at 18 percent on a \$245 million project and nobody... well, I'll take that back. The Office of the Architect doesn't seem to care. They don't care about that. So, again, I guess what I'm getting at is, if we're going to take the time to really dive into this procurement stuff, making some arbitrary changes like this at someone's request, at someone's, you know, whim, if I can say it that way, it's challenging for me. So, I didn't support it in caucus, even though it passed. I certainly am not going to support it now. I think we need to take some time and really put together some real good procurement stuff. Thank you very much."

Stuart: "Thank you. I appreciate your concerns. I'm looking forward to our continued work on the task force and to try to solve a lot of these problems that you keep bringing up. Thank you."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Representative Halbrook."

Halbrook: "Thank you, Madam Chair. Question of the Sponsor."

Speaker Manley: "She indicates that she will yield."

Halbrook: "So, it talks here... it amends the Commission to End Hunger Act. What's the status of that in relationship to this Amendment that replaces everything?"



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Stuart: "It removes a representative from the local food council.

I know a part of what's in this is, like, a lot of our universities get a... they get like dings on audits, which is, you know, it's time consuming, and they have to answer to those concerns, and there's a lot of references to kind of antiquated commissions and other things. So, there's pieces in there that are cleaning up some of those things. And I think that's what that's a reference to."

Halbrook: "Okay. And so, why do those things need to be cleaned up?"

Stuart: "Because, like I said, there's, like, out of date commissions that are listed that they get in an audit, they get dinged on for not meeting when the commission is out of date. So, we're correcting those so that these audits don't keep flashing things that really are not problematic."

Halbrook: "So, I just want to understand. So, the Commission to End Hunger, the commission... that's out of date?"

Stuart: "It doesn't change the commission, it just takes off the representative from that particular task force."

Halbrook: "Okay. And was there some change to the limits here in contracting to some... I want... I'm trying find something about a \$75 million... maybe a \$150 million change. Is that... was there anything to that or did I read that somewhere else?"

Stuart: "Yes. So, there's a... right now there's a threshold for a minority-owned business, that \$75 million threshold. And if they... you know, if they have a good year and they... over that threshold then they are booted out of the program. And so, if we had, like, kept pace with inflation from when this was put into place, I believe I might be slightly off, but that

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threshold would actually appropriately be raised to about \$225 million, and we are raising it to \$150 million. So, we're trying to keep minority businesses that are doing well the ability to maintain that minority status so they can continue to be successful."

Halbrook: "So, my concern is, if they're at the \$75 million level, do they really need this? That seems like they would be doing really well as it is."

Stuart: "I think we had a previous Representative point out that we're not really meeting diversity goals and we're not giving opportunities to enough diverse contractors and we want to make sure that were able to incorporate as many as we can. And I don't want to penalize someone... we, right now, are in the midst of a capital Bill for the next few years and there is projects going out. We're going to have some businesses that are kind of going to hit these ebbs and flows. And they're going to be in a wave year and show higher, you know, higher amounts for a few years, get booted out, and then when it's back down low, they have to reapply into that minority program when they're still a minority business."

Halbrook: "So, you're talking about inflation and some things like that having a factor and it was... what other factors led to these... these changes that you want to do here?"

Stuart: "Inflation for the most part and just the cost going up. Keeping that... making that number a little outdated."

Halbrook: "Thank you. No further questions."

Speaker Manley: "Representative Stuart to close."

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Stuart: "We do have a lot to fix in procurement. This is just a very minor first step. I'm looking forward to the work of the task force. And I would appreciate an 'aye' vote."

Speaker Manley: "The question is, 'Shall the House concur with Amendments 1 and 2 to House Bill 4285?' This is final action. All those in favor vote 'aye'; those opposed vote 'nay'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On this question, there are 75 voting in 'favor', 20 voting 'opposed', 1 voting 'present'. The House does concur with Amendments 1 and 2 to House Bill 4285. And this Bill, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. Moving on to House Bill 4228, Leader Hoffman."

Hoffman: "Thank you, Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. House Bill 4228, we ask that you concur in Amendment #3. Senate Amendment #3 to House Bill 4228. This is a cleanup of a Bill that we passed a few... a Session or so ago concerning Decennial Committees on Local Government Efficiency indicating that every 10 years that the local governments must put forward their efficiency plans. This... we were... on legislative intent we're intended to take out school districts. However, the Bill wasn't clear that it did that. So, since school districts already do a shared service report every year, they would not have to do this decennial report. And it also indicates what the governing board of a township is in order to do the report. I know of no opposition."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Representative Halbrook."

Halbrook: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. Question of the Sponsor."

Speaker Manley: "Go ahead."

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Halbrook: "Thank you. Leader Hoffman, I just... there's an effective date change. I'm confused on the language of the effective date. Originally the Bill was one year from June 10 of 2023, but then there's change in this Amendment about that. Can you speak to exactly what that means?"

Hoffman: "Could you point me to what you're... what you're talking about with regard to..."

Halbrook: "It's in the Amendment about the effective date."

Hoffman: "Yeah. Senate Bill... the previous Senate Bill, which was Senate Bill 3789, erroneously provided that the committee must convene every 10 years after June 2022 instead of 10 years after the first report, which would be June 2023. The trailer makes that correction."

Halbrook: "And that correction would mean what? Just want to be clear."

Hoffman: "That they... after the initial report of June 2023, the next report would have to be 10 years after that."

Halbrook: "So, these... these governmental bodies will have to have a report filed by June 10 of 2023?"

Hoffman: "And then every 10 years after that, yes. This... this does not change the... the intent of the underlying Bill, which we passed, I believe, 114 to nothing."

Halbrook: "Right. And so... okay. And just to be clear, where does this report go to? Does it stay within the governmental units, or is it filed somewhere with the state agency?"

Hoffman: "I'm not sure that's in the underlying Bill. And it doesn't indicate on my analysis. But the underlying Bill, all this does is, it cleans up the underlying Bill by indicating that school districts will not have to do every 10 years

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because they already do a shared service report which discusses their effectiveness that is... that is with the State Board of Education."

Halbrook: "Right. And the other thing that we're doing here is allowing highway districts or road districts to be a part of the township. Right? We're not going create two separate commissions or whatever. They become part of the township?"

Hoffman: "Yes. They could do it as a... altogether to do one report."

Halbrook: "And there's to be three public hearings once this report's filed or during the process... what... can you speak to that exactly? What... how..."

Hoffman: "This does not change underlying Bill with regard to that."

Halbrook: "Okay. And do the members of the community, the voters, the residents, do they get a way to vote on the results of this report or is it just up to the governing body to make a decision?"

Hoffman: "I believe it's up to the governing body."

Halbrook: "Okay. And this is an unfunded mandate. Right? There's no state dollars flowing to these local government units?"

Hoffman: "That would be under the underlying Bill. This just makes technical changes to the underlying Bill."

Halbrook: "Right. Right. Okay. Thank you. No further questions."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Leader Batinick."

Batinick: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Manley: "He indicates he will."

Batinick: "He's a little busy right now. Hey. Representative, while you're filling out that form, quick question. And maybe there's a term I never thought of. We always talk about

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trailer Bills, but we never talk about what the first Bill is called. You were calling it the underlying Bill. I don't know if we call it the truck Bill or the tractor or semi-tractor. But the reason I'm clarifying it is because, when you're referring to the underlying Bill, you're referring to Senate Bill 3789, not this Bill before it was amended in the Senate, correct?"

Hoffman: "Yes. Yes."

Batinick: "Okay. So, I know... we had 18 'no' votes on this Bill the first time it went through and my understanding is, is there was some concern that there might be some tax implications in this. I don't know if you recall that. I'm looking at..."

Hoffman: "Are you referring to the underlying Bill before this Amendment which made technical changes to Senate Bill..."

Batinick: "No, I'm not referring to the truck-tractor Bill. I'm referring to the original version of this Bill before it went to the... this Bill, House Bill 4228. There was 18 'no' votes. There was concern that there might be some tax implications, and I'm just..."

Hoffman: "There are none."

Batinick: "...confirming for my Members."

Hoffman: "So, the underlying... okay. Let me go slow. So, Senate Bill 3789 would set up this decennial reporting. That was passed and had 114 to nothing in the House on Third Reading."

Batinick: "Correct."

Hoffman: "And that... it had some technical changes that need to be made to that Public Act. It eventually became a Public Act."

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Batinick: "On the technical changes you wanted to remove the school districts from it, correct?"

Hoffman: "Yes, and allow townships to ban together the road district and the rest of the township to just do one efficiency report."

Batinick: "Got it. Okay. I can't get you to say tractor-trailer Bill."

Hoffman: "A... I would like a 'yes' vote on this tractor-trailer Bill."

Batinick: "Okay. Well, we already..."

Hoffman: "Let's get it on down the road."

Batinick: "I... I can't follow that up. So, I'll just let people vote how they may. Thank you."

Speaker Manley: "Leader Hoffman to close."

Hoffman: "I ask for a favorable roll call."

Speaker Manley: "The question is, 'Shall the House concur with Senate Amendment 3 to House Bill 4228?' This is final action. All those in favor vote 'aye'; opposed vote 'nay'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On this question, there are 104 voting in 'favor', 1 voting 'opposed', 0 voting 'present'. And the House does concur with Senate Amendment 3 to House Bill 4228. This Bill, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. Mr. Clerk, Rules Report."

Clerk Hollman: "Rules Report. Representative Harris, Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: recommends be adopted,

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referred to the floor is Floor Amendment(s) 2 to Senate Bill 1001."

Speaker Manley: "Mr. Clerk, Committee Reports."

Clerk Hollman: "Committee announcements. Meeting at 4:00 this afternoon, the Executive Committee in Room 118, Revenue & Finance will meet in Room 122. These are both at 4:00."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Leader Greenwood for an announcement."

Greenwood: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. The Democrats will request a caucus meeting immediately in Room 114."

Speaker Manley: "Thank you. Representative Batinick."

Batinick: "Thank you, Madam Speaker. The Republicans will not caucus. However, I have an inquiry of the Chair, and that is, do we have a... maybe a timeline? Is it wise to go to dinner in the 5 to 6:00 hour?"

Speaker Manley: "Do you have a reservation?"

Batinick: "I don't. But in all seriousness, do we have a schedule? Just so we have... I know you're going to need our votes on some of this legislation that's going to be coming tonight. So, we want to make sure we're here."

Speaker Manley: "The best I can do is tell you that committees are scheduled at 4 p.m."

Batinick: "Okay. And then we're coming back into Session after committee, correct?"

Speaker Manley: "Correct."

Batinick: "Okay. Thank you."

Speaker Manley: "The House will stand in recess to the call of the Chair. The House will be in order. Mr. Clerk, Committee Reports."



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Clerk Hollman: "Committee Reports. Representative Rita, Chairperson from the Committee on Executive reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: do pass Short Debate is Senate Bill 3799; recommends be adopted is Floor Amendment(s) 2 to Senate Bill 1720; Floor Amendment(s) 2 to Senate Bill 2226."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Leader Welter."

Welter: "Madam Speaker, the House Republicans request an immediate caucus in room... oh, are you calling a Bill? I guess I'm going to wait till you technically call the Bill. I'm sorry. I'm going by (unintelligible), maybe I shouldn't be."

Speaker Manley: "I was going to blame him anyways. I was going to blame him for this."

Welter: "Thank you."

Speaker Manley: "Stand by."

Welter: "Okay."

Speaker Manley: "Chair recognizes Leader Welter."

Welter: "Back to what I was saying, House Republicans request an immediate caucus in Room 118 for an hour."

Speaker Manley: "For one hour."

Welter: "Yes."

Speaker Manley: "Republicans will caucus in Room 118. Democrats will not. The House will stand in recess to the call of the Chair."

Speaker Harris: "Mr. Clerk, Rules Report."

Clerk Hollman: "Rules Report. Representative Harris, Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: approved for consideration, referred to Second Reading is Senate Bill 1534."

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Speaker Harris: "Mr. Clerk, Rules Report."

Clerk Hollman: "Rules Report. Representative Harris, Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee action taken on January 5, 2023: recommends be adopted, referred to the floor is Floor Amendment(s) 4 to Senate Bill 1534."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Carroll, for what reason do you seek recognition?"

Carroll: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Point of personal privilege."

Speaker Harris: "Please state your point."

Carroll: "I'd like to make introductions for two people tonight that are joining us on the floor. We have Northfield Township Trustee Caryn Fliegler. And we have former... and we also have a former Buffalo Grove mayor and current constituent of mine, Elliott Hartstein are here. So, thank you very much for coming down to Springfield and enjoy."

Speaker Harris: "On Supplemental Calendar #A appears Senate Bill 1001, Mr. Zalewski. Please read the Bill, Mr. Clerk."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 1001, a Bill for an Act concerning liquor. Second Reading of this Senate Bill. No Committee Amendments. Floor Amendment #2, offered by Representative Zalewski, has been approved for consideration."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Zalewski on Floor Amendment 2."

Zalewski: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I wish to adopt Floor Amendment #2. It's a technical Amendment dealing with Home Rule powers."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Zalewski has moved for the adoption of Floor Amendment #2 to Senate Bill 1001. All those in favor say 'aye'; opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the

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Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And the Motion is adopted. Anything further, Mr. Clerk?"

Clerk Hollman: "No further Amendments. No Motions are filed."

Speaker Harris: "Third Reading. Please read the Bill. Mr. Clerk, please hold this Bill on the Order of Third Reading. On Supplemental Calendar #A, or letter A, appears Senate Bill 1015, Representative Smith. Please read the Bill, Mr. Clerk."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 1015, a Bill for an Act concerning local government. This Bill was read a second time previously. Amendment 1 was adopted in committee. No Floor Amendments. No Motions are filed."

Speaker Harris: "Third Reading. Please read the Bill, Mr. Clerk."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 1015, a Bill for an Act concerning local government. Third Reading of this Senate Bill."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Smith on Senate Bill 1015."

Smith: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Senate Bill 1015... this is not my first Bill by the way, but I do appreciate the attention. Senate Bill 1015 expands the authority of the Office of the County Executive in Will County and any future county choosing to adopt the county executive form of government. Under the elections and county codes, says that the county executive shall be the official to appoint individuals to fill vacant countywide offices. It restores the county executive's role to appoint when a vacancy occurs in the county board or countywide offices. Both will continue to require full board approval. It also codifies the responsibilities of the board's speaker, county board chair, and the county executive form of government; codifies the township form of government under county codes to the county executive form of government;

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modernizes Articles 2 through 5 to make it gender neutral; provides parity to the county executives as other countywide officers when hiring employees in their office and implementing county board approved budgets. It aligns the relationship the same way that the General Assembly and Governor work, rank and file staff will continue to be hired at the direction of the county executives and directors of departments will still require advice and consent of the county board. I urge all to support this and push the green button. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Leader Batinick for a question."

Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Batinick: "Representative, a couple of a... couple of clarification questions. Let me use an example. Would this Bill allow the county executive to then hire his or her own chief of staff, per say... let's say. Does that happen?"

Smith: "Yes."

Batinick: "So, that would allow them to do that? I see on the... on the opponents there's a whole bunch of Republicans and Democrats that are opponents. Can you tell me what the nature of their opposition is currently?"

Smith: "Well, this Bill was initially introduced last spring. So, I'm not quite sure of what the opposition is at this point. There's been many conversations, and to my knowledge, most folks are on board with this."

Batinick: "Okay. I've not received.. obviously, this affects my home county, Will County. For some reason it sounds like an internal food fight. More so actually on your side of the

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aisle than our side of the aisle. So, I'll just leave it up to everybody on my side. Doesn't... this literally affects two counties, I believe, Representative. Is that right?"

Smith: "Just one county. Champaign is not affected."

Batinick: "Oh, Champaign is not affected by this Bill? They were removed in the Senate?"

Smith: "Yes."

Batinick: "Okay. All right. No further questions. Thank you."

Smith: "Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Seeing no one else seeking recognition, Representative Smith to close."

Smith: "Vote 'yes'."

Speaker Harris: "The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 1015 pass?' All those in favor vote 'aye'; those opposed vote 'nay'. Voting is open. All voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. With 73 voting 'yes', 35 voting 'no', and 0 voting 'present', Senate Bill 1015, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. Mr. Clerk, on Supplemental Calendar #2, there appears Senate Bill 1534. Please read the Bill."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 1534, a Bill for an Act concerning regulation. This Bill was read a second time previously. No Committee Amendments. Floor Amendments 1, 2, and 3 were adopted previously. Floor Amendment #4, offered by Representative Cassidy, has been approved for consideration."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Cassidy on Floor Amendment 4 to Senate Bill 1534."

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Cassidy: "Mr. Speaker, I'd like to adopt them and debate the Bill on Third."

Speaker Harris: "Motion is to adopt the Floor Amendment 4 to Senate Bill 1534. All those in favor say 'aye'; opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And the Motion is adopted. Anything further, Mr. Clerk?"

Clerk Hollman: "No further Amendments. But a fiscal note, Home Rule note, and state mandates note has been requested but not filed at this time."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Cassidy."

Cassidy: "I'd like to move that the notes be ruled inapplicable."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Cassidy has ruled that the fiscal note... that the fiscal note, Home Rule note, and state mandates note be ruled inapplicable. Representative Bourne."

Bourne: "To the Motion."

Speaker Harris: "Please proceed."

Bourne: "In committee we were told that we didn't know what the fiscal impact of this would be. It's also a mandate on state insurance. And on page 7 has... talks about this applying to Home Rule communities and counties. I would contend that these are very applicable notes, especially since we've had less than an hour of actual debate on the Bill."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Cassidy."

Cassidy: "I move that the rule... that the notes be ruled inapplicable."

Speaker Harris: "The Lady has moved that the notes on Senate Bill 1534 be ruled inapplicable. This is a recorded vote. All in favor vote 'aye'; opposed vote 'nay'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all

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voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. With 67 voting 'yes', 40 voting 'no', and 0 voting 'present', the notes are ruled inapplicable. Mr. Clerk."

Clerk Hollman: "No further notes are requested."

Speaker Harris: "Third Reading. Please read the Bill."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 1534, a Bill for an Act concerning regulation. Third Reading of this Senate Bill."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Cassidy on Senate Bill 1534."

Cassidy: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker and Members of the House. Earlier this summer, something that many of our Members believed would never happen, the Supreme Court ruled that the *Roe v. Wade* decision that had protected access to abortion rights and the fundamental right to privacy for individuals was no longer the law of the land. And over the last several years, as we have moved to protect reproductive rights in Illinois, many of my colleagues believed that day would never happen. And it happened. And here in Illinois, we protect that right to privacy. We protect that access to care. Senate Bill 1534 represents the work we have done to shore up that right to privacy and protect patients and providers from undue interference from hostile states. The Patient and Provider Protection Act, or PAPPA as we like to call it, will provide those protections. It will protect providers and patients. It will ensure access for our residents as we see upwards of 30 thousand inbound patients from hostile states seeking care that they can't get in their home state. And it will expand capacity. I ask for an 'aye' vote."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Bourne."

Bourne: "I have a parliamentary inquiry."

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Speaker Harris: "Please state your inquiry."

Bourne: "Is the Amendment germane to the underlying Bill that has to do with credit unions?"

Speaker Harris: "Could you please restate your question, Representative?"

Bourne: "Yes. Is the Amendment that we are debating germane to the underlying Bill that has to do with credit unions?"

Speaker Harris: "The Amendment does not relate to credit unions."

Bourne: "Right. But the Bill does, the underlying Bill. Does the Amendment have to be germane to the underlying Bill?"

Speaker Harris: "We'll get back to you on that."

Bourne: "Okay. Before we debate the Bill or after?"

Speaker Harris: "We'll get back to you during the debate."

Bourne: "Okay, perfect. I have another inquiry of the Chair."

Speaker Harris: "Please state your inquiry."

Bourne: "On page 7 of the Bill, we see that this Bill applies to Home Rule units and Home Rule counties. Does this Bill preempt Home Rule?"

Speaker Harris: "No."

Bourne: "Can I ask a reasoning?"

Speaker Harris: "This is the advice given to me by the parliamentarian."

Bourne: "Yes, but could he state the reasoning?"

Speaker Harris: "It is the interpretation of the parliamentarian that it does not cause that preemption."

Bourne: "It specifically adds a new requirement for Home Rule counties and communities. At what threshold would it preempt Home Rule? On page 7, it says, 'Required health benefits. If a county, including a home rule county, is a self-insurer'...



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and then it adds, 10 lines down, the new requirements for their self-insurance. And then on page 8, Section 10-4-2.3, it says, 'If a municipality, including a home rule municipality, is a self-insurer,' and then adds the same requirements."

Speaker Harris: "Representative, the parliamentarian has given me a ruling that it does not cause a Home Rule problem."

Bourne: "Yes, but I'm just asking for the reasoning."

Speaker Harris: "That was the decision of the parliamentarian."

Bourne: "So, the reasoning is just his own ideas."

Speaker Harris: "As a attorney and our counsel and the parliamentarian, it is that person's job to render those opinions. And that is the opinion he rendered."

Bourne: "Okay. Just seems that maybe there's an obligation to explain that. So, it's the opinion that this would not require the 71 votes required for preempting Home Rule?"

Speaker Harris: "That is correct."

Bourne: "Okay. Thank you so much. Mr. Speaker, will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

Bourne: "Thank you. Representative, I know I asked several questions throughout committee and I know most were able to catch that debate. So, I wanted to not go through all of them but go through just a couple of them to see if we have updated information, if that's okay? One thing I asked in committee was the fiscal impact of this Bill. Do you have updated information on the fiscal impact either to counties, Home Rule counties, municipalities, this state, or other providers of state insurance plans?"

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Cassidy: "As I explained in committee, the majority of the copay-free items in the Bill are already copay free. This is just codifying it. So, there would not be an additional fiscal impact."

Bourne: "I'm understanding that there is one change in this Amendment that changes the year for insurance to comply with these. And my assessment is that that's probably because they have to adjust some of their costs for..."

Cassidy: "No. It has nothing to do with costs. It actually has to do with the requirement on insurance companies that their formulary and benefits are consistent year to year. So, this just pushes it to the next plan year. It has nothing to do with cost."

Bourne: "Right. But adjusting their formulary will also adjust their cost to their... those that they're insuring."

Cassidy: "But since these drugs are already mostly copay free, this is just a... a courtesy to make sure... in case there are any changes, they asked us to make sure it only applies to... to the next plan year."

Bourne: "Okay. I find it hard to believe that there's no fiscal impact, so more specific numbers would be helpful. And maybe we'll find that out in the coming years. I have a couple of questions about... we talked about this briefly and it was covered by the advocates in committee, so I didn't talk about it too... too long. But when we look at page 40 of the old Amendment... I guess, let me ask that question first. Is the only change in this Amendment from what we heard in committee that year change that was discussed with Representative Wheeler in committee?"

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Cassidy: "So, yes, that effective date. And then in Article 8, there's a technical change to include physician assistants as the Bill originally intended. It was lost in one of the transfers of language."

Bourne: "Okay. Could you explain that change then for me?"

Cassidy: "Yes. And as I presented committee, the... the law will clarify that in the RHA we intended to expand the scope of practice for advance practice nurses and physicians' assistants who have equivalent training to be able to perform early procedures, aspiration abortion procedures. And in one of the translations, we dropped physician assistant. So, that just puts the words back in that I actually testified to in committee."

Bourne: "Gotcha. Understood. That's actually the Section I was going to, so that's a perfect transition. So, one of the main changes in this Bill, as it relates to abortion in Illinois, is that it will expand abortion procedures, including surgical abortion procedures, to those who are not medical doctors. Is that correct?"

Cassidy: "No, it's not correct because the RHA, in our opinion, actually permitted that. This just makes it more explicit."

Bourne: "Okay. So, this is already happening in Illinois? That these physicians' assistants..."

Cassidy: "The intent in passing the RHA was to do that. We are making it more explicit in this language."

Bourne: "Okay. So, I'm asking about the changes..."

Cassidy: "So, we already voted on it."

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Bourne: "I'm asking about the changes in practice though? In practice, is this happening in Illinois versus what will if this goes into effect?"

Cassidy: "This clarifies that this is within their scope of practice."

Bourne: "Okay. Has there been threats that there would be litigation or other things if this wasn't clarified? I'm just wondering why this is... what I see as one of the main changes."

Cassidy: "Because clarity is important. So, it clarifies that this is within their scope of practice."

Bourne: "I totally agree that clarity is important. So, one thing that we see in this Bill is that, maybe not for the first time in Illinois, those who are nonphysicians will be performing or able to perform surgical abortions."

Cassidy: "It's not a surgery. The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists does not consider this a surgery."

Bourne: "Could you explain the procedure then?"

Cassidy: "It is what is referred to as an aspiration abortion."

Bourne: "Yes. I'm asking..."

Cassidy: "It is not a D&C. It is an aspiration abortion."

Bourne: "Okay. I'm asking, could you explain it then?"

Cassidy: "As a nonphysician..."

Bourne: "Is it different than what was explained in committee?"

Cassidy: "...I can explain to you that it is referred to as an aspiration abortion, not a D&C. And it is not considered a surgery by the body that oversees these procedures."

Bourne: "Okay. So, it's different than what was testified in committee by the opponents?"

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Cassidy: "No."

Bourne: "No, by the opponents."

Cassidy: "Yes, by the opponents. Yes."

Bourne: "Okay. That was my question. I wanted to move on to page... let me find it. I want to move on to page... we talked about this several times in committee. Page 12 of the Amendment, where we talk about the prescription of abortifacients without proof of pregnancy. And I asked in committee if there were other things that doctors prescribe without unnecessarily any kind of immediate need or even... it may never be used. And I know we talked about that some. Any follow up on that from committee?"

Cassidy: "So, as I discussed in committee, it's not uncommon for a physician to prescribe a drug that you might need. Whether it's because you're traveling or... quite frankly, as a woman who has experienced rather unpleasant side effect of antibiotics, I very often get a prescription for fluconazole for the almost inevitable yeast infection that comes when a woman takes antibiotics. And nobody wants that experience. I haven't always needed to use that fluconazole. But I've had it in the event that yeast infection occurs. I've had other experiences where, if I'm going to be traveling, my physician has prescribed me rescue antibiotics in case my sinus infection turns into an ear infection. This happens with alarming regularity because we trust physicians and patients to make the right decisions about what those patients need."

Bourne: "I appreciate that answer. To the Bill, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "To the Bill."

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Bourne: "What we see in this Bill... there are a few things. Insurance providers in Illinois will have to cover prescription abortifacients without there being a proof a pregnancy. There will be, as we heard, an expansion on who can perform what, some argue and some have testified to the fact, are surgical abortions who are not medical doctors. We don't see any age limits. We see IDPH have new abilities for statewide allowing of prescriptions without actually having a prescription from a doctor or from any kind of other care provider. This is an expansion that goes beyond what most Illinoisans think is appropriate. And we heard what the Sponsor said as her answer to my last question. We've heard proponents of abortions say these things several times throughout our debating of abortion Bills in the last few years. The corner stones of their arguments were that we trust physicians and patient... a woman and their physician to make decisions. And we've heard for years that they want abortion to be safe, legal, and rare. But with this Bill and the Bills that they've passed previously, now they want to trust minor girls to make decisions with physician assistants, not doctors. And it can be paid for with taxpayer dollars and their parents never have to know, and it can be done in a clinic that's not held up to medical standards. It's not exactly the same as a woman and her doctor. And it's not exactly safe, legal, and rare either. It's not safe. We're not doing it with just physicians. We're not doing it in medical clinics that are held up to the same standards as other medical places. It's not necessarily safe. They certainly don't want it to be rare. They want you to be able

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to get abortion inducing medicine without having proof of pregnancy. They just want it to be legal. This goes far beyond and is way out of step with what a majority of Illinoisans think is appropriate restrictions. Please vote 'no'."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Moylan."

Moylan: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates she'll yield."

Moylan: "Representative, could you please clarify.. or shall I say, is it true that we would be responsible for paying for transgender surgeries?"

Cassidy: "No."

Moylan: "Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Morrison."

Morrison: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Sponsor indicates she'll yield."

Morrison: "Okay. Thank you. Representative, I've heard you say this during this debate and other times that we need to trust doctors. Should we just trust all doctors?"

Cassidy: "I believe that these decisions are best handled between a medical provider and a patient."

Morrison: "Okay. So..."

Cassidy: "We have no place in this decision making."

Morrison: "Okay. So, any medical provider.. the State of Illinois and the people of the State of Illinois, we should just trust medical providers period? Is that your intention?"

Cassidy: "I believe that this decision is best made between a patient and her provider, or their provider."

Morrison: "Okay. So, is it.. according to the Bill, if an individual medical provider from another state, if they get

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in trouble in that state, you think that that person should be welcomed into Illinois to continue their practice? Is that accurate?"

Cassidy: "If a provider in a state that is, frankly, led by your party, that is hunting patients and providers out of existence, loses their ability to practice medicine in that state, absolutely. They are welcome here because they're losing their ability to practice medicine because they are providing legal health care in this state."

Morrison: "Okay. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill. I want to bring to this Body's attention, reminder of an absolutely horrific discovery that happened right here in the boundaries of the State of Illinois in 2019, just a few months after the Reproductive Health Act was signed into law. It was cheered and celebrated by individuals on that side of the aisle and others. The case involved an abortionist named Dr. Ulrich Klopfer. He had practiced in Illinois, but before his death, he had practiced in Indiana. He got in trouble with the law in Indiana repeatedly. In this horrific discovery in 2019, was on his Illinois property, were found the remains of thousands of victims of his practice. Thousands. Just discards... discarded like human garbage. Over a hundred fetal remains were found in the trunk of his Mercedes. This the kind of individual that we want to welcome with open arms in the State of Illinois? It is horrific. There are other examples. Dr. Kermit Gosnell, look up his case. Got in trouble for providing abortion services, late-term abortions, which would've been in violation of... well, were in violation of Pennsylvania law. But now, due to the Reproductive Health



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Act, they would be legal in the State of Illinois. This legislation would welcome monsters like Gosnell and Ulrich Klopfer. I urge this Body to vote 'no'. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Ugaste."

Ugaste: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

Ugaste: "Thank you. Representative Cassidy, gender-affirming therapy would be covered completely by insurance under this Bill. Is that correct?"

Cassidy: "There are... the only thing in this Bill that speaks to gender-affirming care in terms of coverage is removing the copay for medication related to gender-affirming care, which might be among the cheapest medication in the world."

Ugaste: "Does this cover gender-affirming therapy then?"

Cassidy: "The only thing in this Bill that speaks to coverage for gender-affirming care would be no copay for the medication related to that care."

Ugaste: "Well, gender-affirming therapy includes more than just..."

Cassidy: "Absolutely. But the only thing in this Bill that speaks to coverage is the removal of a copay for the medications related to gender-affirming care."

Ugaste: "In order to undergo gender-affirming therapy or... strike that. Gender-affirming therapy, does that include changing one's gender?"

Cassidy: "The only thing in this Bill that speaks to coverage for gender-affirming care relates to medication for gender-affirming care and no copay for that medication."

Ugaste: "I didn't ask about coverage, Representative Cassidy. I'd hope you'd answer our questions. Because..."

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Cassidy: "So, perhaps I misunderstood."

Ugaste: "Sure. I'm just..."

Cassidy: "Maybe restate your question."

Ugaste: "Sure. Does gender-affirming therapy cover changing one's gender?"

Cassidy: "According to the World Health Organization, gender-affirming care refers to behavioral, medicated.. medication, and surgery related to allowing a person to live in the gender that they believe.. that they belong to."

Ugaste: "Okay. And that's fine. I'm glad that's what the World Health Organization believes. I'm asking under your Bill, is that..."

Cassidy: "That is the definition we use."

Ugaste: "...is that covered?"

Cassidy: "We are using.. what is covered..."

Ugaste: "Okay. I understand where you're going. We're going to dance around this. Okay."

Cassidy: "I'm not dancing around anything. I'm telling you what's in the Bill, Sir."

Ugaste: "Okay. Thank you. In order to undergo gender-affirming therapy, would a minor child need parental consent or authorization?"

Cassidy: "This Bill has nothing to do with that. But I will tell you that the medical standard of care does not permit that. Under the medical standard of care..."

Ugaste: "In Illinois?"

Cassidy: "...that is.. that is within the health care field writ large. This is not specific to a state. This is how doctors operate. These are the principles that guide medical care."

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Ugaste: "Okay. To the Bill. I ask the chamber to think about what it's about to do because, despite the Representative's statements as to what's covered what's not, we can all read the Bill and we can all see what it does. It provides coverage and removes copay, coinsurance, and any type of deductible for the procedures and treatments it outlines. And in doing that, it's going to increase premiums on everyone else throughout the state. And normally we do this and we consider this. But in this instance, there's no consideration given as to whether or not this person who wants to have this care, or this therapy, or this treatment, can afford to pay or not to pay. Even the wealthiest of Illinoisans could afford to avoid this type of expense. And then there's minors. So, now we have a situation again where the Sponsor's telling us that a minor doesn't need any type of parental authorization in order to undergo this type of treatment and that the insurance is going to have to cover it, and we're removing all copays and deductibles. That's what this Bill is doing. And we need to think about what we're doing, what we're doing to families in the State of Illinois, what we're doing to parents and their rights within the State of Illinois. I urge a 'no' vote."

Speaker Harris: "Representative McCombie."

McCombie: "I yield my time to Representative Morrison."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Morrison."

Morrison: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

Morrison: "Thank you. I'd like to address the piece of legislation that my colleague just brought up. Representative, why do we have laws that prohibit minors from getting things like

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tattoos or... let's just say tattoos. Why... or going to tanning salons. Why do we prohibit minors from going to tanning salons or get tattoos?"

Cassidy: "This legislation has nothing to do with that."

Morrison: "I understand that, but we're talking about minors and we're talking about discernment and we're talking..."

Cassidy: "This legislation does not speak to whether minors... this has nothing to do with minors, Sir."

Morrison: "Okay. I'm pretty sure that your voting record over the years has affirmed that activities like tobacco usage, tanning salons... I'd have to look up the Bill. Do you recall if you voted to raise the age on tobacco usage?"

Cassidy: "I'm here to talk about Senate Bill 1534."

Morrison: "Okay. I'm pretty sure you did vote to raise those age. And as I recall those debates, we talked about how younger people do not fully understand the full ramifications of the decisions they make."

Cassidy: "Nothing in this Bill speaks to whether a minor can seek this care. I... there's nothing in this Bill about that."

Morrison: "What we... what we have seen is, in just the last few years, an enormous uptick in the number of these sort of interventions, medical interventions, puberty blockers, hormone... hormones, and even surgery on minors. And so, this Bill will facilitate even more of those procedures because now it's being subsidized by everyone."

Cassidy: "What we've also seen over the years is enormous uptick in attacks and abuse, some of it led by you, against trans youth. And I'm very proud to say that I stand with trans youth. I protect trans youth against bullies like you, Sir."

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Morrison: "Well, let's... let's talk about some of the youth that you... that you're bringing up because I do care about individuals who are struggling with gender dysphoria. I care deeply."

Cassidy: "The young woman that you dogged and harassed for years is now my constituent."

Morrison: "I don't know... I have not dogged or harassed anyone. I don't know what you're talking about. But I... I would like to ask you a few more questions. Again, talking about informed consent and the fact that younger individuals are not fully capable of understanding the full ramifications of some of the decisions they make. And we know that there are younger individuals who are being pushed at school, they're being pushed by social media, they're being pushed by the culture at large to do these irreversible procedures, to take these powerful drugs which the FDA has declared... I mean, the studies have not been done. I'm pretty sure... according to a recent *Reuters* article, the FDA still had not authorized the use of puberty blockers or hormones for... they've not authorized the off-label use because we don't know what the long-term effects are going to be."

Cassidy: "There is nothing in that... in this Bill that speaks to that, Sir."

Morrison: "Well, I disagree with you because we're going to be facilitating thousands and thousands, maybe even tens of thousands more, of these procedures if this Bill passes. So, it is relevant."

Cassidy: "There is nothing in this Bill that speaks to that, Sir."

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Morrison: "Okay. I think the Body understands that we're going to be subsidizing this. We're going to be seeing it a lot more. According to the Mayo Clinic.. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill. According to the Mayo Clinic, it... there are complications to any kind of medical intervention to varying degrees. According to the Mayo Clinic, they about some of the complications that are likely to the result or may result from these sort of interventions. And we're talking about minors and making it much more likely that... that thousands or tens of thousands of these minors are going to experience this. I want to... I want to quote a trans youth from two months ago if... I would ask the Body, just spend... who knows how much longer this debate is going to go, but this is a very important Bill. Take five minutes and Google the word detransition or transition regret. There are thousands and thousands and thousands of videos and posts from individuals who were pushed into this, not fully recognizing or understanding or realizing what they were getting into. Not everybody has regret, but there are many, many, many who do. And I want to quote the words of this one individual, so powerful. And I would just ask that you would indulge me, that you allow me to quote her. She's a 20-year-old. She has a very masculine voice now because she's been taking testosterone that was prescribed to her. She's been taking the testosterone for four years. She started the transition at 16. She had a double mastectomy at 16. This is what she said. 'The trans community lied to me. I was told when I was a teenager that this discomfort I was feeling is that I was just... I was just meant to be a boy. If I transitioned, I would

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feel great, I would feel euphoric, it would be everything. Looking back, if someone at that time would've told me no, no, we're going to get you the help that you need. It's a normal teenage thing to feel uncomfortable in your body.' She said, 'Maybe I wouldn't be here today, where I am. There should be gates in place. It shouldn't be this easy to get medical care. You shouldn't be able to just walk in and get hormones the same day. I don't know where I stand in this world. And it's not because of transphobia,' she said. She said, 'It's because of what's been done to me, what I did to myself. I'll never fully be male. But now there's no going all the way back. I was a child when this happened to me. Now, I wonder if I can ever have children. If I've damaged myself beyond repair.' She said, 'I don't want your pity. I don't want your pity. I just share in the hope that people will know that this happening.' She said, 'Maybe there's a 14-year-old out there who I can speak to who's right now demanding to her parents that she get treatment.' This 20-year-old said, 'If I had just waited, I would've been okay.' Double mastectomy at 16. Now she's 20 with deep regret. Please do not facilitate thousands or tens of thousands of these procedures by passing this Bill. I urge you to vote 'no'. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Wilhour."

Wilhour: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

Wilhour: "Representative Cassidy, is there a single restriction that you could point to on a women... on a woman terminating a pregnancy that you would support?"

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Cassidy: "My believe is that these decisions are meant to be made between a physician and a patient. I'm not a physician."

Wilhour: "So..."

Cassidy: "I don't pretend to... to have that authority."

Wilhour: "But you're a human being. What if a baby was born alive in a botched abortion and the mother still wanted to terminate?"

Cassidy: "That doesn't happen, Sir."

Wilhour: "Would you support that?"

Cassidy: "That doesn't happen, Sir."

Wilhour: "It could under your legislation."

Cassidy: "So many things could. But that doesn't happen, Sir."

Wilhour: "You know, you..."

Cassidy: "And there is nothing in this Bill that relates to that."

Wilhour: "Yeah."

Cassidy: "So, let's stick to the Bill, shall we?"

Wilhour: "Sure. Sure. Well, you know, you all like to throw around words like extremists, out of the mainstream. But at the same time..."

Cassidy: "I've never said any of those things."

Wilhour: "...but at the same time, you're passing legislation that allows for and encourages abortion on demand at any stage for any reason, taxpayer-funded abortion, protecting sex traffickers and sexual predators with the repeal of the parental notification that we seen last year. Have you heard the story about the young female student that was sexually abused by her school dean in the Chicago public school system?"



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Cassidy: "Have you heard about all of the trans youth that are committing suicide because of bullies like you?"

Wilhour: "Okay. Okay. Well, I'll just go to the Bill here. It's a story... this story about the girl in the public school system. It's a story about a girl that, between the ages of 15 and 17, was sexually assaulted by her school dean over and over for more than 2 years. Prosecutors say that at least twice this young girl became pregnant and she was taken to an abortion clinic by her assaulter where he forged the name of her guardian to circumvent the parental notification law that was in effect at that time. They aborted the children and the abuse continued without the knowledge and the protection of the parents. Forging the parental notification was the only reason that this pervert, this sexual predator was even caught. And you took that protection away. You sided... your legislation sided with the sexual predator over protecting these young girls. Because you guys care more about being the most pro-abortion Legislators in the world than you do about actually protecting young people. And now you want to go even further. Enough damages have been done. This legislation is not even pro-choice. It's pro-abortion and that's not good for anybody."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Williams."

Williams, A.: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

Williams, A.: "Representative Cassidy, I have a question for purposes of legislative intent. Does this Section intend to... I'm referring to... I'm sorry. I'm referring to Section 740 ILCS 180/2.2. I'm wondering if that Section intends to protect

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a tortfeasor who had nothing to do with providing an abortion for the mother but was responsible for an injury to the fetus that ultimately led to an abortion? For example, a drunk driver who causes a car crash which injures the fetus in such a way that the mother decides to have an abortion. Would the drunk driver be immune from liability as a result of this Section?"

Cassidy: "No. If there is a tortfeasor who caused injury to a fetus and later the death of a fetus is due to an abortion that the mother had, in part, due to the injury to the fetus, the tortfeasor causing that injury would not be protected from civil liability by this Section. In your example, the drunk driver would not be immune from liability by virtue of this Section."

Williams, A.: "Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Niemerg."

Niemerg: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

Niemerg: "I just have one question. As far as hormone blockers, gender-affirmation treatment, when this Bill passes, minors will have access to that through their insurance company when they already do not tonight. Is that correct?"

Cassidy: "This Bill does not speak to that at all."

Niemerg: "To the Bill. When is enough, enough? We sit in this Body and we pass abortion Bill after abortion Bill after abortion Bill. The Sponsor talked about the physician and the patient. Well, what about the parent? I'm a father. There are many mothers in this chamber that would like to know what's going on with their children, would like to be involved in

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the decision-making process that they have going in their lives. But you repealed parental notification. Now, you're making it to where a physician assistant can perform abortions. You're putting a mobile abortion clinic in Southern Illinois. You withdrew liability from abortion clinics. So, now a 14-year-old can be driven to that clinic by her boyfriend. She can have that abortion. That child could die on that table with no liability on behalf of the abortion clinic. And the parents... well, guess what? They wouldn't know anything about it till it was all over, till it was all over. It's time we start talking about the parents in this chamber. It's time we start talking about parents. Folks, when's enough going to be enough? Just like Representative Wilhour alluded to, what measure would you support that limits abortion in the State of Illinois? I don't think there is one. Vote 'no'."

Speaker Harris: "Just for your information, the Body... the parliamentarian has ruled that this is germane to the... the Amendment is germane to the underlying Bill and Representative Cassidy to close."

Cassidy: "Vote 'yes'."

Speaker Harris: "The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 1534 pass?' All those in favor vote 'yes'; all the opposed vote 'no'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. With 67 voting 'yes', 41 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present', Senate Bill 1534, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. Mr. Clerk."

Clerk Hollman: "Rules Report. Representative Harris, Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee

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action taken on January 5, 2023: recommends be adopted is the Motion to Concur with Senate Amendment(s) 1 to House Bill 9; recommends be adopted, referred to the floor is Floor Amendment(s) 3 to Senate Bill 2226."

Speaker Harris: "Leader Gordon-Booth."

Gordon-Booth: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I rise late in the evening to welcome none other than our friend, the best Governor in the United States of America, Governor JB Pritzker. Welcome to the House Floor."

Speaker Harris: "On Supplemental Calendar A appears Senate Bill 2226. Mr. Clerk, please read the Bill."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 2226, a Bill for an Act concerning safety. This Bill was read a second time previously. Amendment 1 was adopted in committee. Floor Amendments #2 and 3 have been approved for consideration. Floor Amendment #2 is offered by Speaker Welch."

Speaker Harris: "Speaker Welch on Floor Amendment #2 to Senate Bill 2226."

Speaker Welch: "Mr. Speaker, I move to adopt Amendment #2. And are you on Third Reading?"

Speaker Harris: "The Motion is to adopt Floor Amendment #2 to Senate..."

Speaker Welch: "Mr. Speaker, we're going to table Amendment #2."

Speaker Harris: "Floor... Mr. Clerk, please withdraw Floor Amendment #2."

Clerk Hollman: "Floor Amendment #3 is offered by Speaker Welch and has been approved for consideration."

Speaker Harris: "Speaker Welch on Floor Amendment #3."

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Speaker Welch: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I move to adopt Floor Amendment #3 and argue the Bill on Third Reading."

Speaker Harris: "The Motion is to adopt Floor Amendment #3 to Senate Bill 2226. All those in favor say 'aye'; opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And Floor Amendment 3 is adopted. Anything further, Mr. Clerk?"

Clerk Hollman: "No further Amendments. But a fiscal note, a judicial note, and state mandates note has been requested but not filed at this time."

Speaker Welch: "That all notes filed be ruled inapplicable."

Speaker Harris: "The Motion is that all filed notes be ruled inapplicable. This is a roll call vote. All that is in favor vote 'yes'; all those opposed vote 'no'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. With 64 voting 'yes', 39 voting 'present'... I'm sorry... 64 voting 'yes', 39 voting 'no', and 0 voting 'present', the Motion to rule the notes inapplicable is adopted. Anything further, Mr. Clerk?"

Clerk Hollman: "No further Motions."

Speaker Harris: "Third Reading. Please read the Bill."

Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 2226, a Bill for an Act concerning safety. Third Reading... Third Reading of this Senate Bill."

Speaker Harris: "Speaker Welch on Senate Bill 2226."

Speaker Welch: "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Governor, Members of this august Body, I have come to the floor today to present Senate Bill 2226 on behalf of the people of the State of Illinois. Senate Bill 2226 is Protecting Illinois Communities Act. This Act, this work is the culmination of months of work by our Firearms

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Safety and Reform Working Group. This group has been led valiantly by Representative Bob Morgan, and it continues the important work that Representative Maura Hirschauer has spent her life doing. It continues the work that I've watched my seatmate do for 10 years, fighting to protect the West Side. Representative La Shawn Ford. It continues the work of commonsense gun champions, like Representative Denyse Wang Stoneback and my friend and classmate Representative Kathy Willis. And so many other commonsense gun champions who have been fighting for issues that are contained in this Bill for so long. Now, we know that this topic is contentious. We also may not all agree on the solutions being presented. But what we do know... what we do know is that gun violence is impacting communities in every single corner of this state. The House Democrats working group has spent countless hours over the past four months meeting with survivors, family members of victims, advocates, law enforcement, and many others to discuss meaningful reforms. Their work and the voices of those stakeholders are represented throughout this Bill that I will be presenting here today. This legislation will, most importantly, ban the new sale of assault weapons in the State of Illinois. This is what the people of this state have been calling for and that's what it will deliver. These are weapons that belong on a battle field, not at parades celebrating our country's independence, or at parks, or at schools, or at our churches. If this Bill were to become law... I want to be clear about something because we're going to probably hear a lot about that in debate later. If this Bill were to become law, there will be no removal of these weapons from people who

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already own them. It's important to highlight that. We are not taking any guns away from lawful gun owners. Laugh if you want. But today, tonight, we're going to protect Illinois communities and that's not a joke. What we're doing here is putting accountabilities in place. We will require that serial numbers on these grandfathered weapons be associated with the owner's FOID account. Some people may think that's funny, but people are dying in every corner of this state and it's time that we do something about it. The time to act is now. And this legislation will also ban the sale of large-capacity magazines holding more than 12 rounds. It just makes sense, common sense. It will ban the sale and possession of rapid-fire devices, more commonly known as switches. These are dangerous devices that turn semi-automatic weapons into fully-automatic guns. It is imperative that we stop the tidal wave of guns flooding into Illinois from states surrounding us that refuse to regulate firearms. That's why our legislation does something else that's very important. It creates an anti-trafficking unit charging the Illinois State Police with coordinating efforts to stop the flow of illegal guns. We also need to ensure guns never fall into the wrong hands like we've seen so many times before. And that's why we also, in this Bill, strengthen the Illinois firearm restraining order, allowing judges to remove guns for up to one year. There are no simple solutions to an issue like this. I suspect if there were, we would've done it already. An issue that has been neglected at the national level for far too long will be addressed here tonight. Tonight we are calling on this Body to protect Illinois communities. This is an

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important step in getting these dangerous weapons meant for battlefields out of our neighborhoods. And we should take this night very seriously here. This is our opportunity to help every single community in this state. No matter where you are, no matter what color you are. Black, white, brown, this Bill helps every single community. I said this earlier in committee, that the House Democratic Caucus often hears me ask them the question, why? Why are we here? Why do we spend nights and weeks away from our families? Why do we come here and argue with each other? Why? I'll tell you my why. Two of them have been with me here in Springfield this week. My son, Tyler, who's 10, who I want to grow up and have a family of his own. My daughter, Marley, who's eight, who I want to see her grow up and have a family of her own. I've seen Leader Gordon-Booth's daughter, Jianna, here, able to play with my kids and laugh and hug each other. I want to see her grow up and have a family of her own. I've seen our budget director, Mark Jarmer, and his wife, Christine Jarmer's, kids here. We want to see kids grow up and laugh and love and play without the fear of getting gunned down in schools and on playgrounds. That's our why. But I'll tell you, so many of us have also experienced violence that have changed our families. In 1985, that happened to my family. My parents had three boys. My mom never birthed a girl. But that's because God had another plan for her. She didn't know what that plan was. And one day, my mom's sister, who had three girls, had just gotten in her car, leaving our church on the West Side of Chicago, and she was gunned down sitting in her car in front of our church. My aunt was divorced and a single mother of three girls, who now



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had no mother. My parents didn't think twice, and my three cousins are my three sisters today. My parents didn't make any more money, but by the grace of God and a belief in faith, our family made it despite the senseless gun violence. That happened in 1985, and it's 2023, and that senseless gun violence continues. We have a chance today to protect Illinois communities. And I am so thankful for the work of Bob Morgan and the Firearms Safety Working Group. Mr. Speaker, Representative Morgan and several Members of the working group will be prepared to take questions and probably make statements. And I'll certainly be prepared to answered questions as well. But I'm asking for approval of Senate Bill 226 (sic-2226) here tonight so that we all protect Illinois communities. Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "Leader Durkin."

Durkin: "To the Bill. I know the hour is late, but this is a very important issue. And while we have this debate, I hope that we all respect the thoughts and comments coming out of this. This is a very emotional issue. On the Fourth of July, like all of us, sat in shock, fear, and horrible sadness on the deliberate and indiscriminate shooting by a 22-year-old male intent upon death and destruction in Highland Park. He acted deliberately, indiscriminately, with a Smith & Wesson MP15, an AR-15 assault-style rifle. MP stands for Military and Police. As a side note, the AR-15 was created and designed by a gentlemen named Eugene Stoner in the late 1950s. And I will get back to him shortly. But the Highland Park shooter fired 83 shots in 60 seconds, reloading his rifle 3 times. Seven deaths; five at the scene, two later at the hospital. Two of

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the deaths, a husband and a wife, died shielding their two-year-old son. The little boy made it through, but he's going to grow up as an orphan without his parents. An eight-year-old boy was paralyzed from the shooting. He will never walk again. He will never live the life he dreamed of living, nor the dreams his parents had for him. All of this happening in one minute, 83 shots, 83 rounds in one minute, on our nation's birthday. A day which we would should be celebrating. And I heard the shots, you know, later in the afternoon. It was terrifying. Absolutely terrifying. Hearing the pops hit one after another, knowing quickly that he was reloading, starting it again. Three times in one minute. Now, if my memory is correct, the Highland Park parade-goers were not advised to wear Kevlar helmets or vests. Nor are the citizens in Chicago on the West Side or the South Side advised to gear up either when their kids go out and play or when the parents want to take a walk. Or for that matter, when they are too close to the windows of their home. Getting back to Eugene Stoner, he died in 1997. He's the man who invented the AR-15. It's a commonly used weapon. In 2016, his family... and this is on the record, go look at it, stated the following. 'Our father, Eugene Stoner, designed the AR-15 as a military weapon to give our soldiers an advantage on the battlefield. He died long before this horrible epidemic of shootings that we have seen, mass shootings, horrible losses of life over the past few years. We think he would've been sickened and horrified by these events.' Stoner... Mr. Stoner was a hunter, never used the weapon for sport nor for personal defense. And based on his family, he never possessed the weapon. It was

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used for military purposes. So, I think about this in conjunction with the actions and weapons used in Highland Park and also through the metropolitan areas in Chicago, which we have seen over and over again. I could logically consider this issue. Often, when we question laws and Bills in this chamber, or either in the house or in a court, we often ask the question, what is the legislative intent? What is the intent of the Legislator on this particular issue? I'm going to use the same analysis and consider the intent of Eugene Stoner and his family, that when he created the AR-15, military purposes only. I'm tired. I'm sickened by the shootings everywhere in this state with these types of weapons. But I'm not the only one, obviously. I'm going to read the following statements prior to... I come to my conclusion. The founding fathers did not contemplate these weapons of mass destruction that teenagers and grievance killers would use a bazooka. I'm sensitive to the right of people to own a weapon. You have the right to defend yourself, especially in times when law and order seems to be very much under siege. Proliferation of weapons whose only purpose is to kill a lot of people in a hurry seems to me not to be justified. They have no sporting use. They have no target use. Their only purpose is killing people, and I don't see a justification for that. Those are not comments coming from Bob Morgan. Those are comments that come from many of the gun violence prevention groups. Moms Demand Action, the Gifford group, or any of the pro-gun control groups. None of them. These statements were made by suburban Republican Congressman Henry Hyde in 1994 when he supported the federal assault ban.

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And even up until his death, Henry Hyde, the king of conservatism in Washington, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee in early 90s, never retreated. What he said is enough is enough. I'm not going to move on from Highland Park, for that matter, Chicago or any other communities torn apart by these guns. Tonight I stand with Henry Hyde. I stand with Henry Hyde, and I say, enough is enough. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Leader Batinick."

Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Just a quick inquiry of the Chair. I just wanted to inquire about the structure of the debate. I heard that there were going to be multiple people responding to questions on the Bill. I just wanted to be prepared for what we we're going to be dealing with here."

Speaker Harris: "I think that the Sponsor will answer most of the questions. But should there be some technicality, he may defer to another Member."

Batinick: "Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Welch: "Actually, I'm going to defer the Q and A to Representative Morgan."

Speaker Harris: "Will do. Representative Lewis."

Lewis: "Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Lewis: "Representative Morgan, what happened in Highland Park is absolutely terrible. It should not have happened. What happens every day in our communities, where I live, especially in Chicago, related to gun violence should not happen. I am empathetic to what you, your committee, this Body is trying to achieve. Gun violence is wreaking havoc all over. So, my

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questions come from a point of clarity, not a point of accusing or trying to avoid the issues we're facing. But they're important. And does this Bill include legislation that effects gun manufacturers in Illinois? And they're going to be simple. You can proliferate, whether they're meant to be simple, yes, no."

Morgan: "Yes."

Lewis: "Does this Bill include provisions for a gun registry in order to keep a gun that is listed in this Bill?"

Morgan: "No, it is not a gun registry."

Lewis: "Indorsement to collection of serial numbers?"

Morgan: "It's a modification to an existing program under our FOID system that two and half million people in Illinois already use."

Lewis: "I am a FOID owner. I've never had to give the serial number of a... of a gun to the state. Is... will that happen in this Bill?"

Morgan: "Yes."

Lewis: "If you do not follow the provisions in the Bill, can you be cited for a felony?"

Morgan: "There are a number of elements of the legislation. Most of which, based on conversations here, in committee, and from our colleagues, we've reduced and removed a vast majority of the criminal penalties. Most are petty offense. And again, it depends on the eliminate."

Lewis: "Here's where now, if current laws were enforced, do you believe we would see a reduction in gun violence in our neighborhoods?"

Morgan: "You tell me a little more of what you had in mind."

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Lewis: "No, no. We have red flag laws. The Highland Park shooter went through the battery of the process and it was readily admitted that there were mistakes made. We've had others where guns should've been confiscated because of mental illness. Those laws are on the books."

Morgan: "I would concede there are a number of things that we could do with existing laws to reduce gun violence and other crimes."

Lewis: "And that leaves me to, and I was asked by my sheriff in DuPage County, who are you intending on enforcing this new legislation if a registry is not made and a gun needs to be confiscated from someone? Who... who is going to be the enforcer?"

Morgan: "We already have a system in Illinois where law enforcement, whether it's state or local, enforces FOID violations. Which is how this Bill is structured. So, it would be consistent with your sheriffs' and their deputies' existing responsibilities to enforce FOID violations. Again, to your point, those who had a revoked FOID card who did not surrender their weapon, for instance. That's currently a responsibility of your... of the deputies. So, that would be consistent with what the deputies already have to do."

Lewis: "In your... in the committee during your evaluation, did you look at reasons why current laws are not being enforced or the lack of, maybe, desire our local law enforcement to... and how is that going to be corrected?"

Morgan: "We did. We talked in our working group. We had many, many, many hours, many, many meetings, dozens of organizations, a lot of law enforcement meetings. So, we

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absolutely talked about a number of issues, which to... I think the way you're alluding to it is... it's an implementation issue, as opposed to a new law. So, I think that there are lot of issues in this Body and other committees. Chairman Ford's working group, a task force, and a variety of other committees, Jud - Crim, have addressed a number of the things that we can do to reduced gun violence that we aren't doing, that we need to do a better job at."

Lewis: "And one last question. Was your committee one of bipartisanship? Was it inclusive of those who have the same desire to reduce gun violence in the neighborhoods that might have an R behind their name or might know... I don't know. I don't know the composite... the composition of your committee, but as a suburban Republican, I was not asked. Was anyone else asked?"

Morgan: "The working group was a Democratic Member working group of 11 individuals. Our public hearings, as you probably know, went through our Jud - Crim Committee with dozens of hours. I think over 15 hours of testimony through 3 subject matter hearings, which is a bipartisan committee. Again, I would also direct the fact that our task force that Chairman Ford led has had any number of committee hearings, the task force meetings, which is also a bipartisan issue. I've also spoken directly to a number of colleagues on both sides of the aisle about this issue."

Lewis: "Okay. And then how many pages is the Bill, 270... 270..."

Morgan: "I think 77 of pages of the current..."

Lewis: "Seventy-seven?"

Morgan: "...House Amendment 3."

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Lewis: "Okay. So, there may be... there may be some other things in there, so... that we've already talked about would be my guess."

Morgan: "Are you asking me if there are other things we haven't addressed that are in the legislation?"

Lewis: "Yes."

Morgan: "There are. I think we... we can talk about any number of details of implementation. You alluded to one with manufacturing, which was one of the changes we made with the Amendment 3 that we're discussing here today. And happy to answer any questions about that."

Lewis: "Okay. To the Bill, if I may. I am empathetic with what's happening in our communities, but I'm disappointed. Speaker, you gave a speech that hit the mark of what is being asked of this Body. It was a clear message. Please stop the sale of assault-style weapons with high-capacity magazines in our communities, in our state, to those especially who are... not have the mental capacity to utilize these weapons. We're failing in that mark. We muck up the process. We add things. We make a simple request by our communities and we put in registries, we put in things that effect manufacturing. We make felonies. We put our communities, those who own guns legally, if they don't modify them... we mess up the process for a simple request by our communities that said, please just stop the sale of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. It was a direct request from my county, DuPage County. It was not 77 pages. It came in a simple Resolution. I come down here every day asking what the Speaker asked me. Why? Why am I here doing this? It's not here to give words of... that mean nothing, that do nothing. We don't know about



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the constitutionality. We don't know if even our Senate colleagues are going to pass this Bill. Yet we make ourselves feel good with words on a paper that may go nowhere. If that is the bar for why we're here, I'm not satisfied by that. Speaker, you have the ability to make a good Bill that solves this problem. You're here on the floor. You're delivering it. If it was just Rep. Morgan, as where my speech was going, he'd have to defer to you. But since you're here, I'm asking. This is not my why. This bar is pretty doggone low to fix the problems in our communities. This Bill does not fix hand gun violence on the South and West Side. As much as we may want to talk about it, it doesn't do it. My why's a lot higher. And this Bill's going to pass, but I ask that everyone's why become a little bit higher, and a little bit more clean, and a little bit more clear-cut, and we stop messing it up with small things that does not make this a bipartisan process. Because no one wants to see children killed in their neighborhoods. That is not a partisan issue. It's not one-sided. I'm here to help. I know many of my colleagues are here to help. And I ask the next go-around that we're included so we can stop this problem together for all Illinoisans. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Reick."

Reick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. Back in 2019, this Body passed Illinois' firearms restraining order Bill. At the time, it was heralded as probably one of the best firearms restraining order Bills in the country. I was proud to be part of the team that negotiated that Bill, especially with Representative Willis. And I, once again, commend her for her

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help on that Bill. I said at the time, during floor debate, that our Second Amendment is in peril. It's not in peril because of random gun violence that happens outside of the realm of these mass shootings because that, statistics are showing us, is... is really going down in this country. It really is. You know, we may read in the Trib and that that it's not, but the old adage, if it... if it bleeds, it leads. So, we hear about those things. But the true fact is, is that violence in... in Illinois and in the nation is going down. The thing that is dangerously helping get rid or take away the rights that we have to bear arms is the actions that happened like on July 4 of last year. I recoiled in horror just as everybody else did. No thinking person could look at that and not be just horrified by what happened. But at the time that that happened, we had on the books a Bill, or a law, that provided for firearms to be removed from a household or from a person who served as a threat to themselves and to others. This Bill was not taking advantage of in this situation. There's a task force going on now and I've been an ex officio Member. And I'm grateful to Representative Morgan for his allowing me to participate to the extent that I was able to do that. Because I hope that... well, first of all, it was... it was a very valuable task force and I was grateful for the ability to provide input. But there's one thing about that Bill that I think we must be reminded of, is that fact that when that Bill was negotiated, it was bipartisan. It was extremely bipartisan. We fought over this Bill for months. It came over here from the Senate and it was... it was a bad Bill. And one of the things that I wanted to make sure we kept front

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and center was the fact that we weren't dealing with something here that just is an everyday random occurrence. We're dealing with the... with civil liberties. We're dealing with taking away the civil liberties of... of a human being by operation of law. And I supported that and I support that today. I support the work of our task force that is continuing on. But in this Bill, there's a provision that takes the hard negotiated findings of a six-month restraining order, freely available to anybody who sees the threat to themselves or a member of their families, and turns it up to a year. I would like to remind this Body that we're not dealing with a restraining order on a domestic violence case, as horrible as those are. We're dealing with the imposition and the taking away of constitutional right. And if you're going to take away a constitutional right, you do it with a much higher standard. And to have it buried in this Bill, to take it from six months to a year with the ability to renew it for a year without the prospect of even having the decency to let our task force finish its work and come up with its recommendations as to how this law can be improved. But to sneak it through here... first of all, it's going to do nothing to stop what has already happened. But I'll tell you what, it's going to hardened the opposition of people to whom that firearms restraining order Bill is the best hope that we have to work on the real issues of mass violence, shootings like we had in Highland Park, and that's mental health. Those kids, those... those young men who pulled the trigger on all those mass shootings, they didn't do it just because it was something they wanted to do on a Saturday afternoon. They had troubled

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minds. And what are we doing? What are we doing to... to help in that regard? We have... we have young men who are marginalized, who sit in their parents' basement and watch movies and videos. I know you know who Bill Maher is. He had a thing on a couple... about a couple months ago. He brought up the issue of gun violence like this and he said, you know, there are four things that lead to what we're talking about here. One of them is guns, but it's also the fact that we have marginal young men sitting in basements watching movies that... that glorify vengeance, that glorify revenge. I'm being picked on and I'm going to make sure that somebody pays for it. That's the issue that we need to address here. And, yes, I am willing to wait for the findings of the task force and its recommendations for altering or improving our firearms restraining order Bill. But to find that provision in this Bill, sneaking it in is wrong. Give that task force the right and the privilege of knowing what it's going to do. So, I'd ask the... I'd ask the Sponsor for a question. Will the Sponsor yield for a question?"

Speaker Harris: "He'll yield."

Reick: "Representative, are you willing to pull that provision out of this Bill simply in order to focus on what this Bill is about but not hamstringing the actions and the work of a task force that's been working for months with... with great urgency and great seriousness so that we can come up with maybe a firearms restraining order Bill that is even better than the one we passed? Are you willing to do that?"

Morgan: "Representative, I want to thank you for the work that you have put into and continue to put into this Firearm

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Restraining Order Commission. As you noted, it's incredibly important. And the role that you've played as an ex officio member adds quite a bit of value and has with Representative Willis, Representative Stoneback, and a number of others that participated. You also know that this chamber doesn't have the benefit of knowing is that commission had a consensus in support of expanding the firearm restraining order duration from six months to a year. So, I'm not going to take it out because it does reflect the will of the commission that you agreed is very, very important."

Reick: "But, again, the commission is not... what comes out of the commission is going to go into legislation. Is that correct? That's your intent anyway."

Morgan: "Beyond this element and this provision, as we discussed and as you know, the commission is looking at a variety of other changes to law, rules, investment in education. And as I've pledged to you and to the commission, we will continue to work on that in the 103rd General Assembly."

Reick: "But the ultimate... the ultimate goal here is to... yeah. Okay. The ultimate goal, though, is to result in legislative changes to the FRO Bill if such legislative changes are deemed necessary."

Morgan: "I think the recommendations from the FRO commission should be something this General Assembly should work on in the 103rd General Assembly."

Reick: "Thank you. So, what I'm saying is, is that to run this extension through in this Bill is improper and, frankly speaking, I think it's the wrong thing to do. I would, again, ask you to take it out. For that reason and reasons that are

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stated otherwise, I cannot support this Bill. Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "Representative McCombie."

McCombie: "Thank you, Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "He indicates he'll yield."

McCombie: "Thank you, Representative Morgan. I've said this every time that I have the pleasure to debate with you that you're always a gentleman and a true statesman. So, I appreciate that. And as I said in committee, I appreciate and understand why you're standing here today. And we all, in the chamber, respect that. Couple questions. In the Bill, 21 years of age is pointed out. Why 21 years? What is it about 21?"

Morgan: "The changes to the under-21 provisions have been removed from this Bill."

McCombie: "Okay. Great. All right. The initial Bill, 5855, do you remember how many opponents there were to that? And how many proponents?"

Morgan: "I certainly don't have that in front of me. It certainly was thousands. And I, again, would concede that there were more opponents that filed as opposed to proponents."

McCombie: "Yeah. At that time... and that Bill's been on the books for a little while and it was 9400 opponents and 3200, basically, proponents. This Bill here that we're doing today just was done today. And we already, in a very short period of time, have 877 proponents to 5,013 opponents. So, this tells me, when we have these kinds of spreads, and we've seen them on other Bills here, that it's not the will of the people, the people who put us here to support Bills when... that have this big of a spread. You know, we go out into our

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districts and we tell people your voice is your vote. Use your voice. We want you to be engaged in the process. And then they get engaged in the process and then we don't listen to them. That's troubling. From my understanding, there is... we talk about and we've been doing this for years since I've been here. It's the thought of the caucus, your caucus, that penalty enhancements do not deter crimes. So, is it your belief that a ban will deter future crimes?"

Morgan: "A ban on future sale of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines will most assuredly reduce gun deaths in the State of Illinois."

McCombie: "Okay. What year did Highland Park put their ban in place?"

Morgan: "I believe it was 2013, Leader."

McCombie: "Okay. But they just had a terrible incident on July 4..."

Morgan: "Yes, we did."

McCombie: "...that ban did not stop, correct?"

Morgan: "The firearm was purchased outside of Highland Park, that's correct."

McCombie: "So, is it the goal that this is the first step and that eventually to stop all sales of all guns? I mean, because you have one gun, you have two guns. I mean, you're not going to stop this. So, what's the... what's the end result after this Bill? What's the next Bill?"

Morgan: "Well, the answer... short answer is, no. The longer answer is, as you know, this legislation allows those who currently have a firearm, that they legally purchased, to retain that firearm."

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McCombie: "And how did you pick the list of Bills... or the guns that are listed in the Bill?"

Morgan: "That list is roughly based on one of the more recent assault weapon bans in the State of Delaware."

McCombie: "Okay. To the Bill. SB2226, as well as HB5855, is the latest attempt to banning firearms. This will make criminals out of law-abiding citizens. This will not stop gun violence in Illinois or any of our bordering states. This Bill does not address the real issues and the solutions to those issues. It's going to make it harder for law enforcement to do their job. There's no penalty enhancements to push to decrease penalties. There's not accountability for what Representative Lewis was speaking on. There's no mental health funding, no increasing costs for education, overall increasing of our economy. We're not talking about the issues in neighborhoods that are putting our most vulnerable children in harm's way. We're taking the ability for people to... a way for them to protect themselves. The weapon is not the issue. It's whose wielding that weapon. And this Bill does not address that. Vote 'no'."

Speaker Harris: "Ladies and Gentlemen, given the number of people who are speaking, we're going to move to the three-minute timer. Next up is Representative Wheeler."

Wheeler: "Well, thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Wheeler: "Representative Morgan, when... when I think back to the feelings that I felt with the offset of the incident that happened in Aurora, I'm pretty overwhelmed by that tragic mass shooting and the relationships that I have directly to



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it. I can't begin to imagine how intense this is for you having been in the Highland Park that day. And of course, finally, how intense this Bill's got to be for you moving forward. So, I just want to tell you that I really respect the work that you've put into it, your commitment to it. I have some concerns we brought up in committee. I'd like to address those now on the floor. We're under a timer so I'm not going to belabor a lot of points here. We had talked about manufacturers in the State of Illinois. And the original version we talked about in committee has been amended since then, and I'd like to just discuss those Amendments with you very quickly. If... why don't you just go ahead and address what your intention with the Amendment was and we'll go it from there. Is that okay?"

Morgan: "Absolutely. We added a provision in this Amendment which would allow Illinois manufacturers to continue to manufacturer firearms that we are banning prospectively from sales and sell those firearms to other states where they legally can, in other places where they legally can, in addition to exempting law enforcement from purchasing from those manufacturers."

Wheeler: "Okay. Now, there's a... there's Section here I'm going to read to you real quick. It's a short paragraph on page 72, lines 22 to 26. It says, 'Federally licensed firearm manufacturers in Illinois holding a type 6, 7, or 10 license are not subject to the prohibitions under this Section as relates to manufacturing, transporting, possessing, and selling to lawful purchasers.' In this case, we're talking

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about lawful purchases that either law enforcement or outside of the State of Illinois. Is that correct?"

Morgan: "That's correct."

Wheeler: "Okay. And that would include the weapon itself, ammunition, and magazines related to those?"

Morgan: "We did not include specifically for ammunition. Otherwise, yes."

Wheeler: "Okay. Thank you for that clarity. I'd like to move on one other thing we discussed, Representative Morgan, in committee that had to do with a debate that went on back and forth about weapons that hunters use. And I just want to put on the record the... just to kind of get to the point. Your legislative intent is to... for DNR approved hunting weapons, those are not going to be impacted by this legislation. Is that your intention?"

Morgan: "There is an exemption in this Bill for those firearms that are approved by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources for hunting."

Wheeler: "Perfect. Well, my time is about up. Again, I want to... is there more to that answer? I want to make sure you have that..."

Morgan: "Just specifically that's within the Wildlife Code. So, it's an existing process and it continues unabated."

Wheeler: "And we're referring to that code directly in this... this Amendment... or in this legislation today?"

Morgan: "Correct."

Wheeler: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'll just close very quickly. There are some other concerns I have here that we've discussed back and forth personally, Representative Morgan. Again, I

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want to say thank you. I know how hard these kinds of Bills are to work on. I wish, along with some of my colleagues on our side of the aisle, there had been more collaborate input 'cause I think we have something to offer. We've demonstrated on previous Bills that we can be helpful and in fact try to improve these Bills, and I think that has been proved today by what the Speaker and yourself with the Amendments that were made today. So, thank you for that."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Caulkins."

Caulkins: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Caulkins: "Representative Morgan, if this Bill is unsuccessful in reducing gun violence, criminals using guns, are you willing to come back into this chamber in a year and rescind this Bill if it doesn't work?"

Morgan: "I think we should set expectations that if we're banning perspective sale and allowing 300 days for an endorsement under their FOID card, I think it will take time for implementation. So, I'm not going to put a timeline on myself, but I am going to commit, for sure, that this is going to reduce gun violence in Illinois. All these elements, each one of them, address a variety of the elements of, not just semi-automatic weapons, but also hand gun violence we're addressing with our trafficking legislation and really focusing the State Police on avoiding and reducing some of this illegal gun trafficking that is flowing from Illinois... from Indiana and Missouri."

Caulkins: "But this... this Bill doesn't address... I mean... my owning, presuming that I own a semi-automatic rifle locked up in a

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safe somewhere, how does that effect criminals in the South Side of Chicago shooting up a crowd of people in a park? How does my... my ownership, what threat does that pose to the safety of the people of this state?"

Morgan: "Well, I think your... your implications, of course, is that you are a lawful gun owner. The point has been made through our public hearings and just recently this evening in Executive Committee, that lawful gun owners were lawful until they're not. So, the fact that these weapons are not just causing harm on the intended victim, but they're increasingly being used to cause harm to innocent bystanders. That is the harm. We're talking about literally people dying from gun deaths. So, I don't really know how to explain that. If you don't understand..."

Caulkins: "No, I understand."

Morgan: "...the harm... it doesn't sound like you do, Representative."

Caulkins: "I understand. What I understand, Representative, is that you're going after my Second Amendment rights. You're asking me to surrender, to register..."

Morgan: "If you... if you are... no one is surrendering weapons. You can create whatever language you want, Representative. If you are a lawful gun owner..."

Caulkins: "Yes."

Morgan: "...continue to be a lawful gun owner. This legislation doesn't change that. And to..."

Caulkins: "But it... but it requires..."

Morgan: "...imply that is going to give the State of Illinois..."

Caulkins: "No, it... it..."

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Morgan: "...the inappropriate and inaccurate representation of what this legislation does."

Caulkins: "It says that I can't have a 15-round magazine in a pistol that was designed to carry a 15-round magazine. Was the Governor..."

Morgan: "My question to you is, why do you need a 15-round magazine, Representative?"

Caulkins: "Because that's how that manufacturer made that pistol."

Morgan: "But why do you need it, Representative? Because that was your question."

Caulkins: "Why does... why does the Governor's security detail need a 15-round magazine?"

Morgan: "Why do you need a 15-round magazine?"

Speaker Harris: "Representative, could you bring your remarks to a close?"

Caulkins: "Thank you. To the Bill. This Bill is another encroachment on the Second Amendment rights that are guaranteed to each and every citizen of this state if they are of sound mind. We will now criminalize people who have lawfully purchased and carry or own a firearm that was designed to hold a magazine of more than 12 rounds. This is above that, going down a slope, going down a path that will criminalize, criminalize legal gun owners in this state. And I would tell you, this is the beginning, this is something in other states that's been tried."

Speaker Harris: "Representative, could you conclude your remarks?"

Caulkins: "We have, in two states, about 13 percent compliance to this type of Bill. There is going to be no way to enforce

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this. And all it's going to do is create felons out of law-abiding citizens, and I urge a 'no' vote."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Hirschauer."

Hirschauer: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. Before I was a State Representative, I was a volunteer with Moms Demand Action. I used to come Springfield and rally in the rotunda, sit up in the gallery and watch as you all passed lifesaving, commonsense legislation. My work with that organization informs the work I do now today, here on the floor, and the work I do in my community with my constituents. And when I took office, I promised I would continue to honor the lives lost in change by gun violence with action. And that is what we are doing here tonight. For the past several months, the House Democratic Firearm Safety and Reform Working Group, under the leadership of Representative Morgan, has spent countless hours meeting with gun violence survivors and families of victims. We listened to personal accounts, the nightmares of parents that became reality, and we visited communities and neighborhoods that are most impacted by daily gun violence. We spent considerable time working with advocacy groups and law enforcement to discuss practical, concrete solutions to this devastating problem. We sought a wide array of voices and advocates to make sure this process was thorough and inclusive. This legislative action we are about to take is a culmination of months of listening, years of work on behalf of advocates, and negotiating on behalf of the safety of Illinois families. Throughout our work, we saw and heard firsthand what we already know. Gun violence is complex and it's a multifaceted public health crisis. Each

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piece of the puzzle deserves our attention, from sustained investment and community violence interruption programs to giving law enforcement the tools and technology they need to solve gun homicides. We are reminded that the trauma from gun violence is disproportionately felt by the black and Latinx community. Black Illinoisans are 32 times more likely than white Illinoisans to die by gun homicide. And Latino youth ages 24 and younger are nearly 3 times more likely to die by gun homicide than their white counterparts. This work does not stop with this vote tonight. We have more to do. But tonight, we have an opportunity to address a very important piece of this puzzle. We have the opportunity to take direct action to reduce the number of gun-related deaths in Illinois. Gun violence is a uniquely American crisis. In no other nation do we drop off our kids off at school or go to a parade or take a walk in our neighborhood in fear for our lives. Illinoisans have experienced too much gun violence with impacts that go beyond the devastating loss of life or physical injury. To force our constituents to endure these effects is negligent and reprehensible. Tonight we have the opportunity to prevent unfathomable losses that have rocked our community. By banning the sale of assault weapons, strengthening our red flag laws, cracking down on the tidal wave of guns flooding into Illinois from other states. We can honor the lives of those lost to gun violence and protect our families and communities. Tonight we can all say enough."

Speaker Harris: "Representative McLaughlin."

McLaughlin: "Thank you, Speaker. Just give me one second here. This is to the Bill. On December 15, 1791, the Second

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Amendment was passed. Alexander Hamilton once said, 'The Constitution is the standard to which we all cling. Under its banners, bona fide we must combat our foes, rejecting all changes but through the channel itself provides for'... and this is the important part... 'the Amendment process.' Speaker Welch, who I respect, and Leader Durkin, who I respect, put it correctly when in their comments mentioned changes should have occurred at the federal level. But they have not. If we wish to amend our Constitution and the provisions and protections enumerated in the Second Amendment, as well within any of the other 26 Amendments for our law-abiding citizens, we should be on the floor of Congress and not here on the floor of the State of Illinois, unfortunately. We get the privilege to be on this floor to create laws for citizens of our state, which are not spelled out in the Constitution. We have no authority to do so no matter how well-intentioned, reasonable, how heartfelt, how personal the sorrows and tragedies and sentiments are behind the creation of this Bill. We all recognize and we all appreciate this, we are together in that. Arguing and (unintelligible) the details or potential rights restrictions contained within this document as an attempt to validate each of these provisions as having standing. Unfortunately, they do not. And they will be overturned each and every one in the courts. Don't take my word for it, I am not a lawyer, unlike Speaker Welch and Leader Durkin. I'm a State Representative, not a Congressman. The final arbiter of these issues will be the Supreme Court. But I can read rulings, and many have come out recently. In 2008, the case of *District of Columbia v. Heller*. The court



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meticulously detailed the history and tradition of the Second Amendment at the time of the Constitutional Convention and the protections afforded all American citizens. In 2010, and we should all be very aware this, *McDonald v. the City of Chicago*. Citing the intentions of the framers of the Constitution, the Fourteenth Amendment held that the Second Amendment applies to the states through the incorporation doctrine. And there are many other cases. *The State of New York Rifle Association v. Bruen* and others. This Bill, if passed here and signed by the Governor, who's in the chamber, will suffer the same fate. And no one will be ultimately safe, especially law-abiding citizens, unfortunately. We cannot improve the safety of the lives of the innocent law-abiding citizens by restricting the rights of self-defense. Thomas Jefferson knew this and spoke to it. He stated, it is not the right of self-defense itself that endangers people, but rather restrictions on an individual's right to self-defense that can harm a nation. So, for that reason, I will be voting 'no' on this Bill. However, a final note is something I know we all agree with and it's been mentioned a number of times. We should all join together to address vigorously behavioral health, mental health issues, which appear to be a common denominator and common thread in all of these gun violence... we will all support these laws increasing restrictions in the instances for individuals so diagnosed increasing..."

Speaker Harris: "Representative, your time has expired."

McLaughlin: "I've just got one more sentence. Thank you. Increasing, and this is important, liability connected to parents that sign off for children that have such diagnoses

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will also protect the health, welfare, and safety of all residents in our communities. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Meier."

Meier: "Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Meier: "My first question is... I'm from Southern Illinois. I listen to my constituents there. They wondered why there were no public meetings held in Southern Illinois or Central Illinois?"

Morgan: "Is that the question, Representative?"

Meier: "That's a question, yes."

Morgan: "So, there were... again, there were three public hearings. A number of people from around the state participated via Zoom. We looked to have a variety of hearings in other locations and, frankly, it was a technological problem because we wanted individuals to participate via Zoom. And we literally didn't have the technology to participate in different parts of the state and have that effective. So, that was why."

Meier: "We have technology throughout this whole state. It can be done. We are expected to go to meetings in Chicago. My constituents would like to be heard. So, that puts a very bad taste in your mouth. Just a little while earlier tonight, we voted on another abortion Bill. Every year, we vote on a Bill, the next year we have a Bill that does a little bit more. People in Southern Illinois don't trust this. They believe next year you will change this Bill again. You won't leave it the way it is. You will take more of our rights away. Rights guaranteed to us by our U.S. Constitution. We have teams in

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Southern Illinois. Our schools have shooting teams. Our kids win national competitions, get full scholarships from shooting. I went out on... Thanksgiving, when I was seven years old, and I shot my first rabbit. You ask why you need so many rounds in the gun. I walk home at night from different fields, mile, mile and a half sometimes. It's nothing to see 20 or 30 coyotes out there. You want a gun. I've seen a cougar on my farm twice. You want a gun. I'm not the best shot. You know, nothing in this Bill addresses mental health. Nothing. Mental health is where this starts. Let's address our youth. Let's help them. Let's have programs for those youths so they're not sitting in the basement watching movies and playing games where they slaughter people all day long. Let's do something for our youth. Let's do something for our people with mental health. We all cried on the day the shootings in Highland Park. And our hearts went out to the families. But my counties want to know what's going to happen to them now. How many counties have filed resolutions that they will not enforce this and their sheriffs' departments will not enforce it? And what does the State of Illinois and the Illinois State Police going to do to these counties?"

Speaker Harris: "Representative, could you bring your remarks to a close?"

Meier: "Yes, if I can get an answer to that last question. How many counties filed Resolutions that they will not honor this and their police departments will not enforce it? And what will our Illinois police do?"

Morgan: "Representative, I know a few have filed these Resolutions. But to your point about mental health, I really,

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really, really appreciate you saying that because I very much look forward to you voting for this future budget, because you voted against every single budget since I've been here in the last four years, as we've increased every single year mental health funding as you vote 'no'. So, when your residents ask what you're doing for your community to help mental health, I look forward to you sharing with them how you voted against that funding. Because every year you vote 'no'."

Meier: "I will be glad to work on a budget with you for mental health when we're allowed to sit in the budget planning."

Morgan: "You vote 'no' every year, Representative."

Meier: "When we're allowed to sit into the plan."

Speaker Harris: "Representative, your... your time has expired. Representative Willis."

Willis: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Sponsor. Will he yield, please?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Willis: "Representative, the original Bill that you filed a few days ago after all of our stuff, was there a lot more into that Bill that we originally, as a committee, came up with?"

Morgan: "There was."

Willis: "Okay. And just to point out a few of those things. There were changes to the FOID card application for those that were under the age of 21, correct?"

Morgan: "Correct."

Willis: "And you pulled that out of there, why?"

Morgan: "I heard from Members of this Legislature, Democrat and Republican, that there were concerns about the impact. Not

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just on hunting, but disproportionate impact on communities of color where we're seeing increases in 18, 19, and 20-year-old FOID card applicants. And our working group, as a whole, and our caucus thought it was appropriate to remove that."

Willis: "Great. And was there not also, in the original Bill you filed, a call to surrender assault-style weapons or to make sure that that was... and only have a limited number in possession that they would have to register, correct?"

Morgan: "It was different language, yes."

Willis: "Yes. So, now, owners of... lawful owners of these type of guns are allowed to keep as many as they have as of the date that this legislation hopefully passes, correct?"

Morgan: "So long as they complete the FOID application process for their endorsement, they will."

Willis: "Okay. Regarding the FRO portion of the Bill, I'm going to go a little bit onto the Bill itself and then ask you a question on it. Yeah, so, we... I worked very hard on that Bill being bipartisan. There was a lot of discussion back and forth on it, and one of the things that we did talk about originally was the length of that. I also sat in on the transition, or the implementation team, and that is one of the things that they wanted to universally put in with that as a year. With the current language that we have in it, we did increase, in this Bill, a year. But can somebody still petition earlier to have that rescinded?"

Morgan: "Yes."

Willis: "So, they could still keep it at six months if they went through the court process to do that. Final question on this."

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Are there currently weapons that are banned from private ownership?"

Morgan: "Yes."

Willis: "Okay. So, we're not opening up a new door by saying this is... we do have current weapons that are banned from it. So, we have precedents that allows the Second Amendment to be there, but realize that there are limitations to that, correct?"

Morgan: "Correct."

Willis: "Okay. Thank you so much. To the Bill. I am so proud of working on the committee and being part of this. I think this is something we need to put into place now. It will not solve all of the problems regarding gun violence. We know that. But it's certainly not going to increase the problems that we have and that's what we need to look for. I know that we will never solve everything, but this is a step forward. We did listen to people as we made changes over the last week. Please, please consider that so that we do not need to stand on the House Floor ever again..."

Speaker Harris: "Representative, your time has..."

Willis: "Sure. I will finish. I never want to stand on the House Floor again or hope any of you have to regarding wishing prayers for those that have been killed by gun violence. Let's take a step forward and vote 'yes'. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Niemerg."

Niemerg: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. Folks, criminals won't fill out an affidavit for their guns. Criminals don't care about clip size. And mentally ill individuals from damaged homes will still find a way to get a firearm. We have

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some of the most stringent gun laws in the country, yet has anything changed? The very terrible act you brought forth is the reason for this Bill still happened. Why? Because a mentally ill individual slipped through the cracks of the very laws your side put into place to stop him. If more gun control was the answer, the problem would have been solved a long time ago. What happened is tragic. I completely agree with you on that. But until this Body is willing to change course and actually take up the root cause of gun violence, nothing will change. The mental health of our youth is dismal at best and we have more and more children suffering in terrible households without correct parental guidance than ever before. This Bill solves nothing. Infringing on our constitutional rights to fit a political narrative will not fix the problem. Teaching our children right and wrong, having parents that are willing to say no to their kids every whim, real education in our schools, and focusing on mental health is the only path forward. Vote 'no'."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Swanson."

Swanson: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Swanson: "Thank you. Representative Morgan, just a few questions here. First question. Did the working group talk about if we would prosecute criminals who commit a crime, would that reduce gun violence?"

Morgan: "We broadly talked about a variety of criminal enforcements and criminal penalties and what is existing law and things we could improve."

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Swanson: "And did that go anywhere? Is there anything changed in here... in our legislation that addresses that in particular?"

Morgan: "You know, again, this legislation has a variety of elements that will address our existing laws. As I noted earlier, there are a variety of things in existing law that we could do a better job with implementing, and I concede that."

Swanson: "I... I agree 100 percent. It's how do we get after that? How do we get after the prosecution side? Too many times a crime is committed with a gun and then that gun is washed off of those charges. So, I think that's something we need to get after too. Do you... will this reduce or eliminate illegal street gun sales? Is there anything in this legislation that will do that?"

Morgan: "The Illinois State Police, as you may know, have over the last couple years really increased their enforcement of interstate trafficking of illegal guns. That is not just the Illinois State Police. It's not even just a federal DOJ, ATF issue. That's a local law enforcement issue. So, this legislation really is going to convene a strike force throughout the state, making sure that our borders are guarded from interstate trafficking of guns, but also it really requires cooperation from law enforcement. So, yes, it really addresses that issue."

Swanson: "And... and is... are the provisions still in this Bill restricting law enforcement officers to carrying their side arm when they're not on duty?"

Morgan: "It does not."

Swanson: "So, that was changed in one of the previous Amendments?"



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Morgan: "The legislation never restricted the carrying of the fire... the sidearm. There was language that wasn't as clear as it should've been to reflect my intent to make sure that active-duty law enforcement officers would continue to be able hold their service weapons and the magazines in which they need to use them."

Swanson: "Is there any financial impact within this legislation?"

Morgan: "The... the most obvious answer to that that we've asked the Illinois State Police about is the implementation of changes to the online FOID system. That is still a moving estimate from the Illinois State Police. But the last estimate, I believe, was about \$150 thousand."

Swanson: "A hundred and fifty thousand dollars..."

Morgan: "Forgive me, \$500 thousand."

Swanson: "Was... was anything looked at or did you do any research on the manufacturing side of this? Some of the impacts it's going to cause some of our businesses? Within my district, I have several gun manufacturers and parts manufacturers. They're going to be impacted."

Morgan: "We did. And in fact, due to directly the conversation we had in Executive Committee, we did make a change, as discussed earlier with Leader Wheeler, changing our manufacturing language to make sure the Illinois manufacturers are... continue to be able to do... manufacture and sell to other states and law enforcement officers."

Swanson: "Okay. Thank you. And, Mr. Speaker, I'll wrap this up on this final comment if I can, please? Based upon the research I've found, from 2001 to 2012, 50 thousand guns were seized by Chicago Police Department. More than half of those were

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purchased out of state, where 6 out of every 10 guns are purchased out of state with the majority of those coming from Indiana, Mississippi, and Wisconsin. So, that's why I address some of the illegal street gun sales and some of those other items that... that need to be focused on as far as stopping those types sales. So, thank you, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Bourne."

Bourne: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor the yield?"

Speaker Harris: "He indicates he'll yield."

Bourne: "Thank you. Representative Morgan, I have a few implementation questions to get through. So, I'm on page 67 of the Bill where we're talking about the Illinois State Police. Have they indicated to you, in your conversations with the Illinois State Police, about what kind of resources or man power they'll need to in act this?"

Morgan: "Yes. They are looking to incorporate this with the existing changes to their online FOID system. So, in many ways, I think this is very good timing, because any changes on the IT side will coincide with the other changes. Staffing is something that, again, is... is a moving goal in the sense that State Police was already recalibrating their staffing. But is something they're taking into consideration so their staffing reflects this trafficking and state borders."

Bourne: "Do you know how often people would typically, like a FOID card holder, would typically interact with a FOID card system online? When they would have occasion to do that. I ask because it's my understanding with the recent fix, the FOID Bill that was passed, if you submit your fingerprints, you would potentially never have occasion to interact with

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the online FOID system again because you would not have to automatic... you would be automatically renewed and you wouldn't have to ever go on to the online portal. Is that consistent with..."

Morgan: "Correct. That's my understanding, that it depends on the individual and their fingerprinting application and other variations in the application."

Bourne: "Do they... does the Illinois State Police believe that the timeline set out in this Bill will be realistic for them to be able to comply with?"

Morgan: "We've had a number of conversations with the Illinois State Police about this timeline. I think the response has generally been the will of the General Assembly is what they will look to implement. So, I think this is something that is doable for the Illinois State Police."

Bourne: "Okay. Pardon my cynicism, but we've heard that before with FOID and I don't know a single office that we have in our districts that hasn't been overwhelmed with FOID requests. I got one last week, a gentleman who's been waiting two years. So, he's not going to believe anyone in this chamber when they say, oh, just tell the ISP this. You won't be a felon. They're not going to believe that and I think our offices will be inundated. I have a quick question about... we talked about the magazine capacity and so you would have to turn it over to an FFL. Is it your understanding that FFLs in Illinois would be able to receive those?"

Morgan: "Well, there are a number of options for those who currently have magazines over 12 rounds. You can convert them to a 12-round or less magazine..."

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Bourne: "I think conversion is very difficult and unlikely to happen. So, there's conversion, right? You could send them..."

Morgan: "So... so the transfer..."

Bourne: "...to your uncle in Missouri. You could..."

Morgan: "Right. So, Representative, I believe the intent, as drafted, is that you can transfer them to out-of-state FFLs as opposed to Illinois FFLs."

Bourne: "Right. And so, we're going to require... say a widow has her husband's firearm collection. She lives in Central Illinois. She's going to have to drive Missouri to..."

Morgan: "No. I mean, Illinois... Illinois State Police and local law enforcement accepts magazines and other firearms all the time. So, I think this is consistent with where we are with law enforcement."

Bourne: "Okay. And you also have other... you know, you could turn your firearms over that are under this ban if you don't want to register them to FFLs. Do you know how many FFLs are in Chicago that you could turn them over to?"

Morgan: "I don't believe there are any in Chicago."

Bourne: "Correct. Correct. To the Bill, Mr. Speaker. The Sponsor of the Bill said that you're a law-abiding gun owner until you're not. And it just so happens that this Bill is going to make people who are law-abiding gun owners all of the sudden not if they don't know how to get on to the FOID portal. And they call our offices and say, what does this even mean? You've got a widow who inherits her husband's firearm collection and doesn't know which ones would have to be registered, who doesn't want to drive to an out-of-state FFL to turn over a magazine that she may not even know if it

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complies. You're a law-abiding gun owner and you have full exercise of your Second Amendment rights until you don't because a Body like this takes them away. Please vote 'no'."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Guzzardi."

Guzzardi: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "Indicates he'll yield."

Guzzardi: "The previous speaker and a number of my friends on the other side have mentioned the Second Amendment. I want to play a quick... quick game with you. I know it's been a long debate. Let's play name that Justice. Okay? So, I'm going to read you a passage from a Supreme Court decision. I'm going to ask you to name which radical left Justice wrote this passage. Okay?"

Morgan: "I don't... can I object to this game, Mr. Speaker?"

Guzzardi: "Indulge me, if you wouldn't mind, just for a moment. So, it says here this... 'The court today again explains the Second Amendment is neither a regulatory straight jacket nor a regulatory blank check. Properly interpreted, the Second Amendment allows a variety of gun regulations.' So, that's one Justice. And then they quote from another Justice. And the other Justice they quote says, 'We recognized another important limitation in the right to keep and carry arms. The sorts of weapons protected were those in common use at the time of writing the Second Amendment. We think the limitation is fairly supported by the historical tradition of prohibiting the carrying of dangerous and unusual weapons.' One Justice wrote the first part, and they quoted the second part. Do you know which radical liberal Justices wrote those phrases?"

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Morgan: "I'm going to defer to legal counsel, Kat Bray. No, I'm going to guess Scalia."

Guzzardi: "Yeah. That's right. It was Justice Kavanaugh quoting it from Justice Scalia."

Morgan: "I also went to law school."

Guzzardi: "Representative Morgan wins. Congratulations. It is.. to the Bill. It is widely recognized, it is established jurisprudence that the Second Amendment is not a regulatory blank check. In fact, Justice Scalia writes, 'Like most rights, the rights secured by the second Amendment is not unlimited.' There's extensive Supreme Court case law, including many of the cases quoted by one of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, saying that the kinds of weapons the Second Amendment meant to regulate were those in common use at the time. And, Ladies and Gentlemen, the kinds of weapons that cause indescribable harm in our communities to this day were not in common use in the 1790s. These weapons have no place in civilian society. And I believe that everybody in this chamber in their heart knows that to be true. I urge an 'aye' vote. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Chesney."

Chesney: "Thank you, Speaker. To the Bill. You know, I was sitting here for a couple hours and we've had a chance to go through this. And I can appreciate the Speaker's position, and I can't help to recognize our Leader's position. And unfortunately, I didn't see a difference. And that's the problem. So, I'm first going to address to my Republican friends. If you're not frustrated about what you heard out of our leaderships mouth tonight, you should be. And if you want to know why our

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numbers dwindle and why they laugh, you just saw why. We go from 45 to 40 because we join and we stand for nothing, but we're right. And so, us as Republicans, we better get on the same page right now because, if we see the nonsense that we just saw, the Republican Party will not exist in the State of Illinois. But we're right on the issues. So, I think, Speaker Welch, you're probably smiling because you're saying, gosh, our Leader just joined your Bill. You're thinking checkmate. And I agree. And it's very unfortunate for our party because we stand for Second Amendment rights. Because we are right on the issues. Every state in the Midwest is safer than the one that you control, Governor, and the one that you lead, Speaker Welch. Every state. And in the State of Illinois, we continue to empower criminals and punish the law-abiding citizens, every time. We empower the criminals and we punish the law-abiding citizens. But you might ask, what states are starting to embrace pro-gun legislation? Do you know the state that actually was the founder of constitutional carry? It was actually Vermont. Big Republican stronghold. Also joined by New Hampshire, Colorado. And over half of the states in our union disagree with the Democrat Majority. Over half of the states disagree with you. And I do agree, Speaker and Governor, I do agree that our area, our state has crime problems. But I can't help to note the area that the crime problems predominately resonate are in the areas you represent. Why? We want to lock them up. You want to cut them loose. It's that simple. You can take a look at Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Missouri, all of our neighbors disagree with every one of you on the other side of the aisle on gun

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regulation, or as I would say, gun confiscation. Every state. And yet, you sit here at one in the morning and talk to us about safety. And all we're asking for is to lock up the bad and empower and embrace the good. That's all we've asked, Governor. That's all we've asked, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "Representative, your time has expired. Representative Davidsmeyer."

Davidsmeyer: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Harris: "He indicates he'll yield."

Davidsmeyer: "I think that my constituents would love nothing more than for me to come up here and yell and scream about something that I personally care about, our individual rights. We had an opportunity to talk earlier, and I want to say there are things that we agree on. Right? We want to get rid of trafficking. Right? Illegal guns, illegal drugs, human trafficking. These are all things that we want to work on together. Why can we not work on these things together? Rhetorical question. We continue to give leeway to criminals who break current laws. Is there anything in this Bill that enhances gun crimes, penalties for gun crimes?"

Morgan: "There's no penalty enhancement in this legislation."

Davidsmeyer: "Okay. So, all we're doing here, we're talking about gun crime. We're talking about urban gun crime. We're talking about mental health issues. And these are two things that we are not combating in this. We are going after legal gun owners who have done nothing wrong, 99.9 percent... 99.999, right, have done nothing wrong and we're going after these individuals. And I think it's wrong we're drawing at straws. I agree with you on the problem. But your solution is going



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after all of the wrong people. I have kids. I have kids in school. Do I fear for their safety? Sometimes. Right? I believe that we need to put people in place that will protect them. School safety, school resource officers, things like that. We should not penalize the individuals who have been doing the right thing all along. My constituents have been doing the right thing all along. I urge you, I urge you to think about this. Who are we going after? Legal gun owners who have done nothing wrong. I urge a 'no' vote."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Wilhour."

Wilhour: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the... to the Bill. No matter where we are at, where we're from in this state, everybody wants our communities to be safe. Everyone is tired of the senseless violence, whether it's in Chicago or anything else. But gun bans are not answer. Shredding our Constitution is not the answer. Illinois has some of the toughest gun laws in the nation. And violence in too many places in this state is completely out of control. And I would contend, and I have often, that if we really want to solve the violence problem in this state, let's solve the opportunity problem in this state. Let's dig in and let's meaningfully talk about the culture of violence, broken families, hopelessness, addiction that are raging in our communities and lead young people to violence. Too many people, too many communities in this state, have never known hope or never known opportunity. Lawlessness, violence are an unfortunate byproduct of generations of the public policy that's pushed out of this place that has destroyed opportunity for too many in this state. When your politics and your policy drive out

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opportunities, communities struggle, families are broken, and the positive culture in our communities is ruined. So, maybe we should focus a little less on buzz words like equity and focus a little more on opportunity. This is how we start to turn this thing around. All the gun control laws in the world will not fix the cultural and economic issues that drive the violence. So, guys, before we go and continue to trample the Constitution, maybe we should consider dealing with these real core issues that are driving the violence. Let's do something different. Let's do something better around here for a change."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Crespo."

Crespo: "Thank you, Speaker. Before I say anything, I just want to take a moment and thank the Leader on the Republican side for having the intestinal fortitude and for being an independent thinker. So, we thank you for that. And to the Bill. And, Representative Morgan, I know in caucus a couple weeks ago you had mentioned that you had experienced some... you had personal experiences with gun violence. And many of us have. I'll share with you some... what happened in my family. Back in the early 60s, my Uncle Frank Roman had a store on the near South Side of Chicago. Someone broke into the store and shot him, and he died in front of his wife. When I was seven years old, I had a cousin, Nelson, who was nine. Got ahold of his dad's .38 and accidentally shot himself and died. Ten years ago, my... my cousin, Eddy Laboy, at fifty-seven, committed suicide with a gun. And I look at this Bill and try reconcile how would this Bill have made a difference in those three cases? I look at my Uncle Frank. I'm pretty sure those

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guys who broke into the store did not have legal possession of those guns. My cousin, Nelson... and we had some common gun laws back then requiring parents to store their guns if they had minors at home, he might still be alive today. And my cousin, Eddy Laboy, obviously had some mental condition and I wish we had resources to deal with that. I'm not sure if this Bill addresses some of those things. I wish it did. But at least it's moving in the right direction. It's at least directionally correct. I also appreciate the fact that you acknowledge that there are some implementation issues with current laws that we have today. We need to talk about those and we need to make sure that we can implement those. And finally, I'm concerned about what the Senate is going to do. If the Senate does not pick up this Bill and if we don't pass anything at all and end up empty handed, we are basically giving people a false sense of hope. And that is a crime in itself. So, I sure hope the Senate is listening to this debate. I sure hope they pick up this Bill and we do pass something so Governor JB Pritzker can sign this and we can deliver to our communities. So, thank you for all your work. And thanks to the staff as well. Thank you, Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Batinick."

Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'm going to go straight to the Bill. I was at a little place yesterday I occasionally go to called West Woods. And I ran into a staffer, a former staffer, who asked me, what, as I'm going down memory lane here, what my big... what I was most proud about in my time here in Springfield? There are actually two... two things that I thought about that I think are sailing into the debate here

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today. The first one was the buyout, which the Governor signed an extension for recently. I still have that pen, Governor, that was sent to me. I appreciate that. And the second one was the firearms restraining order. And I remember the day when the shooting happened in Highland Park and thinking about the firearms restraining order and how that should've... should've presented... prevented the tragedy that happened. And I had always said when I was running for office, if there was a way to keep guns out of the hands of the mentally ill, that would be something I would support. And that's why I supported that Bill. I wanted to put my vote where my campaign words were. How the buyout comes into effect is, you know, we were trying to solve the pension issue, crisis, whatever you want to call it. We had this pesky constitutional issue. And that was first idea that... it was kind of boring, a little bit of saving money, but it actually started to solve the problem. I mean, the key was it was constitutional. And we have to deal with reality of the... of the Constitution, which is likely to be an issue with this Bill. I haven't voted for every gun Bill. I haven't voted against every gun Bill. I brought up the firearms restraining order. But I want to leave the Sponsor and everybody in this Body and, frankly, the people in the gallery with... with three ideas, couple that have been filed, one that's been drafted, that I think are actually more targeted to deal with the issues we're dealing with here today. I won't be in this seat, but I hope these three ideas come to fruition. And they're nothing... they're nothing... you know, they're not the headline grabbing issue. I often say, you campaign the poetry, but you govern in pros. And sometimes

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the boring pros is what actually solves the problem. So, here's the three issues. Number one, if a parent is going to sign for a FOID card for somebody under the age of 21, for their child, and that child commits a crime, the parent needs to be criminally liable. That's number one. Number two, I'd think you'd get bipartisan support for age minimums, raising the age minimums for certain... use of certain types of weapons. And number three, I want to think back to what happened, would happen so often in the city, and what happened at the Thompson Center. You guys can Google it right now and look up the criminal history of the shooter that shot the officer at the Thompson Center. There was no reason for that gentlemen to be... shouldn't call him a gentleman. There was no reason for that individual to be out on the streets. We need mandatory minimums for repeat violent gun offenders. Three ideas, folks. They may not be the headline grabbing ideas, but I do believe that they would solve more problems than what this Bill, if it happens to pass the Senate and if it meets the constitutionality, passes. I leave you with that. Please consider that in the next General Assembly. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "The final Speaker is Leader Gordon-Booth."

Gordon-Booth: "To the Bill. 'When great souls die, the air around us becomes light, rare, sterile. We breathe, deeply. Our eyes, briefly, see with a hurtful clarity. Our memory, suddenly sharpened, examines and gnaws on kind words unsaid and promised walks never taken.' Maya Angelou. I rise here today to thank Representative Morgan and the Members of the committee that brought forth this thoughtful package. That poem was, again, not by me, but by Maya Angelou. And I always

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post that poem on this day because on January 6, 1992, my son, Derrick Booth, Jr., was born. And when I was pregnant with my daughter who sits next to me in this chair, his life was taken because of an illegal gun. And so, I stand here and I rise in the gap for all of the mothers and the fathers throughout this state who have lost their child, who have lost their son, who have lost their daughter to gun violence. I stand here in this stead to let them know that there is no one Bill that fixes the problem. But if we stand fast and we stand together and decide that we will unpack all of these issues, the issues of trauma, the issues of assault weapons, the issues of the pain, the inequality, the inequity that we see in our communities, that we can begin to right this ship. Ans so, I'd like to thank, again, the Sponsor of this legislation, the Members of that committee, but I'd also like to thank this Body for standing fast and doing the work. Because mothers and fathers need to know that we see them, that we are them, and we will continue to stand with them. And if I, could I'd like to ask for a moment of silence of this Body for what would've been DJ's 31st birthday."

Speaker Harris: "The Body will take a moment of silence. Thank you, Members. Representative Morgan to close."

Morgan: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you to all who shared your comments. A few items of housekeeping. There's... it's been alluded to the many different things that we need to do that are not in this legislation, things we have worked on, things that lie ahead. I want to point to House Resolution 1403... 1043 that we just filed this evening. And I want to make a specific note and we will be taking that up and I want to

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explain what that is. And this is a discussion we had within the working group that, while our working is firearm safety and reform, it didn't capture a lot of the elements of gun violence that we, as a caucus, as a Legislature, as a Body, are most concerned about. So, the statement, and read the Resolution, we will be addressing it. Gun violence is a public health epidemic of enormous scope that needs to be addressed by a comprehensive approach and a lens of equity. The Resolution speaks to individuals, families, and the effect that gun violence has on them as well as the economy. Additionally, the Resolution shows the disproportionate effects that gun violence has on the black community. Therefore, the Resolution urges the General Assembly to support wraparound services to address gun violence and prevent future violence as well as supporting ongoing appropriations to state agencies for provision of support systems that wrap around the basic essentials of life. And we will be taking up that Resolution. I want to start with a couple thank yous. I have a lot of thank yous. I want to thank many of the people in this Body who reached out to me in the minutes and hours after the Fourth of July shooting to make sure I was safe and my family was safe. Speaker and I spoke in less than an hour. Leader Durkin reached out. Many of you, both sides of the aisles, reached out to make sure I was safe. So, thank you. It means a lot to me and my family to know that you are my family. I want to thank the Firearm Safety and Reform Working Group. We met every week, every week since the end of July. Every week. It was contentious. We had different ideas. We didn't get to them all. We have more to

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go. But we accomplished a great deal here with this legislation, and I want to thank them in particular by name: Representatives Ford, Gong-Gershowitz, Harper, Barbara Hernandez, Representative Hirschauer, Representative Hoffman, Smith, Stoneback, Willis, Yednock, and especially our staffers, Kat Bray, Fallon Sellers, John Web, and Speaker Welch for creating this working group. Because he understood the importance of attacking gun violence that's plaguing so many communities in so many different ways. And he challenged us to find ways to address those things. Yesterday was the six-month anniversary of the Fourth of July shooting. And I had a really hard time in the morning as we got to 10:14. And I remember where I was standing, about to start the parade, and my wife and my two children were right behind me. And my staffer was standing in front of me and yelled, 'Gun shots, gun shots.' And I reached back to make sure my children were safe. When I got to the scene, I saw those who had been shot, carried away a two-year-old who was covered in blood because both their parents had been shot. And this is not a unique situation. And I left that day thinking I will do whatever I can, whatever is in my power to make sure none of us, none of you, none of your communities go through what we went through. And yet, I failed. Because within three days of the Fourth of July shooting, there were more gun deaths throughout the State of Illinois than that day on the Fourth of July in Highland Park. So, I failed. And I literally have been carrying that on my shoulders to this moment as we stand here right now. So, I really want to say thank you. I know this is a complicated issue that effects a lot of communities in a lot



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of ways. A lot of you have directly been impacted by gun violence. Mass shootings, death by suicide, individual gun violence. And you have created this legislation by sharing your stories with me, with us in this chamber. So, I want to thank you all. And I urge an 'aye' vote."

Speaker Harris: "The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 2226 pass?' All those in favor vote 'aye'; those opposed vote 'no'. Voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. With 64 voting 'yes', 43 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present', Senate Bill 2226, having received the Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. Representative Gong-Gershowitz, for what reason do you seek recognition?"

Gong-Gershowitz: "Hi, Mr. Speaker. I move to table the Motion to Reconsider the vote by which Senate Bill 1534 passed."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Gong-Gershowitz has moved to table the Motion to Reconsider the vote on Senate Bill 1534. All those in favor say 'aye'; opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. Representative Gong-Gershowitz for a second Motion."

Gong-Gershowitz: "Mr. Speaker, I move to table the Motion to Reconsider the vote by which Senate Bill 2226 passed."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Gong-Gershowitz has moved to table the Motion to Reconsider the vote on Senate Bill 2226. All those in favor say 'aye'; opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And the Motions are tabled. Mr. Clerk, Agreed Resolutions."

Clerk Hollman: "Agreed Resolutions. House Resolution 1036, offered by Representative Ford. House Resolution 1037,

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offered by Representative Bennett. House Resolution 1038, offered by Representative Greenwood. House Resolution 1039, offered by Representative Yednock. And House Resolution 1040, offered by Representative Niemerg."

Speaker Harris: "Leader Greenwood moves for the adoption of the Agreed Resolutions. All those in favor say 'aye'; all opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And the Agreed Resolutions are adopted. And now, leaving perfunctory time for the Clerk, Leader Greenwood moves that the House stand adjourned until Friday, January 6, at 9:30 a.m. All those in favor say 'aye'; opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And the House stands adjourned."

Clerk Hollman: "House Perfunctory Session will come to order. Second Reading of Senate Bills. Senate Bill 2801, a Bill for an Act concerning appropriations. Second Reading of this Senate Bill. This will be held on the Order of Second Reading. Second Reading of... Senate Bill 3799, a Bill for an Act concerning health. Second Reading of this Senate Bill. This Bill will be held on the Order of Second Reading. There being no further business, the House Perfunctory Session will stand adjourned."