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12	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT	
13	FOR THE DISTRICT OF MONTANA, MISSOULA DIVISION	
14		
15	MONTANA SHOOTING SPORTS ASSOCIATION, NIC., et al.	Case No. 09-CV-147-M-DWM-JCL
16	Plaintiff,	BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE
17	VS.	BRADY CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE,
18	ERIC H. HOLDER, JR., Attorney General	INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF POLICE
19	of the United States,	OFFICERS, HISPANIC AMERICAN POLICE COMMANI
20	Defendant.	OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BLACK POLICE
21		ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL NETWORK TO END DOMESTIC
22		VIOLENCE, MONTANANS UNITED TO STOP GUN
23		VIOLENCE AND THE MONTANA HUMAN RIGHTS
24		NETWORK IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANT ERIC H.
25		HOLDER'S MOTION TO DISMISS
26		
27		
28 I		

BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE BRADY CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF POLICE OFFICERS, HISPANIC AMERICAN POLICE COMMAND OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BLACK POLICE ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL NETWORK TO END DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, MONTANANS UNITED TO STOP GUN VIOLENCE AND THE MONTANA HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK

BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE BRADY CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF POLICE OFFICERS, HISPANIC AMERICAN POLICE COMMAND OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BLACK POLICE ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL NETWORK TO END DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, MONTANANS UNITED TO STOP GUN VIOLENCE AND THE MONTANA

HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK

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The Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence (the "Brady Center") submits this motion as *amicus curiae*, together with the groups listed below, in support of the Motion to Dismiss of Defendant Eric H. Holder, Jr. ("Defendant"). Specifically, this motion is submitted in support of Section III of Defendant's Motion to Dismiss, which argues that the United States Constitution vests Congress with power under the Commerce Clause to regulate interstate and intrastate manufacture and sale of firearms.

STATEMENT OF INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE

Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence

The Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence is a non-profit organization dedicated to reducing gun violence through education, research, and legal advocacy. The Brady Center has a substantial interest in ensuring that gun laws are properly interpreted to allow strong government action to prevent gun violence. Through its Legal Action Project, the Brady Center has filed numerous briefs *amicus curiae* in cases relating to gun violence prevention and firearms laws, including in the recent U.S. Supreme Court cases *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 128 S. Ct. 2783 (2008), *United States v. Hayes*, 129 S. Ct. 1079 (2009), and *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, Nos. 08-4241, 08-4243, 08-4244 (S. Ct.).

International Brotherhood of Police Officers

The International Brotherhood of Police Officers ("IBPO") is one of the largest police unions in the country, representing more that 50,000 members. The IBPO fully supports and defends the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms, and also fully supports applicability of uniform federal laws to protect the public and law enforcement officers by helping to keep dangerous weapons out of the wrong hands.

Hispanic American Police Command Officers Association

The Hispanic American Police Command Officers Association is the oldest and largest association in the United States of Hispanic-American command officers from law-enforcement and criminal-justice agencies.

National Black Police Association

The National Black Police Association represents approximately 35,000 individual members and more than 140 chapters.

National Network to End Domestic Violence

The National Network to End Domestic Violence ("NNEDV") is a non-profit membership organization devoted to remedying domestic violence through legal, legislative, and policy initiatives. The members of NNEDV are the state coalitions against domestic violence, who represent their states' local organizations that provide shelter, advocacy, and legal and counseling services to survivors of domestic violence. The member organizations of NNEDV collectively represent thousands of organizations that have hundreds of years of experience working with survivors of domestic violence, including undertaking extensive efforts to improve the justice system's response to victims of domestic violence. NNEDV works daily to protect the safety of survivors of domestic violence, and takes a leadership role within the domestic violence field in providing training, education, litigation support and legislative advocacy on numerous issues relating to domestic violence and firearms.

Montanans United to Stop Gun Violence

Montanans United to Stop Gun Violence is a grassroots movement, formed to demand an end to improper and often violent misuse of firearms--within our communities, our state, and this nation. MUtSGV advocates for a strong and effective response, consistent with our democratic values and with a basic

democratic principle: The right of individual gun ownership carries with it both individual and societal responsibilities, to protect the safety and well-being of all of our citizens from the misuse of these lethal weapons by an irresponsible minority of those with access to them. MUtSGV supports this amicus brief and the legitimacy of federal gun control laws in Montana.

Montana Human Rights Network

The Montana Human Rights Network ("MHRN") is a grassroots, membership-based organization of over 1400 members. In response to white supremacist organizing in Montana in the late 1980s, local groups formed to counter hate activity in their communities. In June of 1990, activists from these groups came together to discuss effective strategies for statewide activity countering bigotry. The result was a commitment to form the MHRN. Over the years, as hate groups have appealed to the "hot-button" social issues of the mainstream, the Network has expanded its program to counter the efforts of the militias, freemen and other "patriots," anti-Indian groups, anti-environmental activists, and the religious right in Montana. The MHRN joins this amicus brief in support of the government's right to enact and enforce reasonable gun control laws.

MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

I. STATEMENT OF ISSUE

The Montana Firearms Freedom Act ("MFFA"), Mont. Rev. Code § 30-20-101, et. seq., purports to exempt Montana-made firearms and ammunition from "federal law or federal regulation." MCA § 30-20-104. The MFFA violates the Supremacy Clause and poses a dangerous threat to public safety and national security. Specifically the MFFA could:

• allow felons, domestic violence abusers, and the mentally ill to more easily obtain firearms by exempting sales of Montana-made guns from the federal

Brady background check requirement that applies to all gun sales by licensed dealers. 18 U.S.C. § 922(g),(t). Montana law does not require any background check when a gun is sold.

- allow Montana-made handguns to be sold to, and possessed by, teenagers 14-18 years old who are barred by federal law from possessing handguns when not supervised by an adult. 18 U.S.C. § 922(x). Montana law does not prohibit teenagers 14 and over from possessing handguns unsupervised. MCA § 45-8-344.
- allow the sale of dangerous firearms that can evade metal detectors by exempting Montana-made guns from the federal Undetectable Firearms Act of 1988, threatening airline safety and secured federal, state, and private facilities. 18 U.S.C. § 922(p). Montana law does not require that firearms be detectable by metal detectors.
- allow the manufacture of armor-piercing ammunition by exempting Montana-made ammunition from the federal ban on the manufacture of this dangerous ammunition. 18 U.S.C.§ 922(a)(7)-(8). Montana law does not prohibit the manufacture of ammunition that can pierce police body armor.
- allow the sale of virtually untraceable firearms a bonanza for criminals and gun traffickers by exempting Montana-made guns from federal requirements that firearms be stamped with serial numbers that identify firearms so law enforcement can trace them to help solve gun crimes. 18 U.S.C. § 923(i). Montana law does not require that firearms be stamped with serial numbers.
- allow the sale of Montana-made guns without gun dealer records which are used when law enforcement is attempting to trace a crime gun to its purchaser to solve gun crimes and stop gun-traffickers. 18 U.S.C. § 923(g).

Because federal law does not allow the government to maintain records of gun ownership, 18 U.S.C. § 926, law enforcement generally can only trace a crime gun by using gun dealer records to determine the gun's purchaser.

Montana law does not require gun dealers to keep any record of gun sales.

- allow persons to engage in the business of selling Montana-made guns even if they have willfully violated federal gun laws, by exempting them from federal law allowing the revocation of gun dealer licenses for willful gun law violations. 18 U.S.C. § 923(e). Montana law does not require a license to sell guns and does not prohibit willful violators of gun laws from engaging in the business of selling guns.
- allow the possession of Montana-made guns in federal facilities located in Montana if the MFFA's exemption from "federal law" includes an exemption from the federal ban on firearms in federal facilities, which would pose a threat to national security. 18 U.S.C. § 930. Montana law does not ban the possession of firearms in federal facilities.

The MFFA operates from the false premise that the sale and distribution of firearms can occur in an intrastate vacuum. As Congress has found, however, all firearms have an effect on interstate commerce and nationwide gun trafficking, and nearly all have been sold or transported in interstate commerce or contain components or accessories that have been so sold or transported.

In particular, by exempting Montana-made ammunition and firearms from the federal restrictions on armor-piercing ammunition and on firearms undetectable by metal detectors, and allowing the sale of firearms without serial numbers, without conducting background checks, and without keeping any record of sale allowing guns to be traced, Montana-made guns will be much more likely to be sought after by criminals and used in crimes nationwide. Gun traffickers, will likely seek out

virtually untraceable Montana-made firearms, fueling the illegal interstate gun trafficking trade. Likewise, with about a half million firearms stolen from homes nationwide each year, stolen Montana-made guns will likely be trafficked interstate to criminals who will particularly prize guns that have no serial number or record of sale. Thus, the MFFA would severely undermine federal efforts to prevent nationwide gun violence and interstate gun trafficking. It would undermine a core purpose of the Gun Control Act of 1968, which was "to provide for better control of the interstate traffic in firearms." PL 90-618, October 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1213 (Oct. 22, 1968).

Even the MFFA implicitly acknowledges that firearms are almost always inherently the products of interstate commerce by purporting to exempt from Congressional power the ability to regulate "firearms accessories" or parts necessary to manufacture firearms. See MFFA § 4 ("[A] firearm accessory, or ammunition that is manufactured in Montana from basic materials and that can be manufactured without the inclusion of any significant parts imported from another state.") Yet, even aside from the severe nationwide impact of gun violence and gun trafficking, the fact that nearly all firearms travel interstate or are made from components that travel interstate demonstrates the interstate character of commerce in firearms.

Due to the inherently interstate nature of firearms, acknowledged repeatedly by Congress, the federal government has ample authority to regulate such weapons with a uniform set of federal laws, regardless of where the guns are made or intended to be initially sold. As explained below, the MFFA's evasion of federal law would allow individuals to circumvent background checks and dealer licensing

¹ Department of Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives: *Following the Gun: Enforcing Federal Law Against Firearms Traffickers*. Washington, DC; Department of the Treasury, 2000, p.41.

requirements, and provide easy firearm access to criminals and convicted domestic violence abusers.

All told, the MFFA would allow an unlicensed seller to sell unlimited numbers of Montana-made firearms and armor-piercing ammunition to any buyer in all cash, untraceable transactions, without background checks or records of sale. Because Montana has no requirement that gun purchasers even give their name to gun sellers, these nearly anonymous transactions would be highly attractive to criminals and interstate gun traffickers. Even if federal authorities were able to somehow trace crime guns back to this seller, they would be virtually powerless to stop continued gun sales by this unlicensed dealer. The MFFA would pose a clear threat to federal and other states' law enforcement's ability to protect the public from gun violence, solve gun crimes, and stop gun trafficking. Such a result would threaten the safety of citizens nationwide. The law must be invalidated.

II. ARGUMENT

A. The Constitution Grants Congress Authority to Regulate the Sale and Distribution of Firearms.

The Constitution grants Congress the authority, without limitation, "[t]o regulate commerce . . . among the several States." U.S. Const. art. I, § 8, cl. 3. The Supreme Court has repeatedly recognized that "[t]he power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce is plenary and extends to all such commerce be it great or small." *Hodel v. Indiana*, 452 U.S. 314, 321 (1981) (quoting *NLRB v. Fainblatt*, 306 U.S. 601, 606 (1939)); *accord Gibbons v. Ogden*, 22 U.S. (9 Wheat.) 1, 196 (1824). Thus, "state action cannot circumscribe Congress' plenary commerce power." *Gonzales v. Raich*, 545 U.S. 1, 29 (2005).

It is well-established that Congress may regulate even purely local activities under the Commerce Clause, as augmented by the Necessary and Proper Clause,

wherever such activities "so affect interstate commerce, or the exertion of power of Congress over it, as to make regulation of them appropriate means to the attainment of a legitimate end." *United States v. Wrightwood Dairy Co.*, 315 U.S. 110, 119 (1942). As Justice Jackson, speaking for a unanimous Court, explained in *Wickard v. Filburn*:

[E]ven if appellee's activity be local and though it may not be regarded as commerce, it may still, whatever its nature, be reached by Congress if it exerts a substantial economic effect on interstate commerce, and this irrespective of whether such effect is what might at some earlier time have been defined as "direct" or "indirect."

317 U.S. 111, 125, 128-29 (1942) (Congress may set quotas limiting local wheat production because "[h]omegrown wheat . . . competes with wheat in commerce").

Recently, in *Gonzales v. Raich*, the Supreme Court upheld a federal law that criminalized the intrastate manufacture and use of controlled substances even if they are recommended by a physician for purely local, medicinal use and never enter interstate commerce. The Court reiterated that, "[o]ur case law firmly establishes Congress' power to regulate purely local activities that are part of an economic 'class of activities' that have a substantial effect on interstate commerce." *Gonzales*, 545 U.S. at 17. Furthermore:

We have never required Congress to legislate with scientific exactitude. When Congress decides that the 'total incidence' of a practice poses a threat to a national market, it may regulate the entire class. ... [W]hen 'a general regulatory statute bears a substantial relation to commerce, the *de minimis* character of individual instances arising under that statute is of no consequence.'

Id., quoting Perez v. United States, 402 U.S. 146, 154-55 (1971). Accordingly, so long as "the class of activities is regulated and that class is within the reach of federal power" under the Commerce Clause, "the courts have no power 'to excise, as trivial, individual instances' of the class." Perez, 402 U.S. at 154 (citation

omitted).² Just as the Court has found that Congress has the power to regulate intrastate production and use of wheat and drugs, Congress certainly also has the power to regulate firearms.

B. The Sale and Distribution of Firearms Cause a Substantial Economic Effect on Interstate Commerce.

Congress has long recognized that the manufacture, sale, and possession of firearms substantially affects interstate commerce. Nationwide, nearly 110,000 people are shot each year, with more than 30,000 dead from gunfire.³ The costs to the nation from gun trafficking and gun violence are about \$100 billion per year.⁴ Annually, more than 42,000 guns cross state lines before being recovered in crimes, and most of these guns flow from states with weaker gun laws to states with stronger gun laws.⁵ Indeed, "states that have strong illegal gun regulations have significantly lower crime gun export rates, on a per capita basis, than states with comparatively weak illegal gun regulations." In order to stem this flow of guns across state lines, Congress has established minimum federal standards for gun manufacturing, sale, and possession.

² The Court has thus recognized that Congress has the authority under the Commerce Clause to prohibit racial discrimination even by restaurants not frequented by interstate travelers in order to eliminate obstacles to interstate travel by black citizens, *Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 U.S. 294, 300-02 (1964); to proscribe "[e]xtortionate credit transactions, though purely intrastate," because "there is a tie-in between local loan sharks and interstate crime," *Perez*, 402 U.S. at 154-55; and to protect farmland from surface coal mining in order to prevent "losses in agricultural productivity" that "affect[] interstate commerce in agricultural products," *Hodel v. Indiana*, 452 U.S. at 324-26.

³ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (2006 (deaths) and 2008 (injuries)).

⁴ See Phillip J. Cook & Jens Ludwig, Gun Violence: The Real Costs, Oxford University Press, at 117 (2000); See also Wendy Max & Dorothy P. Rice, Data Watch: Shooting In The Dark: Estimating The Cost of Firearm Injuries, Health Affairs (Winter 1993) 171, 181.

⁵ Mayors Against Illegal Guns, *The Movement of Illegal Guns in America* (2008) at 5-6 (citing Department of Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives. ⁶ *Id.* at 20.

Thus, Congress has regulated firearms that are manufactured, sold, and shipped and possessed in or affecting interstate commerce. *See*, *e.g.*, 18 U.S.C. § 922 *et seq.* Indeed, Congress has found that simple possession of a firearm can "affect[] commerce," e.g., 18 U.S.C. § 922(g),(h). Some of the many Congressional findings concerning the impacts of firearms on interstate commerce recognize that:

- "there is a widespread traffic in firearms moving in or otherwise affecting interstate or foreign commerce". Pub. L. No. 90-351, § 901(a)(1), 82 Stat. 225 (1968).
- "crime at the local level is exacerbated by the interstate movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs" 18 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(B)
- "firearms and ammunition move easily in interstate commerce and have been found in increasing numbers in and around schools . . ." 18 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(C)
- "even before the sale of a firearm, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made have considerably moved in interstate commerce" 18 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(D)
- "while criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens and foreign visitors may fear to travel to or through certain parts of the country due to concern about violent crime and gun violence, and parents may decline to send their children to school for the same reason." 18 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(E)

Gun possession affects interstate commerce in multiple ways. It is the rare firearm that has not been sold or transported in interstate commerce, or that does not contain components that have been so sold or transported.⁷ Moreover, after they are

⁷ The data from a report prepared by Senator Charles Schumer (NY) (*The War between the States: How Gunrunners Smuggle Weapons Across America*, 1997) illustrates how big a problem gunrunning has become. For this report, Senator Schumer analyzed raw data from the ATF

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The total annual cost of firearm injuries, including lost earnings, pain, disability, and the costs of lost life, reach a staggering aggregate economic cost to American society approaching \$100 billion annually. And of course firearms are capable of grave interstate affects; a gun made, bought, and sold in Montana by a Montana resident may be used to shoot residents of other states, even when they are across the border.

All of these costs associated with gun violence appropriately may be considered in determining the nexus between gun possession and interstate commerce. As *Wickard v. Filburn* made clear, the relevant inquiry is whether the regulated activity may be deemed to have "a substantial economic effect on interstate commerce," not whether the effect is "direct" or "indirect." 317 U.S. at

regarding the 47,068 guns traced in 1996 to show that states with weak gun laws are far more often the source of guns used in crimes committed in states with strong laws than the reverse.

8 In 2007, the ten states with the weakest gun laws supplied more than half of the guns that crossed state lines before being recovered in crimes. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) trace data shows that 42,500 guns crossed state lines before being recovered in crimes in 2007. For 34,127 of these guns, ATF identified the state where the guns were originally purchased. Just ten states accounted for 57% of the guns. Mayors Against Illegal Guns, *The Movement of Illegal Guns in America* (2008) at 5-6 (citing Department of Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives. Following the Gun: Enforcing Federal Law Against Firearm Traffickers, Department of the Treasury, 2000, p. 23).

9 Phillip J. Cook & Jens Ludwig, Gun Violence: The Real Costs, Oxford University Press, at 117 (2000).

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125. In much the same manner that the loan sharking in *Perez v. United States* affected interstate commerce by providing organized crime with the means by which to "finance its national operations," 402 U.S. at 157, gun possession affects interstate commerce by providing individuals with the means by which to commit the killings, assaults and other violent crimes that so severely tax the national economy.

The costs of gun violence to our nation provide an ample factual basis for a Congressional conclusion that firearm possession has the requisite effect on interstate commerce. Any activity whose annual consequences impose costs of about \$100 billion annually on individuals, insurance companies and federal, state and local governments necessarily "is 'commerce which concerns more States than one' and has a real and substantial relation to the national interest." *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States*, 379 U.S. 241, 255 (1964). Moreover, victims of firearm injuries travel from one state to another to obtain medical and rehabilitative services; pharmaceuticals, medical supplies and equipment to care for these individuals also are transported in interstate commerce; and sums of money are transferred across state lines from private insurers and government agencies to hospitals, physicians, disabled victims and others.

Gun possession and consequent gun violence also affect commerce for many of the same reasons that other activity has been found to affect commerce. They "exact[] millions from the pockets of people," *Perez*, 402 U.S. at 156, as a result of crimes committed by persons wielding firearms. They "degrad[e] the quality of life in local communities" by turning streets, parks and even schools into battle zones, "damag[e] the property of citizens" and "deter[] professional, as well as skilled, people from moving into [certain] areas . . . and thereby caus[e] industry to be reluctant to establish there." *Hodel v. Virginia Surface Mining & Reclamation*

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Ass'n, 452 U.S. 264, 277 (1981); Katzenbach v. McClung, 379 U.S. at 300. They also "counteract[] governmental programs and efforts," Hodel, 452 U.S. at 277, in such fields as crime control, public health, urban development and education.

Federal Laws that Regulate the Sale and Distribution of Firearms C. are Fundamental to Public Safety.

Beginning with the National Firearms Act of 1934, Congress has regulated the sale and distribution of firearms. Federal regulations prevent the sale of certain types of particularly dangerous weapons and accessories, disallow criminals and domestic violence abusers from obtaining weapons, and prevent children from obtaining firearms. By seeking to avoid federal regulations that establish minimum standards to keep deadly firearms away from dangerous criminals and individuals who may misuse them, the MFFA threatens to jeopardize the ability of federal and state governments and law enforcement to promote public safety and protect communities from gun violence.

National Firearms Act (1934) (26 U.S.C. § 5801) 1.

In 1934 Congress enacted the National Firearms Act ("NFA")10 in an effort to target "lethal weapons. . . [that] could be used readily and efficiently by criminals or gangsters." Thus the NFA was directed towards the regulation of machine guns, sawed-off shotguns and rifles, silencers, and certain concealable firearms. 12 The NFA required parties manufacturing or transferring such "firearms" to submit an application for the transaction, thereby taxing such activities and seeking to ensure

¹⁰ Pub. L. No. 73-474, 48 Stat. 1236 (1934) (codified as amended at 26 U.S.C. §§ 5801-5881

H.R. Rep. No. 1337, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. (1954), 1954 U.S.C.C.A.N. 4025, 4542.

See National Firearms Act: Hearings on H.R. 9066 before the House Comm. on Ways and Means, 73d Cong., 2d Sess. 1-3 (1934).

The NFA defines "firearm" to include a shotgun having a barrel length of less than 18 inches or a weapon made from a shotgun with an overall length of less than 26 inches, a rifle having a barrel length of less than 16 inches or a weapon made from a rifle with an overall length of less than 26 inches, a machinegun, a silencer, and a destructive device; it excludes an antique firearm from the definition. 26 U.S.C. § 5845.

that criminals do not obtain these weapons. The Act also required that firearms be registered to aid the tracing of crime guns back to their owner or purchaser. The MFFA would threaten these longstanding federal regulations, exempting some Montana-made weapons from federal laws that severely restrict the sale and possession of these dangerous weapons.

2. Gun Control Act of 1968 (18 U.S.C. § 921)

In the wake of several highly publicized violent crimes involving firearms, including the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King,

In the wake of several highly publicized violent crimes involving firearms, including the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., and the shooting of Medgar Evers, ¹⁶ Congress understood that any truly effective firearm measure would have to control the sale of firearms nationwide to prevent dangerous people from arming themselves with deadly weapons. ¹⁷ Thus in 1968, Congress sought to curb growing use of firearms in violent crimes ¹⁸ via the Gun Control Act of 1968 ("GCA"). ¹⁹ To accomplish this, the legislation sought to "strengthen Federal controls over interstate and foreign commerce in firearms and [] assist the States effectively to regulate firearms traffic within their borders."

In order to strengthen Federal controls over interstate and foreign commerce in firearms to better assist State regulation of firearms traffic within State borders, the Act ensured that many "firearms were channeled through federally licensed dealers to eliminate mail order purchases and the generally widespread commerce in

21 || 14 See 26 U.S.C. §§ 5811-22.

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^{15 26} U.S.C. § 5841.

H.R. Rep. No. 1577, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968), reprinted in 1968 U.S.C.C.A.N. 4410, 4413, 4426 (commenting on incidents which should have been subject to stricter controls).

¹⁷ H.R. Rep. No. 1577, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968), reprinted in 1968 U.S.C.C.A.N. 4410, 4413 (noting incidents involving rifles or shotguns that have been cited to further illustrate demand for more restrictive transactions).

¹⁸ See H.R. Rep. No. 1577, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968), reprinted in 1968 U.S.C.C.A.N. 4410, 4413 (listing violence statistics for thirteen months ending September, 1967).

¹⁹ H.R. Rep. No. 1577, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968), reprinted in 1968 U.S.Ć.C.A.N. 4410, 4411. ²⁰ Huddleston v. United States, 415 U.S. 814, 824 (1974) (quoting S. Rep. No. 1501, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. 22 (1968)).

them."²¹ The Act barred the sale of firearms to dangerous people, including felons, the mentally ill, and fugitives from justice. 18 U.S.C. § 922(g).

In addition to providing a more effective licensing system for firearms, the GCA contained recordkeeping requirements to help ensure that prohibited persons did not obtain firearms. Also included, were marking requirements, e.g., serial numbers, to create a chain of custody and thereby "combat crime" and "assist" law enforcement.²² Congress also used the GCA to grant the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives the authority to investigate criminal and regulatory violations of both the NFA and the GCA.²³ The MFFA purports to exempt Montana-made weapons from the minimum standards set by the GCA that have helped law enforcement prevent gun violence and interstate gun trafficking for more than four decades.

3. Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (1993) (18 U.S.C. § 922)

With gun violence, as well as the accompanying societal and economic costs, reaching new heights,²⁴ Congress enacted the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act ("Brady Act") in 1993.²⁵ Like the GCA, the Brady Act addresses the nationwide scourge of gun violence by restricting access to guns by dangerous people.²⁶ This is accomplished, in part, by the establishment of a Brady background check system whereby background checks are conducted by gun dealers at the point

²¹ S. Rep. No. 1501, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. 22 (1968).

²² United States v. Mobley, 956 F.2d 450, 454 (3d Cir. 1992). ²³ 28 U.S.C. § 599A.

²⁴ See H.R. Rep. No. 324, 103d Cong., 2d Sess. 6 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1802, 1803 (citing U.S. Dep't of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Bureau of Justice Statistics Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics -- 1992 at 357 and U.S. Dep't of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1992 at 10). See S. Rep. No. 1097, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968), reprinted in 1968 U.S.C.C.A.N. 2112, 2116. See Firearm Injuries Cost \$20 Billion a Year-Study, Reuters, Jan. 7, 1994, available in LEXIS, News Library, Current News File.

 ^{25 18} U.S.C. § 922(s) (Supp. V 1993).
 26 See 18 U.S.C. § 922(s)(3)(B)(i)-(vii) (Supp. V 1993).

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of purchase.²⁷ Thus, pursuant to the Brady Act, the Attorney General established and maintains the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) within the FBI.²⁸ The Brady Act authorizes NICS to issue a denial of a gun purchase if it has concluded "that the receipt of a firearm" by the prospective transferee "would violate" federal or state law.²⁹ Alternatively, NICS must issue a "proceed" if it has concluded that such receipt "would not violate" federal or state law.³⁰ Gun dealers may sell a firearm to a buyer if NICS transmits a "proceed" response or if three business days have elapsed since the background check was begun. 18 U.S.C. § 922(t). Brady background checks have contributed to a historic decline in lethal assaults by blocking 1.8 million attempts by high-risk people to buy a gun from a licensed gun dealer.³¹ The MFFA would exempt Montana-made guns from Brady background checks, making it much easier for guns to be purchased by dangerous people prohibited by federal law from possessing guns.

4. <u>Domestic Violence Offender Gun Ban (1996) (18 U.S.C. §</u> 922(g)(9))

The Domestic Violence Offender Gun Ban³² was an amendment to the Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act of 1997.³³ The Act is often referred to as "the Lautenberg Amendment" after its sponsor, Senator Frank Lautenberg. Congress enacted the Lautenberg Amendment to prevent dangerous domestic violence abusers from having access to firearms. Allowing convicted domestic violence abusers to arm themselves with firearms both jeopardizes abusers' family members, but also places law enforcement officers at a heightened risk of death or

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²⁷ Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, 18 U.S.C. § 922(s) (Supp. 1993).

 $[\]begin{vmatrix} 28 & \text{See } 28 & \text{C.F.R. Part } 25(A) & (2006). \\ 29 & 18 & \text{L.S. C. } 8.922(t)(1)(R)(ii) & (emr.) \end{vmatrix}$

²⁹ 18 U.S.C. § 922(t)(1)(B)(ii) (emphasis added).

³⁰ 18 U.S.C. § 922(t)(2) (emphasis added).

³¹ Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Background Checks for Firearm Transfers, 2008: Statistical Tables (August 2009)) (Table 1).

³² Pub. L. 104-208, 18 U.S.C. § 922(g)(9).

³³ Pub. L. No. 104 - 208, 110 Stat. 1303; 18 U.S.C. § 841.

injury, causing a nationwide public safety issue. Indeed, the Supreme Court recently upheld a broad interpretation of this law, declaring that "[f]irearms and domestic strife are a potentially deadly combination nationwide." *United States v. Haves*, 129 S. Ct. 1079, 1087 (2009).

Because domestic violence is a pervasive national epidemic, the Lautenberg Amendment was enacted to establish a "zero tolerance when it comes to guns and domestic violence." As stated by Senator Lautenberg, "the amendment would prohibit any person convicted of domestic violence from possessing a firearm." Senator Lautenberg emphasized that the Amendment ensures "that a spouse abuser, wife beater, or child abuser should not have a gun."

The statute was passed to address "an estimated 2 million women [who] are victimized by domestic violence." The presence of a gun in a violent home substantially elevates the risk that domestic violence will turn deadly. When domestic violence incidents involve a firearm, the abuse is twelve times more likely to result in death compared to abuse incidents that do not involve a firearm. In addition, allowing domestic violence abusers to access firearms is especially dangerous for law enforcement, with 14% of police officer deaths nationwide occurring during a response to domestic violence calls. The MFFA would

³⁴ 142 Cong. Rec. S11872-01, 11878 (1996).

³⁵ 142 Cong. Rec. S11872-01, 11878 (1996). ³⁶ 142 Cong. Rec. S11872-01, 11878 (1996).

³⁷ 142 Cong. Rec. S10379-01, 10380 (1996).

³⁸ Shannon Frattaroli & Jon S. Vernick, *Separating Batterers and Guns*, 30 Evaluation Rev. 296 (2006); Emily F. Rothman et al, *Gun Possession Among Massachusetts Batterer Intervention Program Enrollees*, Evaluation Review Vol. 30 No. 3, 283 (June 2006).

³⁹ Id.

⁴⁰ National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, Domestic Violence Takes a Heavy Toll on the Nation's Law Enforcement Community, available at

http://www.nleomf.com/media/press/domesticviolence07.htm.

endanger domestic violence abuse victims and law enforcement by exempting Montana-made guns from this law.

5. Juvenile Firearm Possession Ban (1994) (18 U.S.C. § 922)

By 1994, Congress realized that it was necessary to prohibit the sale of handguns to, and the possession of handguns by, juveniles. ⁴¹ Spurring this realization was, among other things, an awareness that juvenile crime, which often involves both guns and drugs, was a pervasive, nationwide problem that could not be solved at the local level alone. Youth in our nation suffer a "rate of firearm trauma that is the highest in the industrialized world," such that fatal firearm injuries are the second-leading cause of death for ages 1-19. ⁴² Studies have shown that access to firearms is the main factor leading to these firearms deaths and injuries. ⁴³

Congress realized that violent crime resulting from juvenile handgun use went "hand-in-hand"⁴⁴ with the use of illicit drugs. To attempt to control one without controlling the other, Congress concluded, would be fruitless.⁴⁵ Congress also understood that guns, illegal drugs, and criminal gangs were able to move easily across state lines.⁴⁶ This mobility, Congress concluded, allowed juveniles easy access to handguns, created an environment that allowed those juveniles to become violent criminals, and created a mentality that considered the random use of handguns to be acceptable.⁴⁷

Moreover, this mobility prevented states from successfully targeting these illegal activities: "[i]ndividual States and localities find it impossible to handle the

See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1858-59.
 Judy Murnan, Joseph A. Dake, James H. Price, Association of Selected Risk Factors with

Variation in Child and Adolescent Firearm Mortality by State, Journal of School Health (Oct. 2004).

43 Id

⁴⁴ See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1858.

⁴⁵ See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1858-59. ⁴⁶ See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1858.

See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1858.

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problem by themselves; even States and localities that have made a strong effort to prevent, detect, and punish crime find their efforts unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States and localities to take strong measures." It was clear that a national effort was needed to solve the problem of juvenile handgun possession and use so as to curtail both violent crime and illegal drug trafficking.⁴⁹

The MFFA exempts Montana-made guns from the federal Juvenile Firearm Possession Ban, allowing teens 14 and over to possess handguns unsupervised, jeopardizing federal efforts to prevent the gun deaths and injuries caused by persons under 18.

6. <u>Prohibitions on Guns in School Zones and Federal Buildings</u> (18 U.S.C. §§ 922(q), 930)

Sixty-five students and six school employees were shot and killed at school during the academic years 1986 through 1990.⁵⁰ An additional 201 individuals were severely wounded by firearms at school during that same period.⁵¹ And 242 more were taken hostage at gunpoint on school premises.⁵²

Congress responded to this alarming increase in gun violence in schools by enacting the Gun-Free School Zones Act.⁵³ The Act amended the existing federal criminal statute regulating the possession and sale of firearms in order to address the growing national problem of guns in and around schools. The Act prohibits any

⁴⁸ See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1858-59. ⁴⁹ See H.R. Rep. No. 103-711, at 390-91 (1994), reprinted in 1994 U.S.C.C.A.N. 1839, 1859.

Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, Caught in the Crossfire: A Report on Gun Violence in our Nation's Schools (Sept. 1990), reprinted in Gun-Free School Zones Act of 1990: Hearing on H.R. 3757 Before the Subcomm. on Crime of the House Comm. on the Judiciary, 101st Cong., 2d Sess. 7 (1990) (statement of Rep. Feighan), p. 81.

 $^{^{51}}$ Id.

 $[\]int_{52}^{1d} Id.$

⁵³ 18 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(A).

individual knowingly to possess a firearm at a place that the individual knows, or has reasonable cause to believe, is a school zone.⁵⁴

Likewise, Congress acted to protect federal facilities from gun violence by barring the possession of firearms at buildings owned or leased by the federal government and federal court facilities. 18 U.S.C. § 930. The U.S. Supreme Court recently recognized the importance of keeping guns out of "sensitive places such as schools and government buildings," declaring such laws to be "presumptively lawful" under the Second Amendment. *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 128 S.Ct. 2783, 2817 (U.S. 2008).

In enacting the Gun Free School Zones Act, Congress listed numerous factual findings concerning the nationwide impact of guns at schools, declaring that:

- (A) crime, particularly crime involving drugs and guns, is a *pervasive, nationwide problem*;
- (B) crime at the local level is exacerbated by the *interstate* movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs;
- (C) firearms and ammunition *move easily in interstate*commerce and have been found in increasing numbers in and around schools, as documented in numerous hearings in both the Committee on the Judiciary [of] the House of Representatives and the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate;
- (D) even before the sale of a firearm, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made *have considerably moved in interstate commerce*;

⁵⁴ 18 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(A). A school zone is defined as a place in, on the grounds of, or within a distance of 1,000 feet from the grounds of a public, parochial or private elementary or secondary school. 18 U.S.C. § 921(a)(25).

- (E) while criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens and foreign visitors may fear to travel to or through certain parts of the country due to concern about violent crime and gun violence, and parents may decline to send their children to school for the same reason;
- (F) the occurrence of violent crime in school zones has resulted in a decline in the quality of education in our country;
- (G) this decline in the quality of education has an adverse impact on interstate commerce and the foreign commerce of the United States;
- (H) States, localities, and school systems find it almost impossible to handle gun-related crime by themselves--even States, localities, and school systems that have made strong efforts to prevent, detect, and punish gun-related crime find their efforts unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States or localities to take strong measures; and
- (I) the Congress has the power, under the interstate commerce clause and other provisions of the Constitution, to enact measures to ensure the integrity and safety of the Nation's schools by enactment of this subsection.

8 U.S.C. § 922(q)(1)(A)-(I) (emphasis added).

In exempting Montana-made firearms from federal prohibitions on guns in sensitive places, the MFFA threatens the safety of school zones and the security of federal facilities, undermines federal efforts to prevent gun violence and adversely impacts interstate commerce in all of the ways described by Congress.

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7. <u>Federal Restrictions on Armor-Piercing Ammunition and</u> Undetectable Firearms (18 U.S.C. §§ 922(a)(7)-(8),(p)).

Federal law bans the manufacture or importation of armor-piercing ammunition and requires strict record keeping of the sale of armor-piercing ammunition. 18 U.S.C. §§ 922(a)(7),(8);(b)(5). Armor-piercing ammunition poses a particular risk for law enforcement, as this ammunition can pierce police body armor. *See, e.g., Kodak v. Holder*, 342 Fed. Appx. 907 (4th Cir. 2009) (unpublished) (rejecting Second Amendment challenge to federal armor-piercing bullet restrictions because "armor-piercing ammunition is not in common use by law-abiding citizens for lawful purposes," "has no application for hunters," and "is frequently referred to as 'cop-killer bullets.').

In 1988, Congress enacted the Undetectable Firearms Act, making it unlawful to "manufacture, import, ship, deliver, possess, transfer, or receive" any firearms not detectable "by walk-through metal detectors" or which "when subjected to inspection by the type of x-ray machines commonly used at airports, does not generate an image that accurately depicts the shape of" any major component thereof. 18 U.S.C. § 922(p)(1). Congress enacted this law to counter "the threat posed by firearms which could avoid detection at security checkpoints: airports, government buildings, prisons, courthouses, the White House." H.R. Rep. No. 100-612, 100th Cong., 2d Sess., *reprinted in* 1988 U.S.C.C.A.N. 5359.

The MFFA undermines these federal efforts to protect against these particularly dangerous weapons, jeopardizing the safety of law enforcement and national security at airports and other sensitive locations.

8. <u>Federal Gun Dealer Licensing Requirements (18 U.S.C.</u> § 923)

Federal law requires that anyone "engaged in the business" of manufacturing or selling firearms obtain a license. 18 U.S.C. § 923. Licensees are charged with keeping records of gun acquisitions and sales and conducting background checks on prospective buyers. *Id.* "When a firearms dealer ... fails to ensure that guns are sold to authorized persons, the public safety is directly and meaningfully implicated," and this "is a significant factor in the prevalence of lawlessness and violent crime in the United States." *RSM, Inc. v. Herbert*, 466 F.3d 316, 324 (4th Cir. 2006) (*quoting* Omnibus Crime Control & Safe Streets Act of 1968, Pub.L. No. 90-357, § 901(a)(2), 82 Stat. 197, 225).

The MFFA purports to exempt all Montana-made guns from the requirements of federal law that anyone engaged in the business of selling firearms must obtain a license and keep a record of firearm sales. Because federal law does not allow the government to maintain records of gun ownership, 18 U.S.C. § 926, law enforcement generally can only trace a crime gun by using gun dealer records to determine the gun's purchaser. Without these records, crime guns are generally untraceable. Federal law also allows the revocation of licenses by dealers who have willfully violated federal gun laws. 18 U.S.C. § 923(e). Because Montana law does not require a license to sell guns and does not prohibit willful violators of gun laws from engaging in the business of selling guns, the MFFA would make it much more difficult for law enforcement nationwide to solve crimes committed with Montana-made weapons.

D. Federal Gun Regulations Do Not Interfere With the Second Amendment of the United States Constitution.

Section 2(4) of the MFFA cites to the Second Amendment of the United States Constitution as support for the law. According to that section:

The second amendment to the United States constitution reserves to the people the right to keep and bear arms as that right was understood

at the time that Montana was admitted to statehood in 1889, and the guaranty of the right is a matter of contract between the state and people of Montana and the United States as of the time that the compact with the United States was agreed upon and adopted by Montana and the United States in 1889.

However, federal gun regulations, identified above, do not interfere with the Second Amendment because they are reasonable gun violence prevention laws that protect the public without unduly interfering with the ability of "law-abiding, responsible citizens" to use firearms for self-defense in their home. *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 128 S. Ct. 2783, 2821 (2008). The Supreme Court's recent Second Amendment decision does not place these laws in jeopardy. In *District of Columbia v. Heller*, the Court struck down the District of Columbia's broad restrictions on handgun possession and use in the home because they did not allow for self-defense use. 128 S. Ct. at 2783. While the Court's 5-4 decision was controversial, ⁵⁵ it was also narrow: the Court made clear that it was only recognizing a right against the federal government for "law-abiding, responsible citizens to use arms in defense of hearth and home." *Id.* at 2821. Thus, the Court recognized only a limited right for citizens who were both "law-abiding" and "responsible," and then only for gun use in the home for self-defense.

The Court went further to clarify that this right is "not unlimited," does not prevent a wide range of reasonable and "presumptively lawful" gun laws, and is certainly not a right to keep a gun "in any manner whatsoever." *Id.* at 2816, 2817 n.26. According to the Court, "nothing in our opinion should be taken to cast doubt on longstanding prohibitions on the possession of firearms by felons and the

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Richard Posner, In Defense of Looseness: The Supreme Court and Gun Control, NEW REPUBLIC, Aug. 27, 2008, at 33 (criticizing the "faux originalism" of Justice Scalia's majority opinion); J. Harvie Wilkinson III, Of Guns, Abortions, and the Unraveling Rule of Law, 95 VA. L. REV. 253, 266-67 (2009) (arguing that historical evidence on both sides was equally strong and the majority should have deferred to the legislature rather than interject its own values on the text); Douglas Kmiec, Guns and the Supreme Court: Dead Wrong, TIDINGS ONLINE, July 11, 2008, available at http://www.the-tidings.com/2008/071108/kmiec.htm (arguing that a true originalist undertaking in Heller would have led to the exact opposite result).

mentally ill, or laws forbidding the carrying of firearms in sensitive places such as schools and government buildings, or laws imposing conditions and qualifications on the commercial sale of arms." *Id.* at 2817. Thus, the Court's narrow holding was that Mr. Heller had a right only to register his gun and obtain a license to carry it in his home if he was both "law abiding" and "responsible."

In Heller, the Supreme Court held that the District of Columbia's "ban on handgun possession in the home violates the Second Amendment, as does its prohibition against rendering any lawful firearm in the home operable for the purpose of immediate self-defense." Heller, 128 S. Ct. at 2821-22 (emphasis omitted and added). The Court made clear that its holding was narrow and stressed that it did not jeopardize other firearms laws, noting that the Second Amendment leaves government "a variety of tools for combating that problem . . . the problem of handgun violence in this country." Id. at 2822.

Since *Heller*, there have been more than 200 challenges to federal gun laws, claiming that these gun laws violate the Second Amendment. These challenges have been overwhelmingly rejected. *See, e.g., United States v. White*, 593 F.3d 1199, 1205-06 (11th Cir. 2010) (rejecting Second Amendment challenge to domestic violence abuser gun ban); *U.S. v. Vongxay*, 594 F.3d 1111 (9th Cir. 2010) (rejecting Second Amendment challenge to felon gun ban); *Kodak v. Holder*, 342 Fed. Appx. 907 (4th Cir. 2009) (unpublished) (rejecting Second Amendment challenge to federal armor-piercing bullet restrictions); *U.S. v. Knight*, 574 F. Supp. 2d 224 (D. Me. 2008) (rejecting Second Amendment challenge to ban on gun possession by person subject to court order restraining such person from harassing, stalking, or threatening an intimate partner).

Thus, the MFFA's claim that the Second Amendment somehow allows states 1 to exempt themselves from federal gun laws is wholly unsupported by the Supreme 2 Court's explanation of the limited nature of the Second Amendment right in Heller. 3 **CONCLUSION** 4 The Commerce Clause grants the federal government authority to regulate 5 firearms because such weapons are easily and frequently sold and traded across state 6 lines and used in crimes that affect commerce. The MFFA's evasion of federal law 7 would allow individuals to circumvent numerous safety measures, including 8 background checks, gun dealer licensing and recordkeeping requirements, and 9 provide firearm access to minors, criminals and convicted domestic violence 10 abusers. Such a result would threaten nationwide public safety. The MFFA must be 11 invalidated. 12 13 14 DATED this 18th day of May, 2010. 15 /s/ Cynthia Wolken 16 Cynthia L. Wolken 17 Attorney for Amicus Curiae Brady Center to Prevent Gun 18 Violence et al. 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 27 BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE BRADY CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE, INTERNATIONAL 28

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