CORPORATE DISCLOSURE STATEMENT Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund has no parent corporations. It has no stock and hence no publicly held company owns 10% or more of its stock.

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INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE

Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund ("Everytown") is the education,

research, and litigation arm of Everytown for Gun Safety, the nation's largest gunviolence-prevention organization, with nearly six million supporters across all fifty

states, including tens of thousands in California. Everytown for Gun Safety was founded in 2014 as the combined effort of Mayors Against Illegal Guns, a national, bipartisan coalition of mayors combating illegal guns and gun trafficking, and Moms

Demand Action for Gun Sense in America, an organization formed after 20 children and six adults were murdered by a gunman with an AR-15 rifle—a weapon regulated

10 by the law challenged here—in an elementary school in Newtown, Connecticut. The

mayors of more than fifty California cities are members of Mayors Against Illegal

Guns. Everytown also includes a large network of gun-violence survivors who are

empowered to share their stories and advocate for responsible gun laws.

14 Everytown has drawn on its expertise to file briefs in numerous Second Amendment cases, including challenges to assault weapon prohibitions like those at **16** issue in this case, offering historical and doctrinal analysis that might otherwise be

17 overlooked. *See*, e.g., *Wilson v. Cook Cty.*, No. 18-2686 (7th Cir.); *Worman v.*

18 | *Healey*, No. 18-1545 (1st Cir.); *Kolbe v. Hogan*, No. 14-1945 (4th Cir.) (en banc).

Several courts have also cited and expressly relied on Everytown's amicus briefs in

deciding Second Amendment and other gun cases. See Ass'n of N.J. Rifle & Pistol

Clubs, Inc. v. Attorney Gen. N.J., 910 F.3d 106, 112 n.8 (3d Cir. 2018); Rupp v.

Becerra, 401 F. Supp. 3d 978, 991-92 & n.11 (C.D. Cal. 2019), appeal docketed, No.

19-56004 (9th Cir. Aug. 28, 2019); see also Rehaif v. United States, 139 S. Ct. 2191,

2210-11 & nn.4, 7 (2019) (Alito, J., dissenting).¹

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An appendix of selected, publicly available historical gun laws accompanies this rief. All parties consent to the filing of this brief, and no counsel for any party authored it in whole or part. Apart from *amicus curiae*, no person contributed money intended to fund the brief's preparation and submission. Moreover, as the

INTRODUCTION

This case involves a Second Amendment challenge to California's Assault Weapons Control Act ("AWCA"), which prohibits, among other things, the manufacture, possession, transport, sale, offer for sale, and import of assault weapons. Five circuits have heard challenges to similar laws, and all five upheld the 6 laws as constitutional under the Supreme Court's decision in *District of Columbia v*. Heller, 554 U.S. 570 (2008). See Worman v. Healey, 922 F.3d 26, 39-41 (1st Cir. 2019), petition for cert. docketed, No. 19-404 (U.S. Sept. 25, 2019); Kolbe v. Hogan, **9** 849 F.3d 114, 137-38 (4th Cir. 2017) (en banc), cert. denied, 138 S. Ct. 469 (2017); **10** N.Y. State Rifle & Pistol Ass'n, Inc. v. Cuomo ("NYSRPA"), 804 F.3d 242, 247 (2d **11** Cir. 2015), cert. denied, 136 S. Ct. 2486 (2016); Friedman v. City of Highland Park, **12** | 784 F.3d 406, 412 (7th Cir. 2015), cert. denied, 136 S. Ct. 447 (2015); Heller v. **13** District of Columbia ("Heller II"), 670 F.3d 1244, 1264 (D.C. Cir. 2011); see also 14 Wilson v. Cook Cty., 937 F.3d 1028 (7th Cir. 2019) (affirming Friedman), petition 15 for cert. docketed, No. 19-704 (U.S. Dec. 3, 2019). Since Heller, three separate 16 districts of the California Court of Appeal have upheld the law at issue in this case, 17 | holding that the AWCA "does not prohibit conduct protected by the Second **18** Amendment." *People v. James*, 174 Cal. App. 4th 662, 677 (2009) (3d Dist.); see People v. Zondorak, 220 Cal. App. 4th 829, 835-38 (2013) (4th Dist.); People v. Gleason, No. H042771, 2017 WL 6276235, at *5 (Cal. Ct. App. Dec. 11, 2017) (unpublished) (6th Dist.), cert. denied, 139 S. Ct. 116 (2018). Moreover, one federal 22 Ninth Circuit has stated, there is no requirement that an amicus brief be "disinterested." Funbus Sys., Inc. v. State of Cal. Pub. Utilities Comm'n, 801 F.2d 1120, 1125 (9th Cir. 1986). Rather, the focus is on whether it is "helpful." Earth Island Inst. v. Nash, 2019 WL 6790682, at *1 (E.D. Cal. Dec. 12, 2019). 23 ² Although the Ninth Circuit has not addressed the constitutionality of assault weapons laws under the Second Amendment since *Heller*, it recently cited the consensus of its sister circuits favorably in ruling that a different state law, which prohibits permit holders from possessing firearms on school grounds but allows retired peace officers to do so, did not violate the Equal Protection Clause. See Gallinger v. Becerra, 898 F.3d 1012, 1018-19 (9th Cir. 2018) (citing Kolbe, NYSRPA, Friedman, and Heller II).

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1 district court in this state has also held that the AWCA is constitutional, finding both 2 that it "does not burden conduct protected by the Second Amendment" and that, even 3 | if it did, "there is a reasonable fit between the AWCA and California's public safety **4** interests." *Rupp*, 401 F. Supp. 3d at 988, 990 (C.D. Cal. 2019).

As the State of California's brief shows, these courts got it right. Everytown 6 submits this *amicus curiae* brief to urge this Court to similarly uphold the AWCA here—and, in particular, to make three points:

First, the AWCA is part of a long tradition of regulating weapons that 9 | legislatures have determined to be unacceptably dangerous, including a century of 10 restrictions on semi-automatic firearms capable of firing a large number of rounds 11 without reloading. This historical tradition alone is sufficient for this Court to find 12 the law constitutional under the Second Amendment.

Second, this Court should also reject Plaintiffs' argument that the national 14 prevalence of a type of a firearm, like the assault weapons at issue here, necessarily 15 bestows Second Amendment protection on that firearm. Such an approach, under 16 which firearms would become effectively immune from regulation the instant they 17 are deemed in "common use" based on nationwide sales and manufacturing figures, 18 cannot be reconciled with the Supreme Court's decision in *Heller* or with common 19 sense. Indeed, it divorces the Second Amendment from the self-defense right it 20 protects. Further, such a test is inconsistent with core principles of federalism, **21** preventing individual states from determining how to best regulate themselves. Put simply, the "common use" test advocated by Plaintiffs would transform the 23 constitutional analysis into a consumer referendum influenced by the firearms **24** | industry's aggressive modern-day marketing and sales strategies. That is not, nor 25 should it be, the law.

Finally, even if the AWCA is found or assumed to regulate conduct protected 27 | by the Second Amendment, the Court should grant the State's motion for summary

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2 In addition to the arguments and evidence advanced in the State's moving papers, 3 Everytown's own research and other relevant social science and statistical evidence 4 bear out California's important interest in preventing and mitigating mass shootings 5 and daily gun violence, and the AWCA's "reasonable fit," Jackson v. City & Cnty. of

S.F., 746 F.3d 953, 965 (9th Cir. 2014), with that interest.

ARGUMENT

I. California's Prohibition of Assault Weapons Is Part of a Longstanding History of Analogous Prohibitions.

As both the Supreme Court and the Ninth Circuit have emphasized, "longstanding prohibitions" on the possession of certain types of weapons are 12 "traditionally understood to be outside the scope of the Second Amendment." Fyock **13** || v. City of Sunnyvale, 779 F.3d 991, 996 (9th Cir. 2015); see Heller, 554 U.S. at 626-14 | 27, 635 (noting that such "longstanding prohibitions" are treated as tradition-based 15 "exceptions" by virtue of their "historical justifications"). These prohibitions need 16 not "mirror limits that were on the books in 1791." *United States v. Skoien*, 614 F.3d 17 | 638, 641 (7th Cir. 2010) (en banc). Instead, courts have found that even "early 18 twentieth century regulations might nevertheless demonstrate a history of 19 longstanding regulation if their historical prevalence and significance is properly developed in the record." Fyock, 779 F.3d at 997 (citing Nat'l Rifle Ass'n of Am., Inc. v. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives, 700 F.3d 185, 196 (5th Cir. 2012)).³

The AWCA is not a radical departure from this country's well-established **24** history of firearm regulation. Plaintiffs incorrectly and inaccurately attempt to assert

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³ See also Friedman, 784 F.3d at 408 (noting that "Heller deemed a ban on private possession of machine guns to be obviously valid" despite the fact that "states didn't begin to regulate private use of machine guns until 1927," and that "regulating machine guns at the federal level" did not begin until 1934); Skoien, 614 F.3d at 639-

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^{40 (}noting that "prohibitions on the possession of firearms by felons and the mentally ill" have been found to be sufficiently longstanding, despite the fact that "[t]he first federal statute disqualifying felons from possessing firearms was not enacted until 1938" and that "the ban on possession by *all* felons was not enacted until 1961") (emphasis in original).

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A. The AWCA Is Consistent with Centuries of Laws Prohibiting Weapons Deemed to Be Especially Dangerous Dating from the Colonial Period to the Present Day.

The AWCA is part of a long history of government weapon prohibitions aimed at enhancing public safety either because the weapons themselves are especially dangerous, or because they are particularly suitable for criminal use. In this country, such prohibitions date back to the early colonial period when the American colonies and first states began adopting the English tradition of regulating especially dangerous firearms. *See generally* 1763-1775 N.J. Laws 346 (prohibiting set or trap guns); The Laws of Plymouth Colony (1671) (same); Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England 230 (Boston 1861) (same).

The passage of the Bill of Rights did not end this practice. States continued to prohibit or regulate particularly dangerous weapons. For example, several states banned or prohibitively taxed Bowie knives,⁵ which were determined to be "instrument[s] of almost certain death." *See Cockrum v. State*, 24 Tex. 394, 402 (1859) (finding Bowie knives are "differ[ent] from [guns, pistols, or swords] in [their] device and design" and are therefore more accurate and lethal than other contemporary weapons). In addition, a number of states prohibited certain types of small and easily concealable handguns, which were deemed ideal for criminal use.⁶

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⁴ As the California Court of Appeal stated in upholding the AWCA, "the Legislature was specifically concerned with the unusual and dangerous nature of these weapons." *James*, 174 Cal. App. 4th at 676; *see Gallinger*, 898 F.3d at 1018 (noting the "particular danger posed by assault weapons," which "motivated the Legislature to enact the AWCA").

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⁵ See 1837 Ala. Laws 7 (prohibitively taxing Bowie knives); 1837 Ga. Laws 90 (banning Bowie knives); 1837-1838 Tenn. Pub. Acts 200 (prohibiting the sale of Bowie knives); Aymette v. State, 21 Tenn. 154, 158 (1840) (justifying a prohibition on Bowie knives on the basis that they are "weapons which are usually employed in private broils, and which are efficient only in the hands of the robber and the assassin").

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⁶ See 1879 Tenn. Pub. Acts 136 (prohibiting "belt or pocket pistols, or revolvers, or any other kind of pistols, except army or navy pistol"); 1881 Ark. Acts 192

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Throughout the early twentieth century, many states passed laws prohibiting 2 especially dangerous weapons or weapon features, such as silencers, as the technology of firearms and other dangerous weapons evolved.⁷ And, in the 1920s and 1930s, at least twenty-eight states and the federal government passed prohibitions or severe restrictions on automatic weapons, along with the restrictions on large-capacity semi-automatic weapons discussed next. See Spitzer, supra, at 67-71; Sec. I.B., *infra*.

States Have Prohibited Semi-Automatic Firearms Capable of Quickly Firing Multiple Rounds Since the Early Twentieth Century.

States have regulated semi-automatic firearms capable of quickly firing a large number of rounds—the precursor to modern-day assault weapons—since shortly after these firearms first became widely commercially available at the turn of the twentieth century. See Robert Johnson & Geoffrey Ingersoll, It's Incredible How Much Guns Have Advanced Since the Second Amendment, Business Insider Australia (Dec. 18, 2012), https://bit.ly/30KvgrH (explaining that semi-automatic weapons became commercially available in the early 1900s).8 Such laws often categorized large-capacity, semi-automatic firearms, along with fully automatic weapons, as (prohibiting pocket pistols and "any kind of cartridge, for any pistol"); 1903 S.C. Acts 127-28 (similar); *see* 1907 Ala. Sess. Laws 80 (similar).

⁷ See, e.g., 1909 Me. Laws 141 (prohibiting silencers); 1912 Vt. Acts & Resolves 310 (same); 1913 Minn. Laws 55 (same); 1916 N.Y. Laws 338-39 (same); 1926 Mass. Acts 256 (same); 1927 Mich. Pub. Acts 888-89 (same); 1927 R.I. Pub. Laws 250 (same); 1927 R.I. Pub. Laws 259 (same). States also banned a wide variety of unusually dangerous weapons, including blackjacks and billy clubs, slung-shots (a metal or stone weight tied to a string), brass knuckles, various kinds of knives, and explosives. *See*, *e.g.*, 1917 Cal. Stat. 221 (blackjacks and billy clubs); 1911 N.Y. Laws 442 (slung-shots); 1913 Iowa Acts 307 (daggers and similar-length knives); 1917 Minn. Laws 354 (brass knuckles); 1927 Mich. Pub. Acts 888-89 (explosives).

⁸ See also Declaration of Ashley Hlebinsky in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction ¶ 28 (ECF No. 22-14) ("By the 20th century, semi-automatic firearms with various combinations of features such as pistol grips, flash hiders, folding/telescoping stocks, and detachable magazines had been modified and perfected to the point of replication in hundreds, possibly thousands, of models by countless manufacturers for both civilian and military markets.").

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1 "machine guns," and imposed restrictions that effectively prohibited them entirely. 2 | See, e.g., 1927 R.I. Pub. Laws 256-59 (prohibiting the "manufacture, s[ale], purchase 3 or possess[ion]" of a "machine gun," which it defined as "any weapon which shoots 4 more than twelve shots semi-automatically without reloading"); 1927 Mich. Pub. 5 Acts 888 (prohibiting possession of "any machine gun or firearm which can be fired more than sixteen times without reloading").

In 1928, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws (now the Uniform Law Commission) adopted a model law prohibiting possession of "any firearm which shoots more than twelve shots semi-automatically without 10 | reloading," setting the national standard for laws prohibiting possession of semi-11 automatic firearms with LCMs. *See* Report of Firearms Committee, Handbook of 12 the National Conference on Uniform State Laws and Proceedings of the Thirty-13 Eighth Annual Meeting 422-23 (1928). Shortly thereafter, the federal government enacted a similar prohibition for the District of Columbia. See 72 Cong., ch. 465, §§ 15 | 1, 14, 47 Stat. 650-54 (making it a crime to "possess any machine gun," which it 16 defined as "any firearm which shoots . . . semiautomatically more than twelve shots 17 without reloading"). Even the National Rifle Association endorsed passage of the 18 D.C. law, saying, "it is our desire [that] this legislation be enacted for the District of Columbia, in which case it can then be used as a guide throughout the states of the Union." S. Rep. No. 72-575, at 5-6 (1932).

California first prohibited automatic weapons in 1927¹⁰ and expanded this prohibition with a 1933 statute that prohibited the sale or possession of not only "all

⁹ This standard originated with a model law promulgated by the National Crime Commission in 1927. Report of Firearms Committee, at 422-23.

¹⁰ See 1927 Cal. Stat. 938 (prohibiting "all firearms known as machine rifles, machine guns or submachine guns capable of discharging automatically and continuously loaded ammunition of any caliber in which the ammunition is fed to such gun from or by means of clips, disks, drums, belts or other separable mechanical device").

1	firearms capable of discharging automatically," but also "all firearms which are
2	automatically fed after each discharge from or by means of clips, discs, drums, belts
3	or other separable mechanical device having a capacity of greater than ten
4	cartridges." 1933 Cal. Stat. 1170. These statutes were at least as restrictive as the
5	AWCA, and indeed appear <i>more</i> restrictive than the AWCA, as the 1933 law
6	prohibited all firearms equipped with LCMs, rather than only the assault weapons at
7	issue here (or even the magazines themselves, which are separately regulated under
8	California law). See id. Several other states, including Minnesota, Ohio, and
9	Virginia, also prohibited or strictly regulated semi-automatic firearms with LCMs. ¹¹
10	These regulations have evolved as the firearm marketplace continually
11	introduces new products and the market embraces certain models or technologies. In
12	their moving papers, Plaintiffs claim that the AWCA and similar laws lack
13	"historical support" and therefore should not be upheld. Mot. at 16. But there are
14	two significant flaws with this argument. First, it ignores the dynamic history of
15	firearm regulation outlined above, of which the AWCA is a natural extension.
16	Second, AR-15s and similar rifles were not commercially available until the second
17	half of the twentieth century and were not popular in the American marketplace until
18	the 1980s. See Sec. II.A., infra. There can be no centuries-old regulation for a
19	firearm that did not exist. Rather, the passage of the AWCA and other laws
20	prohibiting assault weapons, beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, perfectly aligns with
21	the ascendance of these firearms in American life. See id.
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¹¹ See 1933 Minn. Laws 232 (prohibiting "[a]ny firearm capable of automatically reloading after each shot is fired, whether firing singly by separate trigger pressure or firing continuously" if the weapon was modified to allow for a larger magazine capacity); 1933 Ohio Laws 189 (creating prohibitive licensing for "any firearm which shoots more than eighteen shots semi-automatically without reloading"); 1934 Va. Acts 137 (enacting a variety of regulations on the possession or use of weapons "from which more than sixteen shots or bullets may be rapidly, automatically, semiautomatically or otherwise discharged without reloading").

As this historical record shows, the AWCA is the natural continuation of the 2 longstanding tradition of government prohibition or regulation of especially 3 dangerous weapons. This includes nearly a century of restrictions on semi-automatic 4 firearms with the ability to shoot large numbers of rounds in a short time without 5 reloading. These regulations have logically and necessarily progressed along with 6 improvements in firearm technology, growth in firearm popularity, and changes in the national regulatory landscape. Given that broader historical context, any 8 relatively small lapse in the regulation of a certain firearm does not summarily render 9 any and all future regulations unconstitutional, nor does it nullify the entire 10 regulatory history. As such, the AWCA qualifies as a longstanding prohibition, 11 which, accordingly, falls outside the scope of the Second Amendment. See, e.g., **12** | *Drake v. Filko*, 724 F.3d 426, 432 (3d Cir. 2013) (finding that a concealed-carry 13 | licensing standard that had been in effect "in some form for nearly 90 years" indeed 14 "qualifies as a longstanding, presumptively lawful regulation"); see also United 15 | States v. Class, 930 F.3d 460, 465 (D.C. Cir. 2019) ("The relevant inquiry is whether **16** a particular *type* of regulation [is] longstanding." (citation omitted)).

The "Common Use" Test Proposed by Plaintiffs Is Illogical and Should 17 || II. Not Be Followed.

Plaintiffs assert that assault weapons must be afforded constitutional protection because they are "common, not prohibited in the vast majority of States, and have been used for close to a century . . . for various lawful purposes such as self-defense, hunting, recreation, competition, and collecting." See Mot. at 13. Even assuming, arguendo, such descriptions are taken to be true, there is neither firm legal footing nor sound logic in the "common use" test that Plaintiffs advance.

The argument that assault weapons must be afforded Second Amendment protection simply because they are widely available in other states dangerously misconstrues the Supreme Court's decision in *Heller*. While the Second

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1 Amendment "does not protect those weapons not typically possessed by law-abiding 2 citizens for lawful purposes, such as short-barreled shotguns," *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 3 625, it does not logically follow—and neither the Supreme Court nor other courts 4 have held—that the Second Amendment somehow protects *all* weapons that have 5 | achieved some preordained degree of commercial success. See Worman v. Healey, 293 F. Supp. 3d 251, 266 (D. Mass. 2018) ("[P]resent day popularity is not constitutionally material."), aff'd, 922 F.3d 26 (1st Cir. 2019).

Plaintiffs' "Common Use" Test Is Logically Circular and Α. **Inconsistent with Federalism Principles.**

In addition to lacking a firm jurisprudential foundation, Plaintiffs' "common 11 use" test is hopelessly circular. See Rupp, 401 F. Supp. 3d at 986 n.5. Plaintiffs' 12 proposed approach would allow the constitutionality of weapons prohibitions to be 13 decided not by how dangerous a weapon is, but rather by "how widely it is circulated 14 to law-abiding citizens by the time a bar on its private possession has been enacted 15 and challenged." *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 141. Just as "it would be absurd to say that the $16\parallel$ reason why a particular weapon can be banned is that there is a statute banning it, so 17 | that it isn't commonly owned," *Friedman*, 784 F.3d at 409, it would be similarly 18 absurd to claim that a law is constitutionally barred because it addresses dangerous, 19 but ongoing, activity. See Joseph Blocher & Darrell A.H. Miller, Lethality, Public Carry, and Adequate Alternatives, 53 Harv. J. on Legis. 279, 288 (2016) (discussing the "central circularity" that plagues the "common use" test: "what is common depends largely on what is, and has been, subject to regulation"). Yet, this is exactly what the application of the "common use" test advocated by Plaintiffs would dictate, both here and elsewhere.

This approach also fails to provide either workable standards or any overarching guidance on whether the "common use" of assault weapons is determined by considering the number produced, the number sold, or the number of

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A constitutional analysis driven by the prevalence of the prohibited firearm in 14 the market also would create perverse incentives for the firearms industry. Such an 15 analysis grants firearms manufacturers a unilateral ability to insulate highly 16 dangerous firearms with Second Amendment protection "simply by manufacturing" 17 and heavily marketing them" before a government could assess their danger, 18 determine whether to regulate them, and build the political momentum to actually do 19 so. Cody J. Jacobs, End the Popularity Contest: A Proposal for Second Amendment "Type of Weapon" Analysis, 83 Tenn. L. Rev. 231, 265 (2015); see Kolbe, 849 F.3d at 141-42. Plaintiffs' proposed framework would unreasonably "hinder efforts to **22** require consumer safety features on guns." Jacobs, *supra*, at 267, 269. This is 23 | because if there is any delay before states are able to mandate a new safety feature, **24** the firearm may reach some undefined level of "common use" sufficient to command 25 | Second Amendment protection. Given the emergence of new firearm technology (including, for example, 3D-printed gun components that are undetectable using traditional screening methods), and given the inevitability of future technological

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1 developments, Plaintiffs' common use theory, if endorsed by this Court, would pose 2 | a serious threat to public safety. See Jacobs, supra, at 269.

These concerns about aggressive marketing and sales campaigns by 4 manufacturers are not merely remote or hypothetical; they can be observed by 5 looking at the exact weapons at issue here. For example, the AR-15 rifle—"the most popular of the prohibited assault weapons," *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 124—"did not catch on in the American market in a significant way until the late 1980s." Affidavit of 8 Robert Spitzer, Ph.D. at ¶ 8, Worman v. Healey, No. 17-cv-10107-WGY (D. Mass. 9 Dec. 15, 2017), ECF No. 61-5; see also NRA Staff, I Have This Old Gun: Colt AR-10 | 15 SP1, American Rifleman (July 31, 2014), https://bit.ly/2GexBC4 (statement of 11 Martin K.A. Morgan, at 4:15-5:00). Indeed, it was only after the federal prohibition 12 on assault weapons expired in 2004 that the gun industry focused its marketing 13 resources on assault weapons, like the AR-15. The industry first promoted these 14 weapons as "tactical rifles" or "black rifles," and later—after a concerted post-Heller 15 campaign launched in 2009 by the firearms industry's chief trade association, the **16** National Shooting Sports Foundation—as "modern sporting rifles." As a result of 17 these coordinated industry efforts, the civilian sales of assault weapons skyrocketed. **18** See NRA Staff, supra, at 4:15-5:00 (noting that the AR-15's popularity underwent a "fundamental evolution" after 2004, causing civilian sales to "explode[]"). But contemporary and aggressive marketing strategies should have no bearing on the meaning of the United States Constitution. See Rupp, 401 F. Supp. 3d at 987 ("Gun **22** manufacturers cannot determine the scope of Second Amendment protection ").

¹² Compare, e.g., Smith & Wesson 2006 10-K at 3-4, 2007 Smith & Wesson 10-K at 4, 2008 Smith & Wesson 10-K at 4, 2009 Smith & Wesson 10-K at 4, and 2010 Smith & Wesson 10-K at 5, with, e.g., 2011 Smith & Wesson 10-K at 5-6, and 2012 Smith & Wesson 10-K at 4, available at http://ir.smithwesson.com/phoenix.zhtml?c=90977&p=irol-

sec&control_selectgroup=Annual%20Filings; see also National Shooting Sports Foundation, The Term 'Modern Sporting Rifle' (Sept. 19, 2011), https://perma.cc/5KTF-W6B2.

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The history of the American firearms industry also makes clear why a market-2 based "common use" test does not make sense. As recent scholarship has found, 3 "[f] or the nation's first one hundred years, . . . the guns that were in 'common use' 4 were determined" not by manufacturers or consumers, but "by federal subsidization" 5 and regulation." Lindsay Schakenbach Regele, A Different Constitutionality for Gun Regulation, 46 Hastings Const. L.Q. 523, 528-30 (2019) ("The sum total of this government regulation and subsidization determined what was in the market, and 8 thus what firearms were in 'common use.'"). Thus, contrary to what Plaintiffs' 9 approach here would mandate, "[i]t is not historically sound . . . to allow gun **10** manufacturers and marketers to determine what arms are in common use." *Id.* at 11 | 530. As discussed above, *see* Sec. I., *supra*, history instead provides strong support 12 for sensible gun safety measures like the AWCA "that are consistent with the Second 13 Amendment." Regele, *supra*, at 523.

Beyond these logical and historical problems with Plaintiffs' proposed 15 "common use" test, a test that turns on nationwide manufacturing or sales totals 16 would also create significant federalism consequences. Under such a test, whenever 17 | a new, potentially dangerous firearm feature became available, states would either 18 have to act immediately, and in unison, to prevent such features from becoming 19 widely available, or else forfeit their ability indefinitely to regulate such weapons **20** going forward. States that might choose to gather more information before **21** regulating would instead be incentivized to regulate reflexively, not reflectively. And if a state's citizens simply had a different position on gun policy, those 23 | legislative policy judgments would potentially extend far beyond that state's borders with outsized constitutional effects.

Legislators' decisions in one part of the country should not make laws in other parts any "more or less open to challenge under the Second Amendment."

Friedman, 784 F.3d at 408. If they did, that "would imply that no jurisdiction other

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The "Common Use" Test Should Instead Be Used to Evaluate Whether the Weapon Is Necessary for the Core Second Amendment Right of Home Defense. В.

To the extent that "common use" should play any role in the constitutional 17 analysis, it should be tied to "the purpose of the right to keep and bear arms." **18** Blocher & Miller, *supra*, at 291. The test should focus, in other words, on whether the regulated weapons are commonly used or are reasonably necessary for selfdefense or, in particular, self-defense in the home, which Heller holds is the core of the right. See 554 U.S. at 635; see also United States v. Torres, 911 F.3d 1253, 1262 (9th Cir. 2019) ("Heller tells us that the core of the Second Amendment is 'the right of law-abiding, responsible citizens to use arms in defense of hearth and home." (emphasis omitted) (citations omitted)). The D.C. Circuit, in upholding a similar

¹³ A counterfactual further demonstrates why Plaintiffs' "common use" test is inappropriate: If Congress had renewed the federal prohibition on assault weapons rather than permitting it to lapse in 2004, the weapons prohibited by the AWCA would not be in widespread use today and would therefore not be subject to Second Amendment protection under this "common use" theory.

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1 | law, has adopted that approach—and implicitly rejected the plaintiffs' market-share 2 "common use" test—by asking whether assault weapons "are commonly used or are 3 useful specifically for self-defense." See Heller II, 670 F.3d at 1261. The court then 4 went on to note that prohibitions on certain semi-automatic weapons do not prohibit "the quintessential self-defense weapon"—the handgun—and do not "prevent a person from keeping a suitable and commonly used weapon for protection in the home or hunting, whether a handgun or a non-automatic long gun." *Id.* at 1261-62 8 (citation omitted). Meanwhile, the Seventh Circuit noted that it uses a "parallel" consideration, namely "whether law-abiding citizens retain adequate means of self-10 defense" when upholding a similar assault weapons prohibition. Wilson, 937 F.3d at **11** | 1036 (citation omitted); *see also Friedman*, 784 F.3d at 410.

As the State demonstrates in its filings, these weapons are "not necessary to 13 engage in lawful self-defense." Defendants' Opposition to Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction (ECF No. 33) ("Defs.' Opp.") at 19; see generally 15 Declaration of Lucy P. Allen (ECF No. 33-1) (noting, for example, that the average **16** citizen fires 2.2 shots in self-defense and only fired more than 10 bullets in 0.3% of 17 | all incidents, with no shots fired in 18.2% of incidents). Indeed, as courts have 18 noted, such weapons are "unquestionably most useful in military service" rather than **19** self-defense. *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 137; *see Gallinger*, 898 F.3d at 1018-20 (endorsing **20** Kolbe's reasoning regarding the dangers posed by assault weapons and their minimal usefulness for self-defense). Put simply, and as the evidence before the Court shows, Plaintiffs' assertion that the firearms prohibited by the AWCA fall within the **23** purview of self-defense enunciated in *Heller* is patently wrong.

The Use of Assault Weapons Makes Mass Shootings and Other Gun-III. Violence Incidents Deadlier and It Is in California's Interest to Regulate These Weapons to Protect the Public.

As the Ninth Circuit has recognized, "when 'assault weapons and largecapacity magazines are used, more shots are fired and more fatalities and injuries

Because the AWCA does not implicate nor substantially burden a core Second 15 Amendment right, intermediate scrutiny, at most, is the appropriate standard for this **16** Court to apply. *See Fyock*, 779 F.3d at 998-99. A statute survives intermediate scrutiny under the Second Amendment if: (1) the government's stated objective is "significant, substantial, or important"; and (2) there exists "a reasonable fit between the challenged regulation and the asserted objective." *Id.* at 1000.

According to Plaintiffs, "it is far from clear" that the State would have any significant or important interest in preventing or mitigating "so-called 'mass shootings" because such events are "rare." Mot. at 22. But this could not be further from the truth. As courts have explicitly stated, in the context of firearms **24** | regulations, "[p]ublic safety and crime prevention are compelling government **25** | interests." Fyock v. City of Sunnyvale, 25 F. Supp. 3d 1267, 1279 (N.D. Cal. 2014),

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¹⁴ The Seventh Circuit has noted that courts should consider the "dangerousness of the prohibited weapons by discussing general evidence" of their features. Wilson, 937 F.3d at 1034.

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1 aff'd, 779 F.3d 991 (9th Cir. 2015); see also Friedman, 784 F.3d at 412 (holding that 2 "reduc[ing] the overall dangerousness of crime" is a "substantial" government 3 interest). As demonstrated by the research outlined below, mass shootings and assault weapons pose a serious threat to the safety of all Californians. California therefore has a significant, substantial, and important public interest in reducing the 6 risk of harm to its residents from such assault weapons, and the AWCA is a reasonably tailored attempt to address this serious public safety concern.

Everytown's research. Relying largely on press coverage, police reports, and 9 FBI data, Everytown has tracked and documented mass shootings since 2009 and has 10 released several reports of its findings. While Everytown's research cannot present a 11 comprehensive dataset of the firearms used in every mass shooting (the reality of 12 American gun violence is that the frequency of mass shootings makes this kind of 13 | information not reported or readily available in every instance), the findings indicate that assault weapons make shootings significantly more deadly.

For example, data from Everytown's continued tracking of mass shootings 16 shows that when assault weapons are used, more than twice as many people are 17 killed on average (11.6 per shooting versus 5.0) and more than twenty-one times as 18 many are shot and injured (25.1 per shooting versus 1.2). See Everytown, Ten Years of Mass Shootings. Everytown's tracking of mass shootings also shows that assault weapons are invariably used in the most deadly and injurious events. The Ninth Circuit has recognized the same. See Gallinger, 898 F.3d at 1018-19. Indeed, from 2009 to the present, the seven deadliest mass shooting incidents in America, one of which took place in California, all involved the use of assault weapons.¹⁵

(cont'd)

These shootings are: Las Vegas, Nevada (58 fatalities); Orlando, Florida (49 fatalities); Newtown, Connecticut (27 fatalities); Sutherland Springs, Texas (25 fatalities); El Paso, Texas (22 fatalities); Parkland, Florida (17 fatalities); and San Bernardino, California (14 fatalities). See Everytown, Ten Years of Mass Shootings; see also Bonnie Berkowitz, Chris Alcantara, & Denise Lu, The Terrible Numbers That Grow With Each Mass Shooting, WASH. POST (Oct. 1, 2017) (continually updated), https://wapo.st/2CMznZz. Notably, the Parkland shooter specifically

1 Meanwhile, in the ten years from 2009 to 2018, there were at least 26 mass 2 || shootings¹⁶ (17 percent of those with known weapon data) that involved the use of an 3 assault weapon, resulting in 302 deaths and 653 injuries. See Everytown, Ten Years of Mass Shootings. In other words, mass shootings that involved an assault weapon accounted for 32 percent of all mass shootings deaths and 82 percent of injuries. See $6 \parallel id$. And when an assault weapon was used in a mass shooting, it left six times as many people shot than when there was no assault weapon. See id. 8 Mass shootings involving assault weapons are also "highly salient" events that 9 have a unique impact that policymakers may consider when weighing policy choices. 10 Friedman, 784 F.3d at 412; see Reva Siegel & Joseph Blocher, Commentary, Why 11 Regulate Guns?, Take Care (Nov. 30, 2019), https://takecareblog.com/blog/why-12 regulate-guns (explaining that "the constitutionality of a gun law need not pivot 13 | exclusively on how many shootings it can be shown to prevent"). Such shootings 14 like those that occurred at San Bernardino, Newtown, Las Vegas, Parkland, 15 | Sutherland Springs, and Aurora sear themselves into the national consciousness and **16** affect the way people live their everyday lives. See, e.g., Nikki Graf, A Majority of 17 || U.S. Teens Fear a Shooting Could Happen at Their School, and Most Parents Share 18 Their Concern, Pew Research Ctr. (Apr. 18, 2018), https://pewrsr.ch/38tNWi1 19 (results of a survey conducted in the two months following the Parkland shooting showed that a majority of U.S. teens (57%) fear a shooting could happen at their school, and most parents (63%) share their concern); Sophie Bethune, APA Stress in **22** America Survey: Generation Z Stressed About Issues in the News but Least Likely to 23 Vote (Oct. 30, 2018), https://bit.ly/37kodsb (finding that 75% of young people ages 24 chose an AR-15 to use in the shooting rather than a different type of a firearm, stating in videos recorded in the days prior to the shooting that "[w]ith the power of my AR you will all know who I am." Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Commission, *Initial Report to the Governor, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Senate President*, at 256 (Jan. 2, 2019), 25 http://www.fdle.state.fl.us/MSDHS/CommissionReport.pdf.

¹⁶ Defined as a shooting which killed four or more individuals.

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1 | 15-21 say that mass shootings are a significant source of stress); Alana Abramson, **2** After Newtown, Schools Across the Country Crack Down on Security, ABC News 3 (Aug. 20, 2013 7:10 A.M.), http://abcn.ws/1KwN9Ls (comparing the impact of the 4 Sandy Hook shooting on school security to that of 9/11 on airport security and noting 5 that school districts have spent tens of millions of dollars on security improvements). 6 While shootings on the scale of these tragedies remain statistically rare compared to the plague of day-to-day gun violence, their enormous impact reinforces the compelling justifications for the AWCA.

Other social science research. Additional research—some of which the Ninth 10 Circuit appears to reference in *Gallinger*, 898 F.3d at 1018-19—supports the State's conclusion that assault weapons pose significant dangers to public safety.

The evidence here is substantial. Assault weapons "tend to result in more 13 numerous wounds, more serious wounds, and more victims." NYSRPA, 804 F.3d at **14** 262; accord Kolbe, 849 F.3d at 140; see also Gallinger, 898 F.3d at 1019 15 (acknowledging the "exceptional lethality of [assault weapons]"). They are designed 16 to fire far more bullets, at a far faster rate than other firearms, with each round from 17 an assault weapon having up to four times the muzzle velocity of a handgun round— 18 and thus able to inflict much greater damage. See Peter M. Rhee et al., Gunshot Wounds: A Review of Ballistics, Bullets, Weapons, and Myths, 80 J. Trauma & Acute Care Surgery 853 (2016); see also, e.g., Heather Sher, What I Saw Treating the Victims From Parkland Should Change the Debate on Guns, The Atlantic (Feb. 22, 22 | 2018), https://bit.ly/2u0rlr2 ("The injury along the path of the bullet from an AR-15" 23 | is vastly different from a low-velocity handgun injury. . . . The high-velocity bullet **24** causes a swath of tissue damage that extends several inches from its path. It does not 25 | have to actually hit an artery to damage it and cause catastrophic bleeding. Exit **26** wounds can be the size of an orange."). And, as researchers examining mass shootings between 1982 and 2018 found, the sort of assault weapon rifles challenged

In addition to mass shootings, a recent study indicates that criminals also use assault weapons in the daily gun violence plaguing this nation, with assault weapons accounting for up to 12% of guns used in all crime and up to 16% of guns used in murders of police. Christopher S. Koper et al., *Criminal Use of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Semiautomatic Firearms: An Updated Examination of Local and National Sources*, 95 J. Urban Health 313 (Oct. 2018), https://goo.gl/cwgrcq.

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10 F.3d at 262; *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 140.

3 by The Washington Post found that at least three quarters of the guns used in mass 4 shootings since 1966 were purchased legally. Berkowitz, supra note 15. Plaintiffs 5 also improperly claim that "the number of mass shootings committed with assault 6 weapons is very small compared to the total number of mass shootings." Lott Decl. ¶ 49. But as stated by the Second and Fourth Circuits, assault weapons "are disproportionately used in crime, and particularly in criminal mass shootings," and 9 "are also disproportionately used to kill law enforcement officers." NYSRPA, 804

Thus far, California's legislative and regulatory efforts to curb gun violence 12 have had success. California has among the lowest gun-death rates per capita in the 13 nation despite being the most populous state with the second-highest number of **14** registered guns. See Tim Arango & Jennifer Medina, California Is Already Tough 15 on Guns. After a Mass Shooting, Some Wonder if It's Enough, N.Y. Times (Nov. 10, 16 | 2018), https://nyti.ms/38w24r6. The AWCA continues to be an important element of California's efforts to prevent gun violence. Additional regulations, such as the 18 AWCA amendment to address the bullet-button loophole that contributed to the 19 staggering death toll in the San Bernardino shooting, continue to be constitutional exercises of the State's power to protect the welfare of its citizens.

The State notes the same in its filings, highlighting that weapons covered by the AWCA "are used disproportionately in crime," cause "a substantially greater number of fatalities and injuries" in mass shootings, are "used disproportionately against law enforcement personnel," and that the federal prohibition was effective in 25 reducing mass shootings. Defs.' Opp. at 23, 27, 29; see generally Declaration of **26** Professor John J. Donohue (ECF No. 33-3), Declaration of Blake Graham (ECF No. 33-4), Declaration of Professor Louis Klaveras (ECF No. 33-5). Accordingly,

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1 whether this Court looks to the most recent empirical research, conducts a historical 2 analysis of relevant laws, or looks to guidance from other federal circuits and California state courts, the outcome is the same: the AWCA should be upheld.

IV. The Use of Assault Weapons for Self-Defense or Militia Service Does Not Render the AWCA Unconstitutional.

Plaintiffs provide two additional arguments for enjoining enforcement of the AWCA; that the prohibited firearms are either: (1) "ideal for self-defense," or (2) "especially fit for militia service." Mot. at 15-16. Neither argument is persuasive.

Plaintiffs' self-defense argument lacks grounding in fact or logic. Unlike 10 | handguns, which Heller identified as "the quintessential self-defense weapon" and 11 "the most popular weapon chosen by Americans for self-defense," assault weapons 12 are bulky and difficult to control, making them ill-suited for personal protection. See 13 | Heller, 554 U.S. at 629 (contrasting handguns with bigger weapons that are difficult "to use for those without the upper-body strength to lift and aim a long gun"); **15**|| Worman, 922 F.3d at 37 ("semiautomatic assault weapons do not share the features 16 that make handguns well-suited to self-defense in the home"). For example, assault 17 weapons are poorly suited for fending off intruders in the home because they are difficult to maneuver in close quarters, and their greater ability to penetrate walls means that every missed shot has the potential to threaten the safety of neighbors and other bystanders. See Heller II, 670 F.3d at 1261 (discussing evidence that "assault weapons 'have no legitimate use as self-defense weapons, and would in fact increase the danger to . . . innocent bystanders if . . . used in self-defense situations'") (citation omitted).¹⁷ In light of these limitations, it is unsurprising that assault weapons are, in fact, rarely used for self-defense. See Worman, 922 F.3d at 37

¹⁷ See also Justin Peters, *The NRA Claims the AR-15 Is Useful for Hunting and Home Defense. Not Exactly.*, Slate (June 12, 2016), https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2016/06/gun-control-ar-15-rifle-the-nra-claims-the-ar-15-rifle-is-forhunting-and-home-defense-not-exactly.html.

1 (noting the lack of examples "of the use of an assault weapon for home self-defense"); NYSRPA, 804 F.3d at 263 (noting "the dearth of evidence" that assault weapons are used "for self-defense").

Plaintiffs' militia service argument fares no better. *Heller* itself expressly rejected the idea that weapons cannot be regulated if they would aid a citizen in rendering "effective" service in the modern military. 554 U.S. at 627. "M-16 rifles," "bombers," and "tanks" would also be highly useful in militia service, but *Heller* held that those weapons may be banned outright. *See id.*; *Rupp*, 401 F. Supp. 3d at 986 (concluding "that semiautomatic assault rifles are essentially indistinguishable from M-16s, which *Heller* noted could be banned pursuant to longstanding prohibitions on dangerous and unusual weapons"). Indeed, states have long prohibited assault weapons of this type and their precursors, *see* Sec. I.B., *supra*, and *Heller* cast no doubt on these "longstanding prohibitions." 554 U.S. at 626-27.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, Everytown respectfully requests that the Court deny Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction.

Dated: January 24, 2020 Respectfully submitted,

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