UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 1 CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA 2 3 SOUTHERN DIVISION 4 STEVEN RUPP, et al. CASE NO. 8:17-cv-00746-JLS-JDE 5 AMICUS BRIEF OF GIFFORDS LAW Plaintiffs, CENTER TO PREVENT GUN 6 v. VIOLENCE 7 XAVIER BECERRA, in his official **Hearing:** capacity as Attorney General of the May 31, 2019 10:30 a.m. Date: 8 State of California Time: 9 Defendant. 10 11 SCOTT A. EDELMAN (SBN 116927) J. ADAM SKAGGS sedelman@gibsondunn.com askaggs@giffords.org 12 GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER LLP 333 S. Grand Ave., Ste. 4600 GIFFÖRDS LAW CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE 13 Los Angeles, CA 90071 223 West 38th St. # 90 (213) 229-7000 New York, NY 10018 14 (917) 680-3473 AMRUTA GODBOLE 15 agodbole@gibsondunn.com HANNAH SHEARER VIVEK R. ĞOPALAN hshearer@giffords.org 16 vgopalan@gibsondunn.com GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER LLP 555 Mission St., Ste. 3000 GIFFORDS LAW CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE 17 268 Bush St. # 555 San Francisco, CA 94105 (415) 393-8200 San Francisco, CA 94104 18 (415) 433-2062 19 KATHRYN M. CHERRY kcherry@gibsondunn.com GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER LLP 20 2100 McKinney Avenue, Suite 1100 21 Dallas, TX 75201-6912 (214) 698-3313 22 **ESTHER LIFSHITZ** 23 elifshitz@gibsondunn.com MAYA H. NULAND 24 mnuland@gibsondunn.com GRACE E. HART 25 ghart@gibsondunn.com 200 Park Avenue, 26 New York, NY 10166-0193 (212) 351-4000 27 Attorneys for *Amicus Curiae* Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence April 1, 2019 28

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### CORPORATE DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

*Amicus curiae* hereby certifies that it has no parent corporation. It has no stock, and therefore no publicly held corporation owns 10% or more of its stock.

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#### I. STATEMENT OF INTEREST

Amicus curiae Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence ("Giffords Law Center") is a nonprofit policy organization dedicated to researching, writing, enacting, and defending laws and programs proven to reduce gun violence and save lives. The organization was founded in 1993 after a gun massacre at a San Francisco law firm and was renamed Giffords Law Center in October 2017 after joining forces with the gunsafety organization founded by former Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords.

Today, Giffords Law Center provides free assistance and expertise to lawmakers, advocates, legal professionals, law enforcement officials, and citizens who seek to make their communities safer from gun violence. Its attorneys track and analyze firearm legislation, evaluate gun violence prevention research and policy proposals, and participate in Second Amendment litigation nationwide. Giffords Law Center has provided analysis as an amicus in numerous important firearm-related cases.<sup>1</sup>

#### II. ARGUMENT

The assault rifles at issue in this case are semiautomatic versions of a military design first deployed on the battlefields of Vietnam. See, e.g., Natasha Singer, The Most Wanted Gun in America, N.Y. Times, Feb. 2013. available at https://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/03/business/the-ar-15-the-most-wanted-gun-inamerica.html. Decades later, in an effort to create a bigger civilian market for semiautomatic rifles, gun makers ran "ads celebrating the rifle's military connections, . . . lur[ing] a new and eager audience to weapons that, not long ago, few serious gun Id.Those combat connections are not a relic—the enthusiasts would buy." semiautomatic assault rifles California regulates remain military-grade weapons. In fact, even today, the United States military calls semiautomatic fire the "most important firing technique during fast-moving, modern combat" and "the most accurate technique

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No party's counsel authored this brief in whole or in part. No party or party's counsel contributed money that was intended to fund the preparation or submission of this brief. No person other than *amicus curiae*, its members, or its counsel contributed money that was intended to fund preparing or submitting the brief.

of placing a large volume of fire" on moving targets. Department of the Army, Rifle Marksmanship: A Guide to M16- and M4-Series Weapons (2011), at 7-12.

The Roberti-Roos Assault Weapons Control Act ("AWCA") of 1989 and its subsequent iterations represent the considered and well-supported judgment of the California legislature to enact a weapon-by-weapon and feature-by-feature restriction that affects only a subset of semiautomatic rifles—those weapons most reminiscent of those original military rifles that make them the firearm of choice for individuals seeking to carry out mass shootings, drive-by shootings, and gang violence ("Regulated Assault Rifles"). As the AWCA addresses a real, current, and immediate need to ensure the safety of today's Californians, and is narrowly tailored to affect only the most warlike features of semiautomatic rifles, the AWCA is constitutional and should be upheld.

## A. The AWCA Bans a Subset of Semiautomatic Rifles Whose Military Features Facilitate Criminal Mass Killings

The Act is not an outright ban on the semiautomatic rifles that are the focus of Plaintiffs' case. Third Am. Compl. ¶ 47. Rather, the AWCA regulates certain available add-on features that have been repeatedly used to perpetrate mass shootings, drive-by shootings, and gang violence, among other criminal activities, in California's cities. *See Kasler v. Lockyer*, 23 Cal. 4th 472, 482–85 (2000); *see also, infra*, Section II.A.2. The AWCA targets semiautomatic rifles that have been enhanced—through the addition of detachable magazines, folding stocks, flash suppressors, pistol grips, or other features. Cal. Penal Code § 30515(a). In so doing, the AWCA targets a subset of semiautomatic rifles whose capacity and tendency to inflict mass casualties outweighs their usefulness for lawful purposes.

### 1. The Regulated Assault Rifles Are Uniquely Dangerous

The AWCA regulates assault rifles by prohibiting semiautomatic versions of weapons developed for and used by American armed forces (such as the AR-15, which was developed by the U.S. military and "retains[s] the military features and capabilities of the fully automatic M16 and AK-47," both of which are currently used

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by U.S. troops in combat), as well as other rifles that have the same features as those known military-style models (*i.e.*, the Regulated Assault Rifles). *Kolbe v. Hogan*, 849 F. 3d 114, 124–25 (4th Cir. 2017) (en banc) (describing relationship among AR-15, M16, and AK-47 and referring to folding and telescoping stocks, pistol grips, flash suppressors, grenade launchers, and the ability to accept large-capacity magazines as "military features").

Such features distinguish military combat rifles and their semiautomatic counterparts from standard sporting rifles, and are not "merely cosmetic"—they "serve specific, combat-functional ends." H. Rep. No. 103-489, at 18. The Regulated Assault Rifles include features that enhance ammunition capacity, concealability, stability, and control, making it easier for shooters to fire accurately without sacrificing rate of fire. The "net effect of these military combat features is a capability for lethality—more wounds, more serious, in more victims—far beyond that of other firearms in general, including other semiautomatic guns." *Id.* In fact, semiautomatic firing of military-style weapons like the Regulated Assault Rifles is in many ways *more* effective than automatic firing of the same weapons because it allows for more accuracy without substantially sacrificing rate of fire. Department of the Army, *supra*, at 7–12 (stating that "rapid semiautomatic fire" is "[t]he most accurate technique of placing a large volume of fire on poorly defined targets or target areas such as short exposure, multiple, or moving targets").

Plaintiffs nevertheless argue that "there is nothing new or unusually dangerous about semiautomatic, centerfire rifles with detachable magazines." Third Am. Compl. ¶ 6. That claim is demonstrably false. The Regulated Assault Rifles have detachable magazines with higher round capacity, fire greater-velocity rounds, and have other features that allow more "casual" handling by inexperienced shooters. Studies show that today's military-style semiautomatics are deadlier than ever, thanks to technological innovations geared toward increasing body counts rather than personal safety.

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One such feature is the detachable magazine, which allows shooters to deplete the ammunition in one magazine and quickly swap it for another, increasing the time the shooter can continue firing without interruption and decreasing the time victims have to escape. The lack of a fixed magazine also allows rifles to accommodate largecapacity magazines, which can contain up to 100 rounds of ammunition. Detachable magazines with greater ammunition capacity enable mass shooters to inflict devastation because they limit the frequency with which a shooter must pause to reload, eliminating the opportunity for potential victims to escape and for bystanders or law enforcement to intervene. See Ass'n of N.J. Rifle & Pistol Clubs v. Att'y Gen. N.J., 910 F.3d 106, 119–20 (3d Cir. 2018) (stating that "[w]eapon changes and reloading result in a pause in shooting and provide an opportunity for bystanders or police to intervene and victims to flee" and citing examples including the 2017 Las Vegas shooting, the 2012 Newtown shooting, and 2011 Tucson shooting, among others); Kolbe, 849 F.3d at 128 (citing Newtown, Tucson, and the 2012 Aurora shooting and noting that firing 100 rounds using a ten-round magazine rather than a 100-round magazine would typically allow six to nine additional opportunities for "bystanders or law enforcement to intervene," for "the shooter to have problems quickly changing a magazine under intense pressure," and for "potential victims to find safety").

Indeed, studies have found that the use of magazines holding more than ten rounds is "the factor most associated with high death tolls in gun massacres." Louis Klarevas, Rampage Nation: Securing America From Mass Shootings 215, 257 (2016). The importance of pauses in a gunman's shooting is underscored by the recent atrocity at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. The shooter there used a weapon equipped with 30- to 40-round magazines. *See Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Commission Report*, Fl. Dep't of Law Enforcement, at 31, 257 (Jan. 2, 2019), *available at* http://www.fdle.state.fl.us/MSDHS/CommissionReport.pdf. At one point during the

massacre, eight students were able to flee during a 13-second pause while he retrieved

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and inserted a new magazine. *Id.* at 31. If the shooter had been using an even larger magazine (say with 100 rounds), those students may not have had that opportunity.

In addition, the velocity of bullets fired by weapons like the Regulated Assault Rifles is three times those fired by a 9-millimeter handgun—as is the force with which they hit. See Heather Sher, What I Saw Treating the Victims from Parkland Should Change the Debate on Guns, The Atlantic Weekly (Feb. 22, 2018), available at https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/02/what-i-saw-treating-the-victimsfrom-parkland-should-change-the-debate-on-guns/553937/. Dr. Garen Wintemute of the University of California, Davis Medical School testified before California's Committee of the Whole that "[w]hen a high velocity bullet enters the body, . . . it starts to 'tumble' as it moves through the tissue[,] . . . greatly increasing the amount of tissue which is damaged by direct contact with the bullet." Kasler v. Lockyer, 23 Cal. 4th 472, 484 (2000). "Moreover, as this high-velocity missile travels through the tissue, it sends out pressure waves." Id. Dr. Wintemute explained: "We've all seen pictures of airplanes breaking the sound barrier, and waves moving away from the plane. The same thing happens as these bullets travel through tissue; these pressure waves . . . create what is called a 'temporary cavity' behind the path of the bullet, which may be 10 to 15 times—or even greater—the diameter of the bullet itself." *Id.* "As a result . . . these high-velocity missiles can damage or destroy organs, break bones—including the femur, possibly the strongest bone in the body—without ever touching them." Id. Exit wounds can be as much as a foot wide. Sher, supra; Gina Kolata & C.J. Chivers, Wounds from Military-Style Rifles? 'A Ghastly Thing to See', N.Y. Times (Mar. 4, 2018), available at https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/04/health/parkland-shooting-victims-ar15.html. Ultimately, a "low velocity bullet is like clipping the corner of your car" while a highvelocity bullet is like "getting slammed by an 18-wheeler . . . . The high velocity bullet

AR-15 Injuries Are So Devastating, Miami Herald (Feb. 24, 2018), available at

totals you." Alex Daugherty, Mangled Tissue and Softball-Sized Exit Wounds: Why

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https://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/broward/article201949054.html. While injuries from low-velocity bullets are generally survivable, injuries from the high-velocity bullets fired by the Regulated Assault Rifles—"the same sort of horrific injuries seen on battlefields"—are often not. Kolata and Chivers, *supra*. Were that not enough, the destructive power of semiautomatic rifle fire—capable of breaking the femur without touching it—increases the likelihood that bullets will speed through walls and obstacles, which can increase casualties in a mass shooting and the risk of striking bystanders to a criminal confrontation.

Finally, the additional features targeted by the AWCA in the Regulated Assault Rifles (such as folding stocks, pistol grips, and flash suppressors) enhance concealability, stability, and control, making the weapons easier for mass shooters to operate without sacrificing the speed of fire. *See* Allen Rostron, *Style, Substance, and the Right to Keep and Bear Assault Weapons*, 40 Campbell L. Rev. 301, 327 (2018). The best evidence that these features are valuable to mass shooters is that, as described *infra*, section II.A.2, they select them, over and over again.<sup>2</sup>

# 2. The Regulated Assault Rifles Are Disproportionately Used by Criminals and in Mass Shootings

As might be expected, these dangerous copies of military firearms are most popular with criminals, especially mass shooters. Rostron, *supra*, at 322–23; Elzerie de Jager et al., *Lethality of Civilian Active Shooter Incidents With and Without Semiautomatic Rifles in the United States*, 320 J. of Am. Med. Ass'n 1034, 1034 (Sept. 11, 2018). As of 1993, assault weapons "accounted for over eight percent of guns

Perpetrators of four of the five deadliest shootings in American history used assault-style weapons incorporating or modified with one or more of these features. The Las Vegas shooter used AR-15 style rifles with a forward grip; the Orlando shooter used a Sig Sauer "concealable" assault weapon with a pistol grip and collapsible stock; the Sandy Hook shooter used a Bushmaster Model XM15-E2S semiautomatic rifle with a pistol grip; and the Sutherland Springs shooter used a Ruger AR-556 rifle, which has a pistol grip and flash suppressor. *See High-Capacity Ammunition Magazines*, Violence Policy Center (Feb. 15, 2019), available at http://www.vpc.org/fact\_sht/VPCshootinglist.pdf.

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traced [by police], even though [they] constitute[d] only about one percent of all the firearms in the United States." Rostron, *supra*, at 322. Researchers have also found that firearm purchasers with criminal histories were more likely to buy assault weapons than purchasers without such histories and that those with more serious criminal histories were even more likely to purchase assault weapons. Christopher S. Koper, *An Updated Assessment of the Federal Assault Weapons Ban: Impacts on Gun Markets and Gun Violence*, Nat'l Crim. J. Reference Serv. 17-18 (June 2004), *available at* https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/204431.pdf (citing Wintemute et al., *Criminal Activity and Assault-Type Handguns: A Study of Young Adults*, Ann. Emerg. Med. (July 1998)).

Most notably, these weapons have been used in many of the deadliest shootings in United States history. In addition to the highest-casualty shootings in Las Vegas, Orlando, Sandy Hook, and Sutherland Springs, assault rifles were used to perpetrate the 2012 Aurora movie theater shooting, the 2015 San Bernardino shooting, and the 2018 Parkland high school shooting, among others. *Id.* at 330; de Jager et al., *supra*, at 1034. A recent study published in the Journal of the American Medical Association found that 24.6% of active shooter incidents involved a semiautomatic rifle, which was about 80% of all rifles used—by any measure, a far greater percentage than the percentage of rifles in circulation that are semiautomatic. De Jager et al, *supra*, at 1034 (providing data). These incidents resulted in 82% more people wounded and 71% more killed than incidents that did not feature a semiautomatic rifle. *Id.* The deadlier the shooting, the higher the likelihood that the shooter used a semiautomatic rifle. *Id.* 

Criminals (including mass shooters) choose these weapons both because they are effective (in terms of the number and likelihood of casualties) and because the military style of the weapons makes them particularly intimidating to intended victims. Rostron, *supra*, at 329–30. That choice cannot be said to be merely "cosmetic," because it has a real and damaging effect. Intimidation not only allows shooters to

carry out their attacks with less chance of resistance, it means victims die in fear and survivors are left traumatized. Fear has physical and psychological consequences: post-traumatic stress disorders linked to mass shootings last longer and are more debilitating for those survivors who were in closer proximity to the shooter and feared for their lives. *See* Amy Novotney, *What Happens to the Survivors*, 49 Monitor on Psychol. 36 (Sep. 2018), *available at* https://www.apa.org/monitor/2018/09/survivors.

What's more, experts have suggested that the military style can fuel a potential shooter's violent fantasies and "embolden [him] to undertake a mass shooting spree he otherwise might not have attempted." Rostron, *supra*, at 329. Weapons like the Regulated Assault Rifles are chosen by perpetrators of mass shootings because they are uniquely deadly—and they are uniquely deadly, in part, because they are chosen by perpetrators of mass shootings.

### 3. The Regulated Assault Rifles Are Not Suited for Sporting or Self-Defense

As described above, weapons like the Regulated Assault Rifles are very effective at inflicting "more wounds, more serious, in more victims." H. Rep. No. 103-489, at 18. For hunting and self-defense, however, they are no more effective and are in some ways less useful than other weapons. For example, the last state to legalize the use of semiautomatic rifles, like the AR-15, for big game hunting did so despite feedback that hunters didn't need or want them for this purpose. Maddie Crocenzi, *Pa. Was the Last State to Allow Hunting With an AR-15, and Hunters are Split*, York Daily Record (Feb. 6, 2018), *available at* https://www.ydr.com/story/news/2018/02/06/ar-15-s-legal-hunting-pa-but-some-hunters-dont-want-them/1036386001/. And firing a high-velocity bullet that explodes bones and organs is no more useful for stopping a home intruder than taking aim with a traditional firearm well-suited for this purpose. *See* Peter M. Rhee et al., *Gunshot Wounds: A Review of Ballistics, Bullets, Weapons, and Myths*, 80 J. Trauma Acute Care Surg. 853, 865 (2016) (observing that law enforcement use shotguns for short-range combat and self-defense because it is "easier to aim and hit a

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target" and the shotgun, not an assault weapon, is arguably "the optimal weapon for home defense" for less experienced shooters too).

Furthermore, though these weapons are not more useful in these contexts, they certainly are more dangerous. Users are likely to fire more rounds (even when not needed), bystanders are more likely to be hit, and bystanders who are hit are more likely to be killed. See supra Section II.A.1. Compared to other available options, the Regulated Assault Rifles do not appear better-suited for any lawful purpose.

### B. The AWCA Is a Reasonable and Tailored Response to a Compelling State **Interest in Public Safety**

The question of whether the AWCA is unconstitutional—and based on what standard—turns in part on "whether the challenged law burdens conduct protected by the Second Amendment." Fyock v. Sunnyvale, 779 F.3d 991, 996 (9th Cir. 2015) (internal quotation marks and citation omitted). If the law does burden such conduct, the next inquiry is "what level of scrutiny should be applied" to determine whether the law is nevertheless constitutional. *Id*.

The AWCA does not burden conduct protected by the Second Amendment. "The Second Amendment right is 'not a right to keep and carry any weapon whatsoever in any manner whatsoever and for whatever purpose." *Id.* at 996 (quoting Heller, 554 U.S. at 626). "Thus, longstanding prohibitions on the possession of 'dangerous and unusual weapons' have uniformly been recognized as falling outside the scope of the Second Amendment." *Id.* at 997 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 625).

The semiautomatic military-style rifles regulated by the AWCA have little (if any) connection to the arms protected by the Second Amendment. They are far more similar to those weapons "specifically designed for military use and . . . employed in a military capacity"—the arms that the Supreme Court held in *District of Columbia v*. *Heller* are not the "arms" protected by the Second Amendment's "right to bear arms." 554 U.S. 570, 581 (2008); see also Kolbe, 849 F.3d at 135–37 ("Because the banned assault weapons and large-capacity magazines are clearly most useful in military

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service, we are compelled by *Heller* to recognize that those weapons and magazines are not constitutionally protected.").

But even if the Court found that the AWCA implicates weapons understood to be within the scope of the Second Amendment, the proper level of scrutiny under which to evaluate the AWCA is intermediate scrutiny. To determine the appropriate level of scrutiny, the court must consider "how closely the law comes to the core of the Second Amendment right" and "how severely, if at all, the law burdens that right." Fyock, 779 F.3d at 998–99.

As for the first prong, the AWCA does not reach the core Second Amendment right. The Second Amendment's "core protection" is "the right of law-abiding, responsible citizens to use arms in defense of hearth and home." Heller, 554 U.S. at 634-35. The AWCA in no way prevents "law-abiding, responsible citizens" from generally keeping firearms in their home for self-defense. There is also no question that the AWCA "does not affect the ability of law-abiding citizens to possess the 'quintessential self-defense weapon'—the handgun." Fyock, 779 F.3d at 999.

To be sure, the Regulated Assault Rifles *could* be used for home or self-defense. But the mere possibility that a weapon could be used for home or self-defense does not immunize it from all state regulation. Under that rationale, "any type of firearm possessed in the home would be protected merely because it could be used for selfdefense." United States v. Marzzarella, 614 F.3d 85, 94 (3d Cir. 2010). The Second Amendment does not deprive the legislature of the power to enact reasonable regulations relating to weapons. *Id.* 

Even if the AWCA implicated the core Second Amendment right, however, the burden it imposes on that right is minimal. The law "bans only certain military-style weapons and detachable magazines, leaving citizens free to protect themselves with a plethora of other firearms and ammunition." *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 138. Nor does the AWCA categorically "ban 'an entire class of arms," which "makes the restrictions substantially less burdensome" as "numerous alternatives remain for law-abiding

citizens to acquire a firearm for self-defense." *New York State Rifle & Pistol Ass'n, Inc. v. Cuomo*, 804 F.3d 242, 260 (2d Cir. 2015). Rather, California has "ban[ned] only a limited subset of semiautomatic firearms, which contain one or more enumerated military-style features." *Id.* Californians remain free to protect themselves with a wide range of other firearms and ammunition, including semiautomatic rifles with fixed magazines, and semiautomatic weapons with detachable magazines that lack parts identified by the California legislature as adding more danger. Thus, gun owners may also legally possess other types of rifles, including semiautomatic ones.

Other courts have overwhelmingly agreed that targeted legislation implicating semiautomatic assault weapons is entitled to, at most, intermediate scrutiny. *See, e.g.*, *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 138–39 (statute banning certain military-style assault weapons was subject to intermediate scrutiny under the Second Amendment); *New York State Rifle*, 804 F.3d at 258–61; *Heller v. District of Columbia*, 670 F.3d 1244, 1256–58 (D.C. Cir. 2011); *see also Ass'n of New Jersey Rifle & Pistol Clubs, Inc.*, 910 F.3d at 116–18 (statute restricting possession of large-capacity magazines was subject to intermediate scrutiny under Second Amendment); *Fyock*, 779 F.3d at 998–99 (same). In fact, there has been "near unanimity in the post-*Heller* case law" that, "when considering regulations that fall within the scope of the Second Amendment, intermediate scrutiny is appropriate." *United States v. Torres*, 911 F.3d 1253, 1262 (9th Cir. 2019).

Because the AWCA does not closely affect "the core of the Second Amendment right," and does not "severely . . . burden[] that right," *Fyock*, 779 F.3d at 998, the strictest standard that could possibly be applied to the AWCA is intermediate scrutiny.

# 1. The AWCA Furthers the Substantial Governmental Interest in Reducing Gun Violence

A weapons regulation survives intermediate scrutiny if it furthers a substantial, significant, or important governmental objective and if the challenged regulation reasonably fits that objective. While California has left unimpaired the individual right

of self-defense at the core of the Second Amendment, the State has reasonably concluded that its compelling interest in reducing the frequency and lethality of gun violence will be served by prohibiting the private possession of semiautomatic rifles with detachable magazines and certain other military-style features. That conclusion is supported by overwhelming evidence. The AWCA therefore readily withstands intermediate scrutiny.

Intermediate scrutiny requires "(1) the government's stated objective to be significant, substantial, or important; and (2) a reasonable fit between the challenged regulation and the asserted objective." *Fyock*, 779 F.3d at 1000. The intermediate scrutiny test is "not a strict one." *Silvester v. Harris*, 843 F.3d 816, 827 (9th Cir. 2016). Intermediate scrutiny does not require "the least restrictive means of achieving [the state's] interest," instead requiring only that the challenged law "promote[] a substantial government interest that would be achieved less effectively absent the regulation." *Fyock*, 779 F.3d at 1000. The State may use "any evidence reasonably believed to be relevant to substantiate its important interests," *id.*, and "reasonable inference[s]" from such evidence should be credited, *Mahoney v. Sessions*, 871 F.3d 873, 883 (9th Cir. 2017).

The California legislature's stated objective is indisputably significant, substantial, *and* important. The California legislature intended for its restrictions on assault weapons to address "[t]he shooting incident in Stockton, the drive-by shootings that have been going on in Southern California at an alarming rate, the number of police officers who have been the victims of semi-automatic weapons, [] the 'stats' that now show the alarming group of arrests that are taking place, and [the fact that] when the items are confiscated, on many, many occasions those items have turned out to be semi-automatic weapons." *Kasler*, 23 Cal. 4th at 482 (quoting Speaker of the Assembly Willie L. Brown, Jr. on the purpose of the "extraordinary" session of the California State Assembly . . . as a Committee of the Whole").

To address the enormous threat to public safety posed by assault weapons,

1 2 including the Regulated Assault Rifles, the California legislature enacted the AWCA. 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

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See Cal. Penal Code § 30505 ("The Legislature hereby finds and declares that the proliferation and use of assault weapons poses a threat to the health, safety, and security of all citizens of this state . . . . "). California's purpose in banning possession of these weapons—promoting public safety and reducing gun violence—is without question a substantial, indeed compelling, interest. See, e.g., Fyock, 779 F.3d at 1000 (explaining that the State's interest in "promoting public safety," "reducing violence crime," and "reducing the harm and lethality of gun injuries" are "substantial and important government interests"); Jackson v. City & Cty. of San Francisco, 746 F.3d 953, 969 (9th Cir. 2014) ("It is self-evident that [the State's] interest in reducing the fatality of shootings is substantial.").

And there plainly exists a reasonable fit between the AWCA and these important State interests. The AWCA bans semiautomatic rifles with military features, including detachable magazines; as demonstrated *supra* in Section A, these weapons are particularly dangerous, military-style devices designed to inflict mass casualties. Because the weapons banned by the AWCA pose real and immediate threats to public safety, California's stated interests in promoting public safety and reducing gun violence "would be achieved less effectively" absent the AWCA. Fyock, 779 F.3d at 1000.

The reasonable fit between the AWCA and California's substantial and important interests is confirmed by both case law and empirical evidence. Courts have upheld similar statutes regulating assault weapons under intermediate scrutiny, recognizing that the Second Amendment allows States to enact reasonable restrictions on the possession of semiautomatic rifles with military-style features. As these courts have concluded, there is a reasonable fit between these assault weapons bans and the government interest in reducing gun violence because semiautomatic rifles with military-style features make mass shootings and criminal violence more lethal.

For example, in *New York State Rifle*, the Second Circuit upheld New York's and Connecticut's assault weapons bans because they banned semiautomatic rifles with "enumerated military-style features," including the "flash suppressor, protruding grip, and barrel shrouds," and had "a capability for lethality—more wounds, more serious, in more victims—far beyond that of other firearms in general, including semiautomatic guns." 804 F.3d at 262. The Second Circuit accordingly held New York's and Connecticut's bans of these weapons were "substantially" related to the States' interests in mitigating the risk and lethality of mass shootings and survived intermediate scrutiny. Id. at 262–63. Similarly, in Kolbe, the Fourth Circuit upheld Maryland's assault weapons ban, which prohibited semiautomatic weapons that included "features designed to achieve their principal purpose—'killing or disabling the enemy' on the battlefield," such as flash suppressors, barrel shrouds, folding and telescoping stocks, and pistol grips. 849 F.3d at 124–25, 139–40. In light of the unique lethality of the banned assault weapons, the Fourth Circuit concluded that there was "a reasonable, if not perfect, fit between the [ban] and Maryland's interest in protecting public safety." *Id.* at 140–41.

In sum, the California Legislature has made the reasonable choice to prohibit access to a subset of semiautomatic rifles that are extraordinarily dangerous and facilitate mass killings. California's stated interest of reducing the incidence and harm of gun violence would be achieved less effectively absent the AWCA, which is sufficient for the AWCA to be upheld under intermediate scrutiny.

# 2. The AWCA Is Also Narrowly Tailored to Achieve a Compelling Government Interest

The AWCA need only satisfy intermediate scrutiny to pass constitutional muster; courts apply strict scrutiny only to laws that *severely* burden the core Second Amendment right to self-defense in the home, which, as previously explained, the AWCA does not. *See, e.g., Torres,* 911 F.3d at 1262; *Kolbe,* 849 F.3d at 138.

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However, even under a strict scrutiny standard, the AWCA must be upheld as constitutional.

Strict scrutiny in the Second Amendment context requires that a statute be "narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling governmental interest." *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 133 (quoting *Abrams v. Johnson*, 521 U.S. 74, 82 (1997)). The AWCA meets even this higher bar because its restrictions are narrowly tailored in furtherance of the compelling interests the state of California has in reducing the frequency and lethality of gun violence and in reducing the incidence and severity of mass shootings. *See United States v. Salerno*, 481 U.S. 739, 750 (1987) (noting that "the Government's general interest in preventing crime" is compelling); *see also* 2015 California Senate Bill No. 880, California 2015-2016 Regular Session.

California's compelling interest in regulating semiautomatic assault rifles is easy to see. Gun violence exacts an enormous toll on California's families and communities. "In recent years, California has experienced an average of 1,327 gunrelated homicides, 1,553 gun-related suicides, 4,284 nonfatal interpersonal shootings, and 1,860 accidental shootings per year." Giffords Law Center, *The Economic Cost of Gun Violence in California*, https://lawcenter.giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Economic-Cost-of-Gun-Violence-in-California.pdf.

Semiautomatic assault rifles have had a particularly devastating role in gun deaths in California. As the California Supreme Court explained, just a month before the California legislature met to discuss the AWCA, Patrick Purdy drove to Cleveland Elementary School in Stockton, California and used a Chinese-made semiautomatic AK-47 to rake the school yard where 300 kindergartners to third graders were having lunchtime recess. Five children, ages 6 to 9, died; one teacher and 29 children were wounded. *Kasler*, 23 Cal. 4th at 483.

This was not the only recent incident. A man who told his wife he was "going to hunt humans" opened fire in a McDonalds filled with about 45 patrons and operating, among other weapons, a 9-millimeter Uzi submachine gun. *Id.* Using his

Uzi, "[h]e fired nearly hundreds of rounds. The gunfire was so heavy that police at first assumed that more than one gunman was inside. . . . In all, of the 45 patrons in the restaurant, [the shooter] killed 21 and wounded 15 others." *Id*.

Then-Attorney General John Van de Kamp testified before the Committee of the Whole that semiautomatic military assault rifles had become "the weapons of choice" for gang members, and "[i]n Los Angeles, he said, it had 'become fashionable among hard-core members of the Crips gang to spray a stream of bullets in hopes of taking down one rival gang member." *Id.* at 484. According to Van de Kamp, "the young killers even have a phrase for [the collateral damage that may result]. They say, 'I spray the babies to the eighties.'" *Id.* Lieutenant Bruce Hagerty, a Los Angeles police officer, described a gang shooting on Good Friday that killed children, teens, and the elderly. *Id.* at 485. He said the site of the shooting resembled "a war scene." *Id.* 

In addition to the sheer carnage entailed, gun violence also has devastating financial repercussions. "The 9,980 shootings that occur each year in California are a serious drain on the state's economy." *Id.* The resulting costs in healthcare, law enforcement and criminal justice, and lost income produce a gun violence tab of over \$6.5 billion per year, much of which is picked up by the California taxpayers. *Id.* For obvious humanitarian and economic reasons, the California legislature has a compelling interest in reducing the incidence of firearms-related injuries and death.

The AWCA is the least restrictive means of furthering California's interest in mitigating the risk and lethality of mass shootings. For example, the California legislature banned only those weapons that it found did not have a legitimate sporting use. *See, e.g.*, 2015 California Senate Bill No. 880, California 2015-2016 Regular Session ("[B]ullet button-equipped semi-automatic weapons have no legitimate use for sport hunters or competitive shooters."). The law prohibits only a fraction of available firearms: those semiautomatic rifles with military-style features, including detachable magazines, which facilitate rapid devastation of human life, and that the California legislature deemed to be exceedingly dangerous.

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In drafting the AWCA, "[t]he Legislature was . . . confronted with two conflicting societal interests, both of which it recognized as legitimate—the interest of all citizens in being protected against the use of semiautomatic weapons by criminals, and the interest of some citizens in using semiautomatic weapons for hunting, target practice, or other legitimate sports or recreational activities." *Kasler*, 23 Cal. 4th at 488. "[T]o accommodate those conflicting interests," the legislature found that it was "the most effective way to identify and restrict a *specific class* of semiautomatic weapons." *Id*. (emphasis added). The State's list approach is narrowly tailored—rather than painting semiautomatic weapons or rifles with a broad categorical brush, the legislature made feature-by-feature decisions and then determined for *each* other firearm listed in the AWCA that it "has such a high rate of fire and capacity for firepower that its function as a legitimate sports or recreational firearm is substantially outweighed by the danger that it can be used to kill and injure human beings." *Id.; see also* Cal. Penal Code § 30505, referencing id. § 30510 (current version of statute cited in Kasler). The AWCA is therefore a quintessential example of narrow tailoring.

In addition, the owners of weapons prohibited by the AWCA may remove the features California has deemed particularly attractive to mass shooters without significantly compromising their ability to use those weapons in lawful self-defense. Indeed, Rupp concedes that a rifle owner need only modify the weapon to avoid the penalties in the Act. *See* Third Am. Compl. ¶¶ 39–40. And, tellingly, Rupp does *not* argue that, without those features, assault rifles owned by civilians will not fulfill Rupp's asserted benign purposes of hunting and self-defense. To be sure, modifying a rifle requires some skill, or may require paying a gunsmith or buying a conversion kit. But modification of any complex piece of equipment would be the same. Just because modifying a car to avoid illegal features (such as tinted windows) may not be within the capabilities of the average driver does not mean the legislature cannot ban tinted

windows. A reasonable person would take his car to a shop—reasonable gun owners who seek to modify deadly weapons should do the same.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, Rupp argues that these modifications would result in a "fundamental change to the nature of the firearm." Third Am. Compl. ¶ 46. But that is exactly the point. California wants gun owners to own and use guns suitable for hunting and self-defense, not the firearms that have repeatedly fueled criminal activity such as mass shootings and drive-by shootings—and, tragically, continue to do so across the country. That interest is a compelling one and far greater than a gun owner's interest in preserving the "nature" of a dangerous weapon.

# 3. This Court Should Defer to the Reasoned Decisions of the California Legislature

State legislatures must have the leeway to make informed, predictive judgments about how to curb gun violence, and deference to legislative decision-making is particularly appropriate in this realm. Gun violence is a complex problem, and while many potential solutions have been proposed and pursued, experts disagree on the most effective means of ameliorating the gun violence epidemic. States therefore require the flexibility to adopt multiple approaches that take into account local and state needs, as long as they leave intact the core right of self-defense. The Supreme Court has accordingly emphasized that the Second Amendment "limits (but by no means eliminates) [the States'] ability to devise solutions to social problems that suit local needs and values." *McDonald v. Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 785 (2010); *see also Heller*, 554 U.S. at 636 (the Second Amendment provides state legislatures with "a variety of tools for combating" gun violence); *Jackson*, 746 F.3d at 961 (localities

Rupp balks at the cost of modifying an AR-15 rifle. See Third Am. Compl. ¶ 41. But AR-15s are not cheap. And a gun owner can do a cost-benefit analysis to determine whether it makes more sense to modify an existing gun or purchase a gun that requires no modifications and is more suitable to hunting and self-defense than one of the Regulated Assault Rifles. Rupp also argues that he is unsure whether aftermarket products to replace banned features exists. See Third Am. Compl. ¶ 45. Without any proof that such a market does not exist, Rupp has not met his burden on this issue.

"must be allowed a reasonable opportunity to experiment with solutions to admittedly serious problems").

Even if, as Rupp alleges, the ban is not entirely perfect, see Third Am. Compl. ¶ 50, "the Legislature was not constitutionally compelled to throw up its hands just because a perfectly comprehensive regulatory scheme was not politically achievable," Kasler, 23 Cal. 4th at 487. Rather, the California legislature can take an incremental approach to the complex problem of gun violence and judge the efficacy of its regulations over time. Targeted steps to achieve incremental results are precisely the type of reasonable regulations that are constitutionally permissible. See, e.g., Mance v. Sessions, 896 F.3d 699, 708 (5th Cir. 2018) (upholding interstate handgun sales restrictions under strict scrutiny and rejecting "underinclusivity" argument because "a State need not address all aspects of a problem in one fell swoop; policymakers may focus on their most pressing concerns" (internal quotation marks omitted)); New York State Rifle, 804 F.3d at 263 ("[G]un control legislation need not strike all evils at the same time to be constitutional."). Indeed, an incremental approach is necessary for states to keep up with innovations by gun manufacturers and sellers, some of which are identified as dangerous or attractive to mass shooters only after months or even years of widespread use. For example, states did not initially ban machine guns when they were first invented and instead began to enact laws banning machine guns only once these weapons were circulated widely and increasingly used to commit crimes. See Robert Spitzer, Gun Law History in the United States and Second Amendment Rights, 80 L. & Contemp. Probs. 55, 67–68 (2017).

This Court should not second-guess California's policy judgment. Legislatures are "far better equipped than the judiciary to make sensitive public policy judgments" about the risks of gun violence, the dangers of specific firearm features, and balancing significant, protected interests. *Kachalsky v. Cty. of Westchester*, 701 F.3d 81, 97 (2d Cir. 2012); *see also Pena v. Lindley*, 898 F.3d 969, 979–80 (9th Cir. 2018) (courts "must allow the government to select among reasonable alternatives in its policy decisions"

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and "lack the means" to resolve "a policy disagreement that the California legislature already settled"). Those policy judgments should be reserved for the elected state representatives in the legislature, who are directly accountable to the public for their decisions. See, e.g., Friedman v. City of Highland Park, 784 F.3d 406, 412 (7th Cir. 2015) (the "best way to evaluate the relation among assault weapons, crime, and selfdefense is through the political process and scholarly debate"). Here, California found a narrowly tailored solution that balanced its citizens' Second Amendment rights and the compelling need to address an urgent and deadly danger to its citizens. Its narrow restrictions on certain especially dangerous semiautomatic rifles—precisely those weapons that have repeatedly been selected by criminals for their value in boosting casualty counts and intimidating victims—should be upheld.

#### III. CONCLUSION

For all the reasons stated above, we urge this Court to uphold California's Assault Weapons Control Act.

Dated: April 1, 2019

Respectfully Submitted,

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