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ABOUT BRADY

Founded in 1974, Brady works across Congress, courts, and communities, uniting gun owners and non-gun owners alike, to take action, not sides, and end America’s gun violence epidemic. Our organization today carries the name of Jim Brady, the White House press secretary who was shot and severely injured in the assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. Subsequently, Jim and his wife Sarah led the fight to pass the Brady Bill, the federal law requiring background checks for gun sales. Brady continues to uphold Jim and Sarah’s legacy by uniting Americans from coast to coast — whether from red or blue states, young or old, liberal or conservative — to end the epidemic of gun violence.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Gun violence continues to erode the very fabric of the American dream. Not only does it take nearly 40,000 lives and leave over 100,000 people injured every year, it also creates collective trauma, limits educational and social advancement, damages communities economically, and infringes on our fundamental right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The people have spoken: Joe Biden won the presidency with more votes than any candidate, ever — and did so on the most comprehensive and ambitious gun violence prevention platform in history. Likewise, a gun violence prevention majority will stand in the House and Senate.

American gun violence is a complex and multifaceted issue that will persist absent targeted solutions that address its root causes and various forms. However, through legislative action and direct engagement with the American people, there is an opportunity to change the trajectory of gun violence in the United States and lay the foundations for lasting positive change. To assist, Brady has prepared this Blueprint for A Safer America.

The Brady Blueprint is a playbook both for what will be possible in the 117th Congress to tackle the epidemic of gun violence and how best to prepare for future progress. This playbook serves as a messaging guide for gun violence prevention policies, legislative priorities, and ways to strengthen our democratic principles. In order to reduce American gun violence and set the stage for generations of progress, the Brady Blueprint identifies three broad areas of focus.

AREA 1: EMBRACE THE NEED FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

We cannot comprehensively and adequately address gun violence until we fix unjust democratic systems. Laying the foundations for reforms that will prevent statutory stonewalling and special interest influence, as well as expanding representative democracy and protecting the disenfranchised, will be critical to the future of the movement and the nation.

AREA 2: EXPAND THE BRADY BACKGROUND CHECK SYSTEM

The Brady Background Check System has successfully prevented millions of prohibited purchases since its implementation, saving countless lives, but gaps in the law have arisen over the years. Expanding and strengthening this system is crucial to ensuring foundational support for all other gun laws.

AREA 3: ADDRESS GUN VIOLENCE IN ALL OF ITS FORMS

The strategies, policies, and methods necessary to prevent the various forms of gun violence require an approach tailored to each of their root causes, and policymakers must account for the ways in which gun violence impacts every community differently. Brady has catalogued policies and actions likely to have the greatest impact on the gun violence epidemic in America.
INTRODUCTION

Gun violence goes beyond the catastrophic mass shootings that make the front page. It is a public health epidemic that profoundly impacts millions of Americans every single day. Gun violence is a preventable and uniquely American tragedy that claims more than 100 lives each day, inflicting immeasurable trauma on not only survivors, but their families, friends, and communities as well. The devastating reality of gun violence injures over 100,000 Americans every year, damages communities economically, makes education and the enjoyment of social activities difficult, and infringes on our fundamental right to live. Gun violence undeniably intersects with many issues facing Americans today: systemic racism, voter suppression, subversion of democracy, and economic injustice, to name a few. In order to fully meet the challenges laid before us, we must consider how interconnected these issues are — for the victims lost to gun violence, for the countless individuals directly and indirectly impacted by gun violence whose lives will never be the same, and for the overall health and economic well-being of the nation.

Protecting the lives, safety, and prosperity of the American people is among the most important tasks of our elected representatives. Over the last several years, the country has faced intensifying division, aggravated by a global pandemic. One consequence of this aggravation has been an exacerbated threat of gun violence made even more dangerous by record-setting gun sale surges that will have grim implications long after a vaccine is globally distributed.

We stand on the precipice of historic and meaningful change in the fight against gun violence, made possible by a collective national outrage that has once again overcome the gun industry’s attempt to corrupt the political system for its own special interests. Members of the 116th Congress took the first concrete steps in a generation to create systemic change to combat gun violence. It is critical that the 117th Congress build on this progress and work with the incoming Biden-Harris administration to further the cause.

The people have spoken, and gun violence prevention champions in the White House and majorities in Congress serve as a direct repudiation of the gun lobby’s vision of America. The Biden-Harris administration and the 117th Congress will be uniquely situated to enact and lay the groundwork for common-sense gun policies. There is an opportunity to change the trajectory of gun violence in the United States and to lay the foundations for lasting positive change; to assist, Brady has prepared this Blueprint for A Safer America.
ABOUT THE BRADY BLUEPRINT

The Brady Blueprint is a playbook for both what is achievable in the 117th Congress and how to prepare for future progress. Outlining legislative actions, it serves as a messaging guide for gun violence prevention policies and the strengthening of democratic principles. This guide is generally organized by broad policy topics and types of gun violence, though these policies can have an impact on various types of gun violence. As an example, Extreme Risk Laws, which allow an individual to petition a court to have firearms temporarily removed from a person who is at risk of harming themselves or others, have implications for background checks, gun suicides, and mass shootings, to name a few. For the purposes of this document, policies will be listed and described in the section most relevant to them.

While we are providing tangible areas of focus for the 117th Congress, gun violence is profoundly complex, and therefore the policies listed in this report are far from exhaustive. No other industrialized country in the world experiences gun violence in the same way that we do as Americans — a country where there are more guns than people. The ultimate goal, of course, is to end the epidemic of gun violence, and Brady is committed to working with Congress toward that end.

THE BRADY BLUEPRINT IS A PLAYBOOK FOR BOTH WHAT IS ACHIEVABLE IN THE 117TH CONGRESS AND HOW TO PREPARE FOR FUTURE PROGRESS. OUTLINING LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS, IT SERVES AS A MESSAGING GUIDE FOR GUN VIOLENCE PREVENTION POLICIES AND THE STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.
THE BRADY BLUEPRINT

Gun violence impacts every aspect of American life. It is a complex problem that requires comprehensive solutions aimed at addressing the root causes faced by a variety of communities. Solutions which reduce firearm suicide and incidents of family fire — a shooting involving an improperly stored or misused gun in the home that results in death or injury — look different than solutions to the daily toll of community violence which disproportionately afflicts communities of color, particularly Black and Latinx communities. Tools needed to prevent mass shootings look different than those needed to prevent diversions of firearms into the illegal market. American gun violence is a layered issue that will persist without tailored solutions that address all of its forms. Congress has an opportunity to meaningfully address gun violence, and in order to accomplish this herculean task and set the stage for generations of future progress, the Brady Blueprint identifies three broad areas of focus:

Area 1: Embrace the Need for Democratic Reforms

Area 2: Fix the Brady Background Check System

Area 3: Address Gun Violence in All of Its Forms

EMBRACE THE NEED FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

How is it possible in a representative democracy for the overwhelming will of the people to be patently ignored? How can it be that policies like universal Brady Background Checks for gun sales, despite consistently enjoying the support of over 90% of the American public, fail to secure sufficient bipartisan support to be signed into law?

The answer is simple: The game is rigged.

Our democracy has been intentionally undermined, and it did not happen overnight or all at once. Some pieces of that subversion, like disenfranchisement and inequitable access to voting rights, have existed throughout the American experiment. Others, like the procedural filibuster, have been around since our founding, but essentially laid dormant until weaponized by those who would wield outsized power. Over time, more pieces have been added, and collectively it is clear that this rigged democracy is not accidental, but by design — unlimited dark money campaign spending, disenfranchisement over self-determination, and much more.

AMERICAN GUN VIOLENCE IS A LAYERED ISSUE THAT WILL PERSIST WITHOUT TAILORED SOLUTIONS THAT ADDRESS ALL OF ITS FORMS.
In its purest form, our government is supposed to reflect and operationalize the will of the American people. So let us be as clear as possible: We cannot comprehensively and adequately address gun violence until we fix unjust democratic systems that have consistently prevented public safety reforms the American people overwhelmingly desire. Members of the 117th Congress should devote themselves to fixing our democratic systems by embracing the need for democratic reforms and leading discussions about them with the American people. This critical shift will refocus our government on protecting average Americans from gun violence and other dangers — and will, of course, also serve to protect and preserve the character of our representative democracy.

Level the Playing Field

Corporations are people. Money is speech. States may disenfranchise. Politicians can choose their voters. Thus has the Supreme Court narrowly ruled in a string of cases that have reshaped our democratic institutions and how elections are undertaken in America, giving an outsized voice to special interests and making it even harder for average Americans to be heard. While the president-elect has called for a bipartisan committee to examine potential reforms of the nation’s highest court, Congress should act quickly to introduce and move legislation that will reform our electoral processes and ensure that all Americans, regardless of their station, have an equal voice and an equal vote. No matter which party is in control of the Senate, making our elections more fair, equitable, and accessible must be something we are all working toward. Like so many issues laid out in this Blueprint, securing our democracy is not a partisan issue — and we can’t treat it as such.

Likewise, let’s remember that two presidents in the last 20 years were elected despite failing to win the popular support of American voters. As a result, a majority of the current Supreme Court justices were appointed by presidents who lost the popular vote by large margins, and all Americans will be forced to live with the ripple effects of their decisions for a generation. The latest election has highlighted once again just how counterintuitive our Electoral College is: At one point, despite President-elect Biden holding more than a 4 million vote lead nationally, pundits wondered if the fate of the contest resided in the hands of Nebraska’s 2nd Congressional District. Reforms or abolition of the Electoral College are simply necessary. A system that allows the people of Wyoming to have over 3.5 times as much voting power as those in California during a presidential election fails even the most basic tests of representative democracy.

The majority of Americans support stronger gun laws — laws that would reduce deaths and injuries — but their voices are drowned out by the spending of special interests. More than 90% of Americans support universal background checks, but America’s election laws allow groups like the National Rifle Association (NRA) to spend millions on political ads funded by anonymous donors. These dark money rules allowed them to spend over $50 million in 2016 in support of gun industry allies in federal elections.
Legislative Reference:

- In 2019, the House of Representatives passed HR 1, the *For the People Act*, and HR 4, the *John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act*, which together would expand Americans’ access to the ballot box, reduce the influence of big money in politics, strengthen ethics rules for public servants, and ensure that states cannot use discriminatory tactics to prevent communities of color from voting. The 117th Congress should be guided by the principles of these bills to ensure that corporate interests do not outweigh the freedom to live without fear of gun violence and that the communities which bear the heaviest burden of gun violence are not silenced.

Filibuster Reform

There are many legislative reforms that will be critical to addressing the American gun violence epidemic, but such measures will likely be impossible to enact because of Senate rules governing the procedural filibuster. Whether it arose by *mistake, oversight, or on purpose*, the procedural filibuster has become an instrument of partisan gridlock, *allowing a minority voice to hold the Senate hostage with the goal of inaction*.

In 2013, a clear majority of senators supported a bill expanding Brady Background Checks — an expansion favored by about *90% of Americans* — but a procedural filibuster by other senators representing a minority of Americans prevented the legislation from even coming up for a vote. Since then, over 250,000 Americans have died from gun violence, and millions more have been impacted. Enough is enough.

The Constitution explicitly allows the Senate to establish its own rules, and the Senate has changed the filibuster rules several times since the nation’s founding. It does not strain credulity to suggest that the gun industry’s allies in Congress will once again stand as a party of unmitigated opposition to any legislative advancements, with the ultimate goal of preventing any piece of gun violence legislation from being enacted.

The margins may not exist for such a reform to move forward in the 117th, but it is time to normalize the need for these reforms. The filibuster will remain the *primary obstacle for gun violence prevention reforms* in the Senate, and the gun industry lobby will continue to stop at nothing to prevent any such bill from reaching a 60-vote threshold. It is therefore imperative that gun violence prevention champions in Congress use their pulpit to make clear to what extent this procedural tool is being used as a means of obstruction.

Expand Representation

The cornerstone of American democracy is the expectation that the will of the people will be exercised through their elected representatives. The founders intended this as both a means of reflecting the character of citizens’ desires and as a safeguard against the public’s passions. Yet the public and its desires are not to be denied; as Alexander Hamilton wrote in Federalist
No. 71, representatives “appointed to be the guardians of those interests” may, with “time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection … [nonetheless] serve [the people] at the peril of their displeasure.”

Today, millions of our fellow citizens have yet to fully realize this piece of the American dream: selecting the guardians of their interests — and replacing these guardians when those interests go unmet. Congress was never intended to be fully democratic — especially not the Senate, where states enjoy equal representation regardless of their population — but the democratic principles that define our republic have been withheld from too many for far too long, especially those who are disproportionately affected by gun violence.

In the 116th Congress, the House took the bold step of passing legislation that would admit Washington, D.C., to the union as a state, and the legislature should once again take this measure up with haste. This is not about partisan politics; it is about representation. The District is a majority-minority community, long the most disenfranchised group in the country, and if we are to realize justice in America, we cannot continue to allow such communities to languish without representation.

D.C. pays higher federal taxes than 22 states and has the highest per capita federal tax rate in the nation. It has a population greater than two states — and is close to surpassing two more — while suffering the 16th highest firearm mortality rate in the United States, 40% higher than the national average. Every American should have a say in how they can best prevent gun violence in their own communities; that is what democracy is all about. However, when it comes to efforts to pass gun safety laws, citizens of our nation’s capital are often at the mercy of activist federal legislators with little interest in their needs, with measures routinely being traded away for issues that will never affect actual residents. With D.C. homicides on the rise — the vast majority of which are shootings — attempts by the District’s leaders to keep their communities safe are continuously tossed aside. As virtually all guns used to commit crime in the capital come from outside its borders, the local government needs federal solutions beyond its authority to implement. This pure violation of civil rights is so grave and so dangerous that we need to take every step necessary to grant District residents full statehood and proper representation in Congress. It’s literally a matter of life or death.

If we are to address gun violence and ensure that those most impacted have a seat at the table, we

**THIS PURE VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS IS SO GRAVE AND SO DANGEROUS THAT WE NEED TO TAKE EVERY STEP NECESSARY TO GRANT DISTRICT RESIDENTS FULL STATEHOOD AND PROPER REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS. IT’S LITERALLY A MATTER OF LIFE OR DEATH.**
must set the stage to make D.C. a state and provide these citizens with meaningful — and long overdue — representation in Congress.

Legislative Reference:

- In 2020, the House of Representatives passed HR 51, the Washington, D.C. Admission Act, which would make Washington, Douglass Commonwealth the 51st State of the United States and provide representation to the residents of the District.

FIX THE BRADY BACKGROUND CHECK SYSTEM

The critical underpinning of all gun violence prevention laws is the Brady Background Check System. Without this foundational measure, no other gun laws can properly function. By all accounts, the Brady Background Check System has been extremely successful since Jim and Sarah Brady led its passage in 1993, preventing over 3.5 million prohibited gun transactions. In 2015 alone, over 619 prohibited gun transactions were prevented every single day.

While the Brady Background Check System established the essential framework for all other gun violence prevention laws, it does not and will not fix the issue of gun violence on its own.

Furthermore, gaps have emerged in the system as technology has progressed, and businesses and individuals have exploited loopholes for profit. While background checks prevent hundreds of thousands of prohibited transactions each year, today approximately 1 in every 5 gun sales occurs without a background check, due in large part to the rise of gun shows and websites that facilitate private sales online. Also, under current law, a licensed dealer may transfer a gun to a buyer after three business days even if the background check has yet to determine whether that buyer is legally eligible to purchase a gun, known commonly as the “Charleston Loophole.” This gap has allowed prohibited people to acquire firearms at an alarming rate: Since 2008, over 42,000 firearms have been transferred to prohibited buyers.

Closing these loopholes is overwhelmingly popular with the American public and must be a priority in working toward a safer future. The Brady Background Check System saves lives, but to ensure that the system is actually comprehensive we must expand background checks, with reasonable and narrow exceptions, to cover every gun transaction, and we must further ensure that the system has adequate time to complete a background check before someone can take possession of a firearm. Congress should immediately consider measures to expand and strengthen the nation’s background check system to guarantee that our gun laws rest on a strong foundation.

Key Facts and Messaging:

- Enact Universal Background Checks
  - Without background checks, it is almost impossible to keep guns out of the hands of prohibited individuals or to hold gun traffickers accountable.
• Approximately 1 in every 5 gun sales is completed without a background check today due to gun shows, private transactions, and the rise of websites that facilitate gun sales online.

• Gun homicide rates were cut nearly in half in the years since the Brady Law was passed, falling an astonishing 46% from 1993 to 2001.

• States that have expanded the scope of their background checks have seen impressive results:
  ○ 53% fewer law enforcement officers shot and killed in the line of duty;
  ○ 47% fewer women shot by intimate partners;
  ○ 48% less gun trafficking in cities whose states conduct expanded background checks.

• A common myth perpetuated by the gun lobby is that “criminals don’t follow the law.” This canard fundamentally ignores that the background check system regularly prevents hundreds of thousands of prohibited purchasers from acquiring guns every year.

  **Legislative Reference:**
  • HR 8: Bipartisan Background Checks Act

**Fix the Charleston Loophole**

• The National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) will reply one of three ways to gun dealers (FFL) after a background check is initiated: proceed, denied, or delayed.

• Currently, if a NICS background check is not finished within three business days of when the check is initiated, federal law allows the sale to proceed by “default,” permitting the gun dealer to transfer a gun to a purchaser NICS has not cleared.

• A “default proceed” transfer was completed in 2015 to a white supremacist and prohibited individual who subsequently used the purchased firearm to massacre nine Black parishioners at the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, exposing an area of weakness in our federal gun laws now commonly referred to as the “Charleston Loophole.”

• Over 42,000 firearms have been sold to prohibited purchasers since 2008 because of the Charleston loophole.

• Default proceed sales are eight times more likely to involve a prohibited purchaser than other background checks.

• The number of delayed background checks not addressed by NICS until the third business day has been as high as 600 in a 24-hour period. This leaves little to no time for external agencies to respond to a NICS request for essential information about a potential purchaser before guns can be transferred by default.

• The surge in gun sales in response to the coronavirus pandemic has placed an enormous strain on the already overburdened system, exacerbating the backlog of checks to be completed before the window to complete them expires.

  **Legislative Reference:**
  • HR 1112: Enhanced Background Checks Act of 2019
ADDRESS GUN VIOLENCE IN ALL OF ITS FORMS

It is difficult to fully grasp the complexity or diversity of gun violence in this country. Thousands of Americans are directly impacted by gun violence every single day as victims or survivors. Their lives, and the lives of those close to them, will never be the same. Likewise, millions more are indirectly impacted by gun violence borne out in seemingly intangible socioeconomic costs which directly perpetuate cycles of violence and poverty among our most vulnerable communities.

We at Brady know that the moral and strategic compass of the gun violence prevention movement will always be guided by the voices and leadership of survivors of gun violence. Brady is an organization founded on the idea that, by lifting up survivors and amplifying their voices, we can make policymakers understand what the very real consequences of inaction look like. It is for these reasons that survivors sit in leading roles within the Brady organization, and it is why we will continue to prioritize the voices of survivors in every aspect of our fight to end gun violence. Each survivor’s story is unique, as is the pain of their loss. While common threads necessarily emerge among their circumstances, there is no panacea that will prevent all gun violence.

Suicide, the disproportionate impact of daily violence in communities of color, domestic violence, mass shootings, and every other form of gun violence all require individualized approaches because the root causes of such violence often differ. In order to find real solutions to these varying problems, policymakers must account for the ways in which gun violence impacts every community differently. If we as a nation were able to do that in a meaningful way, we would undoubtedly reduce gun deaths and injuries while also improving intersecting issues such as economic injustice, of which gun violence is a symptom.

Acknowledging again that the solutions listed below are far from exhaustive, Brady has catalogued policies and actions which would likely have the greatest impact on the gun violence epidemic in America. Recognizing both political and practical realities, we know that not all of the needed legislative reforms may be achievable in the near term. However, it is important that we continue to lay the groundwork for them through the bully pulpit by preparing an atmosphere in which they can move forward. Brady will continue to be supportive of our gun violence prevention champions in Congress and will be available as a resource as they seek to implement these policies.

WE AT BRADY KNOW THAT THE MORAL AND STRATEGIC COMPASS OF THE GUN VIOLENCE PREVENTION MOVEMENT WILL ALWAYS BE GUIDED BY THE VOICES AND LEADERSHIP OF SURVIVORS OF GUN VIOLENCE.
Note: The policies and actions outlined below are organized by the various forms of gun violence and have been left intentionally unsequenced.

Treating Gun Violence as a Public Health Epidemic

It is indisputable that American gun violence is a public health epidemic. Every day, over 100 people are shot and killed in the United States. Of those, 8 are children and teens, including those shot in instances of family fire. Americans kill each other with guns at 25 times the rate of other high-income countries, and gun violence costs the American economy at least $229 billion every year — a large proportion of which taxpayers end up covering. Each gun homicide costs taxpayers $460,000 in direct expenses.

Despite rapid advances in medical technology and a heightened awareness of the gun violence crisis in communities across the country, gun injuries and deaths continue to rise in both rural and urban areas. In order to fully understand the scope of the problem and to identify the best policy solutions to prevent these deaths, we must treat gun violence as a public health epidemic and provide sufficient funding for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and National Institute of Health (NIH) to conduct thorough, evidence-based research on the issue.

Disproportionate Impact of Gun Violence in Communities of Color

While firearm suicide accounts for 3 out of 5 gun deaths in America, the opposite is true in the most disproportionately impacted communities of color; for Black and Latinx Americans, most gun violence is interpersonal. The impact of gun violence on Black and Latinx Americans is staggering. The gun homicide rate for Hispanics is more than double that of their white peers, and Black Americans are over 11 times more likely than white Americans to die by gun homicide. The largest share of these killings occur in urban communities — 80% of gun homicides occur in such areas. Gun violence is the leading cause of injury-related death for Black children and teens, who are 14 times more likely than white children and teens to die by gun homicide. Nearly 60% of Black adults know someone who has been shot, the highest rate of any demographic in the United States.

The repercussions in communities of color stretch well beyond the victims of gun violence themselves. Communities burdened by fear and omnipresent shootings are not in a position to address quality of life issues, such as investment in collective spaces, that could actually address some of the root causes of gun violence. These impacted communities also bear numerous societal costs: depressed property values, lower rates of home ownership, fewer new retail and service businesses, diminished educational and economic opportunities, and lack of access to health care, healthy food, and social opportunities. All of these effects then become root causes themselves, creating never-ending cycles of gun violence perpetuated by “solutions” that often rely on over-policing and over-incarceration. In order to address community violence, we must break these cycles.

Legislative References:

- **HR 674: Gun Violence Prevention Research Act of 2019**
- **HR 1865: Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 202**
Addressing community violence requires a two-pronged approach. We must address the root causes of interpersonal violence — the “demand side” — or the impetus of violence will remain uninterrupted. We must also address the unfettered flow of guns into impacted communities — the “supply side” — or efforts at violence intervention will be unable to overcome the readily-available means of violence.

DEMAND-SIDE APPROACH
Community-Based Solutions

• Black men, who make up just 6% of the U.S. population, account for 51% of all homicide victims, and gun violence alone accounts for a four-year reduction in their life expectancy.

• The majority of gun homicides occur in urban centers, and the majority of community gun violence occurs in very small, largely disenfranchised areas.

• Our nation’s urban centers experience homicide rates that are nearly ten times the national average and which disproportionately impact young people of color.

• Being shot, shot at, or witnessing a shooting doubles the probability that a young person will commit violence in the next two years.

• Community violence intervention and interruption programs approach violence reduction from a public health perspective, working to reduce violence — specifically gun violence — through measurable tactics.

• Communities have seen dramatic decreases in violence after funding community violence prevention and intervention programs, including hospital-based intervention programs.

• Richmond, California saw a 70% drop in gun homicides between 2007 and 2016 after investing millions of dollars into these types of programs.

• Gun violence imposes enormous fiscal costs on all communities and taxpayers. If violence intervention programs reduce national gun homicides by just 1.4%, $90 million dollars would be saved annually in directly-measurable public expenses.

• A successful demand-side approach will recognize that many of gun homicide’s underlying root causes stem from systemic racism. As such, efforts to reduce racism in other spheres, including education, healthcare, and social mobility, can bolster community violence programs.

Legislative Reference:

• S 2671: Break the Cycle of Violence Act

SUPPLY-SIDE APPROACH
Gun Industry Oversight and Accountability

• Guns do not simply appear out of thin air into cities like Oakland, Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. — all cities with strong gun laws and high gun violence homicide rates year over year.

• Tens of thousands of guns are trafficked across state lines every year, often from states with weak laws to states with much stronger laws:
• 87% of crime guns traced in New Jersey come from other states;
• 84% of crime guns traced in New York come from other states;
• 68% of crime guns traced in Connecticut come from other states.

• Most of the cities impacted the greatest by gun violence have few, if any, federal firearms licensees (FFLs) within their city limits. Instead, FFLs that are the sources of crime guns to these places typically sit outside the communities in less diverse and more affluent suburbs.

• A small number of gun dealers are responsible for diverting guns to the criminal market. According to the latest available data, about 90% of crime guns can be traced back to roughly 5% of licensed gun dealers.

• Gun tracing — the method for identifying a gun’s sequence of ownership from manufacture to first retail sale — is used to link a suspect with a firearm in a criminal investigation, to identify potential traffickers, and to detect in-state and interstate patterns in the sources and kinds of crime guns.

• Trace data used to be publicly accessible, pulling back the curtain on negligent and unlawful gun dealers, but the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) has interpreted the Tiahrt Amendments as blocking it from releasing that data, shielding the industry from scrutiny.

• Gun traffickers also obtain firearms through burglary and theft from FFLs that lack adequate physical security or recordkeeping. Nearly 175,000 firearms were reported “stolen or lost” by FFLs between 2004 and 2011, and burglaries and robberies of FFLs increased 48% and 175%, respectively, between 2012 and 2016.

• There are virtually no federal security requirements required of gun dealers to prevent theft.

• ATF, the only agency with oversight of the gun industry, is woefully under-resourced. Despite having a goal of inspecting all FFLs every five years, the agency has consistently fallen well short of that, inspecting only 12% to 13% of all dealers, pawnshops, and manufacturers on average.
• ATF revokes less than 1% of the licenses of all the FFLs they inspect in a given year, despite widespread, documented noncompliance. ATF supervisors also routinely downgrade penalties for dealers that break the law.

• In 2006, the NRA lobbied Congress to require Senate confirmation of ATF director nominees. Since that time, only a single nominee — B. Todd Jones — has been confirmed.

• ATF consistently falls short enforcing the law against the gun industry, primarily because the gun lobby has tied the agency’s hands behind its back by denying it funding and hamstringing its leadership.

### Legislative References:
- **HR 7977: Firearms Retailer Code of Conduct Act**
- **HR 5866: Gun Trafficker Detection Act**
- **HR 4116: Prevent Gun Trafficking Act**
- **S 4841: ATF Improvement and Modernization Act**
- **HR 3234: Keeping Gun Dealers Honest Act**

### Guns and Suicide

While interpersonal gun violence is disproportionately concentrated in Black and Latinx communities, firearm suicides, which represent the greatest share of gun violence deaths in the United States, affect every American community. An average of 63 people die by suicide with a gun every day, accounting for approximately 60% of all gun deaths. Only 6% of attempted suicides involve a firearm, but firearm suicides account for more than 50% of all suicide deaths. Every day, at least two children and teens will shoot and kill themselves, half of whom are under the age of 16. Attempted suicide by gun results in death more than 90% of the time, compared to less than 3% for drug overdose, the most common method. A second chance is critical because the vast majority of those who attempt suicide — a full 70% — will never make another attempt on their life.

The U.S. veteran community is at an even greater risk for firearm suicide. Between 2005 and 2016, the veteran suicide rate increased by over 25%. About 20 active duty soliders and veterans die by suicide in the U.S. every day; nearly 70% use a firearm, compared to less than 50% for non-veterans. Veterans are 150% more likely to die by suicide than non-veterans — and this is especially true for female veterans, who are 180% more likely to die by suicide than their non-veteran counterparts.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to preventing suicide from a firearm policy perspective is the degree of impulsivity that leads to suicide attempts. While some suicides are planned days, weeks, or months in advance, over half are completely impulsive acts with no prior planning. While there are many aspects of suicide prevention outside of traditional gun violence prevention work — like removing stigmas around suicide and creating better access to mental and behavioral health care — there is one thing that we can address head-on to decrease the likelihood of death for those experiencing suicidal ideation: reducing access to lethal means. Access to a gun in the home increases the risk of suicide.
A SECOND CHANCE IS CRITICAL BECAUSE THE VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO ATTEMPT SUICIDE — A FULL 70% — WILL NEVER MAKE ANOTHER ATTEMPT ON THEIR LIFE.

Death by 300%. By limiting or delaying access to firearms, many suicides would be prevented. For these reasons, we have focused below on two policy areas that will address both impulsive and non-impulsive firearm suicide.

Key Facts and Messaging:

Extreme Risk Laws

- Extreme Risk Laws (sometimes called “red flag laws” or ERPOs) allow for individuals who are a risk to themselves or others to be temporarily separated from firearms by a court of law without criminal charges or a permanent prohibition.
- Nineteen states and Washington, D.C., currently have versions of Extreme Risk Laws on the books. In the wake of the Parkland shooting, 12 states and the District of Columbia passed Extreme Risk Laws, five of which were signed by Republican governors.
- Extreme Risk Laws are particularly suited to preventing suicide. A study of Connecticut’s ERPO law found that nearly half of all ERPOs resulted in individuals receiving treatment, and that for every 10 to 20 orders at least one suicide was prevented.
- Indiana’s ERPO law was associated with a 7.5% reduction in firearm suicides in the ten years following its enactment, and 1 suicide was averted for approximately every 10 guns removed.
- Extreme Risk Laws can also be used to prevent mass shootings. In a study of 21 cases in California where a credible threat of violence was made by a person who either had access to a firearm or who was attempting to gain it, the temporary removal by the state of that access resulted in no violence.

Legislative Reference:

- HR 1236: Extreme Risk Protection Order Act

Safe Storage and Ending Family Fire

- Family fire is a shooting involving an improperly stored or misused gun found in the home that results in death or injury, including suicides, unintentional shootings, and intentional shootings.
- Every day, eight children and teens are injured or killed by family fire, and 4.6 million children live in a home with an unlocked, loaded firearm.
• Because suicide is often an impulsive act, safe storage saves lives. Firearm owners who keep their firearms locked or unloaded were at least 60% less likely to die from firearm-related suicide than those who store their firearms unlocked and/or loaded.

• More than 70% of the guns used in pediatric suicide attempts were stored in the child’s own residence or the residence of a relative or friend.

• Keeping guns locked and unloaded has been found to have a protective effect against unintentional shootings and suicide among youth, reducing the odds of death by 73%; storing ammunition separately from a firearm reduces the risk of an unintentional shooting among youth by 61%.

• Over 70% of kids know where the guns in their homes are stored, and 1 in 5 parents who said their child never handled guns without supervision were contradicted by their children.

• A modest intervention that motivates households to safely store guns could reduce youth firearm deaths by up to 32%.

• Over 75% of school shootings are facilitated by kids having access to unsecured and/or unsupervised guns at home.

• Safe storage can also prevent guns from entering the illegal market. Gun thefts from cars, homes, and gun dealers are a large source of black-market guns. Between 2010 and 2016, police recovered more than 23,000 stolen firearms, most of which were connected to kidnappings, armed robberies, sexual assaults, murders, and other violent crimes.

Legislative References:

• HR 4926: Prevent Family Fire Act of 2019
• HR 4691: Safe Gun Storage Act of 2019
• S 193: Ethan’s Law

Ghost Guns

Ghost guns are unregulated firearms that are constructed by individuals using unfinished frames or receivers. Frames and receivers are the only parts of a firearm that are regulated under law, and because the pieces used to create ghost guns are “unfinished,” they are unserialized and untraceable. They are often sold in “kits” that contain all the necessary parts, and even the tools, to construct a fully-functioning firearm.

Ghost guns undermine all existing gun laws and are intentionally marketed as such. You do not need a background check to purchase a ghost gun kit or parts, which allows prohibited and dangerous individuals to build their own firearms. Law enforcement officers are also unable to trace ghost guns because they lack serial numbers, making them an all-too-frequent weapon of choice for crime.

Ghost gun use in crime has increased exponentially in recent years. The number of ghost guns recovered in Washington, D.C., increased from three in 2017, to 25 in 2018, to 116 in 2019. Nearly half of recent cases seen by the Los Angeles ATF field division have involved ghost guns, including
three mass shootings which killed 12 people and injured dozens more.

The proliferation of ghost guns is not limited to coastal regions. These weapons have been linked nationwide to homicides, suicides, school shootings, mass shootings, robberies, the shooting deaths of law enforcement officers, and acts of domestic violence. This proliferation has been bolstered by ATF’s unwillingness to regulate ghost guns as firearms, despite calls from former Acting Director Thomas Brandon to do so.

Legislative References:

- HR 3553: Untraceable Firearms Act
- HR 2621: Homeland Security Assessment of Terrorists Use of Ghost Guns Act

Guns and Domestic Violence

In a country where one-third of women and one-quarter of men are victims of physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner in their lifetime, the issue of domestic violence cuts across racial, gender, economic, sexual, generational, and religious divides. On the whole, the amount of individuals who experience this type of violence, and are killed in its course, is shocking. Every year, 529 women are killed by a husband or male dating partner with a gun — an average of one woman every 16 hours. The mere presence of a firearm is a key factor which can turn abusive partners into killers. Women of any race or ethnicity are five times more likely to be killed by an abusive intimate partner when a gun is present during an incident of domestic violence. Native American and Black women face particularly high rates of intimate partner homicide. Inter-partner gun violence is not limited to fatal interactions; firearms are used to intimidate, silence, threaten, or harass intimate partners as well. These traumatic events leave survivors with emotional, and sometimes physical, scars of a time when a person they loved hurt them.

There are critical loopholes in federal law that allow domestic abusers to purchase guns and conduct this deadly violence. While abusers who have committed misdemeanor crimes of domestic violence are banned from purchasing guns under federal law, domestic violence records are much less likely to be detected by a background check due to inadequate reporting of domestic violence convictions by states. Furthermore, abusers can currently access firearms through private sales, which are not subject to Brady Background Checks. Beyond the difficulties in preventing access for those already...
prohibited from owning guns because of a conviction for misdemeanor domestic violence, the law omits acts against dating partners — an oversight known as the “boyfriend loophole.” Under current law, domestic abusers have to be married to their victim, live with their victim, or share a child in common to be convicted of a misdemeanor crime of domestic violence and prohibited from possessing firearms.

Key Facts and Messaging:

- There is no firearm prohibition for dating partners convicted of misdemeanor crimes of violence or misdemeanor stalking crimes, nor those subject to temporary restraining or protective orders.
- From 1980 to 2008, two-thirds of victims murdered by a spouse or ex-spouse were killed by guns. For women, that number was even higher; about 70% of women murdered by their spouse or ex-spouse during that time frame were killed by guns.
- In 2016, 1 out of every 3 women murdered was killed by an intimate partner with a gun, and women who were killed by a spouse, intimate partner, or a close relative were seven times more likely to have lived in homes with guns.
- Over 4.5 million women in American have been threatened by a domestic abuser with a firearm.
- Shockingly, 60% of mass shooting events in the last six years were either domestic violence attacks or perpetrated by those with a history of domestic violence. About 1,300 people die every year in murder-suicides in the United States, and 65% of these incidents involve an intimate partner.
- Inadequacies in the available records allowed domestic abusers to pass background checks and obtain guns over 6,700 times between 2006 and 2015.

Legislative References:

- HR 1585: Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act
- HR 7930: Lori Jackson Domestic Violence Survivor Protection Act
- HR 4600: Domestic Violence Records Reporting Improvement Act
Taking On the Gun Industry

One of the major causes of gun violence in America is the irresponsible business practices of the gun industry that supplies the criminal gun market, and one of the major obstacles to gun violence prevention is the unique and unprecedented protections the gun industry has been granted in federal and state law thanks to a quarter century of lobbying and backroom dealmaking.

For example, in 2003 the NRA worked with U.S. Representative Todd Tiahrt, R-Kan., to insert language into a government funding bill that restricted the ATF from publicly releasing firearms trace data, thereby hiding crucial information about the true origins of guns used in crimes from policymakers and the public. These “Tiahrt Amendments” have been used to shield the most negligent gun dealers from public scrutiny, such as the roughly 5% of licensed firearms dealers responsible for the sale of 90% of crime guns whose identities are blocked from disclosure. Two years later, the gun industry scored another major victory, to the detriment of all Americans, with the passage of the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act (PLCAA). This law was passed after impact litigation by cities and individuals had begun to change firearms manufacturers’ and retailers’ dangerous business practices. PLCAA has been interpreted by some courts to provide firearms manufacturers and retailers unheard-of protection from civil liability, which undermines victims of gun violence and removes key incentives for the gun industry to adopt life-saving business practices.

The unique protections afforded the gun industry shield it from the oversight to which every other American industry is subject, running counter to the fundamental principle that no one is above the law. We must end special treatment and ensure a level playing field by taking on the gun industry, removing special protections, and ensuring transparency.

Note: You will find redundancies in this section that were referenced in our supply-side strategies for combating community violence. Because these approaches are inextricably linked, we feel the redundancies are appropriate and necessary.

Key Facts and Messaging:

- The gun industry, which continues to profit from the proliferation of firearms in America’s most vulnerable communities, has operated with near-impunity for too long. The gun industry is not above the law.
- A small minority of irresponsible gun dealers profit from dangerous business practices and have no accountability to their victims. No other American industry enjoys such protection from fundamental principles of civil justice.
- The gun industry must be held accountable for its role in driving America’s gun violence epidemic.
- Trace data used to be publicly accessible, pulling back the curtain on the negligent and irresponsible dealers who are diverting guns into the illegal market, but the Tiahrt Amendments have blocked ATF from releasing that data, shielding the industry.
- PLCAA allows firearm companies to profit off supplying guns to the illegal market with little concern for the consequences. This protection makes victims of gun violence second-class citizens, interfering with every American’s right to seek civil justice in the courts.
As the Superior Court of Pennsylvania recently recognized, **PLCAA is unconstitutional** because states have the authority not only to hold negligent gun dealers accountable in court, but to ensure that all victims have the right to seek civil justice against wrongdoers who cause them harm.

**Legislative References:**

- **HR 3214:** Equal Access to Justice for Victims of Gun Violence Act
- **HR 7977:** Firearms Retailer Code of Conduct Act of 2020
- **S 4841:** ATF Improvement and Modernization Act of 2020
- **HR 3234:** Keeping Gun Dealers Honest Act of 2019

**Mass Shootings**

Mass shootings are an American epidemic that no other industrialized country experiences at remotely the same level. Hundreds of incidents occur each year; 2019 alone contained **more mass shootings than days.** Mass shootings account for a **small proportion** of **shooting victims** in the U.S. every year, but the profound psychological harm and loss of life, coupled with the broad, varied, long-lasting, and under-studied ripple effects of these events, make it abundantly clear that mass shootings not only have a **devastating effect** on survivors, their families and friends, and their communities, but have inherently changed the psyche of **the country as a whole.**

Weapons of war, including **military-style assault weapons and high-capacity magazines (HCMs)** known for their ability to exact maximum destruction and casualties, are often the **guns of choice for mass shooters.** From the tragic shooting that killed 20 students and 6 educators at **Sandy Hook Elementary** in 2012 to the recent **Las Vegas massacre** and the attack at **Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School,** easy access to these uniquely lethal weapons and HCMs is a tragically consistent factor in mass shootings. These weapons have no place on America’s streets.

**Key Facts and Messaging:**

- Assault weapons are **consistently used in the deadliest mass shootings** in America, allowing the most murders in the shortest amount of time.
In shootings in which assault weapons or HCMs are used, 155% more people are shot and 47% more people are killed compared to those without them.

The only functional difference between an AR-15 and a military issue M4 is that the latter can shoot automatically. The AR-15 was chosen as the platform for the U.S. military because it could shoot through both sides of a standard issue helmet at 500 yards.

A study found that between 1976 and 2018 state laws banning HCMs were associated with 38% fewer fatalities and 77% fewer nonfatal injuries. Between 1990 and 2017, mass shootings involving HCMs resulted in a 62% higher average death toll than those without.

While the Federal Assault Weapons Ban of 1994 was in effect, there was a 37% decline in gun massacres, and the number of people dying from gun massacres fell by 43%. After the assault weapons ban expired in 2004, 37% of police agencies saw increases in criminal use of assault weapons, and 38% reported a noticeable increase in criminal use of HCMs.

National Security

The ease with which prohibited purchasers can access a firearm poses a serious threat to American national security. The catalog of firearms available to the average American consumer is incredibly diverse and includes firearms specifically designed for offensive, anti-personnel operations. We do not need to speculate whether the easy availability of such firearms creates opportunities for radicalized individuals to inflict mass damage on the public; it has never been a question of if it will happen, but when it will happen — again. In the shadow of armed “militia” groups storming state capitols, the most recent assessment by the Department of Homeland Security ranks white supremacist groups as the greatest terrorist threat to Americans at home.

Ongoing trends in cross-border gun trafficking also continue to present a threat to our security interests. About 250,000 American-manufactured firearms are trafficked into Mexico every year, many of which will move further into Central and South America, fueling drug cartels and other criminal syndicates. The firearm homicide rate in Mexico is now four times that of America’s, and about 70% of the firearms recovered in crime there come from the United States. While some may decry asylum seekers coming to our southern border, it should be noted that many of these individuals are fleeing political and criminal violence made possible by American guns.

Recent changes to the firearms export regime by the Trump administration will further degrade U.S. national security interests abroad by directly exporting America’s gun violence epidemic. Semi-automatic firearms, including assault weapons,

**Legislative References:**

- S 66: Assault Weapons Ban of 2019
- HR 1263: National Firearms Amendments Act of 2019
- S 447: Keep America Safe Act
- HR 4691: Safe Gun Storage Act of 2019
- HR 717: Raise the Age Act
that were once under State Department and congressional review for export licensing have been transferred to the Commerce Department’s control, removing key oversight and human rights considerations. Even more recently, the Trump administration rescinded the ban on overseas silencer sales, which had been instituted to prevent terrorist groups from killing American soldiers with them. These types of arms are used around the world to suppress political opposition, murder civilians, and terrorize peaceful governments, and cartels and terrorist organizations can exploit weak governments to get guns delivered to them. America’s arms sales should serve its national security interests, not endanger them.

Police Violence

Police violence is the unlawful, unnecessary, or disproportionate use of force by law enforcement. Because police violence in all of its forms is facilitated by the direct use, threat, or perceived threat of firearms, police violence is gun violence. The prevalence of police violence is exacerbated by deeply-rooted racism in American culture, the shocking militarization of police, insufficient police training and dangerous policing tactics and policies, and extreme barriers to transparency and accountability. People of color, especially Black, Latinx, and Native American people, are much more likely to be killed by police than white people. Furthermore, police violence undermines the overall effort to combat gun violence by engendering distrust in communities that sorely need effective policing. As we work to tackle the gun violence epidemic in America, we cannot ignore police violence or its devastating effects.

Like all gun violence, there is no easy solution, no simple panacea, no one piece of legislation that will end systemic racism in policing and violence overnight and establish the essential reform, transparency, and accountability needed in communities across the country. In line with this, changes to policing must include

Legislative References:

- HR 1134: Prevent Crime and Terrorism Act
- HR 4324: Multiple Firearm Sales Reporting Modernization Act
- HR 2621: Homeland Security Assessment of Terrorists Use of Ghost Guns Act
each of these four elements: reallocation and reassessment of resources and authority from police to other services and organizations; reform of police practices; mandated transparency; and mechanisms to ensure accountability and justice.

Key Facts and Messaging:

- The presence of armed officers can unfortunately quickly escalate a crisis. In worst-case scenarios, officers will use force on a person in crisis, unnecessarily and unjustly killing or seriously injuring someone who simply needed the care and support of social service professionals.

- The U.S. suffers a disproportionate amount of police violence. In 2015 and 2016, there were an average of four arrest-related deaths in the U.S. every day. An interaction with a police officer in the U.S. is ten times more likely to end in death than in the United Kingdom.

- There is no standard in policing that affects more lives than the standard for the use of deadly force. We must adhere to human rights standards and establish clear and strict conditions for federal law enforcement officers to meet before using deadly force.

- Federal law has enabled the militarization of police by transferring excess military equipment from the armed forces to state and local law enforcement. We must limit this transfer of battlefield equipment to the civilian agencies and departments tasked with keeping our communities safe.

- People of color, those with disabilities, gender nonconforming individuals, the formerly incarcerated, those with uncertain immigration status, and people experiencing homelessness encounter disproportionate police contact that is inherently influenced by deep-rooted bias and stigma.

- The communities most impacted by gun violence are also most likely to be victims of police violence. At the same time, many in these communities decry ineffective policing and demand a new vision for public safety that will reduce gun homicide. Since many local violence intervention programs work to decrease rates of violence and homicides by addressing their underlying causes, reallocating portions of police funding into these programs could serve the dual purpose of preventing gun violence.

Legislative References:

- HR 7120: George Floyd Justice in Policing Act
- S 2671: Break the Cycle of Violence Act
Hate Crimes

A hate crime is a crime motivated by prejudice against core aspects of a person’s identity, such as race, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. As prosecutors must prove this specific motivation of bias in court, hate crimes are much more difficult to charge and prosecute.

In 2019 there were over 8,500 hate crime offenses reported to the Department of Justice, but the actual number of hate crimes occurring is difficult to determine due to under-reporting at local, state, and national levels. Distressingly, hate crimes are on the rise — hate crimes in the largest U.S. cities were up about 20% in 2017 compared to 2016, and fatal hate crimes rose to their highest level in over a decade in 2019. Data from 2016 to 2017 showed that hate crimes targeting Black Americans increased by 16% and hate crimes against Hispanic and Latino Americans increased by 24%. In addition, anti-Semitic incidents increased by 57%, and from 2014 to 2017 hate crimes against the Muslim community increased by 77%.

Despite many attempts to close this hate crime gap, only a handful of states have passed laws that prohibit those convicted of a bias-motivated misdemeanor from buying guns.

Individuals with prior hate crime misdemeanor convictions are at an increased risk for future violence and firearm-related crimes, and the distinction between being convicted of a misdemeanor or a felony may not be entirely reflective of the crime committed or the potential danger to society. There is no better predictor of future violence than past violence, and individuals who exercise violence on the basis of hate present a clear danger to society. Over 63,000 hate crimes were reported to the FBI between 2010 and 2019; however, like cases of domestic violence, such incidents are vastly underreported, further highlighting the need for action on this issue. Congress should act to close this loophole and withhold firearms access from all individuals convicted of violent hate crimes.

**Legislative Reference:**
- HR 2708 - Disarm Hate Act

**HATE CRIMES ARE ON THE RISE — HATE CRIMES IN THE LARGEST U.S. CITIES WERE UP ABOUT 20% IN 2017 COMPARED TO 2016, AND FATAL HATE CRIMES ROSE TO THEIR HIGHEST LEVEL IN OVER A DECADE IN 2019.**
CONCLUSION

There is no one solution to saving American lives from the epidemic of gun violence. The responsibility to act is shared among our elected leaders, our communities, and ourselves. That said, the 117th Congress can take a leading role by enacting life-saving laws, conducting oversight hearings into the agencies responsible for enforcing our laws, and fully funding key intervention and research programs that have languished under previous leadership entirely beholden to the gun industry.

Positive change can happen, and the 116th Congress took bold steps to move us in that direction. We are at a pivotal moment in time, again prepared to make history alongside members of Congress and an administration with a mandate to take on this challenge. The American people have made it clear that this problem can no longer be ignored, and we at Brady are committed to working with you to ensure that life-saving change and comprehensive solutions are delivered to the American people.

From our earliest days, it has been Brady’s solemn duty to ensure that future generations will not live in fear of gun violence, and toward that end we are committed to supporting our champions in the 117th Congress. Lives are at stake, and it is in our hands.