

**STEPHEN P. HALBROOK, PH.D.**  
**ATTORNEY AT LAW**  
**SUITE 403**  
**3925 CHAIN BRIDGE ROAD**  
**FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22030**

TELEPHONE (703) 352-7276  
FAX (703) 359-0938

Protell@aol.com  
www.stephenhalbrook.com

April 1, 2020

***R E S U M E***

**BAR MEMBERSHIPS**

Virginia State Bar  
District of Columbia Bar  
U.S. Supreme Court  
U.S. Courts of Appeals (D.C., 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, Federal  
Circuits)  
U.S. District Courts (D.C., E.D. Va., Md., N.D. Ga., S.D. Ohio, E.D. Ca., C.D. Ill., E.D.  
Mich., D. Ariz., E.D. Wis.)  
U.S. Courts (Claims, Tax, Military Appeals)

**EDUCATION**

Georgetown University Law Center	J.D.	1978
Florida State University	Ph.D. Philosophy	1972
Florida State University	B.S. Business	1969

**EMPLOYMENT**

Attorney at Law, Civil Litigation and Criminal Defense, 1978-Present  
Senior Fellow, The Independent Institute  
Assistant Professor of Philosophy - George Mason University, 1980-81; Howard  
University, 1974-79; Tuskegee Institute, 1972-74  
Law Fellow/Coordinator, Barristers' Council, Georgetown University, 1975-77  
Instructor of Philosophy, Florida State University, 1970-72

**COUNSEL IN REPORTED CASES**

***U.S. Supreme Court (prevailed in all cases):***

*McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742 (2010) (on NRA brief). Case history: *National Rifle Ass'n v. Village of Oak Park*, 617 F. Supp.2d 752 (N.D. Ill. 2008), *aff'd sub nom.*, *National Rifle Ass'n v. City of Chicago*, 567 F.3d 856 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2009) (oral argument 2009 WL 1556531), *cert. granted sub nom.*, *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 130 S.Ct. 48 (2009), *rev'd*, *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 130 S. Ct. 3020 (2010), *cert. granted & remanded*, *NRA v. Chicago*, 2010 WL 2571876 (U.S. 2010). On remand, *NRA v. Chicago*, 393 F. App'x 390 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. Aug. 25, 2010), *on further remand*, *NRA v. Village of Oak Park*, 755 F. Supp.2d 982 (N.D. Ill. 2010) (denying attorney's fees), *rev'd*, *NRA v. Chicago*, 646 F.3d 992 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2011) (remanding for award of attorney's fees), 871 F. Supp.2d 781 (N.D. Ill. 2012) (fee award).

*Small v. United States*, 544 U.S. 385, 125 S. Ct. 1752, 161 L.Ed.2d 651 (2005) (on brief).

*Castillo v. United States*, 530 U.S. 120, 120 S. Ct. 2090, 147 L. Ed. 2d 94 (2000) (argued). Case history: *United States v. Branch*, 91 F.3d 699 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1996), *cert. denied sub nom.*, *Castillo v. United States*, 520 U.S. 1185 (1997), *aff'd, after remand*, 179 F.3d 321 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1999), *cert. granted*, 528 U.S. 1109 (2000), oral argument: April 24, 2000, *final remand*, 220 F.3d 648 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2000). The Supreme Court reversed the Fifth Circuit decisions. Oral argument in the Supreme Court available at <http://www.oyez.org/oyez/audio/1233/argument.smil> or 2000 WL 526625. The announcement of the decision by Justice Breyer may be heard at <http://www.oyez.org/oyez/audio/1233/opinion.smil>.

*Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898, 117 S. Ct. 2365, 138 L. Ed. 2d 914 (1997) (argued), *oral argument*, 65 U.S.L.W. 3425 (Dec. 17, 1996), *rev'g Mack v. United States*, 66 F.3d 1025 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1995), *rev'g* 856 F. Supp. 1372 (D. Ariz. 1994) and *rev'g Printz v. United States*, 854 F.Supp. 1503 (D. Mont. 1994). Oral argument in the Supreme Court available in *The Supreme Court's Greatest Hits* (CD, Northwestern University, 1999), 1996 WL 706933, or <http://www.oyez.org/oyez/resource/case/835/audioresources>.

*United States v. Thompson/Center Arms Co.*, 504 U.S. 505, 112 S. Ct. 2102, 119 L. Ed. 2d 308 (1992) (argued), *aff'g*. 924 F.2d 1041 (Fed. Cir. 1991), *rev'g* 19 Cl.Ct. 725 (1990). *Earlier proceeding*, *Thompson/Center Arms Co. v. Baker*, 686 F. Supp. 38 (D.N.H. 1988). Oral argument in the Supreme Court available at 1992 WL 687859.

### ***Federal and State Courts:***

*Baca v. New Mexico Dept. of Public Safety*, 132 N.M. 282, 47 P.3d 441 (2002) (Intervenors).

*Blaustein & Reich, Inc. v. Buckles*, 220 F. Supp.2d 535 (E.D. Va. 2002), *aff'd*, 365 F.3d 281 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2004) (Plaintiff).

*Brown v. Continental Telephone Co. of Va., Inc.*, 670 F.2d 1364 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1982) (Plaintiff).

*Coalition of New Jersey Sportsmen v. Whitman*, 44 F. Supp.2d 666 (D. N.J. 1999), *aff'd*, 263 F.3d 157 (3d Cir. 2001), *cert. denied*, 534 U.S. 1039 (2001) (Plaintiffs).

*Farmer v. Higgins*, 907 F.2d 1041 (11th Cir. 1990), *cert. denied*, 498 U.S. 1047 (1991) (Plaintiff).

*F.J. Vollmer Co., Inc. v. Higgins*, 23 F.3d 448 (D.C. Cir. 1994), *later proceeding*, *F.J. Vollmer Co., Inc. v. Magaw*, 102 F.3d 591 (D.C. Cir. 1996) (Plaintiff).

*Fresno Rifle & Pistol Club, Inc. v. Van de Kamp*, 746 F. Supp. 1415 (E.D. Cal. 1990), *aff'd*, 965 F.2d 723 (9th Cir. 1992) (Plaintiffs).

*Gilbert Equipment Co., Inc. v. Higgins*, 709 F. Supp. 1071 (S.D. Ala. 1989), *aff'd*, 894 F.2d 412 (11th Cir. 1990) (*mem.*) (Plaintiff).

*Gun Owners' Action League, Inc. v. Swift*, 284 F.3d 198 (1<sup>st</sup> Cir. 2002), *cert. denied*, 537 U.S. 827 (2002) (Plaintiffs).

*Heller v. District of Columbia*, 698 F. Supp.2d 179 (D. D.C. 2010), *aff'd in part & rev'd in part*, 670 F.3d 1244 (D.C. Cir. 2011), *on remand*, 290 F.R.D. 1, *later proceeding*, 952 F. Supp.2d 133 (D. D.C. 2013), *later proceeding*, 45 F. Supp.3d 35 (D. D.C. 2014), *aff'd in part & rev'd in part*, 801 F.3d 264 (D.C. Cir. 2015), *reh. denied*, 814 F.3d 480 (D.C. Cir. 2016) (Plaintiffs).

*Intrac Arms International, L.L.C. v. Albright*, 1998 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 21858 (D. D.C. 1998) (Plaintiff).

*Koog/McGee v. United States*, 79 F.3d 452 (5th Cir. 1996), *cert. denied*, *United States v. Gonzalez*, 521 U.S. 1118, 117 S.Ct. 2507, 138 L.Ed.2d 1011 (1997), *rev'g Koog v. United States*, 852 F. Supp. 1376 (W.D. Tex. 1994), and *aff'g McGee v. United States*, 863 F. Supp. 321, *earlier proceeding* 849 F. Supp. 1147 (S.D. Miss. 1994) (Plaintiffs).

*Lomont v. Summers*, 135 F. Supp. 2d 23 (D. D.C. 2001), *aff'd*, 285 F.3d 9 (D.C. Cir. 2002) (Plaintiffs).

*National Rifle Ass'n v. Brady*, 914 F.2d 475 (4th Cir. 1990), *cert. denied*, 499 U.S. 959 (1991), *later proceeding*, *National Rifle Ass'n v. Bentsen*, 999 F.2d 772 (4th Cir. 1993) (Plaintiffs).

*National Rifle Ass'n v. City of South Miami*, 774 So. 2d 815 (Fla. 3<sup>rd</sup> DCA 2000), *later proceeding*, 812 So. 2d 504 (Fla. 3<sup>rd</sup> DCA 2002) (Plaintiffs).

*National Rifle Ass'n v. City of Evanston*, 2009 WL 1139130 (N.D. Ill. 2009) (Plaintiffs).

*National Rifle Ass'n v. Nagin*, 2005 WL 2428840 (E.D. La. 2005) (Plaintiffs).

*National Rifle Ass'n v. Reno*, 216 F.3d 122 (D.C. Cir. 2000), *cert. denied*, 533 U.S. 928 (2001) (Plaintiffs).

*National Shooting Sports Foundation, Inc. v. Jones*, 840 F. Supp.2d 310 (D. D.C. 2012), *aff'd*, 716 F.3d 200 (D.C. Cir. 2013) (Plaintiffs).

*New York State Rifle & Pistol Ass'n, Inc. v. Cuomo*, 990 F. Supp.2d 349 (W.D. N.Y. 2013), *aff'd in part & rev'd in part*, 804 F.3d 242 (2nd Cir. 2015) (Plaintiffs).

*Norman v. State*, 215 So. 3d 18 (Fla. 2017), *cert. denied*, 138 S. Ct. 469 (2017) (Petitioner).

*Peoples Rights Organization, Inc. v. City of Columbus*, 925 F. Supp. 1254 (S.D. Ohio 1996), *aff'd in part and rev'd in part*, 152 F.3d 522 (6th Cir. 1998) (Plaintiffs).

*Peoples Rights Organization, Inc. v. Montgomery*, 142 Ohio App. 3d 443, 756 N.E.2d 127 (2001), *appeal denied*, 93 Ohio St. 3d 1410, 754 N.E.2d 258 (2001) (Plaintiffs).

*Richmond Boro Gun Club, Inc. v. City of New York*, 896 F. Supp. 276 (E.D. N.Y. 1995), *aff'd*, 97 F.3d 681 (2nd Cir. 1996) (Plaintiffs).

*Robertson v. City of Denver*, 874 P.2d 325 (Colo. 1994), *appeal after remand*, 978 P.2d 156 (Colo. App. 1999) (Plaintiffs).

*Ron Peterson Firearms, LLC v. Jones*, 760 F.3d 1147 (10<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2014) (Plaintiff).

*RSM, Inc. v. Buckles*, 94 F. Supp. 2d 692 (D. Md. 2000), *rev'd*, 254 F.3d 61 (4th Cir. 2001) (Plaintiffs).

*Ruiz v. People Express Airlines*, 802 F.2d 1508 (4th Cir. 1986), *cert. denied*, 480 U.S. 934 (1987) (Plaintiffs).

*Seegars v. Ashcroft*, 297 F. Supp. 2d 201 (D. D.C. 2004), *rev'd in part & aff'd in part*, 396 F.3d 1248 (D.C. Cir. 2005), *reh. denied*, 413 F.3d 1 (D.C. Cir. 2005) (with opinions), *cert. denied*, 456 U.S. 1157 (2006) (Plaintiffs).

*Sendra Corp. v. Magaw*, 111 F.3d 162 (D.C. Cir. 1997) (Plaintiff).

*Shew v. Malloy*, 994 F. Supp.2d 234 (D. Conn. 2014), *aff'd in part & rev'd in part*, 804 F.3d 242 (2nd Cir. 2015) (Plaintiffs).

*Sig Sauer, Inc. v. Jones*, 133 F. Supp.3d 364 (D. N.H. 2015), *aff'd*, 826 F.3d 598 (1st Cir. 2016) (Plaintiff).

*Springfield Armory, Inc. v. City of Columbus*, 805 F. Supp. 489 (S.D. Ohio 1992), *rev'd*, 29 F.3d 250 (6th Cir. 1994) (Plaintiffs).

*Springfield, Inc. v. Buckles*, 116 F. Supp. 2d 85 (D. D.C. 2000), *aff'd*, 292 F.3d 813 (D.C. Cir. 2002) (Plaintiff).

*State v. Denver*, 139 P.2d 635 (Colo. 2006), oral argument available at 2005 WL 6190565 or [mms://www.courts.state.co.us/supctoralarguments/051208\\_05sa22.wma](mms://www.courts.state.co.us/supctoralarguments/051208_05sa22.wma) (Plaintiff).

*Taylor v. United States*, 848 F.2d 715 (6th Cir. 1988) (Plaintiff).

*Torraco v. Port Authority of N.Y. & N.J.*, 615 F.3d 129 (2<sup>nd</sup> Cir. 2010) (Plaintiffs).

*United States v. Bundy*, 392 F.3d 641 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2004) (Defendant).

*United States v. Evans*, 712 F. Supp. 1435 (D. Mont. 1989), *aff'd*, 928 F.2d 858 (9th Cir. 1991) (defendant in District Court).

*United States v. Fourteen Various Firearms*, 889 F. Supp. 875, *later proceeding*, 899 F. Supp. 249 (E.D. Va. 1995) (Defendant).

*United States v. Hunter*, 843 F. Supp. 235 (E.D. Mich. 1994) (Defendant).

*United States v. Leasure*, 1997 U.S. App. LEXIS 5823 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1997) (Defendant).

*United States v. Rock Island Armory, Inc.*, 773 F. Supp. 117 (C.D. Ill. 1991), *appeal dismissed*, No. 91-2595, 1991 WL 224268 (7th Cir. Aug. 13, 1991) (Defendants).

*Williams v. State*, 10 A.3d 1167 (Md. 2011), *cert. denied*, 132 S.Ct. 93 (2011) (Petitioner)

*Wilson v. Cook County*, 348 Ill. Dec. 160, 943 N.E.2d 768 (1 Dist. 2011), appeal granted & argued in Ill. Sup. Ct., [http://www.state.il.us/court/Media/On\\_Demand.asp](http://www.state.il.us/court/Media/On_Demand.asp) (oral argument), *rev'd*, 2012 IL 112026, 968 N.E.2d 641 (2012) (Appellants).

## **DRAFTED BRIEFS**

*Commonwealth of Virginia v. United States*, No. 3:95v357 (E.D.Va. 1995). Prepared Tenth Amendment portions of Virginia's briefs challenging federal motor voter law.

*Kasler v. Lungren*, 61 Cal.App.4th 1237, 72 Cal.Rptr.2d 260 (1998), *rev'd.*, *Kasler v.*

*Lockyer*, 23 Cal.4th 472, 2 P.3d 581 (2000), *cert. denied*, 531 U.S. 1149 (2001) (with Don Kates).

*United States v. Mack*, 164 F.3d 467 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1999) (with Don Kates).

*United States v. Twelve Miscellaneous Firearms*, 816 F. Supp. 1316 (C.D. Ill. 1993).

## **AMICUS BRIEFS**

*Brooks v. State*, 128 S.W.3d 844 (Mo. 2004) (National Rifle Association)

*Bryan v. United States*, 524 U.S. 184 (1998) (National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers).

*City of Chicago v. U.S. Dept. of Treasury, BATF*, 287 F.3d 628 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2002), *vacated & remanded*, 537 U.S. 1229 (2003), *on remand*, 384 F.3d 429 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2004), *further proceeding*, 423 F.3d 777 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2005) (NRA).

*District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570 (2008) (55 Members of U.S. Senate, President of U.S. Senate, 250 Members of U.S. House of Representatives). 2008 WL 383530; <http://stephenhalbrook.com/lawsuits/Heller.brief.senators.pdf>

*Dukakis v. U.S. Department of Defense*, 686 F. Supp. 30, *aff'd*, 859 F.2d 1066 (1st Cir. 1988), *cert. denied*, 490 U.S. 1020 (1989).

*Gould v. Morgan*, 907 F.3d 659 (1<sup>st</sup> Cir. 2018) (NRA)

*Harris v. United States*, 536 U.S. 545 (2002) (the Cato Institute and National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers).

*Henderson v. United States*, 2015 WL 2340840 (U.S. 2015) (National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers).

*Houston v. City of New Orleans*, 675 F.3d 441, *vacated & remanded*, 682 F.3d 361 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2012) (NRA)

*In re Jorge M.*, 23 Cal.4th 866, 4 P.3d 297 (2000) (International Wound Ballistics Association).

*Kalodimos v. Village of Morton Grove*, 103 Ill.2d 483, 470 N.E.2d 266 (1984) (Illinois Small Business Men's Association).

*Kellogg v. City of Gary*, 519 N.E.2d 570 (Ind. App. 1988), *rev'd*, 562 N.E.2d 685 (Ind. 1990).

*Logan v. United States*, 552 U.S. 23 (2007) (NRA)

*Love v. State of Florida*, 2019 WL 6906479 (Fla. 2019) (Unified Sportsmen of Florida)

*Millender v. County of Los Angeles*, 620 F.3d 1016 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2010) (*en banc*), *rev'd*, *Messerschmidt v. Millender*, 565 U.S. 535 (2012) (NRA, CRPA).

*Mosby v. Devine*, 851 A.2d 1031 (R.I. 2004) (NRA).

*Nordyke v. King*, 319 F.3d 1185 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2003), *reh. denied*, 364 F.3d 1025 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2004), *later proceeding*, 563 F.3d 439, *reh. en banc granted*, 575 F.3d 890 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2009) (National Rifle Association), *later proceeding*, 644 F.3d 776 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2011), *later proceeding*, 681 F.3d 1041 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2012) (*en banc*) (California Rifle & Pistol Association).

*Ohioans for Concealed Carry v. City of Clyde*, 120 Ohio St.3d 96, 896 N.E.2d 967 (2008) (National Rifle Association)

*Parker v. State*, 221 Cal. App.4th 340, 164 Cal. Rptr.3d 345 (5<sup>th</sup> Dist. 2013), *dismissed as moot*, 384 P.3d 1242 (Ca. 2016) (*mem*) (FFLGuard LLC & Gun Owners of California)

*Perpich v. U.S. Department of Defense*, 880 F.2d 11 (8<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1989), *aff'd*, 496 U.S. 334 (1990) (Firearms Civil Rights Legal Defense Fund).

*People v. Aguilar*, 2013 IL 112116, 2013 WL 5080118 (Ill. 2013) (Illinois State Rifle Association, Congress of Racial Equality, Pink Pistols).

*Peruta v. County of San Diego*, 742 F.3d 1144 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2014), *rev'd*, 824 F.3d 919 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2016) (*en banc*) (Congress of Racial Equality).

*Quilici v. Village of Morton Grove*, 695 F.2d 261 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1982), *cert. denied*, 464 U.S. 863 (1983).

*Rodriguez v. State*, 239 So.3d 147 (Fla. 3<sup>rd</sup> DCA 2018) (Unified Sportsmen of Florida).

*State v. Fisher*, 290 Wis.2d 121, 714 N.W.2d 495 (2006) (National Rifle Association).

*State v. McAdams*, 714 P.2d 1236 (Wyo. 1986).

*United States v. Drasen*, 845 F.2d 731 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1988), *cert. denied*, 488 U.S. 909 (1988).

*United States v. Emerson*, 270 F.3d 203 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001) (Texas Justice Foundation).

*United States v. Murphree*, 783 F.2d 605 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1986).

*United States v. Skoien*, 2010 WL 2735747 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2010) (en banc) (National Rifle Association).

*Voting Rights Coalition v. Wilson*, 60 F.3d 1411 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1995), *cert. denied*, 516 U.S. 1093 (1996). (Prepared portion of Virginia’s amicus brief in Ninth Circuit; filed amicus brief for Sheriff Jay Printz in Supreme Court.)

*Wollschlaeger v. Florida*, 848 F.3d 1293 (11<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2017) (*en banc*) (Unified Sportsmen of Florida).

*Woollard v. Gallagher*, 712 F.3d 865 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2013) (California Rifle & Pistol Ass’n *et al.*).

## **BOOKS**

*Gun Control in Nazi-Occupied France: Tyranny and Resistance*. Oakland: The Independent Institute, 2018.

*Gun Control in the Third Reich: Disarming the Jews and “Enemies of the State.”* Oakland: The Independent Institute, 2013.

### **Translations of *Gun Control in the Third Reich*:**

*Fatales Erbe – Hitlers Waffengesetze: Die legale Entwaffnung von Juden und “Staatsfeinden” im “Dritten Reich”*. Berlin: Berlin Story Verlag, 2016.

*Bas Les Armes! Le Désarmement Des Juifs et Des “Ennemis Intérieurs du Iiie Reich”*. Genève: Éditions Slatkine, 2016.

*Hitler e o Desarmamento, Como o nazismo desarmou os Judeus e os “Inimigos do Reich”*. São Paulo, Brasil: Vide Editorial, 2017.

*The Founders’ Second Amendment: Origins of the Right to Bear Arms*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008. {Cited as authority in *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 768 (2010) (majority opinion); *Binderup v. Attorney General of U.S.*, 836 F.3d 336, 365, 389 n.87 (3<sup>rd</sup> Cir. 2016) (*en banc*) (concurring & dissenting opinions); *United States v. Skoien*, 614 F.3d 638, 640, 648-49 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2010) (*en banc*) (majority and dissenting opinions); *United States v. Tooley*, 717 F. Supp.2d 580, 589, 591 (S.D. W.Va. 2010).}

*The Swiss and the Nazis: How the Alpine Republic Survived in the Shadow of the Third Reich*. Havertown, Pa.: Casemate Publishers; Gloucestershire, UK: Spellmount Ltd., 2006.

### **Translations of *The Swiss and the Nazis*:**

*Schweizer Widerstand gegen Nazi-Deutschland - von Zeitzeugen erlebt und dokumentiert, eine Ergänzung zum Bergier-Bericht.* Lenzburg, CH: Verlag Merker im Effingerhof, 2010.

*La Suisse face aux nazis.* Bière, CH: Editions Cabédita 2011.

*Szwajcaria i naziści. Jak alpejska republika przetrwała w cieniu III Rzeszy.* Poznań, Poland: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2015.

*Target Switzerland: Swiss Armed Neutrality in World War II.* Rockville Center, N.Y.: Sarpedon Publishers, 1998 (hardback); Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003 (paperback); Kindle Edition.

#### **Awards for *Target Switzerland*:**

Stiftung für Abendländische Besinnung (Foundation for Western Thought) prize, Zürich, Nov. 9, 2002, which included publication of booklet *STAB-Preis 2002 für Stephen P. Halbrook und Angelo M. Codevilla*. “Kontrapunkt zur Diffamierung der Schweiz”: Preisverleihung an Stephen Halbrook und Angelo Codevilla,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 11.11.2002, Nr. 262, S. 27.

Max Geilinger Foundation prize for works contributing to Swiss and Anglo-American culture, Zürich, May 27, 2000, which included publication of booklet *Die Schweiz im Visier*. “Auszeichnung für Stephen P. Halbrook: Überreichung des Preises der Max-Geilinger-Stiftung,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 31. Mai 2000, S. 47.

#### **Translations of *Target Switzerland*:**

*Die Schweiz im Visier: Die bewaffnete Neutralität im Zweiten Weltkrieg.* Verlage Novalis Schaffhausen/Rothenhäusler Stäfa, 1999. 2.Auflage 2000, Novalis Verlag, Schaffhausen.

*La Suisse encerclée: La neutralité armée suisse durant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale.* Editions Slatkine Genève, 2000.

*La Svizzera nel mirino: La neutralità armata della Svizzera nella seconda guerra mondiale.* Coedizione Pedrazzini – Locarno/Alberti – Verbania, 2002.

*Cel: Szwajcaria.* Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Bellona, 2003.

*Firearms Law Deskbook, 2018-2019 Edition: Federal and State Criminal Practice.* St.

Paul, MN: Thomson/West, 2018. Previous editions with annual supplements by Clark Boardman Callaghan/Thomson/West Group, 1995-2018. Available on West Law as “FALDB.” {Cited as authority in *United States v. Dodson*, 519 Fed. Appx. 344, 346 n.1 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2013); *Garner v. Lambert*, 345 Fed. Appx. 66, 70 n.8 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2009); *United States v. Coward*, 151 F. Supp.2d 544, 554 n.10 (E.D. Pa. 2001); *State v. Joshua A. Schultz*, 10-CM-13, Wis. Cir. Ct. (Oct. 12, 2010), <http://www.wisconsinappeals.net/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/Schultz1.pdf>.}

*Freedmen, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Right to Bear Arms, 1866-1876*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1998. Updated Edition published as *Securing Civil Rights* (Independent Institute 2010). {Cited as authority in *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 771, 776, 780 (2010); *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 613, 615 (2008); *Peruta v. County of San Diego*, 742 F.3d 1144, 1161-62 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2014); *Nordyke v. King*, 563 F.3d 439, 456 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2009); Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, “Whether the Second Amendment Secures an Individual Right” (2004).}

*That Every Man Be Armed: The Evolution of a Constitutional Right*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984, 2013. Reprinted in 1994, 2000 by Independent Institute, Oakland, Ca. {Cited as authority in *Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898, 939 n.2 (1997) (Thomas, J., concurring); *Silveira v. Lockyer*, 328 F.3d 567, 577 n.53 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2003) (Kleinfeld, J., joined by Kozinski, O’Scannlain, & Nelson, dissenting); *United States v. Emerson*, 46 F. Supp.2d 598, 603-09 (N.D. Tex. 1999); *State v. Sieyes*, 168 Wash.2d 276, 284-85, 225 P.3d 995 (2010); *Mosby v. Devine*, 851 A.2d 1031, 1052 (R.I. 2004) (Flanders, J., dissenting); *State v. Hirsch*, 338 Or. 622, 658, 114 P.3d 1104, 1124 (2005); Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, “Whether the Second Amendment Secures an Individual Right” (2004).}

*A Right to Bear Arms: State and Federal Bills of Rights and Constitutional Guarantees*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989. {Cited as authority in *Nordyke v. King*, 563 F.3d 439, 453 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2009); *United States v. Tooley*, 717 F. Supp.2d 580, 589 (S.D. W.Va. 2010); *Mosby v. Devine*, 851 A.2d 1031, 1042 (R.I. 2004); Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, “Whether the Second Amendment Secures an Individual Right” (2004).}

*Defectless Firearms Litigation* (edited, with Michael K. McCabe). Washington, D.C.: NRA-ILA, 1984.

## LAW REVIEW ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

“‘Arms in the Hands of Jews Are a Danger to Public Safety’: Nazism, Firearm Registration, and the Night of the Broken Glass,” 21 *St. Thomas Law Review* 109-41 (2009). Reprinted in 21 *Journal on Firearms & Public Policy* 22 (Fall 2009).

“Bill of Rights Redivivus: Amendment II,” 17 *The Champion* (Natl. Assn. Criminal Def. Lawyers) 14-20 (Jan./Feb. 1993).

“Citizens in Arms: The Swiss Experience,” *Texas Review of Law & Politics*, vol. 8, Issue 1 (Fall 2003), 142-74.

[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/citizens-in-arms.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/citizens-in-arms.pdf). Oral presentation in *A Question of Balance, International Symposium on Legal, Economic, and Human Rights Implications of Civilian Firearms Ownership and Regulation*, Tower of London, May 1-2, 2003 (DVD available from <http://www.jameswan.com/AQOBsgs.html>).

“Congress Interprets the Second Amendment: Declarations by a Co-Equal Branch on the Individual Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” 62 *Tennessee Law Review* 597-641 (Spring 1995). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/congress.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/congress.pdf)

“The Constitutional Right to Hunt: New Recognition of an Old Liberty in Virginia,” 19 *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Issue 1, 197-233 (2010), [http://works.bepress.com/stephen\\_halbrook/3](http://works.bepress.com/stephen_halbrook/3)

“The Court Did Not Err,” in *Issues on Trial: Gun Control* (Greenhaven Press 2007), 203.

“‘A Crime to Possess a Firearm’: Does the Second Amendment Apply in New York?” 14 *Government, Law & Policy Journal* 51-56 (Summer 2012).

“Defense of Self and Community: A Response to Professor Johnson,” 45 *Connecticut Law Review* 1653 (July 2013).

“The Empire Strikes Back: the District of Columbia’s Post-*Heller* Firearm Registration System,” 81 *Tennessee Law Review* 571 (2014). [http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/Halbrook-Empire-Strikes-Back-DC-Post-Heller.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/Halbrook-Empire-Strikes-Back-DC-Post-Heller.pdf)

“Encroachments of the Crown on the Liberty of the Subject: Pre-Revolutionary Origins of the Second Amendment,” 15 *University of Dayton Law Review*, 91-124 (Fall 1989). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/encroachments.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/encroachments.pdf)

“European History of 1799 as Seen From the USA,” *Suworow in der Schweiz: Colloque Souvorov du bicentenaire 1799 - 1999* (Zurich: Thesis, 2001), 162-79.

“Firearm Sound Moderators: Issues of Criminalization and the Second Amendment,” 46:1 *Cumberland Law Review* 33 (2016). [http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/firearm\\_sound\\_mod.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/firearm_sound_mod.pdf).

“Firearms, the Fourth Amendment, and Air Carrier Security,” 53 *Journal of Air Law and Commerce*, 585-680 (1987), reprinted in Serial No. 91, House Judiciary Committee, 100th Cong., 1st Sess., 174-270 (1987).

“The Freedmen’s Bureau Act and the Conundrum Over Whether the Fourteenth Amendment Incorporates the Second Amendment,” 29 *Northern Kentucky Law Review*, No. 4, 683-703 (2002). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/fba.PDF](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/fba.PDF)

“From *Heller* to Chicagoland: Will Reconstruction Come to the Windy City?” 3 *Northeastern University Law Journal*, No. 1, 105 (2011), <http://www.nulj.org/journal/Halbrook.pdf>.

“Going Armed: How Common Law Distinguishes the Peaceable Bearing of Arms from Carrying Weapons to Terrorize Others,” in Jennifer Tucker et al. eds, *A Right to Bear Arms? The Contested Role of History in Contemporary Debates on the Second Amendment* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2019), 189-201.

“Guns, Criminality and Federalism: Supreme Court Curbs Congressional Power; Reins in Courts of Appeals,” 20 *The Champion* 12-15, 34 (June 1996).

“*Heller*, the Second Amendment, and Reconstruction: Protecting All Freedmen or Only Militiamen?” 50 *Santa Clara Law Review* 1073 (2010). [http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/heller\\_2nd\\_amendment.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/heller_2nd_amendment.pdf)

“The Jurisprudence of the Second and Fourteenth Amendments,” 4 *George Mason University Law Review* 1-69 (Spring 1981). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/jurisprudence.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/jurisprudence.pdf)

“Military Enforcement of the Drug Laws,” in K. and E. Zeese, *Drug Law* 6-44 through 64 (Clark Boardman Callahan, 1993).

“Military Enforcement of Drug Laws Under the Posse Comitatus Act,” 1 *Drug Law Report* 121-129 (Sept./Oct. 1984).

“*Miller versus Texas*: Police Violence, Race Relations, Capital Punishment, and Gun-toting,” 9 *Journal of Law and Policy* (Brooklyn Law School), No. 3, 737-66 (2001) (with Cynthia Leonardatos & David Kopel). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/miller\\_v\\_texas.htm](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/miller_v_texas.htm)

“Nazi Firearms Law and the Disarming of the German Jews,” 17 *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, No. 3, 483-532 (2000). <http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/article-nazilaw.pdf>. Condensed version: Ch. 9 of Aaron Zelman & Richard W. Stevens, *Death by “Gun Control”: The Human Cost of Victim Disarmament* (Hartford, WI: Mazel Freedom Press, 2001), 75-111.

“Nazism, the Second Amendment, and the NRA: A Reply to Professor Harcourt,” 11 *Tex. Rev. L. & Pol.* 113 (2006). [http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/nazism.nra.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/nazism.nra.pdf)

“New York’s Not So ‘SAFE’ Act: The Second Amendment in an Alice-in-Wonderland World Where Words Have No Meaning,” 78 *Albany Law Review*, No. 2, 789-817 (2014/2015). [http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/NYs\\_not\\_so\\_safe\\_act.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/NYs_not_so_safe_act.pdf).

“No Right to ‘Bear Arms’? A Critical Analysis of *United States v. Masciandaro*,” 1 *Wake Forest Law Review Online* 116 (2011), <http://wakeforestlawreview.com/no-right-to-bear-arms-a-critical-analysis-of-united-states-v-masciandaro>

“NRA and Law Enforcement Opposition to the Brady Act: From Congress to the Courts” (with R. Gardiner), 10 *St. John’s Jour. of Legal Commentary* 13-41 (Fall 1994).

“*NRA v. BATFE*: A Misinterpretation of History,” *Jurist*, Nov. 9, 2012. <http://jurist.org/hotline/2012/11/stephen-halbrook-nra-batfe.php>.

“‘Only Law Enforcement Will Be Allowed to Have Guns’: Hurricane Katrina and the New Orleans Firearm Confiscations,” 18 *Geo. Mason U. Civ. Rts. L.J.* 339 (Spring 2008). 18 GMUCRLJ 339.

“Operation Sunrise: America’s OSS, Swiss Intelligence, and the German Surrender 1945,” in “*Operation Sunrise*”. *Atti del convegno internazionale (Locarno, 2 maggio 2005)*, a cura di Marino Viganò - Dominic M. Pedrazzini (Lugano 2006), 103-30. Reprinted in *Swiss American Historical Society Review*, vol. 52:1, 11-52 (Feb. 2016).

“The Original Understanding of the Second Amendment,” in *The Bill of Rights: Original Meaning and Current Understanding*, E. Hickok ed. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 117-129. Cited as authority in *State v. Hirsch*, 177 Ore. App. 441, 446, 34 P.3d 1209, 1211 (2001).

“Personal Security, Personal Liberty, and ‘the Constitutional Right to Bear Arms’: Visions of the Framers of the Fourteenth Amendment,” 5 *Seton Hall Constitutional Law Journal* 341-434 (Spring 1995). Abridgement printed in 7 *Jour. on Firearms and Public Policy* 135-214 (Fall 1995). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/security.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/security.pdf). {Cited as authority in *Peruta v. County of San Diego*, 2014 WL 555862, \*13 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2014); *Ezell v. City of Chicago*, 651 F.3d 684, 702 n.11 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2011)}

“Rationing Firearms Purchases and the Right to Keep Arms: Reflections on the Bills of Rights of Virginia, West Virginia, and the United States,” 96 *West Virginia Law Review*, No. 1, 1-83 (Fall 1993). Cited as authority in *In re Dailey*, 195 W. Va. 330, 342, 465 S.E.2d 601, 613 (1995). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/rationing-firearms.html](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/rationing-firearms.html)

“Reality Check: The ‘Assault Weapon’ Fantasy and Second Amendment Jurisprudence,” 14 *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy* 47-76 (2016). Reprinted in Randy E. Barnett ed., *A Debate on the Second Amendment*, 55 (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Center for the

Constitution, 2020).

“Redefining a ‘Crime’ as a Sentencing Factor to Circumvent the Right to Jury Trial: *Harris v. United States*,” *Cato Supreme Court Review, 2001-2002* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 2002), 187-225. <http://www.cato.org/pubs/scr/docs/2002/halbrook.pdf>

“Restoring the Tenth Amendment: *Printz v. United States*,” in Robert W. McGee ed., *Commentaries on Law & Public Policy*. South Orange, N.J.: Dumont Institute for Public Policy Research, 1998.

“A Revolution in Second Amendment Law,” *Delaware Lawyer* 12-16 (Winter 2011/2012) (with Dan Peterson). Cited as authority in *Doe v. Wilmington Housing Authority*, 88 A.3d 654, 663 n.32-34 (Del. 2014).

“The Right of the People or the Power of the State: Bearing Arms, Arming Militias, and the Second Amendment,” 26 *Valparaiso University Law Review* 131-207 (Fall 1991). Abridgement printed in 6 *Jour. on Firearms and Public Policy* 69-163 (Fall 1994). Cited as authority in *United States v. Emerson*, 270 F.3d 203, 220 n.12 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001); *Kanter v. Barr*, 919 F.3d 437, 454 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2019) (Barrett, J., dissenting). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/power.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/power.pdf)

“Право народа на хранение и ношение оружия: вторая поправка билля о правах США [The Right of the People to Keep and Bear Arms: the Second Amendment in the U.S. Bill of Rights],” *Ukrainian Law Journal “Law of the USA,”* Issue 2 (2013), 240-50.

“The Right of Workers to Assemble and to Bear Arms: *Presser v. Illinois*, One of the Last Holdouts Against Application of the Bill of Rights to the States,” 76 *University of Detroit Mercy Law Review* 943-89 (Summer 1999). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/presser.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/presser.pdf)

“The Right to Bear Arms: For Me, But Not for Thee?” 43 *Harvard J. Law & Pub. Policy* 331 (Spring 2020).

“The Right to Bear Arms in Texas,” 41 *Baylor Law Review*, 629-88 (1989). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/texas.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/texas.pdf)

“The Right to Bear Arms in the First State Bills of Rights: Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Vermont, and Massachusetts,” 10 *Vermont Law Review* 255-320 (1985). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/state-bills.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/state-bills.pdf)

“The Right to Bear Arms in the Virginia Constitution and the Second Amendment: Historical Development and Precedent in Virginia and the Fourth Circuit,” 8 *Liberty University Law Review* 619-47 (Summer 2014).

[http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/8-Halbrook.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/8-Halbrook.pdf)

“The Right to Keep and Bear Arms Under the Second and Fourteenth Amendments,” 5 *Journal on Firearms and Public Policy* 7-28 (Fall 1993).

[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/right-to-keep.html](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/right-to-keep.html)

“‘Sau Nazi!’ What the Swiss Really Thought of Hitler,” *Swiss American Historical Society Review*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 3-21 (February 2001).

“The Second Amendment as a Phenomenon of Classical Political Philosophy,” *Firearms and Violence: Issues of Regulation*, ed. Don B. Kates. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Pub. Co., 1984, reprinted in *The Militia in 20th Century America*, M. Norval ed. (Falls Church, Va. 1985), at 41-65.

“The Second Amendment in the Supreme Court: Where It’s Been and Where It’s Going,” 29 *Hamline Law Review*, No. 3, 449-59 (Summer 2006).

“Second Amendment Symposium – Panelist,” 10 *Seton Hall Constitutional Law Journal*, No. 3, 815-20 (Summer 2000).

“Second-Class Citizenship and the Second Amendment in the District of Columbia,” 5 *George Mason University Civil Rights Law Journal*, Nos. 1 & 2, 105-178 (1995). Cited as authority in *Kasler v. Lockyer*, 23 Cal.4th 472, 506, 2 P.3d 581 (2000) (Brown, J., concurring). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/citizenship.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/citizenship.pdf)

“The Spirit of Resistance: The Swiss ‘Wochenshau’ and ‘Armeefilmdienst,’” in Leo Schelbert ed., *Switzerland Under Siege, 1939-1945: A Neutral Nation’s Struggle for Survival* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2000).

“St. George Tucker: The American Blackstone,” 32 *Virginia Bar News* 45-50 (Feb. 1984).

“St. George Tucker’s Second Amendment: Deconstructing ‘The True Palladium of Liberty,’” 3 *Tennessee Journal of Law and Policy*, No. 2, 120-55 (Spring 2007).

[http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/Deconstructing\\_The\\_True\\_Palladium\\_of\\_Liberty.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/Deconstructing_The_True_Palladium_of_Liberty.pdf)

“Suing the Firearms Industry: A Case for Federal Reform?” 7 *Chapman Law Review* 11-38 (Spring 2004). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/suing.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/suing.pdf)

“The Swiss and the Nazis,” 43 *Swiss American Historical Review*, No. 1, 4-30 (Feb. 2007).

“The Swiss Confederation in the Eyes of America’s Founders,” 48 *Swiss American Historical Review* No. 3, 32-69 (Nov. 2012).

“The Swiss Influence on the American Constitution,” in Halbrook, *Die Schweiz im Visier*

(Zurich: Max Geilinger-Stiftung 2000), 30-39.

“Taking *Heller* Seriously: Where Has the Roberts Court Been, and Where Is it Headed, on the Second Amendment?” 13 *Charleston Law Review* 175-203 (Winter 2018).  
[https://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/Taking\\_Heller\\_Seriously.pdf](https://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/Taking_Heller_Seriously.pdf)

“Tench Coxe and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, 1787-1823” (with David B. Kopel), 7 *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Issue 2, 347-99 (Feb. 1999).  
<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1272675>, [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/cox.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/cox.pdf)

To Bear Arms for Self-Defense: A “Right of the People” or a Privilege of the Few? (Part One.) 21 *The Federalist Society Review* 46 (2020).  
<https://fedsoc.org/commentary/publications/to-bear-arms-for-self-defense-a-right-of-the-people-or-a-privilege-of-the-few>.

To Bear Arms for Self-Defense: A “Right of the People” or a Privilege of the Few? (Part Two.) 21 *The Federalist Society Review* 56 (2020).  
<https://fedsoc.org/commentary/publications/to-bear-arms-for-self-defense-a-right-of-the-people-or-a-privilege-of-the-few-part-2>.

“To Keep and Bear Their Private Arms: The Adoption of the Second Amendment, 1787-1791,” 10 *Northern Kentucky Law Review* 13-40 (1982), reprinted in CONG. REC., 99th Cong., 1st Sess., S9105-9111 (July 9, 1985).  
[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/keep-and-bear.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/keep-and-bear.pdf)

“Tort Liability for the Manufacture, Sale, and Ownership of Handguns?” 6 *Hamline University Law Review* 351-382 (1983).  
[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/tort-liability.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/tort-liability.pdf)

“Victims and Arms in Classical Legal Philosophy,” *To Be a Victim: Encounters with Crime and Injustice*, Diane Sank and David I. Caplan eds. (New York: Plenum Publishers 1991), at 359-370.

“What the Framers Intended: A Linguistic Analysis of the Right to ‘Bear Arms,’” 49 *Law and Contemporary Problems* 401-412 (1986). Cited as authority in *Kanter v. Barr*, 2019 WL 1219564, \*23 n.14 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2019) (Barrett, J., dissenting); *Binderup v. Attorney General of U.S.*, 836 F.3d 336, 369 (3<sup>rd</sup> Cir. 2016) (*en banc*) (concurring opinion); *United States v. Emerson*, 270 F.3d 203, 220 n.12, 227 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001); *State v. Hirsch*, 338 Or. 622, 658, 115 P.3d 1104, 1124 (2005); *United States v. Li*, 2008 WL 4610318, \*3 (E.D. Wis. 2008); *State v. Jorgenson*, 312 P.3d 960, 966 (Wash. 2013) (*en banc*).  
[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/linguistic-analysis.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/linguistic-analysis.pdf)

“Why Can’t We Be Like France? How the Right to Bear Arms Got Left Out of the Declaration of Rights and How Gun Registration was Decried Just in Time for the Nazi Occupation,” XXXIX *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, No. 5, 1637-1694 (Oct. 2012).  
[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/Halbrook\\_France-Article-Fordham-publish](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/Halbrook_France-Article-Fordham-publish)

## CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY AND REPORTS

“Banning Small Metal Firearms and Plastic Firearms,” *Undetectable Firearms*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Senate Judiciary Committee, 100th Cong., 1st Sess., 57-105 (1987).

“Enforcement of the Second Amendment by Congress: The Intent of the Fourteenth Amendment” and “Supreme Court Cases on the Second Amendment,” Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitution, Senate Judiciary Committee, 105th Cong. (1998).

“Firearm Accessory Regulation and Enforcing Federal and State Reporting to NICS,” Senate Judiciary Committee, Dec. 6, 2017. Written <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Halbrook%20Testimony.pdf>. Live <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/watch?hearingid=F7B33832-5056-A066-605A-B20AB0C798B7> (beginning at 2:32:49).

“The Fourteenth Amendment and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms: The Intent of the Framers,” *The Right to Keep and Bear Arms*, Report of the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 97th Cong., 2d Sess., 68-82 (1982). Reprinted in R. Cottrol ed., *Gun Control and the Constitution* 360-74 (N.Y.: Garland Pub., 1994). [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/14th-amendment.pdf](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/14th-amendment.pdf)

“‘I Can’t Have My Babies Back’: Historical and Constitutional Objections to Use of the National Guard in Domestic Law Enforcement” (with David B. Kopel), Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime, House Judiciary Committee, Oct. 5, 1994, 29 pp.

“Infringements on the Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” *Selected Crime Issues: Prevention and Punishment*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, House Judiciary Committee, 102nd Cong., 1st Sess., 849-897 (1991).

“Police Surveillance and Temporary Suspension of the Exercise of a Constitutional Right,” *The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act*, Hearings before Subcommittee on the Constitution, Senate Judiciary Committee, 101st Cong., 1st Sess., 167-211, 234-36 (1991).

“Prepared Statement,” *Assault Weapons*, Hearing Before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 103rd Cong., 1st Sess., 148-56 (1994).

“Prior Restraint, Police Surveillance, and the Purchase of Constitutionally Protected Arms,” Subcommittee on Crime, House Judiciary Committee, 100th Cong., 2d Sess. (Feb. 24, 1988). Oral testimony: <http://www.c-span.org/video/?3773-1/guns-drugs> (1:47:00). Also in *Handgun Violence Prevention Act of 1987*, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on the Constitution,

Senate Judiciary Committee, 100th Cong., 2d Sess., 132-156 (1989).

“Prohibition of Firearms as an Infringement on the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, House Judiciary Committee, April 25, 1994, 22 pp.

“The Prohibition of Semiautomatic Firearms and the Right to Keep Arms,” Subcommittee on Crime, House Judiciary Committee, April 5-6, 1989, 47 pp.

“Semiautomatic Firearms and the Second Amendment,” *Assault Weapons*, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Senate Judiciary Committee, 101 Cong., 1st Sess., 165-205 (1990).

“Should Congress Regulate Sporting Equipment Used by Martial Artists?” *Mailing of Dangerous Martial Arts Weapons*, Senate Judiciary Committee, U.S. Senate, 99th Cong., 1st Sess., 56-81 (1986).

“Testimony,” *Federal Licensing Procedures for Importing and Selling Firearms*, Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, 103d Cong., 1st Sess., 31, 43-48 (1993).

Testimony on Nomination of Eric Holder as Attorney General, Senate Judiciary Committee, 111<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., January 16, 2009.  
[http://judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/testimony.cfm?id=3629&wit\\_id=7575](http://judiciary.senate.gov/hearings/testimony.cfm?id=3629&wit_id=7575) (written),  
<http://www.independent.org/blog/?p=994> (oral).

Testimony on the Nomination of Sonia Sotomayor to Be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 111<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., July 16, 2009.  
<http://judiciary.senate.gov/pdf/07-16-09HalbrookTestimony.pdf> (written);  
<http://www.senate.gov/fplayers/CommPlayer/commFlashPlayer.cfm?fn=judiciary071609&st=xxx>  
(oral testimony starting at minute 632)

Testimony of Stephen P. Halbrook, Sportsmen’s Heritage & Recreational Enhancement (SHARE) Act of 2017, Hearing on H.R. 3668 (Rep. Jeff Duncan), Subcommittee on Federal Lands, Committee on Natural Resources, U.S. House of Representatives, September 12, 2017.  
Written  
<http://docs.house.gov/meetings/II/II10/20170912/106418/HMTG-115-II10-Wstate-HalbrookS-20170912.pdf>. Live [stephenhalbrook.com](http://stephenhalbrook.com)

“Testimony on Proposed Bans on Miniature, Unrecognizable and Nonmetal Firearms,” *Firearms Which Escape Detection at Airport Security Checkpoints*, Subcommittee on Crime, House Judiciary Committee, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. 138-270, 292-302 (1987).

“Unconstitutional Features of the D.C. Strict Liability Act,” Hearings on Gun Liability Amendments to H.R. 3709, House Committee on the District of Columbia, 102nd Cong. (Nov. 21, 1991), 44 pp.

“A Waiting Period for Handgun Purchases as an Infringement on the Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” House Judiciary Committee, 103rd Cong., 1st Sess. (Sept. 30, 1993), 30 pp.

“Waiting Periods and Police Scrutiny for Exercise of Constitutional Rights,” Subcommittee on the Constitution, Senate Judiciary Committee, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 16, 1987), 19 pp.

## SHORT ARTICLES

“Afraid to Trust the People With Arms,” 7 *The Free Market*, No. 6, 2, 5 (June 1989), reprinted in *The Economics of Liberty*, ed. L. Rockwell (Ludwig von Mises Institute 1990).

“An American’s View of How the Swiss Coped with the Crisis in the 1990s,” *Wir Ziehen Bilanz: Zur Auseinandersetzung um die Haltung der Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stäfa: Th. Gut Verlag, Zürichsee Presse AG, 2005), 154-73. Also in *La Suisse au pilori? Témoignages et bilan à la suite du Rapport Bergier* (Edition Cabédita, Yens-sur-Morges 2006).

“An Armed Society,” *American Guardian*, Jan. 1998, 40-43, 57-58.

“Anatomy of a Lie,” *America’s 1<sup>st</sup> Freedom*, October 2001, 24-29, 52-53.

“Another Look at the Brady Law,” *Washington Post*, October 8, 1994, A-18.  
<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/brady-law.html>

“Armed and Free,” *Soldier of Fortune*, December 1994, 6.

“Armed school guards are our best bet to stop future Newtowns,” *Newsday* (Long Island), Jan. 24, 2013, <http://www.newsday.com/opinion/oped/halbrook-armed-school-guards-are-our-best-bet-to-stop-future-newtowns-1.4503320>.

“Armed to the Teeth, and Free,” *Wall Street Journal Europe*, June 3, 1999.  
<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/guns-crime-swiss.html>

“Armenian genocide didn’t happen by accident,” Tribune News Service, May 13, 2015, various, e.g.,  
[http://www.fresnobee.com/2015/05/13/4522592\\_armenian-genocide-didnt-happen.html?rh=1](http://www.fresnobee.com/2015/05/13/4522592_armenian-genocide-didnt-happen.html?rh=1)

“‘Arming America’ or Disarming Reality?” 149 *American Rifleman* 69 (January 2001).

“The Arms of All the People Should Be Taken Away,” 137 *American Rifleman* 26-29, 76-77 (March 1989). <http://www.nraila.org/Issues/Articles/Read.aspx?ID=9>

“Attorney General Ashcroft & the Second Amendment.”

<http://www.nraila.org/media/misc/halbrookresp.htm>

“BATF vs. Supreme Court,” 144 *American Rifleman* 4 (Apr. 1996).

“Bear Arms and Go to Jail,” Part A1 of *We The People: Community Forums on the Constitution*, American Bar Association Commission on Public Understanding About the Law (1987), 14 pp.

“Bearing Arms a Right, Not Rhetoric,” *Savannah Morning News*, Dec. 15, 2007, <http://savannahnow.com/node/415575>

“Bearing Arms is a Right,” *San Antonio Express-News*, April 16, 1991, 9-A.

“Blame for Parkland rests with local school officials and FBI ineptitude,” *Sacramento Bee*, Feb. 28, 2018. <http://www.sacbee.com/opinion/article202581499.html>.

“The Bush Administration and the Second Amendment,” *ALEC Policy Forum*, vol. 4, no. 2, 42-45 (Summer/Fall 2002).

“Can the First Amendment Survive a Ban on Tobacco Advertising?” *American Voices* 409-15 (New York 1987).

“Chicago versus the Second Amendment,” *Washington Examiner*, Feb. 27, 2010, <http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/columns/OpEd-Contributor/Chicago-versus-the-Second-Amendment-85683127.html>

“Citizens’ rights reloaded” (with U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison), *Washington Times*, June 29, 2008, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/jun/29/citizens-rights-reloaded/>

“A Danger to Public Safety,” *American Rifleman*, January 2016, 74-79.

“The Darker Side of Gun Control,” *National Law Journal*, May 24, 2004, 39. <http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/darker-side.html>

“Das Nazi-Waffengesetz und die Entwaffnung der deutschen Juden,” *Allgemeine Schweizerische Militärzeitschrift*, Nr. 12, Dezember 2001, 8-11. [http://stephenhalbrook.com/law\\_review\\_articles/entwaffnung.pdf](http://stephenhalbrook.com/law_review_articles/entwaffnung.pdf)

“Debating the Second Amendment Point: The Constitution protects each American's right to own a firearm,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 19, 2002, G1, 6. <http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?ID=420>

“Deconstructing the Second Amendment,” posted by Newsmax.com,

<http://www.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2000/11/3/220439.shtml> (Nov. 3, 2000).

“Der freie Bürger und sein Recht, eine Waffe zu tragen,” *Schweizerzeit*, 21. Februar 2003, 5.

“Die Fehler der Vereinigten Staaten vermeiden,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 4, 1997, 18.

“Die Schweiz – immer auf Seiten der Freiheit,” *STAB-Preis 2002 für Stephen P. Halbrook und Angelo M. Codevilla* (Stiftung für Abendländische Besinnung Zürich, 2002), 27-33.

“Die Schweiz im Visier,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, April 23, 2003, S. 14.  
<http://nzz.gbi.de/NZZ.ein>

“Die Schweiz ist ein Sonderfall,” *Pro Libertate*, Juli-August 2010, S. 5.

“Does the United States Need a National Database for Ballistic Fingerprints?” *Insight Magazine*, Vol. 18, Issue 41, Nov. 26, 2002.  
<http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?id=161>

“Don’t Confirm Holder,” *Human Events*, Jan. 28, 2009,  
<http://www.humanevents.com/article.php?id=30445#continueA>

“Eine dringende Ergänzung zum Bergier-Bericht: Ein Interview mit dem Juristen und Buchautor Stephen P. Halbrook,” *Schweizerzeit*, 28. Mai 2010, 5-6.

“Eine kleine Gruppe spielt alles hoch: Stephen P. Halbrook über Stuart Eizenstat,” *Die Weltwoche*, Nr. 51/52, 19. Dezember 2002, S. 9-10. [weltwoche.ch](http://www.weltwoche.ch), Ausgabe 51/02.  
<http://www.weltwoche.ch/artikel/default.asp?AssetID=3932&CategoryID=60>

“*Emerson’s Second Amendment*,” 2001.  
<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/emerson-article.html>

“The Extreme Makeover of St. George Tucker,” *America’s 1<sup>st</sup> Freedom* 25 (Jan. 2007).

“Fear and Loathing Out West,” 12 *The Environmental Forum* 41-42 (Sept./Oct. 1995).

“Firearms: On Trial in Germany,” *NRA Action*, 3 (August 1992).

“The Founders and Firearms,” *Washington Times*, June 11, 2008,  
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/jun/11/the-founders-and-firearms/>

“Framers Didn’t Want National Police Force,” *National Law Journal*, Jan. 17, 1994, at 14.

<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/framers.html>

“Girl Beats Guys: A Swiss Teen Rifle Festival; Das Zürcher Knabenschiessen,” *Schiessen Schweiz*, Nov. 25, 2004, 18-19. Also in *Woman’s Outlook*, Feb. 2006, 57, 63.  
[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/swiss\\_teen\\_rifle\\_festival.html](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/swiss_teen_rifle_festival.html)

“Gun control laws won’t stop Las Vegas-type massacres,” *Sacramento Bee*, Oct. 12, 2017.  
<http://www.sacbee.com/opinion/article178415656.html>.

“Gun Control Measures Hazardous for Citizens,” *Canadian Firearms Journal*, March/April 2015, 14-15.

“Gun Control is not Constitutional,” in Henny H. Kim ed., *Guns and Violence* (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1999), 109-112.

“Gun Control: The Kristallnacht Version of ‘Common-Sense Safety,’” *Investor’s Business Dailey*, Nov. 15, 2018.  
<https://www.investors.com/politics/commentary/gun-control-kristallnacht-nazis/>

“Gun Laws,” 2 *Libertarian Forum*, No. 20, 4-6 (Oct. 15, 1970).

“Gun Ownership Rights Violated in *Messerschmidt v. Millender*,” *Jurist – Hotline*, Dec. 16, 2011, <http://jurist.org/hotline/2011/12/stephen-halbrook-gun-rights.php>

“Guns and Prohibition, in Al Capone’s Day and Now,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 11, 1989, A22. <http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/guns&prohibition.html>

“Guns and Rights,” *USA Today*, May 16, 1990, 11A.

“How the Nazis Used Gun Control,” *National Review Online*, Dec. 2, 2013.  
<http://www.nationalreview.com/article/365103/how-nazis-used-gun-control-stephen-p-halbrook>

“How the Swiss Defeated the Gun Ban,” *America’s 1<sup>st</sup> Freedom*, July 2011, 22-25.

“It is a Wonderful Model” (interview), *Current Concerns*, June 2013, 5-8.

“In the Shadow of William Tell,” *Guns*, September 1997, 20, 22.

“It Started in Kentucky . . . Our First Gun Law,” *Gun Digest* 52-55, ed. K. Warner (DBI Books 1986).

“Judge Garland and the Second Amendment,” *Washington Times*, March 30, 2016, B3.  
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/mar/29/stephen-halbrook-merrick-garland-and-the-s>

econd-am/

“Justice Stevens’s Second Amendment Pipe Dream,” *National Review Online*, April 18, 2018. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/04/second-amendment-repeal-unlikely-gun-rights-support-widespread/>.

“Kontraproduktiv! Das Geplante Schweizer Waffenrecht Aus Der Sicht Eines Amerikaners,” *Deutsches Waffen-Journal*, May 1997, 772-73.

“Lessons from Nazi gun control,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 16, 2014, <http://www.sfgate.com/default/article/Lessons-from-Nazi-gun-control-5626703.php>.

“Let Jews Defend Themselves from Terrorism,” *Detroit News*, March 31, 2015, <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/2015/03/31/halbrook-jews-guns/70686442/>. Also in other newspapers. <http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?id=6332>.

“Letter from Prague,” *Chronicles* 33-35 (Jan. 1995).

“Martial Arts Injuries,” (with R.B. Birrer, M.D.), 16 *American Journal of Sports Medicine* 408-410 (1988).

“Martial Arts Weapons Injuries,” 24 *Black Belt* 70-74, 98-102 (June 1986).

“Massachusetts Target Censorship Violates the First Amendment,” *The Message*, Aug. 1999, 8.

“National Rifle Association,” 2 *Violence in America: An Encyclopedia*, Ronald Cottesman ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1999), 436-38.

“The Nazis’ Gun Ban Facilitated Kristallnacht,” *History News Network* (GMU), Nov. 25, 2013. <http://hnn.us/article/154043#sthash.CLV9vNHC.xMw20nwA.dpuf>

“*NRA v. BATFE*: A Misinterpretation of History,” *Jurist - Hotline*, Nov. 9, 2012, <http://jurist.org/hotline/2012/11/stephen-halbrook-nra-batfe.php>

“No Controlling Legal Authority,” *America’s 1<sup>st</sup> Freedom*, Nov./Dec. 2000, 14.

“The People Retain the Right to Arm Themselves,” *National Law Journal*, May 27, 1996, A14. <http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/people-retain-right.html>

“Personal Liberty Guarantee,” *Washington Times*, May 21, 1995.

“Printz’ Will Have Effect on U.S. Gun Legislation,” *National Law Journal*, Aug. 18,

1997, A18. <http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/printz-legislation.html>

“Product Liability Law,” 131 *American Rifleman* 34-35, 71 (May 1983).

“Recalling the Tragic History of Gun Control,” *The American Spectator*, Sept. 4, 2019.  
<https://spectator.org/recalling-the-tragic-history-of-gun-control/>

“Registration, Confiscation, Arrest,” *The Daily Caller*, Sept. 21, 2016.  
<http://dailycaller.com/2016/09/21/registration-confiscation-arrest/>

“Registration: The Nazi Paradigm,” *American Rifleman* 52-55, 91 (June 2001).  
[http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/registration\\_article/registration.html](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/registration_article/registration.html).  
Portuguese-language version: “Repressão Nazista dos Donos de Armas.”  
[http://desarmamento.tripod.com/articles/stephen\\_halfbrook1.html](http://desarmamento.tripod.com/articles/stephen_halfbrook1.html).

“Relief in Sight? H.R. 2640,” *America’s First Freedom*, Sept. 2007, 44, & *American Rifleman*, Sept. 2007, 16.

“Repeal the second amendment?” *Washington Times*, March 1, 2018, B3.  
<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2018/feb/28/the-second-amendment-joins-other-rights-of-a-free-/>.

“Reports of the Death of the Second Amendment Have Been Greatly Exaggerated: The *Emerson* Decision,” Nov. 19, 2001. <http://www.independent.org/tii/news/011119Halbrook.html>

“Restoring the Second and Tenth Amendments,” *LEAA Advocate*, Summer-Fall 1997, 70-72.

“Rewriting the Second Amendment,” *American Rifleman*, October 2001, 48-49, 88-89.  
<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/rewriting.html>

“The Right to Bear Arms Isn’t Just for Militias,” *National Law Journal* A22 (Oct. 9, 1995).  
<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/arms-militias.html>

“The Right of the People to Keep and Bear Arms,” *The Message* (Northborough, MA), July 1999, 5-6.

“The Right to Bear Arms,” 78 *SAR Magazine* (Sons of the American Revolution) 14-15 (Summer 1983).

“Right to Bear Arms,” 3 *Violence in America: An Encyclopedia*, Ronald Cottlesman ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1999), 436-38.

“2nd Amendment: A Right to Own Arms?” *USA Today*, Nov. 20, 1991, 11A.

“The Second Amendment had nothing to do with slavery,” *Fox News*, June 22, 2018.  
<http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2018/06/22/second-amendment-had-nothing-to-do-with-slavery.html>.

“Second Amendment: Post-Sniper Policy,” *National Law Journal*, Nov. 11, 2002, A17.  
<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/articles/post-sniper-policy.html>

“Second Amendment Sanctuaries Started in 1774,” *American Thinker*, Dec. 22, 2019.  
[https://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2019/12/second\\_amendment\\_sanctuaries\\_started\\_in\\_1774.html](https://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2019/12/second_amendment_sanctuaries_started_in_1774.html)

“The Second Amendment Stands,” *USA Today*, January 16, 1991, 8A.

“Securing Civil Rights,” *America’s First Freedom*, Oct. 2010, 46-50.

“Semiautomatic Article Draws BATF Response,” 136 *American Rifleman* 34-35 (Dec. 1988).

“Should All Gun Sales Be Registered in a National Database?” 23 *CQResearcher*, No. 10, 249 (March 8, 2013).  
<http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre2013030800>

“Some of the world’s most powerful banks push policies circumventing Constitution and federal laws,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2018.  
<http://www.latimes.com/sns-tns-bc-guns-banks-pro-20180913-story.html>.

“Supreme Court Sides with Gun Owners,” *American Rifleman* 46-48, 90-91 (August 1992).

“Swiss Mess: Homeland defense, the wrong way” (with Dave Kopel & Carlo Stagnaro), *National Review Online* (October 30, 2001).  
<http://www.nationalreview.com/kopel/kopel103001.shtml>

“A Swiss Schuetzenfest: The World’s Largest Rifle Match,” *Shooting Sports USA*, Oct. 9, 2019.  
<https://www.ssusa.org/articles/2019/10/9/a-swiss-schuetzenfest-the-world-s-largest-rifle-match/>.

“Swiss Schuetzenfest,” *American Rifleman*, 46-47, 74-75 (May 1993).

“Switzerland and Its Armed Citizenry,” *Chronicles* 38-40 (Jan. 1998).

“Switzerland’s Feldschiessen,” *Gun Digest* 20-26 (1996/50th Annual Edition).

“Switzerland, Gun Laws,” *Guns in American Society: An Encyclopedia of History, Politics, Culture, and the Law*, Gregg Lee Carter ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 569-72. 2012 edition, 802-06.

“Terror Law Trap for Gun Owners?” *Washington Times*, Mar. 14, 1996, A19.

“Time for a History Lesson About Gun Control,” *TownHall*, June 22, 2018.  
<https://townhall.com/columnists/stephenhalbrook/2018/06/22/draft-n2493305>.

“To Bear Arms for Self-Defense: A ‘Right of the People’ or a Privilege of the Few?” Part One of a Two-Part Series. 21 *The Federalist Society Review* 46 (2020).  
<https://fedsoc.org/commentary/publications/to-bear-arms-for-self-defense-a-right-of-the-people-or-a-privilege-of-the-few>.

“To Bear Arms for Self-Defense,” 132 *American Rifleman* 28-29, 67-68 (Nov. 1984).

“To Keep and Bear Arms,” *The Republic* (Columbus, IN), May 19, 1995.  
<http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?ID=345>

“To Trust the People with Arms,” *New Federalist Papers*, No. 117 and 118, Public Research Syndicated (published in affiliated newspapers Aug. 1985).

“Tragödien gibt es überall,” *Südkurier*, Feb. 28, 2011,  
<http://www.suedkurier.de/news/brennpunkte/politik/hintergrund-politik/-bdquo-Tragoedien-gibt-es-ueberall-ldquo-;art475018,4749661>

“The War Against Semi-Automatics,” 136 *American Rifleman* 40-41, 80 (June 1988).

“A war on gun owners in Virginia,” *Washington Times*, Jan. 10, 2020, B1, B3.  
<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/jan/9/northams-war-on-gun-owners-in-virginia/>

“We Must Remember Our History Of Freedom,” *America’s First Freedom*, March 2020, 38-41.  
<https://www.americas1stfreedom.org/articles/2020/3/8/we-must-remember-our-history-of-freedom/>.

“Were the Founding Fathers in Favor of Gun Ownership?” *Washington Times*, Nov. 5, 2000, B5. <http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?ID=251> Spanish version: “¿Estaban los Padres Fundadores a Favor de la Tenencia de Armas?”  
<http://www.elindependent.org/articulos/article.asp?id=251>

“What Made the Nazi Holocaust Possible?” *Washington Times*, Nov. 7, 2013.  
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/nov/7/halbrook-the-key-to-this-german-pogrom-is-confisca/>. Reprinted in *America’s 1<sup>st</sup> Freedom*, Feb. 2014, 72.

“What Makes A Gun A Gun?” *America’s 1<sup>st</sup> Freedom*, March 23, 2020.  
<https://www.americas1stfreedom.org/articles/2020/3/23/what-makes-a-gun-a-gun/>.

“Where Kids and Guns Do Mix,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 10, 1999, A26. Spanish version: “Donde los Niños y las Armas se Entremezclan,”  
<http://www.elindependent.org/articulos/article.asp?id=347>

“Why Switzerland?” *Current Concerns*, April 2000, 3-4.

“Will the Second Amendment Survive Coronavirus?” *National Review* (March 31, 2020).  
<https://www.nationalreview.com/2020/03/coronavirus-second-amendment-protect-constitution-du-ring-crisis/>.

“The World’s Largest Rifle Shooting Match: Switzerland 1995,” *The 1996 Precision Shooting Annual* (Manchester, CT: Precision Shooting, Inc., 1996).

“Yes, Nazis Disarming Jews Did Make A Difference,” *Investor’s Business Daily*, Oct. 15, 2015.  
<http://news.investors.com/ibd-editorials-viewpoint/101515-775842-nazis-extreme-gun-control-laws-made-its-enemies-less-of-a-threat.htm>

## **PUBLICATIONS FEATURING**

David Cole, *Engines of Liberty: The Power of Citizens Activists to Make Constitutional Law* (N.Y.: Basic Books, 2016), 117-37.

John Gibeaut, “Bringing Lawyers, Guns and Money,” *ABA Journal*, Oct. 2008,  
[http://www.abajournal.com/magazine/bringing\\_lawyers\\_guns\\_and\\_money](http://www.abajournal.com/magazine/bringing_lawyers_guns_and_money)

John Gleeson, “Recoil from Evil: U.S. Spurned Gun Registration as Hitler’s Handy Tool,” *Winnipeg Sun*, Aug. 20, 2004.  
[http://www.canoe.ca/NewsStand/Columnists/Winnipeg/John\\_Gleeson/2004/08/20/592781.html](http://www.canoe.ca/NewsStand/Columnists/Winnipeg/John_Gleeson/2004/08/20/592781.html).

“Halbrook, Stephen P.,” *Guns in American Society: An Encyclopedia of History, Politics, Culture, and the Law*, Gregg Lee Carter ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 277-81.

“Motor-Voter Foes Find Ally in Fairfax Lawyer,” *Washington Post*, Aug. 24, 1995, Fairfax Weekly, 1, 3.

“Nelson County Blues: The New Proving Ground for Hunters’ Rights,” *Free Hunters*, Jan. 2005, 33. <http://www.freehunters.org/article.aspx?id=365>

Peter Finn, “How the NRA helped reshape views of the Second Amendment,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 2013, A1, 9. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nra-money-helped-reshape-gun-law/2013/03/13/73d71e22-829a-11e2-b99e-6baf4ebe42df\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nra-money-helped-reshape-gun-law/2013/03/13/73d71e22-829a-11e2-b99e-6baf4ebe42df_story.html).

“The 2nd Amendment,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 25, 1999, A1, 13.

“Stephen P. Halbrook,” in Marjolijn Bijlefeld, *People For and Against Gun Control: A Biographical Reference* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 105-10.

“10th Amendment's Hired Gun,” *Legal Times*, June 19, 1995, 1, 12-13.

## LECTURES AND TALKS

American Bar Association, National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, Fairfax Bar Association, U.S. Congress Constitutional Forum, Heritage Foundation, Federalist Society, American Constitution Society, Cato Institute, American Enterprise Institute, American Civil Liberties Union, American Society for Legal History, Students for Liberty

Law Schools: Yale University, University of Pennsylvania, Georgetown University, University of Virginia, American University, University of Richmond, St. Johns University, Touro University, Valparasio University, University of Arizona, George Mason University, University of Maine, Stetson University, St. Thomas University, University of Iowa, Chapman University, George Washington University, University of Arkansas, University of Denver, Wake Forest University, William Mitchell College, Hamline University, University of St. Thomas, City University of New York, Texas Wesleyan University, Southern Methodist University, University of Texas, Baylor University, Regent University, Syracuse University, Florida Coastal University, Florida State University, University of North Carolina, Campbell University, University of Missouri, Washington University, Saint Louis University, Temple University, Chicago-Kent, University of Kentucky, University of Louisville, Northern Kentucky University, University of Georgia, Santa Clara University, University of South Carolina, Gonzaga University, University of Idaho, Lewis and Clark University, Willamette University, University of Oregon, University of Hawaii, Rutgers University - Newark, University of Tennessee, University of Illinois, Lincoln Memorial University Duncan School of Law, University of Toledo College of Law, Ave Maria School of Law

Universities: Yale University, Norwich University, University of Connecticut

ABC News NOW, CNN, Phil Donahue Show, Court TV, Voice of America, numerous TV/radio shows

C-SPAN, interviews & Congressional testimony, 1988-2014, <http://www.c->

spanvideo.org/stephenhalbrook

“Justice” with Judge Jeanine Pirro, Fox News -

<http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/videos/jeanine.mp4>

[http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/justice-jeanine/index.html#/v/2186710402001/second-american-revolution-on-the-horizon/?playlist\\_id=163706](http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/justice-jeanine/index.html#/v/2186710402001/second-american-revolution-on-the-horizon/?playlist_id=163706)

[http://video.foxnews.com/v/2557453394001/were-trayvon-martins-civil-rights-violated/?playlist\\_id=163706](http://video.foxnews.com/v/2557453394001/were-trayvon-martins-civil-rights-violated/?playlist_id=163706)

NewsMax TV <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsmax-Tv/nazi-gun-control-power/2014/10/16/id/601250/>

Glen Beck - Fox News <http://www.independent.org/blog/?p=1614>

Lou Dobbs - CNN <http://www.independent.org/blog/?p=1405>

CPAC <http://www.ustream.tv/recorded/1193402>

Intelligence Squared - NPR:

<http://www.npr.org/templates/player/mediaPlayer.html?action=1&t=1&islist=false&id=96409853&m=96566792>

C-SPAN Washington Journal -

<http://www.c-span.org/Watch/watch.aspx?MediaId=SCourt-A-9370>

Fourth Annual Right to Keep and Bear Arms Rally, Pennsylvania State Capitol, April 21, 2009, <http://www.repmetcalfe.com/>

Secret Passages: Episode 5 (Jaffe Productions), broadcast on History Channel (2002) (commentary on Swiss Alpine fortifications).

Glenn Beck [http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/Stephen\\_Halbrook\\_on\\_Glenn\\_Beck.wmv](http://www.stephenhalbrook.com/Stephen_Halbrook_on_Glenn_Beck.wmv)

Note: numerous radio, Skype, and TV interviews not listed.

## **AFFILIATIONS AND COMMITTEE SERVICE**

### *Current:*

Senior Fellow, Independent Institute, Oakland, CA

### *Previous:*

Committee on Hearings, National Rifle Association

Bylaws Committee, National Rifle Association

Ethics Forum, Fairfax Hospital Association

Public Information Committee, Virginia State Bar

Board of Scholars, Virginia Institute for Public Policy

## **CONTINUING LEGAL EDUCATION & COMPLIANCE SEMINARS TAUGHT**

“Avoiding License Revocation,” Firearms Industry Compliance Conference, Orchid Advisors, Miami, Oct. 8, 2014

“Constitutional Components of Firearms Laws” and “Ethical Considerations When Representing Gun Owners or Dealers,” Gun Law in Virginia, National Business Institute, Aug. 30, 2016; also Oct. 6, 2017

“Constitutional Law – The Right to Bear Arms,” Texas Bar CLE, Ft. Worth, Sept. 27,  
2013

“Constitutional Law: To the Supreme Court and Beyond,” National Firearms Law  
Seminar, Orlando, April 25, 2003

“The Constitutional Right to Hunt,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Pittsburgh, April 29,  
2011

“The Constitutional Right to Hunt,” National Firearms Law Seminar, St. Louis, April 13,  
2007

“Ethical Issues: Counseling Clients in Possession of Unregistered Firearms,” Virginia  
CLE, Richmond, Nov. 10, 2011

“Ethical Issues: Counseling Clients in Possession of Unregistered Firearms” and “The  
Right to Bear Arms under the Virginia and United States Constitutions,” Virginia CLE, Fairfax,  
Nov. 6, 2013

“Ethical Issues in Firearms Law” and “Second Amendment Litigation,” University of San  
Diego School of Law, October 15, 2011

“Ethical Issues in Firearms Planning and Transfer – Disposal of Contraband,” “Gun Trust  
Planning – Avoiding Landmines Under the Gun Control Act,” “State Gun Law Concerns,” Gun  
Trusts and Gun Law, Virginia CLE, Oct. 17, 2016

“Extent of the Individual Right to Gun Ownership,” GMU Civil Rights Law Journal  
Symposium, Arlington, VA, Oct. 17, 2007

“Federal Constitutional Law Update,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Houston, April 15,  
2005

“Federal Firearms Law Issues” and “Counseling Clients in Illegal Possession of Firearms,”  
Firearms Law in Tennessee, Lorman Educational Services, Nashville, May 12, 2005

“Federal Litigation Panel” and “Second Amendment Scholarship,” University of Denver  
Law School, Oct. 12, 2013

“Firearms Confiscations During Emergencies,” National Firearms Law Seminar,  
Louisville, May 16, 2008

“Firearms Law and the Second Amendment Symposium,” George Mason University Law  
School, Arlington, VA, Sept. 24, 2005

“From Heller to Chicagoland: Incorporation of the Second Amendment into the Fourteenth Amendment?” National Firearms Law Seminar, Charlotte, May 14, 2010

“Going Armed With Dangerous and Unusual Weapons to the Terror of the People,” Firearms and the Common Law Tradition, The Aspen Institute, Washington, D.C., September 15, 2016

“Habeas Corpus and the Rights of Firearms Owners,” National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, Washington, D.C., May 21, 1996

“*Heller* in Chicagoland,” George Mason University Law School, Arlington, VA, Nov. 19, 2008

“*Heller* in Chicagoland,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Phoenix, May 15, 2009

“History of NICS and FixNICS Campaign,” Firearms Industry Compliance Conference, Orchid Advisors, St. Paul, May 17, 2018

“How Do I Best Manage a Report of Violations, Warning Conference, or Revocation Process?” Firearms Industry Compliance Conference, Orchid Advisors, Orlando, May 12, 2015

“Interpreting the Second Amendment,” Texas Bar CLE, Dallas, May 23, 2007

“Jury Nullification,” American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1997

“Justifiable Use of Force and Immunity from Prosecution,” NRA-ILA Firearms Law & The Second Amendment Symposium, Orlando, Oct. 6, 2018

“Litigating Firearms Law Cases in the Supreme Court,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Charlotte, May 19, 2000

“Litigating the Right to Keep and Bear Arms,” Federal Bar Association, Pittsburgh, Dec. 7, 2006

“Recent Developments in Second Amendment Jurisprudence,” First Annual Delaware Firearms Law Seminar, Wilmington, Oct. 30, 2014

“A Right to Bear Arms (But Only at Home?),” National Firearms Law Seminar, St. Louis, April 13, 2012

“The Right to Bear Arms,” Kentucky Bar Association Annual Convention, Covington, June 16, 2006

“The Right to Bear Arms in the Post *Heller/McDonald* World,” Texas Bar CLE, San Antonio, Sept. 28, 2012

“The Right to Bear Arms under the Virginia and U.S. Constitutions,” Virginia CLE, Richmond, Nov. 10, 2011

“The Second Amendment and the Right to Bear Arms,” American Bar Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, August 11, 1991

“The Second Amendment in the New Supreme Court,” Firearms Law, Texas Bar CLE, Houston, Sept. 14, 2017

“The Second Amendment in the Supreme Court and the Circuits: Current Issues,” Biennial Conference for Federal Appellate Staff Attorneys, Federal Judicial Center, Austin, May 12, 2016

“Second Amendment Litigation: Current Issues,” 8<sup>th</sup> Annual South Carolina Gun Law Seminar, Charleston, Feb. 17, 2017

“Second Amendment Litigation: Ongoing Challenges,” 20th Annual National Firearms Law Seminar, Atlanta, April 28, 2017

“Second Amendment Litigation Update,” Delaware Firearms Law Seminar, Wilmington, Sept. 30, 2015

“Second Amendment Litigation Update,” Delaware Firearms Law Seminar, Wilmington, Oct. 6, 2016

“Second Amendment Litigation Update,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Louisville, May 20, 2016

“Second Amendment Update” and “Zealous Representation *Without* the Bounds of the Law,” National Firearms Law Seminar, June 11, 1999

“Second Amendment Update and a Look into the Future,” Firearms Law, Texas State Bar, San Antonio, September 20, 2018

“Setting the State for Kristallnacht: Disarming the German Jews, October 1938,” Oct. 13, 2016, The Al Katz Center for Holocaust Survivors & Jewish Learning, Bradenton, Florida.

“State and Federal Constitutional Issues Related to Firearms Law,” Firearms Law in Virginia, Virginia CLE, Richmond, June 23, 2005

“Suing the Firearms Industry,” Consumer Law Symposium, Chapman University Law School, Jan. 30, 2004

“Suppressors: Past, Present, and Future,” Firearms Industry Compliance Conference, Arlington, Va., May 9, 2017

“The Supreme Court and Second Amendment Litigation,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Milwaukee, May 19, 2006

“The Supreme Court and the Second Amendment” and “Suppression of Exculpatory Evidence: The Waco Prosecution,” First Annual Firearms Law Seminar, Philadelphia, June 5, 1998

“Supreme Court Update” and “Ethical Issues: Candor Toward the Tribunal,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Reno, April 26, 2002

“Void Where *Verboten*: Constitutional Challenges to Firearm Prohibitions,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Nashville, April 10, 2015

“What is a Non-Frivolous, Good Faith Argument for the Reversal of Existing Law?” and “The Supreme Court’s *Apprendi-Castillo* Decisions and the Right to Jury Trial,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Kansas City, May 18, 2001

“Where Is the Supreme Court Headed on the Second Amendment?” NRA-ILA Firearms Law & The Second Amendment Symposium, Orlando, Oct. 6, 2018

“Stare Decisis and the Second Amendment,” 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Law & Society Symposium, University of Charleston Law School, Feb. 8, 2019

“The Word That Means Anything You Want it to Mean: ‘Assault Weapons,’ the Second Amendment, and Linguistic Manipulation,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Indianapolis, April 25, 2014

“Where Has the Supreme Court Been, and Where Is it Headed, on the Second Amendment?” NRA-ILA Firearms Law & The Second Amendment Symposium, Richmond, Virginia, Oct. 5, 2019

“Working with FFLs: Hot Button Issues for Manufacturers, Importers, and Dealers,” National Firearms Law Seminar, Dallas, May 4, 2018