

CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER



**NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERTS WARN ABOUT THE DANGER
OF UNRESTRICTED SALES OF 50 CALIBER ANTI-ARMOR
SNIPER RIFLES TO CIVILIANS**

About the Cover Photo

The cover shows a Barrett 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle mounted on a “pintle” or “soft” mount, which is mounted in turn on a tripod. The mount reduces the effect of recoil, improves accuracy, and facilitates movement through vertical and horizontal dimensions, thus making it easier, for example, to engage moving targets.

The Ponderosa Sports & Mercantile, Inc. (Horseshoe Bend, Idaho) Internet web site from which this photograph was taken advises the visitor:

Many non-residents store firearms in Idaho. It is the buyers [SIC] sole responsibility to determine whether the firearm can legally be taken home. Ponderosa Sports has no knowledge of your city, county or state laws. For example - many kalifornia [sic] residents have purchased the Barrett m82 .50 BMG above. That rifle is illegal for them to take home. They can however purchase it and store it in Boise or Nevada.¹

The operation of a pintle mount is fairly easy to understand by visual inspection. Here, for example, is one that Barrett sells for its 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles.



Barrett soft, or pintle, mount for 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles.

Tripods, often combined with pintle mounts, also aid in aiming heavy sniper rifles, as is evident from the following illustration.



LAR Grizzly 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle mounted on tripod.

Tom Diaz, VPC Senior Policy Analyst
© July 2005, Violence Policy Center

INTRODUCTION

1. The imminent threat to national security posed by potential terrorist use of extremely powerful, long range 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles has been documented in detail by the Violence Policy Center (VPC) in a series of studies over the last six years.^a These “anti-materiel” sniping rifles can strike accurately from a distance of more than a mile. They can penetrate light armor, down helicopters, destroy commercial aircraft, and blast through rail cars and bulk storage tanks filled with explosive or toxic chemicals, all with potentially catastrophic effect. Although designed for use by the military on the battlefield, 50 caliber anti-armor rifles—and armor-piercing and armor-piercing incendiary ammunition for them—are easily available on the U.S. civilian market. (Pages 1-6)

2. Key aspects of VPC’s reports have been confirmed recently in independent reports by the national news media. For example, independent live fire tests by CBS News and CNN dramatically confirmed the incredible long-range striking power of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles. Both networks also documented the ease with which these rifles can be bought, both from federally licensed dealers (FFLs) and in private cash-and-carry sales with no questions asked and no background check of any nature. In addition, a recently published book, written by an independent researcher with no ties to the so-called “gun control movement,” documents in detail the shocking ease with which large quantities of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles were purchased on the U.S. civilian market and shipped abroad, using a variety of transparent subterfuges that, if technically legal under existing law, illustrate dramatic gaps in protection against the purchase and use of these rifles by terrorist groups. (Pages 7-18)

3. This report—based in part on government information originally classified as “Secret” and only recently made publicly available—reveals that officials responsible for national security have for two decades been so concerned about the easy availability of these rifles that they have advised taking special measures to protect high-profile targets from their devastating capabilities. An increasing number of independent contemporary civilian and military security experts have more recently recognized the threat that 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles represent in this new age of terrorism. (Pages 19-26)

^a *The Threat Posed to Helicopters by 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifles* (August 2004); *Really Big Guns: Even Bigger Lies* (March 2004); “*Just Like Bird Hunting*”—*The Threat to Civil Aviation from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (January 2003); *Sitting Ducks—The Threat to the Chemical and Refinery Industry from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (August 2002); *The U.S. Gun Industry and Others Unknown—Evidence Debunking the Gun Industry’s Claim that Osama bin Laden Got His 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles from the U.S. Afghan-Aid Program* (February 2002); *Voting from the Rooftops: How the Gun Industry Armed Osama bin Laden, Other Foreign and Domestic Terrorists, and Common Criminals with 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (October 2001); *One Shot, One Kill: Civilian Sales of Military Sniper Rifles* (May 1999).

4. This report rebuts the gun industry’s emerging last line of defense of the indefensible – which is in so many words, “Please leave us alone so we can make more money” –and a collateral argument that informing the public about 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles is “irresponsible,” supposedly drawing a road map and giving dangerous ideas to terrorists. These arguments are on their face absurd. The first would justify civilian sales of virtually any military weapon, such as explosives and rockets, if such sales would help the manufacturer stay in business. The latter ignores the fact that terrorists and dangerous fringe groups have been buying 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles in quantity almost from the day they first became available. This makeweight complaint does not lie well in the mouth of an industry that not only manufactures such dangerous weapons of war, but enthusiastically markets them to civilians. The industry has endorsed all manner of sniper text books and videos that provide much more intimate details of attack scenarios than anything the VPC has published. Moreover, manufacturers have produced advertising and other promotional material, boasting of the very lethal capabilities they now profess to be too dangerous for public discussion. (Pages 27-29)

5. Finally, this report contains two appendices: Appendix A is a list of domestic manufacturers of 50 caliber sniper rifles; Appendix B details incidents of criminal use of the 50 caliber sniper rifle. (Pages 31-35)

CAPABILITIES OF THE 50 CALIBER ANTI-ARMOR SNIPER RIFLE—THE IDEAL TOOL FOR TERRORISTS

Imagine a pair of Marines with an infantry rifle that at 2000 yards or more could simply and systematically wipe out an entire airfield, or truck park, or radar installation. That is the Barrett.

—Lt. Colonel Norman A. Chandler (U.S. Marine Corps, Ret.), sniper rifle expert.²

Q. And at an approximate distance of, say, a thousand yards—which would be ten football fields—based upon the kinetic energy, the weight, and the speed of the projectile that is fired from your rifle, what kind of material-penetrating capability does the .50 caliber have?

A. It passes through quite a lot....there is not much it wouldn't go through.

—Sworn testimony of Ronnie G. Barrett, *United States v. Angel Manuel Alfonso et al.*, November 30, 1999 (U.S. District Court, P.R.)³

A series of VPC reports over the last six years have documented in detail the capabilities of the 50 caliber anti-armor rifle, its past use by terrorist organizations and criminals, and its potential for catastrophic attacks by terrorists in the American homeland—including attacks on civil aviation, chemical and petrochemical storage sites, and personnel targets.^b These reports—drawn primarily from gun industry advertising and promotional materials such as catalogues and Internet web sites, relevant U.S. military manuals, the writings of independent experts, and the comments of civilian owners—demonstrate that 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles accurately deliver unparalleled small arms striking power at a range of 2,000 yards, more than one mile.

“The .50 BMG is infinitely more powerful than any other shoulder-fired rifle on the planet,” enthuses a 2004 book aimed at civilian enthusiasts of the 50 caliber anti-armor rifle. “The point to be made here is that no matter how you measure energy and stopping power, the .50 BMG is well off the charts. It is far more powerful than any other rifle cartridge known according to any measuring system yet devised.”⁴

“A bullet of such size and weight traveling at well over Mach 2 can be called a missile in the modern context without a high-altitude flight of fancy,” the same book

^b *The Threat Posed to Helicopters by 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifles* (August 2004); *Really Big Guns: Even Bigger Lies* (March 2004); “*Just Like Bird Hunting*”—*The Threat to Civil Aviation from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (January 2003); *Sitting Ducks—The Threat to the Chemical and Refinery Industry from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (August 2002); *The U.S. Gun Industry and Others Unknown—Evidence Debunking the Gun Industry’s Claim that Osama bin Laden Got His 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles from the U.S. Afghan-Aid Program* (February 2002); *Voting from the Rooftops: How the Gun Industry Armed Osama bin Laden, Other Foreign and Domestic Terrorists, and Common Criminals with 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (October 2001); *One Shot, One Kill: Civilian Sales of Military Sniper Rifles* (May 1999).

exclaims. The author notes the extraordinary range of the 50 caliber round in comparison to the 30-06, one of the 30 caliber rounds common in hunting rifles: "The trajectory of the two rounds is similar out to the limits of the 30-06's stability, but when the 30-caliber bullet is ready to call it a day and dive for the dirt, the .50 is still charging along with more than enough authority to cut a man in half and keep on going."⁵



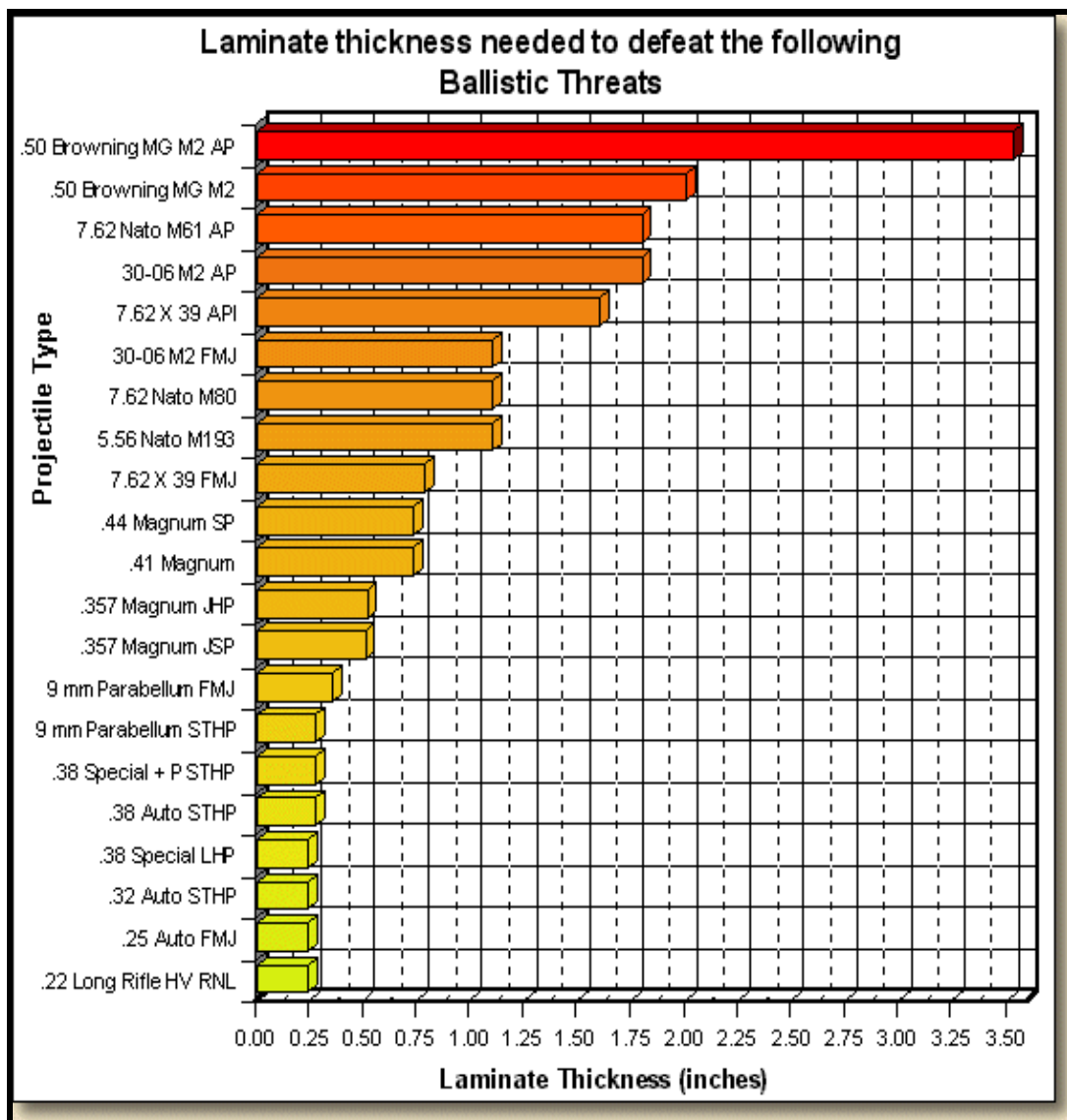
"A bullet of such size and weight traveling at well over Mach 2 can be called a missile."

Indeed, such range and power stands out even among military small arms. "What the .50 BMG does are things no other rifle can do. In the hands of police and military snipers, the .50 can reach out, over, through, and into places and things no other rifle could attempt in order to touch someone. It is perhaps the most useful and effective antiterrorist rifle one could ever contemplate."⁶

A recent U.S. Army News Service article summarized the capabilities of the latest Barrett ".50-caliber long range sniper rifle"—called the M-107 in Army nomenclature—as follows:

The M-107 enables Army snipers to accurately engage personnel and material [sic] targets out to a distance of 1,500 to 2,000 meters respectively....The weapon is designed to effectively engage and defeat materiel targets at extended ranges including parked aircraft, computers, intelligence sites, radar sites, ammunition, petroleum, oil and lubricant sites, various lightly armored targets and command, control and communications. In a counter-sniper role, the system offers longer stand-off ranges and increased terminal effects against snipers using smaller-caliber weapons.⁷

One need only consider the civilian equivalents of such military targets to understand the concern that many security experts have about the unrestricted sale of such long range anti-armor sniper rifles to civilians, which are discussed in detail in a later section of this report. As the following chart illustrates,⁸ the 50 caliber armor-piercing round is capable of defeating twice the thickness of ballistic laminate capable of stopping a 30 caliber armor-piercing round.



Size and power matter: twice the thickness of ballistic material is needed to stop 50 caliber armor-piercing round than comparable 30 caliber (7.62mm NATO) round.

Indeed, the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle has proven itself to be an awesome weapon on the battlefield. "With confirmed hits out to 1800 meters, the Barrett model 82A1 is battle proven," Barrett Firearms states in a promotional brochure.⁹ In 1991's Operation Desert Storm, U.S. forces using 50 caliber sniper rifles struck enemy targets routinely from a range of 1,600 meters (1,750 yards), including knocking out Iraqi armored personnel carriers.¹⁰ More recently, a Canadian sniper claimed a world record hit on a Taliban fighter at a range of 2,430 meters (2,657 yards)—over a mile and a half.¹¹

The 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle was invented in the early 1980s by Ronnie G. Barrett, who derived it from the Browning 50 caliber machine gun.¹² Barrett's 1987 patent called his new invention an "anti-armor gun." He described the rifle in his patent claim as a "shoulder-fireable, armor-penetrating gun."¹³ And he related the genesis of his anti-armor gun as follows:

The recoil and weight of the Browning M-2 heavy-barrel machine gun (50 cal.), belt-fed, make it unsuitable for firing from the shoulder. The bolt-fed sniper rifle of smaller weight and caliber will not penetrate armored targets. The bolts of guns of a caliber that will penetrate armored targets are often broken by recoil because of excessive strain on the lock lugs. Thus, there is a need for a light-weight, shoulder-fireable, armor-penetrating gun that can stand up to heavy duty use. After extended investigation I have come up with just such a gun.

Barrett Firearms Manufacturing, Inc. is today the leading supplier of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles to U.S. military forces and many other armies of the world.

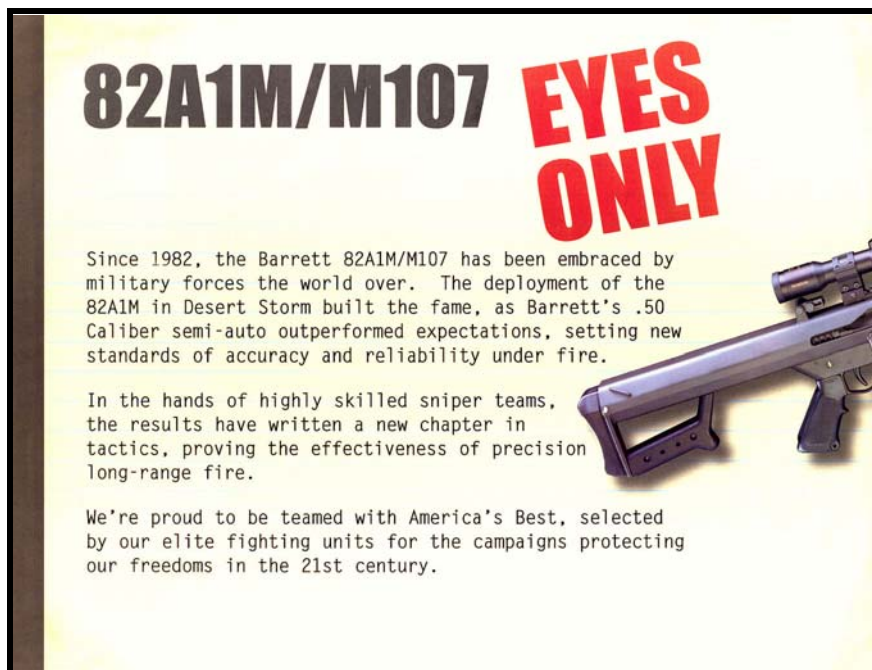


"The Barrett model 82A1 is battle proven."

Barrett has also aggressively marketed its anti-armor rifles to civilian buyers in the United States. Having created a new civilian market for its anti-armor rifles, Barrett now faces lower-priced competition from the many new manufacturers who have sprung up to cash in on the booming niche.^c There are now at least 29 domestic

^c For more detailed discussions of the 50 caliber market, see the broader October 2001 Violence Policy Center report on the 50 caliber sniper rifle, *Voting from the Rooftops: How the Gun Industry Armed Osama bin Laden, other Foreign and Domestic Terrorists, and Common Criminals with 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles*, and the February 2002 report on sales to bin Laden, *The U.S. Gun Industry and Others Unknown: Evidence Debunking the Gun Industry's Claim that Osama bin Laden Got His 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles From the U.S. Afghan-Aid Program*.

manufacturers of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles.^d These rifles have become one of the hottest items sold by an industry that is in long-term decline and constantly seeking such “niche” markets to survive. However, civilian buyers of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles have included such unsavory customers as representatives of Osama bin Laden, the Irish Republican Army, and assorted domestic militia groups.



Gun industry marketing materials like this brochure emphasize the military use of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles that are also sold to civilians.

In the wake of the devastating terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, increasing public attention has been paid to the threat posed by 50 caliber anti-armor rifles, given their long-range striking power and easy availability on the civilian market. In spite of their battlefield pedigree, 50 caliber anti-armor rifles are no more regulated under federal law than a 22 caliber target rifle, and are less regulated than handguns. Under federal law, anyone at least 18 years of age who is not in a category as to whom transfers or possession of firearms is prohibited^e—such as convicted felons—can legally buy any .50BMG anti-armor sniper rifle sold in America. But it is against the law for a federally licensed dealer to sell a handgun to anyone less than 21

^d See Appendix A, “Domestic Manufacturers of 50 Caliber Rifles.”

^e See 18 U.S. Code Section 922 (g) for categories of persons prohibited from receiving or possessing firearms.

years of age.^f Moreover, unlike other weapons of war—such as 50 caliber fully automatic machine guns—50 caliber anti-armor rifles are exempt from the stringent provisions of the federal National Firearms Act, under which all transfers are recorded, ownership registered, and local law enforcement notified.

Notwithstanding these regulatory gaps—which a later section of this report will show terrorists have enthusiastically taken advantage of—Congress and a long series of Presidential administrations have done nothing to tighten up the law so as to keep 50 caliber anti-armor rifles out of the hands of terrorists. In the light of this inaction at the federal level, California enacted a ban on 50 caliber anti-armor rifles that was signed into law in September 2004 by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger.¹⁴ A number of other states—including at least Illinois, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Washington, Colorado, Virginia, and Maine—are considering similar legislation.¹⁵



British Army Sergeant-Major Mark Spicer demonstrates a training exercise of a sniper "engaging low flying helicopters" in his book *Sniper*.

^f See 18 U.S. Code Section 922 (b) (1) for age restrictions on sales of firearms by federally licensed firearms dealers.

INDEPENDENT NEWS MEDIA REPORTS CONFIRM DANGEROUS CAPABILITIES AND EASY AVAILABILITY OF THE 50 CALIBER ANTI-ARMOR SNIPER RIFLE

Anything you need to run a small guerrilla army, you can buy here in America.... You just have to have a credit card and clear record, and you can go buy as many as you want....By far, the weapon of choice was a .50-caliber rifle.

—Florin Krasniqi, Kosovo Liberation Army gunrunner¹⁶

In spite of the vast public record testifying to the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles's capabilities and availability—much of it from the gun industry's own materials—manufacturers of these extraordinary weapons of war and their ideological apologists relentlessly downplay the potential danger of the unrestricted sale of these products. Their arguments fall under two rubrics:

- **Fifty caliber anti-armor rifles are a harmless class of sporting weapon that present no real threat.** "It's a target rifle," insists Ronnie Barrett. "It's a toy. It's a high-end adult recreational toy."¹⁷
- **Even if 50 caliber anti-armor rifles are dangerous, buyers are simply competitive sport shooters and collectors.** "Costing thousands of dollars, measuring 4-5 ft. in length, and weighing 22-34 lbs., .50 caliber rifles are much too expensive and cumbersome for run-of-the-mill lowlifes," according to the National Rifle Association (NRA). ".50 caliber rifles are also among the most expensive made, confining their purchase to dedicated marksmen and collectors."¹⁸

Examinations by independent national news media outlets of both of these arguments have in recent months graphically demonstrated that they are false: Fifty caliber anti-armor rifles are indeed a powerful threat. Dangerous paramilitary forces have purchased them from federally licensed gun dealers on the civilian market with no more than the cursory screening of a background check under the Brady Law. It is possible to buy them in private cash-and-carry transactions with no screening at all.

Tests confirm extraordinary striking power of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles. Proponents of the unrestricted sale of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles often denigrate the capability of the "super gun" by arguing that it presents no greater threat than 30 caliber rifles, for which armor-piercing ammunition is also available.

This is a transparent ploy to obscure the singularity of the 50 caliber anti-armor rifle. If it were true, there would be little reason for the U.S. armed services and the armies of other nations to spend millions of dollars buying 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles like the Barrett and others. In fact, there would be every reason for the Government Accountability Office to investigate government purchases of these rifles.



This image from the Internet web site of manufacturer Watson's Weapons shows effect of .50BMG armor-piercing round on one inch steel plate.

In fact, however, it is not true that 50 caliber anti-armor rifles are no more powerful than garden variety hunting rifles. The National Rifle Association (NRA) and its ilk merely use this lie to instill in the vastly greater number of owners of legitimate sporting rifles the fear that banning hunting rifles is the secret ultimate goal of the Violence Policy Center and others who are concerned about the unrestricted sale of 50 caliber battlefield weaponry. "If you own a Remington 700 or a Winchester Model 70, a Weatherby or a Savage 110 variant, or any number of ubiquitous bolt guns, especially in a magnum caliber", the NRA warns in a breathless screed pretending to expose this conspiracy, "you own what the Violence Policy Center would ultimately have the government treat in the same category as a machine gun—or ban altogether."¹⁹

A similar point is argued by Minnesota "gun rights" activist John E. Caile on his Internet "blog" site: "Hey, if a .50 caliber can be banned, why not a .45 caliber? Or a .30 caliber? After all, armor piercing ammunition comes in a wide variety of calibers, and if not readily available, can easily be hand-loaded by anyone with basic reloading equipment. Even a .30 caliber rifle can be loaded with an extra-heavy, low-drag, armor-piercing bullet that can easily match the .50 caliber for range, and often with better accuracy."²⁰

Two national independent television news organizations recently tested the firepower of 50 caliber anti-armor rifles. Both found them to be as powerful as the VPC has steadfastly stated—no wonder, since the VPC's claims are based squarely on the assertions of the manufacturers and on U.S. military manuals.

"60 Minutes" Comparative Test. In the course of preparing an investigative documentary on the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle, the CBS News television show *60 Minutes* tested precisely the claim that there is little difference between 50 caliber and 30 caliber sniper rifles.

At a demonstration presided over by Raymond W. Kelly, Police Commissioner of the City of New York, CBS cameras rolled while a New York Police Department sharpshooter fired, in turn, the department's 30 caliber sniper rifle and a 50 caliber anti-armor rifle at a one-half inch thick slab of steel located 300 yards down range. Viewers who watched the program's broadcast on January 9, 2005 could see—and hear—as the 30 caliber rounds bounced off of the steel plate, while the 50 caliber rounds went right through.²¹

"It is clearly a weapon of war, a round to be used in a wartime situation," observed Commissioner Kelly.²² A combat veteran of the Vietnam War, Commissioner Kelly retired as a Colonel from the Marine Corps, and has supervised with distinction a number of federal law enforcement agencies.²³



The New York City Police Department's BearCat armored trucks are, according to media reports, protected by half-inch armor plate. Armor-piercing ammunition fired by the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle easily penetrates half-inch plate from hundreds of yards.

CNN Live Fire Test. Investigative reporter Drew Griffin also conducted a live test firing of a 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle for the Cable News Network (CNN) show "Paula Zahn Now."⁹ As the following excerpt from the transcript demonstrates, viewers again were able to see with their own eyes the power of the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle when the report was broadcast on February 17, 2005:

This week, at a police gun range, I found out what this gun could do to the emergency exit door of a Boeing 727 fired from 1,000 feet away. The gun is very heavy, not easy to maneuver, but took only a few moments to set up. The first time I fired it, I missed. After adjusting for

⁹ See the following section of this report for a discussion of the ease with which the reporter obtained the test rifle.

the sight, round after armor-piercing round went straight through the door.

But just about any gun could pierce the thin aluminum skin of the airplane. What scares law enforcement is what else this round can do when fired from this gun....

This is a 1-inch thick piece of steel plate, more protection than almost any armored car. The .50-caliber goes right through the aircraft door and right through one-inch steel.²⁴

Investigations Prove Easy Availability of 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifle.

Both networks also demonstrated just how easy it is to buy 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles in the United States civilian gun marketplace—in quantity and even, in the case of private sales, without any form of background check at all.

60 Minutes Gun Trafficking Report. In a second documentary that aired on March 20, 2005, *60 Minutes* reported on the activities of a gun runner named Florin Krasniqi, who easily bought in the United States more than one hundred, and probably several hundred, 50 caliber anti-armor rifles and shipped them to the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), over a period of several years, beginning in 1998. The KLA was then fighting the Serbian Army in Kosovo's struggle for independence from Serbia.



Florin Krasniqi

"By far, the weapon of choice was a .50-caliber rifle," Krasniqi told *60 Minutes*. "You could kill a man from over a mile away. You can dismantle a vehicle from a mile away."²⁵

Krasniqi apparently bought his 50 caliber sniper rifles from federally licensed firearms dealers. He found these dealers to be profoundly uninterested in doing anything more than following the strict letter of the law.

"You just have to have a credit card and clear record, and you can go buy as many as you want. No questions asked," he said. "Most of [sic] non-Americans [buying guns for him] were surprised at how easy it is to get a gun in heartland America. Most of the dealers in Montana and Wyoming don't even ask you a question. It's just like a grocery store."²⁶

Krasniqi created a network of buyers from among his compatriots. He declined to say on camera how many 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles he and his comrades bought and shipped to Kosovo. But author Stacy Sullivan—who also documented Krasniqi's activities in her book, *Be Not Afraid, For You Have Sons in America*²⁷—told *60 Minutes* that she believes Krasniqi probably shipped "a couple hundred" of the anti-armor sniper rifles.²⁸ This estimate of author Sullivan, who covered the Balkans for *Newsweek* magazine and spent five years researching her book with the cooperation of Krasniqi,²⁹ is buttressed by a 1999 Congressional staff report, *Suspect Organizations and Individuals Possessing Long-Range Fifty Caliber Sniper Weapons*, that reported a KLA claim that it had 140 Barrett 50 caliber rifles at the time.³⁰

Krasniqi also told *60 Minutes* it is easy to get armor-piercing and incendiary ammunition for 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles. "Armor-piercing bullets, tracing bullets," he said, explaining that ammunition "is easier than the rifles themselves. For the ammunition, you don't have to show a driver's license or anything."³¹

.50 CALIBER ARMOR PIERCING AMMO

ARMOR PIERCING INCENDIARY ROUNDS

Designed to replace the M1 incendiary & M2 armor piercing, this cartridge is 5.45 inches long and can be identified by a silver colored tip. The bullet contains the same core as the M2 armor piercing bullet but the point filler is replaced by an incendiary composition and contains a lead antimony base filler. Bullet length 2.31 inches long, 1764 grain with a muzzle velocity of 2910 fps. It will penetrate 7/8 of an inch thick armor plate at 100 yards. Approximate range is 7,117 yards. Cannot be shipped to California.

ORDER # AM5005 (5 rounds) \$29.99 \$24.99
ORDER # AM5050 (50 rounds) \$199.99 \$179.99

ORDERS 1-870-881-8688 FIREQUEST - 03

"It is easy to get armor-piercing...ammunition for 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles."

There has been debate about whether the KLA was or is a "terrorist" organization. For example, in 1999, the United States Senate Republican Policy Committee issued a document criticizing the Clinton administration for its ties to the KLA, warning that allegations of the organization's ties to drug trafficking and al Qaeda terrorists "should not be lightly dismissed."³² But whether KLA is, was, or

never has been a terrorist organization, the overriding point is that even though Krasniqi claims to have bought his 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles for export “to help my old country...for the good,” he also admitted to *60 Minutes*, “some people can do it for the bad.”³³ In fact, according to author Sullivan, Krasniqi himself did indeed consider committing acts of terror in the United States with the rifles he had easily obtained, at a time when he felt America was not sufficiently responsive to Kosovo’s “pain” —

‘I think the rest of the world needs to feel Kosovo’s pain,’ he said one afternoon. ‘I think we need to bring the war to European and American capitals.’...It was clearly a crazy idea....It was hard to see how conducting terrorist acts in the United States or Europe would help his cause, but Florin was no longer being rational....He had grown desperate and didn’t know what else to do. ‘Look at the Palestinians,’ he said. ‘The only reason they still exist is because they adopted terrorist tactics. We have to make the world suffer.’ Months later, Florin would admit that it was a foolhardy idea to have considered, but the fact that it even entered his mind was terrifying, He had purchased scores of deadly .50 caliber rifles with incendiary bullets and could easily have turned them against America.³⁴

Regardless of the KLA’s bona fides or the regularity of Krasniqi’s exports, Barrett Firearms apparently believes that the KLA’s use of its 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles makes for good marketing. It has posted on its Internet web site a copy of a Reuters news photograph that accompanied a *USA TODAY* article on April 1, 1999. The photo caption identifies a group of armed men as “fighters of the Kosovo Liberation Army.” The man in the lower left corner of the picture is holding what is clearly a Barrett 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle.



The “KLA fighter” in the lower left of this photo, posted on the Barrett Internet web site, is holding a Barrett 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle.

According to the U.S. State Department, “no defense articles...including the .50 caliber sniper rifles cited in the *60 Minutes* segment can be exported from the United States” without the written authorization of the Department of State. “No such authorizations were approved for exports of firearms...to the former Kosovo Liberation Army.” The State Department referred reporters to federal law enforcement officials on the questions of whether there are ongoing investigations of Krasniqi’s export of the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles.³⁵

CNN No-Questions-Asked Private Sniper Rifle Buy. Florin Krasniqi apparently bought his guns from federally licensed firearms dealers, who are required under the federal Brady Law to submit the names of prospective purchasers for a cursory background check.^h CNN’s *Paula Zahn Now* show, however, demonstrated in its report on February 17, 2005, just how easy it is to buy a 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle through another unregulated route: a private, cash sale between an unlicensed seller and a buyer off the street. In such a case, the seller is not obligated under

^h The Brady check essentially screens out convicted felons, persons who have been committed to mental institutions (where there is a public and accessible record), some fugitives, and some persons under restraining orders in domestic violence cases. See 18 U.S. Code Sections 922(g), (t).

federal law to conduct any background check, keep any records, or ask any questions. Sale of firearms between residents of the same state are legal under federal law.

CNN's reporter Drew Griffin explained the process in action on camera, as he sat before a computer screen and planned an actual buy:

To buy a gun, even a .50-caliber gun, this huge gun, you just need to go to your computer and click on one of the biggest classified gun sites, which, in our case, is GunsAmerica.com, AK-47s, shotguns, pistols, all kinds of rifles....

See, where it says federal licensed firearm dealer? We are trying to find one that's being sold by just a private citizen. This is actually the gun we bought. When you finally find the gun you want on this Web site and you're dealing with a private party, you just give him your e-mail and you send him a note. 'Let's set up a meeting. I'm paying cash.' And the next thing you know, we're going to buy our gun.³⁶

The documentary later showed and explained in a "voice over" the actual purchase as it was made on camera:

The transaction at a house in suburban Houston took about 20 minutes. We walked out with a case holding the gun critics say is the perfect terrorist weapon, a brand new .50-caliber with scope, bipod and directions.³⁷

Griffin later explained to the show's host the nature of Internet gun sales in more detail:

On the Internet, you learn all the new nuances and all the loopholes of buying a gun. If I bought that [rifle] through a licensed dealer, I'd have to clear a background check. I would have to show proof of age, proof of residency. By going through a private seller, private seller, private buyer, it's strictly a cash transaction. We made sure that the two, the buyer and the seller, were in the same state. And after that, cash and carry.³⁸

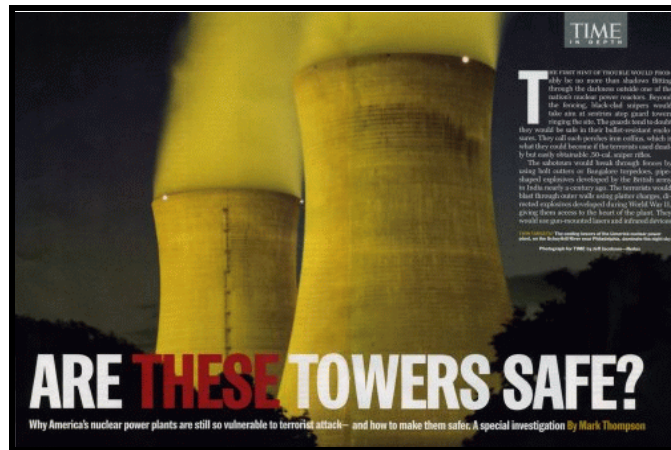
The reporter also bought armor-piercing ammunition:

I wanted to make sure I could buy ammunition. That turned out to be as easy as ordering flowers. With just a couple of clicks on my computer, I ordered and paid by credit card for 50 .50-caliber armor-piercing rounds.

They were delivered in a week, shells as long as my hand delivered, no questions asked, by UPS.³⁹

Asked what he had learned in researching the story, reporter Griffin replied, “I think the most surprising thing I learned about it is that a person who has no experience with guns could go out there on the Internet, get armor-piercing bullets, buy a gun, bring it home, and, within two shots, hit a target 1,000 feet away.”⁴⁰

Going Nuclear—Time Magazine and Nuclear Power Plants. In its June 20, 2005, edition, *Time* magazine exposed what had until then been an open secret within the community responsible for the security of America’s nuclear power plants: 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles present a real, present, and serious danger to the security of those facilities.

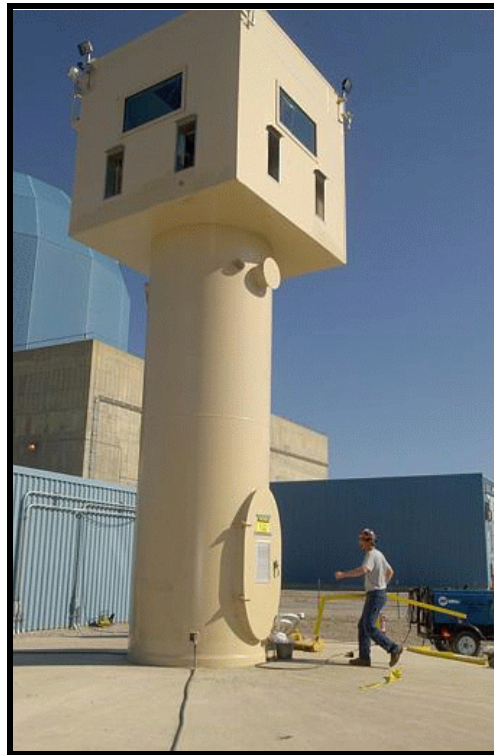


***Time* magazine revealed the threat to nuclear plant security from 50 caliber anti-armor rifles.**

Time's in-depth article on the security of the nuclear power industry led off with this paragraph:

The first hint of trouble would probably be no more than shadows flitting through the darkness outside one of the nation's nuclear power reactors. Beyond the fencing, black-clad snipers would take aim at sentries atop guard towers ringing the site. The guards tend to doubt they would be safe in their bullet-resistant enclosures. They call such perches iron coffins, which is what they so could become if the terrorists used deadly but easily obtainable .50-cal. sniper rifles.⁴¹

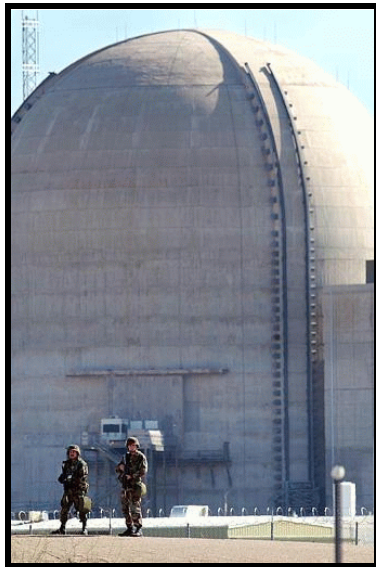
In fact, the issue had been simmering just beneath the news media's attention for at least two years before *Time's* blunt disclosure. In testimony before the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee in June 2002, the executive director of an independent investigative organization concerned with nuclear power plant security told Congress that the Department of Energy's (DOE) threat scenarios were "seriously dumbed down to favor the guard forces" in security tests. Relying on information and documents obtained from within the nuclear security community, the expert witness specifically warned that the DOE's plan "does not require protection against some of the most dangerous weapons that are available on the open market today, such as the 50 caliber API sniper rounds that can penetrate hardened guard posts and vehicles."⁴²



Nuclear plant security forces call their watch towers "iron coffins" because of their vulnerability to powerful armor-piercing attack from 50 caliber sniper rifles.

In March 2003, when a member of the National Security, Emerging Threats Subcommittee of the House of Representatives asked an official of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission during a hearing on nuclear plant security measures specifically about the danger of 50 caliber sniper rifles, the commissioner refused to discuss the threat publicly and replied, "Yes that's going to get me into where I don't—I cannot go....I can't talk about what the threat is and the specific attributes."⁴³

The president of a national security consulting firm testified in June 2003 before the same subcommittee that nuclear security officials avoided dealing with the threat from 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles because of budget concerns. Although “quality assurance” teams testing the security of nuclear facilities in drills “would often assume to arm the terrorists with 50 caliber sniper rifles with armor-piercing incendiary rounds,” the nuclear program officers “argued that this was unfair to protective forces.” The witness testified that if the responsible program officers acknowledged the threat from the anti-armor rifles, “they would have to fix it while immediately instituting compensatory measures that would divert funds from programmatic efforts.”⁴⁴



Expert security witness told Congress that protecting nuclear plant security forces from threat of attack by 50 caliber sniper rifles would divert funds from operating programs.

Police Under Fire—Dateline NBC. In its broadcast of June 19, 2005, *Dateline NBC* focused on yet another facet of the national security threat posed by 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles: the potential for devastating attacks on law enforcement officers, the first responders to terrorist attacks. *Dateline* tied the threat to reality through an in-depth look at the murder of Jefferson County (Colorado) Sheriff Sergeant Timothy Mossbrucker on April 28, 1995, by Albert Petrosky, Jr.⁴⁵

Petrosky walked into an Albertson's grocery store in suburban Denver, Colorado, and gunned down his estranged wife and the store manager. Armed with an L.A.R. Grizzly 50 caliber sniper rifle, an SKS Chinese semiautomatic assault rifle, a .32 revolver, and a 9mm semiautomatic pistol, Petrosky then walked out into the

shopping center parking lot, where he exchanged fire with a federal IRS agent and killed Sgt. Mossbrucker. Petrosky, who was known to his friends as "50-Cal Al," fired all four weapons, including the 50 caliber rifle, during his murderous rampage.⁴⁶



Sergeant Timothy Mossbrucker was murdered by a man known to his friends as "50-Cal Al."

Dateline's summary of the event highlights the growing threat to all public safety personnel from the deadly 50 caliber sniper rifle:

Assessing Petrosky's deadly arsenal, deputies are stunned by the weapon that caused so much damage. This 50-caliber rifle, Sergeant Mossbrucker was hit by shrapnel by that gun and fatally shot with another rifle. But the 50-cal was the weapon police feared the most. As seen in this police videotape, investigators discovered the 50-cal rounds not only ripped through Mossbrucker's squad car but kept on going through yet another car. To show the awesome power of the 50-cal, investigators test-fired the gun...through a manhole cover.⁴⁷

NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERTS HAVE WARNED REPEATEDLY ABOUT THE DANGERS OF EASILY AVAILABLE 50 CALIBER ANTI-ARMOR SNIPER RIFLES

There are some materials that you can get now that perhaps you shouldn't be able to get. I'm thinking of .50-caliber rifles. There's no possible reason why anyone should have a .50-caliber rifle, but you can buy that.

—Richard A. Clarke, former coordinator for counterterrorism for Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush⁴⁸

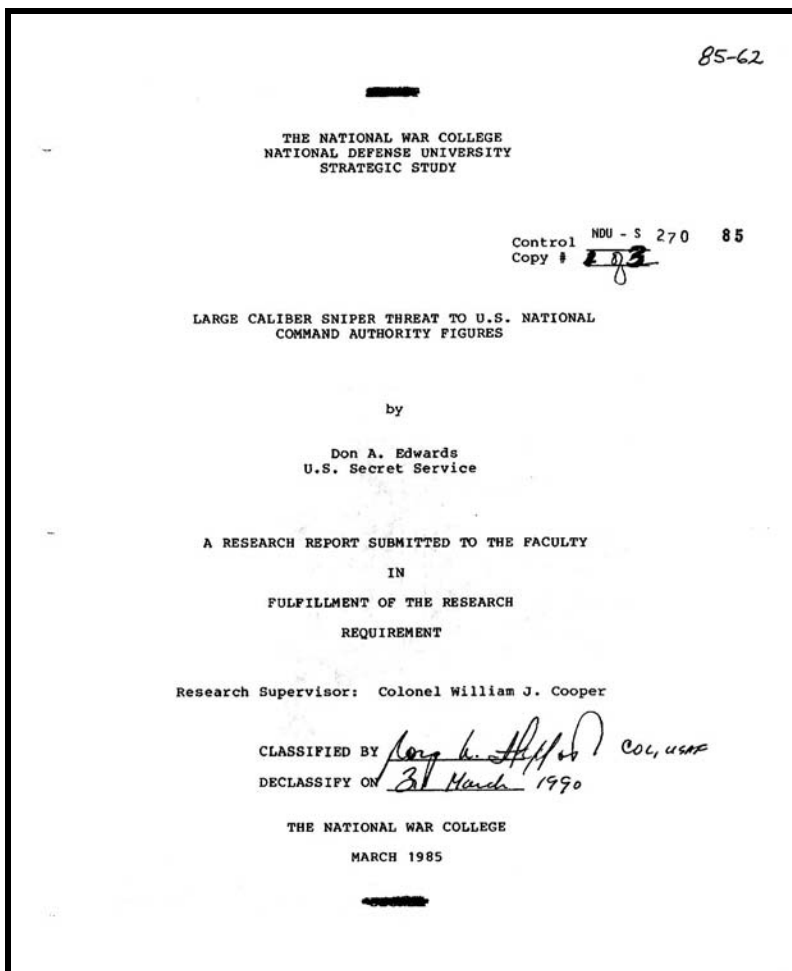
We have a responsibility to deny weapons to terrorists and to actively prevent private citizens from providing them. These obligations are urgent, and they are binding on every nation with a place in this chamber.

—President George W. Bush, address to the UN General Assembly, November 10, 2001⁴⁹

Given the range and enormously destructive power of the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle, it is no surprise that national security experts have been concerned for more than two decades about the weapon's easy availability on the civilian gun market. Some of these concerns have been highly classified and only recently come to light. This section reviews the concerns about the potential uses of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles expressed by a range of national security experts, including among others the U.S. Secret Service, the U.S. Army, and independent "think tanks" advising the Departments of Homeland Security and Defense. These are in addition to experts cited in previous VPC reports on 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles.

U.S. Secret Service. In 1985, the Deputy Assistant Director, Office of Protective Operations, U.S. Secret Service wrote a research paper for the faculty of the National War College of the National Defense University titled "Large Caliber Sniper Threat to U.S. National Command Authority Figures."ⁱ Originally classified as "secret" but recently made available on the Internet, the report focused on "highly accurate rifles for the .50 caliber cartridge [that] have been developed for commercial sale in the United States."⁵⁰ The report stated that "interest has focused on the .50 caliber due in part to the fact that it is the largest caliber which can be owned without restriction and the prevalence of military surplus ammunition, ammunition components, barrels, etc."⁵¹

ⁱ The National Command Authority refers to the President and the Secretary of Defense. "The Football," <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/systems/nuclear-football.htm>, downloaded April 11, 2005.



“Large caliber long range weapons pose a significant threat for U.S. National Command Authority figures.”

After reviewing developments in the marketing of these anti-armor rifles, and the use of such long-range weapons in earlier terror attacks and assassinations, the author concluded that such “large caliber long range weapons pose a significant threat for U.S. National Command Authority figures if used by terrorists or other assailants.”⁵² His report then summarized the specific threats that 50 caliber anti-armor rifles present to agencies charged with security, such as the Secret Service:

The weapons are capable of defeating light armor of the type used in limousines, aircraft, ballistic shields, etc. When so used modern ammunition makes them highly effective.

The weapons are more accurate than shoulder fired antitank rockets and, if used against aircraft, immune to electronic counter measures. They are man portable and easily concealed....

Large caliber long range weapons can be employed effectively from places of concealment outside the scope of normal security measures against personnel, aircraft, lightly armored vehicles and buildings. They thus pose a threat in environments generally thought secure.⁵³

The Secret Service report is a dramatic summary of precisely the concerns that the VPC has articulated in its reports on the subject.^j

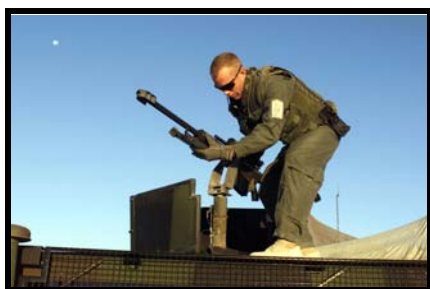
It is worth underscoring the Secret Service senior official's warning that 50 caliber anti-armor rifles are more accurate than shoulder fired rockets and "if used against aircraft, immune to electronic counter measures."⁵⁴ Flying in the face of such expert opinion, defenders of the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle regularly dismiss the threat to aviation targets. "Take down a plane," one official of the 50 Caliber Shooters Association told the Associated Press, "Ducks and geese are a bigger threat."⁵⁵ He and others argue that the big rifles are too heavy and awkward to strike a fast moving target like a jetliner.⁵⁶ Their purpose is to make the feat of causing catastrophic damage to an aircraft seem impossible.

The argument of the gun industry and its defenders ignores several critical and well-established facts.

The first is that, as the VPC has repeatedly warned, commercial jetliners full of fuel and passengers are an easy and potentially catastrophic target when taxiing on the tarmac or waiting at the ramp. This fact is attested to by independent reports on the dangers of snipers to military aircraft. The VPC has earlier reported on a 1995 report by the RAND Corporation warning specifically of the threat to U.S. Air Force operations from 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles in the hands of terrorists or guerrillas. But a 2000 RAND report entitled *Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments* also states flatly that "small arms are...capable of downing rotary-wing aircraft", i.e., helicopters, and, "as the USAF [U.S. Air Force] experienced in Sarajevo and Mogadishu...snipers...pose a threat to aircraft, support personnel, and passengers when the aircraft are on the ground."⁵⁷

^j The Secret Service protects the President, the Vice President (and persons elected to those offices), their immediate families, former Presidents, visiting heads of foreign states or governments, and major party candidates within 120 days of a general Presidential election. The Uniformed Division of the Service also protects the White House and other Presidential offices, and foreign diplomatic missions. U.S. Department of the Treasury Internet web site, at <http://www.ustreas.gov/usss/protection.shtml> downloaded on October 3, 2001.

The second is that, using simple aids to stability and accuracy such as “pintle mounts” (illustrated on cover and below), government marksmen have repeatedly shown the feasibility of striking fast-moving targets with 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles.



U.S. Air Force photos of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles in Iraq mounted on “pintle” or “soft” mounts. These mounts reduce the effect of recoil, improve accuracy, and make movement easier through vertical and horizontal dimensions.

In fact, United States Coast Guard marksmen have succeeded in making pinpoint hits in situations where these problems have been compounded. These marksmen not only stop the speeding “go fast” boats of drug smugglers by destroying the engines with 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles, they do it while firing at fast-moving boats from helicopters in flight.⁵⁸



Coast Guard marksmen stop drug smugglers' "go fast" boats with 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles fired at fast-moving boats from moving high speed helicopters

RAND Review of Security at Los Angeles International Airport (LAX). RAND was commissioned in 2004 by Los Angeles World Airports to assess and recommend improvements to security at LAX. The highly respected think tank identified 11 types of attacks, which it described as "not the only possible attacks, but they are the ones that we assess to be most likely and most dangerous."⁵⁹

Among these 11 most likely and dangerous attack scenarios is a sniper attack in which, "A sniper set up on airport-adjacent property with a .50-caliber sniper rifle shoots at loaded planes, firing approximately 50 shots over five minutes."⁶⁰ It also described the scenario as, "From a roof of a high-rise building on the airport perimeter, a sniper using a .50-caliber rifle fires at parked and taxiing aircraft."⁶¹

Although the report was able to make recommendations to lessen the threat from other attacks, RAND reported that for sniper attacks "we were unable to identify any truly satisfactory solutions."⁶²

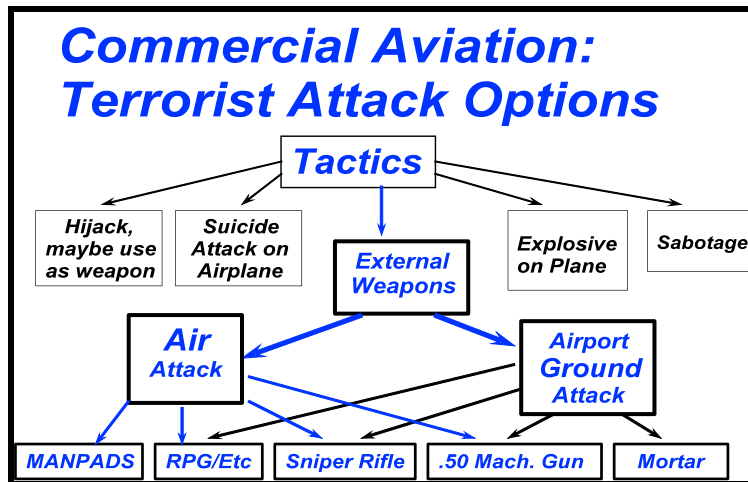
	aircraft taking off from LAX
Sniper attack	From a roof of a high-rise building on the airport perimeter, a sniper using a .50-caliber rifle fires at parked and taxiing aircraft
	The distance between the sniper and the length of the

RAND report on Los Angeles Airport security identified 50 caliber anti-armor sniper attack as one of “most likely” and “most dangerous” possibilities.

Although RAND looked specifically at the conditions at LAX, precisely the same analysis would of course apply to almost any civil aviation facility in the United States. This situation, and RAND’s conclusion about the difficulty of finding effective preventive measures dramatically underscores the urgent necessity for tightly controlling the civilian sale of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles.

University of Southern California Homeland Security Center Analysis. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), through its Homeland Security Centers of Excellence program, has funded several university-based partnerships to research important fields related to terrorism. DHS selected the University of Southern California (USC) as the first such center, providing USC and its partners with \$12 million for the study of risk analysis related to the economic consequences of terrorist threats and events.⁶³ Known as the Homeland Security Center for Risk and Economic Analysis of Terrorism Events (CREATE), the USC center produced an analysis comparing various forms of risk to civil aviation and risks of biological terrorism.

The CREATE center identified attack by large caliber sniper rifles as a threat for both air and ground attack against civil aviation targets.



PowerPoint presentation of U.S. Department of Homeland Security-sponsored center at USC identified sniper rifles as threat to aircraft in the air and on the ground.

The USC center noted that “large caliber sniper rifles” present “a combination of long range & power (1.5 miles +),” that “.50 cal. have been sold to al Qaeda, IRA, Iraq (used against Coalition forces),” and that the rifles “could target fuel tanks, passengers, pilots, down aircraft in worst case.”⁶⁴ The Center does not identify which manufacturer may have sold 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles to Iraq or when they were sold.

U.S. Army Terrorism Handbook. Fifty caliber anti-armor sniper rifles are specifically identified as potential terrorist weapons in a 2003 U.S. Army handbook, “A Military Guide to Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century.” The handbook states:

Since one of the major terror tactics is assassination, sniper weapons are often used to attack targets that are difficult to get close enough for other weapons. Additionally, with the development of large caliber sniper weapons, such as the Armalite AR-50 in .50 Caliber BMG, terrorists can also effectively engage light armored vehicles.⁶⁵

The Army’s terrorism handbook includes the following illustration of an Armalite AR-50 in its Appendix D, “Firearms.”



With large-caliber sniper weapons such as the Armalite AR-50 terrorists can effectively engage light armored vehicles.

Richard A. Clarke on threat of catastrophic damage from attacks on LNG tankers and facilities. In an unusually blunt and specific report to Rhode Island’s attorney general, former National Security Adviser Richard A. Clarke warned in May 2005 about the potential use of 50s by terrorists in attacks on liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminals and tankers in the United States:

Weapons and other capabilities needed to conduct an attack on an urban LNG off loading facility or an LNG tanker can be readily obtained in the US, according to US Government reports....Fifty caliber rifles with anti-armor shells are readily available in the US.⁶⁶

The Clarke report notes that 50 caliber anti-armor rounds could penetrate one of the two basic types of LNG tanker design, but suggest that “onboard firefighting equipment would in all probability be able to keep ahead of any fires even after the perforation of multiple tanks.”⁶⁷ There remains, however, the serious threat of the use of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles as stand-off weapons to attack security forces and other related targets in a well-organized terrorist attack (similar to the threat to nuclear facilities discussed in the preceding section).



A 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle could penetrate the shells of this Moss Rosenberg LNG tanker, according to the Clarke report, but “in all probability” onboard fire fighting equipment could keep ahead of the fires.

THE GUN INDUSTRY’S DESPERATE DEFENSE: “LEAVE US ALONE SO WE CAN MAKE MORE MONEY”

As the gun industry is pushed more and more into the position of attempting to defend the indefensible—the recklessly unrestricted sale of 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles—it has fallen back on the plaintive plea that its civilian sales are necessary to support manufacture for the armed forces.

“If it weren’t for the civilian sales, I wouldn’t be here. There’s a lot of defense contractors that would not be here,” Ronnie G. Barrett told “60 Minutes.”⁶⁸ He went on to say that he “would never have been in business” if he could not sell to civilians.⁶⁹

Barrett’s story in 2005 is different from what he told the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) in 1984.^k Records from Barrett’s federal firearms license file, obtained by the VPC from ATF through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) indicate that he then told ATF that his intention was to market his newly designed 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle primarily to the military and law enforcement. Thus, the written report of the ATF agent who delivered Barrett’s first federal firearms manufacturer’s license to the company in 1984 states:

Mr. Barrett said that this is a sniper-type weapon, and he intends to try to market it to the U.S. military or police departments prior to considering sales to the public. He said that it will be quite expensive and probably of interest only to collectors. He said that the number manufactured will be limited unless a large military sale is possible.⁷⁰



Barrett originally told the ATF that he intended to market his anti-armor sniper rifle to the U.S. military or police departments before trying to sell it to civilians.

^k In January 2003 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) was transferred from the Department of the Treasury to the Department of Justice. It was also renamed the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. However, the agency continues to use its well known acronym, ATF. “Move to Justice Dept. Brings ATF New Focus,” *The Washington Post*, January 23, 2003.

Be that as it may, America's armed forces are clearly willing to pay whatever it takes to field Barrett's rifles. According to an analysis of the costs of the XM107 (now M-107) 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle—laid out in a PowerPoint perhaps inadvertently posted on the Internet by an employee of the U.S. Army's Tank-automotive and Armaments Command—the "average procurement unit cost" of the Barrett rifle was projected in April 2003 at \$14,300, apparently more than double the civilian cost for the same rifle.⁷¹

Moreover, the argument is absurd on its face. It would justify civilian sales of virtually any military weapon—such as the mortars and rockets to which Barrett compares its 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles—if such sales would help the manufacturer stay in business.

A Collateral Argument: The "Road Map." Barrett and others have also retreated behind the specious argument that public reporting on the dangers of the 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifle is "irresponsible" and provides a "road map" for terrorists.

"I consider some of the stuff that Tom Diaz lays out irresponsible," Barrett told *60 Minutes*. "I know a lot of things, you know, but I'm not going to go on the television and—and tell people what the capabilities of equipment are and possibly give ideas to people."⁷²

Terrorists have shown since these anti-armor sniper rifles appeared that they are well aware of their capability. Osama bin Laden, the IRA, and such dangerous groups as a number of domestic militias and David Koresh's Branch Davidian cult were buying and using them long before the Violence Policy Center first warned about them. The industry knows and advertises the anti-armor rifle's capabilities, and the terrorists know them—only the American public, who will suffer the damage, will be kept in the dark if the industry has its way.

The threat is not information about vulnerabilities, but the damage that the easily available rifles and armor-piercing and incendiary ammunition can do. No paper report ever punched a hole in an armored car. But 50 caliber anti-armor rifles have done so at war and in the course of common crime within the United States. If information were the problem, news organizations and government panels would never report on the dangers of a wide variety of potential terrorist attacks—including exploding "dirty" bombs, poisoning food and water supplies, and fashioning biological and chemical terror weapons. Nor would such responsible entities ever report on gaps in intelligence capabilities, immigration controls, airline security, port security, and so forth. And yet they do so frequently. If one accepted the gun industry's logic, high government officials and scores of news reports could be criticized as giving terrorists "road maps." In fact, however, the gun industry merely seeks to obscure its own culpability.

Moreover, the industry is hypocritical in that it never criticizes a plethora of sniper text books, fawning "gun press" articles, and other publications that not only promote the 50 caliber anti-armor rifle, but demonstrate in great detail specific scenarios for its use. Books, articles, and videos offer sniper techniques and training, with illustrations that far exceed anything that the VPC or any other critic has written or talked about. In some cases, specific manufacturers have praised and endorsed these books and videos. The industry and its enablers never criticize these outlets for one simple reason: they promote sales and help generate profits.

If the industry truly cared about possible terrorist attacks using 50 caliber anti-armor sniper rifles, it would either withdraw such products from the market or support stringent rules of access, such as those under the National Firearms Act. It has not and apparently will not simply because its greed exceeds its patriotism.

Appendix A: DOMESTIC MANUFACTURERS OF 50 CALIBER RIFLES¹

Accuracy International Oak Ridge, TN	McMillan Bros. Rifle Co. Phoenix, AZ
Action Gun Works Sparks, NV	Mitchell's Mausers Fountain Valley, CA
Anzio Ironworks St. Petersburg, FL	MMAG Lake Monroe, FL
Armalite Geneseo, IL	Northwest Arms Distributing Arco, ID
Barrett Firearms Manufacturing, Inc. Murfreesboro, TN	Precision Ballistics Atascadero, CA
Bluegrass Armory Richmond, KY	R.M.C. Manufacturing Rapid City, SD
CAM Enterprises Mayer, AZ	Robar Companies Phoenix, AZ
Christensen Arms Fayette, UT	Serbu Firearms Tampa, FL
East Ridge/State Arms Gun Co. Bancroft, WI	Spider Firearms St. Cloud, FL
EDM Arms Redlands, CA	TNW Firearms Vernonia, OR
Evolution USA White Bird, ID	Ultimate Accuracy Arms Lonoke, AR
The Hunting Shack Stevensville, MT	VM Hy-Tech, LLC Phoenix, AZ
Knight's Armament Vero Beach, FL	Watson's Weapons Mound, MN
L.A.R. Manufacturing West Jordan, UT	Fred Wells Prescott, AZ
Liberty Arms Cove, UT	

¹ Manufacturers listed in Robert H. Boatman, *Living With the Big .50* (Paladin Press, Boulder Colorado, 2004), pp. 51-52, 56, 58, 61.

Appendix B:
CRIMINAL USE OF THE 50 CALIBER SNIPER RIFLE

- In July of 2005, it was revealed that convicted Oklahoma City bomber Terry Nichols had possessed a custom-built 50 caliber rifle that he had stolen from a gun collector in 1994. The rifle was recovered by the FBI in the spring of 2005 near a Kansas creek, where Nichols—who aided Timothy McVeigh in the April 19, 1995, bomb attack on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building that left 168 dead—had hidden it. (“Oklahoma City Bombing: Without threat of execution, conspirator starts talking; Nichols reveals guilt to FBI,” *The Sunday Oklahoman*, July 3, 2005)
- In March of 2005, Kyle Harness of Marina del Rey, California, was arrested after being pulled over on a traffic stop and found to be in possession of a stolen Armalite 50 caliber sniper rifle. Harness was stopped for having a broken taillight and false registration tags, and was on parole for armed robbery at the time of his arrest. (“Officer Finds Rifle in Parolee’s Car,” *Daily Breeze*, March 15, 2005)
- In June of 2004, Marvin Heemeyer of Granby, Colorado, plowed a makeshift armored bulldozer into several buildings in response to a zoning dispute and fines for city code violations. Heemeyer armored his 60-ton bulldozer with two sheets of half-inch steel with a layer of concrete between them. He methodically drove the bulldozer through the town of Granby, damaging or leveling 13 buildings before taking his own life. Heemeyer mounted three rifles on the bulldozer, including a Barrett 82A1 50 caliber sniper rifle. (“Man who plowed armored bulldozer into seven buildings in Colorado is dead, authorities say,” *Associated Press*, June 5, 2004; “Armored Dozer Was Bad to Go,” *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, June 25, 2004)
- In February of 2004, Donin Wright of Kansas City, Missouri, lured police officers, paramedics, and firefighters to his home where he shot at them with several guns including a Barrett 50 caliber sniper rifle. Authorities discovered at least 20 guns, thousands of rounds of ammunition, and the makings of 20 pipe bombs inside Wright's home. (“Body is Identified in KC Gunfight, Fire,” *The Kansas City Star*, March 30, 2004)
- In June of 2000, Robert W. Stewart of Mesa, Arizona, a convicted felon, was charged with felony possession of firearms for being in possession of Maadi-Griffin 50 caliber “kit guns” he was selling from his home, along with other firearms alleged to be in his possession. Stewart has become a folk hero among hard-line gun advocates and 50 caliber enthusiasts. He was distinguished, among other things, by his assertion that convicted felons have the right to

possess firearms: "I don't care if he's a mass murderer, he killed 50,000 people. He still has a right to have a gun. A gun is just a tool." (MSNBC transcript, "The .50-caliber militia," <http://msnbc.com/news>, May 15, 2001)

- In April of 2000, convicted felon Wayne Frank Barbuto of Salt Lake City, Utah, was charged with attempting to sell two 50 caliber sniper rifles to undercover federal agents. The government believes Barbuto manufactured the guns himself. During a search of Barbuto's home, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) agents discovered more than 32 firearms and thousands of rounds of ammunition. ("Sandy Gun Dealer Charged by Feds," *The Associated Press*, May 5, 2000)
- According to the General Accounting Office (GAO), 50 caliber sniper rifles have been found in the armories of drug dealers in California, Missouri, and Indiana. A federal investigation in 1999 was "targeting the movement of .50 caliber semi-automatic rifles from the United States to Mexico for use by drug cartels." ("Weaponry: .50 Caliber Rifle Crime," *GAO Office of Special Investigations letter*, August 4, 1999)
- On March 19, 1998, following an undercover investigation, federal law enforcement officers arrested three members of a radical Michigan group known as the North American Militia. The men were charged with plotting to bomb federal office buildings, destroy highways, utilities, and public roads, and assassinate the state's governor, senior U.S. Senator, federal judges, and other federal officials. All three were ultimately convicted. A 50 caliber sniper rifle was among the weapons found in their possession. ("Prosecutor: Hate Was Motive Behind Plot," *The Associated Press*, November 18, 1998)
- Wisconsin father and son James and Theodore Oswald were sentenced in 1995 to multiple life terms for armed robbery and the murder of a Waukesha police captain. The two had "a small armory of sophisticated and expensive weapons, including two custom-made .50-caliber rifles powerful enough to assault an armored car—which the two were considering doing," according to the Waukesha county sheriff. ("Possible Links Between Robbers, Far Right Sought," *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 1995)
- In the summer of 1995, Canadian officials in British Columbia found a Barrett 50 caliber sniper rifle, 500 rounds of ammunition, and enough explosives to fill a five-ton truck at a remote site. It is believed that members of a Texas militia group planned to set up a training camp at the site. Although at least one convicted felon was identified as a suspect, the investigation was dropped due to difficulties in prosecuting across international borders. The incident prompted one Texas Constitutional Militia official to observe, "We are not all raving maniacs. I'd kind of like to keep our lunatics on our side of the border." ("Arms Smugglers Won't Be Charged," *The Vancouver Sun*, October 26, 1996)

- On April 28, 1995, Albert Petrosky walked into an Albertson's grocery store in suburban Denver, Colorado, and gunned down his estranged wife and the store manager. Armed with an L.A.R. Grizzly 50 caliber sniper rifle, an SKS Chinese semiautomatic assault rifle, a .32 revolver, and a 9mm semiautomatic pistol, Petrosky then walked out into the shopping center parking lot, where he exchanged fire with a federal IRS agent and killed Sgt. Timothy Mossbrucker of the Jefferson County Sheriff's Department. Petrosky, who was known to his friends as "50-cal Al," fired all four weapons, including the 50 caliber rifle, during his murderous rampage. ("Authorities Investigate Gun Sale: Rifle Used in Albertson's Slayings Wasn't Illegal," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 1, 1995)
- Branch Davidian cult members at a compound in Waco, Texas, fired 50 caliber sniper rifles at federal ATF agents during their initial gun battle on February 28, 1993. The weapons' ability to penetrate tactical vehicles prompted the agency to request military armored vehicles to give agents adequate protection from the 50 caliber rifles and other more powerful weapons the Branch Davidians might have had. Four ATF agents were killed. ("Weaponry: .50 Caliber Rifle Crime," *GAO Office of Special Investigations letter*, August 4, 1999)
- On February 27, 1992, a Wells Fargo armored delivery truck was attacked in a "military style operation" in Chamblee, Georgia, by several men using a smoke grenade and a Barrett 50 caliber sniper rifle. Two employees were wounded. ("Two Armored Truck Guards Shot," *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, February 27, 1992)
- In 1989, two members of a church in Gardner, Montana, who were part of what ATF has described as a "doomsday religious cult," were arrested and charged with federal firearms violations. The two suspects had purchased hundreds of firearms, including ten 50 caliber semiautomatic rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition, using false identification. ("Weaponry: .50 Caliber Rifle Crime," *GAO Office of Special Investigations letter*, August 4, 1999)

ENDNOTES

1. "Guns & Tons of Ammo," Ponderosa Sports & Mercantile, downloaded from www.ponderosasports.com on April 13, 2005. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives of the U.S. Department of Justice has described the effect of the law on interstate transfers such as Ponderosa proposes as follows:

(F2) May a licensed dealer sell a firearm to a nonlicensee who is a resident of another state?

Generally, a firearm may not be lawfully sold by a licensed dealer to a nonlicensee who resides in a state other than the state in which the seller's licensed premises is located. However, the sale may be made if the firearm is shipped to a licensed dealer whose business is in the purchaser's state of residence and the purchaser takes delivery of the firearm from the dealer in his or her state of residence. In addition, a licensee may sell a rifle or shotgun to a person who is not a resident of the state where the licensee's business premises is located in an over-the-counter transaction, provided the transaction complies with state law in the state where the licensee is located and in the state where the purchaser resides and provided the sale complies with all applicable federal laws. [18 U. S. C. 922(b)(3)]

ATF Online, *Firearms, Frequently Asked Questions*, <http://www.atf.treas.gov/firearms/faq/faq2.htm#f2>, downloaded May 11, 2005.

2. *Death from Afar* by Norm Chandler, excerpt in "Testimonials and Articles," http://www.barrettrifles.com/test_sniper.html, downloaded September 23, 2003.

3. Transcript in files of VPC.

4. Robert H. Boatman, *Living with the Big .50: The Shooter's Guide to the World's Most Powerful Rifle* (Boulder, CO, Paladin Press, 2004), pp. 6, 9.

5. Robert H. Boatman, *Living with the Big .50: The Shooter's Guide to the World's Most Powerful Rifle* (Boulder, CO, Paladin Press, 2004), p. 6.

6. Robert H. Boatman, *Living with the Big .50: The Shooter's Guide to the World's Most Powerful Rifle* (Boulder, CO, Paladin Press, 2004), p. 10.

7. "Army Approves full fielding of M-107 sniper rifle," *Army News Service*, March 31, 2005, downloaded from <http://www4.army.mil/ocpa>, April 1, 2005.

8. "Laminated Security and Bullet Resistant Glass," posted at www.firstdefense.com/html/default_faqs.htm, downloaded April 19, 2005.

9. "Heavy Firepower for Light Infantry," Barrett Firearms Manufacturing, Inc. brochure advertising its Model 82A1 50 caliber sniper rifle, in the files of the Violence Policy Center.
10. "A tale of two fifties; 0.50-calibre sniper rifles gain popularity," *International Defense Review*, 1 June 1994, 67.
11. "U.S. wants to honour 5 Canadian snipers: One corporal is believed to have made a record shot from 2,430 metres," *Vancouver Sun*, 24 April 2002, p. A1.
12. See, United States Patent Number 4,677,897, "Anti-Armor Gun," issued to Ronnie G. Barrett on July 7, 1987.
13. United States Patent Number 4,677,897, "Anti-Armor Gun," issued to Ronnie G. Barrett on July 7, 1987.
14. "Governor Signs Bill banning .50-Calibers," *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 2004, p. 4.
15. "Lawmakers push for ban on .50-caliber rifles," *Copley News Service*, February 25, 2005; ".50-caliber rifles called a threat," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, February 13, 2005; "Anti-terror efforts put .50-caliber guns in sight," *The Associated Press State & Local Wire*, March 24, 2004.
16. Transcript, "Buying Big Guns? No Big Deal," *CBSNews.com*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/03/18/60minutes>, downloaded March 23, 2005.
17. Transcript, "The Big Gun; Controversy over the .50-caliber rifle," CBS News Transcripts, *60 Minutes*, January 9, 2005.
18. National Rifle Association, Institute for Legislative Action, Fact Sheet, ".50 Caliber Rifles And Ammunition: Latest Anti-Gun Targets Of Opportunity," January 18, 2005.
19. "Why The Proposed .50 Caliber Ban Is Really A Rifle Ban," *America's 1st Freedom*, April 2005, pp. 36, 40,
20. "Goldilocks Gun Control," posted at www.havegunwillvote.com on January 17, 2005, downloaded March 30, 2005. Caile, who has served as communications director for Concealed Carry Reform, NOW!, a Minnesota "gun rights" group, told the VPC in a phone interview on March 31, 2005 that this Internet web site is his personal blog.
21. Transcript, "The Big Gun; Controversy over the .50-caliber rifle," CBS News Transcripts, *60 Minutes*, January 9, 2005.

22. Transcript, "The Big Gun; Controversy over the .50-caliber rifle," CBS News Transcripts, *60 Minutes*, January 9, 2005.
23. Biography, "Police Commissioner," at NYPD Internet web site, downloaded from <http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/brass/pc.html>, on April 4, 2005.
24. Transcript, "Armor-Piercing Weapons Easy to Acquire?," CNN, *Paula Zahn Now*, February 17, 2005.
25. Transcript, "Buying Big Guns? No Big Deal," *CBSNews.com*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/03/18/60minutes>, downloaded March 23, 2005.
26. Transcript, "Buying Big Guns? No Big Deal," *CBSNews.com*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/03/18/60minutes>, downloaded March 23, 2005.
27. Stacy Sullivan, *Be Not Afraid, For You Have Sons in America* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 2004).
28. Transcript, "Buying Big Guns? No Big Deal," *CBSNews.com*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/03/18/60minutes>, downloaded March 23, 2005.
29. Stacy Sullivan, *Be Not Afraid, For You Have Sons in America* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 2004), dust jacket (*Newsweek* employment), xi (five years cooperation from Krasniqi) .
30. Minority Staff Report, Committee on Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, "Suspect Organizations and Individuals Possessing Long-Range Fifty Caliber Sniper Weapons," August 17, 1999, pp. 11-12. In VPC files.
31. Transcript, "Buying Big Guns? No Big Deal," *CBSNews.com*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/03/18/60minutes>, downloaded March 23, 2005.
32. United States Senate Republican Policy Committee, "The Kosovo Liberation Army: Does Clinton Policy Support Group with Terror, Drug Ties?" (March 31, 1999), downloaded from <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/fr033199.htm>.
33. Transcript, "Buying Big Guns? No Big Deal," *CBSNews.com*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/03/18/60minutes>, downloaded March 23, 2005.
34. Stacy Sullivan, *Be Not Afraid, For You Have Sons in America* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 2004), pp. 221-222.
35. U.S. Department of State, question taken at March 22, 2005 daily press briefing, "Possible Illicit Arms Transfers from the United States to the Kosovo Liberation Army," <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2005/43766.htm>, downloaded April 6, 2005.

36. Transcript, "Armor-Piercing Weapons Easy to Acquire?," CNN, *Paula Zahn Now*, February 17, 2005.
37. Transcript, "Armor-Piercing Weapons Easy to Acquire?," CNN, *Paula Zahn Now*, February 17, 2005.
38. Transcript, "Armor-Piercing Weapons Easy to Acquire?," CNN, *Paula Zahn Now*, February 17, 2005.
39. Transcript, "Armor-Piercing Weapons Easy to Acquire?," CNN, *Paula Zahn Now*, February 17, 2005.
40. Transcript, "Armor-Piercing Weapons Easy to Acquire?," CNN, *Paula Zahn Now*, February 17, 2005.
41. "Are These Towers Safe?" *Time*, June 20, 2005, p. 34.
42. Statement of Danielle Brian, executive director, Project on Government Oversight, before U.S. Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, June 5, 2002.
43. "Chairman holds hearing on public safety and security measures at nuclear power facilities," FDCH Political Transcripts, Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives Government Reform Committee, March 10, 2003.
44. Testimony of Ronald Timm, president, RETA Security, Inc., before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives Government Reform Committee, June 24, 2003.
45. NBC News Transcripts, "50 Caliber–Danger and legality of 50 caliber rifles," *Dateline NBC*, June 19, 2005.
46. "Authorities Investigate Gun Sale: Rifle Used in Albertson's Slayings Wasn't Illegal," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 1, 1995.
47. NBC News Transcripts, "50 Caliber–Danger and legality of 50 caliber rifles," *Dateline NBC*, June 19, 2005.
48. Transcript, "Richard Clarke discusses the war on terror," National Public Radio, *Talk of the Nation*, January 13, 2005.
49. Transcript, "George Bush addresses the UN General Assembly," CBS News, *The Saturday Early Show*, November 10, 2001.
50. Don A. Edwards, Research Report Submitted to Faculty, National War College "Large Caliber Sniper Threat to U.S. National Command Authority Figures,"

(Washington, DC 1985), p. vii.

51. Don A. Edwards, Research Report Submitted to Faculty, National War College "Large Caliber Sniper Threat to U.S. National Command Authority Figures," (Washington, DC 1985), p. viii.

52. Don A. Edwards, Research Report Submitted to Faculty, National War College "Large Caliber Sniper Threat to U.S. National Command Authority Figures," (Washington, DC 1985), p. 20.

53. Don A. Edwards, Research Report Submitted to Faculty, National War College "Large Caliber Sniper Threat to U.S. National Command Authority Figures," (Washington, DC 1985), pp 22-23.

54. Don A. Edwards, Research Report Submitted to Faculty, National War College "Large Caliber Sniper Threat to U.S. National Command Authority Figures," (Washington, DC 1985), p. 22.

55. "Anti-terror efforts put .50-caliber guns in sight," *The Associated Press State & Local Wire*, March 24, 2004.

56. "Anti-terror efforts put .50-caliber guns in sight," *The Associated Press State & Local Wire*, March 24, 2004.

57. Alan Vick, et al., RAND, *Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments: Exploring New Concepts* (2000), p.114, fn. 1, p. 120.

58. See, for example, Scott Gourley, "Bay Watch," http://www.popularmechanics.com/science/military/2003/8/bay_watch, downloaded December 20, 2004.

59. Donald Stevens, et al, RAND, *Near-Term Options for Improving Security at Los Angeles International Airport* (2004), p. viii.

60. Donald Stevens, et al, RAND, *Near-Term Options for Improving Security at Los Angeles International Airport* (2004), p. ix.

61. Donald Stevens, et al, RAND, *Near-Term Options for Improving Security at Los Angeles International Airport* (2004), p. 2.

62. Donald Stevens, et al, RAND, *Near-Term Options for Improving Security at Los Angeles International Airport* (2004), p. 42.

63. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Research and Technology," <http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?theme=27&content=3856>, downloaded April 11, 2005.

64. Terry O'Sullivan, Power Point presentation, "Comparative Risk Analysis & Threat Adaptability: Civil Aviation and Biological Terrorism," CREATE Homeland Security Center, University of Southern California, November 2004, downloaded from <http://www.usc.edu/dept/create/November18/O'Sullivan,%20Terry.ppt>.
65. Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, *Handbook: A Military Guide to Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*, (Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, August, 2003), p. 134. Downloaded from <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army/guidterr/guideterr.pdf>, December 20, 2004.
66. Good Harbor Consulting, LLC, "LNG Facilities in Urban Areas—A Security Risk Management Analysis for Attorney General Patrick Lynch, Rhode Island by Principal Investigator Richard A. Clarke," May 2005, p. 5.
67. Good Harbor Consulting, LLC, "LNG Facilities in Urban Areas—A Security Risk Management Analysis for Attorney General Patrick Lynch, Rhode Island by Principal Investigator Richard A. Clarke," May 2005, p. 85.
68. Transcript, "The Big Gun; Controversy over the .50-caliber rifle," CBS News Transcripts, *60 Minutes*, January 9, 2005.
69. Transcript, "The Big Gun; Controversy over the .50-caliber rifle," CBS News Transcripts, *60 Minutes*, January 9, 2005.
70. U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, "Firearms and Explosives Application Inspection Summary," for applicant Ronnie Gene Barrett, dated January 20, 1984.
71. Tank-automotive and Armaments Command, Power Point, "XM107 Caliber .50 Long Range Sniper Rifle," downloaded from [w4.pica.army.mil/ccac/ccl-a/XM107%20TC%20Review%20-41402%20\(Gus%20Augstine-CCL-A\).ppt](http://w4.pica.army.mil/ccac/ccl-a/XM107%20TC%20Review%20-41402%20(Gus%20Augstine-CCL-A).ppt) on October 15, 2003. The document is marked, "Distribution is limited to U.S. Government agencies only," and warns against providing copies outside of the Department of the Army.
72. Transcript, "The Big Gun; Controversy over the .50-caliber rifle," CBS News Transcripts, *60 Minutes*, January 9, 2005.

The Violence Policy Center (VPC) is a national non-profit educational organization that conducts research and public education on firearms violence and provides information and analysis to policymakers, journalists, advocates, and the general public. The Center examines the role of firearms in America, analyzes trends and patterns in firearms violence, and works to develop policies to reduce gun-related death and injury. This report was authored by VPC Senior Policy Analyst Tom Diaz. This report was funded in part with the support of The Herb Block Foundation, The David Bohnett Foundation, The George Gund Foundation, The Joyce Foundation, and, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Past studies released by the VPC include:

- *Safe At Home: How D.C.'s Gun Laws Save Children's Lives* (July 2005)
- *When Men Murder Women: An Analysis of 2002 Homicide Data* (September 2004)
- *The Threat Posed to Helicopters by 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifles* (August 2004)
- *United States of Assault Weapons: Gunmakers Evading the Federal Assault Weapons Ban* (July 2004)
- *Vest Buster: The .500 Smith & Wesson Magnum—The Gun Industry's Latest Challenge to Law Enforcement Body Armor* (June 2004)
- *A Further Examination of Data Contained in the Study "On Target" Regarding Effects of the 1994 Federal Assault Weapons Ban* (April 2004)
- *Really Big Guns: Even Bigger Lies* (March 2004)
- *Illinois: Land of Post-Ban Assault Weapons* (March 2004)
- *Bullet Hoses—Semiautomatic Assault Weapons: What Are They? What's So Bad About Them?* (May 2003)
- *"Officer Down"—Assault Weapons and the War on Law Enforcement* (May 2003)
- *Firearms Production in America 2002 Edition—A Listing of Firearm Manufacturers in America with Production Histories Broken Out by Firearm Type and Caliber* (March 2003)
- *"Just Like Bird Hunting"—The Threat to Civil Aviation from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (January 2003)
- *Sitting Ducks—The Threat to the Chemical and Refinery Industry from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (August 2002)
- *License to Kill IV: More Guns, More Crime* (June 2002)
- *American Roulette: The Untold Story of Murder-Suicide in the United States* (April 2002)
- *The U.S. Gun Industry and Others Unknown—Evidence Debunking the Gun Industry's Claim that Osama bin Laden Got His 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles from the U.S. Afghan-Aid Program* (February 2002)
- *"A .22 for Christmas"—How the Gun Industry Designs and Markets Firearms for Children and Youth* (December 2001)
- *Kids in the Line of Fire: Children, Handguns, and Homicide* (November 2001)
- *Unintended Consequences: Pro-Handgun Experts Prove That Handguns Are a Dangerous Choice For Self-Defense* (November 2001)
- *Voting from the Rooftops: How the Gun Industry Armed Osama bin Laden, Other Foreign and Domestic Terrorists, and Common Criminals with 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (October 2001)
- *Shot Full of Holes: Deconstructing John Ashcroft's Second Amendment* (July 2001)
- *Hispanics and Firearms Violence* (May 2001)
- *Where'd They Get Their Guns?—An Analysis of the Firearms Used in High-Profile Shootings, 1963 to 2001* (April 2001)
- *A Deadly Myth: Women, Handguns, and Self-Defense* (January 2001)
- *Handgun Licensing and Registration: What it Can and Cannot Do* (September 2000)
- *Pocket Rockets: The Gun Industry's Sale of Increased Killing Power* (July 2000)
- *Guns For Felons: How the NRA Works to Rearm Criminals* (March 2000)
- *One Shot, One Kill: Civilian Sales of Military Sniper Rifles* (May 1999)
- *Cease Fire: A Comprehensive Strategy to Reduce Firearms Violence* (Revised, October 1997)

Violence Policy Center, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 1014, Washington, DC 20036
202-822-8200 phone, 202-822-8205 fax, www.vpc.org web