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### After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace Sane Gun Laws Group, 2025-26 Legislative Session

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**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace  
Sane Gun Laws Group, 2025-26 Legislative Session**  
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Time to read (excluding summary, footnotes, tables, and exhibits): about 16 minutes

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## Summary

**Discussion:** This report describes the following:

- **The group’s purpose:** To advocate at the Legislature for a state ban on sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.
- **Brief history prior to 2025:**
  - Since 2018, we have obtained commitments of support for the ban from 41 of the 46 legislators we met with, including the chairs of the key committees in both branches of the Legislature, the five main authors of assault weapon ban bills, and the leaders in the House and Senate.
  - We delivered our two-page [Position Paper](#) to a total of 117 legislators from both parties.
  - We have joined the other gun-safety groups for 17 rallies, hearings, and press conferences at the Capitol ([Exhibit A](#)).
- **2025 and 2026 activities:**
  1. **Rallies and hearings at the Capitol:** Participated in six rallies at the Capitol, testified before a Senate committee, and submitted testimony to both branches of the Legislature and to the Governor ([Exhibits A, B, G, I, and J](#)).
  2. **Compiling information to support the state ban:** Prepared “A Guide for [Supporting](#) a State Ban on Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines,” which contains the most relevant information regarding both sides of the issue. The group’s 5 major reports during the session include 51 pages of text in their bodies, 22 exhibits, 103 footnotes, and a total of 103 pages.
  3. **Efforts to get cities involved, and collaboration with other groups:** Collaborated with other gun-safety groups to help 4 cities adopt resolutions and ordinances in support of weapons bans ([Exhibit D, E, & F](#)).
  4. **Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group:** We filed [submissions](#) with the Group ([Exhibit G](#)).
  5. **Winning over open-minded legislators:** We identified 18 moderate legislators who represent swing districts or had announced they were not seeking reelection. Of the 6 legislators we met with this Fall, one DFL senator committed to supporting an assault weapon ban, 2 DFL representatives stated they may support such a ban if the bill included other measures intended to reduce gun violence, and 1 Rep. representative stated he supports a stand-alone ban on high-capacity magazines. The bill, SF 4067, was approved in the Senate 34-33 on a party-line vote, and its companion bill, HF 5140 failed 63-63 in the House, also on a party-line vote.
  6. **Analysis of the proposed bill by Minnesota Senator Zaynab Mohamed:** We shared the analysis of the bill with 22 “target” legislators.
  7. **Other actions:** Members attended the Statewide Gun Violence Prevention [Coalition](#) meeting, submitted a [letter](#) to the local Fox News TV station, gave an interview to an editor of the U of M’s *The Minnesota Daily*, and signed up four additional veteran members.

**[Takeaways and next steps:](#)** This section includes an evaluation of the lessons learned and the most effective actions, and it describes possible activities for the next session: The most effective actions included meeting moderate legislators, producing the [Guide](#) that enabled us to advocate authoritatively, testifying before the legislature and city councils, helping to secure supportive city

resolutions and ordinances, and collaborating with the gun-safety groups. The most important next step is for closer collaboration with the other gun-safety groups.

## **Introduction, Purpose, and History**

**Introduction and purpose:** Since 2018, I have coordinated the efforts of our now, 32-member, Sane Gun Laws subgroup of the Twin Cities’ Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace. We have been advocating at the Legislature for a state ban on sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. Unfortunately, the several bills that have been proposed at every legislative session have never even had a committee hearing prior to the 2026 legislative session. Meanwhile, the other gun-safety groups focused on laws with a greater chance of adoption, and they were successful for a slew of laws during the 2023 and 2024 sessions when the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party enjoyed a “trifecta.”<sup>1</sup> We had no activities during the 2025 legislative session since, without the trifecta, there was no chance for any progress, given the absolute opposition by Republicans to any common-sense gun regulations.

Then things changed. On 8/27/2025, a 23-year-old assailant, using his legally acquired assault rifle, fired 116 high-powered, military rounds in just a few minutes into the Annunciation Church, killing two children and wounding 20 other children and three adults. In response, the mayors of Minneapolis and St. Paul and seven other cities stated their support on 9/2/2025 for a ban on assault weapons,<sup>2</sup> and the Minneapolis City Council soon afterwards approved a resolution in support of a state ban.<sup>3</sup> Gov. Walz promised to call a special session of the Legislature to address gun violence (which never happened), and a state ban on assault weapons rose to the top of the list of priorities.

This report describes the strategies and activities of our Sane Gun Laws Group from 9/1/25 to the end of the 2026 legislative session in May 2026. It’s important to note that many people were involved in these activities. Hopefully I’ve captured their contributions. If not, please let me know and I will revise this report accordingly. When I use the word “I,” the reader should assume that my wife, Cynthia, has her “fingerprints” on everything I do including editing every publication and advising my every move. Thank you, everyone, for the help. (Exhibit A includes additional photos.)

**History:** From the beginning, our main strategy was to make personal contacts with our legislators, and advocate for our position. We began on 3/12/2018, when members of our group<sup>4</sup> met over an eight-hour period with four senators and four representatives (top photo shows us with Sen. Matt Klein). To date, we got that commitment from 44 of the 49 legislators we met with (refer to the table in Strategy 6), including the chairs of the key committees in both branches of the Legislature, the five main



<sup>1</sup> The voters gave control to the Party for both branches of the Legislature and the Governorship.

<sup>2</sup> For more information: <https://www.cbsnews.com/minnesota/news/twin-cities-mayors-changes-to-gun-laws/>

<sup>3</sup> In May 2026, the city also approved an ordinance that banned possession of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.

<sup>4</sup> I was joined by Bruce Berry, Robert Hale, Michael Madden, Michael McDonald, and Barry Riesch.



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On 4/12/2023, member Jacob Thomas, who is the Communications Director for Common Defense (CD), sent out a form to 1,344 Minnesota members of CD. The form included a link to a CD website that enabled a person to automatically text an amendable letter in support of the ban to their legislators. A total of 49 veterans sent letters to 98 legislators.

We prepared a letter to the editor (LTE) and obtained 27 veteran co-signers that we submitted to seven publications in 2024 (*Minnesota Star Tribune, Pioneer Press, MinnPost, The Minnesota Reformer, St. Paul Voice, Northeaster, and Lake County Press*). Dave Borton sent it to the editor of the AFL-CIO labor review in Minnesota and to the Exec VP of the state teachers union for consideration on their advocacy page. It was published in the *Lake County Press* on 3/22/24. Members submitted nine other LTEs over the years.



<b>Sane Gun Laws Group: By the Numbers</b>	<b>2018-2024</b>	<b>2025-2026</b>	<b>Total</b>
Participated in rallies, hearings, town halls, and press conferences.	19	6	25
Testified at hearings before the Legislature and city councils, and spoke at rallies.	4	9	13
Submitted written testimony for hearings at the Legislature, city councils, and to the Governor	5	18	23
Submitted our 2-page position paper to legislators.	117	6	123
Met with legislators.	41	8	49
Presented our thank you certificate to legislators and others.	50	15	65
Cities that we helped get gun control ordinances and resolutions passed.		5	5
Prepared major reports and shared them with legislators and others	3	7	10
Pages in the reports (including exhibits)	29	104	133
Submitted letters to legislators.	41	114	155
Letters to the editor	9	1	10
Number of items in the computer file for the group.			475
Members (plus 2 Associate Members)	28	32	



The above “By the Numbers” callout box provides a numerical summary of our activities.

**2025-26 Strategies and Activities**

Our members were involved in the following *Strategies* between September 2025 and the end of the 2026 legislative session in May 2026:

- 1. Rallies at the Capitol:** We held our banners for the two, 1 ½-hour-long rallies at the Capitol:
  - **Youth United for Gun Violence Prevention Rally 9/1/25:** Attended by Mike McDonald, Arlys Herem, Kelly Bankole, Dave Borton and his grandson, Connor, Ed and Marilyn Lorenz, and my wife, Cynthia, and me.

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- **Don't Look Away Rally sponsored by Moms Demand Action and others on 9/27/25:** Attended by Jim McKenzie and his wife, Patty, and Cynthia and me. I was one of the speakers (Exhibit A includes photos, and Exhibit B includes the speech).

Several people came up to thank us for our service in this cause. Cynthia and I also connected with a Native American combat vet from the Iraq-Afghanistan War for whom the rally evoked very troubling emotions.<sup>7</sup>

**2. Compiling information to support the state ban:** Exhibit C includes the report I prepared, "A Guide for Supporting for a State Ban on Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines." It includes all of the most relevant information regarding both sides of the issue. The callout box at right shows the table of contents for the 19-page report. I have been sharing it with anyone who is a part of this effort.

The table at right summarizes the group's 8 major reports "by the numbers." They include 65 pages of text in their bodies, 33 exhibits, 118 footnotes, and a total of 133 pages.

<b>Sane Gun Laws Group, 2018-2026: By the Numbers</b>				
<b>Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group: Primary Reports</b>	<b>Pages in Body</b>	<b>Unique Exhibits*</b>	<b># of Footnotes</b>	<b>Total Unique Pages*</b>
After-Action Report: Veterans Day on the Hill In Support of a Minnesota Assault Weapons Ban (3/12/2018)	7		10	7
VFP Sane Gun Laws Group, 2023 Minnesota Legislative Session (11/10/2023)	2	5		8
VFP Sane Gun Laws Group, 2024 Minnesota Legislative Session (4/1/2024)	4	5		14
<b>Subtotals</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>29</b>
Support of a Minnesota Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines (11/21/2025)	2		14	2
A Guide for Supporting a State Ban on Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines (3/6/2026)	19		61	19
Analysis of the Proposed Bill by Minnesota Senator Zaynab Mohamed for a State Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines (1/21/2026)	9	2	19	31
West St. Paul City Council Resolution in Support of a State Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines (9/25/2025)	5	6		25
After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group, 2025-26	17	15	14	27
<b>Subtotals</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>Grand totals</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>133</b>

\* "Unique" means the material is not included in one of the other reports.

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**3. Efforts to get cities involved, and collaboration with other groups:**

- West St. Paul resolution: On 9/2/2025, the mayors of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and seven other cities<sup>8</sup> held a press conference to call for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons. In response, I asked the Mayor of West St. Paul, my city, the next day to join the mayors calling for a ban. With the help of the six members of the West St. Paul City Council, we were able to get the

<sup>7</sup> I gave him a copy of my book, *Embracing the Ghosts: PTSD and the Vietnam Quagmire*, and my email but have yet to hear from him again.

<sup>8</sup> Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey and St. Paul Mayor Melvin Carter were joined by the mayors of Bloomington, Stillwater, Vadnais Heights, Minnetonka, Hopkins, Richfield and Columbia Heights.

Council to unanimously pass a resolution calling for the state ban (covered in a separate after-action report in [Exhibit D](#)).

I prepared and presented VFP thank you certificates to the five West St. Paul council members who wanted them, and I presented one for Patty Matthews, the South Metro team leader for Moms Demand Action who recruited numerous members to attend the West St. Paul City Council meeting when the resolution was adopted ([Exhibit D](#) includes photos). I also sent the resolution to the following: Governor Walz, the 12 members of the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group, the Executive Director of the Regional Council of Mayors, and the editor of the *Minnesota Reformer*.

Leaders for Common Sense Gun Laws	
<small>(Photos clockwise from upper-left)</small>	
Patty Matthews, Moms Demand Action	
Jessica DeWeerth, Protect MN	
Erin Zamoff, Moms Demand Action	
Maggly Emery Protect MN (bottom right)	
Kathleen Erin Doyle Anderson, Moms Demand Action	
Brie Ehrmann, Moms Demand Action	
Gretchen Damon, Moms Demand Action	
Jayne Tiedmann, Moms Demand Action (no photo)	

• **Collaborating with Moms Demand Action:**

We collaborated with many key leaders of gun-safety groups (the call-out box at right includes several of them). Together, we sought resolutions calling for a ban in their cities, and I shared my after-action report about the West St. Paul resolution with them. The leader for the South Metro Moms Demand Action, Brie Ehrmann, had 120 copies of it printed for the group’s members. They reported progress in four cities: Eagan, Roseville, Apple Valley, and Burnsville. However, Brie later stated that they weren’t able to make any headway with the city councils passing the ban, but they came up with a workaround. Using the Google Form at right,<sup>9</sup> scores of Moms members asked their local, elected officials to sign on as individuals to a letter of support to the Governor. Although Gov. Walz had already stated his strong support, the intent was so he could use these signatures as further evidence of statewide support for a ban.

### A Call for a Statewide Ban on Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines

Dear Governor Walz,

As local elected officials from communities across the State of Minnesota, we write to you with a shared and urgent concern: the growing threat of gun violence in our cities and towns. We see firsthand the toll it takes on our residents, families, and neighborhoods – from daily incidents of gunfire to the fear that ripples through schools, places of worship, and public gatherings.

We believe it is time for Minnesota to take decisive action to protect our communities by enacting a statewide ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. These weapons of war have no place in civilian life. They are designed for maximum destruction and have been used repeatedly in mass shootings across the nation, inflicting devastating loss of life in mere moments.

While many responsible Minnesotans own firearms for hunting, sport, and self-defense, assault weapons and high-capacity magazines go far beyond those purposes. Common-sense measures to limit their sale, possession, and manufacture would help keep our communities safer – without infringing upon lawful gun ownership.

We commend your leadership on public safety and recognize that meaningful progress requires courage and collaboration. Local governments cannot solve this crisis alone; it demands statewide attention and the strength of unified action. We urge you to work with the Minnesota Legislature to enact a ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. Our communities deserve to send their children to school, gather in public spaces, and live their daily lives without fear of such senseless violence.

We stand ready to support you in advancing this critical step toward a safer Minnesota.

I developed a transmittal email for the form and sent it, along with our [Position Paper](#), to my locally elected

<sup>9</sup> The form had a section not shown for the officials to provide their name, city, email, and attest to being an elected official.

officials (mayor and city council, county commissioner, school board, and county sheriff). Several members of the group did the same.

- **Ordinances from the cities of St. Paul, Edina, and Minneapolis to ban the possession of assault weapons:** The City of St. Paul took local action a step further than passing a non-binding resolution or a mayoral statement that called for a state ban. On 11/12/2025, the City Council unanimously adopted an ordinance that banned the possession of assault weapons in the city. This is significantly stronger than all prior and current assault weapon bans (refer to [Strategy 5](#) below). Since Minnesota Statute § 471.633 from 40 years ago preempts local governments from regulating guns, the ordinance states it will only go into effect when the state preemption is lifted. The cities of Edina and Minneapolis adopted similar ordinances on 1/20/2026 and 5/7/2026 respectively.

During St. Paul’s public hearing process prior to the adoption of the ordinance, member Ed Lorenz collaborated with Kathleen Doyle Anderson (pictured above) and Emily Benzie from Moms Demand Action to testify in favor of the ordinance before the City Council on 11/5/25. [Exhibit F](#) includes Ed’s speech and also the excellent speech from Gretchen Damon, St. Paul Moms Demand Action (pictured above). The image at right shows member Dave Borton testifying on behalf of our group in support of the Minneapolis ordinance ([Exhibit F](#) includes their speeches).



- **Connor, St. Anthony Village, and the Lutheran Synod:** With his inspiring grandson, Connor Borton-Guest, by his side, Dave Borton and Connor testified in favor of the St. Paul ordinance on 11/5/25. They also led the effort to get their city, St. Anthony Village, to adopt a resolution based on the one adopted by the City of West St. Paul in support of a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons. [Exhibit E](#) includes the speech Dave and Connor gave to the St. Anthony Village City Council. The city later adopted the resolution.



Recently, Dave and Connor met with their Lutheran bishop. As Dave described it, “[we] asked for 15 minutes. She gave us 40, and used the entire time to dialogue with Connor about his sense of gun control, etc. She concluded the meeting by asking Connor to prepare a resolution for May’s assembly of 108 congregations and 980,000 Lutherans. She said, ‘Connor, will you also speak to the

assembly? You have something to say!” Exhibit E includes Connor’s resolution. The vote was 395 in favor, 3 opposed, and 2 abstentions.

Connor is also our newest associate member of Veterans For Peace and our Sane Gun Laws group. At 11 years old, our youngest too. The above photo on the left shows MN Sen. Matt Klein, in red shirt, greeting Connor at the Youth United for Gun Violence Prevention Rally held at the Capitol on 9/1/2025. The above photo on the right shows Dave presenting our thank you certificate to his grandson.

**4. Submissions to the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group:** Concern over the Annunciation School shooting caused Senate DFL leaders to create the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group, which had Sen. Ron Latz (DFL) as the chair, Sen. Zaynab Mohamed (DFL) as the vice chair, and 5 other members from both parties. The group asked for “proposals” so, I submitted one on 9/16/25 ([Exhibit G](#)). Jim McKenzie and I attended the hearing of the group on 9/17/25. I also submitted a request to the chairs and co-chairs of the public safety committees to testify on two new pieces of relevant information: The lethality of AR-15 assault-style weapons and the effectiveness of state assault weapon bans. I also shared the information with the key leaders of the gun-safety groups ([Exhibit H](#)).

**5. Analysis of Sen. Zaynab Mohamed’s assault weapon ban bill:** Sen. Zaynab Mohamed made public a bill for a state ban on the sale of new assault weapons and high-capacity magazines (Mohamed bill). I prepared a paper in September 2025 that summarized the Republican positions on a state ban, analyzed Sen. Mohamed’s bill, and included seven recommendations to minimize the bill’s impact on law-abiding assault weapon owners while maximizing its ability to restrict access to these weapons for potential mass shooters. At the start of the 2026 legislative session, Sen. Mohamed officially filed her bill (and added one that addressed assault weapons only and another that dealt with high-capacity magazines only). I updated my report accordingly and submitted it to Sen. Mohamed and the members of the House and Senate committees who heard the bills ([Exhibit I](#)). My analysis is rich in information about the perspectives, concerns, and fears of law-abiding owners of assault weapons as well as their alternatives to a state ban.

**Primary impacts of SF 4067:**

- The bills will ban the sale, and control the transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.
- Law-abiding owners of a legally acquired assault weapons could choose to certify (register) them, and continue to store and fire it consistent with the law.
- They could choose to surrender it to the appropriate law enforcement agency, modify it to make it inoperable, or remove it from the state.
- They could transfer it to another law-abiding person or immediate family member provided all persons complied with the provisions in the law, which include background checks.

Eventually Sen. Mohamed’s bill became SF 4067 (the companion bill in the House was HF 5140). The call-out box summarizes the primary impacts the bill on law-abiding owners. There were two primary changes to the prior version of her bill:

- **Transfers:** The prior ban on transfers (including inheritance) was replaced by a process whereby a law-abiding owner of a legally acquired assault weapon could transfer it to another law-abiding person, provided both people passed the federal background check. It also allowed transfers to immediate family members.
- **Magazines:** Sen. Grant Hauschild, a DFL senator from a purple district, took credit for changing the definition of a high-capacity magazine from larger than 10 rounds to larger than 17 rounds.

It’s worth noting that, in spite of these relatively minor restrictions on law-abiding owners—restrictions that are less onerous than those required for a driver’s license—opponents, including numerous Republican legislators, repeatedly asserted incorrectly that the bill would instantly make criminals of every weapon owner, prevent them from bequeathing their weapons to their children or selling them, and would not reduce gun violence. Also worth noting, DFL legislators rarely explained these minimal impacts, nor rebutted the blatant misinformation from their Republican colleagues based on the hours I spent monitoring hearings.

**6. Winning over “moderate” legislators:** The 10/3/2025 issue of the *Star Tribune* included an article that described six “moderate” legislators, representing swing districts, who had yet to commit either way on the issue. We decided to try to get meetings with them. On 10/10/25, Jayne Tiedemann and Brie Ehrmann (pictured above) from Moms Demand Action and I had an hour-long Zoom meeting with Sen. Matt Klein. We wanted his advice regarding how best to discuss the issue with these legislators. Sen. Klein also suggested additional legislators to approach. Later we learned about six Republican legislators who had decided not to seek reelection to the Legislature. I sent email requests and a follow-up phone call requesting a 15-minute meeting to a total of 17 legislators. I also included my analysis of the Mohamed bill.

The table at right lists the 49 legislators who met with us (23 DFL senators, 21 DFL representatives, and five Republican legislators). The table also lists the 13 Republican legislators who never responded to our requests or outright refused our 15-minute request.

As mentioned above, passionate public demands peaked in the fall for the Legislature to do *something* to curb gun violence after the Annunciation School/Church shooting, the murders of former Speaker Melissa Hortman and her husband, and the near fatal wounding of Rep. John Hoffmann and his wife. Many community leaders pointed out that the plague of gun violence is the leading cause of death for American youth.<sup>10</sup> In response to the media featuring heartrending stories from the parents of victims of the Annunciation School shooting, the *Star Tribune* article included Sen. Judy Seeberger’s comment (DFL-Afton) that we need to “dial back the inflammatory rhetoric.”

Meetings With Legislators			Republicans Who Declined to Meet With Us
DFL Senators	DFL Representatives	Republicans	
Esther Agbaje	Kaela Berg	Sen. Jim Abeler	Sen. Gary Dahms
Liz Boldon	Mary Francis Clardy	Sen. Julia Coleman	Sen. Rich Draheim
Jim Carlson	Nathan Coulter	Sen. Bill Weber	Sen. Steve Drazkowski
Steve Cwodzinski	Heather Edelson	Rep. Danny Nadeau	Sen. Zach Duckworth
Scott Dibble	Leigh Finke	Rep. Rep. Paul Torkelson	Sen. Jeff Howe
Heather Gustafson	Michael Freiberg		Sen. Karin Housley
Grant Hauschild	Kaohly Her		Sen. Jeremy Miller
Matt Klein	Joshua Hill		Rep. Tim O’Driscoll
Rob Kupec	Michael Howard		Rep. Lisa Demuth
Ron Latz	Athena Hollins		Rep. Elliott Engen
Alice Mann	Frank Hornstein		Rep. Ron Kresha
John Marty	Samakab Hussein		Rep. Andrew Myers
Erin Maye Quade	Erin Koegel		Rep. Kristin Robbins
Jennifer McEwen	Alicia Kozlowski		
Zaynab Mohamed	Larry Kraft		
Kelly Morrison	Jerry Newton		
Erin Murphy	Maria Isa Pérez-Vega		
Clair Oumou Verbeten	David Pinto		
Sandy Pappas	Lucy Rehm		
Susan Pha	Samantha Sencer-Mura		
Lindsey Port	Bianca Virmig		
Aric Putnam			
Ann Rest			
23	21	5	13
Total meetings with legislators:			49

<sup>10</sup> Source: “Preventing firearm violence and injuries impacting children and teens,” Centers for Disease Control, 12/16/24, <https://www.cdc.gov/firearm-violence/php/research-summaries/children-and-teen-impacts.html#:~:text=Introduction,19%20in%202020%20and%202021>.

To best utilize the so-called veteran “cloak of legitimacy,” we brought a balanced approach to our meetings with legislators that accounted for the concerns of law-abiding owners of legally obtained assault weapons. We told the legislators that we understood that most owners were also deeply concerned about reducing gun violence and especially its effects on our children. Rather than “blame” the weapons, however, they insist that other factors like mental health and unsafe schools are actually at the root of mass shootings at schools. (Exhibit C includes more information why many gun owners believe that assault weapon bans demonize AR-15-style rifles, and penalize them.) We know that most believe that the Second Amendment protects their weapons, and that they feel unjustly blamed for gun crimes committed by others. Most incorrectly believe the bans considered by the Legislature require confiscation when, in fact, they require registration. For those who understand the bills correctly, they still see registration (the bills use the term “certification”) as just a step towards confiscation.

To the common arguments that “guns don’t kill people; people kill people,” which leads to the need for more mental health resources instead of bans, I described what I learned at the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group hearing on 9/17/25. Based on the comments by the five Republicans at the hearing, the Republican caucus will not collaborate with Democrats on any issue that affects legal gun owners (e.g., bans on weapons, magazines, or binary triggers; red flag and safe storage laws; closing loopholes in background checks and for ghost guns, registration, etc.). They opposed every DFL proposal that involved funding because, given the state’s predicted budget deficit (which they blamed on the DFL trifecta of the prior two legislative sessions), they had higher priorities for state spending. Exhibit C includes information that exposes the hypocrisy of this argument.

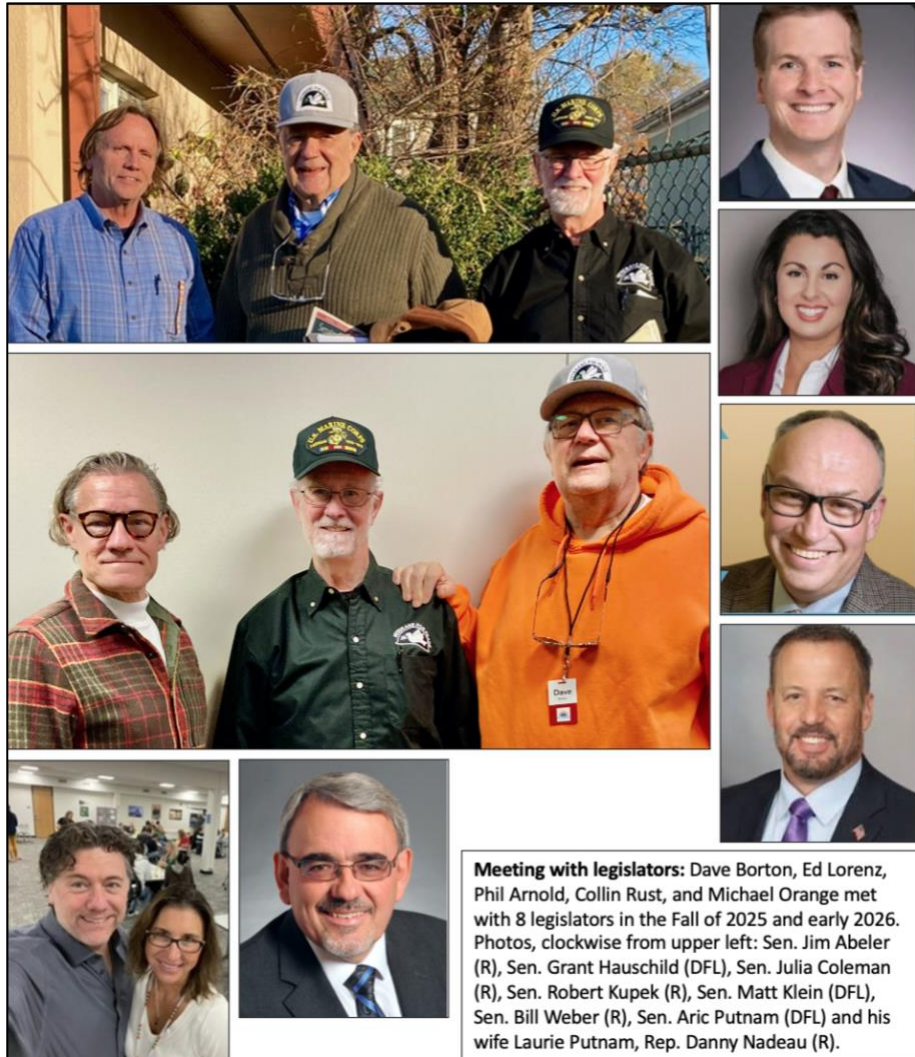
For each of our legislator meetings, we briefly stated our position in favor of a state ban. Rather than begin with arguments to support our position, we asked the legislator to describe their concerns and those of their constituents who oppose a state ban, and then we responded with our counter arguments. This approach set the tone for a calmer discussion. In every case but two, we felt respected and heard (again, the value of that “veteran cloak of legitimacy”). Here are a few takeaways:

- Our “asks” at first were 1) communicate your concerns with Sen. Zaynab Mohamed about her bill, and 2) if you can’t vote by pushing the green button (YES) on this issue, at least don’t push the red button (NO). One legislator informed us that neither of our “asks” are possible. He explained that the gun-rights voters would condemn him just as fully for a “yes” vote as for not voting.
- All Republican legislators agreed that the primary concerns of most gun-rights voters are 1) that bans are ineffective; 2) that their weapons are protected by the Second Amendment and they are not “weapons of war;” and 3) that they need them to defend themselves, their families, and their property in the event the government attempts to confiscate them, or attack their civil and property rights. Exhibit C addresses all of these concerns (see pp. 4-10).
- One legislator believed the gun-rights voters in his district would adamantly oppose a ban on transfers. He had recently received his grandfather’s hunting rifle, and understood peoples’ *reverence* (my word) for firearms that have been handed down through generations. As stated above, the final bill created a process for transfers.

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- Two legislators suggested “packaging” the bill with things Republicans believe would be more effective at curbing gun violence (e.g., increased mental health resources, improved school safety, and increased penalties for general gun assaults). Governor Walz’s September proposal for a special session listed nine policies and appropriations that he wanted approved during the session. All three of the legislators’ suggested measures were included in the Governor’s proposal and in the final version of Sen. Mohamed’s bill (SF 4067).

We believed in the value of putting rock-solid information into the hands of the 22 targeted legislators in the Fall 2025 and in early 2026, and meeting with the eight who might still be convinced (three DFL and five Republicans), especially the two Blue Dog Democrats. Only Sen. Aric Putnam (DFL) committed to supporting an assault weapon ban like Sen. Mohamed’s bill. However, Sen. Rob Kupek (DFL) and Rep. Danny Nadeau (R) stated they may support such a ban if the bill included other measures intended to reduce gun violence. Also, Rep. Nadeau stated he supports a stand-alone ban on high-capacity magazines. We hoped for unknown positive impacts. As Mahatma Gandhi said, “You may never know what results come from your action. But if you do nothing, there will be no result.” Since the Democrats had only a one-vote majority in the entire Legislature, we hoped that flipping just a few votes might make all the difference needed. Eventually, all DFL legislators voted for the bill and all Republicans voted to oppose it (see “Final Actions” below).



**7. Actions during the 2026 legislative session:**

- **House Public Safety Finance and Policy, HF 3433 & 3402, 2/24/2026:** The House committee considered the companion Mohamed bills that separated the weapons from the magazines. Since the House membership is tied, the vote was tied, and the bills did not move on. I submitted a request to testify and our position paper for the public record. Mike McDonald, Mike Madden, Ed Lorenz, and Cynthia and I also submitted personal letters in support of the bills, and Mike McDonald and I attended the hearing. Since opponents to the bills made some ridiculous statements, I felt compelled to respond with a report to the members of the committee. Exhibit J includes all of our submissions.
- **Senate Committees:**
  - On 3/13/2026, the Senate Judiciary and Public Safety Committee heard approximately nine gun-related bills including Sen. Mohamed’s joint bill (weapons and magazines). SF 3681 was approved 6-3 and sent to the Finance Committee, which considered the bill on 4/28/2026. The Committee invited me to be one of two

**Potential Effects of the Assault Weapon Ban (SF 4067)**  
Michael Orange, 5/2/2026

- **Prohibits new sales:** The bill only prohibits the sale of new SAMSAWs (semiautomatic military-style assault weapon).
- **Requires certification or removal, immobilization, or relinquishment to law enforcement:**
  - Law-abiding owners can keep and use legally owned SAMSAWs provided they certify them.
  - Owners can remove them from the State, immobilize them, or relinquish them to law enforcement.
  - Thousands of owners will have to obtain a clear federal background check and have their weapons certified/registered with the BCA if they want to keep or transfer them. Many may be ineligible to possess them by current law. The list includes the following (these are a selection of the general categories that don’t reflect the specifics and exceptions):
    - Younger than 18
    - Convicted of a crime of violence
    - Mentally ill, developmentally disabled, or chemically dependent
    - An “illegal alien”
    - A veteran with a dishonorable discharge
    - A person subject to an “extreme risk” protection order
  - The weak penalty for violating the law (see below) may mean many owners will ignore it. But if found guilty of violating it, they would likely get it certified because a second violation is a felony, which would make them ineligible to possess it.
- **Penalties and confiscation:** The law states, “A person who owns or possesses an uncertified semiautomatic military-style assault weapon or large-capacity magazine or who otherwise knowingly violates this section is guilty of a gross misdemeanor. A person who is convicted of a second or subsequent violation is guilty of a felony.” The penalty in the prior bill was much heavier. It stated that a violator “is guilty of a felony and may be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than five years or to payment of a fine of not more than \$25,000 or both.” It’s reasonable to assume that an owner of an uncertified weapon who commits a crime would have the weapon confiscated by law enforcement.
- **Controls transfers:** An owner can transfer a SAMSAW provided:
  - They have proof of ownership prior to the effective date of the law, 5/1/2027
  - They comply with the current laws governing firearm transfers, which includes completing a federal background check<sup>1</sup>
  - They file the required paperwork with the MN Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA).
  - They can gift them to immediate family members

The prior bills banned transfers. We recommended the bill allow a temporary transfer for the purpose of instruction or use where currently allowed for hunting, target practice, or sport-shooting events. The bill includes this. We also recommended a permanent, one-time transfer to immediate family members only. The bill includes this but does not restrict it to a one-time transfer.
- **Other:**
  - Sales of SAMSAWs will likely skyrocket up to the 7/1/2027 effective date of the law.
  - The value of certified weapons will increase.
  - Law enforcement will gain significant information regarding the types and number of SAMSAWs and their owners.
  - The number of SAMSAWs in Minnesota will slowly decrease via:
    - Transfers out-of-state
    - Removal, immobilization, or relinquishment to law enforcement, especially by owners who would be ineligible to certify them
    - Legal confiscation as a part of criminal apprehension.

<sup>1</sup>The federal background check for firearms is the National Instant Criminal Background Check System, commonly referred to as NICS. Operated by the FBI, this system is mandatory for all licensed firearms dealers (FFLs) to verify that a buyer is not legally prohibited from possessing a firearm under federal or state law. This is done to prevent firearms from being sold to individuals who are legally disqualified, such as those with a felony conviction, a history of domestic violence, being a fugitive, or having a court order restraining them from a partner or child. The system is managed by the FBI and requires a background check when a person attempts to purchase a firearm.

- people to testify in support of the bill (above photo).<sup>11</sup>
- On 4/29/2026, the Senate Finance Committee approved SF 4067 and forwarded it for a floor vote in the full Senate. The vote was a 6-3 party-line vote, and the six DFLers included Sen. Judy Seeberger of Afton, one of three Democrats who was skeptical of an assault weapons ban when the party controlled the House and Senate in 2023. The 46-page bill begins with an amended final version of Sen. Zaynab Mohamed's assault weapon ban bill, SF 3655, and it integrates 6 other gun-related bills<sup>12</sup> to become a single, comprehensive, gun-violence-prevention bill.
  - I had previously submitted to Sen. Mohamed an analysis of her bill, SF 3655 (3/6/2026) which included 7 recommended changes. My goal was to improve its viability by minimizing the impacts on law-abiding owners of legally-obtained assault weapon while retaining its potential to reduce the accessibility of banned weapons from mass shooters. The final bill that went to the floor of the Senate included four of my recommendations (exclude small-caliber, tube-loading rifles; delete overly restrictive hunting limitation; eliminate warrantless inspections of storage; and expand transfer opportunities) and ignored three minor recommendations. The callout box below summarizes the primary effects of the bill.
  - **Response from pro-gun people:** A clip of my testimony stating the AR-15 was more powerful than the military's standard-issue M4 assault rifle that replaced the M16 was included as a Reel on the Facebook page of the National Association for Gun Rights.<sup>13</sup> When I became aware of it on 3/16/2026, just three days after it was posted on Facebook, it had 1.9 million views and 15,000 hateful comments.<sup>14</sup> Weeks later, I continued to receive comments on Facebook that misquoted, attacked, and derided my military service and even my hat!<sup>15</sup> Strange that they focused on that sentence only.

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<sup>11</sup> The live-stream of the hearing can be viewed at <https://www.senate.mn/schedule/live/19684/20260313> (Michael Orange's testimony begins at 58:47).

<sup>12</sup> SF 4067 incorporated the following gun violence prevention bills into a single comprehensive bill:

- Anonymous threat reporting system
- Ghost guns
- Assembly and manufacture of firearms and serialization of firearms
- Extreme risk protection orders
- Reenactment of ban on binary triggers
- Human services mental health

<sup>13</sup> Two months later, it is still near the top of the list of Reels on that site.

<sup>14</sup> To summarize the statement, it has to do with barrel length. The longer barrel of the AR-15 compared to the M4 means the propellant in the round has more time to accelerate the bullet. When firing 5.56 NATO rounds, the AR-15 has a muzzle velocity that is 7% faster than the M4. When firing the .223 Remington round, it's 4% faster than the M4 (which only fires the NATO round). Both bullets have the same mass (55 gr) so it's simple physics: same mass times higher velocity = greater force or power.

<sup>15</sup> A sampling of the attacks: "You are a clown. ... You should be f\*\*king ashamed of yourself." "You don't know what the f\*\*k are talking about or you are lying through your teeth. Typical lying leftist." If your [sic] on Michael Orange's Facebook supporting what he is posting IQ must be pretty low." "What kind of service member fights against the constitution that made this country great. You are a disgrace to your country." "That 'military guy' is a traitor to his service." That's a shiny new hat... 'Here's your hat, here's your script, here's your cash, and questions?'" "He was the don't ask don't tell guy." "You can always tell at first glance which vets lost their ball."

Here's a YouTube video with 5,000 hateful responses: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpjcwrHOUCo> and Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1609782343665621>

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- **Final actions:** On 5/15/2026, the full House debated the companion bill to Sen. Mohamed’s comprehensive gun violence prevention bill (HF-5140) for over four hours. All 67 DFL representatives voted in favor, and all 67 Republicans voted to kill it. During the debate, hundreds of supporters primarily from Moms Demand Action and Protect Minnesota rallied at the Capitol (including members Mike McDonald and Collin Rust), and they delivered 8,000 petitions calling for Speaker Melissa Demuth to hold a vote on the bill (image at right). On 5/16/2026, hundreds of people, primarily from Moms Demand Action and Protect Minnesota (as well as three generations of the Orange family), rallied at the Capitol with repeated deafening chants of “Hold the Vote.” [Exhibit K](#) includes several photos, and [Exhibit O](#) includes a remarkable guest commentary in the *StarTribune* by Rep. Demuth’s daughter, Shelisa Demuth, “What my mother got wrong on gun reform.”



**8. Other actions:**

- **Statewide Gun Violence Prevention Coalition Meeting:** Ed Lorenz represented our group when we were invited to participate in the four-hour-long Statewide Gun Violence Prevention Coalition Meeting on 10/23/2025 and the one on 1/28/2026. [Exhibit L](#) includes his report.
- **Letters to the editor and interview:** [Exhibit M](#) includes letters our members submitted to media sources:
  - Fox News article and interview: The local Fox News TV station website included comments from the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus (MGOC). In response, I submitted a letter to the station (9/28/2025). I prepared responses to the MGOC comments for others to submit letters to Fox News, and shared it with our group and with the key leaders of gun control groups. The station neither published it nor even acknowledged its receipt.
  - MinnPost article:
  - Interview for *The Minnesota Daily*: On 11/6/2025, Grace Praxmarer, a journalism student at the U of M, interviewed me for 45 minutes for an article she wrote for the University’s *The Minnesota Daily* where she is an editor.

**Takeaways and Next Steps**

The following summarizes what we learned from this latest experience and what we might focus on next session:

- **Meetings with legislators:** I’m convinced our meetings made a difference.
  - **Our first priority was correct:** Identifying meeting with DFL legislators as our primary mission proved to be prescient. When we began meetings in 2018, most legislators agreed with us. Sen. John Marty had drafted a comprehensive gun-safety bill that included an assault weapon ban component modeled on those adopted by the 9 states that had bans at that time. However,

there were several legislators who said pushing for a ban would actually hurt the chances for the other gun-safety bills that were under consideration. We persisted with subsequent meetings, and by 2024, all 41 of the legislators we had met with stated their support for a ban.

- **Targeting “moderate” legislators and those not running again:** After the Annunciation shooting brought the public demand for an assault weapon bill to the forefront in the Fall of 2025, we identified 18 key legislators that were either on the fence or not running in November. We met with 5 of them (plus Sen. Aric Putnam who told us he had been in favor for years).
  - **On the fence:** We met with two “Blue Dog” (i.e., center-left) DFLers from purple districts, Sen. Grant Hauschild and Sen. Rob Kupec, plus Rep. Danny Nadeau (R) and Rep. Jim Abeler (R). All four legislators listened to our arguments respectfully. Both Republicans seemed to be warmer to it, or perhaps, less vehemently opposed, and both DFLers voted for the bill in May. Without senators Hauschild and Kupec, the bill would have failed in the Senate.
  - **No longer running:** We reached out to 13 Republicans with a meeting request and our 2-page position paper. Two Republicans outright rejected us, and 11 ignored my emails and follow-up phone calls. Nonetheless, we may have had some, if small, influence.
- **Research and Guide:** Proponents focused primarily on victim stories, and opponents primarily argued the bill was unconstitutional, ineffective, and it would criminalize all current owners. My dive into the weaponry and the mindset of the opponents to develop my Guide made us more effective advocates.
- **Testimony at hearings at the Capitol and before city councils:** We used our veteran “cloak of legitimacy” and our personal experiences with the weapons and the carnage they cause to tread a middle ground with receptive legislators. My Guide provided a handy manual for fact-based arguments both at a podium or via submissions. In addition to compiling critical information, it included two new arguments: I was able to make a compelling point that the typical AR-15 was *more* powerful than the military’s standard-issue M4 assault weapon that replaced the M16 based on its greater muzzle velocity. This helped establish them as “weapons of war.” Secondly, I found two studies that documented the effectiveness of state bans, which directly countered the opponents’ argument that state bans were ineffective.
- **City and church resolutions and ordinances:** At the press conference held soon after the Annunciation shooting, the mayors of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and seven other cities called for a statewide assault weapon ban. This sparked our efforts to get our local cities to pass resolutions in favor of a state ban. We collaborated with Moms and Protect MN, and were able to get resolutions and ordinances passed in five cities (West St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Anthony Village, and Edina). Our 11-year-old associate member, Connor Barton-Guest, later marshalled church power. He presented his resolution for an assault weapon ban first at his own church and then to an assembly of 100 Evangelical Lutheran Churches in America. It was adopted on 5/15/2026. Cities and churches can have a much larger impact on legislators than we ever could.
- **Collaboration with other gun-safety groups:** The gun-safety groups—Protect Minnesota, Moms Demand Action, Every Town for Gun Safety, Giffords, League of Minnesota Voters, several church-based groups and others—are phenomenal. They are tuned into the latest information, can rally hundreds of people in short notice, provide a sea of people in red and orange T-shirts that demonstrates the power of numbers, organize large events, secure keynote speakers, etc. Also, the parents and children of Annunciation Light Alliance enter a room carrying a veil of respect and

solemnity that surrounds them. People understand the courage needed to repeat their heart-rending stories. People respect the heroic patience required to hear one after another Republican legislator or gun-rights activist respond with the lies listed above that the bill would be unconstitutional, ineffective, and it would criminalize owners. We made significant inroads of collaboration. We should do much more.

- **Visibility and credibility:** Long stands with our banners and flags prominently displayed behind the podium at 24 rallies and press conferences, the 12 instances that are members were invited to address the crowds or testify at legislative hearings or other gatherings, and the 23 submissions we have made to the Legislature and the Governor increased the visibility of our group and enhanced our credibility. Countless times, legislators and others have thanked our group for our contributions.
- **In sum:** All that we have done and accomplished has built a foundation of possibility. I am confident that the ban will become law when we have another DFL trifecta, hopefully next January.
- **Next steps:** The following describes possible future actions:
  - Present thank you certificates to the leaders of the gun-safety groups. This outreach could help cement our relationships with them.
  - Revitalize efforts to obtain local government resolutions and ordinances.
  - Opponents raised several issues regarding SF 4067 that were not addressed. If not corrected, they will weaken the bill's chances for approval next year. For example:
    - Are the definitions of assault weapons too broad? I believe the main concerns are 1) the weapon's ability for rapid fire and reloading, 2) its smaller size (including folding stocks) makes it easier to conceal (as opposed to a traditional hunting rifle), 3) long-barreled pistols that bridge the gap between handguns and rifles, 4) high-capacity magazines, and 5) 5.56 rounds that tumble and fragment. Perhaps the other features included in the bill go too far.
    - Someone should describe implementation. For example, if a man commits a minor crime like brandishing a weapon in public, and law enforcement got a search warrant and found several uncertified assault weapons, SF 4067 implies he's committed a separate misdemeanor for the weapons. Would law enforcement issue him a time period to certify them? If he doesn't comply, that second instance would constitute a felony per SF 4067, which would then make him ineligible to possess or certify them.
    - Someone should describe the likely associated costs to the BCA. If approved, the approximately 2 million gunowners in Minnesota may need to get any applicable weapons certified soon after passage of the bill. That's a huge task for the BCA.

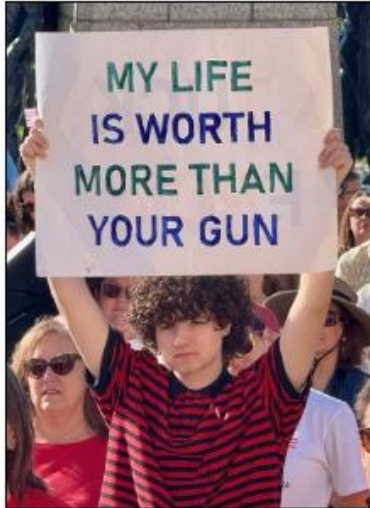
## **Members**

Four veterans joined the group: Allen Frechette, Edward Lorenzo, Andrew Roussopoulos, and Collin Rust, which brought the total number of members to 32. Cynthia Orange and Collin Borton-Guest are Associate Members.

**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group  
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<b>Members 2026</b>		
David Anderson, Army	Allen Frechette, Air Force	Michael Orange, Marine Corps
Phillip Arnold, Army	Richard Guiton, M.D., Army	Cynthia Orange, Associate Member
Kelly Bankole, Air Force	Robert Hale, Army	Diana Oestreich, Army National Guard
Bruce Berry, Army	Aryls Herem, Army	John Clark Pegg, Marine Corps
John Barden, associate member	Larry Johnson, Army	Hilary Ray, Army
David Borton, Air Force	David Logsdon, Navy	Robert Regnell, Air Force
Connor Borton-Guest, Associate Member	Edward Lorenz, Army	Barry Riesch, Army
Lawrence Condon, DDS., Navy	Michael Madden, Army	William Ronan, Marine Corps
Michael Doyle, Army	James McKenzie, Army	Andrew Roussopoulos, Marine Corps
Jack Fecht, Army	Michael McDonald, Army National Guard	Collin Rust, Air Force
Loren Flicker, Army	Bob Mokos, Air Force	Jacob Thomas, Air Force
		John Varone, Army

EXHIBIT A



**9/1/25 Youth United for Gun Violence Prevention Rally (upper left):** Participants included Mike McDonald (in shorts and hat in foreground), Arlys Herem, Kelly Bankole, Cynthia and Michael Orange, and Dave Borton and his grandson, Connor.



**9/27/25 Don't Look Away Rally sponsored by Moms Demand Action et. al.** Michael Orange was one of the speakers (photo above Cynthia Orange). Jessica DeWeerth (right photo) from Every Town for Gun Safety, was an event organizer.



**EXHIBIT B**

**Speech at the Moms Demand Action Rally at the Capitol, 9/27/2025**

Michael Orange, Coordinator, Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws  
952-905-1448, orange\_michael@msn.com

Good morning.

It's an honor to stand with you. Since 2018, my group, Chapter 27, Veterans For Peace, has been advocating at the Legislature for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. Over those many legislative sessions, we've joined members of Moms Demand Action, Every Town for Gun Safety, Protect Minnesota, Giffords, and others to pass sane gun laws. I want to address four examples of the misinformation and lies from the gun lobby so you can respond authoritatively when you hear them.

1. Civilian assault rifles are not "weapons of war." The gun lobby is fond of saying "civilian" assault rifles aren't "weapons of war."

I call BS!

When firing either military or civilian ammunition, the civilian AR-15 is actually more powerful than the military's standard-issue, M4.<sup>16</sup> What is more important is that the bullets from this ammunition can tumble upon impact, which makes them horribly deadly. Hearing the courageous testimony from the parents of the shooting victims at Annunciation School and Church just brings me to tears. I also know, first-hand, the carnage these weapons of war cause. I saw their horrible effects when I served in combat in Vietnam.

I'm still haunted by the vivid memory of two young Vietnamese boys who set off a bomb on our fire support base. I witnessed, up close, how the assault rifle rounds fired by my fellow Marines literally shredded and exploded their little bodies.

Consider that the parents of the massacred Robb Elementary students in Uvalde Texas had to rely on DNA to identify their children. The gunman at a Las Vegas concert in 2017 fired 1,000 rounds in 10 minutes, murdering 60 people and causing nearly 900 casualties.<sup>17</sup>

2. "It's not a gun issue; it's a mental health issue: A second common lie is "Guns don't kill people; people kill people," or "it's not a gun issue; it's a mental health issue."

I call BS!

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<sup>16</sup> The only significant difference between military and civilian assault rifles is that military rifles are capable of automatic fire while civilian rifles are restricted to semiautomatic fire (one round per trigger pull). However, the primary value of firing on automatic is for suppressive fire on the battlefield to enable maneuvering. It has no value for legal uses by civilians (i.e., target shooting, hunting, and self-defense). When firing either military or civilian ammunition, AR-15-style rifles are actually more powerful than the military's standard M4 assault rifle that replaced the M16. The muzzle velocity of an AR-15 is not significantly different than for an M16 for both 5.56 NATO rounds and .223 Remington; and it has a greater muzzle velocity than the M4—7% greater firing 5.56 NATO and 4% greater firing .223 Remington.

<sup>17</sup> Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017\\_Las\\_Vegas\\_shooting](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017_Las_Vegas_shooting)

Claiming it's a mental health issue is just a dodge. Of course, we need improved mental health resources. But that's a separate issue. With the crucial votes from Minnesota's entire Republican delegation, Republicans in Congress cut \$11.4 billion from various mental health services initiated under the Biden Administration.<sup>18</sup> Blaming inadequate mental health services is just bait-and-switch propaganda from the gun lobby. It's about the guns.

3. "Weapon bans are ineffective:" A third lie from the gun lobby is that weapon bans are ineffective. I call BS again!

Evidence shows state bans can lower the rate of mass shooting deaths by 70%, and reduce the number of school shooting victims by 54%.<sup>19, 20</sup>

4. Registration not confiscation: Finally, the gun lobby also contends that a ban penalizes law-abiding, assault-weapon owners. The NRA calls it a "radical gun-grab."<sup>21</sup> To that, let's ALL say "I call BS!"

The bills introduced in the Legislature for several years now have very limited effects on current owners. They grandfather existing legal weapons, and require registration not confiscation.

Support is mounting: Support keeps growing. Last week, over 60 organizations issued a call to action for the Governor and Legislature.<sup>22</sup> Organizations that represent over 14,000 physicians specifically called for an assault weapons ban.<sup>23</sup>

In closing: I thank you all for your total dedication to this noble cause. Combined, our voices will ring out—a sonic boom that will pressure our Legislators to improve gun safety for all of us—but especially for our children and grandchildren.

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<sup>18</sup> "NAMI Statement on Final Passage of Bill Cutting Medicaid for Millions of American," National Alliance on Mental Illness, 7/3/2025, [https://www.nami.org/press-releases/nami-deep-concern-over-final-passage-of-bill/#:~:text=NAMI%20Statement%20on%20Final%20Passage,Alliance%20on%20Mental%20Illness%20\(NAMI](https://www.nami.org/press-releases/nami-deep-concern-over-final-passage-of-bill/#:~:text=NAMI%20Statement%20on%20Final%20Passage,Alliance%20on%20Mental%20Illness%20(NAMI)

<sup>19</sup> Source: "The effects of state and Federal gun control laws on school shootings," Mark Gius, Applied Economics Letters, 4/19/2027, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13504851.2017.1319555>

<sup>20</sup> Source: "Policies That Reduce Gun Violence: Restricting Large Capacity Magazines," Daniel Webster, Johns Hopkins University, 5/24, 2021, <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/2021/policies-that-reduce-gun-violence-restricting-large-capacity-magazines#:~:text=Our%20estimate%20was%20that%20laws,is%20licensing%20for%20firearm%20purchasers%20>.

<sup>21</sup> Source: <https://www.instagram.com/reel/DO9YkDXEw70/>

<sup>22</sup> Source: [https://assets.senate.mn/working\\_group/2025-2026/1605\\_Senate\\_Gun\\_Violence\\_Prevention\\_Working\\_Group/Gun-Violence-Prevention-Letter-to-Gov-Walz-and-Legislative-Leaders.pdf](https://assets.senate.mn/working_group/2025-2026/1605_Senate_Gun_Violence_Prevention_Working_Group/Gun-Violence-Prevention-Letter-to-Gov-Walz-and-Legislative-Leaders.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> Source: <https://www.senate.mn/schedule/senate/20250917>

EXHIBIT C



## Veterans For Peace Chapter 27 612-821-9141

4200 Cedar Avenue South, Suite 7 Website: vfpchapter27.org  
Minneapolis MN 55407 Email: vfpchapter27@gmail.org

### A Guide for Supporting a State Ban on Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines

Michael Orange, Coordinator, Chapter 27 Veteran For Peace, Sane Gun Laws,<sup>24</sup>  
orange\_michael@msn.com, 952-905-1448

Updated: 5/16/2026

Reading time (excluding the table, footnotes, and the Resources section): about 30 minutes

Contents (underlined text is hyperlinked to that section)

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Ban Opponents' Belief: AR-15-Style Rifles Are Not " <a href="#">Weapons</a> of War" .....	4
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### Purpose, Basic Assumptions, and Definitions

**Purpose:** The purpose of this report is to describe the arguments that support the adoption of a Minnesota law that bans the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. To advocate for such a ban, members of Chapter 27 Veteran For Peace, Sane Gun Laws group have met with 49 legislators to date, including legislators who represent conservative and swing districts. We also researched the information from the Minnesota Gun Owners' Caucus and many other sources.

**Assumed attitude of people supporting a state ban:** This analysis assumes that most supporters of an assault weapons ban are deeply concerned about reducing gun violence and especially its effects on

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<sup>24</sup> Michael Orange serves as the coordinator for the local Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws group. Beginning in 2018, members have advocated at the Legislature for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. Michael served in the Marines including in combat in Vietnam (1969-70).

our children. They believe that a ban will make it more difficult for a potential mass shooter to obtain an assault weapon, and that a ban, in conjunction with other common-sense gun control measures, can help reduce the frequency and lethality of gun violence.

**Assumed attitude of people opposing a state ban:** This analysis assumes that most law-abiding owners of legally acquired assault weapons are also deeply concerned about reducing gun violence and especially its effects on our children. However, rather than “blame” the weapons, they insist that other factors, e.g., mental health and unsafe schools, are actually at the root of mass shootings. They argue that addressing those factors is the right public approach; not bans. Many feel attacked for defending their perceived, constitutionally protected right to own, use, and protect themselves and their families with these weapons; and they feel unjustly blamed for gun crimes committed by others. Many also believe the ban on transfers unjustly limits a parent’s traditional right to hand down an “heirloom” hunting rifle to their children.

**Characteristics of an assault weapon ban:** Sen. Zaynab Mohamed (DFL) submitted a proposed bill, dated 9/11/2025, for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines (Mohamed bill). Later, that bill became SF 4067, and the full Senate approved it by a one-vote margin on 5/4/2026 on a strictly partisan basis. However, the House being evenly divided, the companion bill, HF 5140, failed on a party-line vote, 67-67. The bill prohibits the sale of new assault weapons (semiautomatic military-style assault weapon) and high-capacity magazines (greater than 17 rounds), and provides a process for law-abiding owners to keep and use legally weapons provided they certify them, and to transfer them to family members and other law-abiding adults. Otherwise, they must remove them from the State, immobilize them, or relinquish them to law enforcement. The section below, “[Impact](#) on Law-Abiding Owners,” provides more detail.<sup>25</sup>

**Definitions:**

- **Mass shooting:** When 4 or more persons (excluding the shooter) are wounded or killed with a gun.
- **Civilian assault weapons:** For this report, civilian assault weapons refer to semiautomatic, typically AR-15-style rifles designed to fire high-powered rounds at a greater velocity than most other firearms. When combined with high-capacity magazines, they enable a shooter to fire a devastating number of rounds during a short period.
- **High-capacity magazine:** Capacity of 17 or more rounds (based on the Mohamed bill, SF 4067).
- **High-powered rounds:** There are a wide variety; however, the most common are the 5.56 mm NATO round and the .223 caliber Remington round.

**Ban Opponents’ Belief: Bans Demonize AR-15-Style Rifles and Penalize Their Owners**

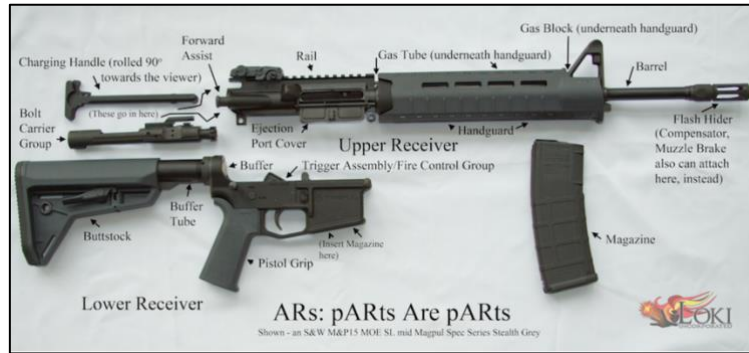
**Many gun owners believe that assault weapon bans demonize AR-15-style rifles, and penalize those who own them:** There is a vibrant subculture of enthusiasts who enjoy modifying and upgrading their

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<sup>25</sup> Michael Orange prepared a separate report that analyzed the Mohamed bill with a focus on minimizing its impact on law-abiding owners of legal assault weapons, while preserving the main purpose of making it more difficult for potential mass shooters to obtain these weapons (available upon request).

AR-15-style rifles, and sharing their experiences with others, much like those who modify cars or computers. They share a passion for the rifle platform’s ability to be customized, its technology, and its functionality. They can be offended by the suggestion that there is something inherently immoral about these weapons and their attachment to them.

**Rifle design:** The rifle’s design is built around a two-part system—the upper and lower receivers. The lower receiver, which contains the trigger and magazine well, is the serialized component considered to be the actual firearm. The upper receiver contains the barrel, bolt carrier group, and other components of the rifle (diagram at right). With the right tools and experience, a person can swap out for a barrel of a different length, caliber, or configuration. A variety of stocks and accessories are available (e.g., sights, scopes, grips, lasers, flashlights, suppressors, etc.). This flexibility, plus their high accuracy with minimal recoil, make AR-15-style rifles extremely popular for legal uses like sport shooting, small game hunting,<sup>26</sup> and defense. Unfortunately, their ability to accommodate high-capacity magazines, up to 100 rounds each (image at right) makes them the weapon of choice for mass shooters.



**Registration is not a slippery slope to confiscation:** At meetings with legislators, we learned that some gun-rights voters harbor a deep fear and resentment against government, both federal and local. They believe they need their legally obtained assault weapons to defend themselves, their families, and their property in the event a tyrannical government attempts to confiscate their weapons, or attack their civil and property rights. They see registration as a step towards confiscation. I researched the issue, and concluded that a short cartoon filmed in 1969, *Bambi Meets Godzilla*,<sup>27</sup> best describes the chances of success that of an armed insurrection could overthrow the U.S. government: The “[Other](#)” section at the end of this report provides more detail.

I don’t see registration as a reasonable concern. Since 8/1/2024, the state has required that 1) a buyer of an assault weapons must obtain a Permit to Purchase, which includes a background check, and 2) that the weapon’s serial number is recorded by the buyer and seller during the transfer process. I

<sup>26</sup> Compared to the rounds typically used for hunting larger game (e.g., the 30.06 round), the 5.56 NATO round and its civilian companion round, the .223 Remington, are not as effective for larger game (deer, feral pigs, elk, bear, etc.). They lack the 30.06 round’s mass and energy, and they are designed to tumble upon impact and fragment. This makes them unsuitable for a “humane” kill at longer distances where preserving the meat is an important purpose of the hunt, but acceptable for destroying small game and varmints.

<sup>27</sup> Refer to: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bambi\\_Meets\\_Godzilla](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bambi_Meets_Godzilla)

would argue that the state requires registration of vehicles, boats, campers, and even canoes.<sup>28</sup> It's a reasonable requirement that enables the current legal owner to retain their *grandfathered* weapons, and continue to fire them at gun ranges and wherever it is legally allowed.<sup>29</sup>

**Restrictions on transfers vary by state:** As mentioned above, many ban opponents believe the ban on transfers unjustly limits a parent's traditional right to hand down an "heirloom" hunting rifle to their children. Of the ten states that have bans, 3 allow transfers to family members or via a legal will: Connecticut, Washington, and Delaware.<sup>30</sup> The other 7 states with bans and Washington DC prohibit transfers. The final Mohamed bill provides a process for law-abiding owners of legally-acquired assault weapons to transfer them to immediate family members and to another law-abiding person who has completed a background check.

### **Ban Opponents' Belief: AR-15-Style Rifles are Not "Weapons of War"**

**Many gun owners believe that AR-15-style rifles are not "weapons of war:"** In order to argue that the Second Amendment protects assault weapons, opponents of banning them must show that they are substantively different than weapons that are "predominantly useful in military service,"<sup>31</sup> i.e., they are not "weapons of war." The history of the AR-15 contradicts that belief. The original ArmaLite AR-15, designed by Eugene Stoner and his team 70 years ago in 1956, was a selective-fire, automatic rifle intended for military use. Later, the Colt Firearms Co. marketed it to the military as the M16 rifle. In 1964, Colt redesigned the AR-15 for civilian use as a semi-automatic version of the M16 (one round per trigger pull). The only significant difference between military and civilian assault rifles is that military rifles are capable of automatic fire, while civilian rifles are restricted to semiautomatic fire. However, the primary value of automatic fire is for suppressive fire on the battlefield to enable maneuvering. It has no value for legal uses by civilians (i.e., sport shooting, hunting, and self-defense).

More powerful: The table below compares the power and lethality of the two most common rounds (5.56 NATO and .223 Remington, both with 55-grain bullets) as fired by a typical AR-15-style rifle

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<sup>28</sup> Minnesota requires vehicle registration (cars, boats, trailers) primarily for public safety, revenue generation (highway funds), and vehicle tracking/ownership verification, ensuring all vehicles on public roads pay taxes, have proper identification (plates/tabs), and are accounted for by the state for law enforcement, licensing, and transportation and budget planning purposes. This process funds road maintenance and establishes legal ownership, making it crucial for operating on public streets and waterways.

<sup>29</sup> In states with assault weapon bans, registering grandfathered weapons (those owned before the ban) serves to track these specific firearms, ensuring they remain in legal possession, preventing them from entering the illegal market, allowing law enforcement to trace crime guns, and often requiring secure storage or background checks for future transfers, ultimately limiting their circulation and future availability without confiscating them from current owners.

<sup>30</sup> The Washington State assault weapons ban (effective 2023) allows a person to inherit an assault weapon and keep it within the state. However, they cannot sell or transfer it to any other person in the state except to a licensed dealer, a gunsmith for repair, or law enforcement. The Connecticut ban allows registered assault weapons (those lawfully owned and registered before the 2013 ban) to be transferred through bequest or intestate succession (inheritance without a will). The individual who inherits the weapon must, within 90 days, apply for a new certificate of possession, render the firearm inoperable, sell it to a licensed dealer, or remove it from the state. The Delaware ban grandfathers assault weapons acquired before the ban (June 30, 2022) and allows them to be transferred to a family member.

<sup>31</sup> Source: <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/554/570/>

versus the M16 and the M4, which is the military’s primary replacement for the M16. When firing either 5.56 NATO or .223 Remington rounds, the muzzle velocity of an AR-15 has a greater muzzle velocity than the M4—7% greater firing 5.56 NATO and 4% greater firing .223 Remington. What is more important is that this ammunition can tumble and fragment upon impact, which makes it horribly deadly. The differences are distinctions without a difference.

**In sum:** The Supreme Court’s Heller decision

limits the protections of the Second Amendment to handguns used for self-defense, not weapons of war. And secondly, in terms of lethality, there are no substantive differences between AR-15-style rifles when they are used for legal purposes (i.e., “common uses” including sport shooting, hunting, and self-defense) and the military’s standard-issue, M4 assault rifle. As such, the bans adopted by ten states and the District of Columbia have been able to withstand repeated court challenges, and so can a similarly designed ban for Minnesota. (The section below, “Bans are [Legal](#) and Minnesotans Want Them,” includes more information on the legality of bans.)

The weapon of choice for mass murderers: Assault weapons, especially assault rifles, are the weapon of choice for mass murderers, and responsible for most of the devastating mass shootings, including mass shootings in our schools. The following lists other related aspects of assault weapons and gun violence:

- Assault rifles are to blame: An analysis of public mass shootings resulting in 4 or more deaths found that more than 85% of such fatalities were caused by shooters with assault rifles.<sup>32</sup>
- “Joined at the hip:” According to a report in *MinnPost*: “Of the 158 mass shootings between 1982 and today, nearly every attack included a semiautomatic weapon, according to a [database](#) maintained by the investigative journalism magazine *Mother Jones*. James Densley,

Comparison of Lethality of M16, M4, and AR-15 Rounds				
Updated: 10/6/2025				
Round	5.56 NATO (55 grain bullet)			.223 Remington (55 grain bullet)
Weapon	M16	M4	AR-15-Style	AR-15-Style
Barrel length <sup>1</sup>	20"	14.5"	16"	
Compared M16		-28%	-20%	
Compared to M4	38%		11%	
Full automatic <sup>2</sup>	Yes, but value limited to suppressive fire on battlefield		No, but of no value to legal civilian uses, i.e., target shooting, hunting, self defense	
Muzzle velocity (ft. per sec.) <sup>3, 4, 5</sup>	3,100	2,970	3,165	3,090
Compared M16		-4%	2%	-0.3%
Compared to M4	4%		7%	4%
Tumble upon impact (TUI)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Available
<b>Notes:</b>				
1	Barrel length is important because a longer barrel increases a bullet's muzzle velocity by providing more time for a more complete and efficient transfer of energy from the burning propellant to the bullet as the expanding gases push the bullet forward.			
2	The primary value of automatic fire for assault weapons is for suppressive fire to enable maneuvering. The U.S. Army's Rifle and Carbine Training Circular notes, "Automatic and burst fires drastically decrease the probability of hits due to the rapid succession of recoil impulses and the inability of the Soldier to maintain proper sight alignment and sight picture on the target." Source: "Key Points About Assault Weapons," Violence Policy Center, <a href="https://vpc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Assault-weapon-primer-2017-VPC.pdf">https://vpc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Assault-weapon-primer-2017-VPC.pdf</a>			
3	Source for the M16 and M4: UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS Field Medical Training Battalion – East, Camp Lejeune, FMST 1219, M16/M4 Carbine Service Rifle Familiarization			
4	Source for the rounds fired from an AR-15-style rifle: "5.56 vs .223: Understanding Critical Differences Between 5.56 NATO and .223 Remington Ammunition," Bulk Munitions, <a href="https://bulkmunitions.com/blog/5-56-vs-223-ammo-19-things-you-need-to-know/">https://bulkmunitions.com/blog/5-56-vs-223-ammo-19-things-you-need-to-know/</a>			
5	The casings and 55 grain bullets for the 5.56 NATO and .223 Remington are identical; however, propellants may vary slightly for .223 cartridges. Barrel length is the main determinant for the differences in muzzle velocity. The M16 barrel is 38% longer than the M4 and the rifle's muzzle velocity is 4% larger. The barrel of the typical AR-15-style rifle is 11% longer than the M4, and the muzzle velocity is 7% larger.			

<sup>32</sup> Source: Giffords, [https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote\\_1\\_5603](https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote_1_5603).

deputy director of the Violence Prevention Project Research Center at Hamline University, said the Mother Jones data presents the strongest evidence available that U.S. mass shootings are joined at the hip with assault weapons. Indeed, Densley says mass shooters are inclined to imitate the attention received by other mass shooters that used an assault weapon. “It is all part of the performative aspect,” he said. “There is a symbolism to the weapon with its modular frame and cinematic silhouette.”<sup>33</sup>

- **Rapid fire:** A person firing an AR-15-style rifle can shoot the thirty high-powered rounds in the typical high-capacity magazine in 3-5 seconds.<sup>34</sup>
- **Far more lethal:** A study of mass shootings with 4 or more people killed between 2015 and 2022 concluded that the use of assault weapons resulted in nearly 6 times as many people shot, more than twice as many people killed, and 23 times as many people wounded per incident on average as compared to shooting where other types of weapons were used.<sup>35</sup>
- **The Las Vegas massacre:** The gunman at a concert in Las Vegas in 2017 fired more than 1,000 rounds, killing 60 people. Nearly 900 people were injured.<sup>36</sup>
- **High-capacity magazines and crime guns:** Although the gun lobby has argued that these weapons are only used in a small percentage of firearm-related violent crime, a 2018 study estimated that guns equipped with high-capacity magazines account for 22-36% of crime guns in most places, with some estimates upward of 40% for cases involving serious violence, including homicides of law enforcement officers.<sup>37</sup>
- **Leading cause of death for American youth:** The plague of gun violence is the leading cause of death for American youth.<sup>38</sup>
- **No way to tell the difference between a law-abiding gun owner and the shooter:** According to Nick Suplina, senior vice president for law and policy at Everytown for Gun Safety, “41 states allow permitless open carry, and nearly 30 allow permitless concealed carry. This trajectory leads to a society where firearms could be everywhere, and where neither officers nor ordinary citizens can tell the difference between a law-abiding gun owner and the next shooter.”
- **Easy to hide:** The typical AR-15-style rifle weighs about 8 lbs. A shooter could remove the upper receiver from the lower receiver by pushing in two pins, and then reassemble the rifle in a matter of seconds. Their approximate length of 18” of a disassembled rifle would fit in a grocery bag.

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<sup>33</sup> Source: “Mass shootings plummeted during a federal assault weapons ban. Would a Minnesota ban have a similar effect?” Matthew Blake, *MinnPost*, 10/27/2025, [https://www.minnpost.com/state-government/2025/10/mass-shootings-plummeted-during-a-federal-assault-weapons-ban-would-a-minnesota-ban-have-a-similar-effect/?utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=Daily%20Newsletter%2005%2F05%2F2026&utm\\_source=3631302e9c](https://www.minnpost.com/state-government/2025/10/mass-shootings-plummeted-during-a-federal-assault-weapons-ban-would-a-minnesota-ban-have-a-similar-effect/?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Daily%20Newsletter%2005%2F05%2F2026&utm_source=3631302e9c)

<sup>34</sup> Source: [https://www.stngrusa.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-ar-15-ultimate-resource#:~:text=A:%20The%20time%20it%20\(%20AR%2015,the%20chamber%20in%20less%20than%203%20seconds.](https://www.stngrusa.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-ar-15-ultimate-resource#:~:text=A:%20The%20time%20it%20(%20AR%2015,the%20chamber%20in%20less%20than%203%20seconds.)

<sup>35</sup> Source: Everytown Research and Policy, <https://everytownresearch.org/mass-shootings-in-america/#:~:text=Proven%20Solution:%20Extreme%20Risk%20Laws,Weapons%20and%20High%2DCapacity%20Magazines.>

<sup>36</sup> Source : [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017\\_Las\\_Vegas\\_shooting](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017_Las_Vegas_shooting)

<sup>37</sup> Source: <https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/large-capacity-magazines/#:~:text=In%20addition%20to%20their%20role,which%20it%20was%20in%20effect.>

<sup>38</sup> Source: “Preventing firearm violence and injuries impacting children and teens,” Centers for Disease Control, 12/16/24, <https://www.cdc.gov/firearm-violence/php/research-summaries/children-and-teen-impacts.html#:~:text=Introduction,19%20in%202020%20and%202021.>

- **Most get their weapons from family and friends:** “The US Secret Service has undertaken two studies of targeted school violence, covering nearly 40 years of incidents. They found that three-quarters of school shooters acquired their firearm from the home of a parent or close relative (73 percent in the first study and 76 percent in the second study). The Secret Service’s second study of incidents, from 2008 to 2017, revealed that in nearly half of the shootings, the firearm was easily accessible or was not stored securely.”<sup>39</sup>

**The problem is getting worse:** Research suggests that the prevalence of high-capacity magazines in guns used in crimes has grown substantially since the 2004 expiration of the federal prohibition on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.<sup>40</sup> Dr. Laurel Ries, who spoke for the Minnesota Medical Association and the Minnesota Academy of Family Physicians, said firearm deaths have “become an epidemic.”

**What high-powered rounds do to the body:** As mentioned above, most high-powered rounds from AR-15-style assault rifles tumble and fragment upon impact. The following describes their effects on the human body:

- Dr. Peter Rhee compared the damage done by AR-15 bullets and 9mm handgun bullets: “One looks like a grenade went off in there. The other looks like a bad knife cut.”<sup>41</sup>
- An Army medic serving during the Vietnam War described how an M16 round entered an enemy soldier’s left wrist, bore through his arm, chest, torso, and exited out his right thigh.
- Uvalde, TX: “In previously unreleased interviews, police who responded to the Robb Elementary shooting told investigators they were cowed by the shooter’s military-style rifle. This drove their decision to wait for a Border Patrol SWAT team to engage him, which took more than an hour.”<sup>42</sup>
- President Biden: “The damage was so devastating in Uvalde, parents had to do DNA swabs to identify the remains of their children. Nine- and 10-year-old children.”<sup>43</sup> The killer’s assault weapon functioned exactly as designed—to kill and maim as many human beings as possible.
- “AR-15 bullets can penetrate the soft body armor typically worn by police, which is built to stop handgun rounds. The AR-15 bullet ... hits with such force that it tears gaping holes and liquifies vital organs as if a bomb had gone off inside the body.”<sup>44</sup>

**Argument—it’s not the rifle, it’s the rounds:** An official from the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus argued that, if a rifle not classified as an assault weapon fired the same high-powered round that was fired in the Annunciation School shooting, it would have had the same deadly effect.

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<sup>39</sup> Source: <https://everytownresearch.org/report/how-to-stop-shootings-and-gun-violence-in-schools/>

<sup>40</sup> Source: Giffords, *ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> Source: “What an AR-15 Can Do to the Human Body: When a patient is shot by an AR-15, it ‘looks like a grenade went off in there,’” Sarah Zhang, *Wired*, 6/17/16, <https://www.wired.com/2016/06/ar-15-can-human-body/>

<sup>42</sup> Source: <https://www.texastribune.org/2023/03/20/ualde-shooting-police-ar-15/>

<sup>43</sup> Source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/06/02/remarks-by-president-biden-on-gun-violence-in-america/#:~:text=The%20damage%20was%20so%20devastating,and%20those%20under%20restraining%20orders.>

<sup>44</sup> Source: “A ‘good guy with a gun’ doesn’t stand much of a chance against an AR-15 style rifle and body armor,” Ralph A. Weber, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 6/14/2022.

While the argument is factually true, it's also irrelevant. The current assault weapon ban bill restricts the type of rifle, not the ammunition. exist that can fire the same ammunition



Rifles

typically used in assault rifles (e.g., 5.56 NATO, .223 Remington, 7.62, etc.) and not be classified as assault weapons primarily because they do not meet the detachable magazine definitions. For example, the Springfield SAINT AR-15 complies with California laws. It includes a 10-round internal magazine, which is non-detachable without tools.

One could argue, it's not the rifle, it's the magazine. Incidents involving a firearm equipped with a high-capacity magazine resulted in nearly 5 times as many people shot, more than twice as many fatalities, and nearly 10 times as many injuries per incident on average compared to those that did not involve the use of high-capacity magazines.<sup>45</sup>

### Ban Opponents' Belief: Bans Are Not Effective

**Opponents say bans are ineffective, but that is not true:** Opponents to bans argue they are ineffective, and that it's better to focus on improving mental health resources. In fact, studies refute this argument. As the ten states with assault weapons bans have experienced, the frequency and severity of gun violence is dramatically reduced when it becomes illegal to buy or transfer these weapons. Bans are effective, especially if they are part of a comprehensive set of common-sense gun control regulations (e.g., red flag; safe storage; and closed loopholes for background checks, gun show sales, and ghost guns).

**State bans are effective:** States with restrictions on magazine size experience mass shootings at less than half the rate of states without restrictions.<sup>46</sup> There are numerous studies that confirm that the federal assault weapons ban (1994-2004) was effective. Studies concluded that the risk of dying in a mass shooting was 70% lower when the ban was in effect than in the following decade after Congress killed the effort to extend it.<sup>47</sup> According to a study published in *Applied Economics Letters*, "[I]t was found that assault weapons bans in the states that approved them reduced the number of school shooting victims by 54.4%."<sup>48</sup> Similarly, a Johns Hopkins University study stated, "We found very

<sup>45</sup> Source: <https://giffords.org/the-issue/>

<sup>46</sup> Source: Louis Klarevas, Andrew Conner, and David Hemenway, "The Effect of Large-Capacity Magazine Bans on High-Fatality Mass Shootings, 1990–2017," *American Journal of Public Health* 109, no. 12 (2019): 1754-61, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305311>).

<sup>47</sup> Source: "Did the assault weapons ban of 1994 bring down mass shootings? Here's what the data tells us," Michael J. Klein, Clinical Assistant Professor of Surgery, New York University, *The Conversation*, 6/8/22, <https://theconversation.com/did-the-assault-weapons-ban-of-1994-bring-down-mass-shootings-heres-what-the-data-tells-us-184430>

<sup>48</sup> Source: "The effects of state and Federal gun control laws on school shootings," Mark Gius, *Applied Economics Letters*, 4/19/2017, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13504851.2017.1319555>

encouraging effects. ... On a per capita basis, we see a 70% lower rate of individuals killed in mass shootings associated with state bans of [high-capacity magazines].<sup>49</sup>

**Argument—Most gun violence is committed by felons:** This logic assumes that if a law cannot stop 100% of a targeted behavior, it is useless. The argument relies on what is called the *perfect solution fallacy* when a person dismisses a realistic, helpful solution because it doesn't solve the problem completely or perfectly. It's also known by the adage, "the perfect is the enemy of the good." By comparing an achievable option to an idealized, unattainable one, they conclude that the practical effort is worthless. We do not apply this logic to other crimes like murder or speeding just because some people still kill or speed. The goal of such laws is often harm reduction and increased difficulty, not total elimination.

While felons may ignore possession laws, they still rely on a market to acquire weapons. Most crime guns originate from legal retail sources before being diverted through theft, straw purchases, or secondary markets. Banning the sale of new assault weapons helps to shrink future supply, making these specific firearms rarer and more expensive for criminals to obtain over time.

Also, even if a criminal ignores the law and uses a different, legal firearm, the substitution might result in fewer casualties due to lower lethality. Furthermore, should they be arrested for another crime while possessing an assault weapon, it would trigger the penalty portion of the bill, which is another disincentive.

## Bans are Legal and Minnesotans Want Them

**Heller v. District of Columbia:** On June 26, 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed by a vote of 5 to 4 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit in *Heller v. District of Columbia*, and established that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to possess firearms for self-defense in the home.<sup>50, 51</sup> The Court also specified that this protection extends to "arms" in common use for lawful purposes, such as self-defense, and that handguns are "arms" for the purposes of the Second Amendment. The decision carved out exceptions for "dangerous and unusual weapons" that are "predominantly useful in

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<sup>49</sup> "Policies That Reduce Gun Violence: Restricting Large Capacity Magazines," Daniel Webster, *Johns Hopkins University*, 5/24, 2021, <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/2021/policies-that-reduce-gun-violence-restricting-large-capacity-magazines/>:~:text=Our%20estimate%20was%20that%20laws,is%20licensing%20for%20firearm%20purchasers%20.

<sup>50</sup> The original language and punctuation when adopted in 1791: A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed. Mike McDonald suggests asking gun-rights advocates to name the "well-regulated militia" that they belong to.

<sup>51</sup> Thom Hartmann argues in *The Hidden History of Guns and the Second Amendment* that the Second Amendment was originally intended to prevent standing armies, not to guarantee an individual right to bear arms for self-defense. He claims the amendment's purpose was later reshaped to maintain the institution of slavery through armed slave patrols and to facilitate the genocide of Native Americans. Hartmann highlights how the National Rifle Association and conservative courts, like with the Heller decision, distorted the amendment's original meaning to create the modern gun rights framework and to break the power of the gun lobby.

military service.”<sup>52</sup> In addition to the District of Columbia, the following 11 states have bans on the sale of assault weapons including AR-15-style rifles and high-capacity magazines:

While Colorado, Oregon, and Vermont do not ban assault weapons, they have enacted bans on high-capacity magazines.

California	Maryland	Rhode Island
Connecticut	Massachusetts	Virginia
Delaware	New Jersey	Washington
Illinois	New York	

**Bans have withstood court challenges:** Since the adoption of the first state ban almost four decades ago (California, 1989), bans have survived court challenges. Five federal appellate courts (1, 2, 3, 7, and 9 Districts) have confirmed the constitutionality of the existing bans in 11 states and DC, and the Supreme Court has consistently decided not to question the decisions of these federal courts.

**Don’t wait:** Ban opponents argue that Minnesota should await a decision by the Supreme Court. However, a core legal and moral maxim, “justice delayed is justice denied,” states that if a beneficial action is needed now, delaying it means the people who need that action go without it. A later, potential court reversal does not undo the immediate, positive impact of the good action during the time it was in effect.

**Minnesota voters and organizations want a ban:** According to late 2025 polling, approximately 69% of Minnesotans support a ban on the sale of assault-style weapons. This includes strong, broad support across regions: 71% in the Twin Cities, 79% in the suburbs, and 62% in Greater Minnesota. The data indicates a significant majority, including 46% of Republicans, favor such restrictions.<sup>53</sup> Gov. Walz has also voiced his strong support.<sup>54, 55</sup>

Recently, 10 organizations stated support for a state ban for the 9/15/25 hearing of the Minnesota Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group, including 3 medical groups with a total of 14,000 members, and the following:<sup>56</sup>

- Children’s Defense Fund Minnesota
- Minnesota Parent-Teacher Associations
- School psychologists, Jessie Kember, Ph.D., Anna Li, Ph.D., and Mollie Weeks, Ph.D.
- Multicultural Autism Action Network
- Protect Minnesota
- Giffords Law Center
- Moms Demand Action

<sup>52</sup> Source: <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/554/570/>

<sup>53</sup> Source: “Most Minnesotans support assault-style weapons ban, with a suburban surprise,” Lumaris Research, 12/11/2025, <https://www.lumaris.com/blog/most-minnesotans-support-assault-weapons-ban-with-a-suburban-surprise/>

<sup>54</sup> Source: “Walz makes gun control central to pitch for third term: In Congress, Gov. Tim Walz received an “A” rating from the NRA. Now he wants action to curb gun violence,” Allison Kite, *Minnesota Star Tribune*, 9/17/2025, <https://www.startribune.com/a-look-at-walzs-political-evolution-on-guns-as-he-launches-governor-bid/601475196>

<sup>55</sup> Source: <https://www.mprnews.org/story/2025/09/19/gov-walz-interview-running-for-third-term>

<sup>56</sup> Source: <https://www.senate.mn/schedule/senate/20250917>

**Effectiveness of buy-back programs:** According to an article in *The Journalist's Resource*, "On their own, buybacks might not be effective if the goal is to use them to directly reduce violent crime. But research shows buybacks can help if they're part of a broader effort to reduce gun violence. They can also influence public perception of how authorities are dealing with gun violence and serve as opportunities to educate communities about gun violence reduction strategies, according to researchers."<sup>57</sup> Also, a voluntary buy-back program can minimize the economic impact of the ban.

### **Ban Opponents' Belief: It's a Mental Health Issue, not a Gun Issue**

**Opponents argue that guns are not the problem; mental health is:** As mentioned above, opponents argue that it's not a gun issue; it's a mental health issue. However, the United States is not the only country with mental illness, domestic violence, violent video games, or hate-fueled ideologies; but our gun homicide rate (all gun homicides, not just mass shootings) is 26 times higher than our peer countries.<sup>58</sup> The difference is easy access to guns. In fact, even within the US, states with weaker gun laws and higher gun ownership rates have higher rates of mass shootings.<sup>59</sup>

**Claiming it's a mental health issue is just a dodge:** Not surprisingly, handguns are the cause of most of the casualties of gun violence; however, since assault weapons with high-capacity magazines are the weapon of choice for most mass shooters, bans can be effective by making it more difficult for potential shooters to obtain these weapons of war. Claiming it's a mental health issue is just a dodge. With the votes of the entire Republican delegation from Minnesota in 2025, Congressional Republicans cut \$11.4 billion from various mental and behavioral health services initiated under the Biden Administration.<sup>60</sup> Blaming inadequate mental health services is just bait-and-switch propaganda from the gun industry and the NRA.

**Trump Administration cuts:** During the previous Biden Administration, a program under the Center for Prevention Programs and Partnerships (CP3) funded local, community-level initiatives to prevent online radicalization, including in Minnesota (primarily in Minneapolis). The CP3 program emphasizes a public health-informed, "whole-of-society" approach that integrates various community resources to build resilience against radicalization and extremist propaganda. However, the Trump Administration

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<sup>57</sup> Source: "Gun buybacks: What the research says," Clark Merrefield, *The Journalist's Resource*, 10/21/22, <https://journalistsresource.org/health/gun-buybacks-what-the-research-says/#:~:text=Early%20research%20on%20gun%20buybacks,reduction%20strategies%2C%20according%20to%20researchers.>

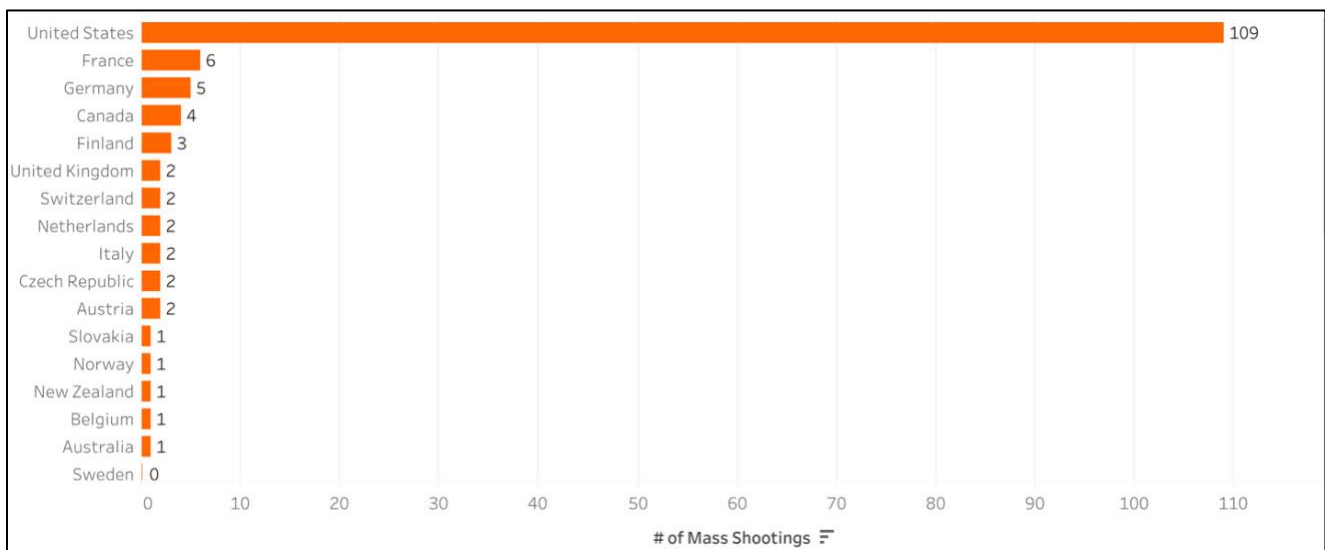
<sup>58</sup> Source: GunPolicy.org

<sup>59</sup> Source: "State Gun Laws, Gun Ownership, and Mass Shootings in the US: Cross Sectional Time Series," Paul M. Reeping et al., *BMJ* 364 (March 2019): 1542, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.l542>.

<sup>60</sup> Source: "NAMI Statement on Final Passage of Bill Cutting Medicaid for Millions of American," *National Alliance on Mental Illness*, 7/3/2025, [https://www.nami.org/press-releases/nami-deep-concern-over-final-passage-of-bill/#:~:text=NAMI%20Statement%20on%20Final%20Passage,Alliance%20on%20Mental%20Illness%20\(NAMI\)](https://www.nami.org/press-releases/nami-deep-concern-over-final-passage-of-bill/#:~:text=NAMI%20Statement%20on%20Final%20Passage,Alliance%20on%20Mental%20Illness%20(NAMI))

eliminated funding for grants that had been active under CP3. As a result, Minnesota lost federal violence prevention grants in 2025.<sup>61</sup>

**Our epidemic of mass shootings is a direct result of our lax gun laws:** A 2024 study published by the Rockefeller Institute of Government concluded that the US suffered 109 public mass shootings between 2000 and 2022, compared to a total of 35 in 35 other, similarly developed countries (refer to the below chart).<sup>62</sup> Our health problems aren't 109 times greater than in these 35 other countries. Our epidemic of mass shootings is a direct result of our lax gun laws, and especially our unique availability of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. Given that there are more guns in circulation than people in America, if more guns led to fewer violent crimes, America would be the safest place in the world.



**Antidepressants are not at the root of mass shooters:** The gun lobby argues that antidepressants (SSRIs,<sup>63</sup>) are at the root of mass shooters. According to a recent article in *Psychiatric Times*, “[t]here is little or no evidence showing that perpetrators of mass shootings are more likely than those in the general public to have used, or to have been prescribed, antidepressants prior to the shooting.”<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Source: “Trump administration cut funding to shooting prevention programs in Minnesota weeks before school shooting: In Minnesota, \$800,000 in federal grants to local agencies, including the state Department of Public Safety and Hennepin County Sheriff’s Office, were cut last month, undermining efforts to prevent mass violence,” *Independent*, Eric Keller, 8/30/2025, <https://www.the-independent.com/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-administration-cut-shooting-prevention-minnesota-b2817112.html#>

<sup>62</sup> Source: “Public Mass Shootings Around the World: Prevalence, Context, and Prevention,” Jason R. Silva, 2/20/24, *Rockefeller Institute of Government*, <https://rockinst.org/blog/public-mass-shootings-around-the-world-prevalence-context-and-prevention/>

<sup>63</sup> SSRI stand for Selective Serotonin Reuptake Inhibitors, which are a class of medications used to treat mental health conditions such as depression, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD).

<sup>64</sup> Source: “No, Antidepressants Do Not Provoke Mass Shootings,” James L. Knoll IV, MD, Ronald W. Pies, MD, *Psychiatric Times*, 9/12/25, <https://www.psychiatrictimes.com/view/no-antidepressants-do-not-provoke-mass-shootings#>

**The argument that mass shooters are “crazy lone gunmen:”** The average age of the shooters at the 10 most lethal school shootings (from Columbine in 1997 to Annunciation in 2025), was 20 years old.<sup>65</sup> The oldest was 26. School shooters frequently struggle with mental well-being, with 92%–100% of K-12 shooters found to be suicidal before or during the attack. The combination of intense, undeveloped emotions and a sense of hopelessness or anger can lead to a “reactive” form of violence, where the shooter feels they have no other way to resolve their pain.

Since school shooters are often students living at home, they commonly obtain weapons from their own home or the home of a relative. Roughly 68% of shooters get their guns from these locations, making the lack of secure, locked storage a significant contributing factor.<sup>66</sup>

The internet and the “dark web” have made it much easier for radicalizers to find and identify people who might have feelings of isolation and loneliness, stress, anxiety or rejection; and be easily influenced and drawn into extremist behavior. The argument allows the public and policymakers to avoid more difficult conversations about other, more significant factors that contribute to mass shootings. These include access to firearms, violent political rhetoric, toxic masculinity, social grievances, and the desire for notoriety through copycat acts.

The following addresses this false notion:

- People with mental illness are far more likely to be the victims, not the perpetrators: A 2023 study published in *Psychiatric Times* found that if all violence attributable to mental disorders were eliminated, 95% to 97% of violent behavior would remain.<sup>67</sup> People with mental illness are far more likely to be the victims of violence than the perpetrators. After a shooting, commentators and media often point to mental health as the central cause. This frame fits the common perception that people with serious mental illness are dangerous, and it provides a simple explanation for incomprehensible violence.
- The “Lone Gunman” component: This aspect of the narrative portrays the shooter as an isolated and solitary figure who acts alone, detached from any broader movement or ideology. This framing focuses solely on individual pathology rather than systemic issues.

## Impact on Law-Abiding Owners

**Minimal impact on current law-abiding owners of assault weapons:** Opponents argue that a ban penalizes law-abiding, assault-weapon owners.<sup>68</sup> The following summarizes the impacts of the Mohamed bill, SF 4067, approved by the Senate in 2026:

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<sup>65</sup> Source: "Violent death at school, away from school, and active shooter incidents," National Center for Education Statistic, <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/a01/violent-deaths-and-shootings>

<sup>66</sup> Source: "The gun's not in the closet," *The Washington Post*, August 2018.

<sup>67</sup> Source: "Mass Shootings' Relationship to Mental Illness," John J. Miller, MD, *Psychiatric Times*, 2/15/2024, <https://www.psychiatrictimes.com/authors/john-j-miller-md>

<sup>68</sup> Throughout the 2025-2026 legislative session in Minnesota, opponents, including numerous Republican legislators, claimed repeatedly that the assault weapons bill, SF 4067/HF 5140, would *criminalize* owners, completely ignoring the processes in the bill to certify/register, use, and transfer legally-obtained assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.

- **Included as an “assault weapon:”** The bill lists 17 specific “semiautomatic rifle” types that are included in the ban:
  - Rifles, pistols, and shot guns with a detachable magazine and any of the following characteristics: A pistol grip, thumbhole stock, or a protruding grip; a barrel shroud; or a folding, telescoping, or thumbhole stock.
  - A semiautomatic pistol with a non-detachable magazine that has a capacity greater than 17 rounds.<sup>69</sup>
  - A conversion kit, part, or combination of parts, from which an assault weapon can be assembled if those parts are in the possession or under the control of the same person.
  - Large-capacity magazines, which means “any ammunition-feeding device with the capacity to accept more than 17 rounds, or any conversion kit, part, or combination of parts from which this type of device can be assembled if those parts are in the possession or under the control of the same person.”
  - A .50 caliber or larger firearm means a firearm “that is capable of expelling a metal projectile that measures one-half inch or larger in diameter but does not include an antique or replica firearm that uses black powder.”
- **Bans:** The bills make it unlawful for a person to “manufacture, import, transfer, own, or possess large-capacity magazines, .50 caliber or larger firearms, or semiautomatic military-style assault weapons.” They list logical exceptions for law enforcement and the military, for example. Owners who choose not to certify their weapons (see below) must either surrender the device to the appropriate law enforcement agency for destruction, modify the device to render it permanently inoperable, or remove the device from the state.
- **Certification/grandfathering:** The bill creates a certification process for the state to grandfather legally-obtained weapons held by law-abiding residents. Owners will need to pay a fee to certify their weapons, and renew the certification every 3 years.<sup>70</sup>
- **Modifying a certified weapon:** Given the flexibility of the AR-15 rifle platform, The bills will not affect owners’ ability to modify the upper receiver of their grandfathered/certified rifles to fit their changing needs.
- **Storage and inspection:** The bills require the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA) to develop requirements for the safe-storage of certified assault weapons. They require owners of certified assault weapons to permit local law enforcement to inspect their storage arrangements.
- **Controls transfers:** An owner can transfer their assault weapons and high-capacity magazines provided:
  - They have proof of ownership prior to the effective date of the law, 5/1/2027.
  - They comply with the current laws governing firearm transfers, which includes completing a federal background check.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Originally, the bill defined high-capacity as ten rounds. To exclude certain pistols, it was increased to 17 rounds.

<sup>70</sup> In states with assault weapon bans, registering grandfathered weapons (those owned before the ban) serves to track these specific firearms, ensuring they remain in legal possession, preventing them from entering the illegal market, allowing law enforcement to trace crime guns, and often requiring secure storage or background checks for future transfers, ultimately limiting their circulation and future availability without confiscating them from current owners.

<sup>71</sup> The federal background check for firearms is the **National Instant Criminal Background Check System**, commonly referred to as **NICS**. Operated by the FBI, this system is mandatory for all licensed firearms dealers (FFLs) to verify that a

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- They file the required paperwork with the MN Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA).
- They can gift them to immediate family members.
- **People under 18:** People under 18 will only be able to use a certified weapon for military drill, or at a firing range for instruction, competition, or target practice.
- **Penalties:** The law states, “A person who owns or possesses an uncertified semiautomatic military-style assault weapon or large-capacity magazine or who otherwise knowingly violates this section is guilty of a gross misdemeanor. A person who is convicted of a second or subsequent violation is guilty of a felony

**Current restrictions:** Some owners of legal assault weapon oppose a ban because they believe that once the state knows what they own due to registration, confiscation might follow. However, there are already very specific restrictions in current law regarding the sale, transfer, registration, Universal Background Checks (UBC),<sup>72</sup> record keeping, where the weapons can be carried and stored, and penalties for violating the law.<sup>73</sup> (The section below, “Current [Restrictions](#) on Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines,” provides more detail.)

**Sane vehicular control vs. sane gun control:** We know that motor vehicle laws save lives. They’ve cut the traffic death toll over the decades by a stunning 90% per mile traveled.<sup>74</sup> Common-sense gun regulations and assault weapons bans also save lives (refer to the section on the effectiveness of assault weapons bans). Car owners must have liability insurance, and their vehicle must be registered and meet safety standards (e.g., seat belts and airbags). Drivers must be trained and pass tests in order to get a license that needs periodic renewal. And they have to abide by traffic laws like speed limits. If a driver has a desire to drive 150 mph, he or she can go to a race track and pay to drive a car built and regulated for that purpose.<sup>75</sup> Minnesota should start treating assault weapons like race cars. Unless you are in law enforcement or the military, it should be illegal to buy one in the future and use it for regular “street use.” Just as race cars are designed to go as fast as possible in the shortest amount of time, assault weapons are designed to kill as many people as possible in the shortest amount of time. You

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buyer is not legally prohibited from possessing a firearm under federal or state law. This is done to prevent firearms from being sold to individuals who are legally disqualified, such as those with a felony conviction, a history of domestic violence, being a fugitive, or having a court order restraining them from a partner or child. The system is managed by the FBI and requires a background check when a person attempts to purchase a firearm.

<sup>72</sup> The National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) identifies individuals who are prohibited from receiving firearms by checking databases that contain information on people who are prohibited under federal or state law. This is done to prevent firearms from being sold to individuals who are legally disqualified, such as those with a felony conviction, a history of domestic violence, being a fugitive, or having a court order restraining them from a partner or child. The system is managed by the FBI and requires a background check when a person attempts to purchase a firearm.

<sup>73</sup> Minnesota does not have a central registry of firearms, so there is no state form that records the serial number of an assault weapon for a state registry. Permits to purchase a “semiautomatic military-style assault weapon” are required in Minnesota because of the state’s universal background check law, which went into effect on 8/1/2023. This law requires a “Permit to Purchase” to buy these firearms, in addition to other types of firearms like pistols. Before this date, a permit was not required. Currently, the serial number is recorded during the transfer process whether the sale is from a federally licensed firearms dealer (FFL) or between private parties. The FFL dealer and both parties of a private purchase will record the permit number and the firearm’s serial number for their internal records, and keep it for at least ten years.

<sup>74</sup> Source: National Safety Council, <https://injuryfacts.nsc.org/motor-vehicle/historical-fatality-trends/deaths-and-rates/>

<sup>75</sup> A race car is illegal for road use because it lacks federally mandated features found on street-legal vehicles.

don't need a race car to go to the grocery store. You don't need an assault weapon for hunting or self-defense.

### **Ban Opponents' Belief: We Should Harden Schools and Have Armed School Resource Officers or Teachers**

**Armed guards in schools will not deter outside gun violence:** Opponents argue that only the good guy with a gun will stop a bad guy with one, and that school shooters fear "the good guy with a gun that will stop them." Instead of bans, they argue that more school resource officers (SROs) and armed guards is the answer to prevent school shootings.

While successful armed interventions do occur, research suggests they are the exception rather than the rule. Civilians successfully defend themselves with guns in less than 1% of crimes where there is contact between victim and perpetrator.<sup>76</sup> One study indicated that those with a gun were over 4 times more likely to be shot during an assault.<sup>77</sup> In high-stress situations, it is difficult for both civilians and police to distinguish between the "bad guy" and an armed "good guy," which has led to "good guys" being shot by responding law enforcement.

The statement from the Solutions Not Suspensions Coalition to the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Workgroup (9/15/25) addresses the argument for relying on armed school resource officers (SROs): "We firmly believe that introducing more SROs and armed guards into our educational institutions will not deter outside gun violence. The reality is that school shootings have continued to escalate alongside a national increase in both gun violence and the presence of armed personnel in schools. This correlation suggests that simply adding more firearms to school environments is not an effective preventative measure. Instead, it risks creating a more hostile and intimidating atmosphere for students and staff, while failing to address the root causes of violence. One study found that the death rate during shooting incidents in schools that had an armed guard present was nearly three times as high as during shooting incidents in schools without an armed guard."<sup>78</sup>

**Gun rights groups are not always truthful:** The Minnesota Gun Owners' Caucus submitted a proposal in September 2025 to the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group that supported the following strategies instead of a ban: increased mental health access, fostering community-based interventions, implementing smart security and threat assessment infrastructure. They opposed any strategy that cost state funds or had any impact on legal gun owners. They argued that assault weapon bans are ineffective by stating that California, which has had a ban since 1989, has "experienced more mass shootings than any other state." However, when accounting for mass shootings on a per-capita basis, California is in 27<sup>th</sup> place nationally.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Source: <https://giffords.org/analysis/the-good-guy-with-a-gun-myth/#:~:text=People%20very%20rarely%20use%20guns,a%20victim%20will%20be%20killed.>

<sup>77</sup> 2 Giffords, *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Source: "Presence of Armed School Officials and Fatal and Nonfatal Gunshot Injuries During Mass School Shootings, United States, 1980-2019," *Students Demand Action*, <https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamanetworkopen/fullarticle/2776515>

<sup>79</sup> Source: "These Are the States with the Highest Rates of Mass Shootings," Haley Weiss, *Time Magazine*, 7/26/2023, <https://time.com/6298190/these-are-the-states-with-the-highest-rates-of-mass-shootings/>

## Current Regulations Governing Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines<sup>80</sup>

**Permits vs. registration:** Generally, Minnesota does not restrict nor require a permit for possession of firearms in the home. The state does not have a statewide gun registration system. Instead, it issues two types of permits to residents, subject to a comprehensive state and federal background check. One allows eligible people to purchase and transfer firearms including assault weapons, and the other, Minnesota Statute 624.7181, Subd 1, (b) (3), allows a Minnesota Permit to Carry holder to carry a pistol, in public, openly or concealed or in a vehicle.

**Location Restrictions:** Carrying is still prohibited in certain areas, even with a permit, including K-12 schools and licensed daycare centers, state and federal buildings (with some exceptions like the Capitol grounds), and private establishments that have posted “No Guns” signs.

**Current restrictions on assault weapons:** People who are ineligible to possess military-style assault weapons include the following (these are a selection of the general categories that don’t reflect the specifics and exceptions):

- Younger than 18
- Convicted of a crime of violence
- Mentally ill, developmentally disabled, or chemically dependent
- An “illegal alien”
- A veteran with a dishonorable discharge
- A person subject to an “extreme risk” protection order

**Open carry in public spaces:** 624.7181 RIFLES AND SHOTGUNS IN PUBLIC PLACES, Subd. 2.states, “Whoever carries a BB gun, rifle, or shotgun on or about the person in a public place is guilty of a gross misdemeanor. A person under the age of 21 who carries a semiautomatic military-style assault weapon, as defined in section 624.712, subdivision 7, on or about the person in a public place is guilty of a felony.”

**2023 and 2024 legislation:** Democratic Party control of both branches of the Legislature and the Governor’s Office (“DFL trifecta”) enabled the approval of numerous “common-sense” gun control measures:

- **Universal background checks:** This law expanded background check provisions to cover private party transfers of pistols and semiautomatic military-style assault weapons through either a federally-licensed firearms dealer or the transferee permitting process. Both parties must retain a copy of the record of transfer for up to ten years. There are a number of exclusions to this requirement, including but not limited to a private party transfer between immediate family members (spouses, domestic partners, parents, children, siblings, grandparents, or grandchildren). This policy became effective August 1, 2023.

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<sup>80</sup>This is a summary; not an exhaustive description.

- **Extreme risk protection orders (ref flag law):** This law allowed a family or household member, guardian, chief law enforcement officer, city attorney, or county attorney to petition a court for relief via an extreme risk protection order, if they believe that an individual posed a significant danger of bodily harm to self or others or was at significant risk of suicide by possessing a firearm. If granted by the court, the individual could be prohibited from possessing a firearm for up to one year, subject to renewal or extension. This policy became effective on January 1, 2024.
- **BCA funding:** This law provided additional funding for the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension to fight violent crime and improve lab analysis.
- **Binary trigger ban:** This law banned binary triggers. These are modifications that enable a firearm to fire on both the pull and the release of the trigger.
- **Straw purchase penalties:** A straw purchase is when someone buys a firearm on behalf of someone else who is not legally allowed to purchase or own a firearm. The new law makes straw purchasing a felony-level offense in Minnesota.

**Bills that did not pass:** Despite the DFL trifecta, bans on semi-automatic assault weapons and high-capacity magazines were not passed by the legislature in 2023 or 2024. Bills on safe storage and lost/stolen firearm reporting, while passed by the House in 2024, failed in the Senate.

## Other

**Controlling lethality of the rounds instead of a weapons ban:** Some have argued that controlling the lethality of the rounds instead of a weapons ban would be more politically adoptable and effective. However, AR-15-style rifles are designed for center-fire cartridges. The Remington .223 has virtually the same power as the 5.56 NATO round. To fire the much less powerful rim-fired, .22LR round would take a conversion kit. However, the AR-15 relies on high-pressure gas from a standard cartridge to operate its bolt carrier group, and reducing this pressure to “less lethal” levels typically prevents the firearm from automatically loading the next round. This would mean a shooter would have to re-cock the rifle after firing each round.

**Need to be a part of an armed insurrection:** As mentioned above, some gun-rights voters harbor a deep fear and resentment against government, both federal and local. They believe they need their legally obtained assault weapons to defend themselves, their families, and their property in the event a tyrannical government attempts to confiscate them, or attack their civil and property rights. A Rand study clearly concluded that an armed insurrection could not win when faced with the full force of the modern U.S. military.<sup>81</sup> These are the main reasons:

- **Military superiority:** The U.S. military has a vast arsenal of advanced weaponry, including tanks, attack helicopters, drones, a modern navy and air force, advanced intelligence and

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<sup>81</sup> “Paths to Victory: Detailed Insurgency Case Studies,” Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill, Molly Dunigan, *Rand Research*, 9/26/ 2013, [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR291z2.html#:~:text=In%2Ddepth%20case%20studies%20of,Victory:%20Lessons%20from%20Modern%20Insurgencies.](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR291z2.html#:~:text=In%2Ddepth%20case%20studies%20of,Victory:%20Lessons%20from%20Modern%20Insurgencies.)

surveillance systems, and robust communication networks. Civilian firearms, including assault weapons, are no match for this level of force.

- **Logistical disadvantages:** An insurrection force would lack a dedicated military manufacturing base, sustainable supply lines for ammunition and other necessities, and formal organizational leadership, all of which are critical for any sustained conflict.
- **Organizational and command structure:** The military is a highly trained and organized force sworn to follow legal orders. A civilian insurrection would face significant challenges in coordination and command compared to a professional military organization.
- **Historical context:** Historically, successful revolutions or large-scale insurrections have almost always involved significant defection of professional soldiers and officers, or substantial foreign assistance. A purely civilian force, regardless of their weaponry, would lack the necessary experience and structure for success.

**Gun rights activists claim whenever a government wants to oppress its people, they disarm them:**

The historical claim that totalitarian regimes systematically disarm their citizens to enforce oppression is partially true but oversimplified, as dictators traditionally use selective disarmament to target specific minority groups and political enemies while often expanding gun access for loyalists.<sup>82</sup>

Historians from institutions like the PolitiFact research network and university history departments point out that totalitarian rise relies on vast state machinery, police forces, and propaganda, rather than simple gun confiscation. Dictators rarely implement blanket gun bans for the entire population. Instead, they weaponize existing registration infrastructure to strip tools of defense from targeted demographics.<sup>83</sup>

The claim that gun control inherently leads to tyranny is disproven by modern constitutional democracies. Dozens of highly stable, free nations maintain strict gun regulations without slipping into authoritarianism. Unlike autocracies, gun laws in these nations are subject to public debate, voter input, and judicial review. These societies continue to rank high on global indexes for civil liberties, freedom of speech, and democratic health.<sup>84</sup>

## Resources

- Websites with multiple resources:
  - Moms Demand Action/Students Demand Action
  - Every Town for Gun Safety
  - Brady United

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<sup>82</sup> “A Brief History of Repressive Regimes and Their Gun Laws,” Mises Wire and Jose, Nino, *Mises Institute*, 9/3/208, <https://mises.org/mises-wire/brief-history-repressive-regimes-and-their-gun-laws>

<sup>83</sup> “No direct link between ‘gun control’ and killings by authoritarian regimes,” Michael Majchrowicz, *PolitiFact, the Poynter Institute*, 4/9/2021, <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2021/apr/09/instagram-posts/no-direct-link-between-gun-control-and-killings-au/>

<sup>84</sup> “Why the political arguments used by conservatives to twist the Second Amendment are a public fraud,” Mitchell A. Sobieski, *Milwaukee Independent*, 11/4/2025, <https://www.milwaukeeindependent.com/explainers/political-arguments-used-conservatives-twist-second-amendment-public-fraud/>

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- Giffords, Emma Brown
- March for Our Lives
- Protect Minnesota
- Coalition to Stop Gun Violence
- Violence Policy Center
- Two *Washington Post* articles provide graphic explanations of the grizzly effects of high-powered, assault-weapon rounds:
  - [https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-force-mass-shootings/?itid=lk\\_inline\\_manual\\_2&itid=lk\\_inline\\_manual\\_2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-force-mass-shootings/?itid=lk_inline_manual_2&itid=lk_inline_manual_2)
  - [https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-damage-to-human-body/?itid=lk\\_inline\\_enhanced-template](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-damage-to-human-body/?itid=lk_inline_enhanced-template)
- Violence Prevention Working Group, [https://assets.senate.mn/working\\_group/2025-2026/1605\\_Senate\\_Gun\\_Violence\\_Prevention\\_Working\\_Group/VPPRC-Research-Summary.pdf](https://assets.senate.mn/working_group/2025-2026/1605_Senate_Gun_Violence_Prevention_Working_Group/VPPRC-Research-Summary.pdf)
- Dr. Heather Cox Richardson’s excellent history of gun violence:  
[https://heathercoxrichardson.substack.com/p/april-19-2021?token=eyJ1c2VyX2lkIjoyNDcxNTcwOSwicG9zdF9pZCI6MzUzNjQ5MDEsIl8iOiJVQUVZeCIsImIhdCI6MTYxODkyNDkyNywiZXhwIjoxNjE4OTI4NTI3LCJpc3MiOiJwdWltMjA1MzMiLCJzdWliOiJwb3N0LXIyWN0aW9uIn0.JqcHC-BUDAucQRWCA3KifwxR-dM5UVkmwdBwRG5VHKE&utm\\_source=substack&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=share](https://heathercoxrichardson.substack.com/p/april-19-2021?token=eyJ1c2VyX2lkIjoyNDcxNTcwOSwicG9zdF9pZCI6MzUzNjQ5MDEsIl8iOiJVQUVZeCIsImIhdCI6MTYxODkyNDkyNywiZXhwIjoxNjE4OTI4NTI3LCJpc3MiOiJwdWltMjA1MzMiLCJzdWliOiJwb3N0LXIyWN0aW9uIn0.JqcHC-BUDAucQRWCA3KifwxR-dM5UVkmwdBwRG5VHKE&utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email&utm_content=share)
- [Dr. Marc Gorelick, pediatric leader](#)
- [Dr. Tim Kummer, ER physician](#)
- [Michelle Morse-Wendt, educator](#)
- [Tess Rada, parent and advocate](#)

EXHIBIT D



**Veterans For Peace Chapter 27 612-821-9141**

200 Cedar Avenue South, Suite 7 Website: vfpchapter27.org  
Minneapolis MN 55407 Email: vfpchapter27@gmail.org

**West St. Paul City Council Resolution in Support of a State Ban on the Sale and Transfer  
of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines:**

**A Description of the Approval Process**

Michael Orange, Coordinator, Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws,  
[orange\\_michael@msn.com](mailto:orange_michael@msn.com), 952-905-1448, 9/25/2025

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**Purpose and Background**

On 9/22/2025, the West St. Paul City Council unanimously adopted a resolution in support of a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines in spite of the mayor’s opposition. The purpose of this report is to describe the adoption process and the lessons learned hoping that it might be useful to others who wish get their cities to adopt a similar resolution.

Since 2018, I have coordinated Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws group members' efforts to advocate at the Legislature for a state ban on assault weapons. We have joined the other common-sense gun control groups for rallies and hearings at the Capitol (e.g., Moms Demand Action, Protect Minnesota, Giffords, etc.). But the several bills that have been proposed every legislative session have never even made it even close to a floor vote. Meanwhile, the other common-sense gun control groups focused on laws with a greater chance of success, and they were successful for a slew of laws during the DFL "trifecta" during the 2023 and 2024 sessions.

Then things changed. On 8/27/2025, a 23-year-old assailant, using his legally acquired assault rifle, fired 116 high-powered, military rounds in just a few minutes into the Annunciation Church killing 2 children and wounding 23 people, including 20 children. In response, the mayors of Minneapolis and St. Paul and seven other cities stated support for a ban on assault weapons,<sup>85</sup> and the Minneapolis City Council later approved a resolution in support of a state ban. Gov. Walz has promised to call a special session of the Legislature to address gun violence, and a state ban on assault weapons has now risen to the top of the list of priorities.

This experience in West St. Paul has both process and content aspects. The next section describes the process, and I have included 5 attachments that address the content. Over the years, I have developed an 11-page, completely sourced "Talking Points" report that I use when developing speeches and submissions (available upon request). The attachments necessarily include a lot of redundancies. Attachment 5 provides a brief synopsis of the primary arguments in favor of a ban. The last section describes the "Takeaways," i.e., the lessons learned.

### **The Process**

How it started in West St. Paul—the draft resolution and the first city council meeting: The stance of the nine mayors prompted me on 9/3/2025 to ask the mayor of my city, West St. Paul, to join the other mayors in calling for a state ban. I included the city manager and the chief of police on the email. Knowing that the city typically publishes the agenda for the council meeting on the Friday before the Monday meeting, on Thursday 9/4/2025, I requested the matter be added to the agenda for the 9/8/2025 meeting, and began working closely with my council member, Lisa Eng-Sarne, on a draft resolution. Lisa took my information-rich draft and reshaped and shrank it to fit more appropriately into the "culture" of the city council, and I submitted it on 9/5/2025. After the meeting, I emailed all 6 council members thanking them for the opportunity to speak, and I submitted sources for the assertions in the resolution (Attachment 1). Later, I heard from 5 of them that they were in favor of a resolution in support of a state ban.

Before the council meeting on 9/8/2025, the city released an amended agenda that included my resolution and one that the mayor submitted. The mayor's resolution made no reference to supporting a state ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. I spoke in support of my resolution (Attachment 2), and the matter was discussed in detail, then tabled to the next meeting. I submitted additional information to the city 2 days later (Attachment 3)

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<sup>85</sup> Source: <https://www.cbsnews.com/minnesota/news/twin-cities-mayors-changes-to-gun-laws/>

**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group  
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The 9/22/25 city council meeting: The city manager provided a third draft resolution with the publication of the agenda for the 9/22/2025 city council meeting. I submitted suggested changes to the resolution pointing out how it lacked the needed teeth to have any effect (Attachment 4).

Although the issue was not a public hearing, the mayor allowed brief public comments. Four citizens spoke including my wife, Cynthia, and me. Council Member Lisa Eng-Sarne spoke eloquently about the need to make the two critical wording changes I described in my submission, and Council Member Robyn Gulley reiterated her strong support. After about 30 minutes of discussion, the amended resolution was adopted unanimously by the six council members (the mayor only votes to break a tie).



You can read a description of the meeting here (<https://weststpaulreader.com/2025/09/23/west-st-paul-city-council-recap-sept-22-2025/>) and view the archived video of it here: <https://townsquare.tv/West-St-Paul-Streaming-VOD?site=15&showid=4236>. The *West St. Paul Reader* described the discussion, including the basis for the mayor’s opposition to strengthening the resolution to call for a ban (photo from the *West St. Paul Reader*):

- **Lisa Eng-Sarne:** “There’s nothing more local than the response to gun violence. When a tragedy happens, who’s there first? It’s the fire fighters, it’s the police, it’s the people who work with the city that we all love and applaud every day. This is a local issue. I’m proud of us for asking a higher level of government for what we need at a local level.”



- **Mayor Dave Napier:** “In no way do I want to make kids less safe. On my personal side, I want to scream and say what are we doing? We gotta do something,” Napier said, before urging personal action instead of the resolution. “If we go outside of our lane, into politically charged topics, and weigh in our personal beliefs, what are we saying to the 20,000 residents behind us. We have to represent them.”
- **Robyn Gulley:** “Respectfully, I disagree with that sentiment. Passing a resolution with the strongest language possible is the best way for us to show our support to the state and to

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our legislators who can actually make a difference on this. ... What we do to protect the most vulnerable people in our society and our community, that is who we are, that is how we show our values. By not doing anything about this, we are also showing our values. I don't want to live in that world, I want to do something."

What is evident in the above photo of the meeting is the contingent of members of Mom's Demand Action providing support from the audience and through strong applause when speakers and council members spoke in support of adding "teeth" into the proposed resolution. The final signed resolution is not currently available at this time, but I've included a "marked up" copy of the resolution that was prepared by the city manager for the meeting (Attachment 5). Finally, the Position Paper by Veterans For Peace can serve as a brief summary and resource for other efforts to support a statewide ban (Attachment 6).

**Post-meeting activities:** Several people including my wife, Cynthia and I, posted information about the council's decision on various Facebook pages, and there were scores of positive "reactions" and comments. There were only two negative comments to date but they were uninformed, not disparaging nor insulting. Cynthia and I notified the Governor's Office, the editor of the *Minnesota Reformer*, Indivisible Twin Cities, Stand Up Minnesota, US Rep. Angie Craig, and MN Sen. Matt Klein.

Four legislators represent portions of West St. Paul, and all four have previously committed their support for a state ban to our VFP group when we met with them:

Sen. Sandy Pappas

Sen. Matt Klein

Rep. María Isa Pérez-Vega

Rep. Mary Francis Clardy

This means that the six West St. Paul council members can work with their individual legislators to represent their city's adopted resolution during the pending special session on gun violence.

### **Takeaways**

**Background research:** Having the background information to address any and all possible objections to the resolution was crucial. I was able to provide legitimate sources for every assertion in every submission. It lent credibility to our arguments.

**Need for a champion:** The value of having a champion cannot be overemphasized. Council Member Lisa Eng-Sarne was totally committed to getting a resolution approved. Her guidance for me and eloquence speaking to the issue before the city council, buttressed by her well-respected position on the city council, was absolutely essential.

**Respectful collaboration with staff:** City staff are pulled every which way by the complex issues they face serving their city. The many genuine communications Cynthia and I have had with the city manager and especially the chief of police built a mutual base of trust among us. As a result, the consideration and approval process went smoothly and respectfully. At the second meeting, two city

council members complimented the city manager and city attorney for how well the process worked for this controversial issue.

**Community support:** The presence of close to a dozen members of Moms Demand Action, clad in their bright red T-shirts, sent a visual message of support and their strong outbreaks of applause for the speakers and council members who were, no doubt, assuring to help the council members make the right vote.

**The continuum of concern:**

- **On the right:** To simplify positions, the published statements by the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus (MGOC) would be on the right end of the spectrum. They argue that mass shootings only account for 4% of the gun deaths (which is true), state assault weapons bans are ineffective (some studies conclude that, others conclude the opposite), and they violate the Second Amendment (not true). They oppose every law that would affect the legal gun owners they represent—even banning binary triggers that double the firing rate for semi-automatic weapons, and instead argue for more mental health services, hardened schools, education, etc.
- **On the left:** At the opposite end of the continuum are the grieving parents of the victims of the Annunciation School and Church. Their gut-wrenching testimony before the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group on 9/15/2025 in support of a ban tore at every listener’s heart.
- **In the middle:** The target audience for citizens seeking a resolution in support of a state ban are stuck in the middle. They are the city council members and mayors who want to represent their constituents, some of whom they know would side with the MGOC, and as parents and grandparents themselves, want to do the right thing. They need to hear both the arguments that neutralize those from the MGOC as well as those that help them choose protecting children instead of imaginary Second Amendment gun rights. I don’t think shaming them is productive, but others disagree.

**It’s a win either way:** Regardless of the outcome, there is value in the process if it raises awareness and forces the city to do more to protect its citizens from gun violence. The West St. Paul chief of police attends city council meetings. He clearly heard about the need to do whatever he could improve safety.

**New information:** Over the 2 ½ weeks the matter was before the city council; more information became available:

- **Refuting the argument that AR-15-style rifles are not “weapons of war:”** A friend suggested I examine the argument that banning high-powered ammunition and replacing it with lower-powered rounds is likely a more successful approach. I found that low-powered rounds lack the power to cycle a semi-automatic weapon. But the examination led me to compare the *power* of military and civilian assault rifles. I came to the surprising conclusion that AR-15-style rifles are actually *more powerful* than the military’s standard-issue M4, which replaced the M16. Attachment 3 provides more information.
- **Effectiveness of state bans:** While we had long asserted the effectiveness of the federal ban (1994-2004), I added 2 studies that documented the significant effectiveness of state bans.

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- **Support from other organizations:** As a part of the hearings by the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group, 10 organizations submitted “proposals” that stated support for a state ban on assault weapons, including 3 medical groups with a total of 14,000 members.

**“Cloak of legitimacy:”** Speaking on behalf of Veterans For Peace empowered me with what my Cynthia calls the “cloak of legitimacy” for veterans.

**Attachments**

1. PROCLAMATION SUPPORTING A STATEWIDE BAN ON THE FUTURE SALE AND TRANSFER OF MILITARY-STYLE ASSAULT WEAPONS AND HIGH-CAPACITY MAGAZINES (and Sources for the statements in the resolution submitted by Michael Orange to the West St. Paul City Council on 9/5/25 that called for city support for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines)
2. Presentation to the West St. Paul City Council Regarding a City Resolution that Supports a Statewide Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines
3. Additional information pertinent to a pending resolution in support of a statewide ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines, 9/8/2025
4. Suggested changes to the proposed city resolution “Supporting State and Federal Efforts to Reduce Gun Violence and Promote Public Safety,” released 9/19/2025.
5. Adopted Changes to the Draft Resolution, 9/22/2025
6. Photos
7. Support of a Minnesota Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines

**CITY OF WEST ST. PAUL  
DAKOTA COUNTY, MINNESOTA**

**RESOLUTION NO. 25-055**

**SUPPORTING STATE AND FEDERAL EFFORTS TO REDUCE GUN VIOLENCE  
AND PROMOTE PUBLIC SAFETY**

**WHEREAS**, the City of West St. Paul is committed to protecting the health, safety, and well-being of all residents; and

**WHEREAS**, gun violence is a recognized public safety issue in communities across the country, and no community is immune from its impacts; and

**WHEREAS**, tragic events such as the recent shooting at Annunciation Catholic School in Minneapolis on August 27, 2025, demonstrate the harm that firearms can cause when misused; and

**WHEREAS**, state and federal governments have primary authority to regulate firearms, and evidence-based policies such as background checks, safe storage requirements, and bans on large-capacity magazines have been shown to reduce the risk of firearm-related injuries and deaths; and

**WHEREAS**, state and federal policymakers are considering a range of approaches to firearm safety, and local governments can play a constructive role by supporting higher levels of government in evaluating and implementing actions that enhance public safety; and

**WHEREAS**, the City of West St. Paul, consistent with its values of integrity, responsiveness, and connection, believes its role is to support initiatives that enhance safety while strengthening local partnerships, prevention, and education.

**NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED**, that the Honorable Mayor David J. Napier and the City Council of the City of West St. Paul:

1. Support state and federal efforts to strengthen background checks, require safe firearm storage, and ban the future sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.
2. Reaffirm the City's commitment to local violence prevention through education, partnerships with law enforcement, schools, and community organizations, and community engagement that fosters safety and trust.
3. Encourage residents to engage with state legislators and members of Congress to advocate for evidence-based solutions to gun violence.
4. Direct the City Clerk to send a copy of this resolution to the Governor of Minnesota, Minnesota state legislators, and members of Congress representing West St. Paul.

Adopted by the City Council of the City of West St. Paul this 22<sup>nd</sup> day of September, 2025.

  
David J. Napier, Mayor

Attest:  
  
Nicole Tillander, City Clerk

ATTACHMENT 6



**Clockwise from upper left:** West St. Paul City Council meeting, and Judy Rangel testifying in favor of the resolution. VFP thank you certificates to: Council Member John Justin; Patty Matthews, Team Leader for South Metro Moms Demand Action; Council Member Robyn Gulley; Council Member Doug Fromm; and Council Member Lisa Eng-Sarne. Photo of C.M. Lisa Eng-Sarne, Cynthia and Michael Orange, C.M. Robyn Gulley after the Council meeting, Michael Orange testifying.



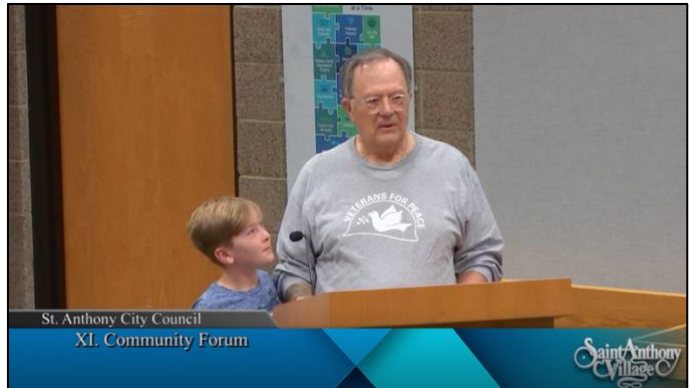
EXHIBIT E

**Speech to the St. Anthony Village City Council and Resolution for the Evangelical  
Lutheran Churches in America by Dave Borton and His Grandson, Connor**

Dave Borton and his grandson, Connor, testified before the St. Anthony Village City Council on 10/14/2025. They asked the City Council and Mayor to adopt a resolution in support of a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.

When Dave asked Connor how shooter drills affected him, Connor replied, "I feel afraid. Why would we have to practice them? Why do we have to think about a shooter coming to our school and killing all our friends?" (This is a link to the video of the 10/28/2025 meeting. Their testimony begins at 32:00:

<https://webstreaming.ctv15.org/viewer.php?streamid=8102>)



Good Evening,

I am Dave Borton, 2550 38th Ave NE of St Anthony Village and this lad is Conner. Connor, how is it that we know one another? Connor and I have worked together on gun control for 4 years, visiting legislators, and co-presenting to the St Paul City Council when the City Council mandated safe storage of weapons in homes.

Tonight, I am here both as a grandparent and as a member of Veterans for Peace, chapter 27. As veterans of foreign wars, we know firsthand the destruction of lives which surrounds the use of weapons and armaments. We don't take our work lightly.

Do you know the leading cause of juvenile deaths in the US? Cancer? No. Car accidents? No. It's guns.

Connor and I come before you asking you to join the 9 metro mayors, 2 city councils, 750 faith leaders, and tons of organizations who have already called upon our state legislators to prohibit the sale or transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. They are nothing but weapons of war, nothing more than knockoffs from the guns we carried into the Vietnam theater.

First it was Columbine, then Sandy Hook, and on and on. Now we have Annunciation Catholic School in Minneapolis etched into our memories. 158 mass shootings where 86% of the fatalities were the result of assault weapons. No civilian needs this weapon of war yet there are 20 million of them in the US.

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Our Veterans for Peace chapter includes hunters. They will tell you that no hunter, no hunter needs a rifle capable of shooting 10, 20, 30, 50, 60, and yes 100 bullets without reloading.

Kids are impacted, Connor has to practice drills at school for active shooters. Can you tell us how that makes you feel, Connor?

In these 3.5 minutes that Connor and I had with you this evening, the active shooter at Annunciation discharged 116 rounds of bullets at our children. We can do better. I invite this council and mayor to join other cities and resolve to our legislators that we ban the sale of assault weapons. Thank you for your time and if any of you have questions or need assistance in understanding the issue, Ms. Elnagdy has Connor and my contact information.

**Ban on the Sale of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines  
Proposed Resolution by Connor, 3/15/2026**

Whereas, gun violence is the leading cause of death among children in the US, more than cancer and car crashes,

Whereas, Jesus invited the children to be peacemakers, to come to him, “Blessed are the peacemakers... (and) people were bringing children to him in order that he might touch them... And he took them up in his arms, laid his hands on them, and blessed them,” (Matthew 5 and Mark 10);

Whereas, our neighbors’ children were shot and killed at Annunciation School by an assault weapon, which was designed as a weapon of war, which blasted 116 bullets in less than two minutes;

Whereas, surviving kids at Annunciation now have to leave their childhood behind and face adult problems which is unfair to them;

Whereas, states with assault weapon bans have demonstrated far fewer fatalities in mass shooting incidents compared to states without bans (2014-2023, National Institute of Health);

NOW BE IT RESOLVED that in 2026, the youth and adults in the congregations of the Saint Paul Area Synod study gun violence and then act as peacemakers by urging friends, parents, teammates, fellow students, co-workers, and neighbors to write, visit, and phone their Minnesota and federal legislators to ban assault weapons and high-capacity magazine sales.

This 5th grader talked with the bishop of 100,000 Evangelical Lutherans, and she asked Connor to present a resolution. The resolution was approved at Connor’s church, and Connor presented it to the assembly of 100 Evangelical Lutheran Churches in America on the Eastside of the Metro area. It was adopted on 5/15/2026.

Connor is in the 5th grade, probably one of the youngest associate members of Veterans For Peace (VFP). He has visited Minnesota legislators with his grandfather, David Borton (image at left) and other VFP members, testified before the St Paul City Council, and co-presented a resolution to the St Anthony Village City Council to ask Governor Walz and the Legislature to ban assault weapons. The city unanimously approved the resolution.



EXHIBIT F

**Edward Lorenz's testimony to the St. Paul City Council in support of a proposed ordinance to ban assault weapons, 11/5/2025**

My name is Edward Lorenz and my wife and I live on Lexington Parkway in St. Paul. I am here today representing Veterans for Peace. I want to thank the City Council for Ord 25-65.



First, I bring too this issue my service as a medic during the Vietnam War. My first assignment there was in a psychiatric unit that treated soldiers suffering from what we now call PTSD. After that, I served in a surgical ward where the wounded were stabilized before evacuation. After Vietnam, as a student at the University of Chicago, I focused on what could lead countries and people to embrace war. I then taught for many years in colleges about the origins of violence and the need for peace.



However, I not only have had first-hand experience with war and the opportunity to study and teach about it. In 2012 one of my young cousins was a victim of the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary in Connecticut. She, as several other of the 26 student victims, was a special needs kid. We often think of the unique horror that must have engulfed these special kids as they died of their horrible wounds—an experience like those of the adolescent soldiers I had treated in Vietnam.

I certainly understand law-abiding people who collect technically complex 'things,' including modern weapons. But given the dangers of modern firearms, I cannot fathom why any sane person would oppose regulations to protect us from any use of these weapons against their fellow humans. The blood and gore brought to our world by modern weapons of war, especially in the U.S. with our irresponsibly lax fire-arm regulations, requires all responsible persons to support regulations to protect people, especially our small children, from the horrors these weapons bring.

You deserve great credit for the courage of proposing this ordinance.

Thank you.

Edward Lorenz  
535 Lexington Pkwy. S., Apt. 406  
St. Paul, MN 55116

## Gretchen Damon's testimony to the St. Paul City Council in support of a proposed ordinance to ban assault weapons, 11/5/2025

Councilmembers,

Saint Paul Moms Demand Action supports this ordinance.

If state lawmakers cannot move the needle on gun violence prevention, then local leaders need to get the job done. Similar to the smoking ban in our city's past, it will take community clamor to get us to the other side, where not only can we breathe smoke-free air but also inhabit bullet-free spaces.



This ordinance supports responsible gun ownership. Some of us remember riding in the back of our parents' station wagon with no seat belts. Today we don't think twice about strapping a child in a car. We don't long for "the good old days" of no safety restraints. Through new laws, we've protected our children from second hand smoke and car accidents. It is time to protect them from being shot.

True leadership is not just doing what your constituents demand, but advising them on evidence-based improvements. Making sure rapid-fire weapons disappear from our neighborhoods is a better way of doing things. Kids playing basketball at the rec center or doing their homework at the library away from firearms is a brighter future.

Since the Annunciation shooting, over 5,000 people have joined MN Moms Demand Action. Many now realize their local governments cannot regulate firearms because of preemption. We are in a stranglehold between a 40-year-old statute and a group of intractable state lawmakers paralyzed by ideology; a ridiculous place to be when firearms are the leading cause of death for America's children.

Finally, implementing life-saving policies once preemption is lifted is crucial. For opponents who say this is government overreach, we stand with thousands of Minnesotans who have reached their limit waiting for something to be done.

Gretchen Damon, Moms Demand Action, St. Paul

EXHIBIT G

**Proposal to the Senate Gun Violence Prevention Group by Michael Orange**

September 15, 2025

To: Chair Ron Latz, Vice Chair Zaynab Mohamed, and the Minnesota Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group,

I write as the coordinator for local Chapter 27, Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws group in support of the proposal by the “Minnesota Medical Association Pro,” especially their statement urging “law makers to pass a full, state-wide ban of assault rifles and high-capacity magazines.” We are all still shocked that, in just a few minutes, a shooter, using his legally acquired assault rifle, fired 117 high-powered, military rounds into Annunciation Church killing 2 children and wounding 23 people including 20 children. It has reawakened fear in all of us for our children and grandchildren.

I want to make it clear that those who are opposed to this ban have been fed lies and half-truths since the 1970s. I understand their love of their weapons. For a year, my assault rifle or my .45 were always within my reach. But I was serving in a war zone for that year in Vietnam as a combat Marine.

In contrast, Senators, I come with information, not the falsehoods that our epidemic of gun violence can only be solved by more guns, the deadlier the better. Or the lie that the registration of assault weapons called for in past bills is actually confiscation. Or the lie that the Second Amendment gives people the right to own weapons of war. Or the absurd notion that we should eliminate gun-free zones and have more guns in our schools.<sup>86</sup> Or the oft-repeated statement meant to distract that “it’s not a gun issue; it’s a mental health issue,” or that antidepressants (SSRIs)<sup>87</sup> are at the root of mass shootings.<sup>88</sup>

We know that assault weapons with high-capacity magazines are the weapon of choice for most mass shooters,<sup>89</sup> and that bans can be effective and save lives by denying these weapons of war to potential shooters,<sup>90</sup> whatever their state of mind.

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<sup>86</sup> Comments by MN Sen. Glen Gruenhagen.

<sup>87</sup> SSRI stand for Selective Serotonin Reuptake Inhibitors (SSRI) are a class of medications used to treat mental health conditions such as depression, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD).

<sup>88</sup> According to a recent article in *Psychiatric Times*, “there is little or no evidence showing that perpetrators of mass shootings are more likely than those in the general public to have used, or to have been prescribed, antidepressants prior to the shooting.” Source: “No, Antidepressants Do Not Provoke Mass Shootings,”

James L. Knoll IV, MD, Ronald W. Pies, MD, *Psychiatric Times*, 9/12/25,  
<https://www.psychiatrictimes.com/view/no-antidepressants-do-not-provoke-mass-shootings#>

<sup>89</sup> Source: Giffords, [https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote\\_1\\_5603](https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote_1_5603).

<sup>90</sup> When our country had an assault-weapons ban from 1994-2004, the risk of dying in a mass shooting was 70% lower than in the following decade after Congress killed the effort to extend it. Source: “Did the assault weapons ban of 1994 bring down mass shootings? Here’s what the data tells us,” Michael J. Klein, Clinical Assistant Professor of Surgery, New York University, *The Conversation*, 6/8/22, <https://theconversation.com/did-the-assault-weapons-ban-of-1994-bring-down-mass-shootings-heres-what-the-data-tells-us-184430>

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A recent study compared mass shootings in the US over two-decades to those in 35 similarly developed countries. It concluded that shootings in the US averaged 109 times more than in the other countries.<sup>91</sup> Our mental health problems aren't 109 times greater than in those 35 countries. Our epidemic of mass shootings is a direct result of our lax gun laws, and especially our unique availability of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.

Claiming it's a mental health issue is just a dodge. The Trump Administration and Congressional Republicans cut \$11.4 billion from various mental and behavioral health services that Democrats in Congress were able to approve over Republican opposition during the prior four years<sup>92</sup>. Blaming inadequate mental health services is just bait-and-switch propaganda from the gun lobby and the NRA.

To argue that AR-15-style rifles are not "weapons of war," is ridiculous. When firing either military or civilian ammunition, they are actually *more powerful* than the military's standard M4 assault rifle.<sup>93</sup> What is more important is that this ammunition can tumble upon impact, which makes them horribly deadly. As one emergency room doctor described it, the effects on a victim "looks like a grenade went off in the body."<sup>94</sup>

You've heard from medical professionals about their heroic efforts to save the victims of the horrific shooting at Annunciation Church and School. I also know, first-hand, the carnage these weapons of war cause.

I'm still haunted by the memory of two young Vietnamese boys who were shot by my fellow Marines after they set off a bomb on our fire support base. I witnessed, up close, how the M16 rounds literally shredded and exploded their little bodies.

In closing, let me repeat: It's about the guns, not some not some imaginary Second Amendment right to buy weapons of war. And it's about our citizens—especially our children—and the lives that would be saved by this ban. Guns or kids. The choice is yours.

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<sup>91</sup> Source: "Public Mass Shootings Around the World: Prevalence, Context, and Prevention," Jason R. Silva, 2/20/24, *Rockefeller Institute of Government*, <https://rockinst.org/blog/public-mass-shootings-around-the-world-prevalence-context-and-prevention/>

<sup>92</sup> "NAMI Statement on Final Passage of Bill Cutting Medicaid for Millions of American," National Alliance on Mental Illness, 7/3/2025, [https://www.nami.org/press-releases/nami-deep-concern-over-final-passage-of-bill/#:~:text=NAMI%20Statement%20on%20Final%20Passage,Alliance%20on%20Mental%20Illness%20\(NAMI](https://www.nami.org/press-releases/nami-deep-concern-over-final-passage-of-bill/#:~:text=NAMI%20Statement%20on%20Final%20Passage,Alliance%20on%20Mental%20Illness%20(NAMI)

<sup>93</sup> The only significant difference between military and civilian assault rifles is that military rifles are capable of automatic fire while civilian rifles are restricted to semiautomatic fire (one round per trigger pull). However, the primary value of firing on automatic is for suppressive fire on the battlefield to enable maneuvering. It has no value for legal uses by civilians (i.e., target shooting, hunting, and self-defense). Secondly, AR-15 rifles chambered for 5.56 NATO ammunition are just as powerful (as measured by muzzle velocity) as the M16 (and actually 7% more powerful than the M4). But what is more important is that the 5.56 NATO bullet tumbles upon impact (TUI), which causes significantly greater damage to humans. AR-15 rifles firing Remington .223 rounds are just as powerful as an M16 (and slightly more powerful than the M4), and TUI rounds are legally available.

<sup>94</sup> Source: "What an AR-15 Can Do to the Human Body: When a patient is shot by an AR-15, it 'looks like a grenade went off in there,'" Sarah Zhang, *Wired*, 6/17/16, <https://www.wired.com/2016/06/ar-15-can-human-body/>

## EXHIBIT H

### **New information regarding bans on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines**

I write as a representative of local Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace. In anticipation of the special session beginning next Monday, I request the opportunity to present information that I believe will be new to your committee as it addresses gun violence prevention.

The gun lobby argues that AR-15-style assault rifles are not “weapons of war,” and that bans on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines are not effective. Using data from the U.S. Army’s “Rifle and Carbine Training Circular” and the “United States Marine Corps Field Medical Training Battalion – East, Camp Lejeune, FMST 1219, M16/M4 Carbine Service Rifle Familiarization,” I was surprised to learn that the typical AR-15-style assault rifle available for civilians is MORE powerful than the military’s standard-issue, M4 assault rifle that replaced the M16 (i.e., greater muzzle velocity with identical, 55-grain bullets). This is true when firing the military’s 5.56 NATO round or the .223 Remington civilian round. What is more important is that this ammunition can tumble and fragment upon impact, which makes them horribly deadly.

The second point is that studies have concluded that state bans of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines are effective. According to a study published in *Applied Economics Letters*, “[I]t was found that assault weapons bans in the states that approved them reduced the number of school shooting victims by 54.4%,” (source: “The effects of state and Federal gun control laws on school shootings,” Mark Gius, *Applied Economics Letters*, 4/19/2027, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13504851.2017.1319555>) Similarly, a Johns Hopkins University study stated, “We found very encouraging effects. ... On a per capita basis, we see a 70% lower rate of individuals killed in mass shootings associated with state bans of [high-capacity magazines],” (source: “Policies That Reduce Gun Violence: Restricting Large Capacity Magazines,” Daniel Webster, Johns Hopkins University, 5/24, 2021, <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/2021/policies-that-reduce-gun-violence-restricting-large-capacity-magazines#:~:text=Our%20estimate%20was%20that%20laws,is%20licensing%20for%20firearm%20purchasers%20>).

Thank you for your service to our state.

Michael Orange

Sent to the following on 10/2/25:

Key Committees:

- Senate Judiciary and Public Safety:
  - All senators rely on a form:  
[https://www.senate.mn/committees/committee\\_bio.html?cmte\\_id=3128&ls=94](https://www.senate.mn/committees/committee_bio.html?cmte_id=3128&ls=94)
  - Email form example: sen.ron.latz@mnsenate.gov

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- DFL Members: Chair, Latz; Vice Chair, Verbeten; Clark, Carlson, Pappas, Seeberger, Westlin
- Committee Administrator: Nicole Kaplan (651) 296-1224
- Regular Meeting Schedule: Room G-15 Capitol, Monday and Wednesday 12:30 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.
- House Public Safety Finance and Policy: Email form example:  
rep.kelly.moller@house.mn.gov
  - DFL Members: Co-Chair, Moller; Co-Vice Chair, Feist; Finn, Curran, Frazier, Hollins, Huot, Pinto, Tabke
  - Committee Administrator: Ellen McDaniel 296-1478
  - Meets: Tuesday and Thursday, 10:30 a.m. in Room 200

EXHIBIT I

**Analysis of the Proposed Bills Affecting  
Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines**

Michael Orange, Coordinator, Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws<sup>95</sup>  
[orange\\_michael@msn.com](mailto:orange_michael@msn.com), 952-905-1448, 10/28/2025, updated 3/6/2026

Approximate read time (excluding Summary and footnotes): 10 minutes

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**Summary**

**Discussion:**

- Sen. Zaynab Mohamed authored 3 bills for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons (SF 3654 for assault weapons, SF 3714 for high-capacity magazines, and SF 3655 that includes both). All bills are accessible via the Legislature’s web site:  
<https://www.leg.mn.gov/leg/legis>
- The purpose of this report is to analyze the 3 bills, and make recommendations that minimize their impact on law-abiding owners of legally obtained assault weapons while retaining their power to reduce gun violence, and especially to make it more difficult for potential mass shooters to obtain assault weapons. Hopefully, implementing the suggestions will enhance their chances for adoption.
- The report summarizes current laws that regulate firearms.
- If approved, the bills would have the following impacts on an owner of a legally acquired assault weapon:
  - They could choose to certify (register) it, and continue to store and fire it consistent with the law.
  - They could choose to surrender it to the appropriate law enforcement agency, modify it to make it inoperable, or remove it from the state.
  - They would not be able to transfer it. *Transfer* means a sale, gift, loan, assignment, or other delivery to another. This includes inheritance.
  - A person who inherits a banned weapon must surrender it to the appropriate law enforcement agency, modify the device to make it inoperable, or remove it from the state.

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<sup>95</sup> Michael Orange serves as the coordinator for the local Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws group. Since 2018 (with the exception of 2020 due to COVID), members have advocated at the Legislature for bills that would establish a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.

- Certification/registration is not available for high-capacity magazines (i.e., capacity greater than 10 rounds).

**Recommendations:** The primary purpose of this report is to suggest changes that minimize the impacts of a ban on current law-abiding owners, yet still retain the main purpose of the ban, which is to maximize the difficulty of obtaining these weapons by potential mass shooters:

1. Exclude squirrel guns that rely on a .22 caliber tube-ammunition feeding device or a tubular magazine.
2. Allow the use of certified weapons to where and when they are currently allowed.
3. Support a buy-back program for high-capacity magazines that will be banned.
4. Amend the regulations governing firing ranges and sport shooting events to accommodate weapons banned by the bill.
5. Adding weapons screening at firing ranges and sport shooting events
6. Eliminate warrantless, on-site inspections of storage
7. Expand transfer exceptions to reduce the impact on law-abiding owners.

### **Purpose of the Analysis and Concerns from Law-Abiding Owners**

The tragic mass shooting at Annunciation Catholic School and Church last August<sup>96</sup> made banning assault weapons and high-capacity magazines a priority for a majority of Minnesotans.<sup>97</sup> However, no prior bill has even made it to a floor vote in either chamber of the Legislature. At the start of the 2026 legislative session, Sen. Zaynab Mohamed authored three bills that addressed this issue (detailed below).

For the sake of brevity and unless stated otherwise, I use the term *AR-15-style rifles* to represent the weapons included in the bills, and the term *assault weapons* (or just *weapons*) to also include high-capacity magazines (i.e., magazines with a capacity of more than ten rounds).

A subculture of weapon enthusiasts opposes such bans. They enjoy modifying and upgrading their AR-15-style rifles and sharing their experiences with others, much like those who modify cars or computers. They share a passion for the rifle platform's ability to be customized, its technology, and its functionality. Some are offended by the suggestion that there is something inherently immoral about these weapons and their attachment to them.

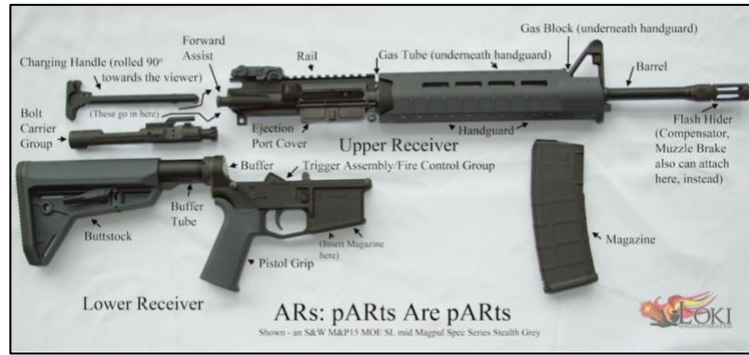
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<sup>96</sup> On August 27, 2025, a shooter fired 116 rounds from an AR-15 assault rifle into the Annunciation Catholic Church in Minneapolis. He killed two children—Fletcher Merkel (8 years old) and Harper Moyski (10 years old)—and injured 23 people including 20 other children.

<sup>97</sup> According to late 2025 polling, approximately 69% of Minnesotans support a ban on the sale of assault-style weapons. This includes strong, broad support across regions: 71% in the Twin Cities, 79% in the suburbs, and 62% in Greater Minnesota. Source: “Most Minnesotans support assault-style weapons ban, with a suburban surprise,” Lumaris Research, 12/11/2025, <https://www.lumaris.com/blog/most-minnesotans-support-assault-weapons-ban-with-a-suburban-surprise/>

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The rifle’s design is built around a two-part system—the upper and lower receivers. The lower receiver, which contains the trigger and magazine well, is the serialized component considered to be the actual firearm. The upper receiver contains the barrel, bolt carrier group, and other components of the rifle (image at right). With the right tools and experience, a person can swap out for a barrel of a different length, caliber, or configuration. A variety of stocks and accessories are available (e.g., sights, scopes, grips, lasers, flashlights, suppressors, etc.). This flexibility, plus their high accuracy with minimal recoil, make AR-15-style rifles extremely popular for legal uses like sport shooting, small game hunting,<sup>98</sup> and defense.



Unfortunately, the ability of assault rifles to accommodate high-capacity magazines (up to 100 rounds each) also makes them the weapon of choice for mass shooters (image at right).<sup>99</sup>

The purpose of this report is to analyze the 3 bills, and make recommendations that minimize their impact on law-abiding owners of legally-obtained assault weapons while retaining their power to reduce gun violence, and especially to make it more difficult for potential mass shooters to obtain assault weapons. Hopefully, implementing these suggestions will enhance their chances for adoption.

**Description and Impacts of the Bills**

The primary provisions of SF 3654 and SF 3714 (and their companion bills in the House, HF 3433 and HF 3402) plus SF 3655 are as follows:

- Included as an “assault weapon:” The bills list 17 specific “semiautomatic rifle” types that are included in the ban:

<sup>98</sup> Compared to the rounds typically used for hunting larger game (e.g., the 30.06 round), the 5.56 NATO round and its civilian companion round, the .223 Remington, are not as effective for deer, feral pigs, elk, bear, etc. They lack the 30.06 round’s mass and energy, and they are designed to tumble upon impact and fragment. This makes them unsuitable for a “humane” kill at longer distances where preserving the meat is an important purpose of the hunt, but acceptable for destroying small game and varmints.

<sup>99</sup> An analysis of public mass shootings resulting in 4 or more deaths found that more than 85% of such fatalities were caused by shooters with assault rifles.

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- Rifles, pistols, and shot guns with a detachable magazine and any of the following characteristics: A pistol grip, thumbhole stock, or a protruding grip; a barrel shroud; or a folding, telescoping, or thumbhole stock.
- A semiautomatic pistol with a non-detachable magazine that has a capacity greater than ten rounds.
- A conversion kit, part, or combination of parts, from which an assault weapon can be assembled if those parts are in the possession or under the control of the same person.
- Large-capacity magazines, which means “any ammunition-feeding device with the capacity to accept more than ten rounds, or any conversion kit, part, or combination of parts from which this type of device can be assembled if those parts are in the possession or under the control of the same person.”
- A .50 caliber or larger firearm means a firearm “that is capable of expelling a metal projectile that measures one-half inch or larger in diameter but does not include an antique or replica firearm that uses black powder.”
- **Bans:** The bills make it unlawful for a person to “manufacture, import, transfer [including via inheritance], own, or possess large-capacity magazines, .50 caliber or larger firearms, or semiautomatic military-style assault weapons.” They lists logical exceptions for law enforcement and the military, for example. Owners who choose not to certify their weapons (see below) must either surrender the device to the appropriate law enforcement agency for destruction, modify the device to render it permanently inoperable, or remove the device from the state.
- **Certification/grandfathering:** The bills create a certification process for the state to grandfather legally-obtained weapons held by law-abiding residents. Owners will need to pay a fee to certify their weapons, and renew the certification every 3 years.<sup>100</sup> Only SF 3655 allows the grandfathering of high-capacity magazines.
- **Modifying a certified weapon:** Given the flexibility of the AR-15 rifle platform, the bills will not affect owners’ ability to modify the upper receiver of their grandfathered/certified rifles to fit their changing needs.
- **Storage and inspection:** The bills require the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA) to develop requirements for the safe-storage of certified assault weapons. They require owners of certified assault weapons to permit local law enforcement to inspect their storage arrangements.
- **Using the weapon:** Owners can continue to fire certified weapons at gun ranges and on “property owned or immediately controlled by the person.”
- **People under 18:** People under 18 will only be able to use a certified weapon for military drill, or at a firing range for instruction, competition, or target practice.

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<sup>100</sup> In states with assault weapon bans, registering grandfathered weapons (those owned before the ban) serves to track these specific firearms, ensuring they remain in legal possession, preventing them from entering the illegal market, allowing law enforcement to trace crime guns, and often requiring secure storage or background checks for future transfers, ultimately limiting their circulation and future availability without confiscating them from current owners.

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- Penalties: The bills stipulate that a person who violates key provisions of the bills is guilty of a felony and may be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than five years or to payment of a fine of not more than \$25,000, or both.

Potential impacts on mass shooters: We know that most mass shooters obtain their weapons (including assault weapons), 1) legally through licensed dealers, 2) by stealing or obtaining them from family members, and 3) through failures in the background check system.<sup>101</sup> A ban on the sale of assault weapons would completely stop the first method for dealers in Minnesota. Other common-sense, gun control bills that are already approved and pending before the Legislature address the other two methods. No legislation will ever stop illegal gun sales. That's up to law enforcement and the courts.

### **Current Regulations**

The following is a summary of restrictions in current laws; not an exhaustive description:

Permits vs. registration: Generally, Minnesota does not restrict nor require a permit for possession of firearms in the home. The state does not have a statewide gun registration system. Instead, it issues two types of permits to residents, subject to a comprehensive state and federal background check.<sup>102</sup> One allows eligible people to purchase and transfer firearms including assault weapons, and the other, Minnesota Statute 624.7181, Subd 1, (b) (3), allows those with a Minnesota Permit to Carry to carry a pistol, in public, openly or concealed or in a vehicle.

The approval of an assault weapon ban would require the creation of a state registry of the firearms a permit holder owns.

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<sup>101</sup> “Notably, most individuals who engaged in mass shootings used handguns (77.2%), and 25.1% used assault rifles in the commission of their crimes. Of the known mass shooting cases (32.5% of cases could not be confirmed), 77% of those who engaged in mass shootings purchased at least some of their guns legally, while illegal purchases were made by 13% of those committing mass shootings. In cases involving K-12 school shootings, over 80% of individuals who engaged in shootings stole guns from family members. The findings support safe storage of guns. Yet, the researchers noted that there are no federal laws requiring safe storage of guns, and no federal standards for firearm locks. The data also support ‘red flag’ laws permitting law enforcement or family members to petition a state court to order temporary removal of a firearm from a person who presents a danger.” (Source: “Public Mass Shootings: Database Amasses Details of a Half Century of U.S. Mass Shootings with Firearms, Generating Psychosocial Histories,” National Institute of Justice, 2/3/22, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/public-mass-shootings-database-amasses-details-half-century-us-mass-shootings#:~:text=Notably%2C%20most%20individuals%20who%20engaged,stole%20guns%20from%20family%20members>)

<sup>102</sup> Minnesota does not have a central registry of firearms, so there is no state form that records the serial number of an assault weapon for a state registry. Permits to purchase a “semiautomatic military-style assault weapon” are required in Minnesota because of the state's universal background check law, which went into effect on 8/1/2023. This law requires a “Permit to Purchase” to buy these firearms, in addition to other types of firearms like pistols. Before this date, a permit was not required. Currently, the serial number is recorded during the transfer process whether the sale is from a federally licensed firearms dealer (FFL) or between private parties. The FFL dealer and both parties of a private purchase will record the permit number and the firearm's serial number for their internal records, and keep it for at least ten years.

Location Restrictions: Carrying a pistol is still prohibited in certain areas, even with a permit, including K-12 schools and licensed daycare centers, state and federal buildings (with some exceptions like the Capitol grounds), and private establishments and churches that have posted “No Guns” signs.

624.7181 RIFLES AND SHOTGUNS IN PUBLIC PLACES, Subd. 2.states, “Whoever carries a BB gun, rifle, or shotgun on or about the person in a public place is guilty of a gross misdemeanor. A person under the age of 21 who carries a semiautomatic military-style assault weapon, as defined in section 624.712, subdivision 7, on or about the person in a public place is guilty of a felony.”

Current restrictions on assault weapons: People who are ineligible to possess military-style assault weapons include the following (these are a selection of the general categories that don’t reflect the specifics and exceptions):

- Younger than 18
- Convicted of a crime of violence
- Mentally ill, developmentally disabled, or chemically-dependent
- An “illegal alien”
- A veteran with a dishonorable discharge
- A person subject to an “extreme risk” protection order

### **Suggested Changes to the Mohamed Bills**

The goal here is to minimize the impacts of the bills on law-abiding owners of legally-obtained assault weapon while maximizing the potential to reduce the accessibility of banned weapons from mass shooters.

1. Exclude squirrel guns: The section in SF 3655 dealing with magazines excludes rifles that rely on a .22 caliber tube-ammunition feeding device or a tubular magazine, like the Glenfield Model 60. I recommend this exemption be added back to SF 3654/HF 3433. Classifying a .22 cal. squirrel gun (pictured above) that takes several minutes to reload as an “assault weapon” just gives *ammunition* to opponents of the bill.
2. Don’t restrict hunting with certified weapons: SF 3654/HF 3433 restricts use of certified weapons to “property owned or immediately controlled by the person or at a duly licensed firing range.” I believe this is too restrictive. Certification should enable a law-abiding owner to continue to use it wherever and whenever it is currently legal. The same is true for hunting restrictions on legal shooters under the age of 18. Currently, a person under 18 can hunt in Minnesota with a semiautomatic military-style assault weapon, but only if they are under the direct supervision of a parent or guardian. Generally, minors under 18 are



prohibited from possessing these weapons, but supervised hunting is a specific exception. Again, making this change would deflate the arguments of opponents of the bill.

3. Buyback program: Two bills introduced in 2025, HF 2449 and SF 1596, include buyback programs for both assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. Inclusion of a buyback program for just high-capacity magazines would be a relatively inexpensive enhancement.<sup>103</sup>
4. Expanding the weapons that can be rented at firing ranges and sport shooting events: Currently, Minnesota allows certain gun ranges to rent, for on-site-use only, a wide range of weapons, including fully-automatic, military weapons to people as young as 16 because certain federally licensed dealers are exempt from the state's general prohibition on these weapons.<sup>104</sup> SF 3654/HF 3433 could be amended to change the Minnesota regulations for licensed gun ranges to include on-site rental and use of the weapons included in an assault weapon ban so that those who don't own a grandfathered weapon and are prohibited from buying one after the ban goes into effect could still fire them there. That would include sport shooting events that allow competitors to fire AR-15-style rifles.
5. Adding weapons screening at firing ranges and sport shooting events: Currently, operators of firing ranges and sport shooting events rely on a participant's signed waiver that they are not legally prohibited from possessing or using any of the firearms that they will bring or rent, and that they are not impaired by alcohol, illegal drugs, or certain medications. In the event the range operator discovers that a participant lied on the waiver, for example, by bringing an illegal weapon onto the range, the firing-range operator is not authorized to seize or confiscate a person's private property. Only law enforcement officers have that authority. The firing-range operator must provide the person's identity (obtained from their photo ID and waiver) and details of the incident to the local law enforcement, which will determine if the weapon is indeed illegal, allowing them to take the appropriate action. A firing-range operator who knowingly allows the use of an illegal weapon could face potential legal repercussions or even risk the temporary or permanent closure of the range if the activity is deemed a clear and immediate safety hazard or a violation of state law.

SF 3654/HF 3433 could amend Minnesota Statutes, Chapter 87A to require the operators of firing ranges and sport shooting events to confirm that a participant who seeks to fire a weapon that is banned by the SF 3654/HF 3433 has complied with the bill's certification requirements for that weapon. In the event the firing-range operator discovers the participant has not certified the weapon, the operator is then bound by current law to notify

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<sup>103</sup> A typical 30-round magazine costs about \$16. While there may be many thousands of high-capacity magazines in the state already, a buyback program would not have to offer full pre-used value for these magazines.

<sup>104</sup> This is made possible by a specific exception in Minnesota Statutes § 609.67. All federally regulated weapons, including machine guns, are also subject to federal law and oversight by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives. For example, at Bill's Gun Shop and Range, shooters 16 & 17 years old must be accompanied by a parent or guardian. This federally licensed range offers over 40 different, fully-automatic machine guns. Source: <https://billsgs.com/rentals/#:~:text=Available%20Firearms-.Range%20Rentals,not%20included%20in%20this%20price.>

the local authorities. This becomes another method of reducing the number of these banned weapons in the state.<sup>105</sup>

6. Eliminate warrantless, on-site inspections of storage: SF 3654/HF 3433 requires owners of certified weapons to “safely and securely store the device pursuant to the regulations adopted by the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension,” and to “agree to allow the appropriate law enforcement agency to inspect the storage of the device to ensure compliance with this subdivision.” Minnesota’s firearm storage law does not allow police to conduct warrantless, on-site inspections of private homes to check for compliance. This provision in the bill will likely trigger privacy and search-and-seizure concerns. The bill could instead simply rely on the safe storage regulations that will be adopted by the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension without adding warrantless inspection.
7. Expand transfer exceptions: To reduce the impact on law-abiding people, the SF 3654/HF 3433 could add the following exceptions to the ban on transfers:
  - Instructional transfer: SF 3654/HF 3433 would make it illegal for a father, for example, to teach his daughter to use these weapons responsibly by letting her fire his rifle on their farm or on a firing range because this would be a form of “transfer.” The bill could include an exception for this kind of situation, i.e., a temporary “transfer” for the purposes of instruction or skill development provided the legal owner of the registered weapon is always on site, the shooter is related by blood or marriage, and the firing takes place where it is legally allowed.
  - Temporary transfer: The bill could also create a “temporary transfer” to allow the owner of a grandfathered/certified weapon to loan it to another person for a brief time provided the owner is continually on site with the shooter, and the shooter has passed a background check. The owner must take possession of the weapon after the shooting session. There would be no limit on the times the owner uses this “temporary transfer” privilege.
  - One-time inter-generational transfer: There is a long-honored tradition of passing down firearms from parents to their children. Perhaps the ban on transfers could include a one-time exception for people related by blood, marriage, or perhaps a guardian, provided the recipients pass a background check and continue to be “law-abiding.” Some states that ban the sale of assault weapons allow for the transfer and inheritance of existing, legally-possessed firearms under specific conditions.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The primary method of reduction is banning their sale. Confiscation could occur if an owner is convicted of a crime that would make them illegal to possess even a registered weapon. A third method is when transfer limits would be triggered, for example, via an inheritance.

<sup>106</sup> The Washington State assault weapons ban (effective 2023) allows a person to inherit an assault weapon and keep it within the state. However, they cannot sell or transfer it to any other person in the state except to a licensed dealer, a gunsmith for repair, or law enforcement. The Connecticut ban allows registered assault weapons (those lawfully owned and registered before the 2013 ban) to be transferred through bequest or intestate succession (inheritance without a will). The individual who inherits the weapon must, within 90 days, apply for a new certificate of possession, render the firearm inoperable, sell it to a licensed dealer, or remove it from the state. The Delaware ban grandfathers assault weapons acquired before the ban (June 30, 2022) and allows them to be transferred to a family member.

EXHIBIT J

Submissions Regarding HF 3433/SF 3654 and HF 3402/SF 3714

Responses to Testimony on 2/22/2026 from Opponents to  
HF 3433/SF 3654 and HF 3402/SF 3714

Michael Orange, Coordinator, Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws  
orange\_michael@msn.com, 952-905-1448  
2/27/2026

**Purpose:** On 2/22/2026, five people testified before the Minnesota House Public Safety Finance and Policy Committee in opposition to bills that would ban the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines (3433/SF 3654 and HF 3402/SF 3714).<sup>107</sup> The following lists the main comments from these people and Republican members of the committee, and provides responses to them.

**Argument—Bans are not effective:** Rob Doer from the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus asserted that the federal ban on assault weapons (1994-2004) did not result in a reduction in gun violence.

**Response:** There are numerous studies that confirm that the federal assault weapons ban was effective. Studies concluded that the risk of dying in a mass shooting was 70% lower when the ban was in effect than in the following decade after Congress killed the effort to extend it.<sup>108</sup> According to a study published in *Applied Economics Letters*, “[I]t was found that assault weapons bans in the states that approved them reduced the number of school shooting victims by 54.4%.”<sup>109</sup> Similarly, a Johns Hopkins University study stated, “We found very encouraging effects. ... On a per capita basis, we see a 70% lower rate of individuals killed in mass shootings associated with state bans of [high-capacity magazines].”<sup>110</sup> No legislation will ever stop illegal gun sales. That's up to law enforcement and the courts.

**Argument—bans will be challenged in court because they are unconstitutional:** Mr. Doer stated the bans violate the Second Amendment and will result in wasted taxpayers' money to

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<sup>107</sup> Access the video of meeting here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2xYIQH024U>.

<sup>108</sup> Source: “Did the assault weapons ban of 1994 bring down mass shootings? Here’s what the data tells us,” Michael J. Klein, Clinical Assistant Professor of Surgery, New York University, *The Conversation*, 6/8/22, <https://theconversation.com/did-the-assault-weapons-ban-of-1994-bring-down-mass-shootings-heres-what-the-data-tells-us-184430>

<sup>109</sup> Source: “The effects of state and Federal gun control laws on school shootings,” Mark Gius, *Applied Economics Letters*, 4/19/2017, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13504851.2017.1319555>

<sup>110</sup> “Policies That Reduce Gun Violence: Restricting Large Capacity Magazines,” Daniel Webster, *Johns Hopkins University*, 5/24, 2021, <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/2021/policies-that-reduce-gun-violence-restricting-large-capacity-magazines#:~:text=Our%20estimate%20was%20that%20laws,is%20licensing%20for%20firearm%20purchasers%200.>

defend them in court. Mr. Brian Gosh, lawyer and lobbyist for the NRA, stated Minnesota should await a decision by the Supreme Court.

**Response:** Five federal appellate courts (1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 Districts) have confirmed the constitutionality of the existing bans in 10 states and DC, and the Supreme Court has consistently decided not to question the decisions of these federal courts.

A core legal and moral maxim, “justice delayed is justice denied,” states that if a beneficial action is needed now, delaying it means the people who need that action go without it. A later, potential court reversal does not undo the immediate, positive impact of the good action during the time it was in effect.

**Argument—gun control measures would not have prevented the Annunciation shooting:** Mr. Doer and Mr. Gosh argued that the bill and even all of the gun control measures recently passed by the DFL would not have prevented the Annunciation shooting. Anna Leamy, also from the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus, pointed out that the deadliest school attacks were caused by a bomb in the worst case and a man using handguns in the second worst case.

**Response:** Regarding the argument by Mr. Doer and Mr. Gosh, surveillance video from a suburban gun shop (Frontiersman Sports in St. Louis Park) showed that the Annunciation School shooter, 23-year-old Robin Westman, purchasing the assault rifle just 4 days before the attack. The ban would have prevented him from purchasing it in Minnesota.

We should examine effectiveness in general, including the issue of safe storage. The US Secret Service has undertaken two studies of targeted school violence, covering nearly 40 years of incidents. They found that “three-quarters of school shooters acquired their firearm from the home of a parent or close relative ... . The Secret Service’s second study of incidents, from 2008 to 2017, revealed that in nearly half of the shootings, the firearm was easily accessible or was not stored securely.”<sup>111</sup> The bill requires owners of certified (grandfathered) weapons to “safely and securely store the device pursuant to the regulations adopted by the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension.” That will reduce this method potential mass shooters use to obtain these weapons.

Regarding the comment from Ms. Leamy, an analysis of public mass shootings resulting in 4 or more deaths found that more than 85% of such fatalities were caused by shooters with assault rifles.<sup>112</sup>

More importantly, both of the arguments rely on what is called the *perfect solution fallacy* when a person dismisses a realistic, helpful solution because it doesn't solve the problem completely or perfectly, also known by the adage, “the perfect is the enemy of

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<sup>111</sup> Source: <https://everytownresearch.org/report/how-to-stop-shootings-and-gun-violence-in-schools/>

<sup>112</sup> Source: Giffords, [https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote\\_1\\_5603](https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote_1_5603).

the good.” By comparing an achievable option to an idealized, unattainable one, they conclude that the practical effort is worthless.

**Argument—the bill bans buying ammunition and has no allowances for hunting:** Mr. Gosh asserted that the bill bans buying ammunition for a certified assault weapon and essentially bans its use for hunting.

**Response:** The bill includes no prohibition on buying ammunition. The bill does restrict use of certified weapons to property owned or immediately controlled by the person or at a duly licensed firing range. Hopefully, that language will be amended to allow use wherever and whenever it is currently legal. The same is true for hunting restrictions on legal shooters under the age of 18.

**Argument—the bill’s definitions are arbitrary; they even capture a .22 cal. squirrel rifle:** Amy Swearer, a senior fellow at the Institute for American Advancing Freedom, cited examples of individual rifle parts that are listed in the bill as a part of its definition of assault weapons as a way to dismiss the bill as frivolous. Rep. Paul Novotny pointed out that the bill classifies a traditional, small caliber “squirrel gun,” the Glenfield Model 60, as an assault rifle because it has a tubular magazine that holds up to 18 rounds of .22 cal. ammunition.

**Response:** The bill employs definitions that have withstood court challenges in the 10 states and DC that have had assault weapon bans since as early as 1989 in California.

The original draft of the Mohamed assault weapons ban bill excluded rifles that relied on a .22 caliber tube-ammunition feeding device or a tubular magazine, like the Glenfield Model 60. This exemption should be added back to the bill. Classifying a .22 cal. squirrel gun that takes several minutes to reload as an assault weapon just gives “ammunition” to opponents of the bill.



**Argument—it’s not the rifle, it’s the rounds:** Ms. Swearer argued that, if a rifle not classified as an assault weapon fired the same high-powered round that was fired in the Annunciation School shooting, it would have had the same deadly effect.

**Response:** While the argument is factually true, it’s also irrelevant. The bill restricts the type of rifle, not the ammunition. Rifles exist that can fire the same ammunition typically used in assault rifles (e.g., 5.56 NATO, .223 Remington, 7.62, etc.) and not be classified as assault weapons primarily because they do not meet the detachable magazine definitions. For example, the Springfield SAINT CA LEGAL AR-15 complies with California laws. It includes a 10-round internal magazine, which is non-detachable without tools.



One could argue, it's not the rifle, it's the magazine. Incidents involving a firearm equipped with a high-capacity magazine resulted in nearly 5 times as many people shot, more than twice as many fatalities, and nearly 10 times as many injuries per incident on average compared to those that did not involve the use of high-capacity magazines.<sup>113</sup>

Although the gun lobby has argued that these weapons are only used in a small percentage of firearm-related violent crime, a 2018 study estimated that guns equipped with high-capacity magazines account for 22-36% of crime guns in most places, with some estimates upward of 40% for cases involving serious violence, including homicides of law enforcement officers.<sup>114</sup>

**Argument— the bill would turn ordinary law-abiding gun owners into felons:** Ms. Swear argued that the bill would turn ordinary law-abiding gun owners into felons. Rep. Walter Hudson said that, “taking action [on mass shootings] can only mean taking away firearms from law-abiding citizens.” Rep. Novotny said the bill would, “make a million felons out of currently law-abiding owners.”

**Response:** HF 3433 would have very limited effects on current law-abiding, legal owners who want to retain and use their legally obtained weapons. No law-abiding owner would automatically become “a felon” nor have their weapons taken away:

1. The bill calls for certification (registration) not confiscation.
2. It would prohibit the transfer or sale of the weapon except to licensed dealers. This includes inheritance.
3. It requires certified weapons to be safely and securely stored “pursuant to the regulations adopted by the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension.”
4. It requires owners of certified weapons to permit inspection of their storage methods by the “appropriate law enforcement agency.”

HF 3402 does not permit certification of magazines with capacities larger than 10 rounds. None of the legal uses of firearms (e.g., hunting, sport shooting, and defense) need high-capacity magazines. Only mass shooters. If a person desires the rush of firing 30 rounds in 10-15 seconds, they can do so at a legal firing range.

**Argument—an AR-15-style rifle is not a “weapon of war:”** Rep. Bidel Duran stated that, as a combat Marine, he relied on his assault rifle, and he implied that the AR-15 was not the same; it was not a “weapon of war.”

**Response:** The U.S. Supreme Court’s Heller decision established that the Second Amendment protects an individual’s right to possess firearms for self-defense in the home. The decision carved out exceptions for weapons that are “predominantly useful

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<sup>113</sup> Source: <https://giffords.org/the-issue/>

<sup>114</sup> Source: <https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/large-capacity-magazines/#:~:text=In%20addition%20to%20their%20role,which%20it%20was%20in%20effect.>

in military service.” Gun-rights advocates base their constitutional-right argument by asserting that their weapons are not “weapons of war.”

The history of the AR-15 contradicts that belief. The original ArmaLite AR-15, designed 70 years ago, was an automatic rifle intended for military use. Later, Colt Firearms marketed it to the military as the M16, and then modified it for civilian use as a semi-automatic rifle. This is the only significant difference between its military and civilian versions. However, anyone who served in the infantry knows that automatic fire is only useful for suppressive fire on the battlefield to enable maneuvering. Otherwise, it just a waste of ammunition. To aim and hit a target, both military and civilian assault rifles function the same.

In fact, the AR-15 is more powerful than the current military assault rifle, the M4, which replaced the M16 more than 25 years ago.<sup>115</sup> But what is more important is that they both fire high-powered ammunition that can tumble and fragment upon impact, which makes them horribly deadly—by design for war.

**Argument—the bill penalizes good people when it’s the criminals who commit these crimes:** Ms. Swearer argued that most gun violence was committed by felons who should not have had access to firearms. They should be in jail.

**Response:** This logic assumes that if a law cannot stop 100% of a targeted behavior, it is useless. It’s another example of the *perfect solution fallacy*. We do not apply this logic to other crimes like murder or speeding just because some people still kill or speed. The goal of such laws is often harm reduction and increased difficulty, not total elimination.

While felons may ignore possession laws, they still rely on a market to acquire weapons. Most crime guns originate from legal retail sources before being diverted through theft, straw purchases, or secondary markets. Banning the sale of new assault weapons helps to shrink future supply, making these specific firearms rarer and more expensive for criminals to obtain over time.

Also, even if a criminal ignores the law and uses a different, legal firearm, the substitution might result in fewer casualties due to lower lethality.

Furthermore, should they be arrested for another crime while possessing an assault would trigger the penalty portion of the bill, which is another disincentive.

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<sup>115</sup> Source for the M16 and M4 data: UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS Field Medical Training Battalion – East, Camp Lejeune, FMST 1219, M16/M4 Carbine Service Rifle Familiarization. Source for the rounds fired from an AR-15-style rifle: "5.56 vs .223: Understanding Critical Differences Between 5.56 NATO and .223 Remington Ammunition," Bulk Munitions, <https://bulkmunitions.com/blog/5-56-vs-223-ammo-19-things-you-need-to-know/>

**Argument—only the good guy with a gun will stop a bad guy with one:** Rep. Novotny argued that only the good guy with a gun will stop a bad guy with one, and that school shooters fear “the good guy with a gun that will stop them.”

**Response:** While successful interventions do occur, research suggests they are the exception rather than the rule. Civilians successfully defend themselves with guns in less than 1% of crimes where there is contact between victim and perpetrator.<sup>116</sup> One study indicated that those with a gun were over 4 times more likely to be shot during an assault.<sup>117</sup> In high-stress situations, it is difficult for both civilians and police to distinguish between the “bad guy” and an armed “good guy,” which has led to “good guys” being shot by responding law enforcement.

In the case of school shootings, one study found that the death rate during shooting incidents in schools that had an armed guard present was nearly 3 times as high as during shooting incidents in schools without an armed guard.”<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Source: <https://giffords.org/analysis/the-good-guy-with-a-gun-myth/#:~:text=People%20very%20rarely%20use%20guns,a%20victim%20will%20be%20killed.>

<sup>117</sup> 2 Giffords, *ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Source: “Presence of Armed School Officials and Fatal and Nonfatal Gunshot Injuries During Mass School Shootings, United States, 1980-2019,” *Students Demand Action*, <https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamanetworkopen/fullarticle/2776515>

**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group,  
2025-26 Legislative Session**

**EXHIBIT J**

**Edward C. Lorenz**  
4236 22<sup>nd</sup> Ave. S.  
Minneapolis, MN 55407  
(989) 763-4423

February 22, 2026

Ms. Ellen McDaniel  
DFL Committee Administrator  
Committee on Public Safety Finance and Policy  
Minnesota House of Representatives

**RE: Support of Minnesota Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Automatic Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines (HF 3433 and HF 3402)**

I write as a Vietnam Veteran and member of Veterans for Peace Chapter 27. I served as a medic in Vietnam. I will not write about physical injuries from weapons of war but from my experience in the 935<sup>th</sup> Medical Detachment, a psychiatric unit that treated soldiers suffering from what we now call PTSD.

At the 935<sup>th</sup> I learned from our brilliant commander, an exceptionally well trained (University of Pennsylvania) psychiatrist with a commitment to training staff in the differences in psychiatric needs during maturation. He trained us in the aging research of Erik Ericson and what it clarified about most of our patients. I learned even by military standards, soldiers under 30 were young adults and that the youngest draftees were still pediatric patients. Except for the rare older soldiers, I learned most of our patients faced special challenges living with the violence of war and handling weapons that brought about that violence. After half my tour at the 935<sup>th</sup>, I then had the more traditional medical experience in a surgical ward at the 24<sup>th</sup> Evacuation Hospital, where we stabilized for evacuation soldiers with physical wounds.

Tragically, so many of the shooters, as at Annunciation, fall into the young adult or pediatric classification. In our country, with ubiquitous weapons of war, it is no wonder we have so many tragedies involving weapons of war. In case after case, school shooters have been younger, when coping mechanisms are not fully developed.

After Vietnam, as a student at the University of Chicago and then a professor, I regularly focused on what could lead to violence and especially how to achieve peace. It was during these years that I realized what I first thought was the unique mass violence of the Vietnam Era repeatedly appeared with perpetrators and victims too often being younger. Then in 2012 one of my young cousins was a victim of the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary in Connecticut. She, as several other of the 26 student victims, was a special needs kid. My brother and I often talked of the unique horror that must have engulfed her and the other kids as they died of their horrible wounds – an experience like those of the adolescent soldiers I treated in Vietnam.

I certainly understand law-abiding people who collect technically complex ‘things,’ including modern weapons. I don’t oppose weapons for hunting. But given the dangers of modern firearms, I cannot fathom why any sane person would oppose regulations to protect us from the weapons of war. Hunters do not want weapons that tear apart their prey. The blood and gore brought to our world by modern weapons of war, especially when widely available to troubled people because of our lax fire-arm regulations, plead for change. Even a single young child dying because of easy access to these weapons, is one too many. Legislators who support the ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines deserve great credit for the courage of proposing this legislation.

Sincerely,  
Edward Lorenz, Ph.D.  
lorenz@alma.edu

**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group,  
2025-26 Legislative Session**

**Edward C. Lorenz**  
4236 22<sup>nd</sup> Ave. S.  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

April 26, 2026

Senator John Marty  
Chair  
Finance Committee  
Minnesota Senate

**RE: Support of Minnesota Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Automatic Weapons and High Capacity Magazines (SF 3655)**

I write as a Vietnam Veteran and member of Veterans for Peace Chapter 27. I served as a medic in Vietnam. I will not write about physical injuries from weapons of war but from my experience in the 935<sup>th</sup> Medical Detachment, a psychiatric unit that treated soldiers suffering from what we now call PTSD.

At the 935th I learned from our brilliant commander, an exceptionally qualified (University of Pennsylvania) psychiatrist with a commitment to training staff in the differences in psychiatric needs during maturation. He trained us in the aging research of Erik Ericson and what it clarified about the problems faced by most of our patients. I learned by military standards, soldiers under 30 were young adults and that the youngest draftees were still pediatric patients. Most of our patients faced special challenges living with the violence of war and the expectation to handle responsibly weapons that tore apart human bodies.

Tragically, so many of our domestic shooters, such as at Annunciation Church, fall into the young adult or pediatric classification. In our country, with the ubiquitous presence of weapons of war, there is no wonder we have so many mass shootings. Younger shooters lack the fully developed coping mechanisms that help older people from turning to weapons of war at times of psychic crisis.

After Vietnam, as a student at the University of Chicago and then a professor, I regularly focused on what could lead to violence and especially how to achieve peace. Then in 2012 one of my young cousins was a victim of the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary in Connecticut. She, as several other of the 26 student victims, was a special needs kid. My brother and I often talked of the unique horror that must have engulfed her and the other kids as they died of horrible wounds inflicted by murderers who were mere troubled adolescents.

I understand law-abiding people who like collecting technically complex 'things,' including modern weapons. I don't oppose weapons for hunting. But given the dangers of modern firearms, I cannot fathom why any sane person would oppose regulations to protect us from the weapons of war. Hunters do not want weapons that tear apart their prey. The blood and gore brought to our world by modern weapons of war, especially when widely available to troubled people because of our lax fire-arm regulations, plead for change. Even a single young child dying because of easy access to these weapons, is one too many. Legislators who support the ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines deserve great credit for the courage to support S.F. 3655.

Sincerely,

Edward Lorenz, Ph.D.  
lorenz@alma.edu

**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group,  
2025-26 Legislative Session**

Dear Ellen McDaniel,

My name is Mike Madden. I served in the United States Air Force, and USAF Reserve, from 1973-78. My first duty station was Eglin AFB in Florida. I finished my enlistment with the 934th Tactical Airlift Group at MSP International Airport.

I write in favor of a ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. There is not a single strategy that will prevent mass shootings, but a such a ban will certainly make them less deadly. Weapons of war have no place on the streets of America. I support HF 3434 and HF 3433.

Sincerely,

Mike Madden  
1768 Iglehart Avenue  
Saint Paul, MN  
2/22/2026

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Dear Ms. McDaniel,

I write as a life-long Minnesotan, a mother, grandmother, peace activist, and auxiliary member of local Chapter 27 Veterans for Peace to express my support for House Files 3433 (Assault weapons ban) and 3402 (high-capacity magazine ban).

And—as the spouse of a Vietnam combat veteran who is all-too familiar with the carnage weapons of war cause—I write on behalf of our “PTSD” family. 55 years after serving as a Marine in the Vietnam War, my husband, Michael, still carries (and will always carry) the trauma from seeing too many bodies—some of them as young as 9 and 10 years old—blown literally to bits by these weapons of war.

As this committee is no doubt aware, and any family of a trauma survivor can attest, PTSD is a “trickle-down” disorder that can affect an entire family. The images Michael describes are so vivid and awful, they still haunt my dreams, and our daughter also carries the weight of her dad’s trauma.

I weep for the families of the victims and survivors of mass shootings like the ones that occurred at Sandy Hook, Annunciation, and Uvalde, and Las Vegas. . . The list is too long to include.

Assault weapons and high-capacity magazines are weapons of war and weapons for law enforcement. Arguments to the contrary are vacuous, and I plead with this committee to do all within their power to pass these House Files.

**After-Action Report Regarding the Activities of the Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws Group,  
2025-26 Legislative Session**

Thank you,  
Cynthia Orange  
West St. Paul, MN 55118  
2/22/2026

**Letter in Support of an Assault Weapon Ban by Allan Frechette, 5/7/2026**

I'm sorry I could not be here today to address you. As the Environmental Health Manager for Scott County from 1978-2014, my career involved protecting public health and the environment from physical and environmental threats. I was responsible for enforcing state public health and public nuisance laws. That involved taking actions to remove public health nuisances and hazards including improper management of solid and hazardous wastes, sewage, dangerous structures and protecting air quality, surface and ground water. I have in years past, addressed the legislature in support of legislation to establish laws for safer management of solid and hazardous waste.

My education included a BA in biology and chemistry and Master's of Public Health focused on environmental protection. I also spent 7 years in the medical field, - four years in the U.S. Air Force as a Medical Laboratory Technician and three years at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester in their medical labs. I obtained state and national registration as a Certified Microbiologist and Medical Technologist then as an Environmental Health Specialist/Sanitarian with several specialty areas to qualify for the decisions I was employed to make.

My Air Force training included training on weapons like the M-16 (the AR-15 is the is semi-automatic equivalent). The damaging affect of the higher velocity bullets were demonstrated and we were told that these new weapons meant that as medics, we wouldn't see as many survivors. During field training, we were shown a demonstration of the difference between an M-1, (a bullet equivalent to the 30:06 (used for deer hunting), which had been used in WWII and the Korean War, that was replaced by the M-16 for the Vietnam war. To demonstrate the difference, an instructor placed a watermelon on a post and fired at it with the M-1. That resulted in small entrance hole about the size of a pencil hole and an exit hole about the size of a quarter. When he shot at it with the M-16, the melon was vaporized. Then he fired at the wooden post with both weapons. The M-1 produced a small entrance hole about the size of a dime and an exit hole about the size of a quarter. When he fired at the post with the M-16, it blew the top off of the post. He said what might have been a flesh wound with an M-1 in the arm of a victim would take the arm off with an M-16. It was a very horrifying memorable display for us young medics in training.

When I was assigned to serve at the closest Air Force base to North Vietnam in 1971-72, (9 miles from Laos where we could hear the bombs dropping), only the Military Police were allowed to carry weapons. Despite being at risk of being attacked, weapons were not permitted except for the Military Police. We were told that was to prevent distraught or drunk soldiers from killing each other with them. Because we were subjected to frequent alerts, everyone was always on edge, so it was understandable that weapons in the hands of everyone would be dangerous.

So, I ask, how can anyone justify placing these dangerous weapons into the hands of the general public? They are not suitable for hunting because they destroy whatever is struck leaving little "meat". As sporting weapons for target shooting, they offer no more skill demonstration than pellet rifles or 22s, which are used in the Olympics. There is no "sport" in just killing animals!

There are **67 Republicans** currently in the Minnesota House of Representatives. Nearly all of them (roughly 90-95%) are endorsed by the **Minnesota Gun Owners PAC (MNGOPAC)** or the **NRA-PVF**. Because \$1,000 is the legal "ceiling" for direct donations, most receive exactly that amount or close to it. Are Republicans who oppose the assault weapons legislation motivated more out of self interests than in protecting the welfare of their constituents.

## **Speech by Dave Borton for a Rally at the Capitol, 3/13/2026**

Sisters and Brothers. Good morning! And a good morning it is!

Dave Borton, Veterans for Peace, chapter 27. I served four years in the Vietnam War with the Air Force, another war of choice. We members of VFP have been knocking on doors for five years and sitting down with our legislators, Republicans and Democrats, about banning assault weapons. Not as cantankerous, old, self-righteous men but as people of passion, who have seen combat and marched alongside with others who didn't come home.

In the US, we spend months, sometimes years, teaching a human being how to be a weapon. We buy kids video games with noisy, realistic sounds of searing, exploding weapons. We buy them squirrel guns and then yes, junior AR-15s. We create inequitable systems. We teach them frontier justice and build MORE jails. We then enlist young women and men and teach them to "suck it up," to treat the other as an enemy, not a human being.

But here is the irony: We are world-class at turning peace into war, patriotism into nationalism, cultural differences and race into walls and barriers, dialogue into verbal assault, and civilians into soldiers. Yet we are often amateurs at helping soldiers become civilians again after we have brutalized them with the horrors of war. This "culture of violence" may be lifesaving in a foxhole, but it is a death sentence in a living room.

Our vets, women and men, return to a society that often glorifies the soldier image. We see the uniform, but we often miss the person struggling to navigate her home world. My Dad came home after WW2 a living mess from three years of combat in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy. My uncle said he didn't recognize the kid who had left the farm. They called it combat fatigue back then, not PTSD. I cannot imagine the guts it took for this big, strapping mechanic to cry for help in 1945. Only the VA psychiatrists and my mom reading Dad to sleep every night made life slightly manageable as Dad never completely shook the war out of his system.

20 vets commit suicide every day in the US. In Minnesota, we have, 100 veteran suicides a year, mainly men using a gun. Let those numbers sink in.

The VA today has 500 fewer psychologists and psychiatrists than it did a year ago.

We must dismantle the stigma that says a former soldier or sailor cannot be fragile. We work today on one step to help turn our "culture of violence" into a community culture of radical compassion.

If we want to end the epidemic of veteran suicide, we have to change our national narrative. Banning weapons of war in the hands of civilians is ABSOLUTELY CRITICAL, and it is step one.

We must end this madness today. It's the beginning, not the end! Pass Senate Judiciary bill 3655. Ban assault weapons today! No. More. Sales. Pass ALL the gun safety measures before the Judiciary Committee. Move them onto the floor of the full legislature and make Minnesota proud once again. Thank you.

**EXHIBIT K**  
**Final Actions at the Capitol**

**Images from the Final Days of the 2025-26 Legislative Session**  
**Clockwise from left:** Rep. David Pinto; a jar that people dropped stones into to commemorate the 549 people who died from gun violence in MN in 2025 while a Moms Demand Action member commemorated their names; Michael Orange with Rep. Mary Francis Clardy (left) and Rep. Athena Hollins; hundreds of protestors primarily from Moms Demand Action (red T-shirts) and Protect Minnesota (orange T-shirts); Michal Orange, Sen. Ron Latz, Sen. Zaynab Mohamed, and Cynthia Orange; Mike McDonald at the rally on 5/14/2026, Rep. Leah Finke; Rep. Emma Greenman.



EXHIBIT L

**Statewide Gun Violence Prevention Coalition Meeting, 10/23/2025**

Report by attendee, Edward Lorenz

There were about 40 attendees for the meeting, which was sponsored by Protect Minnesota. While I didn't fully get all the organization representatives present, there were about 20 percent from health facilities, mostly people who respond directly to trauma – both medical practitioners, social workers and psychological service personnel. Another 20 percent were from religious organizations (including one woman who represented Annunciation school parents). There were several who worked for hospital administration (including at least two who simply called themselves lobbyists). Several others were from social service organizations. There was an attorney who had represented victims. One person was from Duluth - the only person from outside the Twin Cities metro. Then there were staff associated with Protect Minnesota and related gun violence groups.

We spent about an hour introducing ourselves and our perspective on gun violence prevention. This was really interesting and, while I'm not sure I got all perspectives, there seemed to be patterns tied to the type work or organization we were with. The health services group, which was primarily composed of minority individuals tied to work in North Minneapolis or the Lake Street corridor, were passionate about being overwhelmed with problems of violence. While most of the rest of us had the luxury of being more detached from helping victims of violence. Those from religious organization, including of course Annunciation were passionate about how violence and the gun culture that supports it is so in contradiction to the major religious traditions. They also expressed frustration with people from "Christian nationalist churches" who readily embrace guns.

While I tried to avoid speaking too much, in the introduction, I explained I was from Veterans for Peace and gave a summary of us for any who might have no idea of our link to the domestic gun violence issue. We were asked to explain briefly our personal perspective and I focused on three parts of my perspective:

1. I have had contact with victims of mass shootings, both my young distant cousin from Sandy Hook and knowing people from Annunciation, since we are members of an adjacent parish (St. Joan of Arc),
2. My military experience as a medic in Vietnam, and
3. While I appreciated the political realities of the issue, given closely divided state government, I think we need to "pinch" ourselves to get out of complacency any time we explain inaction by mentioning the Republicans and a few Democrats who can't bring themselves to ban weapons that are used to kill little children.

While the agenda given at the beginning listed an assault weapons ban, banning high-capacity magazines, safe storage enforcement, etc. as the topic for the morning, those already engaged in lobbying the Legislature, or more general lobbying, seemed to play the role of explaining how we lack a majority for such steps, even though polling shows such reforms are overwhelmingly

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popular. We spent the remaining time, until 2:00 p.m. discussing the difficulty of moving from the wish list printed on our agenda (regulating automatic weapons, high-capacity magazines, etc.) and constant reflections on the reality of rigid political divisions in Minnesota.

We agreed as we left to hold a one-hour meeting in about a month to decide how to move forward, especially should there be movement on a special session or constitutional amendment. Beyond that meeting, we also agreed to quarterly meetings starting early in the next legislative session, then a post-session strategy meeting as election prep. The final session would be one to evaluate what is next after the fall 2026 elections.

While I said a little at the intro about this, I later joined with a person from an ELCA church in Blaine to call for us to admit that, whatever the political reality, we must be explicit in identifying the reasons for failure to regulate weapons of war that are used in mass casualty atrocities – especially in schools. Again, I get the need to count votes in the legislature, but we should never forget the follow-up reality that it is an absurdity to yield to a small minority of adults wanting to play with these weapons while children die. Without trying to play with partisan strategy, why can't we convince partisan politicians to decide, if the electorate overwhelmingly want gun regulation, to display the courage to yield to the wishes of the vast majority?

I respect the wisdom of the political realists on the gun issue. For a third of a century, I taught political science classes that included studying 'interest-group' politics. But we also covered a somewhat successful minority who brought break-throughs on issues with less support than gun-control. I just don't know why we don't test a break through that would change the dynamics of the gun issue.

I left this with three general thoughts:

1. I was impressed with the people who attended – 40+ really good and concerned people, some dedicating a lot of time to a vital and yet divisive issue in our ridiculously polarized political reality.
2. We desperately need a break through that would allow the will of the vast majority to overcome the "money in politics crowd" that blocks sane gun policy;
3. The morning of our meeting, you may recall was when Sophia Forchas, one of the Annunciation School victims, was discharged from rehab. Several of the attendees at our meeting had stood as a welcoming 'honor guard' when Sophia left the clinic earlier in the morning. That background I think speaks to the frustrations with our politic system's failure to address urgent needs – like real gun restrictions and all the other needs to address the embrace of guns that is our national disgrace. Clearly, we need a breakthrough that opens the policy process to change and demonstrates putting lobbyists for special economic and cultural interests in their place.

## MN Gun Violence Prevention Coalition Meeting: January 28, 2026

Report by attendee: Ed Lorenz

There were 25 people in attendance (counting myself) from 14 different organizations (counting VFP). While this was a decline of number of people attending from October, it was noted that some people from the earlier meeting were fearful of going to meetings because of the ICE activity in the region.

The organizations represented [in alpha order] were:

1. Children's Minnesota
2. ENGAGE [Lutherans for Gun Violence Prevention]
3. ERA Minnesota
4. Everytown for Gun Safety
5. Giffords
6. Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Violence Solutions
7. The League of Women Voters
8. Metro Youth Diversion Center
9. Moms Demand Action
10. National Council of Jewish Women
11. Protect Minnesota (including two people from the Northland Chapter in Duluth)
12. SAVE
13. Teachers Unify to End Gun Violence, and
14. Veterans for Peace.

There was some overlapping membership and two organizations, the host Protect Minnesota and the League of Women Voters had at least five people attending. The League of Women Voters group announced they had just decided formally as an organization to make gun violence reduction a priority.

I was especially impressed by the focus of several of the participants and their organization. For example, there also was a representative from Teachers Unified to End Gun Violence who was really focused on the gun storage issue. They have a program called Project Locked Down that I found very interesting. There was the representative from Suicide Awareness Voices of Education who I think especially spoke to some concerns that veterans have had. He was new in his position but had longer term related experience in the Twin Cities. In addition, there were two public relations/lobbyists for Every Town – Kathleen Halgren and Pete Vujovic – who impressed me with their understanding of the Minnesota position in the national gun control debate. The leader of the League of Women Voters, Martha Micks seemed to have led the League into taking a strong position on gun control and working in coalition with the other groups. As in October, I also had good interaction with Barbara Fermon of the National Council of Jewish Women who is very interested in working with veterans. Similarly, Ron Letnes from the Lutheran synod in St. Paul is really committed to changing cultural embrace of violence.

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Finally, Emily Walsh, an attorney with Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, was impressive in understanding Minnesota specifically even though she works nationally.

Our discussion on Thursday began by reviewing what has happened since the October meeting, including the failure to have a special session of the legislature. There was both disappointment with this but realization of the reality that nothing would have been accomplished in the session. There was appreciation of the limited executive orders, especially what had happened earlier in the day related to guns at the capitol. While wishing the deadlock in the legislature would end, that the special elections maintained the number of gun control supporters in the legislature was positive. Even more, so the events of the past year – and now the last few weeks - have, according to polls, made support for our common legislative agenda as positive as ever.

Accordingly, Protect Minnesota has settled on a limited set of priorities for the coming session of the legislature: 1. regulating the weapons of war, (banning assault weapon and high-capacity magazines), 2. enhancing safe storage law, and 3. security of the capital [which has been somewhat achieved with the Governor's actions and that of the state Senate – and perhaps of the state House]. In addition, there have been two non-legislative policy changes Protect Minnesota believes may be addressed in the spring: 1. Liberalized Medicaid reimbursement for gun related health cost, and 2. Judicial progress in handling the backlog of domestic violence cases and precedents in handling the 2023-24 'Red Flag' law. In focusing on the three legislative priorities, Protect Minnesota admits there are nine other specific issue they believe cannot be successfully addressed this session: stolen firearms, ghost guns, reenactment of lapsed binary trigger ban, creating an office of gun violence, greater Medicaid support for gun violence victims, efforts to reduce domestic violence, addressing bulk firearm purchasing, gun industry accountability, and stronger red flag legislation.

Following explanation and review of the legislative agenda, we had discussions of several structural changes to allow the coalition to function more effectively, such as creating a shared coalition calendar and a directory of the organizations and key personnel in the coalition. There also is interest in developing an effective digital rapid response process and perhaps a “speakers bureau” to help sympathetic non-member institutions to get presentations on our shared concerns. They also are hoping to expand the coalition into other possible organizations, such as interfaith organizations, people and organizations from the medical community, especially into the mental and behavioral health world and perhaps considering gaining support from organizations, such as labor unions (teacher and health care), chambers of commerce, even responsible gun owners, law enforcement, and civic organizations like Rotary or Kiwanis. Finally, we agreed there will be another meeting in April or May at the end of the legislative session.

Before April, we also reviewed near-term upcoming events several which I think are really a interest to Veterans for Peace. [Note the last paragraph below related to ICE.]:

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1. A recurring one, which took place the day after our meeting was the January 30 “intimate partner homicide memorial” that recalls the people killed in the previous year. In 2025 there were about thirty victims, mostly women, being remembered with stories on-line;
2. The 2026 political caucuses on Tuesday, Feb. 3. The coalition has one resolution calling for banning assault weapons and high-capacity magazines – see attached draft resolution for Democratic caucuses,
3. Rally on February 13 of people, engaged in healthcare called Healers Demand Action, and this is part of a general effort to try to take advantage of the concern that many who do healthcare are really sort of the first line of people engaged in treating victims of gun violence. Anyone reading this who works in healthcare may want to get involved with this. There's a group of healthcare providers concern with gun violence called Minnesota Healers for Change 9find them on the web!
4. On February 14, Valentine’s Day, there is a rally at the Capitol at 10:00 a.m. called No More Broken Hearts. It is supporting more work against domestic violence.
5. On March 12 and March 13, the gun violence coalition advocacy days are taking place at the Capitol
6. Please follow news and any possible actions related to the Farm Fleet Trial. As you may know this is the retailer that has been charged with not policing well the sale of weapons allowing people by guns for others and not worrying about monitoring.

**Conclusion:**

Protect MN has a “Root Causes Platform” where they can throw support behind other bills that address some of the upstream or root causes of (or protective factors for) gun violence. Please update us about opportunities to support other bills. Before ending this report, I want to summarize two characteristics of the meeting that may relate to “Root Causes” and were not part of any single element on the formal agenda.

While this meeting was only half the length of the October meeting [because there was much less time spent on introductions and we began after lunch (losing no time for eating)], the meeting was at least as productive as the one in October. Both meetings were shaped by a different specific case of gun violence, that I believe focused thinking. Obviously, the cloud over the October meeting was the Annunciation shootings. Now, as raised immediately by one of participants from Duluth, were the murders of Renee Good and Alex Pretti. We moved fairly quickly on to the legislative issues, however, during break and final casual discussions it was clear, instead of the mass casualty concerns after Annunciation, now there was the culture of violence symbolized by the murders and, worse, the casual dismissal of the evil of murder by those officials trying to justify the excuse of fighting domestic terrorism. How do we legislatively or even judicially address the culture of violence displayed by the recent use of disguised “law enforcement” warriors with too many weapons.

Without going into too much detail [and some of this already was referenced above], the general tenor of the meeting came back to the disturbing data Johns Hopkins summarized

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related to 2024 data. While Minnesota homicides are low compared to most states (we're 6<sup>th</sup> lowest), our rate has been rising for a decade. The final data for 2024 is we had 582 deaths by gun, of which  $\frac{3}{4}$  were suicides. Guns account for  $\frac{2}{3}$  of homicides. While youth under 18 accounted for only 21 of the 582 deaths, guns were the 4<sup>th</sup> leading cause of child deaths. By ethnicity, blacks had 26 times the gun death rate of whites and American Indians were 17 times the white rate. Males have four times the homicide rate as women. Focusing on suicide, where half are by guns, males are ten times more likely to kill themselves than women. Veterans are more than 25% of Minnesota suicides. But, in conclusion, as Veterans for Peace members know and have demonstrated so well, some veterans know very well how to confront and undermine this "culture of violence."

**EXHIBIT M**  
**Letters the Editor**

**Letter to local Fox News Station, 9/28/2025:**

To: Mr. Kilat Fitzgerald, Editor, [kilat.fitzgerald@fox.com](mailto:kilat.fitzgerald@fox.com)

I write in response to the quote from the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus in your article, “Annunciation shooting: Rally calls for assault weapon ban 1 month after tragedy.” I represented Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace when I had the honor to speak during the “Don’t Look Away” rally yesterday at the Capitol. I heard the parents of the victims of the Annunciation School and Church shooting speak with superhuman courage about their children despite their impossible burdens of grief.

For the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus to state that the rally was “political theater” is utterly disgusting. Implying that these grieving parents are actors in “political theater” means they have now joined the ranks of Alex Jones and others who repeatedly accused the victims and grieving family members of the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School and the 2018 Parkland Florida shootings of being “crisis actors.”

Instead of insulting people, the Gun Owners Caucus should work with us to protect our children from these weapons of war that can massacre them in minutes.

Michael Orange, Coordinator  
Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, (USMC Vietnam 1969-70)

**To the Editor of MinnPost, 5/1/2026:**

On behalf of Twin Cities Chapter 27 Veterans For Peace, I write to thank the Women’s League of Minnesota Voters, Gun Violence Prevention Group for their excellent letter (“Balance gun rights with the safety of our communities”). Ever since Sen. John Marty authored his omnibus gun control bill in 2018, we have advocated at the Legislature for a state ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines.

Soon, the full Senate will consider the Omnibus Firearms Bill (SF 4067) that includes the assault weapons ban bill that Sen. Zaynab Mohamed authored and shepherded through the Senate committee process. No other similar bill ever even had a hearing in the Legislature. Holding legislators accountable by having them cast their vote in public is a major accomplishment for gun safety.

So many incredibly dedicated people deserve our thanks. Primary authors of past bills to ban assault weapons include senators Ron Latz and Sandra Pappas, and representatives Emma Greenman, Leigh Finke, María Isa Pérez-Vega, and Jean Wagenius. Hundreds of members of Moms Demand Action, Everytown for Gun Safety, Protect Minnesota, Giffords, our veterans’

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group, and many other church-based groups advocated tirelessly year after year at rallies and hearings at the Capitol, and scores of meetings with individual legislators. The primary drive for progress this year was the super-human courage, commitment and heart-rending compassion exhibited by the parents of the tragic Annunciation School/Church shooting.

Even if the not approved this year, we have built a foundation for success for the next legislative session. This fall, we can ask our candidates to imagine looking an Annunciation parent in the eye and telling them how they voted on this crucial issue.

Michael Orange, Coordinator

Veterans For Peace, Sane Gun Laws

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USMC, Vietnam 1969-70

## EXHIBIT N



### Veterans For Peace Chapter 27 612-821-9141

200 Cedar Avenue South, Suite 7 Website: vfpchapter27.org  
Minneapolis MN 55407 Email: vfpchapter27@gmail.org

#### Support of a Minnesota Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines

Updated: 9/23/2025

**What we want.** We want the Legislature to approve a ban on the sale and transfer of assault weapons and high-capacity magazines, which would make Minnesota the eleventh state to do so. These mass “killing machines,” especially assault rifles, are semiautomatic versions of weapons created for deadly battlefield purposes. We know they are the weapon of choice for mass murderers, responsible for most of the devastating mass shootings, including mass shootings in our schools. An analysis of public mass shootings resulting in four or more deaths found that more than 85% of such fatalities were caused by assault rifles.<sup>1</sup> An assailant with an assault rifle is able to hurt and kill twice the number of people compared to an assailant with a non-assault rifle or handgun.<sup>2</sup> An article in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* stated, “AR-15 bullets can penetrate the soft body armor typically worn by police, which is built to stop handgun rounds.”<sup>3</sup>

**Veterans know first-hand the damage these weapons of war cause.** One Vietnam vet described how two young Vietnamese boys planted a bomb on his fire support base that went off prematurely. The assault rifle rounds fired by his fellow Marines literally ripped and exploded the boys’ bodies to shreds as they tried to escape. An Army medic in Vietnam described how an M16 round entered the left wrist of an attacking enemy soldier, traveled along his arm, through his chest and abdomen, and finally exited out the top of his right thigh.

**Such horror stories aren’t limited to veterans.** An emergency room doctor said damage done by assault rifle bullets looks like a grenade went off in a body, while damage from a 9mm handgun bullet looks like a bad knife cut. The gunman with assault weapons at a Las Vegas concert fired 1,000 rounds in ten minutes, murdering 60 people and injuring nearly 900. The damage was so devastating for the victims of the Robb Elementary School massacre in Uvalde, Texas, parents had to submit DNA swabs to identify the remains of their children.<sup>4</sup> Using his legally acquired assault rifle, the shooter at Annunciation Church and School in Minneapolis on 8/27/25 fired 116 high-powered, military rounds in just a few minutes killing 2 children and wounding 23 people including 20 children.

**We know that bans are legal and effective.** Numerous studies confirm that national and state bans save lives. When we had a nationwide, assault-weapons ban (1994-2004), the risk of dying in a mass shooting was 70% lower than in the following decade after Congress killed the effort to extend it.<sup>5</sup> According to a study published in *Applied Economics Letters*, “[i]t was found that assault weapons bans in the states that approved them reduced the number of school shooting victims by 54.4%.”<sup>6</sup> Similarly, a Johns Hopkins University study stated, “We found very encouraging effects. ... On a per capita basis, we see a 70% lower rate of individuals killed in mass shootings associated with state bans of [high-capacity magazines].”<sup>7</sup>

**We know that the experts and Minnesotans want them.** A 2022 poll found that 54% of Minnesota voters wanted a ban on assault weapons, and 57% favored stopping the sale of high-capacity magazines.<sup>8</sup> Gov. Walz has also voiced his strong support.<sup>9,10</sup> The mayors of Minneapolis and St. Paul and seven other cities stated support for a ban, and the city councils of Minneapolis and West St. Paul approved formal resolutions in support. The following supporters of a state ban submitted gun violence prevention proposals for the 9/15/25 hearing of the Minnesota Senate Gun Violence Prevention Working Group:<sup>11</sup>

- Minnesota Medical Association (10,000 members)
- Minnesota Academy of Family Physicians (3,000 members)
- Minnesota Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics (1,000 members)

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### Support of a Minnesota Ban on the Sale and Transfer of Assault Weapons and High-Capacity Magazines

- Children's Defense Fund Minnesota
- Minnesota Parent-Teacher Associations
- School psychologists, Jessie Kember, Ph.D., Anna Li, Ph.D., and Mollie Weeks, Ph.D.
- Multicultural Autism Action Network
- Protect Minnesota
- Giffords Law Center

**We know the gun industry is about profit not protection.** Their ghoulish marketing now targets women and children even though the plague of gun violence is the leading cause of death for American youth.<sup>12</sup> Our schools—with their regular, lock-down drills—have become a place of fear for our children. Yet the industry's latest weapon is a smaller assault rifle for kids, the JR15, that fires a .22 caliber round. Advertising includes the company's logo that features child skulls with rifle crosshairs for eyes and a pacifier.



**It's about the guns.** When it comes to mass shootings, it's about banning these weapons of war, not some imaginary Second Amendment right to buy them,<sup>13</sup> nor the dodge of blaming inadequate mental health services,<sup>14</sup> nor the lie that AR-15-style rifles are not "weapons of war." When firing either military or civilian ammunition, AR-15-style rifles are actually more powerful than the military's standard-issue, M4 assault rifle that replaced the M16. What is more important is that this ammunition can tumble and fragment upon impact, which makes them horribly deadly. It's about our citizens—especially our children—and the lives that would be saved by this ban.

**Contact person: Michael Orange, orange\_michael@msn.com, 952-905-1448 (USMC, Vietnam, 1969-70)**

**For more information, see Everytown for Gun Safety, <https://www.everytown.org>, Brady, <https://www.bradyunited.org>, and Giffords, <https://giffords.org/?s=assault+weapons>. Two *Washington Post* articles provide graphic explanations of the grisly effects of high-powered, assault weapon rounds.<sup>15</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Source: Giffords, [https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote\\_1\\_5603](https://giffords.org/lawcenter/gun-laws/policy-areas/hardware-ammunition/assault-weapons/#footnote_1_5603).

<sup>2</sup> Source: Giffords, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> Source: "A 'good guy with a gun' doesn't stand much of a chance against an AR-15 style rifle and body armor," Ralph A. Weber, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 6/14/2022.

<sup>4</sup> Source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/06/02/remarks-by-president-biden-on-gun-violence-in-america/#:~:text=The%20damage%20was%20so%20devastating,and%20those%20under%20restraining%20orders>.

<sup>5</sup> Source: "Did the assault weapons ban of 1994 bring down mass shootings? Here's what the data tells us," Michael J. Klein, Clinical Assistant Professor of Surgery, New York University, *The Conversation*, 6/8/22, <https://theconversation.com/did-the-assault-weapons-ban-of-1994-bring-down-mass-shootings-heres-what-the-data-tells-us-184430>

<sup>6</sup> "The effects of state and Federal gun control laws on school shootings," Mark Gius, *Applied Economics Letters*, 4/19/2027, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13504851.2017.1319555>

<sup>7</sup> "Policies That Reduce Gun Violence: Restricting Large Capacity Magazines," Daniel Webster, Johns Hopkins University, 5/24, 2021, <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/2021/policies-that-reduce-gun-violence-restricting-large-capacity-magazines/#:~:text=Our%20estimate%20was%20that%20laws,is%20licensing%20for%20firearm%20purchasers%20>.

<sup>8</sup> "New MinnPost poll shows majority support for stronger gun laws in the state following Uvalde massacre," Greta Kaul, *MinnPost*, 06/10/2022, <https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2022/06/new-minnpost-poll-shows-majority-support-for-stronger-gun-laws-in-the-state-following-uvalde-massacre/>

<sup>9</sup> "Walz makes gun control central to pitch for third term: In Congress, Gov. Tim Walz received an "A" rating from the NRA. Now he wants action to curb gun violence," Allison Kite, *Minnesota Star Tribune*, 9/17/2025, <https://www.startribune.com/a-look-at-walz-political-evolution-on-guns-as-he-launches-governor-bid/601475196>

<sup>10</sup> Source: <https://www.mprnews.org/story/2025/09/19/gov-walz-interview-running-for-third-term>

<sup>11</sup> Source: <https://www.senate.mn/schedule/senate/20250917>

<sup>12</sup> Source: "Preventing firearm violence and injuries impacting children and teens," Centers for Disease Control, 12/16/24, <https://www.cdc.gov/firearm-violence/php/research-summaries/children-and-teen-impacts.html#:~:text=Introduction,19%20in%202020%20and%202021>.

<sup>13</sup> On June 26, 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed by a vote of 5 to 4 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit in *Heller v. District of Columbia* and established that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to possess firearms for self-defense in the home. The Court also specified that this protection extends to "arms" in common use for lawful purposes, such as self-defense, and that handguns are "arms" for the purposes of the Second Amendment. The decision does not protect weapons that are not "in common use" for lawful purposes, such as modern military weapons.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Claiming it's a mental health issue is just a dodge. The Trump Administration and Congressional Republicans cut \$11.4 billion from various mental and behavioral health services that Democrats in Congress were able to approve over Republican opposition during the prior four years. Blaming inadequate mental health services is just bait-and-switch propaganda from the gun lobby and the NRA

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-force-mass-shootings/?itid=ik\\_inline\\_manual\\_2&itid=ik\\_inline\\_manual\\_2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-force-mass-shootings/?itid=ik_inline_manual_2&itid=ik_inline_manual_2)  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-damage-to-human-body/?itid=ik\\_inline\\_enhanced-template](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2023/ar-15-damage-to-human-body/?itid=ik_inline_enhanced-template)

## EXHIBIT O

### COMMENTARIES

*Shelisa Demuth: What my mother got wrong on gun reform*

Minnesotans deserved at least a vote on the assault weapons ban. House Speaker Lisa Demuth blocked the bill instead.

**By Shelisa Demuth**

Guest contributor(s) to the Minnesota Star Tribune

MAY 20, 2026 AT 9:46AM



Protestors upset that gun control measures haven't made it to the House floor for a vote chant outside the House chambers at the Minnesota State Capitol in St. Paul on May 14. (Renée Jones Schneider/The Minnesota Star Tribune)

I am a strategic communications executive, a school shooting survivor and a parent to a bright elementary student with a big heart, big dreams and real fears. I am also the daughter of [Minnesota House Speaker Lisa Demuth](#), who recently closed the 94th legislative session and concluded her time as a legislator without prioritizing meaningful change to protect children like mine from gun violence.

The tension created by those things being true at once is the kind of discomfort Minnesotans typically avoid. Complexity isn't nice, but it's necessary.

In my work, I study how leaders construct meaning in public — not only through what they say, but through what they consistently decline to address. Silence is never neutral. It is always a signal.

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And this session sent one of the clearest signals in recent Minnesota history: *We will mourn gun violence, but we will not confront it.*

The deal lawmakers reached included memorial funding honoring former House Speaker Melissa Hortman, who was assassinated alongside her husband in their Brooklyn Park home last summer. It included funding for anonymous student threat reporting systems and a State Capitol security package to protect lawmakers from threats. It did not include the gun safety bill the Senate had already passed — a bill prompted, in part, by the kind of weapon used to kill her.

We are a state that has buried children who were harmed in the safety of their church pews by bullets aimed through stained-glass windows. We have lost a former House speaker and her husband to a politically motivated assassination in their own home. We witnessed the execution of two residents by federal agents carrying government-issued firearms during Operation Metro Surge. Communities across the metro have sheltered in place during active shooter situations. I have personally been present for two of these — with my mother in her home through the manhunt following her predecessor's murder, then again while walking into an active shooter lockdown at a shopping center last month.

All of this in a single year. Minnesota has a problem.

It's everybody's problem. And yet, when the Senate passed a gun safety bill on May 4, it sat in the House for 10 days. The procedural vote taken just days before deadline was structured to require a supermajority in a chamber split 67-67. It failed on party lines, as was evidently intended. Families of Annunciation victims who expected lawmakers would acknowledge their tragedy with change learned otherwise.

We love monuments in this country. We erect memorials, hold vigils, name highways. They did it at my high school in Cold Spring after two classmates were killed in 2003. They are doing it now for Melissa Hortman. Remembrance matters. But remembrance is hollow when it arrives absent the courage to change. Too often, we honor the past while declining to protect the future.

Whether the bill would have passed is uncertain.

But that uncertainty is precisely why the conversation mattered. A vote — even one that failed — would have required every representative to hear testimony and state a position, months after a tragedy and months before every legislative seat is on the ballot.

Minnesotans deserved that clarity. Instead, they received silence.

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I do not claim moral authority over anyone on this issue. I'm not a spokesperson for all victims of gun violence. But I understand how meaning is made in public life, and I know what is happening here. When leaders memorialize victims but decline to deliberate on prevention, they are telling us who they are. When elected officials allow a vote structured to fail rather than permit a genuine floor debate on the most urgent safety issue their constituents have faced in a generation, they are telling us what they value.

Professionally, my mother prides herself on being fair. She is now running for governor, an office that will require her to bring opponents to the table to negotiate the tough issues, not avoid them. The session she just closed will be her legacy as speaker.

The question it leaves behind is not a partisan one. It belongs to every parent who sends a child to school, every neighbor who has attended a vigil, every voter deciding in November what kind of future we will build.

My child will one day reflect on these years the way I reflect now on 2003, before violence tainted the safety I felt in my community. What they inherit will be shaped not only by what we did, but by what we were willing to discuss. The conversations we silence define us as clearly as the ones we're willing to have. The votes we prevent reveal as much as the ones we cast. The questions we ask determine who is heard and what gets prioritized.

Who will we become?

*Shelisa Demuth is a strategic communications leader from St. Paul. She is a survivor of the 2003 Rocori High School shooting and is the daughter of Minnesota House Speaker Lisa Demuth.*

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