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**21st Century, America between Preserving the Second
Amendment or Living the Nightmare of Mass Shootings**

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Literature and civilization

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this humble work to the soul of my Father, and to the source of my happiness and to who I owe all my success my Mother. To my best friend Kheira, true friendship lasts forever.

Acknowledgements

I owe special thanks to Mr Tegua Cherif for his patience in correcting my research, his advice and guidance that enlightened my path through the elaboration of this research. My great thanks also go to the members of the board of examiners Mrs Abdelhadi and Dr Larbi Youcef who helped me in my work. I am grateful to all my teachers for their noble efforts.

Abstract

This dissertation examines the issue of mass shootings in the United States. Through a study of this phenomenon from the year 2000 onwards, much concern has been put on the widespread of this issue in several American states, the causes behind this rampant problem and the reaction of lawmakers against the problem of mass shootings. And then comparison was made about how such problem is tackled in other countries and how they manage to solve this issue. For that, two major research strategies are used; a quantitative research method which includes the deadliest mass shootings in the world and in America. The second method is a qualitative research where data have been collected from books, published reports and newspapers. This dissertation suggested that the idea of constitutional change by modifying the Second Amendment seems quite impossible, but this did not prevent the Democratic Party from trying to pass legislation to restrict gun sales in America. Whether they will succeed or not is open to many interpretations.

Key words:

- Mass shootings
- Second Amendment
- The United States
- Democratic Party
- Legislation
- Gun sales

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

NRA : National Rifle Association.

NFM : National Firearms Museum.

NICS : National Instant Criminal Background Checks System.

ATF: The Bureau of Alcohol, Tabaco, Firearms and Explosives.

FFL: Federal Firearms Licensed.

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation.

GVA: Gun Violence Archive.

CEO: Chief Executive Officer.

CFO: Chief Financial Officer.

NASA: National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

SAF: Second Amendment Foundation.

Summary

This dissertation shades light on the phenomenon of mass shootings in the United States, especially from 2000 onwards. The Second Amendment of the American Constitution guarantees the right of keeping and bearing arms. This means that it is a constitutional right. But, with the widespread of mass shootings, the Second Amendment became problematic. There have been several attempts in order to put an end to gun violence, but unfortunately, nothing has changed. The reason behind that is that there is a powerful lobby group in America standing behind the curtains, blocking legislations. Such group is known as the National Rifle Association (NRA). Pro-guns believe that any change is a threat to this fundamental right, and for that, they need to preserve this God given right. Furthermore, the American economy is built on producing and selling weapons. As a result, America has been overwhelming the international market with weapons with the aim of ushering conflicts worldwide in order to gain profits. However, this is also affecting the USA negatively as more violence is spreading across the country taking lives of many innocent civilians. And despite the recurrent mass shootings, the country is still reluctant to end the bloodshed with the lawmakers unable to settle on finding a concrete solution to this issue.

General Introduction

The New World discovered by European settlers was not “New” because it existed early before the 15th century. The European immigrants escaped tyranny and persecution. They dreamt of better life and a place where they can practise their religious beliefs. Since the first foot landed in the new world, it clashed with Indigenous People. There was a conflict over land, food and gold. With the arrival of English Settlers (Puritans), things started to change. America became a British Colony. The oppressive rule led people to rebel against this tyrannical government in 1775. The American Revolution lasted until 1783 and ended up creating new independent democratic nation. The government defended individual rights against arbitrary powers. The Founding Fathers created a strong constitution where no one is above law. They were inspired from Ancient Greek, European Philosophers and the British Constitution. The Second Amendment of the American Constitution was inspired from the English Bill of Rights 1689. This Amendment protects individual’s right to keep and bear arms. In fact, this constitutional right existed early before the Founding Fathers drafted the constitution. Americans felt that they needed to protect themselves and their property from intruders, slave’s rebellion and tyrannical government. But this constitutional right turned into a nightmare in America. The widespread of mass shootings led many lawmakers to seek a solution. In fact, mass shootings occur not only in America but all around the world. But, they are not deadly and horrifying as in the United States. Almost everyday people are witnessing a mass shooting at school, university and street.

This dissertation thus analyses the causes of mass shootings starting with cultural and religious differences between Americans. The United States is a nation of diversity. All those ethnic groups clashed with each other in order to gain dominance. In addition to that, the culture of weapons is deep rooted in the American culture and identity. It is a product of centuries. Furthermore, in the last decade, the number of hate groups and White Supremacists has significantly increased, especially with Donald Trump’s rhetoric which promote hatred and bigotry. For that following question are put forward: Can America Lawmakers bring changes to the Second Amendment by re-amending this amendment as they did in 1920 with the 18th Amendment during the Prohibition Era?

As possible answer to such question, it has been suggested that: Well introducing a new amendment is impossible. Firstly, the second amendment is one of the basic rights and one of the ten amendments known as the bill of rights. Due to the rigidity of the American constitution it is hard to amend. Besides, the second amendment is completely different from the 18th amendment. The latter was re-amended in 1933 because they thought that they would end alcohol problems but in fact, the prohibition era made the situation worse. Secondly, the culture of holding guns is deep rooted in America. It is a life style. Besides, the United States is the leader of market weapons in the world. The American economy is built on producing and selling weapons. To investigate the rightfulness of this hypothesis, this work has been divided into three chapters.

In chapter I, one provides a brief historical background about the New World and how it was shaped by many historical events. And then it emphasised on the Second Amendment of the American constitution, by focusing on the motives behind this amendment and from where the Founding Fathers were inspired. Chapter II will tackle mass shootings in America in the 21st century. The inherent culture of holding guns in America that was shaped by several motives. I will briefly explain the legal process of possessing a gun and what are the loopholes in the background checks system. And then defining what is a mass shooting, the main causes behind this issue. Chapter III will analyse how many countries were able to put strict measure against the issue of mass shootings. In America, lawmakers are reluctant and discussing this issue with no concrete solution.

Introduction

The first chapter is about the history of the New World. In this section, I will shed light on the discovery and exploration of the New World as well as the European expansion in this New territories particularly, the English settlement in America. Besides, I will tackle briefly the English administration of the American colonies in the early 18th century. The social and political unrest led Americans to revolt against the British tyranny in 1775. This ended up with independence from the British Monarchy, and building a new independent democratic nation. Politically, the establishment of the new nation was through the articles of confederation in 1778 and later through the constitution in 1787. The American constitution fixed what was missing in the articles of confederation and created connection between the three organs (legislative, executive and judicial). In fact, there are some parts in the American constitution that was inspired from the English constitution. For instance, the second amendment of the American constitution was inspired from the English bill of rights 1689, while the Bill of Rights was inspired from Magna Carta 1215. Finally, the major focus is going to be on the perception of the second amendment of the American constitution.

1-Clash of Cultures

The history of the United States begins long before 1776. The supposed “New World” discovered by European explorers was in fact a very old world to civilization thousands of years in the making .Archaeologists had assumed that the Ancient Siberians some to 12000 to 15000 years ago had journeyed 600 miles across the frigid being strait near the Arctic Circle. The Nomadic Hunters were called “Paleo Indians”-“Old Indians” .over the next 500 years, as the climate warmed and the glaciers melted ,groups fanned out across the entire Western Hampshire, from the Arctic circle to the tip of south America. When Europeans arrived in North America in the 16th century ,there where 10million Indians .they were divided into tribes , the Eastern woodlands tribes , the Great plains tribes , and the western tribes. Indians played a significant role in shaping America and the origins of the Unites States.

2- Expansion of Europeans in the New World

When Columbus began his first voyage on August 3rd, 1492, he found millions of Native Americans living in the western Hampshire. The king Ferdinard of Spain and his wife Isabella

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promised Columbus to give him ten per-cent from the profits such as gold, silver and spices. Columbus's report to the royal court in Madrid was extravagant. He insisted that he had reached Asia (it was Cuba) and china (Hispaniola). He portrayed the image: "Hispaniola is a miracle... the harbour is unbelievably good and there are many wide rivers of which majority contain gold... there are many spices and great mine..."

So, the New World was new only to the Europeans but not to its local people .The Indian Cultures were profoundly affected by the arrival of people from Europe and Africa. Indians experienced catastrophic changes. They were exploited, infected, enslaved, displaced, and exterminated. Indians were more than passive victims of European power. They came from Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and England to the New World. Some were adventures and fortune seekers eager to gain glory and find gold and silver. Others were fervent Christians eager to create kingdoms of god in the New World. To the end of his life, Columbus insisted that he had discovered the outlying part of Asia, not a new continent. Amerigo Vespucci who sailed across The Atlantic in 1499, reported that he had found a large New Continent , The European Mapmakers began to label The New World using a variant of Vespucci's first name America.

During the three centuries following Columbus's first voyage, European colonists and enslaved Africans brought with them deadly pathogens (smallpox, typhus, malaria, yellow fever, and cholera). According to The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); the results were catastrophic 5millions Native Americans died. The efforts to resist European assaults collapsed.

3- English Exploration of America

English efforts to colonize America began when Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539-1583) was an adventurer, explorer, member of parliament and soldier who served during the reign of Queen Elizabeth the first and was a pioneer of the English Colonial Empire in North America, secured royal permission to establish a colony in America. His two attempts failed. Gilbert half-brother persuaded Queen Elizabeth the first. He decided to name the area VIRGINIA in honour of "THE VERGIN QUEEN". There was not a single colonist in North America when Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, King James the first of England and the (6th) of Scotland took the British Throne. In 1606, the king assigned to Virginia Company an explicit religious mission. He declared that the settlers would bring "The Christian Religion "to the Indians who

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lived in darkness and miserable ignorance, but in fact this was mixed with the lure of profits. In 1609, The Virginia Company sent more colonists to Jamestown (the first permanent English settlement in the Americas). The company attacked the Native Americans Algonquins (are indigenous inhabitants of North America). The number was reduced to 2000 by 1669 .

Religion was the primary motivation for the founding of several colonies. The Massachusetts Bay colony was created by puritans who wish to purify the established church. Rhode Island was established by Roger Williams, a religious dissenter from Massachusetts. Maryland was founded a refuge for English Catholics. William Penn, a Quaker founded Pennsylvania and invited Europe's persecuted religious Sects to his colony.

Settler-Indian relations were complex. Trade with the Powhatans (Indigenous Algonquins People that are from eastern Virginia, they are descended from the Powhatan confederacy in Virginia) enable Jamestown to survive it early years, but brutal armed conflicts occurred as settlers invaded indigenous land. Puritans retaliated harshly against resistance in the Pequot war of 1637, and to the king Philip's war from 1675-1676. So, there were many conflicts and wars between the Native Americans and the invaders because of many reasons among them land, natural sources and other factors. Some of them were killed in these wars while others were used as slaves.

4- The Shape of the Early America in the 18th Century

Those who colonized America during the 17th and the 18th centuries were part of massive social migration occurring throughout Europe and Africa. England's first foot-holds in America were brought at a fearsome price. Many settlers died in the first years because of wars with the Native Americans and lack of food. VIRGINIA and its successors grew rapidly, by 1750 the number of colonists had passed one million and by 1775 it stood about 2.5 million (ASA). Things started to change, as cities grew and trade and travel increased. By the 18th century, the colonies were beginning to have level of contagion much like those in Europe.

4-1-The English Administration of the American Colonies

In 1651, the British Parliament adopted the first in a serie of Navigation Acts designed to increase the nation's commercial revenues by restricting the economic freedom of the American colonies. The Act of 1651 required that all goods imported to England should be carried only in ships built in England by Englishmen. This act reflected the economic and

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political policy known as The Mercantile System. The English Government did not predict that the Navigation Act would arouse growing resentment, resistance, and rebellion.

Lax administration by the mother country allowed the colonies measures of self-government. The dynastic problems of the Stuart Kings (1603-1714) aided the New England colonists in their efforts to undermine the dominion of New England. The American colonies continued their interests with minimal intervention from the British government, which was pre-occupied with European wars. Four European wars affected America between 1689 and 1763 as the British and French confronted each other throughout the world. The Seven Years War (1754-1763) known as the French and Indian war in the American colonies, was the first war eventually won by Britain. A plan was made to unify all of Britain's American Colonies. The American colonies burdened the British Government with huge national debts. To reduce that imperial burden, the ministers of King George (the third Hanoverian king -1760-1820) began to implement various acts and impose new taxes in the colonies.

4-2-Road to the American Revolution

The colonists based resistance on the idea that taxation without direct representation in parliament violated their rights "No taxation without representation". Colonial reaction to The Stamp Act 1765 was the first intimation of real trouble for imperial authorities. Conflicts intensified when the British government imposed additional taxes. Spontaneous resistance led to the Boston Massacre 1770, organized protesters staged The Boston Tea Party (was political and mercantile protest by The Sons of Liberty in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 16th, 1773).

In 1774, The British parliament enacted a cluster of harsh measures called The Coercive Acts. The Boston Port Act closed the harbour from June 1st, 1774, until the city paid for the lost tea. A New Quartering Act (one of a series of measures aimed at raising revenue from the British colonies in America.) provided lodging for British Soldiers. George Washington (An American political leader, military general, statesman, and founding father who served as the first president of The United States from 1789 to 1797) called this "The Murder Act" "As he believed that it allows British officials to harass Americans and then escape justice.

On September 5th, 1774, the 55 delegates making up the first continental congress assembled in Philadelphia. Their mission was to assert the rights of the colonies and create collective measures to defend them. During seven weeks of meetings, the congress declared

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The Intolerable Act (were punitive laws passed by the British parliament in 1774 after The Boston Tea Party) void and urged Massachusetts to resist British tyranny with force. The delegates organized an economic boycott of Great Britain in protest against The Coercive Acts of 1774. The king and parliament had lost control of their colonies. They could neither persuade nor coerce them to accept new regulations. The causes of the revolution were many, the excessive British regulation of colonial trade, the restriction on settling western lands, the growing tax burden, and the lack of American representation in parliament.

5- The American Revolution 1775

The American Revolution was a time when the British colonists in America rebelled against the rule of Great Britain. The war lasted from 1775 until 1783. There were 13 colonies namely New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, new york, new jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, north Carolina, south Carolina and Georgia, which ended up by rebelling. So, fighting in the New World was not an easy task. The Americans had to create and sustain an army and navy from scratch. People were divided in three groups, Patriots or Whigs (those who formed the Continental Army), Loyalists or Tories and those who were in the middle sides during the war.

5-1-The Declaration of Independence 1776

The Declaration of Independence written by ¹Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Second Continental Congress, states the reason the British Colonies of North America sought independence on the 4th July 1776. The Declaration opens with preamble describing the document's necessity in explaining why the colonies have overthrown their ruler and chosen to be independent nation "All men are created equal and there are certain rights that the government should never violate (the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness)."

The American Revolution created not only independent new republican system, but also a different conception of politics. Americans rejected the notion that nations should be divided into hierarchy of classes, nobles and aristocrats. Instead, The Unites States was created to protect individual interests (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) and to defend individual rights against arbitrary government.

¹ Thomas Jefferson is an American political Statesman, Lawyer, Philosopher and the Third President of the United States from 1801 to 1809.

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5-2-The Articles of Confederation 1778

The Articles of Confederation was the first governing document of the newly created America. It allowed for the continental congress to run the revolutionary war. In fact, the congress had little authority. It could ask the states for money, but could not levy taxes, it could neither regulate foreign or interstates commerce nor pay off the nation's debts. It could approve treaties with other nations, but had no power to enforce their provisions. It could call for the rising of an army but not fill the ranks. There are many weak points of the Articles of Confederation among them, the need to regulate interstates, the absence of uniformity and harmony between them and the issue of taxes. This urged the government to seek an alternative solution.

After stalling for several months, congress called for convention in Philadelphia (1787) to revise the Articles of Confederation. Fifty five men attended and after four months, they drafted the New Constitution. Only three delegates refused to sign. The members were framers, merchants, lawyers and bankers. Many of them read in history, law and political philosophy. Twenty one had served in the military during the war, seven had continental congress and eight had signed the declaration of independence. They argued that the government derives its power from the people but society must be protected from the tyranny of majority.

6-The American Constitution 1787

The constitution of the United States changed history. It is one of the most important documents in the history of The America. The constitution begins with the preamble "We the people of the united states , in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity provide for common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the united states of America." The main body of the constitution consists of seven articles. These articles created the government branches (legislative, executive, and judicial). The legislative branch is the part that creates laws. The Congress consists of the Upper House (The Senate), and the Lower House (The House of Representatives), it is Bicameral System. In The House, the representatives are elected every two years with a fixed number of 435 members. While in the senate, the senators are elected every six years with 100 members. The Executive Branch to execute laws. It included president, vice president, the Cabinet, and 15 Executive Department. The president was named commander in chief of the armed forces and

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responsible for the execution of laws. But his powers were limited to a certain way. He could neither declare war nor make peace, those powers were reserved for the congress. The president could be removed from office. The house could impeach him and other civil officers, on charges of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. The senate could remove the president by 2/3rd vote. The judicial branch is responsible for interpreting laws. The branch puts in place The Supreme Court and other lower courts under it. Article four focuses on the relationship between states and federal government. While Article Five allows for amendments to be made to the constitution. The sixth article stated that the constitution is the highest law of the land, and the seventh article focuses on the time frame for ratifying the new constitution. By dividing sovereignty between the people and the government, the framers of the constitution provided a distinctive contribution to the political theory.

6-1-characteristics of the American Constitution

The US Constitution outlined the basic of the federal (national) government. It was written in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention, held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in what is called now Independence Hall, the US Constitution was ratified by nine states on June 21, 1788 (Delaware was the first state to ratify it).

6-1-1-Federal System

One of the important features of the American constitution is that it is federal structure. The American States are united having autonomous powers, the center can not interfere in their affairs. In fact, the federal system is a national government practiced at least some coordinating authority on government in small jurisdiction within larger borders of the nation.

6-1-2-Flexible Document

The founding fathers of the US Constitution hope that the drafting of the constitution served the nation for many decades. In addition to that, the success of the document is due to large part of flexibility built into it. While the constitution has been amended twenty-seven times, most of the changes made in the American political system have been made without amending the constitution. Moreover, the lawmakers knew that it must be a vital and breathing document and able to impose order on both the interactions government and people as well as reflect their values and needs as time have changed.

6-1-3-Separation of Powers

The United States constitution is based on the principle of separation of powers. In the 17th century and 18th century ²Lock and ³Montesquieu argued that distinct governmental task the legislative and the executive task needed to be separated. Only with the American Founding Fathers added the judicial function so that the three organs would be separated from each other. In fact, the constitution provides a clear cut separation of powers, where the Congress in the legislative organ, the executive branch with the president of the republic and the judiciary in the hands of the supreme court that heads the federal judiciary.

6-1-4-System of Checks and Balances

Although the ideas of checks and balances and separation of powers occurred together, they are distinct. The framers of the constitution created a mutual control and balance between the three organs of the government system. For example, appointment and treaties made by president require the approval of the senate. The bills passed by congress to become law similarly, only when signed by the president. Again, the Supreme Court cannot reject any law introduced by the congress. In fact, the constitution provides a net-work of checks and balances among the three organs of the government. Therefore, each branch checks the power of the other branches to make sure that the power is balanced between them.

6-1-5-The Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights refers to the first ten amendments of The US constitution. It guarantees the fundamental rights of the citizens and the government rejected the authority to limit or take away the rights and freedoms of the people as guaranteed by the bill of rights. It was adopted from the English Bill of Rights issued after the Glorious Revolution (1688-1689).

6-1-6-Written Constitution

The US constitution is one of the oldest Written Constitution the world. It was in the form of a document, a self-made constitution of the people of the United States. Besides, the Founding Fathers took great care to achieve the interests and aspirations of Americans, while framing the constitution and before the constitution was inaugurated, it was submitted for ratification, after which the constitution became operational on March 4th, 1789. The

² John Locke was an English Philosopher and Physician. He is regarded as one of the most influential enlightenment thinkers.

³ Montesquieu was a French judge and Political Philosopher. He was behind the theory of Separation of Powers which is implemented in several constitutions throughout the world.

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American Constitution is a written constitution, duly adopted and enacted by the people of United States of America.

6-1-7-Democratic Republic

The Founding Fathers agreed with Greek Philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle that neither ⁴oligarchy nor ⁵democracy is an adequate form of government. The framers of the constitution believed that democracy can lead to tyranny as it was a monarchy. So, the form of the government established by the constitution is not a democracy, but rather republic. In other words, in the republic, the people elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf in the political process and people do not express their views directly, but their views are transferred through their representatives. So, the American system of government is a representative republic, not a democracy.

7-Constitutional Amendment Process

The American Constitution is probably the most rigid constitution in the world. The process of amending the constitution is extremely difficult. According to the complicated nature of the amendment procedures, sometimes it takes years before an amendment becomes operative after it has been proposed. The authority to amend the constitution of the United States is derived from Article Five of the constitution. The constitution provides that an amendment may be proposed either by the congress with a two-thirds majority vote in both The House of Representatives and the Senates and by a Constitutional Convention called for by two-thirds of the state legislatures. None of the 27 amendments have been proposed by the constitutional convention. The rigidity of the constitution is obvious from the fact that during more than 200 years, it had been in operation and only 27 amendments have been made so far in this document.

8-The English Bill of Rights 1689

The English Bill of Rights known also as The Declaration of The Rights in 1689 was enacted by the English Parliament and signed into a law king William the third in 1689. It is one of the fundamental documents of the English constitutional law, and marks a fundamental milestone in the progression of the English society from a nation of free citizens with strong

⁴ Oligarchy comes from Greek (Oligarkhia), Oligos means few and Arkho means to rule or to command. Oligarchy means government by the few, the power is concentrated in the hands of the few.

⁵ Democracy : from Greek, demos means people and kratos means rule. It is a form of government in which people have the authority to choose their Governing Legislation.

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law. The establishment of the English bill of rights was precipitated by repeated abuses of power by King James the second during his reign from 1685 to 1689. Among these abuses, he suspended acts, interfered in the outcomes of elections and trials, and refused to be bound by dually enacted laws. Furthermore, he attempted to impose Catholicism through the persecution of Protestants dissenters and the replacement of Anglican officials (relating to the English church) who refused to obey his illegal acts.

In November 1688, William the 3rd and his wife Mary (James's daughter) invaded England with popular support of English people and much of the English nobility. He brought with him a large army comprised primarily of Dutch Mercenaries, but James fled to France without significant bloodshed taking place. In January 1689, a convention assembled in London to determine the succession of the English Crown.

After much debate, the convention drafted a declaration of rights and offered the throne of England to William the 3rd and his wife Mary the second. One of the issues that the English bill of rights 1689 resolved was the authority to disarm many catholic that were suspected on known for disliking the government. So, the English bill of rights created a new right to hold arms. It did not present a new law but rather stated existing rights. The historical link between the English bill of rights 1689 and the second amendment of the US Constitution which both codify an existing law and do not create a new one, has been acknowledged by the US Supreme Court. So, the Second Amendment of the American Constitution was inspired from the English Bill of Rights 1689.

9- The Second Amendment between the Past and Present

When Columbus first landed on Hispaniola (the Caribbean island composed of Haiti and the Dominican republican) in 1492, he fired his cannons to strike fear into the hearts of Indians. Christopher Columbus was armed not only to find gold, but also to dominate and enslave anyone who stood between him and his pursuit of riches. He referred to Indians as cannibals, but there has never been any evidence. It was a story make up by Columbus to justify his slaughter and enslavement of the native people. From Columbus in Haiti to Cortez in Mexico to John Smith in Virginia, Europeans settlers used their firearms to dominate or wipe out the indigenous people (The Hidden History of Guns and the Second Amendment by Thomas Hartmann).

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When the first English colonists came to America, they brought guns. Firearms were tools of everyday life in many parts of the new colonists, especially on the frontier. The settlers used muskets and primitive shotguns to hunt. They used their firearms against the Native Americans. When the first colonists arrived, many Indian tribes were friendly and helped the newcomers through bad winters especially when food was scarce. However, as more and more Europeans came to the New World, they build farms on that had belonged to the tribes. They drove away and killed the Indians. When the Indians fought back, they were defeated by colonist's powerful weapons. Early American had no police. Citizens were expected to carry their own weapons. Many of the early gun laws in America were not about restricting weapons. The American historian Howard Zinn notes in *The People's History of The United States* that in Colonial Virginia, a law was passed as early as 1639 decreeing that "All persons except Negroes" were to get arms and ammunition. The arms were used to fight Virginia's Indians population.

In 1788, The United States ratified the constitution with its opening three word "we the people". The constitution shows how the nation will be governed by citizens and for it citizens. The constitution lays out the supreme law of the American government. It also describes the basic rights of all citizens. The congress approved the ratification of ten amendments known as the Bill of Rights. Some amendments protect personal rights of citizens, while others put limits on the government power.

The second amendment states" 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". The second amendment of the US constitution composed of twenty seven words, but there are several interpretations of this amendment. Those who favoured strict gun laws point out that firearms kill innocent people, sometimes by accident but sometimes not. They often stress the phrase" Well-regulated militia ". Militiamen were defined as adult males between 18 and 45, who were obliged to enrol with the government for new months, and under the state command. The militia forces were composed of two parts, the organized and unorganized militias. So, according to these interpretations the right to own arms applies to defence forces like the National Guard not individual citizens. Others stress the second part of the second amendment "the right of people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed ". They believed that all citizens have the right to own weapons, and the amendment says that the government cannot take away this right.

Chapter One: Historical Background of the New world and the Right to Bear Arms

Today, the second amendment is debated in the streets with protests and counter protests. Some people believe all citizens should be able to have any sort of gun with few regulations, however, others claim that there should be strict control or complete ban on all sort of guns. Many people are somewhere in the middle.

Conclusion

Throughout the presentation of the key elements of the historical background of the New World, one found out that the indigenous people clashed with European settlers over land, food and gold. And then came the English settlers to build up their own colonies. Religion was the driven force behind this replacement. In addition to that, English settlers fought many wars against the Indians. And later Americans rebelled against the British tyranny. There were many political challenges facing the United States, among them the right of Americans to keep and bear arms. This right was clearly stated in the second amendment of the American constitution. So, the following chapter will discuss and analyse the complex relationship between Americans and their arms.

Introduction

This chapter sheds light on the phenomenon of mass shootings in 21st century America. In this chapter, one will tackle the rooted culture of possessing weapons in America, and how the weaponry industry developed throughout the American history. Then one will discuss the causes of those mass shootings, and why it has become very rampant in the last decade. I will also mention vivid examples of mass shootings occurred in America from 2010 onwards. And to conclude, one will state how the lawmakers reacted against those mass shootings.

1-the culture of weapons in America

American Gun Culture has deep roots in the genocide of indigenous people. The American Author and History Professor David E. Stannard wrote in his book “American Holocaust 1992” that the destruction of the Indians is the most massive act of genocide in the history of the world. Europeans were told by their kings and priests that the Indians were exterminated because they were heathens, and death would liberate them to heaven.

The Bulgarian-French Historian and author of *Memory as a Remedy for Evil*, Tzvetan Todorov refers to the story of European meeting a three years old Indian boy:

“There was one little child, probably three years old, just enough to walk through the sand. The Indians had gone ahead, and this little child was behind following after them. The little fellow was perfectly naked travelling on the sand. I saw one man get off his horse , at a distance of about seventy five yards, and draw up his rifle and fire. He missed the child. Another man came up and said, let me try the son of a b*; I can hit him. He missed him A third man came up and made similar remark and fired, and the little fellow dropped”.

This story is remarkable for the Spaniards brutality and the demonstration of how limited gun technology has historically been Europeans first arrive in the 15th century. Today a single gunman can use an AR-15 to kill a room full of children in nearly the same amount of time as it took three men to fire three shots at a single child in the 15th century .So, guns play an important part of American political and historical events. After the formation of a new

Chapter Two: 21st Century Mass Shootings in America

nation, the United States fought many wars to secure territory from all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

1-1- Westward Expansion

Americans moved west seeking social and economic opportunities in the early 19th century. They felt that they were restricted. Consequently, they decided to move westward. The idea of heading west in pursuit of new opportunities and treasures became a symbol of the American Dream. But the west was dangerous place. Thus to pursue a better life one needed to be able to protect themselves against whatever danger they might encounter. During their journey, they confronted with indigenous people. The Indians fought several wars first against European settlers and later on against American colonists. Those wars resulted from a wide variety of reasons, including cultural and religious differences, land disputes, and criminal acts committed by both sides. As settlers spread westward across America and Canada after 1780, armed conflicts increased rapidly. The climax was the war of 1812. It was an armed conflict between the United States and Britain. The British Empire restricted the American trade.

There were many events that shaped the history of American conquest. Among them was the Discovery of Gold in California. James Wilson Marshall was an American carpenter and sawmill operator. He reported the finding of gold at Coloma in California on January 24th, 1848. In 1849, hundreds of Americans travelled to California in search of gold. They were called the Forty Niners (because of the year that they came in droves to California). It was difficult to govern the state, especially with the increase number of people. Burglary and robbery were higher than any place in California. Soon gold was discovered in new areas such as Colorado, New Mexico, Montana and South Dakota.

1-2- Western Movies and the Hollywood Film Industry

Western Movies is a genre of fiction which tells stories set in the second half of the 19th century in America. It portrayed the life of a nomadic cowboy or gunfighter armed with a revolver and rides his horse. Cowboys wear Stetson hats, neckerchief bandannas, vests and unique boots. They usually depict the harshness and wilderness of the American landscape. The vast landscape plays an important role in presenting a mythic vision of the American west desert. The main theme discussed in those movies is the fight between cavalrymen and his enemies. The protagonist seeks revenge or retribution against those who wronged him. The

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fight is usually at high noon between two gun fighters or more. It is a stereotypical image of the western movies. The cowboy targeted his prey using his revolver, shot straight to the point. Western movies were the most popular Hollywood film genre of the early 20th century. The most famous western movies includes: A Fistful of Dollars 1964, the Good, the Bad and the Ugly 1966, and the Wild Bunch 1969.

People all around the world, especially Americans grew up watching Hollywood movies. This industry invested billion dollars so that people would appreciate the beautiful cinematography. In American, people went to the movies in droves. The moviemakers overwhelmed the international movie market with action films. Those kinds of movies rely heavily on sophisticated weapons, showing the hero's muscles and his ability to defeat and destroy his enemies. It became visible that those movies encourage violence. Violence is practised by both the hero and the villain. In some movies, the audience find it hard to distinguish between both. For instance, in Django Unchained (2012), the protagonist Django receives money for every person he kills. Such movies will perpetuate the notion of violence. The audience will see that it is something cool and even acceptable to take people's life. An other concrete example is the cover picture of Hitman's Bodyguard movie. It shows two handsome men carrying weapons (Samuel L. Jackson holding a revolver and Ryan Reynolds holding an AR-15). So, Hollywood moviemakers aimed to depict the lifestyle of a murderer as an attractive life full of action and suspense. They never shed light on how a murderer struggles to sleep at night. This can be confirmed by any veteran. A movie that beautifies violence might encourage and promote violence, brutality and crimes. This kind of movies becomes a tool that produces terrorists all around the world. If one had to list most shocking and horrifying movies, ten pages won't be sufficient. For example, cannibal holocaust 1980, Rambo- Last Blood- 2009 and 12 Strong 2018. In certain genres of movies such as history films, it is acceptable and even necessary to use weapons in order to depict the events as they are. This would give credibility to the film. But, violence and weapons are becoming rampant sending hidden messages and manipulating people notably youth.

1-3- National Firearms Museum

The national firearms museum proudly illustrates America's priceless heritage of firearms and freedom. The museum has been on the ground floor of the national rifle association (NRA) well-funded office building headquarters. The entry to the museum is free. It opens daily from 10 am to 4 pm. Located in Fairfax, Virginia. The museum displays collection of

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guns collected from over 700 years of firearms history. According to the NRA, Americans can not live without guns. It is inside the American's DNA. It is a patriotic duty of every American citizen to own at least one. This right was guaranteed by the second amendment of the US constitution since 1791. The museum exhibits the "Mayflower gun"¹. This gun was brought by John Alden. He was among the English settlers known as pilgrims landed in Plymouth Colony (Massachusetts) in 1620. The museum exhibits weapons that belonged to Theodore Roosevelt², guns used during the French Indian war and Hollywood guns collection such as 44 magnum, dirty harry', Walther ppk, Ruger Mini 14 and many others. The museum shows clearly that some guns are collected just for fun and entertainment by gun enthusiasts. There are some models of weapons where it is not mentioned who owned it, but the visitors find only the name of the gun. Via this museum, visitors can fully understand Americans's proud tradition of keeping and bearing arms.

1-4- National Rifle Association- NRA-

National Rifle Association-NRA- is America's oldest civilian right organization and the country's most influential political lobby group. It was formed in 1871. It is run by the executive vice president Wayne La Pierre. Dana Lynn Loesch an American former spokesperson for the NRA believed that the real enemy in America is the influence of the entertainment industry on American. She claimed that the most effective solution for gun violence is more guns not fewer. The NRA members defend the second amendment of the US constitution and refuse to violate this constitutional right under any circumstances. The NRA legislators claimed that the gun control measures cannot prevent violence resulted from mass shootings. It is price that must be paid for the freedom guaranteed by the second amendment. In 1933, a study conducted by the Federal Center for Disease Control and Prevention-CDC- showed that gun ownership increased the risk of home homicide. The NRA successfully lobbied the congress to reallocate the CDC's budget for research on gun violence and adopt a law known as Dickey amendment³. This law banned CDC from using research funds to promote gun control. As result, the law succeeded in blocking any research against gun violence.

¹ Mayflower was an English ship that transported the first English puritans, known as pilgrims in 1620.

² Theodore Roosevelt served as the 26th us president from 1901 to 1909.

³ The Dickey amendment in reference to Jay Woodson Dickey, a Republican US Representative for Arkansas 4th Congress District from 1993 to 2001.

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1-5- Rap Music

Rap Music is a style of popular music that emerged in the early 1970s. This kind of music insists on rapid beats and slangy language. Some people believed that rap has Jamaican roots.

Whereas others claim that this type of music flourished in African American and Latino neighbourhoods in New York City. Rap music is one of the most popular type of music in America today specially for teens. Rappers started to have negative impact on teens. The rap culture has negative influence on adolescence. It encourages the use of guns, gang violence and drug consumption. According to Pediatrics Publication which is an organization that focuses on mental development of adolescence, Music plays an important role in the socialization of teens. Rap music lead teens to hear and view inappropriate content. Some songs glorify guns, violence and drug dealing. This can be seen clearly through the language. For instance , in Eminem and Lil Wayne’s song – no love-:” I’am sticking to the script, you niggas skipping scenes. Be good , be good at it f* right I ve got my gun semi cartermatic”. The rapper Lil Wayne used the expression I ve got my gun semi cartermatic to frightened his enemies it is not a type of weapons).

In Justin Timberlake and T.I song’s- dead and gone: “usually niggas don’t know what to do when their back against the wall so they start shooting... I hit you, you sue me , I shoot you, get locked up, who me?..”. In this short passage, the singer demonstrates the police brutality against African Americans and how do they suppose to react. Those are only two examples among many. A teen of 14 years old whose personality was not fully shaped sees his favourite singer using slangy language and holding guns in his videos. He will definitely try to imitate him consciously or unconsciously.

2- Evolution of Weaponry throughout the American History

Guns represent a basic tool for survival and a device of tyranny and oppression. In America, guns are closely tied to the concepts of freedom, democracy and individual liberties. The development of weapons passed through many phases, starting with gunpowder. Some claim that it has Chinese origins it consists of sulphur, charcoal and salt peter. The aim was to produce a rapid burning powder. It was officially introduced around 1250s. And then , cannons were introduced. It is a large tick metal tube with one close end (the breech) and an open end (the muzzle). This tool was loaded with gunpowder and later on with projectile. For the next four centuries, great advances in firearms domain were introduced. After the

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Matchlock came the wheellock in the early 1500s. This piece was a real innovation in the history of weaponry. It was expensive and available only for gentry and aristocracy. Matchlock remained in use until the early 1700s. In the 16th century colonists coming to the new world brought their European weapons with them. Musket was a necessary tool for survival. The American long rifle known as the Kentucky, Pennsylvania or Ohio rifle. This rifle is descendent of the German Jaeger translated- hunter- is a classic European hunting rifle. When American colonies rebelled against the British rule in 1770, they could no longer count on getting firearms from Britain. After securing independence, the new country rapidly sought its own means of mass producing military arms. It became a government's priority to invest in firearms manufacture. George Washington spearheaded those efforts to create a strong armed nation. So, America began its history as a dominant country in firearms industry.

In 1836, Samuel Colt an American inventor and businessman, He made the mass production of revolvers, known as Colt 45. The Colt 45 revolver is often referred to as the west gun. This innovation enabled Colt to mass produce the weapon and sell it not only to military, but also to cowboys in the southwest. The Colt 45 was followed by Wesson and Smith. Both developed a revolver that would swing out to the side for unloading and reloading bullets. And this was called "double action". A generation later, John Taliaferro Thompson invented the Thompson submachine gun. This invention became infamous during the prohibition era⁴. The weapon turned to be the favourite choice for gangsters leading to the infamous Valentine's Day Massacre 1929⁵. As a result of this slaughter, the government passed the first federal gun control law in American history.

During the Cold War, Mikhail Kalashnikov developed the most significant firearm which is the AK47. It is called Kalashnikov Model 1947 Soviet Assault Rifle. The deadly use of the Kalashnikov in the Vietnamese war led the United States Department of Defense (Pentagon) to produce a new type of assault rifles which became known as the M16.

3- Americans Obsession with Guns

Americans are so attached to their weapons. One of the concrete examples is Colorado gun shop owner Mel Bernstein known as the most armed man in America. People called him "dragon man". He acquired thousands of high powered weapons. He said: "I have over four

⁴ The passage of the 18th amendment ban the manufacture sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors and marked the beginning of the prohibition era .the amendment was ratified on January 16th, 1919.

⁵ In this incident, 4 men dressed as police officers enter to gangsters Bugs Moran's headquarters on North Clark in Chicago. They killed dozens of people using Thompson machinegun.

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thousands weapons in my name, over two hundred machine guns, tanks, bazookas, trucks and jeeps. Everything I own is legal in the state of Colorado”. His home is located on 260 acre and known as dragon land. According to Colorado law, if anybody comes to your property and threatens you, it is legal to shoot them. Bernstein was asked by journalist Michael Koenigs from ABS News about Las Vegas mass shootings of 2017 and he said: “well the guy looks 100 percent normal. Nobody would know that somebody like him would do that. He just hated people over sudden, you know that’s happen .” and he laughed. He was asked about the mental health and guns, he said:” you could be good, good, good, and then over sudden you know...”(ABC News, YouTube)

Americans are fascinated and addicted to their weapons. It is like a drug, something that you cannot get rid of it easily. Bernstein added:” people get addicted to them. It is inside their blood. They want to feel the firepower... it is very easy to buy a gun in the state of Colorado; and within 15 minutes you can walk out with rifle or shotgun. The whole Midwest has the same laws as Colorado.

4- The Legal Process of Acquiring a Gun in America

If a person wants to buy a gun, there is a legal process that must be followed. The seller will give him a form 4473. This paper is a transaction record for the bureau of alcohol, tobacco and firearms (ATF). This ATF paper is necessary to purchase firearms from a federal licensed dealer. This document includes personal questions such as your name, date of birth, address, sex, race, height and ethnicity of the buyer. Besides, he will be asked questions concerning his mental health like “Have you ever been adjudicated as mental defective or have you ever been committed to a mental institution? And have you been discharged from the Armed Forces under dishonourable conditions? .In order to purchase a handgun from Federal Firearm Licensed (FFL), one must be at least 21 years old. Once he has correctly filled out the form, the seller will ask him for your identification card (ID). The Federal Firearms Licensed will run a NICS background check on him. The NICS stands for National Instant Criminal Background System. There are three responses, either transaction, delay or deny. If they agreed, the FFL will complete the gun sale. If the answer is delay, the FFL will have to finish the sale and the ATF has 3 days to research the application and notify the FFL to proceed or deny. In case where the FFL has not heard a response from the ATF, within 3 days the buyer can have his gun. If the response is deny, he is denied from buying a gun the FFL would not complete the sale.

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The buyer should keep his sale receipts or bill because it is very important. In case when his gun was stolen or lost, with the sale receipts he will have the chance to get it back. Moreover, if the firearm that he purchased privately was stolen, the bill of sale would save him from getting into big troubles.

The gun laws vary from one state to another. Some states have lax gun laws, whereas others have restricted gun laws. For instance, in Florida, Virginia, Orlando and Nevada the process do not require fingerprints, a special permit or waiting period to buy a gun. There are some states where one can walk into a store and immediately purchase a semi-automatic rifle. One year before Las Vegas mass shootings of 2017, the gunman Stephen Paddock purchased 33 firearms from the state where he lives (Nevada). Such states laws allow anyone who is at least 18 years old to buy a gun. Without limiting the number of guns a person can buy in a single sale. This swift and easy background checks rises several problems. But, there are a list of people who would be automatically rejected by a background system such as fugitives, drug addicts, mentally ill people, illegal immigrants, some legal immigrants, people who have renounced the US citizenship, people under restraining orders, those convicted a domestic violence and anyone charged with a crime that could bring more than a year in prison are forbidden from buying a gun. With all those restrictions, people daily hear or witness mass shootings.

5- Popular American Weapon of the 21st Century

The AR15 journey into the hands of gun enthusiasts and mass killers began in Vietnam. The Vietnamese Soldiers carries AK47. So, the American Army thought of something more powerful and more destructive. The AR15 was developed in the late 1950s as civilian weapon by Eugene Stoner, a former marine working for small California start-up called "Armalite". Armalite did not manage to sell the gun to the military. With huge financial problems, the sold rights went to Colt Industries in 1959. The Colt industry succeeded in manufacturing semi-automatic rifle. The piece was given a new name for military use which is M16. The rifle combined rapid fire with a lighter weight. Military style weapons were widespread in America as response to the 9/11 attacks⁶. The AR15 grew wider not only among those who enjoyed possessing the latest tactical gear, but also among competitive target shooters and

⁶ September 11 attacks was associated by the extremist organization Al Qaeda. Four airplanes hit very important locations in America. Two of the planes were targeted to the World Trade Center in New York City. A third plane hit the Pentagon and the fourth plane crashed in a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

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hunters. The new AR15 style guns range widely in price, from five hundred dollars (500\$) to two thousand dollars (2000\$).

On January 17th, 1989, Patrick Edward Purdy shot five children and wounded 29 others using his AK47 semi-automatic rifle imported from china. Consequently, colt industries did something unforgettable which was suspended civilian sales of the AR15 for a year. A former employee and author of the book” Black Rifle II” Christopher R. Bartocci said:” most people did not know you could buy those guns, before Stocktone”.So, people did not realize the existence of such destructive weapons until this incident. In 1994, Bill Clinton⁷ pushed the assaults weapons ban through congress with some bipartisan supports. Ironically, the ban did not do great job to stop the production of the AR15. Larry Hyatt the owner of gun store reported that buyers number increased rapidly after the ban. He added:” you tell a man you cannot have something, and suddenly he wants 12”. The ban expired in 2004. The NRA members reported that hundreds of thousands of AR15 have been made and sold since the ban took effect. The owner of Georgian gun store Michael Weeks said:” the AR15 is the king of industry. Christopher Bartocci said: “it is everything you want. You want a hunting rifle? It does it. You want a target rifle? It does it. You want a law enforcement rifle? It does it”.

According to the national shooting sports foundation (NSSF), AR15 is now the most popular sporting rifle in the US. The NRA reported that Americans own more than 15 million AR15 today. The gun was designed to wide down Vietnamese Soldiers. But now this gun is widely used to take people’s lives in the bloodiest mass shootings in America such as San Bernardino, California mass shootings 2015, Las Vegas massacre of 2017 and Texas Church mass shootings of 2017.

6- Loophole in the Background Check System

After every mass shooting, politicians blame either gun laws or health care system. Barak Obama:” it’s a time to require background check for anyone who wants to buy a gun”2014. Chris Murphy (D-CT) 2017: “it is not an open secret of an existing background check system is broken”. Right now, gun buyers in the United States have to go through background check at a gun store. But if they buy a gun from unlicensed dealer (private sale), with universal background check everyone who buys a gun would have to go through one. In fact, universal background check will not solve American’s gun cricis. There are couple problems with this

⁷ Bill Clinton is the 42nd us president who served from 1993 to 2001. He belonged to the Democratic Party.

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system. There are millions of missed records, the reason why Dylann Roof was able to buy a gun despite having a criminal record. He killed 26 persons in Texas Church. He passed the background check. The Air Force failed to send his domestic abuse conviction to the FBI⁸. So, the system is not 100 percent trustful and reliable. Furthermore, the system looks at good and bad people. But there are in between. The system is targeted to catch those who have criminal records. But it misses those who have done anything bad yet and might do something harmful in the future. In fact, there is another system that could prevent this. Twelve (12) states in DC have taken one step further in establishing a licensing system. In Massachusetts, before one goes to the store, he has to take a firearms safety course. And then he has to go to the police department to admit an application (give references and give his fingerprints). And then not only the FBI database checked but all local law force agencies where one live are directly connected with the department of mental health. This is the entire process in Massachusetts. It usually takes 3 weeks, and most people passed. There is another temporary solution for this issue which is waiting period. This method may work. Waiting period defer from one state to another. This method may help those who want to commit suicide.

7- Mass Shooting Definition

According to gun violence archive, mass shooting can be defined as a single incident in which at least four people are shot, without including the shooter (business insider).

Investigative assistance for violence crimes act of 2012 defines mass killing as three or more killings in a single incident (Journal le Quotidian D'oran Jeudi 8 Aout 2019).

FBI does not have an official definition of mass shooting but defines mass killings as an incident in which three or more people not including the suspect (ABC News).

7-1- Deadliest Mass Shootings in the World

- 1- Garissa University College Attack –Kenya- 2015: three armed men killed more than 148 persons and wounded 79 others at Garissa University College in Kenya. The group belonged to the terrorists organization Al Shabaab(a group affiliated to Al Qaeda).

⁸ Federal bureau of investigation is the most powerful government agency in the US. Some call it the largest law enforcement agency in the world. The FBI focuses on stopping terrorism, organized crimes, corruption and cyber crime.

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- 2- Peshawar School Massacre 2014: six armed men affiliated from the terrorist group Taliban, conducted a terrorist attack on the Army Public School in the Northwest city Peshawar- Pakistan. The incident resulted the death of 149 persons including 132 pupils. Their ages range between eight and eighteen years old.
- 3- Paris Mass Shootings of 2015: on November 2015, a serie of coordinated terrorists attacks took place in the French capital Paris. The attackers killed 130 people including 90 others at the Bataclan Theatre. More than 110 were seriously injured. The attacks were the deadliest in France since the Second World War and the most tragic since the Madrid train bombing in 2004. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) adopted this attacks. The ex- president of France Fronçois Hollande said that those attacks were an “act of war”.
- 4- 2011 Norway Attacks: an armed man named Anders Behring Breivik killed 77 persons on July 22nd , 2011, in a bomb attack in Oslo and a mass shooting at a summer camp for children.
- 5- Christchurch Mosque Shootings of 2019: New Zealand was regarded as a safe country. On 15th march 2019, an armed man shooted worshipers at Al Noor Mosque. The gun man live-streamed the attack on Facebook. He killed 51 persons and wounded 49 others. He was arrested and charged with 51 murders and 40 attempt murders and engaging in a terrorist act. He pleaded not guilty for what he did.

7-2- Mass Shootings in Contemporary American History

- 1- Las Vegas, October 1st, 2017: on October, an armed man named Stephen paddock opened fire on a crowd attending the route 91 harvest festival from 32nd floor room at the Mandalay Bay Resort in Casino. The agitation and panic lasted for more than 15 minutes. By the end of this tragedy, 85 people were killed and more than 300 others were injured. The murderer dead by suicide
- 2- Orlando, June 12th, 2016: it was the deadliest mass shooting in the history of America. In june2016, a man named Omar Mateen opened fire on 49 people in a gay nightclub in Orlando. Many of the victims were Latino. During the shootings, the killer called Orlando police and claimed that he has a relation with the ISIL. Although the authorities found no link of communication between the terrorist group and the attacker. It remains the deadliest act of terror in America since the 9/11 attacks.
- 3- Virginia Tech University Mass Shooting: In 2007, mass shootings on Virginia Tech- University’s campus. The suspect Seung-Hui Cho a senior at the school killed more

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than 30 students and instructors in two separate attacks about 2 hours apart before committing suicide.

- 4- Sandy Hook Elementary School: twenty students were killed in a shooting at sandy hook elementary school in new town, Connecticut in 2012. The students were between the age of six and seven years old. Few minutes before the gun man went to school, he shot his mother. Adam Lanza a young man of 20 years old committed suicide right after his incident. After the Sandy Hook Massacre, lockdown drills became common as fire drills. There were no victims at the Rancho Tehama Elementary School shooting in California in 2017. Teachers and students lockdown all the doors to keep the gunman out of the school (The Washington post, march4.2019).
- 5- Parkland, Florida ,2018: on February 14th , 2018, a gun man named Nikolas Cruz opened fire with a semi-automatic rifle at majority Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. He killed 17 persons and wounded more than 16 others. The killer was former student. Many of students survivors became activists for gun control legislation. They started March for our Lives Campaign.
- 6- El Paso, Texas: on August 3rd , 2019, a mass shooting occurred at Walmart store in El Paso, Texas. The gun man killed 22 persons and wounded 24 others. The shooting has been described as the most horrifying attack on Latinos in modern American history. Hours before the incident, Patrick Crusius posted a racist and anti-immigrants manifesto. In this document, he talked about Hispanic invasion of Texas, white Supremacy and the Great Replacement⁹.he wrote in the manifesto:” ...I’am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought by invasion.”

8- The Causes of Mass Shootings in America

Thanks to the Second Amendment of the American Constitution, Americans can exercise the right to possessing guns. This has been a fundamental right since the foundation of the New Nation. American’s relation with guns turn to be complicated through time. In the late 20th century and the early 21st century, things started to take an extreme path. Americans were in front of a severe issue which is mass shootings. In 2019, a survey founded by ATF Statistics showed that around 37 percent of householders in America reported owning one or more firearms. This makes America one of the most

⁹ The Great Replacement is also known as the replacement theory. Is the belief that white European population will be replaced with non-European people especially Arabs and Africans through mass migration. The term was coined by the French author Renaud Camus in his book Le Grand Remplacement 2011.

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armed civilian populations in the world. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics showed that, the United States gun production skyrocketed to nearly 11 million guns in 2013(the year after sandy hook massacre). After every mass shooting, the demand on firearms significantly increased. Americans cannot escape one irrefutable fact more guns equal more gun deaths. Laws along with speedy process of gun ownership stand behind this issue. There are many driving motives behind those mass shootings, among them cultural and religious differences, white supremacists, Trump's rhetoric, video games and many other factors.

Since the first foot landed in the new world, there was a clash between the native people and the European settlers. They used religion as tool to gain dominance upon Indians. There was a huge cultural and religious differences. Those differences are product of centuries. They are fundamental, cannot disappear easily. The United States is the third largest country in the world with a population of more than 330 million according to the US Census Bureau. The American population is built on immigration from other countries. Hispanic, Latino, Africans, Asians and Europeans all live their under the same roof. They were clashing for centuries. Each group try to gain dominance and superiority upon others. And this may lead to social, political and economic unrest.

Secondly, the widespread of white supremacist organization and hate groups is one of the cases behind mass shootings in America. The Ku Klux Klan was the first white supremacist organization in America. It was founded in 1866 by the ex-confederate soldiers and other southerners opposed to reconstruction after the civil war. They wanted the purification of America from African Americans. In 1915, William Joseph Simmons revived the Klan after seeing the film "the Birth of Nation". The movie portrayed the Klansman as a great hero. The movie reflected and boosted the popularity of the KKK. The Klan is also known as the invisible empire. They hated African Americans, immigrants, Catholics, Muslims and Jews. The members of the Klan are white protestant American. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), the number of hate groups in America increased tremendously with Donald trump campaign and presidency.

Thirdly, President Trump used a very racist language. In July 2019, he attacked Four Democratic Congresswoman. He told them to go and fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they come. He did not name them directly in his declaration. But the attack was directed to this group of congresswoman because they often criticize

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his internal and external policy. They are referred to as Squad. The group included Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez congresswoman of New York, Ayanna Pressley Congresswoman of Massachusetts, Ilhan Omar Congresswoman of Minnesota and Rashida Tlaib congresswomen of Michigan. Mr Trump lynched racist attacks by saying that those women come from the poorest, the worst and the most corrupt countries. For him, America is the greatest country in the world. So, they should not talk about the American government and the way it is run. The House Speaker Nancy Pelosi responded to the president racist tweets by saying, "Trump had shown that his plan to make America great again had always been about making America white again" BBC News. Mr Trump claimed that the country is being over-run and invaded by immigrants.

On February 15th, 2018, he tweeted, "we are talking about an invasion of our country with drugs, with human traffickers, with all types of criminals and gangs". During his campaign, he promised to build the Mexican wall, and Mexicans should pay for it. This wall was built in order to prevent illegal immigration and drugs trafficking. He openly calls Mexicans criminals and rapists. Mr Trump believes that existing borders are not sufficient, so they need to construct new ones. The major issue was who is going to pay for this wall? This question caused the government ¹⁰shutdown. The government has limited budget. And this project was very expensive. So, there was a failure to pass the legislation to finance this project. The Mexican wall contradicted with the statue of liberty also known as the immigrant's statue. It was a representation of hope, new beginnings and welcoming millions of people who escaped tyranny and persecution dreaming of better life in the new world.

With all these problems and instability, arose another issue which is Trump's ¹¹impeachment. It was reported that Mr Trump walled the Ukrainian President to help him to get information on one of the democratic candidates ¹²Joe Biden. The House Judiciary Committee approved the articles of impeachment against president trump. He was the third president in American history charged with high crimes and misdemeanors. The process of impeachment happens in two stages. The first stage was done, two articles of

¹⁰ Government shutdown occurs when there is a failure to pass funding legislation to finance the government for its next fiscal year or temporary funding measure.

¹¹ Impeachment derived from the French verb *empêcher*, to impeach means to dismiss or to remove. Originated in the United Kingdom, impeachment allowed the parliament to vote for removing a government official from office even without the king's consent. The king could not be impeached because it is a monarchy.

¹² Joe Biden is an American politician who served as the 47th vice president of the United States from 2009 to 2017. He is a member of the Democratic Party.

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impeachment were brought to the House of Representatives. They voted for the first article abuse of power (230yes and 197 no). so, the first article was adopted. And for the second article obstruction of congress, they voted 229yes to 198 no. So, the second article was adopted. The second stage heads to the senate where a trial will be held in January. Senators should vote to convict the president. But this milestone step has never been reached in the Unites States history. In case the vote is less than 2/3, trump remains in office. But if the vote is 2/3(67 percent) Trump will be removed from office and vice president takes over. But, the Senate majority leaders are under Mitch MC Connell who belongs to the Republican Party, so it is impossible mission (BBC News).

Fourthly and finally, researchers have conducted studies to find out whether violent video games effected children's behaviour. Many studies demonstrated that teenagers who play violent video games are more likely engage in aggressive behaviour, lack of empathy and poor performance at school. Social psychologist Brad Bushman at the Ohio State University showed students violent pictures. He found out that those who were exposed to a lot of violent video games lacked sympathy. They were emotionally numb. Bushman find out that violent video games desensitize teens compared to young people. Students playing these games seem to be mean and hurtful.

Conclusion

Throughout the analysis of those elements concerning mass shootings in America in the 21st century, one found that the issue became widespread in the last decade. Several causes were introduced and the major attention turns toward politicians and lawmakers to solve a solution to this problem. The following chapter will highlight how other countries were able to change gun laws and the constant debate between democrats and republicans over gun control legislation in America.

Introduction

In the third and the last chapter, I will discuss and analyse the issue of mass shootings from different angles, can lawmakers bring change in order to solve this issue. I will mention concrete examples dealing with this phenomenon of mass shootings, such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia experiences with gun violence. And how do they succeed in bringing tough decisions. On the other hand, in America there are active lobby groups blocking every action in favour of gun violence. Furthermore, American economy is built on weapon industry. Companies harvested billion dollars from this business. In addition to that, creating conflicts worldwide helps the growth of those industries. In the light of what is said, it seems impossible to do something.

1- Changing the Gun Policy in:

In the last decade, there were horrific scenes of mass shootings all around the world. This issue has harvested thousands of innocent lives not only in America but also in other countries. The weak gun laws and the swift access are standing behind this phenomenon of mass shootings.

1-a- Canada

Politicians often compared between America and Canada's gun laws. The latter is stricter and regulated. In December 1989, a gunman entered the Ecole Polytechnique, separated the men from the women and shot 40 young female engineers. The killer said that he hated women because they have ruined his life. This tragedy was a turning point to the Canadian gun control debate. The incident is regarded as the worst mass shooting in the Canadian history. One of the survivors became a leader of the gun control movement. People started a petition to ban assault weapons, and that petition became the largest petition in the Canadian history with five hundred and sixty thousand signatures (CBC News: the National, Youtube channel). Consequently, the conservative justice minister Kim Campbell introduced the first gun legislation in 1990. And then the liberal government brought tough legislation in 1995 including gun registering. On July 2018, a gunman with a history of mental illness killed two persons and injured 13 others in Danforth Avenue, Toronto. He committed suicide right after the incident. The Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau along with the former Toronto police chief Bill Blair discussed the idea of a ban at all assault weapons including the infamous AR-15, which was used in numerous mass shootings in America such as Sandy Hook Elementary School, San Bernardino, Las Vegas and El Paso- Texas. Bill Blair was

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asked about the notorious AR-15, he said:” that weapon was designed for and has always been intended for the killing of enemy combatants, it is not a toy.” (CBC News). In Canada guns are classified into three categories. The first category includes non-restricted guns, the second category includes restricted guns and the third category includes prohibited guns like some military style weapons AK-47 and full automatic weapons. In fact, all the three categories of guns can be purchased and owned legally, even the prohibited ones. But with strict regulations, for instance, handguns can not be carried outside, either concealed or opened, except with a specific license. And it is given to a particular portion of those who need guns for work (security guard). Moreover, licenses require training in gun safety and an extensive background check. As a measure of precaution guns have to be kept locked and unloaded. There are active gun groups in Canada like the Canadian Coalition for Firearm Rights (CCFR) and the national firearms association. They are against the ban on assault weapons. But they are not powerful and dominant as the NRA in America. While conducting the research, a mass shooting occurred in Nova Scotia, on April 18th, 2020. A gunman disguised as a policeman killed at least 18 people. Among the victims was a Female Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officer. The suspect is Gabriel Wortman a 51 years old dental worker. He died after being arrested. The victims were random in nature, and the suspect was not known to police and had no criminal convictions. It was said that this incident may be because of the coronavirus pandemic. But the police find no link. Mass shootings in Canada are rare compared with the United States (ABC Net, April 21, 2020).

1-b- New Zealand

There was a massive support for gun control in New Zealand following the deadly mosque attacks on March 15th, 2019. The Australian shooter named Brenton Tarrant, a white supremacist used his semi-automatic guns in Christchurch mosque. He killed 50 persons who were attending the Friday prayer. Six days after the incident, the New Zealand parliament voted to ban all military style-semi automatic weapons. The representatives voted 119 to 1. David Seymour the only one who opposed this decision. He claimed that it is a rush decision and it is preferable not to react that to take this decision (BBC News). The Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern announced new plans to tighten gun laws in New Zealand. She believed that this type of weapons had no place in New Zealand. She said:” we are ultimately here because 50 people died and they do not have a choice. In this house, are their voice and today we have used that voice wisely” (Reuters). The law prohibited military style semi-automatic weapons and parts that can be used to assemble prohibited firearms. The suspect modified his

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AR-15 so that the gun could hold more bullets. Mrs Ardern said that the overhauls in New Zealand were inspired by changes Australia made after the Port Arthur Massacre in Tasmania 1996.

1-c-Australia

On 28th April, 1996, 35 persons were killed and many others were injured at the Port Arthur in Australia. This incident pushed the Australian lawmakers to bring drastic changes. In fact, there were multiple killings before the Port Arthur Massacre. The accumulation of several incidents led the Australian government to take serious measures and bring a strict gun law. The government introduced new regulations, banning rapid fire guns from civilian ownership except under certain restricted licenses. It also established a buyback of semi-automatic and pump action rifles and shotguns. Furthermore, the new law imposed that all guns must be individually registered, with all gun sales. In the past, registration varied by state and gun type. According to the Library of Congress report on Australia gun policy, the law reduced guns in Australia nearly by one-fifth, with more than 700,000 guns removed and destroyed. In 2002, Australia tightened gun laws by restricting the calibre, barrel length and capacity for sport shooting-handguns. Australia has not had a shooting as deadly as the Port Arthur Massacre. The country saw a decline in homicide and suicide after the legislation change (the Guardian).

1-d- Europe

In England, there are stricter gun laws. According to the English Rifle and Gun Club Legal Center, any person possessing a firearm in the UK must have a gun certificate. It exists prohibited type of guns like machine gun, semi-automatic rifles, pump action rifles and firearms that has a barrel less than 30 centimeters. The only legal firearms that can be owned included shotgun, black powder weapons and manually loaded rifles. In order to obtain a firearm certificate, the applicants must give an appropriate reason behind the sale of the rifle. Moreover, application must be renewed every five years. Anyone convicted a criminal offense can not hold a gun for five years. And those who were sentenced to more than three years are forbidden from possessing a gun for the rest of their lives (Business Insider).

In Germany, the government tightened gun laws because a young man opened fire and killed 16 students in Erfurt in 2002. Right after this incident, the German government passed strict measures including raising the legal age for carrying sport weapons from 18 to 21. In

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addition to that, the gun buyer under 25 must present a certification of his mental health “ if he psychologically fits to acquire a gun” (Business Insider).

Although those countries took drastic measures but they can not prevent the spread of gun violence. In the United States, the whole task seems impossible due to many reasons. First and for most, holding a gun is a constitutional right in America. Furthermore, the United States has the strongest lobby group in the world which is the National Rifle Association (NRA). It seems tough for Americans to follow one of those examples. This gun culture is deep rooted in the American culture. It is a product of centuries. It is impossible to change everything in blink of an eye.

2- The Democrats and Republicans Debate over Gun Control Laws in America

There was nascent debate between the democrats and republicans over gun violence issue. They accused one another of playing politics with people’s life. This whole debate and the exchange of insults made people hopeless whether this issue could be solved or not. The democrats tried to intensify political pressure on republicans to embrace tougher gun restrictions. This includes a bill that would ban the manufacture and sale of large capacity magazines. The democrats are not only calling for mandating background checks on all guns purchases and extending the time the FBI has to complete background, but also aiming to revive the assault weapons ban of 1994 that expired in 2004. They call for Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader to take a step and react against this rampant issue. But unfortunately, Mr McConnell claimed that he would not take any action without the agreement of the president. Basically, president Trump has an ambivalent opinion concerning gun violence issue. Each time he shifted sides. In the aftermath of every mass shooting, he talks firmly but nothing happens. It becomes predictable how things will go on. This made people feel as if they are living the same tragedy over and over. On the other side, the house speaker ¹Nancy Pelosi said that there would be hell to pay for Mr McConnell, Mr Trump and the Republicans if they failed to pass the background check bill. In fact, the republican leaders hold the same position as Mr McConnell. They are reluctant to take any measure without the approval of the president. It is the same speech and the same language after every mass shooting. In addition to that, gun sales skyrocket after every incident. Ironically, during the coronavirus pandemic, people were running to buy food whereas,

¹ Nancy Pelosi is the first female democratic leader of the House of Representatives and the first female speaker of the house.

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Americans were buying weapons. For them, it is a way to protect themselves from any internal or external danger. According to gun violence archive, there have been 283 mass shootings in 2019. The house judiciary committee approves it gun safety package. It is the first step toward bringing it to the floor for vote. Representative ²Jerry Nadler said:” we are not taking these additional actions simply to respond to mass shootings, we are acting because of the urgent need to respond to the daily toll of gun violence in our community”. In contrast, republicans have long been resistant to gun safety legislation. There have been several active groups and movements calling for changes such as Moms Demand Action, Stop Gun Violence and many others. In the light of all these events, lawmakers are always claiming that the reason behind not taking step is because they wanted to preserve the second amendment. And instead of putting strict gun laws, the government needs to focus on mental health issue. For instance Mr Trump keeps constantly blaming the healthcare system. He said:” I don’t want people to forget that is a mental health problem, I don’t want them to forget them, because it is a mental health problem”(New York Times, sep.10,2019).

In 2008, the Supreme Court tackled the second amendment. It was the second time since 1939. The case is known as the District of Columbia v Heller. There was a DC law that made it illegal to possess handguns, automatic guns and semi-automatic guns. This law has been effect since 1976. Dick Heller was a licensed police officer who got to carry a gun for his own security. But under the DC law, it was illegal for him to have a gun in his own home. He appealed to the court, saying that dc’s ban was unconstitutional. The court argued that the second amendment protects an individual right to keep and bear arms. They also argued that the right existed before the constitution existed. And the idea of owning a gun was not only for protection but also for hunting and self-defence from intruders at home and from tyrannical government. On june 26th,2008, the decision was made. The judges sided with Heller, it was 5-4. The court argued that the second amendment was not just about a well-regulated militia. And the term “militia” was not only for those who are serving in the military forces. They added that the Second Amendment was about individuals having the right to have guns to defend themselves. So, for them, the first part was independent from the second one. So, banning guns that are commonly used for protection violated the second amendment. Moreover, the court added that the second amendment is not unlimited (Mr Beat, Youtube Channel). To conclude, the District of Columbia v Heller case made it clear that the

² Jerry Nadler an American politician and member of the Democratic Party and the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee since 2019.

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second amendment was about an individual right to own guns. This decision was a huge victory for pro-guns and certain influential lobby groups. But with the spread of mass shootings in the United States, the decision remains controversial. After El Paso, Texas mass shootings, Mr Trump expressed his support for universal background checks, keeping guns from mentally ill people and restricting gun sales for some young adults. But unsurprisingly, this support vanished right after a meeting with the NRA officials.

3- Weapon Industries in America

In the United States, guns and ammunition manufacturing has experienced rapid growth over the past decade. According to the data released from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the global arms industry sales increased by 4.6 percent last year (2018). The SIPRI declared that there are five companies from the United States including Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon and General Dynamics harvested more than 148 Billion dollars by selling military equipment nationally and internationally. Those companies are specialized in almost everything, from global defence, rockets, aerospace, satellites and telecommunication equipment. With Trump's aid and encouragement, the amount of weapon production increased. Secondly, came the Russian industries harvesting more than 36.2 million dollars. In Europe, Britain remains the first largest European weapon producer.

It is clear how the United States focuses on creating and building powerful weapon industries. This major concern was shaped through time. The 9/11 terrorist attacks became the filter to the American foreign policy (in which side you stand). After the 9/11 events, Americans felt that they are not safe in their country. This made the American government change the internal and external policy, starting with investing in the military sector, developing military ammunition, tightening immigration procedures and creating conflicts worldwide in order to sell more weapons. Among the negative consequences of the 9/11 events, was the catastrophic decision to invade Afghanistan and later on Iraq in 2003. This decision resulted in a chaotic situation in the Middle East. It helped the spread of many conflicts in Syria, Yemen, Libya and other Arab Countries.

4- The Gun Lobby Groups in the United States

The issue of gun control in America is a weapon itself. It is a debate with global impact. In America, almost forty thousand people were killed by a firearm in 2017. A Gallup that year showed that 60 percent of Americans wanted stricter gun laws, 75 percent wanted 30 days waiting period for buying a gun and 96 percent wanted universal background check system. But taking action is not something easy. The huge obstacle is the National Rifle Association (NRA). The NRA is the most powerful political lobby group in the world. The NRA is pro-guns. The organization was founded in 1891, older than 15 states and has more saying in elections than half population. The NRA is interested in protecting the second amendment “the right to keep and bear arms”. The NRA uses those words to not changing the laws. In the past the NRA supported regulation and helped implementing gun laws, such as waiting period and permits to carry a handgun. After saint valentine’s massacre of 1929, gun control legislation was introduced in 1934. The NRA acted to ban machine guns and shotguns. Unsurprisingly, gun laws were tightened after the assassination of John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert Kennedy and the social right activist Martin Luther King Jr. The NRA started to worry because the one who assassinated the former president John Kennedy obtained his gun from an ad in the NRA’s Magazine “American Rifle”. In 1994, bill Clinton introduced a ban on assault weapons. This ban expired in 2004. And then George W. Bush lax the laws and assault weapons were back. This was a huge victory for the NRA. When it comes to elections, million of dollars were spent on supporting pro-gun candidates like Donald Trump and opposing anti-gun such as Hillary Clinton. In 2014,³Michael Bloomberg decided to give the NRA more money in order to encourage republican lawmakers to support gun control. But unfortunately, his attempts failed. Moreover, the NRA has engaged in anti-immigration rhetoric. Pro-guns claim that America need to be protected against criminals (non-white who are crossing the borders) (Vox, Youtube Channel). In fact, pro-guns reached the peak during ⁴Barack Obama presidency. White Americans felt that Obama’s gun policy would threaten them. As a result, the demand on guns had dramatically increased.

³ Michael Bloomberg is an American businessman, politician and philanthropist. He is the owner of Bloomberg LP(privately held financial, software, data and media company). He was the mayor of New York City from 2002 to 2003. He was a candidate in 2020 Democratic Presidential Primaries.

⁴ Barack Obama is an American politician and the US President who served from 2009 to 2017. He is a member of the Democratic Party and the first African-American president of the United States.

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In 2018, the NRA political action committee spend more than one million dollars in Indiana opposing Joseph Simon Donnelly who lost his seat in the senate to the pro-gun Mike Braun. Wayne La Pierre:” we will never back away from our believes to defend our right of owning guns”. The bigger challenge to those who wanted to tackle gun laws is proliferation. According to the gun violence archive (GVA), Americans own more than 393 million firearms, nearly half of total guns are owned by civilian in America. Wayne La Pierre:” to stop a bad guy with a gun, it takes a good guy with a gun.” 2012. With the increasing number of mass shootings in high schools, the NRA argues that the best solution to protect children from mass shootings is to arm teachers. Pamela Colloff, the author at Texas monthly wrote:” the shootings ushered in the notion that any group of people, anywhere, everywhere walking around a university campus on a summer day could be killed at random by a stranger”. (The Washington post 2019). So, what makes mass shootings terrifying is because they occur without warning. People who were killed came from nearly every race, religion and socioeconomic status. Furthermore, thousands of survivors were left with devastating injuries and psychological scares. A survivor of the Las Vegas mass shooting in 2017, Greena Marano said:” while I have no physical scars, I have had increased anxiety and hyper-vigilance in my daily life since that day. Outdoor events are difficult to me, and I constantly think of an escape plan, where I’am. we need change. So, no one has to be afraid of fireworks ever again” (Everytown). Due to mass shootings, people’s lives are in jeopardy.

Conclusion

To sum up, the majority of Americans are worried about the spread of mass shootings. This issue has divided people’s opinion between opponents and proponents to gun violence. This phenomenon is controversial and open to many criticism. And the question will always rises, are Americans ready to follow the Canadian and New Zealand examples?

General Conclusion

Societies are witnessing the spread of mass shootings not only in America but all around the world. It is a universal issue. In fact, this issue is rampant in the American society. Each year, thousands of people are killed. Places change, victims change, numbers change, but the aim remains the same, which is taking people's lives. There have been several attempts to fix the situation. But each time, the situation gets worse and politicians promises vanish.

The Founding Fathers of the US Constitution wanted to give people the right to keep and bear arms for self-defence against intruders and against tyrannical government. In the current situation, it does not matter what was the original intent of the Founding Fathers, what is really matters is how the second amendment is interpreted today. In the 18th century, there were no machine guns or semi-automatic rifles when they ratified the second amendment. It is undoubtedly that the framers of the constitution were intelligent and forward thinking. But the United States was completely different place in 1780. That was a time when one was born, lived and died in the same town. They did not have railroad, missiles, satellites and destructive weapons. Since the landscape changed through time, then things needed to be changed. In the modern history, a single AR-15 can take dozens of people's life in few seconds, and this is considered a threat to Modern USA. When weapons were the solution to the country's problems, now they have become the source of its pain especially with the problem of massive shootings. This issue is due to lax regulations and lobbying groups. The problem of mass shootings in America has become a weapon itself.

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Appendices

Appendix 01: Article II (Amendment 2- The Right to Bear Arms)

- Well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.
- Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Appendices

Appendix 02: Article XVIII (Amendment 18 – Prohibition of Liquor)

1: After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2: The Congress and several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3: This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the constitution by the legislatures of several States, as provided in the constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Appendices

Appendix 03: Article XXI (Amendment 21- Repeal of Prohibition)

1: The Eighteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

2: The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

3: This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by convention in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by Congress.

Appendices

Appendix 04: NRA Headquarters (USA)



Appendices

Appendix 05: Most Used Weapons in Contemporary USA



Length comparison between M16 and AK-47 assault rifles



© National Firearms Museum

LIBERAL'S GUIDE TO THE DEADLY AR-15

- FLASH SUPPRESSOR**: Cuts down the muzzle flash from the muzzle.
- MACHINE GUN GRIP**: Allows for greatest accuracy while shooting full auto.
- MAGAZINE**: Can fire 100 rounds per minute.
- HAIR TRIGGER**: Allows shooter to rapidly fire the gun with no effort.
- LASER SNIPER SCOPE**: Provides accuracy up to 10 miles and can see through walls.
- COLLAPSIBLE STOCK**: Enables gun to be concealed under a jacket.
- FULL-AUTO SWITCH**: Automatically turns gun into a machine gun.

TEKMAT GUN ACCESSORIES

