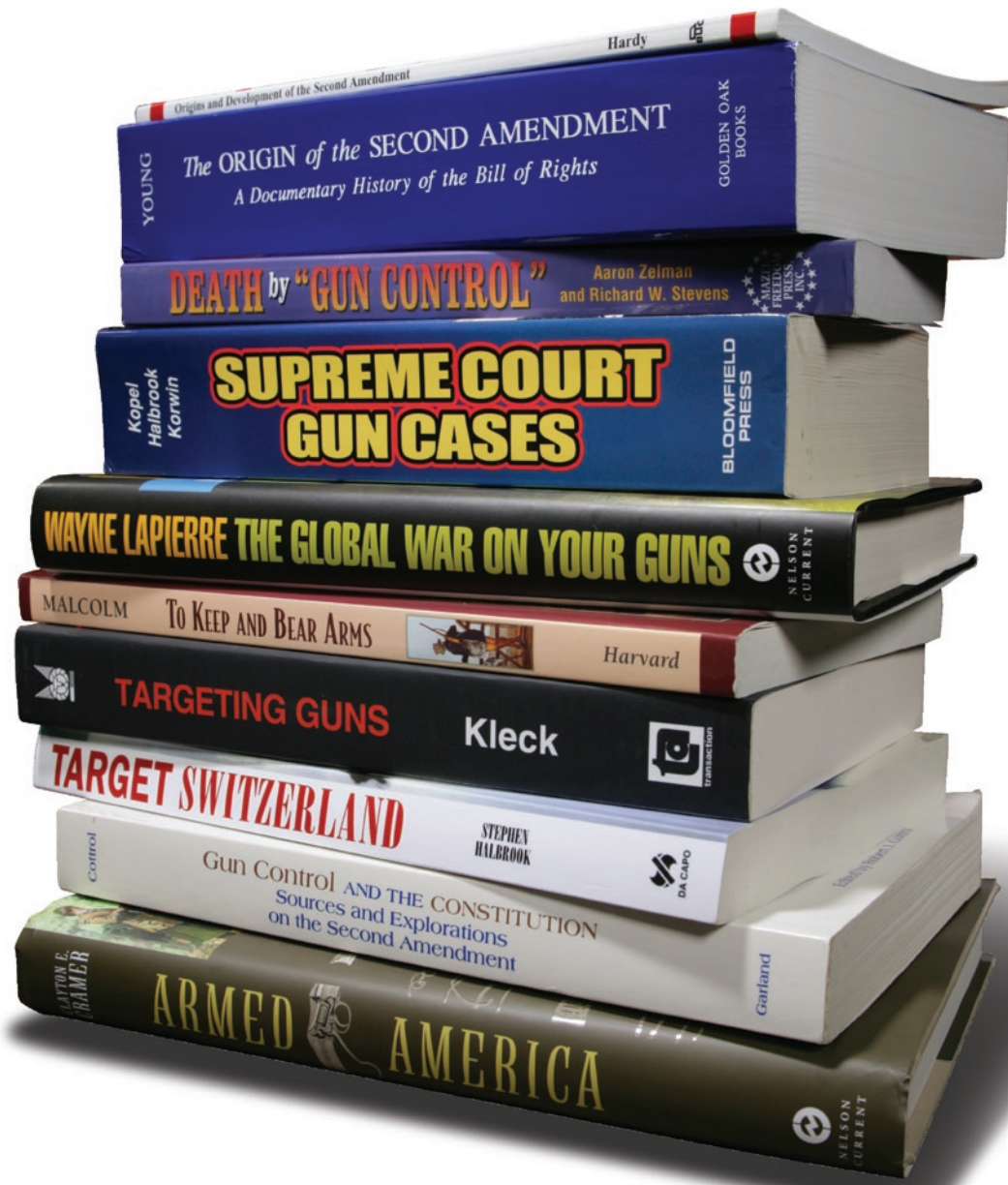


# TEN ON THE SECOND

THE TEN MUST-READ BOOKS FOR GUN-RIGHTS PROPONENTS



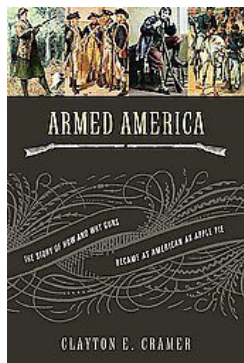
**I**gnorance is strength” was the slogan of the totalitarian government of George Orwell’s novel, *1984*. As a practical matter, it could have been a slogan for the gun prohibition movement of the 1960s.

At the time, it was possible for a well-educated person to believe that the Second Amendment was only about the National Guard, and that repressive gun controls and gun bans would greatly improve public safety. At the time, there was virtually no serious scholarly research on the Second Amendment or on the social science of gun ownership.

Beginning in the 1970s, and with greater and greater depth in each following decade, scholars have investigated the fundamental premises of the gun prohibition movement and provided overwhelming evidence that those premises are false.

For the Second Amendment to survive in the long term, America’s gun owners need to have a strong understanding of their constitutional rights and of the many social benefits that result from the responsible exercise of those rights. Here is a list of 10 great books that will deepen your own understanding of America’s first freedom—the Second Amendment—and make you a more persuasive pro-freedom advocate with your friends, family and the broader community.

**Armed America: The Remarkable Story of How and Why Guns Became as American as Apple Pie.** Published this January by Nelson Current. Clayton Cramer began this book as a refutation of Michael Bellesiles’ *Arming America*. Lauded by gun prohibitionist Garry Wills on the front page of *The New York Times*



*Book Review*, the Bellesiles book claimed to show extensive evidence that guns were rare, and that there was no “gun

culture” in the United States, until the Civil War.

While most of the media praised the book ecstatically, Cramer set out to investigate Bellesiles’ work. Cramer

found that Bellesiles had fabricated many sources, had invented citations and had cited numerous sources for the opposite of what they really said. Nearly every page contained at least one example of scholarly fraud.

Because Cramer is an independent scholar, and not a university professor, the official organizations and journals of American historians tried to ignore him, and Bellesiles kept on winning awards and accolades. Eventually, however, Cramer’s persistence paid off: More scholars, the most important being James Lindgren of Northwestern Law School, began examining the Bellesiles book carefully and finding even more evidence of fraud.

Finally, the publisher withdrew the book. Bellesiles was forced to resign from Emory University, and many historians began wondering why their profession had failed so miserably in self-policing against a politically-correct hoax.

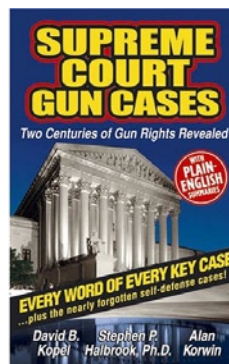
Cramer’s brand-new book, *Armed*

*America*, tells the true story of guns in early America. Just as Holocaust denial led legitimate historians to provide much fuller documentation of the Nazi genocide, Bellesiles’ lies about early America led Cramer into researching a vast number of original sources so that our understanding of the depth of American gun culture is much richer than ever before.

Significantly, Cramer explains how gun ownership became so closely connected to the principle of responsible citizenship, as experience showed Americans that firearms were indispensable to the defense of political and civil rights.

Another fine book by Cramer is *For the Defense of Themselves and the State: The Original Intent and Judicial Interpretation of the Right to Keep and Bear Arms* (Praeger Publishers, 1994), which is an outstanding legal history of the right to arms, in both federal and state courts.

**Supreme Court Gun Cases**, by David B. Kopel, Stephen P. Halbrook and Alan Korwin (Bloomfield Press, 2003).



This book provides reprints of everything the U.S. Supreme Court has ever written on the right to arms, gun control and the right of self-defense.

It also provides extensive commentary explaining the 92 cases in the book.

The cases show that the Supreme Court has a well-established record—beginning in the early 19th century and continuing to the present—of recognizing the Second Amendment as an individual right.

Also by Korwin: *Gun Laws of America* (Bloomfield Press, 2003).

M U S T - R E A D S

All of the federal gun laws, collected in one volume, and explained in plain English. Korwin's Bloomfield Press also sells many guides to the gun laws of individual states, written by Korwin and by other authors.

**Target Switzerland: Swiss Armed Neutrality in World War II**, by

Stephen P. Halbrook (Da Capo Press, 2000). In most of Europe,

one nation after another quickly succumbed to the Nazi blitzkrieg as cowardly national élites surrendered their standing armies after a few days or weeks of fighting. On Germany's border, only Switzerland

remained free and democratic, providing a refuge for many Jewish children and a vivid demonstration that for the Swiss—whether they spoke German, French or Italian—their shared culture of freedom and civic responsibility was much more important than ethnic loyalty.

Hitler declared that he would be “the butcher of the Swiss,” and German forces massed on the Swiss border, but the Wehrmacht never implemented any of its several invasion plans. Switzerland was defended by a universal militia, which had prepared an elaborate network of defenses. The Swiss had already announced that if the Nazis invaded, there would never be a surrender, for the authority for the defense of Switzerland ultimately belonged to the entire people of Switzerland, with a militia rifle (and many other guns) in almost every home.

Halbrook's book shows not only how the Swiss militia system deterred the recurrent threat of Nazi invasion, but also how the militia

system created, in the long run, a culture of civic responsibility devoted to the preservation of liberty. It was Switzerland's militia-centric culture of republican virtue that was the key reason why liberty survived in Switzerland, even as it was extinguished almost everywhere else in continental Europe.

A new book by Halbrook, *The Swiss and the Nazis* (Casemate, 2006), tells the story of daily life in Switzerland during the war—of how the heavily armed Swiss kept up their morale through “spiritual defense,” and how they offered refuge to Jews and to stranded American airmen.

Also by Halbrook: *That Every Man May be Armed* (Independent Institute, 1994). This classic is over two decades old, but it is still an excellent introduction to the philosophical roots and legal story of the Second Amendment and right to arms, from ancient Greece until the late 20th century.

**Origins and Development of the Second Amendment: A Sourcebook**,

by David T. Hardy (Blacksmith Corp., 1986). Like Halbrook, David Hardy is one of the scholars whose research in the 1970s began the intellectual re-discovery of the Second Amendment. *Origins* is a compact (95 pages) presentation of the 75 most important documents about the Right to Keep and Bear Arms. Each is a few paragraphs long, accompanied by Hardy's commentary. From ancient Saxon law all the way to American Supreme Court cases, this book provides an outstanding survey

of original sources.

The book is currently out of print, but you can find used copies at very reasonable

prices. Another good book in this genre is *The Second Amendment Primer: A Citizen's Guidebook to the History, Sources, and Authorities for the Constitutional Guarantee of the Right to Keep and Bear Arms*, by Les Adams (Odysseus Editions, 1996).

Hardy is also the co-author of *Michael Moore is a Big Fat Stupid White Man* (Regan Books, 2004), which is, notwithstanding the title, a serious analysis of the many lies of the extreme-left filmmaker, including the anti-NRA movie *Bowling for Columbine*.

**Gun Control and the Constitution**,

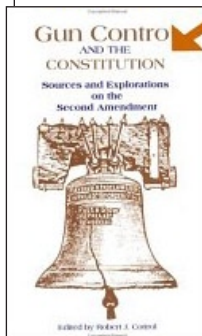
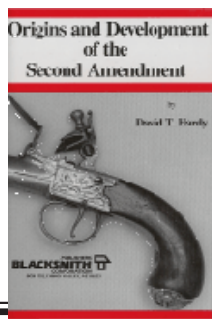
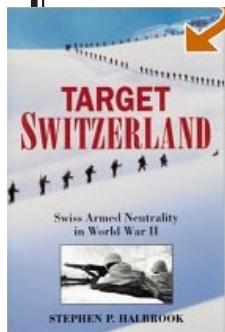
edited by Robert Cottrol (Routledge,

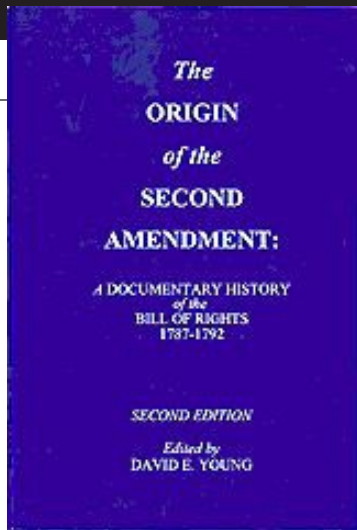
1994). George Washington University law professor Cottrol collected the most important state and federal cases and law review articles dealing with gun control. While Cottrol scrupulously

balanced the pro- and anti-rights materials, the anti-rights side crumbles in a fair fight.

**The Origin of the Second Amendment: A Documentary History of the Bill of Rights in Commentaries on Liberty, Free Government & an Armed Populace**,

edited by David E. Young (Golden Oak Books, 1995). This is an indispensable scholarly resource that reprints every single original documentary source about the origin of the Second Amendment from 1787 until the early 1790s. There are about 500 documents altogether; collected, they clearly show the falsity of the notion that the Second Amendment is merely a “collective” right, or a right belonging only to persons in active militia service.



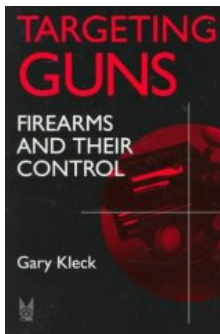


*The Origin* was cited extensively by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in its landmark decision *U.S. v. Emerson*, which upheld the Second Amendment as an individual right. Although all the documents are available elsewhere, many are hard to find: having them all in a single volume provides a wonderful way for the reader to enter the intellectual and political world of the great men who made the Second Amendment.

**Targeting Guns: Firearms and their Control**, by Gary Kleck (Aldine Transaction, 1997). This book is a paperback updated edition of Kleck's award-winning book *Point-Blank*. Almost everything that can be quantified about guns in America is in here: how many guns there are, how often guns are used for crime and used defensively, the impact of gun-control laws on gun crime, public opinion about guns and much, much more. If you can only afford one book about gun policy, this is the book. The only limitation of the

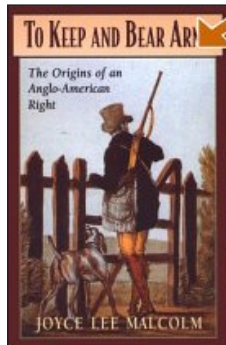
book is that it was published in 1997; however, it is still a treasure-trove of data and insightful analysis.

A more recent book by Kleck



is *Armed: New Perspectives on Gun Control*, co-authored with Don Kates (Prometheus Books, 2001). The book's best chapter is "Prohibitionist Intentions of the Gun Control Movement," which examines the statements and actions of the American gun-control lobbies, showing that the groups quite clearly are pushing for gun prohibition in the long run.

**To Keep and Bear Arms**, by Joyce Lee Malcolm (Harvard University Press, 1996). Praised by Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, Malcolm's book tells the story of the English right to arms in 17th-century England, and how it was central to the century-long struggle between the despotic Stuart kings and advocates of republicanism and limited government. Malcolm also shows



how the right, which was formally recognized in the 1689 English Bill of Rights, was transmitted to America.

Also by Malcolm:

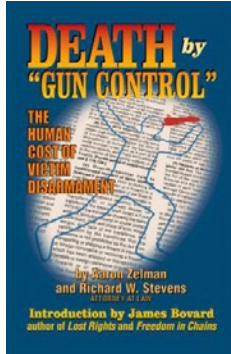
*Guns and Violence: The English Experience* (Harvard University Press, 2002). In this sequel, Malcolm shows how the peaceful society of 19th century England—with almost no gun laws and almost no violent crime—was destroyed in the 20th century by dishonest bureaucrats and politicians who, step-by-step, demolished the right to arms, nearly extinguished the right of self-defense and turned England into a crime-ridden, dangerous country where the safety of burglars is a government imperative while the rights of the law-abiding are secondary.

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**Death by “Gun Control”: The Human Cost of Victim Disarmament**, by Aaron S. Zelman (Mazel Freedom Press, Inc., 2001). The book examines the 20th century genocides in Turkey, the Soviet Union, China, Guatemala, Cambodia, Uganda and Rwanda, and details how each of them was preceded and facilitated by gun-



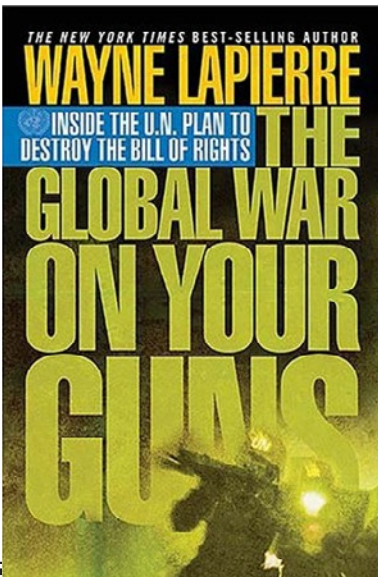
control programs to disarm the victims.

The book also includes an excellent chapter by Stephen P. Halbrook explicating

precisely how the Nazis used gun-control laws in Germany to disarm their opponents and victims.

**The Global War on Your Guns: Inside the U.N. Plan To Destroy the Bill of Rights**. By Wayne LaPierre (Nelson Current, 2006). (LaPierre is also the author of two earlier books which survey a wide range of gun issues: *Guns, Freedom, and Terrorism* [2003], and *Guns, Crime and Freedom* [1994].)

As NRA Executive Vice President



LaPierre explains, what the gun prohibition lobbies did to England, they want to do to the rest of the world—especially the United States. The United Nations has become an active agent of their plans, and in many countries, the consequences are far worse than even in England, as U.N.-backed gun confiscation is so often followed by genocide. While the global gun prohibition groups, which are subsidized by George Soros and by some governments,

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churn out one book after another, *The Global War* is the only book about U.N. gun confiscation written from a pro-freedom perspective.

When you read *The Global War on Your Guns*, you will understand that the stakes in the defense of the Second Amendment are higher than ever. Millions of lives hang in the balance. If the battles for the right of self-defense and the right to arms are lost in the United States, then the worldwide struggle is almost certainly doomed. Ominously, the United Nations and its prohibitionist allies are working on ways to evade not only the Second Amendment, but many of the other protections of the American constitution.

Undoubtedly, many *America's 1st Freedom* readers have read at least some of these books. But armed with any of them—or even better, with many of them—you can make yourself a better advocate for freedom at this critical time in history. ☪