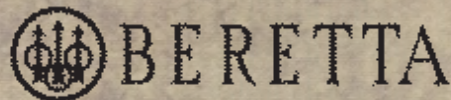


BLOOD MONEY II

HOW GUN INDUSTRY DOLLARS FUND THE NRA



Smith & Wesson®



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PERFECTION



Violence Policy Center

Blood Money II

How Gun Industry Dollars Fund the NRA

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Violence Policy Center

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Cash and Carry: How Concealed Carry Laws Drive Gun Industry Profits (July 2013) ♦ *Gun Deaths Outpace Motor Vehicle Deaths in 12 States and the District of Columbia in 2010* (May 2013) ♦ *Time Bomb: How the NRA Blocked the Regulation of Black and Smokeless Powder to the Benefit of Its Gun Industry “Corporate Partners” Today* (April 2013) ♦ *Firearm Justifiable Homicides and Non-Fatal Self-Defense Gun Use: An Analysis of Federal Bureau of Investigation and National Crime Victimization Survey Data* (April 2013) ♦ *Lost Youth: A County-by-County Analysis of 2011 California Homicide Victims Ages 10 to 24* (March 2013, annual study) ♦ *States With Higher Gun Ownership and Weak Gun Laws Lead Nation in Gun Death* (February 2013, annual study) ♦ *Black Homicide Victimization in the United States: An Analysis of 2010 Homicide Data* (January 2013, annual study) ♦ *When Men Murder Women: An Analysis of 2010 Homicide Data* (September 2012, annual study) ♦ *Understanding the Smith & Wesson M&P15 Semiautomatic Assault Rifle Used in the Aurora, Colorado Mass Murder* (July 2012) ♦ *Gun Deaths Outpace Motor Vehicle Deaths in 10 States in 2009* (May 2012) ♦ *Bullet Buttons: The Gun Industry’s Attack on California’s Assault Weapons Ban* (May 2012) ♦ *American Roulette: Murder-Suicide in the United States* (May 2012) ♦ *“Never Walk Alone”—How Concealed Carry Laws Boost Gun Industry Sales* (April 2012) ♦ *More Guns, More Shootings* (January 2012) ♦ *The Militarization of the U.S. Civilian Firearms Market* (June 2011) ♦ *A Shrinking Minority: The Continuing Decline of Gun Ownership in America* (April 2011) ♦ *Accessories to Murder* (January 2011) ♦ *Drive-by America: Second Edition* (July 2010) ♦ *Lessons Unlearned—The Gun Lobby and the Siren Song of Anti-Government Rhetoric* (April 2010) ♦ *Target: Law Enforcement—Assault Weapons in the News* (February 2010) ♦ *Law Enforcement and Private Citizens Killed by Concealed Handgun Permit Holders—An Analysis of News Reports, May 2007 to April 2009* (July 2009) ♦ *Indicted: Types of Firearms and Methods of Gun Trafficking from the United States to Mexico as Revealed in U.S. Court Documents* (April 2009) ♦ *Iron River: Gun Violence and Illegal Firearms Trafficking on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (March 2009) ♦ *Youth Gang Violence and Guns: Data Collection in California* (February 2009) ♦ *“Big Boomers”—Rifle Power Designed Into Handguns* (December 2008) ♦ *American Roulette: Murder-Suicide in the United States* (April 2008) ♦ *An Analysis of the Decline in Gun Dealers: 1994 to 2007* (August 2007) ♦ *Clear and Present Danger: National Security Experts Warn About the Danger of Unrestricted Sales of 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifles to Civilians* (July 2005) ♦ *The Threat Posed to Helicopters by 50 Caliber Anti-Armor Sniper Rifles* (August 2004) ♦ *United States of Assault Weapons: Gunmakers Evading the Federal Assault Weapons Ban* (July 2004) ♦ *Vest Buster: The .500 Smith & Wesson Magnum—The Gun Industry’s Latest Challenge to Law Enforcement Body Armor* (June 2004) ♦ *Bullet Hoses—Semiautomatic Assault Weapons: What Are They? What’s So Bad About Them?* (May 2003) ♦ *“Officer Down”—Assault Weapons and the War on Law Enforcement* (May 2003) ♦ *“Just Like Bird Hunting”—The Threat to Civil Aviation from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (January 2003) ♦ *Sitting Ducks—The Threat to the Chemical and Refinery Industry from 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (August 2002) ♦ *License to Kill IV: More Guns, More Crime* (June 2002) ♦ *The U.S. Gun Industry and Others Unknown—Evidence Debunking the Gun Industry’s Claim that Osama bin Laden Got His 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles from the U.S. Afghan-Aid Program* (February 2002) ♦ *“A .22 for Christmas”—How the Gun Industry Designs and Markets Firearms for Children and Youth* (December 2001) ♦ *Unintended Consequences: Pro-Handgun Experts Prove That Handguns Are a Dangerous Choice For Self-Defense* (November 2001) ♦ *Voting from the Rooftops: How the Gun Industry Armed Osama bin Laden, Other Foreign and Domestic Terrorists, and Common Criminals with 50 Caliber Sniper Rifles* (October 2001) ♦ *Hispanics and Firearms Violence* (May 2001) ♦ *Where’d They Get Their Guns?—An Analysis of the Firearms Used in High-Profile Shootings, 1963 to 2001* (April 2001) ♦ *A Deadly Myth: Women, Handguns, and Self-Defense* (January 2001) ♦ *Handgun Licensing and Registration: What it Can and Cannot Do* (September 2000) ♦ *Pocket Rockets: The Gun Industry’s Sale of Increased Killing Power* (July 2000) ♦ *Guns For Felons: How the NRA Works to Rearm Criminals* (March 2000) ♦ *One Shot, One Kill: Civilian Sales of Military Sniper Rifles* (May 1999) ♦ *Cease Fire: A Comprehensive Strategy to Reduce Firearms Violence* (Revised, October 1997)

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Introduction

On January 13, 2013, less than one month after the mass shooting that took the lives of 20 first graders and six educators at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, then-National Rifle Association President David Keene appeared on CNN's *State of the Union* with reporter Candy Crowley. On the show, Crowley raised the issue of the NRA receiving direct financial support from the firearms industry, citing information first revealed in the Violence Policy Center's 2011 study *Blood Money: How the Gun Industry Bankrolls the NRA*. Said Crowley:

One of the big questions here is who does the NRA represent? You do take millions of dollars from people who make guns and who make bullets, all perfectly legal. I'm sure they're all fine folks.

Keene interrupted Crowley, to offer this response.

Actually, Sandy [sic], we get less money from the industry than we'd like to get....But we get some. We get more than we used to.¹

In April 2011, the Violence Policy Center study *Blood Money: How the Gun Industry Bankrolls the NRA*² revealed the existence of an NRA "Corporate Partners Program" targeted at raising revenue directly from the gun industry. NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre stated in a promotional brochure for the program that the "National Rifle Association's newly expanded Corporate Partners Program is an opportunity for corporations to partner with the NRA....This program is geared toward your company's corporate interests." *Blood Money* revealed that since 2005 and up to the study's publication in April 2011, contributions from gun industry³ "corporate partners" to the NRA totaled between \$14.7 million and \$38.9 million (the range is due to the giving levels defined within the NRA donor program). **Today, using the NRA's same giving range, contributions to the organization from the gun industry total between \$19.3 million and \$60.2 million. Included in this figure are eight gun industry "corporate partners" who have, in the NRA's own words, "given gifts of cash totaling \$1,000,000 or more."**⁴

¹ "NRA president calls on gun makers to give him more money," *The Raw Story*, January 13, 2013 (<http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2013/01/13/nra-president-calls-on-gun-makers-to-give-him-more-money/>).

² See <http://www.vpc.org/studies/bloodmoney.pdf>.

³ Companies involved in the manufacture or sale of firearms or shooting-related products.

⁴ See <http://www.nragive.com/home/video/nra-s-golden-ring-of-freedom-2013-inductees/list/home-feature>.

And despite the widespread coverage *Blood Money's* findings received after the Newtown shooting, the NRA's escalating efforts to bring in gun industry dollars, and the growing number of NRA programs "sponsored" by members of the gun industry, to this day the NRA continues to falsely state on its webpage that the organization "is not affiliated with any firearm or ammunition manufacturers or with any businesses that deal in guns and ammunition."⁵

Since the publication of the original edition of *Blood Money* in 2011, the NRA has indeed, to paraphrase David Keene, been getting more than it used to from the firearms industry. This new edition of *Blood Money* details:

- millions of dollars in new and increased gun industry contributions, including million dollar gifts from both Freedom Group, the gun industry conglomerate which owns Bushmaster, the manufacturer of the assault rifle used in the Newtown, Connecticut school shooting, as well as Smith & Wesson, the manufacturer of the assault rifle used in the Aurora, Colorado movie theatre shooting;
- a new gun industry-sponsored NRA membership program under which industry members pay the annual dues for new members;
- additional NRA programs that are now "sponsored" by the gun industry, including marketing efforts to women; and,
- efforts by the NRA to equate the "responsible behavior" of buying a gun with political action, to the benefit of its gun industry patrons.

As with the first edition of *Blood Money*, these gun industry donors and the amounts they contribute to the NRA are gleaned only from press releases, NRA publications and websites, information obtained at the NRA's annual meeting, and other resources. There is no centralized information available on gun industry contributions to the NRA. The information presented in this report represents an unknown fraction of the total contributions made to the NRA by members of the gun industry through direct contributions, participation in the NRA Round-Up Program, or participation in the NRA Add-A-Buck Program.⁶

⁵ See <http://eddieagle.nra.org/>, reviewed September 10, 2013.

⁶ For more information on the NRA Round-Up Program and the NRA Add-A-Buck Program, please see the 2011 edition of *Blood Money* (<http://www.vpc.org/studies/bloodmoney.pdf>).

Section One: The Golden Ring of Freedom and the NRA's Latest Million-Dollar Gun Industry Donors

At its May 2013 annual meeting held in Houston, Texas (sponsored, as it has been since 2010, by top NRA gun industry patron MidwayUSA), the NRA held the “biggest, best NRA Ring of Freedom Brunch ever”⁷ to honor its Ring of Freedom members, and most importantly the 10 companies and individuals who had contributed more than a million dollars, rising to the Golden Ring of Freedom giving level. These “selfless, passionate, and devoted leaders”⁸ were honored, praised, and given yellow sports coats, each with a Golden Ring of Freedom crest on the front pocket. Then, “upon receiving their jackets, each inductee took their turn at what has become a joyous—and loud—Golden Ring of Freedom custom: the ringing of the ‘Freedom’ bell.”⁹ Also at the event, veteran Golden Ring of Freedom top donors Larry and Brenda Potterfield presented a million dollar check to the NRA Institute for Legislative Action’s (the NRA’s lobbying arm) Executive Director Chris Cox to honor the million “active customers” the Potterfields’ company, MidwayUSA serves.¹⁰ In a video on the NRA’s website, select Golden Ring of Freedom corporations are featured, highlighting the increasingly symbiotic relationship between the gun industry and the NRA. The three gun industry members featured were: the leadership of gun conglomerate the Freedom Group, including CEO George Kollitides; James Debney, CEO of Smith & Wesson; and, NRA Board Member Pete Brownell of Brownells. The quoted excerpts below are taken from a transcription of the NRA video.

⁷ *NRA Ring of Freedom*, Volume 5, Issue 1.

⁸ NRA Golden Ring of Freedom video (accessed through <http://nragive.com/home/video/nra-s-golden-ring-of-freedom-2013-inductees/list/home-feature>).

⁹ *NRA Ring of Freedom*, Volume 5, Issue 1.

¹⁰ MidwayUSA claims to stock “[j]ust about everything for Shooting, Reloading, Gunsmithing and Hunting” (<http://www.midwayusa.com/>).



Figure 1: Custom-made sports coats await the 2013 Golden Ring of Freedom honorees

Freedom Group

“Wayne LaPierre says that the key to the strongest defense of the Second Amendment is the marketplace”

Immediately after the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School, Cerberus Capital Management, the firm which had assembled the gun companies that comprise Freedom Group, announced its intention to sell the gun conglomerate. Cerberus had originally acquired the companies as part of a planned IPO that failed to materialize. In early 2012, following rumors in the pro-gun community that Cerberus and Freedom Group were affiliated with financier George Soros, the company brought on leadership figures with ties to the NRA and the Newtown-based gun industry trade association the National Shooting Sports Foundation (NSSF). Named as acting and eventually permanent Freedom Group CEO was George Kollitides, who, according to an April 2012 press release from the company, “currently serves as a trustee of the NRA Foundation and Director of the NRA’s Hunting and Wildlife Committee, Presidents Committee on Advancement, and Nominating Committee.”¹¹ The company also named former NSSF staffer Ryan Cleckner as manager of government relations.¹²

While Cerberus has struggled to find a buyer for Freedom Group—the company even had trouble finding an investment bank willing to handle the transaction—the gun conglomerate has been ramping up its giving to the NRA.

In the NRA Ring of Freedom video, Tyler Schropp, executive director of the NRA Office of Advancement, lauds Freedom Group, which includes Bushmaster, manufacturer of the AR-15 style assault rifle used in the Newtown shooting only five months earlier:

Over the past few years, they’ve emerged as a significant force in the industry and the NRA, and I’m proud to welcome three members of their leadership team into our ring. Their CEO, George Kollitides is a quick, instinctive decision maker as well as a passionate hunter and shooter. Beyond the business world, he’s made important contributions to conservation efforts and the gun rights movement. His efforts on behalf of the Freedom Group and the NRA benefit gun owners all over this great country.

¹¹ “Freedom Group Announces George Kollitides as New Chief Executive Officer,” press release, April 24, 2012 (accessed from <https://sites.google.com/site/freedomgroupmedia/press-releases/freedom-group>).

¹² “Freedom Group Names Cleckner Manager of Government Relations,” press release, March 30, 2012 (accessed from <https://sites.google.com/site/freedomgroupmedia/press-releases/freedom-group>).



2013 NRA Annual Meetings & Exhibits



New Golden Ring of Freedom inductees (l. to r.) George Kollitides, Pete Brownell, James Debney, Walter McLallen, Scott Blackwell, Laura Bachenberg and Bill Bachenberg. Right: Larry and Brenda Potterfield of MidwayUSA present a \$1 million check to NRA-ILA Executive Director Chris W. Cox in honor of the 1 million active customers MidwayUSA serves.

Figure 2: Million-dollar gun industry donors pose by the "Freedom" bell

Schropp then acknowledged Freedom Group's Wally McLallen, "who isn't just savvy in the business of our industry, but a proven defender against the likes of NBC. When they tried to attack gun owners, manufacturers, and the Second Amendment, Wally and the rest of the Freedom Group team stood up for all of us..."¹³ Schropp then praised Freedom Group's Scott Blackwell, quoting NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre, who "says that the key to the strongest defense of the Second Amendment is the marketplace, and Scott has his finger planted firmly there."

Smith & Wesson

"I think it's important for everybody to step up and support the NRA. They are our voice."

In introducing James Debney, CEO of Smith & Wesson, manufacturer of the AR-15 type assault rifle used in the July 2012 Aurora theater shooting, which claimed 12 lives and injured 58, Schropp notes:

James is changing the firearms market in a very tangible way. Especially in Smith & Wesson's focus toward women. And we all understand how *vital* they are to our future, and we all applaud his commitment.

In the video, Debney explains:

We do very much obviously focus on our employees to make sure they understand how important the Second Amendment and the Constitution is and that we are true believers in that and defenders of that and that we are very closely aligned with the NRA. So we decided it was time to step up and do the right thing, and I think the status now that we've achieved with the NRA and the way that we have now been recognized is a very proud moment for the company. We felt it was appropriate to donate to the NRA and then sponsor wonderful programs that the NRA has. The NRA Women's Network, the NRA Life of Duty, are particular favorites of ours....

Everybody here at Smith & Wesson was extremely excited to learn about the opportunity to become the title sponsor of the NRA Women's Network. This is one of the most rapidly growing groups of people who are interested in the shooting sports, and we want

¹³ In April 2012, Freedom Group's Remington brand attacked NBC for news programming detailing design flaws in specific Remington rifle models (<http://www.remington.com/pages/news-and-resources/press-releases/2012/corporate/remingtonnbcresponse.aspx>).



Figure 3: Smith & Wesson CEO James Debney on the cover of the most recent *Ring of Freedom* magazine

to play a part of that. We really do want to become a resource for that community whether that's training, communication of events, social networking, and more importantly to us as well we can do that even better, by partnering with the NRA. We will provide solid support going forward and that will really develop a very strong community, one that will last for a long, long time. Because this is a very dynamic moment in time, I think it's important for everybody to step up and support the NRA. They are our voice. They're a single voice out there. They're a united voice, and they represent so many people and interested parties, that I think it's particularly important. The whole Second Amendment is under attack as we speak at this very moment in time. So I would say to everybody out there, step up and join us.

When first established, the Ring of Freedom had seven "recognition" levels based on the amount contributed to the organization. At its inception, the highest level (\$5,000,000 to \$9,999,999) was named for former NRA Executive Vice President Harlon Carter.¹⁴ The second highest level (\$1,000,000 to \$4,999,999) was named for former NRA President Joe Foss. Lesser giving levels ranked below these NRA leaders were named for the Founding Fathers: George Washington (\$500,000 to \$999,999); Samuel Adams (\$250,000 to \$499,999); Alexander Hamilton (\$100,000 to \$249,999); George Mason (\$50,000 to \$99,999); and, James Madison (\$25,000 to \$49,999). In anticipation of continued industry support, the NRA has added two new "recognition" levels: Theodore Roosevelt (\$10,000,000 to \$25,000,000) and Charlton Heston (\$25,000,000 and over). Currently no donors are listed in the highest two levels. The organization also added a series of giving levels below the prior lowest level.¹⁵ Each level carries various recognition benefits, ranging from pins to plaques to signage to "exposure in NRA media."

For a list of the gun industry patrons who help fund the NRA as detailed in the Ring of Freedom, please see *Section Four: National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry "Corporate Partners."*

¹⁴ A larger-than-life figure to the NRA faithful, Carter is credited with creating the lobbying focus of today's NRA. Less discussed is the fact that as a teenager, Carter was convicted of a shotgun murder. The 17-year-old Carter shot and killed a 15-year-old Latino youth in the future NRA leader's hometown of Laredo, Texas. His conviction was later overturned on a technicality.

¹⁵ The new lower giving levels are: Thomas Jefferson (\$10,000 to \$24,999); Patrick Henry (\$5,000 to \$9,999); and, Thomas Paine (\$1,000 to \$4,999).

Section Two: NRA Life of Duty, *American Warrior*, and Other Gun Industry-Sponsored NRA Programs

At its 2011 annual meeting, the NRA “formally unveiled” a “new class of sponsored membership” at its Corporate Executive Luncheon.^{16 17} As a column in the August 2011 issue of the NRA magazine *America’s 1st Freedom* stated, “Through the NRA Life of Duty program, individuals and corporations can sponsor one-year NRA memberships for members of our military and law enforcement.”¹⁸ And while a one-year standard NRA membership is \$35 (and at times dips to \$25), the annual Life of Duty membership is \$50. Memberships, up to 100, can be donated online while “Donations of more than 100 memberships can be granted as well by calling (877) NRA-GIVE.”¹⁹ According to the NRA, “the NRA Life of Duty program received more than \$100,000 on the spot to sponsor LOD memberships” at the Corporate Executive Luncheon held at the 2011 annual meeting.²⁰

The Life of Duty program is “presented by Brownells.” Brownell’s Law Enforcement Division, PoliceStore.com, also sponsors the NRA Life of Duty Gear Channel. Brownells, headed by NRA board member Pete Brownell, describes itself as the “world’s largest supplier of firearms accessories and gunsmithing tools.”²¹ It sells a wide-range of high-capacity ammunition magazines for pistols and assault weapons. Brownells is also a manufacturer of high-capacity ammunition magazines. On a website for his successful campaign to join the NRA’s board, Brownell offered his vision for strengthening the bond between the NRA and the gun industry and making sure that industry members are part of the NRA’s mission:

¹⁶ “NRA Life of Duty Presented by Brownells,” *America’s 1st Freedom*, August 2011.

¹⁷ “First Things First: NRA Life of Duty,” *America’s 1st Freedom*, July 2011.

¹⁸ “One of NRA’s Most Important Endeavors: NRA Life of Duty,” Letter From the Editor, Mark Chesnut, *America’s 1st Freedom*, August 2011.

¹⁹ “NRA Life of Duty Presented by Brownells,” *America’s 1st Freedom*, August 2011.

²⁰ “First Things First: NRA Life of Duty,” *America’s 1st Freedom*, July 2011.

²¹ See <http://www.brownells.com/>.

Having directors who intimately understand and work in leadership positions within the firearms industry ensures the NRA's focus is honed on the overall mission of the organization. These individuals bring a keen sense of the industry and of the bigger fight to the table.²²

In May 2013, Brownells renewed its commitment as the “presenting sponsor” of the program.²³

According to an August 2011 *America's 1st Freedom* cover story on the program, “Colt’s Manufacturing is another company that saw real value in NRA Life of Duty and stepped up to sponsor the Warrior Features in the *NRA American Warrior* digital magazine.” Colt’s manufactures AR-15 assault rifles and other firearms.

In September 2012, the NRA announced that gunmaker FNH USA, manufacturer of the PS-90 and SCAR assault rifles, the FN Five-seveN armor-piercing pistol, and other firearms, was “the sponsor of *Frontlines* on the NRA Life of Duty online network, presented by Brownells.”²⁴

Visitors to the NRA’s Life of Duty TV homepage are greeted by a revolving scroll of gun industry sponsors. In addition to Colt, FNH USA, Brownells, and Smith & Wesson, Bushmaster, manufacturer of the assault rifle used in the Newtown shooting, is thanked as the *NRA American Warrior* “presenting sponsor.”²⁵ As each acknowledgment appears, the viewer can click through to visit the company’s website.

The support of these and other “corporate friends,” the NRA says, has “been integral to the launch of NRA Life of Duty. The further support of corporations and individuals will ensure the long-term success of this absolutely vital initiative.”²⁶

²² See *Blood Money: How the Gun Industry Bankrolls the NRA*, Violence Policy Center, April 2011 (<http://www.vpc.org/studies/bloodmoney.pdf>).

²³ See <http://www.prweb.com/releases/2013/5/prweb10779119.htm>.

²⁴ See <http://www.nraila.org/news-issues/news-from-nra-ila/2012/08/fnh-usa-sponsors-nra-life-of-duty-frontlines.aspx?s=%22Oliver+North%22&st=&ps>.

²⁵ See <http://nralifeofduty.tv/nra-american-warrior>.

²⁶ “NRA Life of Duty Presented by Brownells,” *America's 1st Freedom*, August 2011.

Additional recently announced gun industry sponsorships of NRA programs are:

NRA Women’s Network sponsored by Smith & Wesson. In December 2012, the NRA announced that handgun and assault rifle manufacturer (and Golden Ring of Freedom donor) Smith & Wesson would be the “presenting sponsor” of the NRA Women's Network. In the press release, NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre hailed “Smith & Wesson's sponsorship and on-going involvement....”²⁷

NRA Women’s Outlook sponsored by Barnes Bullets. In April 2013, ammunition manufacturer Barnes Bullets L.L.C. announced that it was the “inaugural sponsor of the National Rifle Association (NRA) Woman’s Outlook—a new online presence for the multi-faceted needs of today’s NRA woman as she exercises her Second Amendment rights in pursuit and enjoyment of the American firearms lifestyle.” (An earlier print version of the publication had previously been launched and eventually ended publication.)²⁸

Section Three: “We will buy more guns than ever”

As noted earlier, according to NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre, “the strongest defense of the Second Amendment is the marketplace.” Faced with an ongoing decline in household gun ownership, the NRA has thrown its weight behind its gun industry benefactors.²⁹ Using a fear-based marketing strategy, the NRA seeks new gun owners, but more importantly strives to sell additional firearms to the shrinking base of current gun owners. In an article titled “Stand and Fight” in the February 2013 edition of *America’s 1st Freedom*, LaPierre virtually guarantees societal collapse as a tactic to persuade NRA members to buy more guns:

Nobody knows if or when the fiscal collapse will come, but if the country is broke, there likely won’t be enough money to pay for police protection. And the American people know it.

²⁷ See <http://www.nraila.org/news-issues/news-from-nra-ila/2012/12/nra-women%27s-network-now-presented-by-smith-wesson.aspx>.

²⁸ See <http://www.womensoutdoornews.com/2013/04/barnes-proudly-sponsors-nra-womans-outlook/>.

²⁹ For a detailed history of gun ownership in the United States as reported by the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago, see the April 2011 Violence Policy Center report *A Shrinking Minority: The Continuing Decline of Gun Ownership in America* (<http://www.vpc.org/studies/ownership.pdf>). According to NORC, in 2012 only 34.4 percent of U.S. households had a gun in the home.

Hurricanes. Tornadoes. Riots. Terrorists. Gangs. Lone criminals. These are perils we are sure to face—not just maybe. It’s not paranoia to buy a gun. It’s survival. It’s responsible behavior, and it’s time we encourage law-abiding Americans to do just that...

Responsible Americans realize that the world as we know it has changed. We, the American people, clearly see the daunting forces we will undoubtedly face: terrorists, crime, drug gangs, the possibility of Euro-style debt riots, civil unrest or natural disaster.

Having primed the paranoia pump, LaPierre than makes a leap that benefits both the NRA and the gun industry: equating the “responsible behavior” of buying a gun with political action:

Since the election [of Barack Obama], millions of Americans have been lining up in front of gun stores, Cabela’s³⁰ and Bass Pro Shops exercising their freedom while they still have it. They are demonstrating they have a mass determination to buy, own and use firearms. Millions of Americans are using market forces like never before to demonstrate their ardent support for our firearm freedoms. That’s one of the very best ways we can Stand And Fight....

We will not surrender. We will not appease. We will buy more guns than ever.³¹

³⁰ Cabela’s has given between \$500,000 and \$999,999 to the NRA as measured by its Ring of Freedom ranking.

³¹ “Stand and Fight,” *America’s 1st Freedom*, February 2013.

Section Four: National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”

The table that follows lists NRA corporate partners by “recognition” level and defines them by the four categories listed below. Where available, a website is included with the name of the “corporate partner.” If a website was not found by the Violence Policy Center, the name of the “corporate partner” is followed by an asterisk (*). A “corporate partner” can fit into more than one category based on its product line or activities.

- **Gun Manufacturer**, the “corporate partner” is a firearm manufacturer.
- **Gun Distributor or Retailer**, the “corporate partner” is either a distributor of firearms or a retailer of firearms.
- **High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor**, the “corporate partner” either manufactures or sells ammunition magazines with a capacity greater than 10 rounds.
- **Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor**, the “corporate partner” either manufactures or sells shooting accessories (examples would include ammunition, holsters, targets, reloading equipment, optical devices, etc.).

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
HARLON CARTER LEVEL—Amount Donated: \$5,000,000 to \$9,999,999				
MidwayUSA www.midwayusa.com			✓	✓
JOE FOSS LEVEL—Amount Donated: \$1,000,000 to \$4,999,999				
Beretta USA Corporation www.berettausa.com	✓		✓	✓
Brownells www.brownells.com			✓	✓
Freedom Group www.freedom-group.com	✓		✓	✓
Pierce Bullet Seal Target Systems, LLC www.pbsts.com				✓
Springfield Armory, Inc. www.springfield-armory.com	✓		✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
Smith & Wesson www.smith-wesson.com	✓		✓	✓
Sturm, Ruger & Co. www.ruger.com	✓		✓	✓
GEORGE WASHINGTON LEVEL—Amount Donated: \$500,000 to \$999,999				
American Legacy Firearms www.americanlegacyfirearms.com	✓			
Benelli USA Corporation www.benelliusa.com	✓			✓
Cabela’s www.cabelas.com		✓	✓	✓
Dillon Precision Products Corp., Inc. www.dillonprecision.com			✓	✓
Leupold & Stevens, Inc. www.leupold.com				✓
Winchester Division—Olin Corporation www.winchester.com				✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
SAMUEL ADAMS LEVEL—Amount Donated: \$250,000 to \$499,999				
Blaser USA, Inc. www.blaser-usa.com	✓			✓
Davidson’s, Inc. www.galleryofguns.com		✓	✓	✓
Doug Turnbull Restoration, Inc. www.turnbullmfg.com	✓			✓
Glock, Inc. www.glock.com	✓		✓	✓
Greg Martin Auctions*		✓		
Hodgdon Powder Company www.hodgdon.com				✓
Natchez Shooters Supply www.natchezss.com			✓	✓
Nosler, Inc. www.nosler.com	✓		✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
ALEXANDER HAMILTON LEVEL—Amount Donated: \$100,000 to \$249,999				
Action Target www.actiontarget.com				✓
Arsenal, Inc. www.arsenalinc.com	✓		✓	✓
Blackhawk Products Group www.blackhawk.com				✓
Blue Book Publications, Inc. www.bluebookinc.com				✓
The Brunton Company www.brunton.com				✓
CDNN Investments, Inc. www.cdnninvestments.com		✓	✓	✓
Cheaper Than Dirt www.cheaperthandirt.com		✓	✓	✓
Collectors Firearms, Inc. www.collectorsfirearms.com		✓	✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
Crimson Trace Corporation www.crimsontrace.com				✓
James D. Julia Auctioneers, Inc. www.jamesdjulia.com		✓		
Numrich Gun Parts Corporation www.gunpartscorp.com			✓	✓
ParaUSA www.para-usa.com	✓		✓	✓
GEORGE MASON LEVEL— Amount Donated: \$50,000 to \$99,999				
AcuSport Corporation www.acusport.com		✓	✓	✓
Auctionarms.com, Inc. www.auctionarms.com		✓	✓	✓
Barrett Firearms Manufacturing www.barrett.net	✓		✓	✓
Browning www.browning.com	✓		✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
Charles Daly*	✓		✓	✓
Colt’s Manufacturing Co., Inc. www.coltsmfg.com	✓		✓	✓
DPMS Panther Arms www.dpmsinc.com	✓		✓	✓
FNH USA www.fnhusa.com	✓		✓	✓
Graf & Sons, Inc. www.grafs.com			✓	✓
Krieghoff International, Inc. www.krieghoff.com	✓			✓
Remington Arms Co., Inc. www.remington.com	✓			✓
Turner’s Operations, Inc. www.turners.com		✓		✓
Widener’s Reloading & Shooting Supply, Inc., www.wideners.com		✓	✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
JAMES MADISON LEVEL—Amount Donated: \$25,000 to \$49,999				
Aimpoint www.aimpoint.com				✓
C.O. Arms*	✓			
Ellett Brothers, Inc. www.ellettbrothers.com		✓	✓	✓
H&R 1871, LLC www.hr1871.com	✓			✓
Henry Repeating Arms Co. www.henryrepeating.com	✓			✓
Hornady Manufacturing Co. www.hornady.com				✓
Investment Arms*	✓			
J & G Sales www.jgsales.com		✓	✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
John Rigby & Co. www.johnrigbyandco.com	✓			
Marlin Firearms Co. www.marlinfirearms.com	✓			✓
McMillan Group International www.mcmfamily.com	✓			✓
Montana Gold Bullet, Inc. www.montanagoldbullet.com				✓
Petersen Publishing Company*				✓
RCBS Reloading Equipment www.rcbs.com				✓
Reinhart Fajen, Inc. www.battentfeldtechnologies.com/fajen				✓
RSR Group, Inc. www.rsrgroup.com		✓	✓	✓
SIGARMS, Inc. www.sigsauer.com	✓		✓	✓

National Rifle Association Ring of Freedom Gun Industry “Corporate Partners”				
“Corporate Partner” Name and Website	Gun Manufacturer	Gun Distributor or Retailer	High-Capacity Ammunition Magazine Manufacturer or Vendor	Gun Accessories Manufacturer or Vendor
Sinclair International, Inc. www.sinclairintl.com			✓	✓



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